

Constructing Syriac in Latin – Establishing the Identity of Syriac in the West over a Century and a Half (c.1550-c.1700)

An Account of Grammatical and Extra-Linguistic Determinants

By

Robert J. Wilkinson

Valley House, Temple Cloud, Somerset, United Kingdom

The precise definition of Syriac no doubt remains in some sense a work in progress, but for a real, though naturally not absolute, sense of a distinct and separate identity for Syriac early Western scholars were ultimately dependent upon native speakers and native texts¹. But at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century neither of these was available in large measure and in consequence there were considerable difficulties in establishing a precise notion of Syriac. Moreover, in time, na-

¹ JOHN F. HEALEY, “Syriac” in Stefan WENINGER ET AL. (eds.), *The Semitic Languages An International Handbook* (HSK36: De Gruyter, Berlin 2011), p. 637-652 and FRANÇOISE BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, “Syriac as the Language of Eastern Christianity”, *ibid* p. 652-659. WERNER STROTHMANN, *Die Anfänge der Syrischen Studien in Europa* (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1971). RICCARDO CONTINI, “Gli inizi della linguistica siriana nell’ Europa rinascimento”, *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 68 (1994) p. 15-30. For Aramaic generally, KLAUS BEYER, *The Aramaic Language Its Distribution and Subdivision* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1986).

tive speakers themselves brought their own traditional views of the age and features of the language which were not entirely accurate. Further, there was lacking an exact and agreed terminology which might have helped a measured and precise placement of Syriac within Aramaic. There was, of course, the indisputable *similarity* of Syriac to earlier forms of Aramaic with which Christian scholars were becoming familiar—biblical Aramaic, targumic Aramaic², the language of the Mishnah and Talmuds³ and finally, with Postel, the Aramaic of later Jewish works like the Zohar but achieving further distinction was difficult⁴. These varieties are now properly seen as

² Targums translated into Latin in the Sixteenth Century appeared in two distinctly different kinds of publications; polyglot bibles and small annotated editions, usually of single books for use as textbooks. A targum was published as part of Agostino Giustiniani's *Psalterium hebraeum, graecum, arabicum et chaldaicum*, Genoa, 1516. Giustiniani provided not only the targumic text of the Psalms but also a Latin translation. Cardinal Jimenez spent about 50,000 gold ducats on preparing the text of his Complutensian Polyglot (1514-1517) for printing. The editors provided *Targum Onqelos* in Aramaic and a facing Latin translation. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible contained targums to nearly every book of the Hebrew Bible, with facing Latin translation by Benito Arias Montano, the editor-in-chief, himself. Volume VIII also included Franz Raphelengius's collation of variant readings in the Targums.

³ It was very difficult for any sixteenth-century Christian scholar to study Talmud without a Jewish guide. For want of which, Wolfgang Capito gave his Talmud to Conrad Pellican in Zurich in 1526. Pellican was helped from 1538-1540 by a Jewish convert Michael Adam and between them they produced a Latin version of seventeen tractates from both Talmuds, but this remained in manuscript. Pellican's motives were explicitly apologetic. (CHRISTOPH ZURICHER, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zurich, 1526-1556* (Züricher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte 4 (Theologischer Verlag, Zürich 1975) p. 169-74, 190-91.) Those few Christians who were not Jewish converts involved in the censorship of the Talmud similarly had to learn from those with a Jewish formation. Immanuel Tremellius (a convert) was involved in the censorship of the Basel Talmud between 1578 and 1580. His former student from the University of Heidelberg, Pierre Chevalier was also involved. A third censor Marius Marinus, the papal inquisitor of Venice. Marinus had first learned Hebrew from Pablo Veneto, a Jewish convert and a fellow Augustinian in the Congregation of S. Salvator of Brescia. Later Marinus was further instructed by Samuel Archevolti in Venice at the same time that young Leon Modena studied with him. See FAUSTO PARENTE, "The Index, The Holy Office, The Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII's Index" in GIGLIOLA FRAGNITO, *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 171-72. Johannes Coccejus and Constantijn L'Empereur in the early Seventeenth Century began to use of the Talmud as a source for understanding the Bible; P. T. VAN ROODEN, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinic Studies* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1989) p. 119-30, 179-82.

⁴ Postel described the language of the Zohar which he believed to have been compiled by Simon ben Iochai as: *Chaldaica sive vulgaris syriaca*, F. SECRET, *Le Zohar chez les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Librairie Durlacher, Paris 1958) p. 57. I observe Postel's promiscuous use of *lingua Chaldaica* to cover Targumic, Talmudic and Zoharic Aramaic as

different dialects of Aramaic separated by time and space. But initially it was the observation of obvious similarity which *faute de mieux* guided understanding of what we now call Syriac. Scholars needed the similarity for explanation and understanding: they were possessed of insufficient data clearly to mark the necessary distinctions between the dialects. The tenth-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary of Abu'l Hassan ibn al-Bahul distinguished sixteen Syriac dialects: by the end of our period Western scholars managed three or possibly four⁵.

The initial context of the study of Syriac lay thus in Christian Aramaic studies, which began in the late Fifteenth Century in Italy and Spain and developed thereafter North of the Alps⁶.

well as Syriac in ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2007) p. 104-105. For a modern characterization of Zoharic Aramaic: ADA RAPOPORT-ALBERT and THEODORE KWASMAN "Late Aramaic: The Literary and Linguistic Context of the Zohar", *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006), p. 5-19; YEHUDA LIEBES, "Hebrew and Aramaic as Languages of the Zohar", *ibid.*, p. 35-52; CHARLES MOPSIK, "Late Judeo-Aramaic: The Language of Theosophic Kabbalah", *ibid.*, p. 21-33. Postel's Aramaic has now received detailed investigation in the work of JUDITH WEISS, see initially her "The Quality of Guillaume Postel's First Zohar Translation" *Academia* XV (2013) p. 63-82.

⁵ P. J. R. DUVAL, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Bar-Bahlule Voces syriacas graecasque cum glossis syriacis et arabicis complectens... E pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit...* (Bovillon et Vieweg, Paris 1888-1901, 3 v. Reprint 1970. 3 vols in 2). Also F. LARSOW, "De Dialectorum Linguae Syriacae Reliquiis", in *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung der Zölinge des Berlinischen Gymnasiums* (Berlin 1841) p. 1-28.

⁶ An excellent summary used here is STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century", in (eds.) R. L. TROXEL, K. G. FRIEBEL, D. R. MAGARY, *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2005) p. 421-436. On the relative numbers of works printed on Hebrew and Aramaic, he writes: "A comparison of printing statistics for Hebrew and Aramaic philological books written for Christians suggests different markets for each kind of book. Over the course of the century [16th], 852 philological books on Hebrew related topics were printed for Christians, while only 61 were printed that contained substantial information on Aramaic. Of the books that were produced, only three of the authors, Elias Levita, Sanctes Pagninus, and Jean Mercier had their works reprinted, which implies a lack of demand for the titles". Burnett also observes that though Aramaic works were initially mainly sponsored and produced in Catholic Europe, they enjoyed an avid readership amongst Protestant scholars particularly in Germany. In the Seventeenth Century Protestant scholars took the lead in Aramaic scholarship. The article contains valuable quantitative measurement, but does not deal with Syriac. JUDITH OLSZOWY-SCHANGER "The Study of the Aramaic Targums by Christians in Medieval France and England" in (eds.) A. HOUTMAN, E. VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN, H-M. KIM, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (E.J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 223-247 deals with such evidence there is for the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries. The same collection includes a useful article by Burnett "The Targum in Christian Scholarship to 1800" p. 250-265.

It was a study initially determined to a great extent by patronage and the availability of Jewish assistance, but which over a century came to establish at least a rudimentary apparatus and rationale for Christian study of the Targums⁷. But though the knowledge of Aramaic amongst Christians was clearly less than that of Hebrew, initially the knowledge of Hebrew itself did not extend to any great extent to post-biblical texts. However it is initially to Christian Aramaism as a context for the developing appreciation of ‘Syriac’ that we now turn.

1. Christian Aramaism

Sebastian Münster and the Lingua Chaldaica

The Christian Hebraists’ grasp of earlier Aramaic had as its strong foundation the erudition of the German-born Jewish scholar and grammarian Elias Levita (1468-1549) who enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo in Rome. Elias worked with Egidio’s encouragement on the Hebrew Massorah and part of his work was presented in his *Meturgeman*. This is a remarkable dictionary of biblical and targumic Aramaic intended specifically for Christian readers which because of its arrangement can be used as a Hebrew-Aramaic or an Aramaic-Hebrew Lexicon⁸. It has over 500 citations from *Yerushalmi* and made use of *Neofiti I*. It surpassed in scope and design its rival, the ‘*Aruk*’ of R. Nathan of Rome, which it had plundered, adding numerous Greek and Latin loan words from the Targum: it dealt with more than 3,300 ‘roots’. Paul Fagius, Elias’ former student, provided a shorter printed version in his [*Meturgeman*] *Lexicon Chaldaicum auctore Elia Levita* (Paul Fagius, Isny 1541).

Earlier, in 1527, Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), the Protestant Professor of Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg, had expressed his indebtedness to Elias Levita in matters of Hebrew in the preface of his 1527 *Chaldaica Grammatica* (Froben, Basel 1527)⁹. He then turned to speak of *lingua Chaldaica* or *Syriaca*. His title-page suggests his modest aspirations

⁷ Patronage was important: Pagninus enjoyed papal support as did Cardinal Jimenez and Agostino Giustiniani who both dedicated their works to Pope Leo X. David de Pomis dedicated his *Zemach David* to Pope Sixtus V.

⁸ DEENA ARANOFF, “Elijah Levita: A Jewish Hebraist”, *Jewish History* 23 (2009) p. 17-40 comments on the stimulus to Levita’s work of a Christian as well as a Jewish readership.

⁹ [*Diqduq dā Lishon ‘Aramī ‘ō HaCCasd’ah*] *Chaldaica Grammatica* (Froben, Basel 1527). Münster learned Hebrew from Conrad Pellican his superior in the Franciscan order and a Jewish convert Matthaëus Adrianus. Most of his Aramaic education, however, rather like the study of Hebrew in the early part of the century, involved personal study, with occasional help from learned Jews.

in study: *non tam ad Chaldaicos interpretes quam hebraeorum commentarios intelligendos, hebraicae linguae studiosis utilissima*. That is to say: to help with Medieval Hebrew Commentators rather than to attempt the Targums. (Though at the end of his book he does offer for translation from the Targums some simple passages close to the Hebrew and supplies a crib.) In a later section of his book, mentioning again the Hebrew Commentators, he refers to their language as both *Chaldaica* and *Syriaca*. He had made his study of the language without suitable tutor or previous grammars to hand and had himself to reduce *farraginem illam in ordine*¹⁰. He sought to make sense, *cogitans pulcherimum esse, si & lingua haec latinis auribus per certas regulas tradi posset*. He describes his grammatical categories as: *proprietas, modos, tempora, personas, genera, numerum* and elsewhere as: *verborum ordines, conjugationes, personae, tempora, itemque pronomina quae vel nominibus vel verbis adhaerent*. The imposition of grammatical categories upon a language – although those suitable for Latin may not necessarily be most apposite for a very different language – is, of course, a fundamental way of conceiving of or of creating a language's identity.

In his Grammar Münster conceived of the *lingua Chaldaica* or *Syriac* (he also calls it *Assyrian*) as the language closest to the original Hebrew. He is aware of the affinities of Hebrew and Aramaic (indeed he makes his way following this Ariadne's thread) but also draws attention to obvious differences. He is able to trace the language from the Tower of Babel through the dispersion of Noah's sons—in a common Renaissance fashion he identified Noah with Janus—to the language of Rabshakeh before the walls of Jerusalem. It was the Babylonian vulgate in which Daniel had spoken and which was subsequently used to explain Hebrew Scripture. The words often called 'Hebrew' in the Greek New Testament (*hebraisti*) he considers properly *lingua Chaldaica*¹¹. He has met a Jew who refers to

¹⁰ Johannes Buxtorf the Younger wrote a letter, much later around 1635, with advice on beginning the study of post-biblical Aramaic: one must first attain a good knowledge of Aramaic dialects, consult a variety of study aids and purchase Latin translations of the texts—a crib being an invaluable help. See PETER T. VAN ROODEN, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648)*, *Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1989) p. 119.

¹¹ This will be a repeated topic of discussion. For a modern assessment, PIERRE GRELOT, *L'Origine des Evangiles Controverse avec J. Carmignac* (Cerf, Paris 1986) p. 16. Note that *hebraisti* is used in Revelation 9.11, 16.19 for the transcription of two undoubtedly Hebrew words *Abaddôn* and *Har Magedôn* (in spite of its ending!). It may be used here as merely the opposite of *hellênisti* ('Semitic' or the Judeans' language cf. Acts 6) without further intent to specify the language. Note now RANDALL BUTH and CHAD PEARCE "Hebraisti in Ancient Texts: Does *Hebraisti* Ever Mean

the whole of this linguistic history somewhat abusively as ‘*Targum*’. The role of this long perspective upon Aramaic history (which is, of course, utterly valid and arises rather obviously from the Hebrew Bible) was not innocent in suppressing the individuality of Syriac – especially when (as we shall see) it turned into an occult Aramaean tradition and the homogeneity of that tradition in both language and arcana was assumed.

The recurring problem of the name of what we now call Syriac is reflected in the body of the Grammar which begins with a refutation of Johannes Potken of the Cologne Chapter who in 1513 produced from the Monastery San Stefano Maggiore in the Vatican the first printed book in Ethiopic (indeed in any Oriental language): *Alphabetum seu potius Syllabarium litterarum chaldaeorum, Psalterium chaldaeum, cantica Mosis, Hannae etc.* Münster wished to call this language *lingua Indiana* (*i. e.* that of the Abyssinians who live under Prester John) and is at pains to distinguish its script from what he considered the true script of the *lingua Chaldaica*, though Ethiopic remained ‘Chaldean’ amongst scholars associated with the monastery until Job Leuthof (Ludolf) brought out his *Grammatica Aethiopica* in Frankfurt in 1702¹².

Münster’s Grammar itself assumes some familiarity with Hebrew and proceeds by marking the difference between the *lingua Chaldaica* and Hebrew. Letters are divided into servile or radical letters and the first group is treated by describing the various functions of prefixed and suffixed letters and syllables. Regular differences between consonants in Hebrew and *lingua Chaldaica* are tabulated (*Zade in ain; Zain in aleth etc.*). He then deals with the six *orationis partes*: nouns (numerals, gentiles, gender and patterns of noun formation); pronouns, attached and separate; verbs; adverbs; prepositions and conjunctions. The last three categories are essentially lists. Latin influ-

‘Aramaic’ ?” in (eds.) RANDALL BUTH and R. STEVEN NOTLEY, *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 66-109.

¹² Thus Achilles Venerius, Canon of S. Nicola in Carcere in Rome and in 1622 Supervisor of the Finance Section of the Congregation of Faith, brought out in 1630 his *Chaldaeae sive Aethiopicae linguae Institutiones Opus utile et eruditum*. (Typis Sac. Congregatis de Fide, Rome). It is an Ethiopic Grammar. For the names of Hebrew and Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible: the term ^aramî (cf ^aramî Daniel 2.4) marks the transition to Aramaic from Hebrew in the Book of Daniel, but this is omitted in the fragment from Qumran Cave I. In Greek the word is *suristi* but this is never employed other than to distinguish this Aramaic or Syrian from Judaeian *i. e.* Hebrew. (See 2 Reigns 18.26,28 = Isaiah 36.11,13; also 2 Chronicles 32.18 (*cf.* Nehemiah 13.24 where Judaeian is distinguished from the language of Ashdod); or from ‘Chaldaeian’ *i. e.* Akkadian Cuneiform (Daniel 1.4 cf 2.4 where the ‘Chaldaeans’ speak in ‘Aramaic’). In Ezra 4.7 ^aramî introduces in a Hebrew narrative a document sent by the Syrian authorities (Greek *suristi*).

ence is apparent in the *partes orationis* and particularly in declension of nouns through their cases (using prefixed prepositions and the construct). One of the fourth-century Roman grammarian Donatus' six accidents of nouns was case and the particle *yath* is described as *articulum obliquorum casuum*. The influence of Hebrew grammatical terms (and the Latin neuter?) however is apparent in the treatment of the verbs: *Nam habent Chaldaei in suis verbis non secus quam Hebraei masculinum, foemininum & commune genus; singularem & pluralem numerum: Praeteritum Benoni, Paul, (Present Participle and Past Participle Passive) Zivvi, Makor (Infinitive) & futurum: Praeteritum, praesens & futurum tempus: primam secundam & tertiam personam...*¹³. He then treats of the *kal*, *piel* and *hiphil* (and calls them such by the Hebrew terms) in participles, imperatives, infinitives and their future tense followed by the patterns of verbs with weak radicals. He speaks of active and passive. It hardly needs to be observed that in all this there is no trace of what we call Syriac.

Münster also produced an Aramaic dictionary, which he had printed in 1527, the same year as his Grammar. He based his work on both a manuscript copy of the *Sefer Aruk ha-Qizzur*, which he found in the Dominican monastery library in Regensburg, and upon Pagninus's *Enchiridion*. His old teacher, Pellican, also gave him his notes on talmudic vocabulary to include in the dictionary¹⁴.

¹³ For Hebrew terms for the tenses and their treatment in sixteenth-century Hebrew grammars, SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 142-151. L KUKENHEIM, *Contributions à l'Histoire de la Grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1951); *idem*, "Contribution à la Grammaire hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance", *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953) p. 124-153; 22 (1954) p. 190-206.

¹⁴ SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER, *Dictionarium Chaldaicum non tam ad Chaldaeos Interpretes quam Rabbinorum intellegenda Commentoria necessarium: Per Sebastianum Munsterum ex baal Aruch & Chald. biblijs atque hebraeorum peruschim congestum* (Froben, Basel 1527) comprising 434 pages. He also produced a *Shiush Leshonoth Dicytionarum trilingue in quo scilicet latinis vocabulis in ordinem alphabeticum digestis, respondent Graeca & Hebraica: Hebraicis adiecta sunt magistralia & Chaldaica: Sebastiani Munsteri opera & labore congestum ...* (Henricus Petrus Basel in 1530 and again in 1562) but this contributed little to the study of Aramaic. Of earlier dictionaries dealing with Biblical Aramaic and then post-biblical Hebrew, Alfonso de Zamora's *Vocabularium Hebraicum atque Chaldaicum Veteris Testamenti cum alijs tractatibus prout infra in praefatione continentur in Academia Complutensi noviter impressum* (Arnao Guillien de Brocar, Alcalá de Henares) appeared in Volume VI of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1514-17) containing both the words of the Hebrew Bible and those of the biblical Aramaic texts. In 1523 there appeared Pagninus, *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch, Thargum, Midrascim, Berescith, Sce-moth, Vaicra. Midbar Rabba et multorum alium librorum etc.* (Strozi, Rome

Reuchlin and Hebrew Grammar

The pervasive imposition of Latin grammatical categories upon Semitic languages at the time – in the event Hebrew not Aramaic—may be illustrated by the case of Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis hebraicis* which is based entirely upon Latin paradigms¹⁵. Having observed that when it comes to declension, Hebrew noun endings distinguish only singular and plural, Reuchlin finds only two declensions of nouns: one masculine with a plural in *-im* and another feminine changing *-ah* or construct *-at* into plural *-oth*. But straight away he proceeds to decline nouns through the cases making use of the article, the object marker *'eth*, the construct for a genitive and the preposition *l-* for the dative and *m-* for the ablative. Thus he creates a declension entirely based on Latin.

Whatever immediate pedagogic utility in this imposition of a familiar grammar on an unfamiliar language, it hardly describes the texts. In considering a verse (2.19) in the second chapter of

1523). Pagninus, a Dominican, learned Hebrew in Florence from Clemente Abraham, a Spanish-Jewish convert, SANTIAGO GARCIA-JALON DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI. Guía de lectura de las obras impresas* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p115. He served as a professor of Hebrew in Rome while Leo X was pope, enjoying his patronage and the patronage of three of his successors. Pagninus based his dictionary, not on *Sefer 'Aruk* directly, but on a Jewish summary, the *Sefer 'Aruk ha-Qizzur*. Samuel Krauss provided an extensive evaluation of one manuscript of the *'Aruk ha-Qizzur*, which had been owned by Italian Jewish grammarian Abraham de Balmes (1440-1523) in "Aruch ms. Breslau," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 73 (1929) p. 385-402, 451-65. Subsequent Aramaic dictionaries, including Sebastian Münster's *Dictionarium Chaldaicum*, were by contrast generally based on Nathan ben Yehiel's *Sefer 'Aruk* (c.1100) written for advanced Jewish talmudic students and covering the Targums and Midrashim. The focus was on difficult words, especially loan-words, at the expense of common words. The *Sefer 'Aruk* was not organised on the pattern of triliteral roots but was presented in alphabetical order. It was not (for this reason) easy to use and the study of post-biblical Hebrew was much facilitated in this matter by the arrangement of Johannes Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Ludwig König, Basel 1639) which drew upon his father's previous work. Pagninus's work was reprinted twice in expanded form, once in the sixth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot (1568-72), edited by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, and as the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae sive Lexicon hebraicum* with annotations by Jean Mercier, Cornelius Bertram and Pierre Chevalier, printed in Lyons in 1575 by Barthélemy Vincent and reprinted by him there in 1577.

¹⁵ MARGUERITE SOULIÉ, "L'apprentissage de l'hébreu d'après les paradigmes latins", *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance* 15 (1982) p. 109-116. For learning Greek: PAUL BOTLEY, *Learning Greek in Western Europe 1396-1529: Grammars, Lexica and Classroom Texts, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society New Series* 100 (2010) p. iii-xiii, 1-270 and FEDERICA CICOLELLA, *Donati Graeci Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008).

Ruth ‘and she spoke the name of the man’ ‘*wa tomèr shem ha-ish / et dixit nomen viri*’ Reuchlin concludes that ‘the man’ is genitive because it is preceded by the article *ha-*. In collecting further examples, however, Reuchlin comes unsurprisingly across some supposed genitives without the article and some supposed accusatives without the object marker *-eth*. He concludes that it is necessary to remember that one cannot always recognise case from the article as it is clearly often missing: one must make use of the sense of the passage. Clearly the imposition of Latin grammatical theory did not really work!

Reuchlin imposed Latin, the language of education and science for all Europe, as a template upon a somewhat recalcitrant Semitic language. It was perhaps pedagogically justified as the pupil would be familiar with Latin grammar, and the scheme is clear and memorable. It nonetheless was a distortion and quite unsuccessful at describing the Hebrew usage. Reuchlin glosses *dibheré adonāi* with *verba domini*. He describes morphological changes within a construct chain but he does not appear to notice it is *dibheré* which changes its ending in Hebrew, whereas it is *domini* in Latin! The structures of the expressions are totally different. Reuchlin’s terminology has, however, survived and one still speaks of a *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* in construct chains today.

We may contrast Münster’s Hebrew work positively with that of Reuchlin, thanks to the influence of Levita, behind whom in turn, of course, stands the Jewish grammatical tradition. Münster’s *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam* ... (Froben Basel 1524) was written before his subsequent grammars and based mainly on Levita’s work. In the *Praefatio* he acknowledges his grammatical debts to Donatus and Diomedes, David and Moses Kimhi and amongst the *recentiores* Reuchlin, his teacher Pellicanus and a work by Caspar Amman¹⁶. In the Preface to his *Grammatica Hebraica Absolutissima* of the following year, 1525, Münster, however, confesses frankly that he had little notion of Hebrew grammar before he read Elias. Elias’ contribution makes Münster’s Grammar enormously different from Reuchlin’s: the letters are clearly distinguished including *sin* and *shin*; *dagesh* marking doubled letters is better explained; the themes of the verb are studied according to their meanings which represent aspect rather than as the active, middle and passive voice of Latin or Greek. The *Compendium Hebraicae Grammaticae* (again of 1525) is Münster’s translation of Levita’s work which explains

¹⁶ Münster refers here to a work of Caspar Amman (Ammonius 1450-1524), Augustinian Prior of the Abbey of Lauingen, which has either been lost or was not in fact published. See: SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 36-37.

how to distinguish between radical letters – those which occur only as part of a root and never have a grammatical function— and servile letters (those which may occur as part of a root or which may have a grammatical function). Thus presented with a word, the accidental letters must be removed to find the root and theme (*radix et thema*), the traditional starting point of the paradigm. In the Hebrew tradition, after Arabic influence, descriptions of morphology are based on the letters, working through the alphabet and examining the function of each letter in turn as an inflectional ending, derivational affix, a monosyllabic preposition, a pronoun or an article¹⁷. So Levita in his Grammar explains *mem* at the start of a word form a verbal noun *e.g.* *merhab* ‘breadth’. Secondly it forms the participle in all conjugations except the first, (*e.g.* in the second [conjugation] *mə-dabber* ‘speaking’, *mə-shubbar* ‘broken’). Thirdly it has the same force as *min* ‘from’. The Hebrews also use it to paraphrase the comparative. In final position it means ‘their’ or ‘them’.

We may return finally to Munster’s Aramaic work with his second lexicon the *shiush leshonoth Dictionarum trilingue in quo scilicet Latinis vocabulis in ordinem alphabeticum digestis, respondent Graeca & Hebraica: Hebraicis adiecta sunt magistralia & Chaldaica: Sebastiani Munsteri opera & labore congestum* ... (Henricus Petrus, Basel 1530 and again in 1562)¹⁸. In the later edition there are three columns of respectively Latin, Greek and Hebrew words with *quaelibet dictio Chaldaica* starred in third Hebrew column. An awareness of systematic differences between Hebrew and Aramaic (*Habent autem & ipsi peculiare loquendi modos*) is shown: the first page of the *Praefatio* observes difference between first and second conjugations *qatal* for *qatal*; *pa'al* for *pi'el*; and in *hiphil* instead of initial *he* they have an *aleph* (*aphel*). Similarly he notes that Chaldaean nouns without suffixes end in *aleph*.

¹⁷ WILLIAM CHOMSKY, “How the Study of Hebrew Grammar Began and Developed”, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 35 (1945) p. 281-301. One of the most notable contributions to Hebrew grammar was the triliteral theory of Yahuda Hayyuj (c.1000) which shed light on the nature and structure of the language, particularly in respect of to the assimilated and weak verbs. Moses Kimhi is responsible for the final and standard arrangement: *Kal*, *Niph'al*, *Pi'el*, *Pu'al*, *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, *Po'el*, *Hitpa'el*. His paradigm verb *pqd* was also accepted by many subsequent grammarians, though Profiat Duran criticised the choice as it is semantically very different in the different themes.

¹⁸ This is not his 1527 *Dictionarium Chaldaicum non tam ad Chaldaeos Interpretes quam Rabbiorum intellegenda Commentoria necessarium: Per Sebastianum Munsterum ex baal Aruch & Chald. Biblijs atque hebraeorum peruschim congestum* (Basel: Froben) mentioned above.

Münster in the Context of Latin Grammar

We may ask to what extent the presentation of Aramaic here is determined by the European grammatical tradition in which it is so obviously cast. The tradition was built upon the transmission of the work of Aelius Donatus from the Fourth Century¹⁹. His *Ars Minor* distinguished eight *orationis partes*: *nomen*, *pronomem*, *uerbum*, *aduerbium*, *participium*, *coniunctio*, *praepositio* and *interiectio*²⁰. To these the *Ars Maior* prefaces remarks on letters, syllables, metre, accents, and *distinctiones* (*i. e.* punctuation). Finally it adds a section on what we would perhaps call (admittedly rather generally) ‘figures of speech’ – *barbarismus*, *soloecismus*, *tautologia*, *eclipsis... etc.*. To the work of Donatus was added that of Priscian of Caesarea in North Africa. We know his *Institutiones Grammaticae*—a title we shall find much copied amongst sixteenth-century Semitists for their grammars which in itself indicates clearly in what light they conceived their own work – was copied by Flavius Theodorus in 526-527. It comprised eighteen books. The first sixteen on sound, word-formation and inflections (often called *Priscian Major*) and the last two longer sections on syntax. He also wrote a *De nomine, pronomine, et verbo*, an abridgment of

¹⁹ For the tradition of Donatus in Greek: FEDERICA CICCOLELLA, *Donati Graeci Learning Greek in the Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008).

²⁰ One may indicate how the work proceeds by question and answer and illustrate the eight *orationis partes* as follows: Of Nouns: *nomini quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* qualitas comparatio genus numerus figura casus. [Obvious cases and their gender and number as Latin] Of Pronouns: *pronomem quid est?* pars orationis, quae pro nomine posita tantundem paene significat personamque interdum recipit. *pronomini quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* qualitas genus numerus figura persona casus. Of Verbs: *uerbum quid est?* pars orationis cum tempore et persona sine casu aut agere aliquid aut pati aut neutrum significans. *uerbo quot accidunt?* septem. *quae?* qualitas coniugatio genus numerus figura tempus persona. *qualitas uerborum in quo est?* in modis et in formis. Of Adjectives: *aduerbium quid est?* pars orationis, quae adiecta uerbo significationem eius explanat atque implet. Of Adverbs: *aduerbio quot accidunt?* tria. *quae?* significatio comparatio figura. Of Participles: *participium quid est?* pars orationis partem capiens nominis, partem uerbi; nominis genera et casus, uerbi tempora et significationes, utriusque numerum et figuram. *participio quot accidunt?* sex. *quae?* genus casus tempus significatio numerus figura. Of Conjunctions: *coniunctio quid est?* pars orationis adnectens ordinansque sententiam. *coniunctioni quot accidunt?* tria. *quae?* potestas figura ordo. Of Prepositions: *praepositio quid est?* pars orationis quae praeposita aliis partibus orationis significationem earum aut complet aut mutat aut minuit. *praepositioni quot accidunt?* unum. *quid?* casus tantum. *quot?* duo. *qui?* accusatiuus et ablatiuus. Of Interjections: *interiectio quid est?* pars orationis significans mentis affectum uoce incondita. *interiectioni quid accidit?* tantum significatio. *significatio interiectionis in quo est?* quia aut laetitiam significamus, ut *euax*, aut dolorem, ut *heu*, aut admirationem, ut *papae*, aut metum, ut *attat*, et siqua sunt similia. See ROLAND HALL and C. LEJEWSKI, “Symposium: Parts of Speech”, *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volumes* 39 (1965) p. 173-204.

part of his *Institutiones* for teaching grammar in schools. This last detail indicates the common use of such grammars in the Middle Ages for teaching Latin and indeed all literacy. We shall note the importance of the pedagogic role of grammars in the Sixteenth Century below.

We may however also note in passing that Priscian also provided material for the elaboration of Speculative Grammar on the part of the Modalists of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century²¹. The *Modistae* developed a tripartite theory of linguistic meaning comprising modes of being (*modos essendi*), modes of understanding (*modos intellegendi*) and modes of signifying (*modos significandi*). The various parts of speech were considered to reflect reality in terms of the modes: the modes of being are objectively existing qualities in an object of understanding, the modes of understanding are the mind's means of representing the *modos essendi* and the modes of signification are grammar's way of representing the *modos intellegendi* in language. This corresponds to Aristotle's schema of words which represent concepts which in turn represent objects. But although one might wish to assimilate Grammar to the requirements of this Aristotelean science – it is difficult to achieve with all the specific singularities of a natural language²². For the *Modistae* the grammatical forms, the *modos significandi* of verbs, nouns and adjectives represented the deep ontological structure of language. Nevertheless in this way we may see them as anticipating some of the notions of Universal Grammar (which suggest universal rules may be extracted from living languages) which we meet in the Sixteenth Century.

Grammarians in the Renaissance, as we have already mentioned, were particularly focused upon educational matters and memorization, but also with the production of acceptably classical Latin²³. Fifteenth-century Latin grammars retained the emphasis of Donatus on the *partes orationis*, but in the Sixteenth Century, with the legacy of both Priscian and the mediæval grammarians, emphasis falls upon 'syntax' or construc-

²¹ For Speculative Grammar: PIETER A. VERBURG, *Language and its Functions* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1995) p. 48-55. Also: E. J. ASHWORTH, *The Tradition of Medieval Logic and Speculative Grammar* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1978); JEFFREY BARDZELL, *Speculative Grammar and Stoic language Theory in Medieval Allegorical Narrative From Prudentius to Adam de Lille* (Routledge, New York 2009).

²² CATHERINE ATHERTON, "What Every Grammarian Knows", *Classical Quarterly* 46 (1996) p. 239-260 points out the apparent lack of interest on the part of the Classical Grammarians in the language as spoken by a native compared with the language grasped as an abstracted logical system.

²³ W. KEITH PERCIVAL "Grammar, Humanism and Renaissance Italy", *Mediterranean Studies* 16 (2007) p. 94-119.

tion. Some grammarians (Linacre, who was clearly not writing grammars for initial learners, is an example) then focus on what is the relationship between the *partes orationis* and the construction of *oratio*?²⁴ But though the humanist grammars, such as those of Niccolò Perotti²⁵, Antonio de Nebrija²⁶, Ioannes Despauterius²⁷, and Peter Ramus eventually monopolized grammatical instruction, their success and concentration on descriptive analysis of Classical Latin meant a loss, namely, of the philosophical approach pioneered by medieval speculative grammars. The impulse for correct Latin and pedagogy focused on nouns placed an emphasis on inflected endings with these detailed and often tabulated for easier memorisation or on rules in rhyme - and all in obvious respects specific to Latin. Precision here was incompatible with universalising aspirations of speculative grammarians.

The difficulties with accommodating syntax on top of varying accounts of the *partes orationis* need not, however, concern us too much. This is not an area early or much developed by the teachers of Aramaic. Munster discussed the *partes orationis* in Aramaic – but when it came to syntax he was merely concerned to tell the reader to treat it just like Hebrew.

One further meta-grammatical issue that did exercise Renaissance humanists (as we have already seen) was that of the first human language. Hebrew was, of course, the leading candidate, and it had in its favour the authority of St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* and Dante in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, both of whom argued that only the Jews have retained the pre-Babel language. But Aramaic was at times considered a possible contender and the notion of primacy (whatever the original language) naturally entailed implications for tracing descent and other affinities.

²⁴ BERNARD COLOMBAT, “Les ‘parties du discours’ (*partes orationis*) et la reconstruction d’une syntaxe latine au XVIe siècle”, *Langages* 92 (1988) p. 51-64. See for an example of engagement with syntax, KRISTIAN JENSEN “*De emendata structura Latini sermonis*: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1986) p. 106-125.

²⁵ NICCOLÒ PEROTTI, *Rudimenta Grammatica* (ed. W. K. Percival) (Centre for Digital Scholarship, University of Kansas Library 2010).

²⁶ KATHERINE ELLIOT VAN LIERE, “After Nebrija: Academic Reformers and the Teaching of Latin in sixteenth-century Salamanca”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 p. 1065-1105.

²⁷ A convenient overview of Despauterius’ works and their distribution may be obtained by consulting (eds.) ANDREW PETTEGREE and MALCOLM VALSBY, *French Books Published in France before 1601 in Latin and Languages other than French* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2011) p. 550-562. For the eight parts of speech, *Johannis Despauterii, Niniviteae, Commentarii Grammatici* (Robertus Stephanus, Paris 1537) p. 4.

Aurogallus

Münster distinguished Aramaic from Hebrew effectively by listing differences which if converted in reading would turn Aramaic into Hebrew. If we turn to Wittenberg, which was to become the centre for a very distinctive Lutheran Hebraism we shall find the same approach²⁸. Matthäus Aurogallus (Goldhahn) (1490-1543) was Professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg after the Jewish convert Matthaüs Adriani (1475-1521) and a colleague of both Philippe Melanchthon and Martin Luther. He assisted Luther in the revision of the reformer's translation of the Old Testament and was University Rector in 1542. His *Grammatica Hebraeae Chaldaeaeque Linguae a Matthaëo Aurogallo in lucem aedita, pluribusque in locis ab autore emendata et aucta* appeared from J. Klug in Wittenberg 1523 and with Münster's printer Henricus Petrus in Basel in 1539²⁹. One needs to know *Chaldaeus sermo* for Daniel and Ezra which use this 'dialect' '*hac usus est dialecto*'. Similarly for Onkelos, Jonathan and Joseph which are useful for understanding some more obscure passages of Scripture, these being translated into *hoc sermonis genus*³⁰. Aurogallus writes *de Chaldaeae et Hebraeae e lingua discrimine*³¹: Chaldaean uses the same script as Hebrew, though with frequent exchange of letters (*aleph* is often changed to *waw* or *jod*, *nun* is used for a terminal *mem* etc.)³². He pays attention to the final syllables of plurals and generally characterizes the difference between the two as differences in letters and syllables tied to function. He

²⁸ G. MILETTO and G. VELTRI, "Die Hebraistik in Wittenberg (1502-1813): von der 'lingua sacra' zur Semitistik", *Henoch* 25 (2003) p. 93-111; JEROME FRIEDMAN, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Ohio University Press, Athens 1983) p. 165-176, and, earlier, ID., "Luther, Forster and the Curious Nature of Wittenberg Hebraica", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980) p. 611-619. Also S.G. BURNETT, "Reassessing the Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discourse of Hebrew Scholarship", in A. P. COUDERT and J. S. SHOULSON (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas, Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2004) p.181ff.

²⁹ There is no Aramaic material in his *Compendium Hebraeae Grammaticae* (J. Klug, Wittenberg 1523).

³⁰ Some indication of the sorts of arguments made in favour and against the Christian uses of Targums may be found in EVELINE VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN & JOANNA TANYA "Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles" in (eds.) A. HOUTMAN, E. EVELINE VAN STAALDUINE-SULMAN, H-M.KIM, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p. 208-222.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 142.

³² *Ibid*, p. 145.

supplies a list of abbreviations used by Jewish commentators. This is not an independent account of Aramaic. Rather – just as with Münster—it is a list of things to do when reading it to turn it back into Hebrew.

What is more striking however is Aurogallus's awareness that the traditional Hebrew Grammarians distinguished essentially three parts of speech rather than the eight of Donatus. He discusses the *partes orationis* as follows: *orationis numerantur tres tantum partes, nomen, verbum & consignificatio. Sub nomine pronomen, sub verbo, participium, sub consignatione, praepositionem, coniunctionem, adverbium interiectionemque, Iudaeorum grammatici comprehendere*³³. He speaks also *de accentibus, de tonorum locis, de copula de nomine*, (but in the end deals with the headings of the usual eight parts!). This rather different structural analysis of the parts of speech into three categories (noun, verb and particle: *onoma, rema, sundesmos*) is however increasingly found amongst the Christian scholars. Anja-Silvia Goeing, in an essay focused on Zürich³⁴, traces its appearance in Jacob Ceporinus (1499-1525) Reuchlin's pupil and the first Reader of Greek and Hebrew at Zwingli's school in Zürich; Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541)³⁵; Münster (in 1531 but not 1523); Johannes Böschenstein (1472-1540) *et al.*³⁶ It is most probable that this form of distinction goes back to Moses Kimhi (whose Grammar Münster, of course, translated in 1531 under the guidance of Elias Levita). There we read: *haec enim tripararia sunt; nomen dictio verbum; Isti sunt filii linguae: nomen. Verbum et dictio*³⁷. This distinction itself has a long history within the Eastern grammatical tradition. Saadia classifies language into three classes (nouns, verbs and particles); Dunash, Ibn Ezra and Kimhi do likewise³⁸. We find the pattern in the opening chapter of Siba-

³³ p. 17 of the 1539 edition.

³⁴ ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, "Establishing Modes of Learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the 16th century", in E. CAMPI (ed.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Droz, Geneva 2008) p. 157-182.

³⁵ *Institutionum Hebraicarum libri duo* (Joannes Frobenius, Basel 1518; V. Cephalaeus, Strasburg 1525). Beginning of Book I: *Cunctas orationis partes Verbo, nomine & consignificativo complectuntur. Verbo participia, Nomini appellationes, & consignificativo articulum, pronomen, reliquasque partes orationis subijciunt.*

³⁶ Böschenstein was another pupil of Reuchlin. He was professor at Wittenberg and Zwingli's Hebrew teacher in Zürich.

³⁷ Münster 1531: 3r, 11r

³⁸ IRENE E. ZWIEP, "The Hebrew Linguistic Tradition of the Middle Ages", *Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage* 18 (1996) p. 41-61; W. BACKER, *Die Anfänge der Hebräischen Grammatik* (Brockhaus, Leipzig 1995). Also N. I. VIDRO, I. E. ZWIEP, J. OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER (eds.), *A Universal Art.*

Waihi's *Kitab*; the Syriac scholar Bar Hebraeus has nouns, verbs and particles.

Kukenheim suggested the Alexandrian grammarian Dionysius Thrax as the probable source of the noun-verb-particle scheme³⁹. J. B. Fischer, however, felt that Dionysius's *Techne Grammatike* with its paradigms and system of verbal forms was completely foreign to the spirit of a Semitic language, and could in no way appeal to an Arabic or Hebrew grammarian⁴⁰. Furthermore there is no indication whatsoever of the use and study of the *Techne Grammatike* by Hebrew and Arab scholars. Fischer by contrast drew attention to the role played by a continuous Syro-Arabic transmission of Aristotle's *Poetics* which had been little appreciated⁴¹. The Aristotlian categories were free of detailed terminology of cases and gender and without persons, number, voices and moods inapplicable to Semitic languages. The *Poetics* contains not parts of speech, but subjects of significance in the discussion of speech and grammar⁴².

It should however be remarked that Dionysius Thrax certainly was most influential upon Syriac grammarians in the period of biculturalism and bilingualism which characterised

Hebrew Grammar across Disciplines and Faiths (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) for pre-Renaissance Hebrew grammatical studies.

³⁹ L. KUKENHEIM, *Contribution à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1951) p. 91-92. He states bluntly: "il est même probable que la grammaire de l'hébreu derive indirectement de Denys le Thrace, dont on connaît des interprétations et des adaptations arméniennes et syriaques, utilisées par les grammairiens arabes...". Also C. C. De Jonge's revised thesis *Between Grammar and Rhetoric. Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language, Linguistics and Literature* was published in 2008 (E. J. Brill, Leiden). See p. 81-145 for Dionysius on the parts of speech. JEAN LALLOT, "Origines et développement de la théorie des parties du discours en Grèce", *Langages* 92 (1988) p. 11-23; ID., *La grammaire de Denys le Thrace*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2003, 2^e éd. (trad. avec notes). Earlier, THOMAS DAVIDSON, *The Grammar of Dionysios Thrax* (St Louis. Mo. 1874).

⁴⁰ J. B. FISCHER, "The Origins of the Tripartite Division of Speech in Semitic Grammar", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 53 (1962) p. 1-21 & 54 (1963) p. 132-160.

⁴¹ It was not known to Merx who did not consequently discuss the grammatical chapters of the *Poetics*: A. MERX *Historia Artis Grammaticae apud Syros* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 9 (2), Leipzig 1889) p. 149 ff. and 154 ff.

⁴² Aristotle's *Poetics* deals with grammar in three chapters. After a discussion of language in general, and an analysis of the 'parts of speech' (ch. 20), there follows a presentation of types of nouns in poetic language and of the four kinds of metaphors (ch.21) with a passage on the gender of nouns. Illustrations of poetic diction and recommendations for the proper use of words in a harmonious and clear style (ch. 22) round off the discussion. These grammatical chapters represent one of the earliest attempts at a systematic treatment of language.

the progressive Hellenisation – the move from ‘antagonism to assimilation’⁴³ - of the Fifth to Ninth Centuries, along side the influence of Aristotelian logic and rhetoric⁴⁴. A Syriac version of the *Techne Grammatike* played an important role in the Schools of Nisibis⁴⁵. Dionysius provided the Syriac grammatical tradition with an extensive technical vocabulary very much in the Greek mould. The eight parts of speech (noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, conjunction), imposed by *Techne Grammatike* as the morphological and syntactic basis of Greek grammar were faithfully reproduced in the version of Joseph Huzaya. However they had to be modified to fit Syriac: the article was omitted and the morphological class corresponding to the Greek *metoche*—translated as *d-šawtaḫūta* ‘participle’ in the Syriac version of *Techne Grammatike*—

⁴³ The phrase is that of Dr Brock: SEBASTIAN BROCK, *From Antagonism to Assimilation. Syriac attitudes to Greek Learning*, in NINA G. GARSOĪAN, THOMAS F. MATHEWS and ROBERT W. THOMSON (eds.), *East of Byzantium. Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington 1982) p17-39. Also in his *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Variorum Reprints no. V, London 1984). J. WATT, “Grammar, Rhetoric and the *enkyklios paideia* in Syriac”, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 143 (1993) p. 45-71.

⁴⁴ Greek influence and that of the *Techne Grammatike* is most apparent in the treatment of the accidents of the verb. See SARA ECO CONTI - MARGHERITA FARINA, “The Accidents of the Verb in some Medieval Syriac Grammars”, in *Comparing Ancient Grammars The Greek, Syriac and Arabic Traditions* (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa 2013) p. 132-153. ID., “Diathesis and Middle Voice in the Syriac Ancient Grammatical Tradition: The Translations and Adaptations of the *Techne Grammatike* and the Arabic Model”, *Aramaic Studies* 6 (2008) p. 175-193. See also, R. TALMON, “Foreign Influence in the Syriac Grammatical traditions”, in S. AUROUX ET AL. (ed.), *History of the Language Sciences... An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Languages from the Beginnings to the Present* (Berlin-New York 2000) Vol. I, chap. : X “The Establishment of Syriac Linguistics”, p. 337-341. Also there RICCARDO CONTINI, “The Role of Linguistics in Syriac, also ID., *Medioevo: la scienza siriaca. Le scienze del linguaggio*, in *Treccani.it L'enciclopedia italiana s.v.* (2001). Generally on influence of Greek grammar, CORNELIUS H. M. VERSTEEGH, “Borrowing and Influence: Greek Grammar as a Model” in PIERRE SWIGGERS - ALFONS WOUTERS, avec la collab. de RENÉ LEBRUN [ET AL.], *Le langage dans l'Antiquité* (E. Peeters, Louvain 1990) p. 197-212.

⁴⁵ DIONYSIUS THRAX, *Techne grammatike*, in ADALBERT MERX, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros cui accedunt Severi bar Sakkū Dialogus de grammatica, Dionysii Thracis Grammatica syriace translata, Iacobi Edesseni Fragmenta grammatica cum tabula photolithographica, Eliae Tirhansensis et duorum anonymorum de accentibus tractatus*, Leipzig, In Commission von F. A. Brockhaus, 1889, p. 50-72. There is now a translation by Daniel King: A. MERX, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros (translated and edited)* (Gorgias Press, Piscataway, NJ 2015). On the School of Nisibis, ARTHUR VÖÖBUS, *History of the School of Nisibis* (Secrétariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain 1965).

became the *Mellat šma* 'verbal noun', which also includes the infinitive, giving rise to the establishment of a system of seven parts of speech that was the canon in Syriac grammar until the introduction of the Arabic model for imitation, the tripartite division, of Aristotelian origin, of noun-verb-particle we are currently discussing⁴⁶. The imposition of such Greek models upon Syriac inevitably distorted the empirical evidence. The Syriac technical term *mappalṭa* 'case' (Greek *ptosis*) designated the inseparable particles *b* -, *d* -, *w* -, *l* -. The second and fourth of these introduce prepositional phrases that are functionally equivalent to the Greek cases genitive and dative. But there were limits: sections 2-10 and 14 of the Greek Dionysius (treating letters, phonetics, syllables and conjugations) were omitted as of no use in dealing with Syriac.

The most distinguished Syriac grammarian was the West Syrian Jacob Bishop of Edessa (633-708) working to consolidate his native religious and intellectual culture in a world progressively dominated by Islam⁴⁷. His *Syriac Grammar*, now preserved only in fragments, is the oldest documented and also the most original attempt to describe Syriac using terms and concepts drawn from Greek grammar, but considerable independence and a remarkable interest in the spoken language are both particularly noticeable in his phonological approach to variations in the morphology of the noun paradigms. Such a phonological interest was not subsequently pursued in the tradition.

Jacob was also involved in the production of a system of vowel signs which involved inevitably the prior collection and analysis of forms and their pronunciation. The symbols he introduced mainly for pedagogical purposes were placed on the

⁴⁶ This issue is briefly treated in R. CONTINI, "Considerazioni interlinguistiche sull'adattamento siriano della *Techné Grammatiké* di Dionisio Trace", in (eds.), R. B. FINAZZI - A. VALVO, *La diffusione dell' eredità classica nell' età tardoantica e medievale Il Romanzo di Alessandro e altri scritti* (Edizioni dell'Orso Roma 1998 [1999]) p. 107-108.

⁴⁷ RAFAEL TALMON, "Jacob of Edessa the Grammarian", in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of his Day* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2008) p. 159-188 for up to date bibliography and a contemporary evaluation. E. J. REVELL, "The Grammar of Jacob of Edessa and the other Near Eastern Grammatical Traditions", *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (1972) p. 365-374. Earlier: GEORGE PHILIPS (ed.), *A Letter by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, on Syriac Orthography; also a Tract by the Same Author, and a Discourse by Gregory Bar Hebræus on Syriac Accents Now Edited, in the Original Syriac, from MSS. in the British Museum, with an English Translation and Notes* (Williams and Norgate, London 1869); JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN (ed.), *Jacobi episcopi Edesseni epistola ad Georgium episcopum Sarugensem de orthographia syriaca* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1869); WILLIAM WRIGHT (ed.), *Fragments of the Turrās mamllā nahrāyā or Syriac Grammar of Jacob of Edessa, Edited from MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library* (Gilbert and Rivington, London 1871).

same line as the consonants⁴⁸. A reverence for the consonantal text probably prompted their subsequent replacement with the supra- or sub-linear system of ‘Greek vowels’. Only slowly do Western scholars come to terms with the various conventions of vocalisation in Syriac.

2. The Arrival of the Syriac Scholars

From the Fifth Lateran Council to the editio princeps of the Syriac New Testament

The first European scholar to obtain any significant knowledge of Syriac was Teseo Ambrogio who was given the responsibility of entertaining the Maronite delegation sent at the invitation of Leo X by the forty-first patriarch to the Fifth Lateran Council (1513-1515)⁴⁹. He worked to establish the orthodoxy of the liturgy they brought with them and began to acquire some knowledge of Syriac. The monk and sub-deacon Elias bar Abraham taught Syriac to Teseo as Teseo taught him Latin and he also copied manuscripts, Gospels and Psalters, in Syriac: Rome for the first time had some books in Syriac and native speakers to explain them. In March of 1539 in Pavia Teseo published his *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam*⁵⁰. This offered the first detailed Western account of Syriac and opens with two sizes of the (Western) Syriac alphabet. The letters remarkably are printed with moveable type for the first time⁵¹. Ligatures are discussed and the Syriac vowels are considered together with those of Samaritan, Hebrew, Arabic and Punic. The names of the Syriac consonants, we learn, tend to have /o/

⁴⁸ JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN, “Jacques d’Édesse et les voyelles syriennes”, *Journal asiatique* 6, 13 (1869) p. 447-482. EBERHARD NESTLE, “Zur Geschichte der syrischen Punctuation”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 (1876) p. 525-533. Also AXEL MOBERG, “Über den griechischen Ursprung der syrischen Akzentuation”, *Le Monde Oriental* 1:2 (1906) p. 87-100. ADALBERTUS MERX, *Grammatica Syriaca quam post opus Hoffmanni refecit Adalbertus Merx Particula Prima* (Impensis Librariae Orphanotropei Halis 1867) p. 24-25 for a specimen of Jacob’s vocalisation. [This work is cited hereafter as Hoffmann.]

⁴⁹ For full consideration of importance of Teseo and the Maronite delegation for the history of Syriac Studies see: ROBERT J. WILKINSON, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2007) p. 11-27. [This work is cited hereafter as *Orientalism*.]

⁵⁰ EBERHARD NESTLE, “Aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk von 1539”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländische Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden) (1904) p. 601-616.

⁵¹ For the font see J. F. COAKLEY, *The Typography of Syriac A historical catalogue of printing types 1537-1958* (British Library, London 2006) p. 29-30. The type was based on Elias’ own handwriting. Teseo also has some estrangela which is also Elias’ (p. 155). [This work is cited hereafter as Coakley.]

vowels where Hebrew has /a/ ('*Olaph*' pro '*Aleph*' etc.)⁵². This /o/ is more primitive than corresponding Hebrew /a/. Although Hebrew was the first language, in Hebrew this vowel had suffered mutation, but not in Chaldaean: the first man was '*Odom*'.

Teseo further presents an interlinear *Ave Maria* and a similar *Pater Noster* in Syriac font, with a Latin transcription below it and a Latin translation below that. A *Magnificat* is given in Syriac without transcription and Latin. Virgil Strohmeyer sees here evidence of Elias and Teseo working together on each other's language. He draws attention to some of the rather unexpected transliterations of the Syriac, particularly the apparent sounding of silent letters. Ingeniously he suggests Elias may have adopted a slightly unusual pronunciation to guide Teseo towards orthographic accuracy, rather than have spoken entirely naturally⁵³.

Elias Levita himself met these Maronite delegates to the Fifth Lateran Council (1513-1515) who first brought knowledge of Syriac to Rome: he calls them three Chaldeans (*csdym*) from the country of Prester John. Though their vernacular was Arabic, they were masters of the Syriac language and literature (which he calls *spr wlsln csdym*). This was the special language in which were written the gospel books they brought with them – 'it is also called Aramaean, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chaldee, Tursea or Targum, being denominated by those seven names'. Some these terms designate people and places, others possibly texts ('Targum' and perhaps 'Babli')⁵⁴. 'Syriac' is not, however, among them, though in this case we do know that it is precisely Syriac that he is talking about. Chaldean was perhaps the commonest name: Teseo referred to his Syriac Psalter which he designed to print as *Psalterium Chaldaicum ex Syria advectum*. (This again certainly was in Syriac as appears plainly from his account of his preparations at ff.12 v2, 15, etc.) The title page of the Syriac New Testament in the Antwerp Polyglot (1571), though in Syriac font, also refers to the text as *Chaldaice*.

Teseo's first printing of a Syriac alphabet contributed to the impulse towards recognition of Syriac as a separate entity which a distinctive script eventually brought. One force mitigated against this however: the mystical interpretation of the letters of the Syriac alphabet which Teseo imposed upon them. He drew directly upon Egidio da Viterbo's *Libellus de Litteris*

⁵² *Ibid* f21.

⁵³ VIRGIL STROHMEYER, "Ambrogio Teseo's Intentions for the Learner The Aesthetic and Epistemology entailed in the Presentation of Multilingual Exercises", *Iran & the Caucasus* 3/4 (1999/2000) p. 183-192 esp. p. 185.

⁵⁴ WILKINSON, *Orientalism* p. 51-52 for these names.

Sanctis of 1517⁵⁵. The mystical and kabbalistic interpretations Egidio described there for the Hebrew alphabet, Teseo hunted down in his new script. This was the imposition of a form of significance not characteristic of the native Syriac tradition and the beginning of the kabbalistic fantasies which many of the Catholic Scholars of the first part of the Sixteenth Century were eager to find in both Syriac and Aramaic generally. Egidio da Viterbo was to elaborate an entire counter-history of an occult Aramaean tradition which greatly affected the initial reception of Syriac in Europe. He believed that Noah had reached Egidio's own home town of Viterbo—where consequently the inhabitants originally spoke Aramaic—and that the Janiculum Hill in Rome was consequently named for Noah / Janus⁵⁶. Belief in such an arcane Aramaean tradition, of course, did nothing to differentiate and distinguish the various dialects of Aramaic⁵⁷. We shall meet similar arcane convictions in the work of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie below.

That the discovery and printing of a distinctive Syriac script did not necessarily nor immediately distinguish Syriac from the perceived identity of the continuum of the *Chaldaica Lingua*, is apparent from the early work of Guillaume Postel⁵⁸. Teseo had shared his expertise in printing Syriac with moveable type with Postel, though the latter pre-empted the publication of Teseo's *Introductio* with his own *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum* of March 1538 which also used moveable Syriac type. His assessment of *lingua Chaldaica* was simple: *quae eadem praeter characteras, Hebraica est*. His subsequent remarks make it clear that for him the *lingua Chaldaica* embraced promiscuously the Jewish Aramaic of the Targum and the Aramaic of kabbalistic texts like the Zohar⁵⁹. He presented his Syriac alphabet, but then reverted to Hebrew

⁵⁵ BRIAN COPENHAVER - DANIEL STEIN KOKIN, "Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome*", *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014) p. 1-42.

⁵⁶ Egidio relied upon Annio of Viterbo for much of his 'Etruscan' material. WALTER STEPHENS, "When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annio of Viterbo and his forged "Antiquities", *Studia Humanitatis: Essays in Honor of Salvatore Camporeale* (MLN CXIX/1) (Johns Hopkins, Baltimore 2004) p. 201-223. As advocated by the circle of Giovambattista Gelli, the promotion of Aramaic as the *Ursprache* even became part of the political propaganda of the sixteenth-century Medici Dukes of Florence.

⁵⁷ For Egidio's influence on the understanding of Syriac and the occult Aramaean Tradition, WILKINSON, *Orientalism* p. 29-62.

⁵⁸ Postel later when writing to Plantin referred to *estrangela* as *majuscule*. *Estrangela* was often mistaken by Western scholars (e.g. Widmansetter or Waser) for *majuscules*. In fact it was the ancient script and used exclusively in manuscripts before the Eighth Century.

⁵⁹ See footnote 4.

characters for Syriac text. Syriac grammar, he opined, was no different from that found in Münster's *Grammatica Chaldaica* and was useful for Targum studies to the confusion of the Jews.

Of the first significance for the establishment of Syriac was the magnificent 1555 *editio princeps* of the Syriac New Testament which J. A. Widmanstetter brought out in Vienna. It was the product of Widmanstetter's interest in the language after having been given a Syriac gospel book by Teseo and having located Syriac manuscripts for himself in Siena⁶⁰. He was aided by Postel who provided some manuscripts, typographic experience and mystical insights and, most importantly, by a Syriac monk Moses of Mardin⁶¹. Moses of Mardin, who had been sent to Rome by the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch to procure printed Syriac Bibles, provided Postel, Andreas Masius and Widmanstetter with indispensable assistance in the form of tuition and texts but Moses also proved an essential scribe, teacher and collaborator in the production of the *editio princeps*⁶². The *editio princeps* provided for the first time and accessibly in print a substantial body of text in Syriac. It was set in a splendid Syriac serif font based on Moses' own handwriting and it was partially vocalized⁶³. It was around this edition – both in preparatory work and subsequently that the identity of Syriac began slowly to coalesce. We shall follow the subsequent editions of the Syriac Scriptures as an index of the growing consolidation of a sense of Syriac's distinct identity.

At this point we find evidence of the conviction (no doubt learned from Moses) that Syriac was the language of both Christ and his Mother⁶⁴. The title page of the *editio princeps* declares it offers the New Testament *characteribus & lingua Syra, Jesu Christo vernacula, Divino ipsius ore consecrata, et ab Joh. Evangelista dicta*. Widmanstetter's short alphabet and reader, *Syriacae Linguae ... Principia Elementa* (Vienna 1556), which is often bound with the *editio princeps* makes clear by its title when Widmanstetter considered Syriac was used: [*Syri-*

⁶⁰ *Orientalism*, p. 137-169.

⁶¹ For Moses, *Orientalism*, p. 64-77, 83-85, 89-90.

⁶² Widmanstetter also met a Father Joseph in 1550 who gave him a Syriac Missal (*Orientalism*, p. 147-149). Masius also met Mar Sulaqa (*Orientalism*, p. 85-88).

⁶³ COAKLEY, *op.cit.*, p. 31-34 and p. 156-7 for estrangela. Note the ambivocalisation in some of the letters which have the vowels cast onto them and where both Eastern and Western forms of the vowel signs are used, presumably for elegant variation (*ibid* p. 33).

⁶⁴ See SERGE RUZER "Hebrew versus Aramaic as Jesus' Language: Notes on Early Opinions by Syriac Authors" in (eds.) RANDALL BUTH and R. STEVEN NOTLEY, *The Language Environment of First Century Judaea* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2014) p.182-206.

acae Linguae] Iesu Christo, Eiusque Matri Virgini atque Iudaeis omnibus, Christianae redemptionis Euangelicaeque praedicationis tempore, Vernaculae & popularis, ideoque a Novi Testamenti Scriptoribus quibusdam Hebraicae dictae [Prima Elementa]. Syriac is here considered the vernacular of Christ, his Mother and the Apostles⁶⁵. This gives Syriac a sacred importance, but at the abiding cost of dating it far too early⁶⁶. Thus at the first moment of its public appearance, Syriac was enduringly confused with first-century Jewish Aramaic.

3. Tremellius and the Parisian Scholars

A Comparative Grammar of Aramaic including Syriac

Once the *editio princeps* was in print it provided the focus for further work on Syriac. Notable was the work of Immanuel Tremellius who taught Hebrew at the University of Heidelberg from 1561 to 1575 and in 1569 produced his own edition of the Syriac New Testament there⁶⁷.

Most of scholars of Syriac we have discussed so far were Catholics and knew each other at least by correspondence and often by cooperation. They were a small group but had had privileged access to Syriac native scholars and the texts they

⁶⁵ Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* 3.39.16 has the suggestion that Matthew's Gospel [?] may have originally been written in some form of Hebrew or Aramaic. A manuscript (Vatican sir. 15) copied by Elias, one of delegates to the Fifth Vatican Council carries at the end of Matthew the colophon: "Explicit evangelus matei Apostoli qui locutus est et predicavit habrayce in phlestini" where *habrayce* renders the preceding Syriac 'BR'YT. The same belief expressed in very similar words is found in Vinob. Syr 1, the Syriac gospels in Vienna copied by Moses of Mardin in 1554 for the Emperor Ferdinand I. I discuss Elias' manuscript in *Orientalism*, p. 16 & Moses' manuscript in *Orientalism*, p. 154.

⁶⁶ So [ANONYMOUS], "The Printed Editions of the Syriac New Testament", *Church Quarterly Review* 26 (1888) p. 285: "There is no doubt that in the eyes of Teseo Ambrogio and of Widmannstadt, and of many other early students of Syriac, the Peshitto was invested with a glory above other versions – if not above the sacred original – through the idea that its language was that in which Christ spoke, in which His Apostles preached His word." The altar inscription of 1625 in the Kaufmannskirche in Erfurt has 'This is My Body, This is My Blood' in Vocalised Hebrew, Vocalised Syriac, Greek, Latin and German. The presence of Syriac may represent its supposed status as the language of Jesus. A vocalisation error indicates that the text is taken from the Antwerp Polyglot. STEPHAN SCHORCH, "Die hebräische und die syrische Inschrift des Hochaltars in der Erfurter Kaufmannskirche", *Herbergen der Christenheit. Jahrbuch für deutsche Kirchengeschichte* 21/22 (1997/98) p. 253-262.

⁶⁷ KENNETH AUSTIN, *From Judaism to Calvinism The Life and Works of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510-1580)* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2007). ROBERT J. WILKINSON, "Immanuel Tremellius' 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007) p. 9-25.

provided. Immanuel Tremellius was thoroughly educated as a Jew, converted to Rome and then to the Reform. He had no contact with native Syriac speakers and no access to any Syriac type. His sole resource, other than his own considerable erudition, was fifteen manuscripts in the Elector Palatine's Library which Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich had acquired from an impecunious Postel. Amongst these was Vat sir. 16, the manuscript Tremellius used – together with the *editio princeps*—to produce his own *Testamentum Novum Est enim interpretatio Syriaca Novi Testamenti ... autore Immanuele Tremellio* (Henr. Stephanus, Geneva 1569).

Tremellius had a thorough knowledge of the grammar of biblical and earlier Jewish Aramaic. Using the *editio princeps* of 1555 and Vat sir.16 as representatives of different stages of the later dialect Syriac he set about constructing an historical grammar of the development of Aramaic upon which he based his understanding of Syriac. The *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra* (1568) was like the New Testament printed in Geneva, (as was Mercier's pupil Bertram's later Grammar) and was sometimes bound with his New Testament. Tremellius' Grammar contrasts sharply with that which Widmanstetter accompanied his *editio princeps*, the *Syriacae Linguae... Prima Elementa* (1556). Though boasting Syriac type, this was little more than a guide to reading (aloud) vocalized Syriac script. Having mastered the script the student could then practice on some vocalized passages which were transcribed into Latin and Hebrew. The work though properly using 'Syriac' to designate the script, offers no grammatical description of the language.

But Tremellius' grammar was different. He had only Hebrew type, but he focused on the grammar of the whole of Aramaic setting out vocalized paradigms after the manner of the great Hebrew Grammarians, but morphological and other differences between earlier and later forms are given throughout and copiously referenced to occurrences in the Targums and the Syriac New Testament. Different paradigm verbs are used to illustrate differently defective roots.⁶⁸

Though he was prepared to concede the possibility that there may have been an Aramaic original of the Gospel of Matthew and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Tremellius rightly held that the text he was editing – *Syriaca nostra* – was made from the Greek. He also held however that it was an early – Apostolic or sub-Apostolic – translation.

Tremellius' procedure with respect to the *editio princeps* was controversial. He held that in Vat sir. 16 he possessed an older text than the manuscripts to which Widmanstetter had

⁶⁸ AARON D. RUBIN, "The Paradigm Root in Hebrew", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 53 (2008) p. 29-41.

access. Though the *editio princeps* was only partially vocalized and Var sir. 16 not at all, Tremellius transcribed the text into Hebrew letters and then vocalized it in the light of the reconstruction of the history of Aramaic set out in his grammar and the assumption that the Syriac text came from early times: his older manuscript gave evidence of an older linguistic form of the text and that is what he was trying to restore. In short he vocalized the text in what he considered the dialect appropriate to the time of its writing – *and not according to the barbarism of later vernacular Syriac*. This was a very specific aim: later Gabriel Sionita who was, of course, a native speaker would accuse Tremellius of Chaldeanising the Syriac text in vocalizing it, by which he meant correcting the vocalization from that of the later dialect to that of the earlier. That however was exactly what Tremellius was consciously trying to do – to use an older manuscript to reconstruct the oldest possible form of a text he considered at least sub-Apostolic in date. It is clear that Tremellius had little interest in producing an edition for Eastern Christians in their own contemporary dialect. In fact he went out of his way to prevent his edition being that, asking: Who would want a demotic Demosthenes or an Italian Cicero?

Tremellius' procedure was entirely rational given his aims and it may be worth pointing out that to make the choice of an early form of the language, he had to be able clearly to recognize the later form. Tremellius recognized contemporary Syriac (though he was hardly extensively familiar with it) but wasn't interested in it. Unlike Widmanstetter he had no interest in providing a book for Eastern Christians⁶⁹. Whilst the Roman Church, as we shall see, promoted Syriac studies in the context of attempts to achieve unity with Eastern Christians, Tremellius and Protestants more generally were interested in biblical philology. He had no access to native speakers, but if he had it would have made little difference to his main philological project – an edition of the earliest form of the Peshitta New Testament accessible to textual criticism in the light of the history of Aramaic, assuming that the Peshitta was a very early translation⁷⁰.

⁶⁹ The *editio princeps* in this respect was furnished with a list of the festal days of the Syriac Lectionary which Tremellius omitted. These were seen by Catholics as evidence of the antiquity and ubiquity of the Church's ritual which Protestants wished to suppress. This underlines the confessional division which is so apparent in sixteenth-century Syriac studies. I have discussed the controversy over the festal days in WILKINSON, "Tremellius", p. 14, 19, 23.

⁷⁰ A. T. HOFFMAN, *Grammaticae Syriacae Libri III* (Impensis Orphanotropei, Halle 1827) p. 43 is critical: *In iis principue, quae ad recte legendum et pronuntiandum pertinent, manca atque mutila est, ut in quibus, sicuti in caeteris, Hebraicae tantum dialecti analogiam respexerit multaque ex Hebraicis grammaticis desumserit, quae in Syriaca lingua non valent. In*

The Royal Parisian Scholars and their Pupils

We may consider Tremellius's approach a misplaced classicism (Syriac scholars today generally are interested in the language and literature of the Eastern Churches) but it was not unprecedented. Jean Mercier (Johannes Mercerus 1510-1570) succeeded his teacher François Vatabilis as Professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royal in Paris⁷¹. The recipient of important royal patronage, he was of considerable importance in stimulating both the study of Aramaic and book sales by (similarly to his colleague Jean Cinqarbres⁷²) printing Aramaic readers for his students⁷³.

Mercier's *Tabula in Grammaticen Linguae Chaldaeae quae Syriaca dicitur* appeared in Paris in 1560 with a preface to his students *omnibus eius studiosis*⁷⁴. It does not deal with Syriac

verbis enim flectendis, ut hoc solum moneamus, docet praeformativum 3. pers. Fut. esse Jud, et in 3. Persona plur. Praeterit. Pronuntiandas esse litteras Jud et Waw finales, quae apud reliquos grammaticos prorsus non audiri dicuntur. Orationis partes ita absolvuntur, ut verbum initium faciat, tum nomen cum pronomine sequatur: de particulis denique hoc tantum monet, nullam subire eas posse mutationem et significationem illarum in lexicis tradendam esse. Syntaxis, quam ponit, nihil continet, nisi suffixorum coniunctionem cum verbis, nominibus et particulis. Sola et unica huius libri praestantia in eo est, quod permulta exempla eaque aptissima afferuntur variam nominum formationem illustrantia et in diversis verborum classibus distinguendis perspicuitas ordoque laudabilis deprehenditur. Hottinger, Grammaticae Chaldaeo-Syriacae Libri Duo Cum triplici Appendice, Chaldaea, Syra & Rabbinica (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1652) Appendix II p. 168-169 is cited below. Tremellius is there taken as an example of Hebraising vocalisation.

⁷¹ Vatable produced a Targum edition to the Hebrew Bible published by Robertus Stephanus between 1544 and 1546. Tremellius himself explicitly discusses Mercier in respect of Chaldeanising vocalisation (if we allow that he wrote the anonymous *Specularis dialogus* of 1581). See WILKINSON, "Tremellius", p. 21.

⁷² JEAN CINQARBRES, *Targum seu paraphrasis Caldaica in Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae, nunc primum Latinitate donata, Johanne Quinquarboreo... interprete. Accessit communis latina translatio, ut facilius appareat, quid commodi, quidque utilitatis adferat nostra haec Caldaica versio. Additae sunt etiam ejusdem Quinquarborei... annotationes non poenitendae.* (Martin Le Jeune, Paris 1549).

⁷³ So, for example: J. MERCERUS, *Chaldaea Ionathae in sex prophetas interpretatio, Michaeam... & Malachiam, Latinitate nunc primum donata & scholiis illustrat* (C. Stephanus, Paris 1559); *Chaldaea translatio Haggaei prophetae, recens Latinitate donata, cum scholiis haud infrugiferis per Joh. Mercerum* (M. Juvenis, Paris 1551).

⁷⁴ He refers them back to his *Tabulae in Chaldaeam grammaticen, quibus ea continentur quaecunque sunt ad Chaldaeas Bibliorum paraphrases assequendas necessaria* (Martin Le Jeune, Paris 1550), similarly addressed *Linguae Hebraeae candidatis omnibus*, which were *ex Munsteri grammatica magna ex parte confectas*. This time he offers them an improved edition

but is essentially (as we would now expect) a guide to Aramaic for those who have some grasp of Hebrew: *Ei enim qui in Hebraismo sit mediocriter versatus, haud sane multum negotii sermo Syriacus facesset...* Mercier bewails the chaotic state of Aramaic studies which lacked the antecedent grammars and scholarship, Jewish and Christian, which made Hebrew a fairly well known quantity⁷⁵. The language has been allowed to decay from the days of Daniel and Ezra (and Ezra is not without imperfection); it is a tale of progressive impurity⁷⁶. Even the text of the Targums in the Bomberg Bibles which everyone used was not entirely reliable. Mercier's solution was resolute: he would correct in his grammatical tables the evident impurities that have entered the language following two guides: analogy with Hebrew and the usage of the Biblical books Daniel and Ezra. Unlike Tremellius, he did not even have a manuscript.

Mercier we may consider misguided and intent on eliminating the very evidence which today would be used to establish the history of Aramaic dialects. He shares Tremellius' misplaced classicism but without the defensible aim of reconstructing the earliest recoverable textual form of a document judged itself to be early. Rather he seeks to standardize the whole language to its pristine purity by eliminating subsequent impurity. It is not a view of language change (merely as corruption) which we are inclined to recognize and, naturally, it made no contribution to the isolation of Syriac. For Jean Mercier 'Syriac' was just another name for the *lingua Chaldaea* which he was about to restore to its original monolithic purity.

Four years after Mercier's work (1554) there appeared in Paris Angelus Caninius' *Institutiones linguae syriacae, assyriacae atque thalmudicae, una atque aethiopicae atque arabicae collatione*. Caninius like Mercier was Professor of Hebrew at

no longer based on Münster. A new edition came out from Johann Crato, Wittenberg in 1570. Johannes Drusius republished Mercier's work in 1602: *Grammatica Chaldaica descripta ex tabula Merceri ad usum juveniutis, sed inter describendum, ita mutata interpolata, aucta ut plane nova plane grammatica dici merito queat* (Apud Aegidium Radaeum, Franeker 1602).

⁷⁵ ...in hoc linguae genere, cum ratio nondum ita certa & accurate est, ut Hebraicae, cuius grammaticen tot antehac praestantia & Hebraeorum & nostrorum ingenia tractarunt, ut nihil fere iam in ea super sit, quod non aut aequae compertum & exploratum sit atque apud Graecos & Latinos autem etiam compertum... (Introduction, p. 3.)

⁷⁶ Linguam autem vel Babyloniam seu chaldaeam quae purior fuit, qua apud Danielelem & Ezram nonnulla scripta sunt (etsi Ezras ad Syros magis accedat) vel Syriacam, quae haud multum diversa fuit, non tamen ita pura, qua Onkelus & Ionathas sunt usi, & post alij paraphrastae & Talmudici, licet impurius, ut Ierosolmitana magis dicta sit, quae usque ad Christi tempora pervenit, quam aut Chaldaea aut Syriaca (etsi Talmud duplex sit, Babylonium purius, Ierosolmitanum impurius) eam inquam linguam paucissimi, forsitan quod vernacula & vulgo Iudaeorum diu notior fuerit, tentarunt (*ibid*).

the Collège de France. The book is fundamentally an Aramaic grammar seeking explicitly to improve on the work of Münster as the Introduction makes clear for it both praises him and yet finds deficiencies in his work⁷⁷. The book moreover is structured by an appreciation of comparative philology and at least of some notion of language change and of dialects. There is not much Ethiopic or Arabic beyond the essential conjugation of strong verb. There are, the *Praefatio ad Lectorem* explains, three fundamental languages – Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The dialects of Greek we know as Attic, Ionic, Doric and Aeolic. Those of Latin are *Italica*, *Gallica* and *Hispanica*. (At this point we may note that whilst we still speak thus of Ancient Greek dialects, we would not so describe the Romance languages.) The dialects of Hebrew are analogously *Syriaca*, *Arabica* and *Aethiopica*. *Syriaca* is here roughly equivalent to our ‘Aramaic’. It was in early times called *Chaldaica & Babylonica*. That difference is merely one of age. *Babylonica* was also often called *Aramaea*, *Mesopotamica* and *Assyriaca*. This was the language of Laban (for Abraham had lived in Chaldea) and Daniel and Ezra used it. So did Onkelos and Jonathan, but (here we may suspect a note of sympathy with Mercier) *not so elegantly*. The language flourished just before the time of Christ. The Pharisees may have argued in Hebrew but the ordinary folk spoke *Syriaca*. This was also the language of Aquila the Proselyte (considered here the author of the Targum to the Prophets) and Joseph Caecus, considered the author of the Targum to the Hagiographer. The Talmud also presents an example of *Syriaca*. There is little difference amongst all these except perhaps for a lack of purity in later cases, a greater vocabulary and the presence of loan words.

Whatever imaginative advances in historical and comparative philology Caninius might be credited with, they had little effect upon his notion of Aramaic. Of the earlier and later language he remarks: *Haud magnum tamen inter hanc illamque discrimen advertas ...* His nomenclature indicates he considers *Syriaca* and all his other terms to refer essentially to the same language which in turn is a dialect of Hebrew. Caninius’ book appeared a year before Widmanstetter’s *editio princeps* made available a body of text in Syriac in its proper script, but there was nothing there which needed of necessity to change his analysis. Nearly forty years later, again in Paris, Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet, produced his *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuis arabica armena syra aethiopica ...* (Es-

⁷⁷ HOFFMANN, p. 42 observes: *In praefatione ait, se in consilium adhibuisse doctissimorum Christianorum et Iudaeorum iudicium, multorum codicum collationem et postremo aliquot annorum laborem. Sine dubio in Hispania, ubi diu versatus est, adeundi et perscrutandi codices illos nactus est opportunitatem.*

tienne Prévosteau héritier de Guillaume Morel, 1594) in which the four languages are presented separately but in parallel and all compared to Hebrew their common source. But there is little obvious advance marked here. We shall return to Palma-Cayet later.

Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus (1531-1594)

Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus (Bertram) was a Protestant student of both Mercier and Caninius (he had also learned from Tremellius' work) who fled to Geneva to escape persecution and, in the absence of Antonius Rodolphus Cevallaerius, taught Hebrew at the Academy there from 1567 to 1586⁷⁸. In 1574 he produced a comparative Hebrew and Aramaic Grammar: *Comparatio grammaticae hebraeae et aramicae atque adeo dialectorum aramicarum inter se: concinnata ex hebraicis Antonii Cavellarij praeceptionibus: aramicisque doctorum aliorum observationibus... Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo*. (E. Vignon, Geneva 1574). What is of interest here is that beyond a comparison of Hebrew and Aramaic, we are offered a comparative account of Aramaic dialects which clearly isolates Syriac. The influence of Tremellius upon this pupil of the Parisian Scholars is clear.

From Bertram's *Praefatio* we learn that Hebrew not Aramaic was the first Adamic language which remained in vigor even after Babel until the Exile, but that thereafter Judaeans used *lingua Chaldaica*. Geographical Syria is named from 'sur' or the 'desert' that lies between Egypt and Assyria. It extends West through Cyprus onto Cilicia and Cappadocia, North to the Black Sea, South and East through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. The name *syrica* derives from *sur*, as *assyrica* does from *assur*. In Ancient Hebrew, however, the area was called 'Aram' and this was then used for the area from the Antilebanon to Mesopotamia and Arabia Petraea. Scripture uses Aram in place names: 'Paddan-Aram'; 'Aram Tsobah'; 'Aram Beth Rechob'; 'Aram Mahachat'; 'Aram of Damascus' etc.. 'Syriaca' is not used of these places in Scripture but Strabo calls inhabitants of Syria, Comagene and Antioch, 'Arimos' which is 'Aramaeans'. Aram (first encountered in Genesis 22.21) carried the name East and West. Chesed (*ksd*) is mentioned amongst the sons of Nahor's first wife. From his name we get *kasdim*. The *lingua kasdim* is the same as the *lingua aramaea* and the *lingua Chaldaeorum: ita ut Aramaea lingua Hebraicam aliquot modo anti-quasse & quasi obliterasse videatur: nec id semel, sed saepius variisque suis dialectis*.

⁷⁸ PAULUS COLOMESIUS, *Gallia Orientalis sive Gallorum qui Linguam Hebraeam vel alias Orientales excoluerunt Vitae...* (Adrian Vlacq, The Hague 1665) p. 68ff for Bertram.

Bertram isolates as Aramaic dialects: (1) *Babylonica* used by Daniel and Ezra; (2) *Chaldaica* or *Sy[r]aca* found in Targum Onecos on the Pentateuch and Jonathan on the Former and Later Prophets; (3) *Dialectam... Ierosolymitanam* found in the later Targums on the Pentateuch and Esther. The *vulgum Israelitarum*, returned from Exile, adopted loan-words from Ammonite, Moabite, Persian and Greek which characterize this dialect; (4) A dialect intermediate between 2 & 3 and found in the Targum to Psalms, Proverbs and Job; (5) A mixture of 1-4 but with an admixture of Hebrew and its idioms, Latin Greek and Arabic loan-words & *barbaris aliis audacius paulo assumptis*. This is the language of Talmuds (though Bavli is purer than the Palestinian Talmud and a similar distinction may be found between Targums); (6) *Dialectam syram Antiochenum seu Comagenam seu etiam Maroniticam*. This is placed last of all not because Bertram considered it arose last of all, but rather because it has endured and outlived all the other dialects⁷⁹. This is the language of the Church not only in Antioch and its regions but of the whole Patriarchate in Palmyrene and Mesopotamia. Bertram does not consider this *dialectam syram* to be the language of Christ. In John 19.13 the Peshitta for (the Greek transcription) *gabbatha* (The Pavement) has *gəpiptha* ('*septum*') whereas other Aramaic dialects have *gabbtha*, indicating that Jews of Christ's time were using the dialect of Targum Jonathan supposedly written forty years before Christ. But this dialect is nonetheless not late: *Tantum vero huius linguae antiquitatem arguit paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum, ut eam ausim Ecclesiae illi Antiochenae primum nascent, christianisque illis primum in ea appellatis ascribere*. Unusually, then, not the language of Christ, but nonetheless early.

The dialect of Aramaic Bertram now calls *dialecta syra* is of particular usefulness to Christians in providing illumination of the precise meanings of New Testament words and resolving ambiguities⁸⁰. He finds Acts 3.21 (*Quem oportet coelos quidam capere*) improved by the Syriac: *quem necesse est coelis ut capiant*⁸¹. This sort of thing makes desirable a translation of the

⁷⁹ ... *illam sexto & postremo loco ponimus, non quod velimus post alias illas omnes ortam fuisse, sed quod omnium postrema usum suum constanter retinuerit, atque omnibus illis successerit, omnesque illas antiquaverit.*

⁸⁰ *Atque hoc effecit, ut huius dialecti aramicae cognitionem nobis christianis magis necessariam credam, quam ullius superiorum. Nam praeter usus varios, quos cum illis omnes communes habet, peculiare quosdam & proprios & Christiano theologo necessarios suppeditat. Nemo sane dubitat loca esse quam plurima in Bibliorum contextu quae multorum ingenia exercuerunt, vel propter varias vocum significationes, vel etiam sententiarum amphibologias. Ea vero omnia sincere explicare potest Syra Dialectus, ut nihil ad eius interpretationem requiras.*

⁸¹ See also p. 222.

whole Syriac Bible not just the New Testament. It is Syriac which illuminates *maranatha* in 1Cor 16.22 and the minatory prophesy ('The Lord cometh') in Jude 14. Syriac is also more generally useful in illuminating the usage of other Aramaic dialects and helps the study of both etymology and meaning: the Chaldaean *mrt* 'vinum' is compared to Syriac *m'ryt* (from *yrt* from Hebrew *yrsh*) explaining the link to *tirosh*. This account of Syriac is sophisticated and nuanced. We shall discover many less able accounts subsequently.

The Grammar itself uses Roman type on the pages dealing with Hebrew and Italic on the Aramaic pages. Often alternating pages are so differentiated, but frequently the two fonts are inter-spliced on one page when both languages are mentioned. Thus Hebrew and Aramaic are attended to separately and the differentiation of the Aramaic dialects and their separate and distinct usages are noted on the Aramaic pages. There is no Syriac type (there was none in Geneva at this point, so Bertramus suffered the same disadvantage as Tremellius who also brought out his Grammar there). Syriac examples are taken from throughout the New Testament and *pqd* is used as the paradigm verb for both languages.

The Hebrew authorities acknowledged are Kimhi with others and the *Grammatica* of Antonius Cevallerius (his immediate predecessor in the Genevan chair). The Chaldaean authorities are Levita's *Methurgheman*, Canisius and Jean Mercier. However the authority in *Syris* is Tremellius alone – the only preexisting historical grammar of Aramaic. Bertram mentions to his patron Christopher, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria (p4) that the library of his ancestors *qui primi in hoc nostro occidente eius linguae hospites fuerunt* held the Syriac texts from which Tremellius had worked. No doubt Bertramus used Tremellius' New Testament text as well as his Grammar for this, unlike the 1555 *editio princeps*, provided a vocalized form of the text in Hebrew characters. He makes no mention of the New Testament in the Antwerp Polyglot. His choice may indicate a confessional preference – or simply that, once equipped with Tremellius' text and comparative grammar, Bertram needed nothing else.

The Grammar begins with an Introduction on reading and pronunciation. The Syriac accents are not treated very thoroughly as not (we are told) often used in their books. Puncta for plurals are however mentioned⁸². Three *orationis partes de vocis consignificatione* are isolated after a discussion of *dictio* (*dictio consignificans eodem modo Aramice quo Hebraice tradenda, definienda & intelligenda* – containing not only what the Latins call adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions and interjec-

⁸² p. 130.

tions, but also pronouns and even articles). We meet (1) *de vocis consignificatione*; (2) *nomen* (with observation on absence of cases in quite the same way as Latin has them); (3) *verbum* – discussing themes, defective stems *etc.*. The Hebrew grammatical terms *Benomi Pahul etc.* are used for both Hebrew and Aramaic, though Aramaic is given its own form *ith-* instead of *hiph'il etc.*. In all Bertram's work represents an informed and analytical presentation of Tremellius, enhanced by his comparison with Hebrew. But with specific reference to Aramaic little has been added to Tremellius.

Petro Martinez (1530?-1594)

Nor was much progress made in the work of Petro Martinez (1530?-1594), a pupil of Jean Mercier, Gilbert Générard and Petrus Ramus. He brought out his *Grammaticae Hebraeae Libri Duo* in 1567 with Martin Le Jeune in Paris⁸³. He followed it, twenty three years later, with his *Grammatica Chaldaea* from Hieronymus Haultinus in La Rochelle in 1590⁸⁴. The *Grammatica Chaldaea* proceeds in the usual way of marking the difference between Hebrew and Aramaic in letters, syllables, nouns and verbs noting the degeneration of Hebrew into Aramaic. The themes of the verb in both languages have Hebrew names (*hiph'il*) but Latin is used to mark the *participium praesens*. A second book dealing ostensibly with 'syntax' covers construct chains, pronominal and possessive suffixes, pronouns, adverbs and gerunds in a predictable way. The only evidence cited in the Grammar is from Daniel and Ezra. No New Testament passages are cited. Occasionally a difference is noted *Talmudice, Rabbinice* or *Syriace* but without citation. The volume has no Syriac type – in fact no mention is made of the different script used for Syriac. Syriac has very little pre-

⁸³ SANTIAGO GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI* (Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, Salamanca 1998) p. 49-58 for Martinez contribution to the study of Hebrew grammar.

⁸⁴ This was followed by *Grammaticae Technologia* (Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengi, La Rochelle 1611). Sixtinus Amama brought out an edition of the Hebrew Grammar combined with material from Buxtorf and his own editing and issued with a copy of the *Grammatica Chaldaea* in 1625 (Apud Henricum Laurentium Bibliopolam, Typis Frederici Heysii Typo in Acad. Franekerana, Amsterdam). Just before Martinez' *Grammatica Chaldaea* appeared the Jewish physician David de' Pomis (1525-1593) dedicated to Sixtus V a trilingual post-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary, again based on the *Sefer 'Aruk*, for Christians in Hebrew Latin and Italian. [*Zemah David*] *Dittionario novo hebraico, molto copioso, dechiarato in tre lingue, con bellissime annotationi, e con l'indice latino, e volgare, de tutti li suoi significati = Lexicon nouum hebraicum, locupletissimum quantum nunquam antea, triplici lingua perspicue explanatum, cum externarum vocum, in quibus tum prisca, tum recentiores rabini, hactenus versati sunt, ac passim ubique versantur, ab Aruk, Meturgeman, Tisbi, fideliter excerptarum, additione... Dauid de Pomis... autore* (Giovanni de Gara, Venice 1587).

sence in the book other than being mentioned as the language's most corrupt state.

The *Praefatio* commends the study of Daniel and Ezra, the Targums and the Jewish Commentators. Chaldaean is also commended as the Jewish vernacular (much influenced by Greek words and phrases) which Christ and his Apostles spoke. Martinez acknowledges the Syriac New Testament, but has made little use of it: *Accedit Novi Testamenti interpretatio Syriaca, tanquam Thesaurus quidam e tenebris vetustatis nuper in lucem editus*. But it represents exactly the same language: *Syriaca est illa ipsa Chaldaica* mentioned in Isaiah 36, unknown before the Exile, but brought back to Judaea by the returning captives where it had become native and widespread by the time of Christ. It was called Hebrew (after the people) but the Hebrew on the *titulus* of the Cross, or that Paul spoke is Chaldaean: only the learned preserved Hebrew itself. The purest Aramaic is that of Daniel and Ezra and Syriac is the most impure. Later, we shall see, Myricaeus was to claim inspiration from Martinez work.

4. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible

We have detected a growing awareness of Syriac amongst the scholars variously involved in Widmanstetter's *editio princeps* and also in the brilliant but lonely labours of Tremellius (who was, however, interested in something slightly different) but our brief review of the work of the Parisian scholars has reminded us just how little differentiation was found within the *lingua Chaldaea*. It was the influence of Tremellius which enabled the Protestant Bertramus in Geneva to produce his properly comparative grammar. Otherwise the contribution of the Parisian scholars and pupils was not particularly outstanding. The next spur towards some recognition of the autonomy of Syriac came with the project of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible⁸⁵.

⁸⁵ *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine* (8 volumes, Plantin, Antwerp 1569-1573). 1200 sets were printed (twice the number of copies of the Complutensian Polyglot) with twelve copies on vellum for Philip II. The fifth New Testament volume came out in July 1570. For Robert Granjon's Type, COAKLEY, p. 34-36. There is some ambi-vocalisation as in Widmanstetter's font. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie claimed in his introduction to the *De Ritibus Baptismi* that Widmanstetter's New Testament text was revised for the Antwerp Polyglot from a manuscript bought by Postel in Damascus. Fr. Raphelengius also drew on it for his *dyhyq' hdh' Variae lectiones ex Novi Testamenti Syriaci Manuscripto codice Coloniensi nuper a Fr. Raph. Collectae* (Plantin, Antwerp 1574, 1575). Lefèvre de la Boderie, however, does not appear to have noticed Raphelengius' variants in his Syriac New Testament text: C. MOSS, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London 1962) # 155. The volumes of the Polyglot were expensive and somewhat rare. This rather inhibited the distribution of the linguistic aids they contained.

It contained an edition of the Syriac New Testament in Syriac type with an additional transcription into vocalized Hebrew type by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie and some supporting language aids which will retain our interest here⁸⁶. The project was directed by Arias Montano under Imperial patronage and the Bible printed by Plantin. I have elsewhere drawn attention to continuities between the scholars working on Widmanstetter's *editio princeps* and those involved with the Polyglot and especially their shared interest in Christian Kabbalah⁸⁷.

A perpetual desideratum for Syriac scholars was a good dictionary. Other than the New Testament there was little material in Syriac and scholars were eager to get their hands on any document in Syriac not least for the grammatical and lexical information it might contain as well as for its intrinsic interest. Widmanstetter had Moses of Mardin write him a manuscript Syriac lexicon which is now in Munich (BSB Cod Syr I: folios 89-329) and entitled *Dictionarium Syriacae Linguae cum interpretatione Arabica et Latina, atque, ubi opus est, etiam Graeca*⁸⁸. Andreas Masius had also made use of Moses to help him construe a text of the Anaphora of St. Basil he had obtained. He had also met Mar Sulaqa a Nestorian monk from Rabban Hormizd who was visiting Rome on delicate ecclesiastical business⁸⁹. Sadly he tells us in his Dedicatory Epistle he not managed to obtain the Syriac Lexicon which Moses had brought with him and which we know Widmanstetter had had him copy. What progress he would have been able to make with that volume! Nonetheless he collected unknown lexical terms that were not in the New Testament and made use of them, together with New Testament vocabulary and words from the Psalter, to form his short *Syrorum Peculium* the 54 pages of which appear

⁸⁶ Juan de Mariana's *censura* of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's Syriac New Testament indicates the learned Jesuit's view of Syriac. (He was a pupil at Alcalá and a teacher of Robert Bellarmine at the Collegium Romanum.) He distinguished Syriac from Chaldaean and knew the language was currently spoken by Christians around Jerusalem. He found the liturgical material in the *editio princeps* and subsequently in the Polyglot useful for refuting Protestants when defending the antiquity of the rites of the Church. He considered the possibility of the Peshitta version of Mark being the work of the Evangelist himself and of the originals of Matthew and Hebrews being written in Syriac. He concluded however that the whole Syriac New Testament was produced from the Greek text long after Mark. The Syriac he argued follows the Greek even where the Greek has been corrupted from agreement with the Vulgate. Care should be taken not to use the Syriac, made from a corrupt Greek, to corrupt the Vulgate! WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 95-99 (where the currently lost *censura* is reconstructed from Mariana's Treatise *Pro Editione Vulgata*).

⁸⁷ WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*.

⁸⁸ *Orientalism*, p. 152-153.

⁸⁹ *Orientalism*, p. 85-89.

in the Polyglot. It is the first printed Lexicon of Syriac (and only Syriac)⁹⁰. Whereas previously scholars had depended upon Jewish scholars for an accurate understanding of the Hebrew Bible, Masius claimed that his little work made a contribution to Hebrew Lexicography; it offered the reassuring potential for Christian philological correction of Jewish biblical understanding.

Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* (1571) was by contrast a lexicon running to 198 pages. It is essentially (though without acknowledgement) Münster's Aramaic Dictionary with some words transcribed into Syriac script⁹¹. The supplementary Syriac words contained in the book are in part derived from Lefèvre de la Boderie's accompanying edition of the New Testament and the additional vocabulary he found *ex rituali libro Severi Patriarchae*⁹² and both serto and estrangela fonts were used for Syriac words. However the dictionary has a wide scope - referring to rabbinic authorities and midrash - and kabbalistic material is found scattered throughout. In spite of the specific isolation of Syriac words in their proper script, the title of the work as a *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* emphasizes the understanding which underlies the work and is given full expression in a three page introductory letter to Montano. Lefèvre de la Boderie stresses the importance of the Aramaic tradition which he traces back to Nebuchadnezzar. Had its literature not been lost, its eloquence would have matched that of Greece and Rome: as it was, the tradition passed through the Medes and Persians (Lefèvre de la Boderie is being guided here by the composition of Nebuchadnezzar's image in Daniel Chapter 2) before being appropriated as his own by Alexander the Great's teacher Aristotle. His point is to emphasize that Syriac was part of the longer occult Aramaean tradition which Egidio da Viterbo had celebrated. Lefèvre de la Boderie's additional transcription of the whole New Testament in Hebrew characters at the bottom of each page certainly facilitated the observation of dialectic differences but the huge ideological weight of the arcane tradition of

⁹⁰ For Plantin's Syriacs, COAKLEY, p. 36-37. The type cut by Grajon, possibly after Postel's designs, was used not only for Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie but also in C. Waser's *Institutio linguae Syrae*. It is to be distinguished from his later type cut at Rome.

⁹¹ WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 81-85 for more detail. For an earlier account see GABREL A. SIVAN, *Guy Le Fèvre De La Boderie and his Epic "History" of Gaul: The Biblical, Rabbinic and Kabbalistic Foundation of a French Renaissance Legend* (Unpublished PhD Hebrew University 1974 p. 91, 110-117. I owe my copy to the kindness of Dr Judith Weiss.

⁹² Printed as *D. Severi quondam Patriarchae de ritibus baptismi, et sacrae synaxi apud Syros Christianos receptis, liber; nunc primum in lucem editus Guidone Fabricio Boderano exscriptore & interprete* (Plantin, Antwerp 1572).

Aramaean Kabbalistic mysteries was set in the balance against their estimation as signs of singularity. Moreover the Hebrew transcription is annotated with Hebrew roots, derived stems and Hebrew glosses as a guide to parsing⁹³. There was no expressed aspiration here to be free of Jewish interpretive authority⁹⁴. Neither was Lefèvre de la Boderie minded to take the existence of Syriac script as of fundamental importance. He considered its distinctive script to have been devised by orthodox Syriac speaking Christians to distinguish themselves from heretical Ebionites: his transcription of the New Testament into Hebrew letters, then, rather than being arbitrary, in fact restored the original.

Guy brought out another edition of the Syriac New Testament with Estienne Prévosteau in Paris in 1584⁹⁵. There was no Syriac font available there, nor apparently the expertise or the will this time to vocalize the text in Hebrew letters. There is however an inter-linear Latin gloss. In his *Dedicatio* Guy (no doubt to a certain extent *faute de mieux*) remarks that the absence of, not just Syriac script, but vocalization of the Hebrew script was to enable Jews, for whose conversion he was concerned, to read the text as Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic and thus make it as similar as possible to the language of their own Talmud. Thus Guy downplays (or even eliminates) both the distinctiveness of the script and the dialectical differences. His extensive eschatological and kabbalistic introduction to the edition indicates the continuation of the mystical notions which had provided the context of Catholic Syriac studies since Teseo, Egidio da Viterbo and Postel⁹⁶.

We turn now from the lexicons to the grammars which accompanied the Antwerp Polyglot. Moses of Mardin, we know,

⁹³ In *Ad Lectorem ... Praefatio*, Guy writes: *addimus praeterea in margine difficiliorum vocum, themata, & obscurum, aut omnino Syriacarum radicum Hebraicam explicationem, tum ut huius linguae studiosis consuleremus, tum etiam ut Iudaeos linguae sanctae peritos ad novi Testamenti lectionem alliceremus.*

⁹⁴ The Dictionary was cited by the Jewish lexicographer and philologist David ben Isaac Cohen de Lara (c1602-1674) *Keter Kehunnah Corona Sacerdotii, Lexicon Thalmudico-Rabbinicum* (Hamburg 1688) who calls him Guido Bodia. On the Sephardi rabbi Cohen de Lara see *E. J.* X cols. 1428-1429.

⁹⁵ See MAUREEN ANN CROMBIE, *A Study of the Work of Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie (1541-1598)* unpublished PhD, University of British Columbia (1971) p. 186-193 on his *Novum Testamentum*. (This work seems to be the first doctorate devoted to De La Boderie before that of G. A. Sivan); WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 101-120.

⁹⁶ Many of Postel's ideas are recapitulated in this work, see (ed.) F. SECRET, *Guillaume Postel, Le Thresordes Prophetes de l'Univers* (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague 1969) Introduction p.30-31.

had soon after his arrival provided Widmanstetter with a manuscript copy of the Syriac Grammar of Barhebraeus (BSB Cod Syr 1 fl-32r) followed by the same author's work on synonyms⁹⁷. Widmanstetter annotated the precious grammar with Latin and Italian glosses, but nothing was printed. Unfortunately Masius was not able to see this as Moses had left it in Venice⁹⁸. The Antwerp Polyglot however contained two grammars. The first was that of Raphelengius, a *Grammatica Chaldaea* of some twelve pages devoted to Biblical Aramaic and its difference from Hebrew, but showing awareness of Talmud, Targum, the Hebrew Massorah and such similarities with Syriac as there are. The most important work however is Masius' *Grammatica Linguae Syriacae* (Plantin, Antwerp 1573)⁹⁹. For the first time a grammar concerned itself with Syriac alone. Masius was aware of the novelty of his work his title page proclaims this: *opus novum & a nostris hominibus adhuc non tractatum*. He was also evidently proud of the pointing¹⁰⁰.

This quite outstanding work does indeed take full advantage of the ability to deploy Syriac type and the expertise to add detailed vocalization. (The use of points to indicate plurals is explained.) There are full paradigms and copious commentary. The material is generally taken from the Syriac New Testament and the Psalter and is the product of prolonged collection and sorting of the material. The work is quite devoid of any mystical or kabbalistic interest. It is structured similarly to Münster's *Chaldaica Grammatica* in that it follows the *sex orationis partes*, common, Masius says, to all languages. It

⁹⁷ *Orientalism*, p. 152-153 for details.

⁹⁸ He discusses this misfortune in the dedicatory epistle to Arias Montano *ad finem*. Masius refers to the work in *De Paradiso* 42: *est etiam apud Syros, ut mihi meus doctor dixit, Grammatica absolutissima de syriaca lingua*. For the question of which of Barhebraeus' two grammars is in view, see R. CONTINI, "Gli Inizi della Linguistica Siriaca nell'Europa rinascimentale", *Revista Studi Orientali* 68 (1994) p. 15-30. HOFFMANN, p. 44 boldly conjectures that Tremellius was responsible for its loss: *Masius a Mose Mardeno eam grammaticam, quam ex Syria ille secum tulerat Venetiisque reliquerat, et lexicon in usum Widmanstadii esse descriptam narrat. Omnes vero Widmanstadii libros, ergo et illam grammaticam cum lexico Bavarorum dux emit: sed quo deinde illa Mosis Mardeni apographa venerint, nusquam commemoratum videmus, forte tamen a Tremellio usurpata sunt et in aliqua bibliotheca Bavarica scaten*.

⁹⁹ Masius often used the adjective *syrica* as on title page of his *De Paradiso commentarius scriptus a Mose Bar-Cepha* (Plantin, Antwerp 1569).

¹⁰⁰ The title page continues: *[opus] quod laboriosa animadversione atque notatione vocalium, aliorumque punctorum Syricorum, quibus dictionibus in optimis emendatissimisque libris appositorum ille [Masius] nuper composuit*.

does however treat the verb before the noun¹⁰¹. It similarly makes use of Hebrew grammatical terminology (*benoni, paul, makor*) and calls the derived themes of the verb by Hebrew names. The work is explicitly directed at *iis qui Hebraice erudite sunt* (like Münster's also) so this approach is intelligible and has been long-lived¹⁰². Some attempt is made however to provide Syriac terms for nouns, verbs *etc.* The Dedicatory Epistle offers an account of the origins and history of Aramaic¹⁰³. He considers Syriac the language of Christ and the initial propagation of the Gospel. He is conscious of the large number of Greek loan-words in Syriac, but also is aware of attention paid to sacred texts by Syriac grammarians and exegetes and suggests a growing awareness of what we might call 'Classical Syriac'. He appears to be the first to mention the Syriac Massorah¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰¹ Hoffmann (p. 44) praises the work noticing Hebrew influence, but also the effect of Moses of Mardin's instruction in treating the verb first: *Docet is elementa legendi atque scribendi; in partibus orationis illustrandis verbum primo loco ponit, secundo nomen, tertio particulas simul cum pronominiibus. Hinc Mosis Mardeni institutionem, qua Masius usus est, praesantissimam fuisse luculenter apparet; sed hic quoque Hebraicae dialecti analogiam repiciens, ubique sagacitatem singularem adhibuit, omniaque bene perpendit ac perspicue proposuit, quanquam methodus minus interdum apta videatur; institutio quidem brevis est, sed omnia quae necessaria sunt, continet et sermone plano conscripta est.*

¹⁰² For example, the contemporary T. MURAOKA, *Classical Syriac for Hebraists* (Harassowitz, Wiesbaden 1987).

¹⁰³ *Itaque ex illo sermone quem a Chaldaeis acceperant Israelitae, cum eum ipsi, ut dixi, plurimum casibus terminationibusque mutavissent; & multa insuper Graeca vocabula admiscuissent; (ut erat in sequentibus temporibus, apud plerasque nationes, Graecorum lingua in multo usu;) effecta est ea lingua, quae non modo a nostris hominibus, sed ab illis quoque, quorum propria est, Syrica vocatur. Habes ergo paucis Syricae linguae ortum.*

¹⁰⁴ *Qua cum Christus Dei & Mariae filius, eiusque discipuli, quippe vernacula, in Iudaea primum Israelitis sacrosanctum Euangelium patefecissent, pervulgassentque, plerique omnes deinde Christiani homines, qui illa, atque vicina circumquaque loca incolebant, eadem uti coepere, ad sacra illa salutaris doctrinae monimenta conservanda, tum posteris prodenda, atque etiam explicanda. Fueruntque proinde longo tempore Syrorum Christianorum coetus celeberrimi & frequentissimi: quamquam fere in Graecis semper sint annumerati a nobis, qui ad Occidentem habitamus. Doctissimorum igitur hominum studio, quales apud illos multi vixere, & scriptis libris florere, brevi usque eo expolita est illa lingua, ut non minus scite vocalibus notis, punctisque aliis, quaeque eius literae, syllabae, verba; denique verborum casus, numeri, personae, tempora, genera notata, atque distincta, & illustrata sint, quam in Hebraea lingua factum est ab excellentissimo ingenio viris illis, qui auctores Massoreth, hoc est, traditionis, vocantur. Notice the enumeration of the *orationis partes*. For the Massorah: GUSTAV ERNST SAMUEL DIETRICH (ed.), *Die Massorah der östlichen und westlichen Syrer in ihren Angaben zum Propheten Jesaia nach fünf Handschriften der British**

Syriac Texts other than Scripture

The Syriac scholars of our period were very much busied by the establishment of the grammatical singularity of the language and the work of establishing editions of the biblical text. The definition given to Syriac by the progressive edition of the works of Syriac authors really got underway only towards the middle of the Nineteenth Century¹⁰⁵. Nonetheless, a beginning was made and two scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot may be considered to have attended the birth: Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie.

Masius published a Latin translation of Moses Bar-Cepha's *De Paradiso* written c. 850. The choice of text was made for him in that this was a manuscript (now lost) which Moses of Mardin was able to supply¹⁰⁶. (It is perhaps appropriate to notice that at this time Masius was sufficiently confident in his competence in Syriac to write letters to Moses in Syriac¹⁰⁷.) The book also included some other liturgical and doctrinal documents¹⁰⁸. In the preface Masius described the life of Bar-Cepha and enumerated the other works of Bar Cepha mentioned in the *De Paradiso*: a hexaemeral commentary, a *De Anima*, a commentary on Matthew and a treatise on heresies. Masius also found references in the work to Ephrem, Philoxenus of Mabbug, Severus of Antioch, Jacob of Sarrug, James of Edessa, Julian of Halicarnassus and John of Apamea. It would appear however that he knew these authors only from the work he had just translated. Thus, though not yet a history of Syriac Literature, we have at least a list of some famous names.

Masius also facilitated some small appreciation of the as yet unnoticed complexities of the Syriac Scriptural tradition by his edition of *Joshua* for which he had access to a Syro-hexaplaric manuscript¹⁰⁹.

In 1572 Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie published *De Ritibus Baptismi*, a text and Latin translation of the Liturgy of Baptism

Museum in Verbindung mit zwei Tractaten über Accente (Williams and Norgate, London 1899).

¹⁰⁵ "Für die ... Denkmäler syrischen Literatur wesentlich erst seit der Mitte des 19. Eingesetzt". So A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922; reprint 1968) p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁷ WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 84.

¹⁰⁸ WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 89 ; A. VAN ROEY, *Les études syriaques de 1538-1658* (K. U. Leuven, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheit Bibliotheek 1988) p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ *Joshuae Imperatoris Historia, illustrata atque explicata ...* (Plantin Antwerp 1574); WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 44-45.

and of the Eucharist attributed wrongly to Severus of Antioch¹¹⁰. The *Dedicatoria Epistola* to Petrus Danesius describes two purposes to the edition. Neither is the propagation of knowledge of Syriac Literature. He intends firstly to score polemical points: *Nec enim parum valet ad confirmandos receptos in Ecclesia Romana ritus Orientalium Christianorum consensu: apud quos non dissimiles in sacramentorum administratione ceremonias invenias: quae non heri aut nudiustertius natae sunt, nec a Pontificibus Romanis adinventae... sed iam a multis retro seculis inter Apostolicos viros in usu fuerunt*. The second goal was pedagogic: *ut studiosis linguarum, ac potissimum Syriacae, Iesu Christo redemptionis nostrae auctori quondam vernaculae, aliquantulum prodesse possem*. He had been asked by the professors of Paris and Louvain *ut aliquid Syriace seorsim a Bibliis Regis (Antwerp Polyglot) in lucem emitterem, in quo tyrones seipsos exercerent*. There was very little Syriac text around: Crinesius, we shall see, was obliged to draw on this text for his Lexicon.

The Heritage of Masius

Masius' work became a model for subsequent Syriac grammars¹¹¹. Casper Waser (1565-1625), the Zürich Reformed theologian, Professor of Hebrew and an Orientalist, a friend of both Drusius and Buxtorf, brought out his *Institutio Linguae Syriae ex optimis quibusque apud Syros scriptoribus, in primis Andrea Masio collecta...* in 1593 in Leiden with Raphelengius (who apparently solicited the work) and announced its debt to Masius on its title page¹¹². This was one of the first Syriac books

¹¹⁰ D. Severi Alexandrini quondam Patriarchae de ritibus baptismi, et sacrae synaxis apud Syros Christianos receptas liber. Nunc primum in lucem editus Guidone Fabricio Boderiano exscriptore et interprete (Plantin, Antwerp 1572). The manuscript is in Leiden. (M. J. DE GOEJE, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, Vol. V* (Leiden, 1873) p. 65. WILKINSON, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 103-132.

¹¹¹ R. CONTINI, "Gli Inizi della linguistica siriana nell' Europa rinascimentale", in *Giorgio Levi della Vida nel centenario della nascita 1886-1967* (Rome 1988) p. 25-40 at p.22.

¹¹² Casper Waserus Tigurinus, cum Masii grammaticam in Bibliis Polygl. Antwerp, adire haud facile cuiquam contingeret, eam meliorem in ordinem redactam nonnullisque observationibus tabulisque singula magis et facilius illustrantibus auctam typis denuo imprimendam curavit. Primarius vero eius finis in emendanda hac grammatica fuit, ut singula praecepta memoriae facilius mandarentur. Idem Hebraicas grammaticas tunc exstantes assidue comparavit virumque se praebuit, qui non solum iis, quae ab aliis proponuntur, optime uti possit, sed etiam ipse linguae indolem atque naturam satis perspiciat. HOFFMANN, p. 44.

to be printed in the Northern Netherlands¹¹³. A *Grammatica Syra*, an augmented version of the *Institutio*, appeared in Leiden 1619 with Erpenius¹¹⁴. (Erpenius, Waser claimed, again urged him to produce the book¹¹⁵.) Both works enjoyed the benefits of the Plantin Syriac punches (used for the work of Masius and Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie) and so join the group of works that were increasingly drawing attention to the distinctive nature of Syriac by using its own script¹¹⁶.

Waser is keen to encourage his readers to ever more adventurous study of Oriental Languages. After learning Hebrew, the route to the *lingua Chaldaea* lies open. The languages are close apart from some vocabulary which the Hebrews did not use, or did not use very frequently. The main difference is *in terminatione, mutatione litterarum, punctorum & articulorum variatio, hoc est, in analogia, non essentia utriusque linguae consistit*. In affirming the antiquity of the *lingua Chaldaea* which goes back to Zoroaster, Waser describes the ancient Chaldean traditions of Metaphysics, Mathematics, Physics, Politics, Logic and Astronomy which were once transmitted in the language – and were subsequently appropriated by Plato and Aristotle and passed off as their own. This is reminiscent of Egidio da Viterbo's Aramaean Kabbalah. Predictably biblical Aramaic

¹¹³ Waser later brought out an *Elementale Chaldaicum, ad usum scholarum. Adjectum est Somnium Chaldaico-Latinum Nebudcad-Netzaris* (Typis G. Voegelini, Heidelberg 1611).

¹¹⁴ CASPAR WASER, *Grammatica Syra duobus libris methodice explicata... editio posterior, priori ita emendatior et locupletior, ut nova videri possit* (Typis Rephalengianis, Leiden 1619). Hoffmann positively remarks the distinctly Semitic features of the first edition (*e. g.* treating the verb before the noun) derived from Masius yet 'Westernised' in the second edition and notes other comparative demerits there: *Quamvis vero haec secunda editio in elementis copiosior sit et uberior atque etymologiam et syntaxin distinguat, prior tamen sine dubio ei multo praeferenda, cum in partibus orationis eundem, quem Syri ipsi exhibent, ordinem linguae Semiticae magis consentaneum sequatur, ita ut primo verbum, deinde nomen et particulae, quibus pronomem adnumeratur, accurate tractentur, illa vero altera editio ex Europaeorum linguarum natura primum de nomine cum pronomine, tum de verbo et variis denique particulis praecipiat, et syntaxis, quam ab etymologia separat, nihil nisi suffixorum coniunctionem cum nomine, verbo et particulis, ut apud Tremellium contineat. Prior praeterea editio tabulis optime dispositis rem collustrat, altera vero minus aptis utitur et quae in illa de nominum formatione et flexione proposita erant utilissima, nescio quam ob causam omnino omittit*. HOFFMANN, p. 44-45

¹¹⁵ In the preface of the 1619 *Grammatica Syra* Waser reminisces (in a Preface to his five sons dated 1614) on the first edition composed in 1593-1594. Erpenius had recently sent him his Arabic Grammar and urged him to republish his Syriac Grammar as a sequel.

¹¹⁶ COAKLEY, p. 36. In 1593 he called *estrangela maiusculae*: in 1619 it is designated *difficilior atque minus usitata*.

and the Targums are also considered good for refuting the Jews in their blasphemies against Christ.

Having mastered *lingua Chaldaea*, those with pious daring may aspire to *Lingua Syra Antiochena seu Commagena & Maronita* named for the areas where it is now used. It is a conflation from Hebrew and Chaldaean which began at the time of Cyrus, or not much later under Darius, when the Jewish exiles returned from Babylon to Judaea and over the passing years became much changed from Chaldaean. This was the language of the Jerusalem Talmud in which, in addition to Chaldaean, Babylonian and Assyrian words were distorted in *Syrismum* and in which also Persian, Arabic, Greek and Latin words are found. Similarly the Targums were written in a language further different in speech and sense. This was the Jewish vernacular from Alexander the Great to Christ, evidenced by words in the New Testament and sanctified by our Lord whose language it was. Study of *lingua Syra* can magnificently illuminate more obscure New Testament passages.

Waser was able to review the slowly growing body of Syriac scholarship, which in itself increased the characterization of Syriac. To the extent to which scholars can appeal to a bibliography, they are increasingly able to define their subject. (When we finally consider Lysius' *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae* of 1727 we shall find he has recourse to a defining bibliography of previous editions and studies.) Waser tells of Widmanstetter's edition and manuscripts and of Moses and his Patriarch who used Syriac but through lack of books had scarcely any vestiges left of their religion except baptism. Tremellius followed, working, not from the Vienna manuscript used by Widmanstetter, but from another much older and better one in the library of Frederick III, the Elector Palatine.

The Grammar he claims was written twenty years earlier in Lyons. Hebrew, Chaldaean and Syriac grammars for the sake of good method may all be divided up into *Etymologia (Elementa, Litterae, Puncta and Orationis Partes)* which is found in Book 1 and *Syntaxis* found in Book 2. This Grammar however is unmistakably Syriac. One notices that (following Masius) the verb is treated before the noun. He speaks of the *aph'el* rather than the Hebrew *hiph'il*. Nouns are declined. Examples in vocalized sermo are taken from the New Testament and put into useful tables 'to give light', of which he is evidently proud¹¹⁷. The estrangela alphabet ('*posterior & difficilior*') is mentioned. Like Teseo he referred to these as *maiusculae*. Sections *De Adverbio, De Coniugatione, De Praepositione* and

¹¹⁷ For Waser's Syriac font, COAKLEY, p. 36. It was part of Plantin's material which passed on his death to his son-in-law Raphelengius, passing to his other son-in-law Moretus when Raphelengius' business was wound up.

De Interjectione finish of the list of *orationis partes*. Book 2 treats *De Syntaxi Nominis, Pronominis, Verbi, Adverbii & Praepositionis*. As a reading guide he offered (p. 157) a *Magnificat* in Syriac with an inter-linear Latin gloss and a full grammatical commentary on each verse.

5. Early historical and comparative linguistics

As if to encourage the ‘pious daring’ needed to explore new Semitic Languages, Waser also reissued Konrad Gessner’s *Mithridates* (Wolf, Zürich 1610)¹¹⁸. In 1555, with specific focus on general linguistic phenomenon, the Swiss Konrad Gessner (1516-1565) wrote his *Mithridates*, a consideration of ancient languages still in contemporary use. In all he mentions some 130 languages and is able to give the Lord’s Prayer in 22¹¹⁹. For our purposes we may notice that he equated (f. 15r) *lingua Chaldaica* with *lingua Aramaica* and *lingua Syrorum, Assyriorum & Babyloniorum*¹²⁰. What he knows, or hears, of the language he notes there: *Chaldaica lingua hodie eruditiores in Aegypto & Aethiopia utuntur, ut audio. Hebraicae confinis est, nec forte multo amplius differt quam Dorica a Graeca communi*. However he considers (f. 6v) Ethiopic to be properly called ‘Indian’ and cites Münster’s *Grammatica Chaldaica* as authority. Waser himself made additions to the second part of the book, adding information on several of the languages and providing Paternosters for German Gothic and Turkish.

It is also of interest to see Gessner define what he means by ‘dialect’ as (we have just seen) he considers Chaldaean a dialect rather like Doric. ‘A dialect is an expression presenting a mark or character proper to a place, or an expression showing

¹¹⁸ Waser’s *De Antiquis Numis Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum quorum S. Biblica & Rabbinorum Scripta meminerunt Libri II* (In Officina Wolphiana, Zürich 1605) has only Hebrew type. Syriac terms for coins discussed are taken from the New Testament.

¹¹⁹ A standard technique to display language diversity was to use the Paternoster. Postel had used it so in 1538 in his *Linguarum Duodecim Characteribus Differentium Alphabetum Introductio* (P. Vodovaeus Vernoliensis, Paris). Bibliander did this also in his *De Ratione Communi* of 1548 (below) which was followed and expanded by his pupil Gessner. Hieronymus Megister was to produce an even yet larger collection of Paternosters in 1593: R. SMITSKAMP, *Philologia Orientalia Philologia Orientalis* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1992) #108 #109 p116-118. [Hereafter cited as *P.O.*]

¹²⁰ For a systematic consideration of Gessner’s sources, BERNARD COLOMBAT, “L’horizon de rétrospection du *Mithridate* de Conrad Gessner (1555)”, in DOUGLAS A. KIBBEE (ed.), *History of Linguistics 2005 Selected Papers from the Tenth International Conference on the History of the Linguistic Sciences* (Urbana-Champaign, Illinois 2007) p. 89-102. Pliny the Elder mentions King Mithridates of Pontus in his list of famous polyglots (N. H. VII/24). He allegedly spoke to the people of the twenty-two nations he governed in their own tongues.

the character proper or common to a people'¹²¹. 'Moreover barbarous words (those naturally used by the Greeks) since they are unintelligible are not even said to be called dialects but glosses ...'¹²². 'As for us' (he continues), 'we have observed that 'dialect' signifies often simply a word or an articulated item, or an item in relationship with several words often (especially amongst grammarians) the specific character of a language either in a single word or several by which it differs from the common language or others which resemble it or are related to it'¹²³. There is a hierarchy of dialects in French (*Gallica lingua recentior*); one is more elegant (*tersior*) and spoken specifically in the part of the country known as France; the others are *grossiores*—Provençal, the dialect of Alsace and that of the Bourgogne. The Savoyard dialect from the Italian Alps is the worst *crassissima*. *Italica vulgaris lingua* is a corrupted form of Latin. The best dialect is that of Tuscany, around Siena. The language become more corrupt as one approaches the Alps and the worst (*ineptissimus & maxime depravatus sermo*) is the Rhaetian spoken in the Alps themselves (f. 57v).

Seven years earlier in his *De Ratione Communi Omnium Linguarum et Literarum Commentarius* (Zurich: Froben, Zürich) of 1548 the Protestant Hebraist Theodor Bibliander (1504-1564) with whom Gessner had studied and who since 1530s had occupied Zwingli's old chair at Zurich believed he could work out not only the family tree of all languages stemming from Hebrew and their underlying *ratio*, but also a method for their easy apprehension because Hebrew was the product of no mere art or accident but of the Holy Spirit itself¹²⁴. The languages investigated included Turkish, Persian and Hungarian. All are derived from Hebrew: *ebrea est primigenia reliquae ex ea propagatae et genitae sunt*. In the process of descent the Japhet languages degenerated further than the Semitic ones. The resemblances and differences between the scripts in which

¹²¹ ... *dictio peculiarem alicuius loci notam seu characterem prae se ferens: uel dictio quae propriam communemve gentis characterem ostendit.*

¹²² *Porro uoces barbaras (quae scilicet à Graecis usurpantur) cum sint incomprehensibiles, non etiam dialectos, sed glossas uocari aiunt.*

¹²³ *Nos dialectum alias simpliciter sermonem siue orationem articulatam significare obseruauimus, uel ipsum in pluribus uerbis colloquium: alias (apud grammaticos praesertim) linguae alicuius siue in singulis siue in pluribus uerbis proprietatem, qua a communi uel reliquis similibus aut cognatis differt (1v-2r).*

¹²⁴ Newly edited and translated: HAGIT AMIRAV - HANS-MARTIN KIRN - THEODOR BIBLIANDER (eds.), *De Ratione* etc. (Droz, Geneva 2011). See PIETER ADRIANUS VERBURG, *Language and its Functions: A Historico-Critical Study of Views Concerning the Functions of Language from the Pre-Humanistic Philology of Orleans to the Rationalistic Philology of Bopp* (John Benjamins B.V., Amsterdam 1998) p. 172-174 on Bibliander.

languages are written are considered to provide evidence for affiliation. Difference arises from spread of settlements, political domination and education¹²⁵. Words are modified by addition, subtraction, transposition - and exchange (mutation) *i. e.* anything else¹²⁶. Bibliander used the biblical narrative of the Tower of Babel to underpin his work¹²⁷. The original language was not simply confused at the time of the Tower. More positively, the Reason inherent in the first unique language was thereby suffused into the subsequent dialects which ultimately became all the tongues of mankind. Babel guaranteed a common reason which is the rational structure of all language and it is that reason, common to all languages as residue of the original language, which ensures the universal reception of the Christian gospel.

Such a doctrine had however a positive and practical pedagogic consequence, which can be seen from a consideration of his Hebrew grammar, the *Institutiones*¹²⁸. There the tradition of classical grammar is followed and the whole work is integrated into the curricular approach of the Zurich *Schola Tigurina* based on the theological conviction of common features amongst the languages the student already knows. The imagined student will already have achieved some language proficiency and sufficient experience to facilitate developing strategies of teaching and learning. The use of Latin, Greek and Hebrew in *Institutiones* thus had a didactic motivation and justification: a basis in teaching and learning consolidated by his doctrine of universal linguistic *ratio* underlies his grammar, though, as we have seen, this was written thirteen years before the *De Ratione Communi*.

We have lingered somewhat over these two early accounts of historical and comparative linguistics in anticipation of both similar later treatments (with Hutter) and a more focused, vigorous and widespread interest in comparative semitic philolo-

¹²⁵ HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft : Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg - Munich 1955) p. 56.

¹²⁶ PIETER A. VERBURG, *Language and its Functions* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1995) p. 172-174 on Bibliander.

¹²⁷ MAURICE OLEANDER, "From the Language of Adam to the Pluralism of Babel", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997) p. 51-59 at p. 56-57.

¹²⁸ Bibliander published his *Institutionum Grammaticarum de Lingua Hebraea liber unus*, in Zürich with Froschauer (In officina Froschoviana, Zurich 1535) thirteen years before the *De Ratione* and his *De Optimo Genere Grammaticorum Hebraicorum*, (Hieronymus Curio, Basel) in 1542. See ANJA-SILVIA GOEING, "Establishing Modes of Learning: Old and New Hebrew Grammars in the Sixteenth Century" in E. CAMPI (ed.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Text Books in Early Modern Europe* (Droz, Geneva 2008) p. 157-182.

gy which we shall encounter below¹²⁹. Nonetheless we may already make a distinction between a comparative philology which considers merely descent and one which also seeks to assert some more essential commonality between languages.

Palma-Cayet

We may briefly assess the comparative linguistic perspective in two confessionally opposed works. Forty years after Canisius' *Institutiones Linguae Syriacae, Assyriacae etc.* (1554) appeared in Paris, Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet (Caietanus) (1525-1610) published his *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuis arabica armena syra aethiopica ...* (Estienne Prévosteau héritier de Guillaume Morel, Paris 1594) which he dedicated to Clement VIII. Palma-Cayet was, like Petro Martinez, a pupil of Peter Ramus. He embraced Calvinism with him, but returned to Catholicism in 1595, became a priest and Professor of Hebrew at the Collège de Navarre in Paris. His experiences eventually left him with plenty of animus towards the Calvinists against whom he wrote extensively. His work is occasionally just a little heavy with Catholic piety. It is 'comparative' sadly only in the sense that it once more compares Hebrew and Aramaic. It does not distinguish Syriac from Aramaic.

Palma-Cayet has Arabic, Turkish, Armenian and Syriac type though they are often poor—as well as Greek and a pointed Hebrew generally used for Syriac. There is only one specimen of Syriac (vocalized serto) on p130 which I take to be a wood-cut. It is an *Ave* transliterated and provided with a verse by verse commentary with devotional and anti-Calvinist polemical remarks to enliven a purely philological attempted reading. A *Paternoster* in Hebrew type follows with somewhat more philological comment, at least initially, and finally a *Requiem* in Hebrew type.

The section on the *Lingua syriaca* tells us that this was Jesus' language and of the early date of the Syriac New Testament: traces of Syriac words found in Greek New Testament manuscripts argue for an early date for the Syriac New Testa-

¹²⁹ For Joseph Justus Scaliger's (1540-1609) short excursus on the grouping of the European languages *Diatriba de linguis Europaeorum* which appeared posthumously in *Opuscula Varia antehac non Edita* (Apud Hieronymum Drouart, Paris 1610) p. 610ff, see HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg/ Munich 1955) p. 59-6. Scaliger was happy to consider several languages with linguistic descendants as a mother-language (*matrix lingua*). He was not eager to establish descent from merely one language nor of that of Latin from Greek. His work, which in considering Persian, opened a perspective onto Oriental languages, was firmly grounded in empirical linguistic observations.

ment. *Lingua syraca* is also used by all Asiatic Christians as their vernacular and *in sacris*. Their liturgies were not different from Rome's. A confessionally loaded point is being made here. Roman Catholic controversialists, as we have seen, found the supposedly ancient liturgies recovered from the Eastern Church valuable evidence of the validity in the face of Protestant detraction. Palma-Cayet is also eager to tell of the Fifth Lateran Council and the Maronites' earlier submission to Innocent III and the renewing the Oath of Union¹³⁰.

Lingua syraca is the language of the Targums and the Talmuds (Bavli is purer, not having so many foreign words). Its origin is usually put in the Exile but Palma-Cayet considers it belongs earlier to the time of King Hezekiah (*i. e.* the time of Rabshakeh). After the Exile it was adopted by the Syrian *gens*, and the assorted nations then occupying the Galilee. (The maiden in Matthew's Gospel who told Peter that his speech betrayed him shows that the speech of Galilee was different from that of the Judaeans.) Nothing here really distinguishes Syriac other than the word-cut *Ave*.

The book invites one to learn the alphabet by learning divine names which begin with each of the letters, as found in both Teseo and Widmanstetter. We are introduced to the five vowels and told the Nestorians' are different. A few Syriac grammatical terms are used (*atat* for *apica*: *kusui* & *ruhoch* for *dagesh* and *spiritum*). *Omnes orationis partes* are in frequent agreement with Hebrew. The book is not at all usable. It is rather written to display the universal and catholic interests of the Church, and in stressing that the Eastern Church enjoys the same Scripture and Liturgy as the Roman Church makes a familiar polemical point. This is scholarship in service of the Church and not much more.

On the other side of the confessional divide John Gaspar Myricaues, (-1653), the German Swiss Reformed Theologian and Orientalist stressed the double glory of Syriac as the language of Adam and of Christ¹³¹. He addressed Syriac in two

¹³⁰ *Orientalism*, p. 12-13.

¹³¹ Giwargis Amira similarly considered Aramaic the language of Paradise (see below). For the view of some Syriac scholars that their language was spoken in the Garden of Eden, see YONATAN MOSS, "The Language of Paradise: Hebrew or Syriac? Linguistic Speculations and Linguistic Realities in Late Antiquity," in (eds.) Markus Bockmuehl MARKUS BOCKMUEHL and GUY G. STROUMSA, *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) p. 20-37.

Exception was taken to Myricaues's championship of the priority of Syro-Chaldaean by Bartholomaeus Mayer (1598-1631), rector of the Thomasschule at Leipzig in his *Philologiae sacrae pars prima continens Prodrorum Chaldaismi sacri, in quo ejusdem causa eruitur ac sylloge vocabulorum Aegyptiacorum, Graecorum et Latinorum, quae in Veteris Instrumenti authentico codice... habentur, exhibetur. Pars secunda, in qua linguae sacrae*

works, the *Prima Elementa Linguae Syriacae Iesu-Christo Vernaculae...* (1616)¹³² and the *Grammaticae Syro-Chaldaee Libri Duo* of 1619¹³³. The guide to reading and writing displays Johannes Richter's Wittenberg Syriac font for serto (which it calls miniscules) and a (wood-cut) book-hand estrangela which it calls majuscules¹³⁴. These latter are pretty crude and only appear in the initial alphabet on p. 4-5. A few Arabic letters partly in type appear at the end of the book. Vocalization above and below the line is displayed with Greek vowels (*antiquior*) and puncta (*recentior*). Thereafter vowel lengths, diphthongs, vocalization with prefixes and suffixes are treated together with advice on writing letters and syllables. Declensions are given for nouns and pronouns using prefixed prepositions. Latin grammatical terms are used, though the derived themes of the verb are described using Syriac vowel patterns. Exercises in reading follow: an Apostles' Creed, some liturgical passages and some graces¹³⁵.

antiquitas contra Myricaicum astruitur, etc. (Sumptibus G. Grosii, excudebat J. A. Minzelius Leipzig 1629-31). In the second part, Myricaicus's Syriac Grammar in respect of the priority of Aramaic is the object of criticism. The work uses no Syriac type.

¹³² *Prima Linguae Syrae, Iesu Christo Vernaculae, Elementa. His accessere exercitia quaedam lectionis cum versione interlineari: Nec non Manuductio ad conficiendam tabulam radicum Hebraearum, suis cum significationibus; Ut et consilium conscribendi Lexicon Polyglotton, methodo novo et plane artificiali; cum quibusdam versibus Gram. Heb. concernentibus etc.* (Pierre de la Rouière, Geneva 1616. 1618 or 1622 for second ed.).

¹³³ *Grammaticae Syro-Chaldaee Libri Duo, Quorum Primus voces simpliciter; Secundus vero conjunctas considerat. Interseritur sparsim Rabbinitalmodicae dialecti variatio* (Pierre de la Rouière, Geneva 1619). Also, *Grammatica Syra Duobus Libris methodice explicata. Editio posterior, priori ita emendata & locupletior, ut nova videri possit* (Typis Raphelengianis, Leiden 1619).

¹³⁴ For the font, COAKLEY, p. 48-50.

¹³⁵ Cardinal Robert Bellarmine S. J. (1542-1621) makes use of Myricaicus' reader in his *Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae, postremo recognitae, ac locupletae huic editioni accesserunt...* *Item Linguae Syriacae Iesu-Christo Vernaculae Elementa Prima, syriacis characteribus edita.* (Apud Petrum de la Rouière, Geneva 1618). They shared the same printer whose commercial interests were no doubt not to be sacrificed to confessional allegiance. See A. VAN ROEY, *Les Etudes Syriaques de 1538-1658* (K. U. Leuven, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid Bibliotheek 1988) p. 13. Bellarmine discussed *De Editione Syriaca* in his *Disputationes...* (Ingolstadt 1581-1593 and elsewhere thereafter) at First Disputation, Book II, *cap* 4. He distinguished the language (which had arisen after the Exile from a mixture of half forgotten Hebrew and badly pronounced Chaldaean) very clearly from Chaldaean: *Porro distinguuntur hae duae linguae characteribus, verborum, conjugationibus, affixis, punctuorum notatione, sono vocalium, idiotismis, ac tota fere linguae structura & multis etiam propriis dictionibus* – which seems fairly comprehensive. Bellarmine considered it possible that Matthew and Hebrews were written in Syriac (he followed Widmanstetter), but could not

The Dedicatory Epistle of the Grammar is modest, calling the work *primitias* (first-fruits) *hasce nostras*. It affirms the unity of the language—*Syra, Assyriaca, Chaldaea* or *Aramaea*—and demonstrates its history from the usual biblical and classical passages, finding the language generally belonged to the same set of people through the ages. Nevertheless it is acknowledged to have significant internal differences in pronunciation and vocabulary analogous to those of the ancient Greek dialects. Syro-Chaldaean however is not the product of a mixing of Hebrew and Chaldaean. Rather it is the original Adamic language and flourished both before Hebrew and after the latter was forgotten. The Hebrew people were the descendants of the Chaldaeans and it was the Chaldaeans who retained the original language after Babel. (Heber the grandson of Shem (whence ‘Hebrews’) is, of course, mentioned in Genesis 10—in the chapter *before* Babel—and Myrcaeus has thus to account for this inconvenient fact.)

Apart from being the original language, the other distinction of Syro-Chaldaean was that Christ and his Apostles spoke *idiomate Syro*. When the New Testament refers to Hebrew (*hebraisti*) it means the *Lingua Syra* which the people spoke. Only the Pharisees and the learned spoke Hebrew – that is why when hearing Jesus speak Hebrew they asked whence he had learned his letters. Syro-Chaldaean is the language of peace: of the Angel’s proclamation at the birth of Christ; the language in which Jesus preached the remission of sins and instituted the sacraments – in all a language consecrated by the very words which came from his own mouth.

In addition to these distinctions, the Targums are useful for the interpretation of difficult Hebrew passages in the Old Testament and difficulties in New Testament Greek are made clear in the Syriac New Testament. The language also provides access to Daniel and Ezra, the Jewish commentators and the many astronomical, mathematical, philosophical and theologi-

believe, for lack of evidence, that (as the Syrians themselves asserted) St Mark handed over the whole New Testament put into Syriac to the Eastern churches. Bellarmine’s catechism *De Doctrina Christiana* was put into Syriac by the Propaganda in 1665. Otherwise Bellarmine has acquired notoriety for his judgment that Ephrem ‘was obviously more pious than learned’, quoted with approval by R. PAYNE SMITH, “Ephrem the Syrian” in *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (London 1880) II, p. 140. The sentiment was repeated by F. C. BURKITT, *Early Eastern Christianity* (London 1904) p. 99 who lamented that [the popularity of Ephrem’s works] “shows a lamentable standard of public taste”. For similar see: “The Christian Church in the East” in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (CUP 1939) XII, p. 502; J. B. SEGAL, *Edessa The Blessed City* (OUP, 1971) p. 89. For a decisive early response: S. P. BROCK, “The Poetic Artistry of St. Ephrem: An Analysis of H-Azim III”, *Parole de l’Orient* 6/7 (1975-1976) p. 21-28, esp. p. 22.

cal books written in this language. Nonetheless, the interest here is essentially biblical. There appears to be little interest in contemporary Syriac, but rather in the abiding original tongue and the light it shines on Scripture. It may be however that in the reference to ‘the many ... books written in this language’, rather than to the legendary works of Aramean wisdom, there is some acknowledgment of resources of the properly Syriac tradition.

The Grammar itself (rather than the reading book) forms two books. The first begins with letters, vowels and accents. *De vocis generibus* comprises a clear opening division of language and words. Then come: the noun and its declensions, the pronoun and the verb—its conjugation and themes, the *aph’el* and verbal nouns—then adverbs and conjunctions. The second book of syntax treats of joining morphemes together to put nominal suffixes on verbs or possessives on nouns *etc.* Names of numerals, letters as numerals and the *alphabetum Arabico-Syrum* follow. In a note to the language student we are told that the grammar itself was inspired by the method of Peter Martinez in his *Grammatica*. Syro-Chaldaean is taught by addressing the differences. The student is advised to start by reading the *voces* which have the same sounds as Latin and move on to those that sound different from Latin. Vocalized Hebrew font and Richter’s vocalized serto are used. The wood-cut estrangela again makes an appearance but only at the beginning. The Syriac is marked out from the other Aramaic words clearly by its font so whereas other tables are given in Hebrew letters, the Syriac tables appear in their own font. Examples given are generally references to the New Testament as we might expect.

6. The founding of the Maronite College

As a result of the missionary efforts (1578-1582) of the Jesuit Giambattista Eliano the Younger (the converted nephew and disciple of Elias Levita) among the Maronites, Gregory XIII (1572-1585) founded The Maronite College in Rome under Jesuit direction¹³⁶. Two young Maronites arrived in Rome in

¹³⁶ PIERRE RAPHAEL, *Le Rôle du Collège maronite romain dans L’Orientalisme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Beirut 1950) p. 11-69 for the early history of the College. Also, N. GEMAYEL, *Les échanges culturels entre Les Maronites et l’Europe: du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de ‘Aya Warka (1789)* (Beirut 1984). Gregory’s outreach to the Eastern Churches created an enduring legacy of oriental expertise in Rome, see ROBERT J. WILKINSON, “Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century”, *Journal of Late Antique Religion and Culture* 6 (2012) p. 55-74. Gregory also established the chair in Arabic. Nevertheless a certain tension was apparent between those who sought acclimatisation to Rome and those who sought to develop native clergy. Also the Patriarch concerned for his own future priests and their linguistic and theological competences viewed their enrolment in the Society of Jesus with suspicion. MURIEL DEBIÉ, “La grammaire syriaque d’Ecchellensis en contexte”, in

1579 and were housed initially in the Collegio dei Neofiti, itself established in 1577 to offer instruction to new Christians, particularly Jewish converts. The libraries of both colleges came to hold important oriental texts¹³⁷. In 1580 four more Maronites arrived from the Lebanon and a third group of ten boys arrived in 1583. The College became in time the major stimulus for Syriac studies in Europe and its scholars in time transformed the understanding of the language in the West.¹³⁸ It maintained nonetheless its essentially missionary vocation and together with the press of the De Propaganda Fide was concerned with the relations between the Holy See and contemporary Eastern Christians with whom unity was sought in the historical doctrines of the Roman Church.

In the last decades of the Sixteenth Century Rome was outstanding as the European centre of Oriental study and print technology. That expertise was exported to Paris and lies behind the Paris Polyglot Bible. But by the middle of the next century this intellectual leadership had, we shall see, crossed over the Alps not only to Paris but also Oxford and Leiden.

Printing started at the Maronite College in 1617 and their type was sold to the Propaganda Fidei in 1653¹³⁹. Some of the works printed were principally for the use of the Maronite students in Rome, but others sought a wider distribution in their

BERNARD HEYBERGER (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)* (Brepols, Turnhout 2010) p. 99-117 at p. 102; more widely S. TABAR, "Les relations de l'Église maronite avec Rome au XVIIe siècle", *Parole de l'Orient* 9 (1979-1980) p. 255-276.

¹³⁷ Kircher made use of Hebrew manuscripts from the Neofiti. He also located the Syriac *Philosophia* of Mor Isaac at the Maronite College: Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (1719) p. 461-462; DANIEL STOLZENBERG, *Egyptian Oedipus Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (University of Chicago Press 2013) p. 107-108.

¹³⁸ "Once the Maronite college, founded in 1584, had become fully established, it was a series of great Maronite scholars working in Italy who provided the real stimulus for the development of Syriac studies in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." S. P. BROCK, "The Development of Syriac Studies", in K. J. CATHART (ed.), *The Edward Hinck Bicentenary Lectures* (Dublin 1994) p. 94-113, 97-98.

¹³⁹ COAKLEY, p. 56-59, 160-163 for the Maronite College's punch cutters and their type. Initially at its founding in 1622 the Congregatio did not have its own printing office. Stephanus offered to print works for missionary purposes at his own expense on condition that the press bore his name; that he was the congregation's exclusive printer; and also that he had exclusive rights to publish in oriental languages. A true publishing house and foundry was established in the Congregation's name but under Paulinus' direction in 1626. It thereafter acquired the exotic types of the Stamperia Vaticana and the Medicean Press. Paulinus retired about 1636. See MARGHERITA FARINA, "La nascita della Tipographia Medicea: personaggi e idea" in Sara Fani & Margherita Farin (eds.), *La Tipographia Medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Mandragora Florence, 2012) p. 43-72.

homeland. Still others had a significant influence on Syriac Studies in Rome and more widely in the West¹⁴⁰. Amira published his massively influential grammar in 1596 which was exploited by Maronite and Westerner alike¹⁴¹. Girgis al-Karamsaddani wrote a Syriac-Latin lexicon *Manârat as-syrânîya* for the College in 1619¹⁴². Ecchellensis' grammar appeared in 1628. The works of Sergius Risius (1635), Sciandrensis (1636), Acuriensis (1645) were intended primarily for native speakers. (Arabic was their vernacular and Syriac, as their scriptural and liturgical language, needed to be perfected by study. Those coming to Rome as children had the additional burden of Latin if not of Italian.) Such pedagogic concerns produced grammars which better defined the language.

The Propaganda promoted Syriac with several alphabets. An *Alphabetum Chaldaicum, cum Oratione Dominicali, Salutatione Angelica, & Salutatione ad Virginem Mariam. Latina, & Chaldaica lingua compositis & impressis* (Typis Sacrae Congreg. De Propaganda Fide, Rome 1634) tabulated Latin letters, their transliterated Syriac name, the same name in Syriac letters, and finally the Syriac letter sign. Vowels, hard and soft sounds, and writing vowels onto consonants were explained before a reading passage¹⁴³. An *Alphabetum syro-chaldaicum: una cum Oratione Dominicali Salutatione Angelica et Symbolo Fidei* (Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, Rome) appeared much later in 1797. It is not well printed but now has three scripts after Amira with unvocalised estrangela passages

¹⁴⁰ *Inter multos Maronitarum illorum aemulos, plerumque in Germania, praestantiores Crinesius, Dilherr, Leusdenus, Cellarius, maxime vero Opitius fuerunt; alii Chaldaeam et Syriacam dialectos coniunctim, alii Syram cum reliquis dialectis collatam tractarunt; ex illis Io. Buxtorfium, Hottingerum, Schaafium, Iahnium et Vaterum, ex his vero Ludovicum de Dieu laudandos putamus.* HOFFMANN, p. 46.

¹⁴¹ *Cum vero fere omnes qui post illum grammaticam tractarunt, eius vestigia magis minusve legerint, atque nos ipsi plerumque ...* HOFFMANN, p. 46

¹⁴² See GEORG GRAF, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur III* (BAV, Vatican City 1947) p. 336. [Hereafter, GRAF *GCAL*.] The work is mentioned in STEPHANUS M. QUATREMERE ET AL., *Thesaurus Syriacum* (Clarendon, Oxford 1879) I, p. iv: "*Lexicon Georgii Karmosedinoyo Maronita A. C. 1619 Romae conscriptum, et in usum huius operis [i. e. the Thesaurus Syriacum] a Josepho et Mose Wolfio exscriptum*".

¹⁴³ An *Alphabetum Chaldaicum antiquum estranghelo ductum, una cum etc.* appeared dated to 1636 and an identical copy dated (by error?) to 1635. This 1636 copy diffused more widely the term estrangela first used by Amira. It also makes reference to Nestorian script called here *reformata*. It provided a Lord's Prayer, Angelic Salutation and Credo in estrangela and then serto. For the estrangela type, COAKLEY, p. 161-162.

(identified as in a more ancient script), as well as vocalised serto¹⁴⁴.

Giwargis Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica... in septem libros divisa* (In Typographia Linguarum Externarum, apud Jacobum Lunam, Rome 1596) was the first scholarly Syriac Grammar to be edited by a Lebanese scholar and printed by a Lebanese printer¹⁴⁵. The author (c.1573-1644) was sent to Rome in 1583 from Ehden in the Lebanon, and subsequently taught Syriac at the Maronite College until 1595. Thereafter he returned home to become bishop of his home town and in 1633 was chosen Patriarch. He published the Maronite Missal of 1594¹⁴⁶ and took an active part in the publication of the Quzḥayya Psalter of 1610, the first Syriac book to be printed in the Middle East¹⁴⁷. The Grammar was dedicated to Cardinal Caetan, Clement V, to the Council of Vienne (where the value of Syriac to Rome had already been recognised) and to its as yet unfulfilled ambitions: "*quasi cedrorum fructos a Libano decisos... & qui primum ab homine Syro, in solo Romano lingua Latina sint editi*". In the Preface to the Reader Raimondi is

¹⁴⁴ The Preface begins with a discussion of Theodoret's claim that Syriac (*hê tōn Surōn glottē*) was the oldest language (*Questions On Genesis* c. LX & LXI). The use of the language in the Old Testament and Greek New Testament is traced. More instances of Syriac in the New Testament now include Jesus's Cry of Dereliction and the Commission of Peter. Mention is made of St Ephrem. The Syriac names of the vowels are given and the controversy over orthography is mentioned. This was printed on the eve of the Napoleonic conquest of Italy, during which the French government ordered the confiscation of exotic language punches and matrices from the Propaganda for the Imprimerie nationale.

¹⁴⁵ The work was printed by the Maronite scholar Ya'qūb b. Hilāl (Jacques Kamar or Jacobus Luna), a composer at the Medicean Press under Raimondi, and as such responsible for the Arabic and Syriac publications issued between 1590 and 1594. (For the 24 pt serto used here and cut in 1590 by Jean Cavaillon for the Medicean Press, see Smitskamp *P.O.* #184c p. 164 Coakley p.43-45). In 1595 he started printing on his own, and possibly took over some of the types of the Vatican Press, where Dominicus Basa had died in 1596. See N. GEMAYEL, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe: du Collège maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Aya Warka (1789)* (Beirut 1984) p. 190-91. At the beginning of the Grammar a Syriac alphabet is presented in three different scripts: estrangela (this word possibly used here for the first time, see Nestle in *Marksteine* 34 and diffused more widely in the Propaganda's 1636 Alphabetum), serto, and the first appearance in print of the Nestorian script, possibly in type, but perhaps wood-cut. I give an overview of Syriac typography in Rome at this time in ROBERT J. WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century", p. 55-74,60-62,71-73. There is now the delightful catalogue M. FARINA & S. FARI, *Le vie delle lettere La tipografia medicea tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Mandragora, Florence 2012).

¹⁴⁶ GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 338.

¹⁴⁷ COAKLEY, p. 45-47.

mentioned as his friend and instigator of the work and thanked for his help with the type¹⁴⁸.

His aim was to teach Syriac (*Lingua Chaldaica, sive Syriaca*). The language was not commonly understood, for previous grammars (as we have seen) were in fact Hebrew grammars (*potius ad linguae hebraicae, quam Chaldaicae, sive syriacae normam constructas*) – which cannot convey a true understanding of this language to their students and leads them into error and thus the language in Europe has been corrupted. His work further aimed to be of use to members of the Maronite College who came to Rome to study and who were put to much trouble by the considerable difficulty of the native Syrian Grammarians and the scarcity of their books. He also wanted to use Syriac grammatical terminology alongside the Latin¹⁴⁹.

In the *Praeludia* Amira explains the many names given to Syriac: *chaldaica, babylonica, aramaea, syriaca, assyriaca, hebraica* and *christiana*. The language is ancient and dignified. It is useful both for the study of Scripture and for the conversion of the heretical Eastern churches. He mentions S. Ephrem, *Iacobus Syrus qui multa in Scripturam edidit commentaria* and *Iacobus Nisibena civitatis episcopus* – but mentions no other works of Syriac literature. He stresses the essential homogeneity of Chaldaic (by which he means Eastern Syriac) and Syriac (styled by him *Chaldaica reformata*), and their accidental differences (*nomina perfecta* ending in /a/ or /o/; consonant duplication, etc.). For the first time it was made clear that Syriac has two dialects, Western and Eastern, of the same one language and may be written in three alphabets, estrangela (the oldest), serto and syro-oriental or ‘Nestorian’. He also makes a spirited case for the primogeniture of Chaldaic as the language spoken in Paradise. The glory of the language is further enhanced by use by Christ and the apostles as their [*lingua*] *vernacula... ac materna* as is proved by the consensus of scholars and, indeed, the New Testament itself. We thus may note that the vivifying influence of a real Syriac Grammar is tempered by the conviction of its antiquity and sanctity. Thus once more we see linguistic erudition tempered and constrained by firmly held convictions.

The grammar itself is divided into seven books: the first three on morphology take up the main part (pp. 1-430), and afterwards two books *de partibus orationis* and *de syntaxi*. Two

¹⁴⁸ COAKLEY, p. 43-45.

¹⁴⁹ J. S. Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* I p552) mentions manuscript abbreviations of Amira’s work by Petrus Metroscita and Gabriel Avodius Hesronita in the Library of the Maronite College and in the Collegium Urbanum of the Propaganda.

more follow *de contexendis carminibus* and *de interpungendae orationis ratione*¹⁵⁰.

Amira felt the need to provide generous examples for a language so little known in the Latin West and with insufficient resources of dictionaries and other necessary books, so that rules might become comprehensible and also to teach more of the language. He is eager to stress the distinction between *lingua Chaldaica* and *lingua Syriaca* but draws a distinction between a *distinctio essentialis* and *distinctio accidentalis*. When it comes to accidents: ancient Chaldaean in remote parts had its absolute singular noun end in /a/ but in Syriac it is /o/: *mscihha* /*mscihho*; *Adam* /*Odom*. Moreover Chaldaeans in reading in some circumstances double /d/, /y/ and /l/ before /a/. Those in Eastern parts often add /a/ when Syriac uses /e/: *ssala* /*ssela* (*hinnitus*). Nevertheless underneath they are the same essentially and this ‘essential’ language is what was found in Paradise and through the subsequent historical manifestations of Aramaic with which we are familiar.

Syriac literature boasts its own tradition of grammatical studies, which as we have seen, played no part whatsoever in the early Western discovery of the language. The language there, we know, was identified almost from the first as that spoken by Jesus and was confused with Biblical and other types of Aramaic as well as Hebrew. The confusion was not helped by the lack of appropriate type. The first reflex of the native tradition appears here in Amira’s Grammar, and because it was printed in Latin, though it was modestly presented merely as a tool for students of the Maronite College, its publication facilitated a larger audience.

That native tradition was, we know, characterized by the Aristotelian logic taught in the schools and was influenced by Greek grammatical thought with, notably, the translation in the Sixth Century of the *Techne Grammatike* of Dionysius Thrax. Subsequently Arabic grammatical thought influenced descriptions of phonology and morphology. Jacob of Edessa (†708) whom we considered above reflected the former influence; Bar Zobi (XIIIcent) the later¹⁵¹. The Large and Small Grammars of Barhebraeus represented something of a synthesis of the two

¹⁵⁰ *In septem libros dispertita est, ita ut in primo de litteris, vocalibus, punctis et aliis, quae ad legendi modum pertinent; in secundo de nomine ac pronomine; in tertio de verbo et verbo nominis sive participio; in quarto de reliquis orationis partibus; in quinto de syntaxi; in sexto de contexendis carminibus; in septimo denique de interpungendae orationis modo agatur.* HOFFMANN, p. 46.

¹⁵¹ G. BOHAS, *Les bgdkpt en syriaque selon Bar Zobi* (AMAM-CEMAA, Toulouse 2005); JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN, “Le Traité de Bar-Zu‘bi sur l’accentuation”, in *Congrès international des orientalistes. Compte-rendu de la première session, Paris 1873* (Maisonneuve, Paris 1876) p. 455-456.

traditions. It seems probable that Amira knew at least the Large Grammar¹⁵². Thus there was no one monolithic native tradition and one should not be surprised at differences between native scholars¹⁵³.

Whilst Amira drew on the native Syriac grammatical tradition, he also digested that tradition to offer a serviceable grammar both to his fellow countrymen as well other scholars in Rome. In this respect it should be noticed that the native tradition was not at this point greatly imposed upon by analysis in terms of the eight Western *orationis partes*¹⁵⁴.

Sionita

Gabriel Sionita (Gibra'il al-Sahyuni) (1577-1648), was another Maronite scholar who first worked in Rome for the French ambassador François Savary de Brèves (1608-1614) at his *Typographia Savariana*¹⁵⁵. He went to Paris with Savary in 1614 where he also became Professor of Arabic at the Collège Royal. Sionita was editor in Paris of a Psalter printed somewhat

¹⁵² Edited by AXEL MOBERG, *Buch der Strahlen. Die grössere Grammatik des Barhebraeus. Übersetzung nach einem kritisch berichtigten Texte, mit Textkritischem Apparat und einem Anhang, zur Terminologie* (Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig 1907, 1913.). The French version is: *Le Livre des Splendeurs: la grande grammaire de Grégoire Barhebraeus. Texte syriaque édité d'après les manuscrits avec une introduction et des notes*. Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 4 (C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund 1922). GEORGES BOHAS, "Barhebraeus et la tradition grammaticale syriaque", *Parole de l'Orient* 33 (2008) p. 145-158; ERNST BERTHEAU (ed.), *Gregorii Bar Hebraei qui est Abulpharag Grammatica linguae syriacae in metro Ephraeae* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1843); JEAN-PIERRE PAULIN MARTIN (ed.), *Œuvres grammaticales d'Abou'lfaradj dit Bar Hebreus* (Paris: Maisonneuve, Paris 1872) 2 vol.; vol. II, p. 77-126.

¹⁵³ Thus Assemani and Amira disagree on gemination, MERX, *Grammatica*, p. 57-58.

¹⁵⁴ *Quae res cum ita se habeat, quanti momenti sit illa Amirae grammatica, facile intelligitur; praestantissimorum enim grammaticorum veterum sententias de sua vernacula litteris mandatas simulque quae ipse sagacissimus artisque grammaticae valde peritus de iis iudicavit, accurate exhibet ... In numero partium orationis Amira latinos sequitur grammaticos et distinguit nomen cum numeralibus, pronomen, verbum, verbum nominis seu participium, adverbium, praepositionem, interiectionem et coniunctionem; syntaxis ipsius, quamvis mutila sit, multas tamen observationes praebet grammatico valde utiles.* HOFFMANN, p. 47. MERX, *Grammatica*, p. 140 notes that Barhebraeus, Amira, Abraham Ecchellensis, Sciandrensis and Acuriensis show an awareness of the triple division of the *partes orationis* no doubt under Arabic influence. The *antiquiores*, however, John the Stylite (c.830) and Elias bar Shinaya (c. 1049) distinguish seven *partes orationis* (Amira p. 56). Also bar Zobî (c.1200). For John, AXEL MOBERG, "Die syrische Grammatik des Johannes Estōnājā" *Le Monde Oriental* 3:1 (1909) p. 24-33.

¹⁵⁵ GEMAYEL, I, p. 212-240; p. 322-334. SMITSKAMP *P.O.* #191 and 187.

later in 1624-1625 and also of Bar Hebraeus' *Veteris philosophi Syri de sapientia divina poëma aenigmaticum* (1628)¹⁵⁶. The printer in both cases was Antoine Vitré¹⁵⁷.

Sionita was charged with the production of the Syriac and Arabic texts (complete with a Latin translation) for Le Jay's Paris Polyglot Bible. Sionita broke off his work abruptly at volume VII and declined to provide the material for the seven remaining volumes. The issue seems to have been financial and, after a trial before the Conseil d'État and internment in Vincennes, Sionita resumed his studies. Le Jay, however, was eager for a substitute should things go wrong again and sought a year's leave for another Maronite scholar Abraham Ecchellensis to join the project. He was required to review Sionita's work after his imprisonment and after five months of work declared the texts and translations sound.

The Paris Polyglot was a prestige project similar to the great Catholic polyglots of Alcalà and Antwerp¹⁵⁸. Though academically soon replaced by the London Polyglot with its superior texts and apparatus, it nonetheless marked an achievement of both philology and printing. It was also the occasion for Syriac to establish itself as a scriptural language deserving of scholarly attention. And it was the occasion of bringing Maronite scholars to Paris. Abraham Ecchellensis, above all, took a conspicuous role in the European Commonwealth of Letters.

¹⁵⁶ *Liber Psalmorum Davidis Regis et Prophetarum* (Antoine Vitré Paris, 1624-1625). In the *Praefatio* to the Psalter Sionita refers to a very old book of Soadedus, Episcopus Hadethensis, *Locorum difficilium & vocum obscurarum in sacris litteris occurrentium elucidatio* from which he quotes: *Sacrorum librorum translatio hanc ordinem est adepti. Pentateuchus, Joshua, Judices, Ruth & Samuel, David, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Cantorum & Job, translati fuerunt tempore Salomonis, orante Hiram, Rege Tyri. Reliqui vero libri Vet. pariter ac N. T. tempore Abgari regis Syriae, cura & sollicitudine Thaddaei, aliorumque Apostolorum*. This is an account of the origins of the Syriac Scriptures which was to become common. Sionita also collaborated upon an Arabic psalter, *Davidis Regis et Prophetarum Psalmi Ex Arabico in Latinum Idioma, a Victorio Scialae Accurensis & Gabriele Sionita Edeniensi ...* (Ex Typographia Savariana, Excudebat Stephanus Paulinus Rome 1619).

¹⁵⁷ COAKLEY, p. 50-55

¹⁵⁸ P. N. MILLER, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century" in H. JAUMANN (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus* (Wiesbaden 2001) p. 59-85; ADRIAN SCHENKER, "The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London (1568-1658)" in MAGNE SAEBØ (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History of its Interpretation II From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008) p. 774-784 at p. 779-781. Earlier: JACQUES LELONG, *Discours historique sur les principales éditions des Bibles polyglottes* (Paris 1713).

The complete text of the Syriac Bible – including the Old Testament – appeared for the first time in the Paris Polyglot, a ten volume in-folio¹⁵⁹. The Syriac text of the Old Testament with a Latin translation appeared in volume 6 (the Pentateuch) and volumes 7-9 (the rest). The Syriac text was based upon six or seven manuscripts, one of which Abraham Ecchellensis took to Paris in 1640. The New Testament text was that of the Antwerp Polyglot with the De Dieu's Syriac Apocalypse text and his *Pericope Adulteriae* and Pococke's four Syriac Letters (2 Peter, 2&3 John and Jude), for which see below. Gabriel Sionita was responsible for the edition of the Syriac text and he translated it into Latin with the exception of Ruth, translated by Abraham Ecchellensis and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Wisdom translated by Joannes Hesronita¹⁶⁰.

The Polyglot facilitated a sustained comparison of the texts of the various biblical versions which was subsequently to become a standard activity of biblical scholars. The resources of the Parisian Polyglot in this respect are illustrated by a 1649 dissertation on the work by the distinguished J. H. Hottinger whom we shall meet again¹⁶¹. He examined the text of the versions for their possible text-critical value. He devoted a dozen pages to a consideration of five readings in the Syriac which he considered of value for their antiquity and text.

Ecchellensis

One of the outstanding Maronite scholars in the West was Abraham Ecchellensis (al-Hâqilani, 1605-1664)¹⁶². Having

¹⁵⁹ *Biblia 1. Hebraica, 2. Samaritana, 3. Chaldaica, 4. Graeca, 5. Syriaca, 6. Latina, 7 Arabica, quibus textus originales totius Scripturae sacrae quorum pars in editione Complutensi, deinde in Antuerpiensi regis sumptibus extat, nunc integri, ex manuscriptis toto fere orbe quaesitis exemplaribus, exhibentur...* excudebat Antonius Vitré, Regis, Reginae Regentis, et Cleri Gallicani Typographus: Lutetiae Parisiorum 1629-1645. For the type see COAKLEY, p. 69-71. Gabriel Sionita and the printer Antoine Vitré had previously worked together using F. Savary de Brèves' type, COAKLEY, p. 50-51. See the 36 pages of *Linguarum Orientalium, Hebraicae, Rabbinicae, Samaritanae, Syriacae, Graecae, Arabicae, Turcicae, Armenicae Alphabeti* (apud Antonium Vitray Paris 1636).

¹⁶⁰ GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 345-347, 352, 354-351.

¹⁶¹ JOH. HENRIC. HOTTINGER, *Dissertatio Historico-theologica De Hep-taplis Parisiensis Ex pentateucho ita Instituta, ut ad eam, quidquid deinceps Lector, in Opere Regio, observaverit, commode referri possit* (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1649).

¹⁶² GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 354-359 et IV 3; G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, "Abramo Ecchellense" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani Vol I* (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1960); N. GEMAYEL *Les Echanges culturels*, vol. I, p. 62-64; 235-240; 266-289; 299-317; 387-400; PETER J. A. N. RIETBERGEN, "A Maronite Mediator Between Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean Cultures: Ibrahim al-Hakilani or Abraham Ecchellense (1605 – 1664):

arrived in Rome at fifteen years old in 1620, he succeeded in 1625 to the chair in Syriac and Arabic at the College of the Propaganda after another Maronite, Father Pietro Metoscita SJ, who died that year. He was corrector of the Maronite *Brevarium* (Rome 1624) and 1628 wrote a short introduction to Arabic. Also in 1628 at the instigation of the rector of the Maronite College, Fabius Brunus, he produced *Abrahami Eccheliensis Collegij Maronitarum Alumni Linguae Syriacae sive Chaldaicae perbrevis Institutio ad eiusdem Nationis studios Adolescentes* (Typ. Sac. Cong. de Prop. Fidei, Rome) using the sereto of the Propaganda¹⁶³. The work was intended as a short Syriac introduction for Maronite beginners to sit alongside Amira's Grammar (which was perhaps a little less accessible being in Latin)¹⁶⁴. It was universally popular, even in his own country—a short structured introduction in the form of a small pocket book (an unusual 32°) for daily use and ideal for learning the sacred language of their Scriptures and liturgy—though more detailed than that of Isaac Sciadrensis¹⁶⁵. Ecchellensis tells us in his autobiography of 1658 that from the age of nine years old he had pursued his studies in Syriac in Lebanon: Syriac is the learned and sacred language of the Maronites and several other oriental peoples. It is analogous to Latin in Europe, with Arabic being the vernacular.

Ecchellensis' abiding interest in grammar is perhaps indicated by the manuscripts in the Vatican Library which Assemani described in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Though not all of the *Codices Ecchellenses* are necessarily from Ecchellensis, they include ms 27 of the Fourteenth Century containing the Grammar of Elias of Nisibis, that of bar Zobî and a treatise on letters¹⁶⁶. There are also nine manuscripts containing Arabic grammatical works. Ecchellensis' own grammar (which is read from right to left) is dedicated in Latin to Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, *Collegi & Nationis Maronitarum Protectori Optimo*.

Between Christendom and Islam”, *Lias* 16 (1989) p. 13-41 and now (ed.) BERNARD HEYBERGER, *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)* (Brepols, Turnhout 2010). Heyberger himself provides an excellent introduction in “Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des Lettres”, *ibid.*, p. 9-51.

¹⁶³ COAKLEY, p. 64-65. This 20pt sereto is slightly smaller than that originally cut for the Maronite college in 1617 by Nicolas Gobbe (Gemayel p. 191). C. BALZANETTI, “Ancient Treatises on Syriac Homonyms”, *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997) p. 73-81.

¹⁶⁴ MURIEL DEBIÉ, “La grammaire syriaque d’Ecchellensis en contexte”, HEYBERGER, p. 99-117.

¹⁶⁵ *Idem*, p. 114-116.

¹⁶⁶ J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana I* (Rome 1719) p. 578. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (ed.) *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar by Mâr(i) Eliâ of Sôbhâ* (Wolf Peiser, Berlin 1887).

The *imprimatur* is given by the Cistercian monk Hilarion Rancatus of the Monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (in Rome); Ignatius Lomellinus SJ (1560/1-1645) relying upon the advice of the third, Sergius Risius (Sarkîs al-Riz); and Risius himself in three pages of karshuni. Risius (-1638) was one of the earliest pupils at the Maronite college. On his return to Lebanon he was placed over the Quzhayya convent before becoming Syrian archbishop of Damascus, brother to two and nephew to one Rizzi patriarchs of the Maronite church. He had himself written a Syriac grammar in Arabic which came out in Rome in 1627¹⁶⁷.

Ecchellensis spent an active period in the Lebanon in the service of the Druze Grand Emir Fakhraddîn, and thereafter was appointed lecturer in Arabic in Pisa. He was succeeded in Arabic and Syriac in 1636 by Isaac Sciandrense (Ishâq al-Shadrâwî) who served there for two years. Thus the University of Pisa contrived to have professors of *lingui orientali* from 1620-1638 & 1644-1648 in part by hiring Abraham Ecchellensis from 1633/4-1636/7 and Sciandrensis 1636-1638¹⁶⁸. Urban VIII summoned Ecchellensis to Rome for the second time to teach Arabic and Syriac at the Sapienza University and to assist in the Arabic translation of the bible which had been underway since the 1620s¹⁶⁹. It was a period of collaboration with Athanasius Kircher on his Coptic studies. The poems in Syriac and Arabic which Ecchellensis contributed to *Prodromos Copticus* in 1636 indicate their collegial relationship¹⁷⁰. He was twenty-three years old at the time. In 1640 Ecchellensis was invited to Paris by Louis XIII and Richelieu to work on Le Jay's Poly-

¹⁶⁷ *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica S. Risii Maronitae e Libano* (Rome, 1627): G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, p. 392; GEMAYEL, I, p. 473; GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 338.

¹⁶⁸ *Storia dell'Università di Pisa* Vol. I Part 2 (Pacino editore, Pisa, 1993) p. 542-544 and ANGELO FABRONI, *Historia Academiae Pisanae* 3 vols (1791-1793) (Formi, Bologna 1971), Vol. 3, p. 680.

¹⁶⁹ DANIEL STOLZENBERG, "Une collaboration dans la *Cosmopolis* catholique: Abraham Ecchellensis et Athanasius Kircher", in Bernard Heyberger (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverses*, p. 81-88.

¹⁷⁰ Jean Plantavit de La Pause (1579-1651) bishop of Lodève (Hérault) brought out his monumental (and inevitably named) *Planta Vitis seu Thesaurus synonymius hebraico-chaldaico-rabbinicus* (Lodève) in 1644. This was similarly enhanced by tributes from Kircher in Syriac and Arabic as well as by the Maronites Gabriel Sionita and Vittorio Scialac. (Other than the bishop's books, there was no other Oriental printing in Lodève.) The bishop was Professor of Arabic and Syriac at the Collège de France from 1614 and worked on Arabic and Syriac for Le Jay's Polyglot. See MATHIAS DELCOR, "Jean Plantavit de Pause, évêque de Lodève, un grand hebraïsant oublié (1571-1651)" in ID., *Études bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1979) p. 393-402.

glot¹⁷¹. The invitation had been prepared by the Oratorian Jean Morin and Gabriel Sionita, the leading scholar of Syriac and Arabic in Paris at the time, his ‘brother’ and ‘compatriot’¹⁷². Ecchellensis contributed to the Polyglot the Arabic and Latin versions of the Book of Ruth and the Arabic version of 3Maccabes. (There being no translation as it was judged non-canonical.)

Back in Rome Ecchellensis was able to play a full part in the ‘Republic of Letters’ as Europe’s leading Oriental scholar with extensive connections across Europe¹⁷³. The context was controversial with confessional interests dividing scholars, but nonetheless the erudite elite of Europe were much taken with the Levant, the Near East and with their successive languages and civilisations. Kircher’s engagement with Egypt was an example of this enthusiasm. There was a hunger for Oriental documents – manuscripts, medals, inscriptions and coins – across Europe and collections were formed in a context of national and confessional rivalry. Leiden possessed the largest Protestant collection of Oriental manuscripts in Europe and Pococke was building the collection in Oxford after his journey East¹⁷⁴. The largest Catholic collection was of course that of

¹⁷¹ GÉRARD TROUPEAU, “Les deux séjours parisiens d’Abraham Ecchellensis (1640-1642, 1645-1651)”, in HEYBERGER, p. 53-58.

¹⁷² Joannes Morinus (Jean Morin) (1591-1659) who translated the Samaritan Pentateuch and edited the sixth volume of the Paris Polyglot was born to Calvinist parents and studied in La Rochelle and Leiden before converting to Catholicism and entering the Congregation of the Oratory. Called to Rome by Urban VIII he was appointed to the Pontifical Commission for the examination of Oriental Ordinations. However under pressure from Cardinal Richelieu he was permanently recalled to Paris only a few months later by his superiors. Morin’s *Commentarius* (1655) arose from the discussions of the Pontifical Commission and Morin’s determination to study the Eastern rites on the sound basis of their texts. After an initial discussion of the Byzantine Schism (1-16) he published the ordination rituals of the Greeks (17-256), the Latins (257-378), the Maronites (379-433), the Nestorians (434-473), Jacobites (474-508) and Copts (504-508). Pages 489-503 are *Adnotationes in Syrae ordinationes*. Morin used a manuscript *antiquus et egregrie scriptus* lent him by Abraham Ecchellensis. The Nestorian ritual came from a Vatican manuscript. In the *Adnotationes* he mentions as Syriac authors: Ephrem, Jacob of Sarrug, Abdisho of Nisibis and John of Dara (p493-494). He read the latter’s commentary upon Pseudo-Dionysus (Baumstark p. 277) in a copy made for him by François Bosquet, bishop of Lodève from a manuscript belonging to Abraham Ecchellensis. Morinus illustrates the characteristically Roman exploitation of Syriac and Syriac literature (together with that of the other Oriental languages) in confessional controversy.

¹⁷³ See HEYBERGER, “Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des Lettres”, p. 36-38, whom I follow closely here, for greater detail.

¹⁷⁴ G. DUVERDIER, “Les circonstances favorables à l’apparition des impressions orientales pour l’Europe savante”, in C. ABOUSSOUAN (ed.), *Le Livre et le Liban jusqu’à 1900* (Unesco-Agecoop, Paris 1982) p. 187.

the Vatican library which had acquired Oriental manuscripts from its inception¹⁷⁵. In the Seventeenth Century its collection was strengthened by manuscripts brought from the East by Leonardo Abel and Gianbattista Raimondi as well as those that arrived from Heidelberg in 1622. In the second part of the Seventeenth Century Colbert sought seriously to increase the Parisian holdings.

Such enthusiasm is reflected in teaching posts with the first in Arabic instituted in Rome in 1585. That at the Sapienza was given to Marco Dobelo of Nisibis in 1605, to Victor Scialic from 1610-1634 and to Ecchellensis in 1636 and again from 1652 until his death¹⁷⁶. There was a chair of Arabic in Leiden in 1613, in Cambridge 1632, and Oxford in 1634¹⁷⁷. An increase in suitable grammars and eventually lexica and teaching material in Arabic is also characteristic of the period, as it is also for Syriac¹⁷⁸.

In 1645 Ecchellensis was to return to Paris upon nomination to the Chair of Arabic at the Collège Royal. This was apparently unpopular and led to sharp criticisms of Ecchellensis' work on the Polyglot from the Hebraist Valérien de Flavigny over vocalisation and an acrimonious dispute with Sionita. Unfortunately we know nothing of Ecchellensis's course in Syriac at the Collège Royal nor the name of any of his students. He perhaps used his own *Perbrevis Institutio* of 1628. It was also in Paris that he compiled his *Nomenclator Arabico-Latinus*¹⁷⁹. He resigned from his chair in 1651 and returned to Rome.

In 1653 Ecchellensis published in Rome a *Catalogue of Syriac Books* by Abdisho of Nisibis (†1318, though Ecchellensis misidentified him and so in turn did Hottinger), taken from a manuscript found in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme near the Lat-

¹⁷⁵ For the Vatican holding of Syriac manuscripts in the middle of the Sixteenth Century, WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome", p. 55-74, p. 56.

¹⁷⁶ GIOVANNI PIZZORUSSO, "Les écoles de langue arabe et le milieu Orientaliste autour de la Congrégation *De Propaganda Fide* au temps d'Abraham Ecchellensis", in HEYBERGER, p. 59-80. Also B. HEYBERGER, "Islam and the Arabs in the Work of a Maronite Scholar in the Service of the Catholic Church (Abraham Ecchellensis)", *Al-Qantara* 31 (2010) p. 481-512.

¹⁷⁷ Protestant teaching courses in Syriac are considered below.

¹⁷⁸ HEYBERGER, "Abraham Ecchellensis dans la République des lettres", p. 40-41. For the Scriptures in Arabic, we now have: RONNY VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian and Muslim Sources* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2015).

¹⁷⁹ On which: M. MOUBARAKAH, "Le nomenclator arabico-latinus d'Abraham Ecchellensis, Ibrahim Al-Haqilani", *Parole de l'Orient* 22 (1997) p. 419-439; ALASTAIR HAMILTON, "Abraham Ecchellensis et son Nomenclator Arabico-latinus", in HEYBERGER, p. 89-98.

eran where Hilarion Rancatus (Ilarone Rancati) had assembled manuscripts from all over Italy and founded the *Bibliotheca Sessoriana*¹⁸⁰: *Hebediesu metropolita Sobiensis. Tractatus continens catalogum librorum Chaldaeorum tam ecclesiasticorum quam profanorum cum versione et notis* (Typis Sac. Congreg. Propag. Fidei Rome 1653)¹⁸¹. This was republished in Ecchellensis' *Concordia nationum christianarum...*¹⁸². It was of some significance in giving a native account of the corpus of Syriac literature and in this way contributing to a clearer idea of Syriac itself. The work remained authoritative for some time. In 1664 J. H. Hottinger used it in his *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus...* in the section *De Scriptoribus Syriacis*. Ecchellensis' edition was ultimately and decisively replaced by that of Assemani. The work betrays in its preface Ecchellensis' interest in the signs for vocalisation. Ecchellensis contested the claim of Sionita to have invented the two dots marking the plural. He also mentions the Grammar of Elias of Nisibis and the views of the Dutch Arnold Boot (De Boote, Boanus 1606-1653) on Syriac vocalisation. Such an interest is characteristic of the native Syriac tradition.

Lest we imagine that Ecchellensis' interest here was in literary history, the context of the second publication in *Concordia nationum christianarum...* underlines the controversial uses of the work similar to those of the *Library of the Patriarch*

¹⁸⁰ *Quod ex Bibliotheca S. Crucis in Hierusalem ab Hilarione Rancato Abbate Cisterciensi acceperat* - J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis III I* p. 1-362. Assemani found this manuscript to have been poor and badly written. He reedited the work from a Vatican manuscript and did the Latin translation again.

¹⁸¹ HUBERT KAUFHOLD, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le Catalogue des Livres de 'Abdisho' Bar Brika", in HEYBERGER, p. 119-133. See p. 120 for the history of the Bibliotheca Sessoriana.

¹⁸² A. ECHELLENSIS, LEONE ALLACCI, BARTHOLD NIHUS, *Concordia nationum Christianarum per Asiam, Africam, et Europam, in fidei Catholicae dogmatibus: apud borealis europae Protestantes deferri contra fas pronuper coeptis indicata* (Typis Nicolai Heylii, Mainz 1655) (p. 1-90). For other controversial works of Ecchellensis see e. g.: *Euty chius vindicatus* against John Selden and *De origine nominis Papae* directed primarily against Johann Hottinger's *Historia Orientalis*. Reitbergen p19-25. Barberini wanted him in Rome to fight against heretics with his Arabic version of the Constitution of the Council of Nicaea and to show that the dogmas of the Church were in accord with those of the early Christians regardless of the Protestants' claims. (See the *Dedicatio* to Barberini in *Concilii Nicaeni Praefatio una cum titulis et argumentis canonum et Constitutionum eiusdem, qui hactenus apud Orientales nationes extant, nunc primum ex Arabica lingua Latine redditi ab Abrahamis Ecchellensi... cum eiusdem notis*. 1645

Photius published around the same time¹⁸³. Catholics sought to appeal to Oriental authors in support of the antiquity of the Tradition, liturgical practices and Papal authority. Protestants tended to notice parallels with their convictions in matters of married priests, the sacraments, denial of Purgatory *etc.* but there was little disinterested interest in literary culture. Ecchellensis may have also made a contribution to wider knowledge of St Ephrem. He appears to have been the translator behind: *S. Ephraem Syri... in Nativitatem et Epiphaniam Domini cantica, nunc primum ex Syriaca... vernacula lingua latine reddita, studio... Jo. Baptistae Mari...* (Apud F. Monetam, Rome 1645)¹⁸⁴. His work on Maronite history also contributed to growing awareness of the singularities of the Syriac speaking Churches¹⁸⁵. Ecchellensis also had plans to catalogue the Vatican's Syriac manuscripts¹⁸⁶.

Peter Rietbergen described Abraham Ecchellensis as a mediator between the Mediterranean cultures of the Seventeenth Century – that is between Latin Christianity, Oriental Christians and Islam. Ecchellensis certainly moved Maronite Syriac out into the flow of European letters. In the context of European enthusiasm for the East, developing library resources, pedagogic tools made a substantial contribution of the identity of Syriac – with grammars, typography, a growing corpus of Scripture and a nascent awareness of literature and history. Ecchellensis also firmly identified the Maronites within the Catholic cause.

Sciadrensis

Isaac Sciandrensis' (Ishāq al-Šadrāwī's) small Syriac reading book, *Rudimentum Syriacum* (ex Collegio Maronitarum,

¹⁸³ L. CANFORA, *La Biblioteca del Patriarcha* (Salerna Editrice, Rome 1998). French translation : *La Bibliothèque du Patriarche Photius censuré dans la France de Mazarin* (Les Belles Lettres, Paris 2003).

¹⁸⁴ Apparently referred to under another but similar title in GRAF, *GCAL* III, p. 357. MIREILLE ISSA & JOSEPH MOUKARZEL, "Abraham Ecchellensis Maronita Biographie faite par Carlo Cartari", *Tempora* 18 (2007-2009) p. 155-195, p. 189. Widmanstetter had found some Ephrem (or pseudo-Ephrem) along with the 'Syrian Jacob' in Siena—this to my knowledge is the first mention of Ephrem's works in Syriac (WILKINSON, *Orientalism*, p. 140-141). Gerard Vossius (1540-1609) *Sancti Ephraem Syri..., Quotquot in in signoribus Italiae Bibliothecis praecipue Romanis Graece inveniri poterunt, operum omnium... in tres tomos digesta per Gerardum Vossium*, (Ex Officina Typographica Arnoldi Quentelii, Coloniae, 1603) collected Ephrem in Greek not Syriac.

¹⁸⁵ JOSEPH MOUKARZEL, "Les origines des Maronites d'après Abraham Ecchellensis", in HEYBERGER, p. 151-170.

¹⁸⁶ HUBERT KAUFHOLD, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le Catalogue des Livres", p. 125-126.

Stephanus Paulinus, Rome 1618) first showed off the College's type-cutter Moro's type¹⁸⁷. He was a pupil of Amira and was in the College from 1603 to 1618. Some rubrics are in red, and there are some small devotional wood-cuts. Io. Bap. Ferrarius (whose work we shall shortly consider) vouched for the imprimatur with '*nihil contra veritatem vulgatae nostrae Latinae editionis inveni*'. The work is in Syriac with a Latin index at the end. The reader includes biblical passages, prayers from printed and manuscript Syriac sources or translated from the Latin psalms, passages from the Maronite Breviary and a hymn of St Ephrem. It concludes with a plate of the arms of Paul V acknowledging his patronage. It is clearly aimed at Maronite student beginners in the College, *ad piam institutionem Tyronum*.

There subsequently followed the 255 pages of *Grumuṭiki de-leshānā Sūryāyā Isaac Sciadrensis, Maronita e Libano, archepisc. Tripolis Syriae, Grammatica Linguae Syriacae* (Ex Collegio Maronitarum, Stephanus Paulinus, Rome 1638)¹⁸⁸. This is first substantial Syriac Grammar entirely in Syriac, preceded only by the earlier *Rudimentum* and Ecchellensis' *Institutio* (which was also *perbrevis*). The work is dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the great sponsor of Eastern cultural exchange. The text is again entirely in Syriac with some Latin prefatory material. The Arabic preface which is written in karshuni describes the author's motivation. The Grammar itself comprises four parts dealing with: letters; noun and pronoun; the verb and the participle; and finally a section which Hoffmann translated as: *de coniunctione eiusque sociabus sive de praepositione et interiectione sive verbo animi motum significante*. For this rather unexpected part of speech, one may consult his note¹⁸⁹. Together with Johannes Heshronita, Sciadrensis acted as an interpreter between the Holy See and the Eastern Churches. He was appointed bishop of Tripolis but returned three more times to Rome¹⁹⁰.

Finally we may make mention of the grammar of Josephus Acurensis (Al-'Aquiri) from 1647¹⁹¹. The work is dedicated to

¹⁸⁷ Moro's type was thereafter used in the monumental *Shhimto Officium Simplex Septem Dierum Hebdomadae ad usum Ecclesiae Maronitarum* (1622-1625) for which it was principally intended.

¹⁸⁸ GRAF, *GICAL*, III, p. 347-350 for Isaac Sciadrensis. He draws attention (p350) to the Arabic original of the work (Bn Paris syr. 265 in karshuni) which is fuller than the printed edition by some five chapters and has the author's Latin translation.

¹⁸⁹ A. G. HOFFMANN, p. 49.

¹⁹⁰ GRAF, *GICAL*, III, p. 347-50.

¹⁹¹ *Grammatica Linguae Syriacae. Authore Illustrissimo, & Reverendissimo Domino Iosepho Acurensi Patriarcha Antiocheno e Libano* (Ex Typograph-

the Cardinals of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide by *Joseph Eliae e Monte Libano olim Collegij Maronitarum in Urbe alumnus*, offering the printing in gratitude for the Holy See's benefits to the Maronites. The grammar is in Syriac, printed in the serto of the Propaganda and vocalized only when that is important for the grammatical form being discussed. It is destined purely for Oriental students. The Syriac is followed by a version in karshuni, and similarly for the verb paradigms. The preface is entirely in Arabic.

The scholarly efforts of the Maronite College were in part directed at the instruction of Maronite students and contributed to the systematic presentation of native Syriac grammars. They were also part of a wider outreach to the Eastern churches on Rome's part which was promoted by the Congregation De Propaganda Fide.

7. Other Roman Scholars

We have encountered Giovan Battista Ferrari (1584-1655) vouching for the *imprimatur* of Sciandris' little reading book. He was the Italian Jesuit Professor of Hebrew and Rhetoric at the Collegium Romanum. He brought out his lexicon, *Nomenclator Syriacus*, from Stephanus Paulinus (whom we have already met as a printer in Rome in 1622 and who published many Oriental books in Rome for the Congregatio De Propaganda Fide until his retirement *c.*1636). Its main purpose was to explain words in the Syriac Bible, in which he was able to include several Old Testament books.¹⁹² The book opens 'from the rear' in Semitic fashion and a Syriac word in vocalised serto on the right of the page is followed by the Latin translation value on the left and sometimes a biblical reference or two. Whatever Ferrari's own competence he was able to boast in the *Isagoge* of the help of his old student at the Roman College who subsequently became a Professor of Syriac, the Maronite Isaac Sciadrensis and also his own Syriac teacher and colleague Peter

ia Sacrae Congreg. De Propaganda Fide Rome 1647); GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 339-340.

¹⁹² Ferrari came to Rome and entered the Society of Jesus on April 24 1602 and attended the Collegium Romanum. He studied Syriac with Peter Metoscita in the years 1615-16. From 1612 to 1616 he taught grammar to the students of the first year of the Maronite College, where he was Prefect of Studies from 1616 to 1619. See 'Ferrari, Giovanni Battista' in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani XLVI* (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1996) *sub voce*. Also AUGUSTIN ET ALOIS DE BACKER, "Ferrarius, Ferrari, Jean Baptist", in *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, ou Notices bibliographiques; 1° de tous les ouvrages publiés par les membres de la Compagnie de Jésus, depuis la fondation de l'Ordre jusqu'à nos jours; 2° des apologies, des controverses religieuses, des critiques littéraires et scientifiques suscitées à leur sujet, par Augustin et Alois de Backer, de la même Compagnie* (Grandmont-Donders, Liège 1853) p. 306-307.

Metoscita¹⁹³. He may disagree with some other authors, but this is because the Arabic interpreters of Syriac do not themselves always agree in interpretation¹⁹⁴. He also made use of the manuscript resources not only of the Maronite college but also the Vatican library and Medici library in Florence¹⁹⁵. He had, of course, access to Giwargis Amira's *Grammatica Syriaca sive Chaldaica... in septem libros divisa*. The book was not intended for absolute beginners. The end of the book there are two indices: one of Latin words which enables one, working backwards, to find the appropriate Syriac for a Latin term and the other which enables a quick unencumbered list of Latin translation values for Syriac words. The book is enhanced by Epigrams printed in (vocalized) Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Latin contributed by Peter Metoscita, Isaac Sciandrensis and Franciscus Donatus O. P. (Francisci Donati 1598-1635), Professor of Theology and Oriental Languages in Rome¹⁹⁶.

Tommaso Obicini da Novara

Tommaso Obicini da Novara (1585-1638), a Franciscan and a priest, was one of the most distinguished Arabists of his day. His career illustrates the connection between mission to the Eastern churches and the Orientalism sponsored by the Propaganda¹⁹⁷. In 1612 he became Vicar to the Custodian of the Holy Land and subsequently Guardian of the Convent of Aleppo (1613-1620). During his time there he became proficient in both Arabic and Syriac and was active in his attempts to reconcile the Syrian Christians to Rome. He was

¹⁹³ Petrus al-Matûsî (Matuscia, Metoscita, Matuscita) †1625 wrote a Syriac grammar and an Arabic-Syriac dictionary but both remained in manuscript: GRAF, *GCAL*, III, p. 336-337.

¹⁹⁴ *Iam vero si quis de nonnullarum potestate vocum dissentiat: intellegat is inter ipsos Syriacae linguae Arabes interpretes saepe non convenire: adeoque obscure, atque perplexe interpretari, ut ipsi non raro probabili coniectura interpretandi fuerint.*

¹⁹⁵ For an overview of the Syriac holdings of the BAV in the second part of the Sixteenth Century, Robert J. WILKINSON, "Syriac Studies in Rome", p. 56. S. E. ASSEMANI, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentiae et Palatinae codicum mms. [sic] orientalium catalogus* (ex Typographio Albiziniano, Florence 1742 [for 1743]) is fundamental for the Medicean holdings.

¹⁹⁶ Baumstark apparently admired the poem of Sciandrensis (SMITSKAMP, *P. O.* p168, p171).

¹⁹⁷ See further, AURÉLIAN GIRARD, "Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition au XVIIe siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des *Caracciolini*", in IRENE FOSI ET GIOVANI PIZZORUSSO (eds.), "*L'Ordine Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini)*", *Studi medievali e moderne* 14 (2010) p. 279-295. ID., "Entre croisade et politique culturelle au Levant: Rome et l'Union des Chrétiens syriens (première moitié du XVIIe siècle)", in MARIA ANTONIETTA VISCEGLIA (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna* (Viella, Rome 2013) p. 419-437.

delegate of the Holy See at the synod held in Diarbekr in 1616 and 1619 to consider union with the Eastern Syrian Church. He was elected Custodian of the Holy Land in 1620 (Custode di Terra Santa e Commisario Apostolico per tutto l'Oriente) and moved to Jerusalem. Returning to Rome he retired from the Custodianship and proposed the foundation of a school of Arabic studies near the Convent of S. Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculum, which was accepted by the Congregatio De Propaganda Fide. He is a most important figure in the history of Arabic in Rome and the author of several significant works.¹⁹⁸

His 1636 *Thesaurus Arabo-Syro-Latinus* is a product of his personal learning and experience of Syriac in the Middle East¹⁹⁹. It is not focused upon the elucidation of the vocabulary of Scripture, rather shows an engagement with the contemporary spoken language as means of daily communication in the East. There is no interest in historical or comparative grammar, nor any bookish reference to Hebrew. It is focused on contemporary spoken languages and their words used in practically determined semantic fields. Nevertheless it is not an original work but an expanded translation of a work of Elia bar Shinaya (Barsinaeus / Elias of Nisibis) who died in 1049.²⁰⁰ An Arabic-Syriac dictionary had apparently earlier been drawn up by Peter Metoscita but remained in manuscript. The basic form of a page in the *Thesaurus* is three columns of synonyms in (from the left) Latin, Syriac and Arabic. The book is arranged into

¹⁹⁸ Including: *Isagoge Idest, breve Introductorium Arabicum, in Scientiam Logices cum versione Latina ac Theses sanctae Fidei* (Rome, 1621) and *Grammatica arabica (in arabo), Agrumia appellata. Cum versione Latina, ac dilucida expositione* (Rome, 1631) the fourth edition of this native grammar. The Propaganda also accepted his proposals for an Arabic bible which, however, did not appear before 1671, GRAF, *GCAL*, IV, p. 174-176. Obicini was also involved with Kircher in facilitating his early Coptic studies, DANIEL STOLZENBERG, *Egyptian Oedipus Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity* (University of Chicago Press 2013) p. 89-91. Kircher's *Prodromus Coptus, sive Aegyptiacus* (Rome 1636) published an inscription carved in an unknown script found by Obicini at the foot of Mount Horeb in the Sinai (p 204,207). Kircher compared the script with Hebrew, Samaritan and Syriac script and concluded that the inscription was in ancient Chaldean, otherwise known as Assyrian, Targumic, Aramaic, Lebanese or Babylonian, and used before and during the Exile. Having restored the script, Kircher translated the inscription (*mirabile dictu*) as: *Deus virginem concipere faciat. Et illa pariet filium*. STOLZENBERG, p. 96-98.

¹⁹⁹ *Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus R.P.F. Thomae à Nouaria Ord. Minorum, theologi, ac linguarum orientalium in Collegio S. Petri Montis Aurei, de mandato Sacrae Congregationis Fidei propagandae, magistri* (Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, Rome 1636). The work is published by his pupil Germanus de Silesia and dedicated by Achilles Venerius to Cardinal Barbarini.

²⁰⁰ GRAF, *GCAL*, IV, 175; BAUMSTARK, p. 287.

tractates and then chapters which each deal with a specific area of subject vocabulary – the list begins with names of God, includes parts of the body, religious sects and denominations, tools of trades, medical terms (after the Arabic alphabetical order), aqueducts, stars *etc., etc.* After p345 the pages are determined by an alphabetical listing of Syriac words (which are as usual glossed in the other two columns). This therefore is a useful and practical way of finding the Arabic or Latin for a Syriac term. The Syriac types are the 20pt Maronite seroto types used in Ecchellensis' Grammar. The book is badly printed and whole words appear upside down. There is a massive list of errata (32 pages) dutifully assembled at the end. Nevertheless the work is important: here is Syriac presented for the purposes of contemporary communication rather than for biblical philology.

8. Lutheran Scholars

We turn our attention now away from Rome, the Maronites and the missionary field in the East to return to Wittenberg to consider some more Lutheran scholars²⁰¹. These, together with Reformed scholars to whom we shall turn shortly, became during this period increasingly sophisticated users of Hebrew, Comparative Semitic Linguistics and Rabbinic Scholarship. There also show a growing interest in Syriac. We shall have to make one or two chronological jumps in our presentation.

Elias Hutter

The last polyglot bible of the Sixteenth Century to contain Syriac was not the product of a group of Catholic scholars nor a Protestant project like the London Polyglot. Rather it was the sole work of Elias Hutter (*c.*1553-1609) who studied Oriental languages in Jena and was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the University of Leipzig (1577-1579). He later taught and published in Nuremberg²⁰². Hutter can probably best be unders-

²⁰¹ For a detailed survey of later Lutheran Hebraists, STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Solomon Glassius (11593-1656)", in CHRISTOPH BULTMANN AND LUTZ DANNEBERG (eds.), *Hebraistik-Hermeneutik-Homiletik Die "Philologia Sacra" in frühneuzeitlichen Bibelstudien* (De Gruyter, Berlin 2011) p. 441-467.

²⁰² HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg / Munich 1955) p. 61-63; ID., "Hutter, Elia", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974) p. 103-104; LORE-SPORHAN-KREMPEL - THEODOR WOHNHASS, "Elias Hutter in Nuremberg und seine Biblia in etlichen Sprachen", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 27 (1986) p. 157-162; CHRISTOPH RESKE, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden 2007) p. 704-706.

tood as an educational visionary and entrepreneur²⁰³. One should not only read the bible in different languages, he believed, but by understanding the principles of their construction one will learn quickly to do so. There will thus be demonstrated a linguistic harmony which approaches divine Wisdom (one is somewhat reminded of Bibliander's *Ratio*). In 1597, when he arrived in Nuremberg, Hutter planned to found a school for languages and sought the support of the City Council to publish multilingual books, a monumental multilingual dictionary, a New Testament edition in twelve languages, and then his enormous Hexateuch printing in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic, French, and Italian²⁰⁴. He borrowed excessively from the Council. The anticipated sales never materialised and Hutter was forced first to turn over his remaining stock of books in 1604 and then permanently to leave town in 1605.

Hutter is perhaps most famous for his 1587 Hamburg edition of the Hebrew Bible²⁰⁵. Hutter's concern was neither for correctness of text nor beauty of typography, though here he succeeded in both. His was a more practical, scholarly mission—to make the Hebrew Bible more readily accessible to the student. He therefore used two forms of type—a solid letter for the root (the three letters of which signify the Holy Trinity) and a hollow letter for the prefixes and suffixes, which give the page an aesthetically pleasing and subtle shading. This is usually bound in one thick folio volume and is distinguished by the large font used for the Hebrew letters. Thus, he introduced a major educational tool where a simple glance at the printed biblical text enabled the reader to recognize the root letters of any Hebrew word. But behind this typographic clarity was hidden a far more wide-ranging and rather mystical apprehension of the harmony between all languages.

The *Offentlich Außschreiben An allgemeine Christliche Obrigkeit...* (Nuremberg, 1602) gives an exposition of Hutter's

²⁰³ ARENS, "Hutter, Elias" in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974) p. 103 speaks of "eine Art linguistisch-pädagogisches Sendungsbewußtsein".

²⁰⁴ Such polyglots are only partially anticipated by The "Hamburg Polyglot", *Biblia Sacra Graece, Latine & Germanice; opera Davidis Wolderi; in usum ecclesiarum Germanicarum, praesertim earum quae sunt in dictionibus illustrissimorum Ducum Hostatiae* (Jacobus Lucius Junior Hamburg 1596). Here there are four columns across the page, Greek, Vulgate, the Latin version of Pagninus for the Old Testament and Beza for the New Testament and finally Luther's German. This convenient gathering of biblical texts does not pretend to display a deeper harmony between the languages.

²⁰⁵ *BIBLIA EBRAEA Eleganti et Maiuscula Characterium Forma, qua ad facilem sanctae linguae & scripturae intelligentiam primo statim intuitu literae RADICALES & SERVILES, DEFICIENTES & QUIESCENTES, &c. situ & colore discernuntur* (Hamburg, no named printer 1587).

notions of Linguistic Harmony. This is not just, as with others, a case of deriving Greek, Latin and German (indeed all languages) from Hebrew. Hutter uses his morphological understanding of Hebrew (the isolation of the three radical letters which are the real bearers of meaning and the accidental letters which modify that meaning) to analyse the other three (as we would say) inflected languages. He demonstrates an organic similarity between the shape of their letters (they all, of course, use an alphabet). Then by use of the versions of Isaiah 40. 8, setting the four languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German) in columns side by side, he uses difference in type to distinguish radical from accidental letters (initial or final syllables, particles *et al.*) in all four languages. This is not just a claim that all languages derive from Hebrew: it is rather a claim that all became structurally transparent in the light of his analysis of Hebrew into radical and accidental letters²⁰⁶. The work also contains a helpful list of his works proclaiming this doctrine to date (1602).

Syriac appears in Hutter's Polyglot New Testament (1599-1600), now a very rare book²⁰⁷. This is a handsomely printed Polyglot Bible in twelve languages. The texts are arranged in six columns across facing pages with two languages per column, including the Hebrew printed with Hutter's unique font of black and hollow letters. The Syriac is given in Hebrew characters. Hutter appears to have little specific interest in Syriac other than as an early daughter of Hebrew. He had presented Aramaic in his Polyglot of the Old Testament and Syriac was a similar asset in his New Testament – if not more so as it gave clearer access to his method of linguistic analysis²⁰⁸. It is thus

²⁰⁶ HANS ARENS, *Sprachwissenschaft Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Verlag Karl Alber, Freiburg/ Munich 1955), p. 62 writes “Mit Hilfe einer Art Lullischer Kunstoder Kabbalistik – vermutlich 3 in Quadratform oder auf 3 gegeneinander bewegliche Ringe geschriebenen Alphabeten – glaubt er nämlich da ja 3 Radike in Hebräischen genügen, die urspüngliche göttliche oder adamitische Kunst der Namengebung (*impositio vocum*) aller Dinge wiederzuentdecken. So verbinden sich im Kopfe eines Orientalisten des 16. Jahrhunderts die grammatischen Kenntnisse mit mystischen Geheimlehren und einem praktischen pädagogischen Anliegen”.

²⁰⁷ *Novum Testamentum D[omi]ni N[ost]ri Jesu Christi. Syriacè, Ebraicè, Græcè, Latinè, Germanicè, Bohemicè, Italicè, Hispanicè, Gallicè, Anglicè, Danicè, Polonicè. Studio & Labore Eliæ Hutter.* (2 vols. Philipp Alexander Dietrich, Nuremberg 1599-1600). This was preceded by *Sanctus Matthæus, Syriace, Ebraice, Graece, Latine etc* (Nuremberg 1599) anticipating the larger work and followed by *Sanctus Marcus, Syriace etc* (Nuremberg 1600).

²⁰⁸ *Biblia Sacra Ebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Gallice (Slavonice, Italice* in variant printings with the Slovenian text of Juri Dalmatin's version of the Bible 1584, the Italian text of A. Brucioli and also the

an illustration of his linguistic key – unfolding a structure in which the Holy Ghost had linked Hebrew to reality. Hutter has no apparent interest in the Eastern Church; nor any interest in the differences in text and the minutiae of different vocalizations which would interest later Lutherans. Hutter was (alarmingly) content to add or subtract from those biblical texts he place side-by-side in his Polyglot to make them concur and was interested only in their proper structural analysis. His Syriac text is consequently text-critically worthless.

The second volume begins with a (very long) *Praefatio* to the Christian Reader by Jacobus Colerus (1537-1612) in *Eliae Hutteri Biblia Ebraea* (Berlin, 1587) which is evidently considered to have abiding relevance here²⁰⁹. Hutter himself reviews noteworthy passages in the first edition and in the present second volume. All of this is given a second time in German. What is quite disconcerting again is to read here of Hutter's own harmonisation of the versions by the simple and efficient means of addition and subtraction!

Some further indication of Hutter's approach may be taken from the introductory *Christiano et Candido Lectori* of the Edition of the Polyglot Matthew (Nuremberg 1599) written in anticipation of completing the whole Polyglot New Testament - *simile dispositione & forma, cum aliis necessariis methodis, Harmonicis, Symmetricis, Grammaticis, Cabalisticis, Masoreticis compendiis, breve subsequatur*. Adam the *protoplastus* was in a single moment able to give appropriate and lasting names to the animals by understanding of the *Cubus Alphabeticus* which gave access through Hebrew to the underlying realities²¹⁰. Joseph, Solomon, Daniel, and even the untaught Apos-

Low German version of Luther, Wittenberg 1599). (Only eight books: Genesis to Ruth) (Alexander Philipp Dietrich, Nuremberg 1599).

²⁰⁹ The Lutheran Colerus was Professor of Hebrew in Frankfurt (1576-1577), Provost at St. Nicolai in Berlin (1577-1599) and finally Superintendent at Güstrow (1599-1612). His *Praefatio* (Berlin 1587) gives us a linguistic history which marks little difference between (an early) Syriac (*Lingua Syra*) and Chaldaean. Indeed they merged to produce *Syrochaldaica* which some call the Jerusalem dialect which was the vernacular of Christ. This tended more towards Syriac than Chaldaean in its idioms. He mentions some contemporary scholarship, but also the utility of Hutter's method for undoing the works of the Devil. The descent of languages is described within the perspective of Hutter's insights.

²¹⁰ ... *per Cubicam Alphabeti combinationem, juxta Trinitatis mysterium, cunctis animalibus propria & apposita imponerat nomina, quibus, non sine singulari admiratione, utilitate & voluptate, utimur*. His *Cubus: Ein hebraisch Dictionarium auß welchem ein Jeglicher so nur hebraisch lesen kann, eines jeglichen Radicis oder Schoresh deutsche Bedeutung ergründen und also die H. Sprach in wenig Zeit mit geringer Mühe lernen und verstehen kann* (Froben, Hamburg 1603) is technically anonymous and a preface in Latin describing the use of the book was signed G. L. Frobenius (such assistance was lacking in earlier editions and one wonders what unini-

tles evidently had access by the Holy Spirit to some unusual linguistic abilities (*ex missione Spiritus Sancti, omnium linguarum expeditissimam cognitionem in momento perceperunt*)²¹¹. But Hutter is not interested in the purely miraculous but is concerned with the natural and physical aspects of this early wisdom which he contrasts with the triviality and ineffectiveness of contemporary linguistic education. Hutter has sought to recover the *veram sapientiae et linguarum cognitionem*. Lack of this wisdom causes much of the misery in the world. The principal cause is the ingratitude and pride of this world which provoked the confusion of tongues at Babel and rejects the divine wisdom with which the Holy Spirit cooperates. This wisdom is itself is an untarnished mirror of divine activity and goodness and is powerful in sustaining creation and inhabiting the hearts of the faithful. Hutter's tone here is pious and devotional. The second cause is the ignorance and contempt of Hebrew, the original language, which facilitated the wisdom of the patriarchs, kings and prophets. It is contempt of Hebrew, as of German (wisely spread by the holy Charlemagne) which is the Devil's work and causes our problems. Greek and Latin are apparently not intrinsically bad – but contempt of Hebrew and German is.

Whence the project of putting the whole of the NT into pure Hebrew –*in quo tamen omnis nostra & totius Mundi pendet restitutio*²¹². Syriac is useful here. The way forward is by *Harmonia & Symmetria* - which link the dimensions of Noah's Ark, the Holy of Holies, Urim and Thummim, Ezekiel's Vision, Daniel's Stone, the Cube, the Sphere, the Cross, the Square, Jerusalem Descending from Heaven and the Twenty Four Elders - and foretell the action of the Holy Spirit in the future destruction of the devilish Babylon, Mother of Harlots and all Abominations, from the Ecclesia where God will be all in all and all languages will flow back to the original primaeval Hebrew.

Just as many different musical instruments may contrive to bring a pleasant sound to our ears, so the different languages analysed by the Cube, the Sphere, the Cross and the Square

tiated readers might initially have made of the work). The work is essentially a set of matrices 24×24, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet designed to give as far as possible a German interpretation of each trilateral Hebrew root. There was an earlier *Sanctae Linguae Cubus Hebraico-germanus* (Froben Basel 1578 of which no known copy remains); a 1586 *Cubus sacrae Linguae Ebraeae* (Johann Sachse, Hamburg) and another edition from Wolf in Hamburg in 1588.

²¹¹ Much of Hutter's writing here may be seen to be dependant on St Jerome (*In Epistola ad Paulinum*) which he cites *in extenso*.

²¹² The version was subsequently published by William Robertson in 1661.

may appear to have some unity. Uniting structures of symmetry may also be found in the script of various languages. But if Harmony and Symmetry dominate this will also be so for consonants, vowels, accents, orthography, prosody, etymology, syntax *etc etc*. These structures can be displayed and seen. The Cube, the Cross and other manipulative procedures may be seen illustrated on the tile page of Hutter's *Dictionarium Harmonicum Biblicum, Ebraeum, Graecum, Latinum Germanicum* (Ex officina Typographica Alexandri Philippi Theodorii Nuremberg 1598; Apud Johannem Walschaert, Amsterdam 1616).

Before leaving Hutter, it may be of interest to compare the work of Estienne Guichard, Professor of Foreign Languages in Paris, who wrote a harmonistic etymology of Oriental, Classical and Modern languages in 1631²¹³. The etymology proposes a Hebrew root from which words in other languages are said (implausibly, we would think) to be descended. The basic techniques are addition, subtraction, transposition and the inversion of letters. Guichard quoted with approval Classical writers after Plato whom he considered held that the understanding of words preceeds that of things, reminding us perhaps of the Mediaeval Speculative Grammarians we mentioned earlier. But they did not then enjoy the knowledge of Hebrew which permits the exhibition of the fundamental ties which bind other languages to the maternal tongue²¹⁴.

²¹³ *L'Harmonie Etymologique des Langues Hebraique, Chaldaique, Syriaque, Grecque, Latine, Françoise, Italienne, Espagnole, Allemande, Flamante, Angloise &c. En laquelle ... se demonstre evidentement que toutes les langues sont descendues de l'Hebraïque* (Guillaume Pele, Paris 1631).

²¹⁴ It is perhaps of interest to our consideration of the extent to which Syriac was identified as a separate language to read his comments on 'Hebrew', under which term he includes Chaldaean and Syriac: *Mais notons, que quand nous dison que la langue Hebraique est la premiere de toutes, & qu'à icelle toutes les autres doivent estre reduites par etymologies; nous entendons comprendre souz ce mot d'Hebraique, la Chaldaique & Syriaque: ne faisons des ces trois langues distingées par nom, & en quelque chose, qu'une seule en substance. Par ce que les uns disent que la langue Chaldaique est la premiere: Theodoret dit que c'est la Syriaque: les autres que la Chaldaique & la Hebraique ne sont qu'une, quelques fois diverses: les autres confondent la Chaldaique & Syriaque pour une meme. A cela donc je dis, que quant à la substance ou essence de la langue, on peut facilement estimer ces langues estre une seule: entant que ces trois, Hebraique, Chaldaique, & Syriaque, contiennent les mesmes racines. D'autre costé, je dis qu'on les peut distinguer & estimer diverses par les proprieté & accidens qui leur sont particuliers. En ce que l'Hebraique et la plus simple des trois, ayant moins corrompu ses trois radicales, que n'a fait La Chaldaique et Syriaque, lesquelles adioustans plusieurs lettres à leur racines, ont engendré diverses Dialectes de la langue Hebraique, & en tel cas ont esté distigées d'icelle. Mais touchant la substance des racines, nous dison que ces trois langues ont esté appellees generalement par le nom de l'Hebraique comme comprises en icelle: & que en ce sens la langue Hebraique est la premiere de toutes, et la mere de toutes, de lesquelles toutes*

Wittenberg

Other Lutheran scholars lacked the comprehensive and mystical insights of Hutter. What characterises them is a desire to develop what is available (often from the work of the Maronites); a thorough consolidation of understanding with attention paid to discrepancies in vocalisation and other details of previous grammars; an interest in establishing serviceable editions of the Scriptures; the production of helpful and accurate grammars for their students and a desire to achieve a comparative context for the understanding of the languages. These scholars were generally careful philologists with a focus on biblical studies. Avid consumers of the earlier Catholic scholarship, they nonetheless worked to make it their own.

Increasingly we shall encounter comparative dictionaries and grammars – extending beyond merely the difference between Hebrew and Aramaic – which became increasingly popular²¹⁵. In the Seventeenth Century these tended to be called ‘harmonic’. They are generally (but not all) less comprehensive and mystical than Hutter and more straightforwardly empirical. The previous tradition of comparative description of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic in Jewish philology of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries established all the sound shifts and several grammatical correspondences between these languages, but with the end of Jewish Arabic culture in Spain and North Africa this work rather came to end, and Western Europeans had to start again²¹⁶. Early Hebrew grammarians were not readily available and much of their contribution was forgotten. This is particularly true of their explorations in comparative Semitic grammar. We shall find the Western Christian grammarians had to extend their own studies into these areas often from their own observations.

les autres esté derivees. Ce qui se verifie manifestment tant par la voye d’etymologies, que par le temoignage des Anciens qui ont eu connaissance de cette langue. [References to Origen and Jerome follow].

²¹⁵ YAAKOV GRUNTFEST, “Harmonic Dictionaries and Grammars in Semitic Languages”, in ANDERS AHIQVIST (ed.), *Diversions of Galway: Papers on the History of Linguistic from ICHoIS V* (John Benjamins, Amsterdam 1990) p. 103-112. A far less ambitious work is that of the Dutch Jacobus Alting (Professor of Hebrew in Groningen 1618-1679) *Synopsis Institutionum Chaldaearum et Syrarum* (Fridericki Knochii, Frankfurt-a-M. 1676. 6th Edition 1701, 1717). As the form of the book did not permit placing the Chaldaean and Syriac together they are handled separately. This is a teaching text citing the authorities with which we are familiar. Often bound with similar synopses of Rabbinic Hebrew, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic *etc.*

²¹⁶ A. MAMAN, *Comparative Semitic Philology in Middle Ages* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2004).

Valentin Schindler (1543-1604) was a Wittenberg Hebraist. With him we see a developing concern – evident already in Bibliander and Waser - to present grammar in a comparative context very much in parallel with the Polyglot bibles (in his case the Antwerp Polyglot). We may also consider him anticipated in some respects by Angelo Canini's *Institutiones* which mainly treated Aramaic but with Arabic and Ethiopic paradigms of the strong verb. In 1588 Schindler became *ordinarius* for Hebrew in the Philosophy Faculty at Wittenberg. Interestingly, his subsequent nomination the chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages effectively withdrew the post from the tutelage of the Theology Faculty who had proposed another candidate. His *Lexicon Pentaglotton* was published posthumously in 1612²¹⁷. An abridgement was published in 1635²¹⁸. Here Schindler systematically developed his entries to display the similarities and filiation of Hebrew Aramaic and Arabic and passes beyond the comparative analysis we have previously seen developing and shows a determination to use all the available resources of Oriental languages. This achievement is particularly striking when one realises that his *Lexicon* came out one year before the 1613 Arabic-Latin *Lexicon* of Franciscus Raphelengius. It is with his Arabic that he was widening horizons. That work on the Arabic is inevitably faulty but no doubt the effort was considerable, there being few resources for him to call upon²¹⁹. He used the Arabic New Testament and the Koran. He was better served however for Syriac and Chaldaean, though the absence of any type other than Hebrew is noticeable. Schindler lists a root (say *gdl*) and gives informa-

²¹⁷ *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum. In quo omnes voces Hebraeae, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Rabbinicae & Arabicae, adjectis hincinde Persicis, Aethiopicis & Turcicis, ordine Alphabetico, sub suis singulae Radicibus digestae continentur: Earumque Significationes, Usus ac Elegentiae, ex SS. Hebraeis Bibliis; horum Chaldaicis Paraphrasibus; Testamento N. Syriaco; utroque Babylonico & Hierosolymitano Talmudo, Midraschim, Rabbinorum Commentatoribus, Theologis & Philosophis; Arabica V. & N Instrumenti Translatione, Alkorano, Avicenna, &c. ut & graeca LXX Interpretum, & omnibus Latinis Bibliorum versionibus, docte, ample ac dilucide proponuntur & explicantur... opus novum, nunc post Authoris obitum, ex ipso Autographo fidelissime descriptum...* (Cura et Auspiciis Rylandiorum... Typis Joannis Jacobi, Hanovia 1612). An edition with the imprint Hanau (*typis Hennei*) seems a second issue of the same year. An edition with a Frankfurt imprint is again not identical but is also *typis Hennei*. The office of Johannes Jacobus Henneus in Hanau was famous for its Hebrew works.

²¹⁸ *Schindleri Lexicon Pentaglotton... in epitomen redactum a G. A. [Guilielmus Alabaster]* (William Jones, London 1635).

²¹⁹ Schindler went to considerable trouble with his Arabic roots. He also had at his disposal Saadia Gaon's Arabic Pentateuch and Giustiniani's Polyglot Psalter. JAN LOOP, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger, Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press 2013) p. 79.

tion on its (1) Hebrew meaning (*magnus fuit / factus est*) citing biblical, targumic and septuagintal material. He then deals with the Hebrew forms *gadôl, gadêl, gôdel, gedulla, migdal, migdôl* etc. This followed by (2) the Syriac meaning: *gedal (filavit re-torsit)*, compare *gedilîm (fila)*. Then the (3) Arabic *gadal* is glossed *disputavit*, though the supporting biblical reference to Acts 34, 15 is obviously wrong. Syriac material is found throughout the entry. As a model of a comparative lexicon Schindler's work was influential and it remains, together with Hottinger (1661) and Castell (1669), one of only three comparative lexica of Semitic languages ever published.

Schindler left Wittenberg in 1592 suspected of leanings towards Calvinism and was succeeded by Laurentius Fabricius from Danzig who taught there for 35 years. Fabricius taught Crinesius and Trost who eventually succeeded his teacher in the Wittenberg chair of Hebrew in 1628. Like Crinesius, Trost gave serious attention to Syriac. Trost's pupil Andreas Sennert (1606-1689) worked in the Universities of Leipzig, Jena, Strasbourg and Leiden before returning to take the Hebrew chair at Wittenberg after Trost's successor Jacob Weller. His career pathway passing through several universities of different Protestant confessions is illuminating. This was a subject with rare resources and few experts – one had to learn where one might. Sennert brought considerable skills in Arabic and other Oriental languages to his treatment of Syriac in an increasingly comparative context. Arabic was important philologically, but it also provided access to comment upon other languages.

Crinesius

The decidedly Lutheran Christoph Crinesius (Grünes) (1584-1629) came from the University of Jena in 1616 to enroll in Wittenberg where he was Fabricius's pupil and subsequently became a docent. He enjoyed a period as court chaplain and finally was Professor of Oriental Languages at Altdorf. Increasingly these universities were developing formal teaching courses in Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac. Jena began advertising Aramaic in 1601, though Wittenberg did not begin until 1632. Jena also offered the first formal course in Syriac in 1614. Altdorf was the first Lutheran university to offer an Arabic class in 1624, followed in 1632 by Wittenberg²²⁰. The following works we shall consider went some way to meet the demand for books suitable for these courses.

²²⁰ I rely here on data from STEPHEN G. BURNETT, "Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century", in R. L. TROXEL, K. G. FRIEBEL, D. R. MAGARY (eds.), *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2005) p. 421-436.

Crinesius' *Ma'nevath Suriya: Gymnasium Syriacum. h. e. Iesu Christo vernaculae perfecta institutio ex Novo Testamento Syro et aliis Rerum Syriacarum Scriptoribus collecta, novis et genuinis characteribus adornata*. (J. Gormann, 1611) was printed in Wittenberg²²¹. The Grammar (like the subsequent Lexicon) is built around the available material in the Widmanstetter *editio princeps*. Like the Lexicon it also has a preface by Fabricius²²². The book introduces a new Syriac font in Germany²²³. The serto font (somewhat similar to Granjon's Plantin types) is attributed to Johannes Richter in the printing office of J. Gormann in Wittenberg²²⁴. The alphabet table however contains a large estrangela in woodcut.

²²¹ The title page has I Cor 12.4 in Latin and vocalised serto around a Medalion with Hebrew Tetragrammaton. There is discussion of the Tetragrammaton in his *Exercitationum Hebraicarum Pentameron Pars Prima (Quinta)* (Typis et impensis Simonis Halbmayeri Nürnberg 1625) p. 57ff.

²²² Fabricius found that the Messiah was announced in Old Testament Hebrew, and proclaimed in the Greek of the New Testament, the language of Scripture in primitive church. Hebrew was purer, for New Testament Greek is not of the purest being mixed with Hebrew idiom (*liquore Hebraei sermonis*) which make it in many places barbarous and not really Greek, though this was the consequence of preserving a little of the primeval language in the New Testament. Accurate interpretation, however, is difficult for those not possessed of both Greek and Hebrew. By 'Hebrew' he means also the daughter languages *Chaldaea & Syra* which are instrumental in providing proper access to the mother tongue and the meaning of Holy Scripture. For example, Mk 5.41 *Talitha kumi*: do we know whether the explanation *puella surge* is from the Evangelist or is later marginal gloss subsequently inserted into the text itself? The Greek is no help. Hebrew will provide the key to *kumi* as a feminine imperative, but what of *talitha*? Even Jerome in places recognized this to be a *vocem Syram* followed by Nicholas of Lyra, but in other places emended it to *Tabitha* denoting *Dorkas / caprea*. He cites evidence of Hebrew letters changed in Aramaic and Syriac from Acts 9. 40. Others have made worse emendations: *tabbiti (respece, extolle oculos)*. The *editio princeps* of the Syriac New Testament 1555 however showed that *talitha* does mean little girl from its other occurrences (Mk 5.39,40,41,42; Mat 9 twice in same story.) There is therefore he concludes no need for the emendation of Christ's very own words.

²²³ This font we shall find used subsequently in Myricaeus's *Prima Elementa Linguae Syriacae* (Geneva 1621); in Köthen with Martin Trost's New Testament edition (1621) and his separate edition of 1 John with primer and in Jena in 1638 with J. M. Dilherr's *Eclogae Novi Testamentum*.

²²⁴ *De Confusione linguarum* in which he tried to portray the Hebrew language as a mother tongue of Oriental and Romance languages was printed by the same office in 1610 and apparently has wood-cut Syriac. (COAKLEY, p. 48-50.) The work appeared again as *De confusione linguarum – Sive Discursus De Confusione Linguarum, Tum Orientalium: Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Scripturae Samariticae, Arabicae, Persicae, Aethiopicarum: tum Occidentalium, nempe, Graecae, Latinae, Italicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, statuens Hebraicam omnium esse primam, & ipsissimam Matricem, concinnatus* (Halbmayerus, Nuremberg 1629).

The work is divided into three parts. The first, *Etymologia*, tells us that the dialect is very close to the primitive language of Hebrew. Letters different from Hebrew are tabulated, ligatures and terminal forms explained and vowels points also. For the noun he considers: *numerus casus* and *declinatio*; notes and observations address pronouns. For the verb he treats: *genus numerus tempus persona and conjugatio*. He gives the perfect verb and conjugations active and passive. He then deals with defective verbs and verbs with quiescent radicals. He speaks of *Benoni*, but also *ethpa'el*. Adverb, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections follow. *Syntaxis* describes the joining or separation of the *partes orationis*. It also deals with prefixes and affixes for nouns and cases. The *Pars Practica* comprises texts, translations (Latin and vocalized Hebrew) and analysis of the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis*. There is a Decalogue and *Paternoster*, some New Testament texts relating to Baptism and the Eucharist and the bare bones of Luther's 'Catechismus Minor'.

Vivien Law has drawn attention to the way in which Crinesius makes use of a morphological analysis derived from the Hebrew Grammarians which distinguished morphemes added (*affixum*) to a verb (*radix*), these being usually *praefixum* and *suffixum*. The picture is one of building blocks. This he points out is not characteristic of the organic way in which word structure was pictured in Medieval Christian linguistic discourse. Crinesius, thus, distinguishes between a free form (*vox separabilis*) and a bound form (*vox inseparabilis*). Here he has changed the metaphor, for in the Graeco-Roman tradition a free form had been called a *nomen integrum* (whole word) and a bound form a *nomen corruptum* (truncated word) thus preserving a picture of an entity in different states. Crinesius's terms promote the new 'building blocks' image²²⁵. This indeed may all be so, but we have noticed just such an awareness in Münster's translation of Levita's work in his *Compendium Hebraicae Grammaticae* of 1525 and several times thereafter.

Crinesius also wrote a Lexicon. The first Syriac dictionary we have seen was that of Masius's short *Syrorum Peculium* followed by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie's *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum*. This was, one recalls, essentially Münster's Aramaic Grammar used without acknowledgement and supplemented with a few New Testament words and some from Severus' *De Ritibus* in Syriac characters. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible in which Lefèvre de la Boderie's work and Masius's more targeted dictionaries appeared was however rare and expensive. Crinesius did the work again from the *editio princeps* and Severus. This was a useful format and increased the acces-

²²⁵ VIVIEN LAW, *The History of Linguistics in Europe From Plato to 1600* (CUP, 2003) p. 250.

sibility of Syriac to Lutheran scholars. We shall find his contribution subsequently developed by Trostius, and others with increasing sophistication.

Thus Crinesius's *Lexicon Syriacum, e Novo Testamento Et Rituali Severi, Patriarchae quondam Alexandrini, Syro collectum, tribus linguis Cardinalibus expositum, atque in illustri Wittenbergensium Academia tredecim Disputationibus propositum...* (J. Gormann, Wittenberg) followed his Grammar in 1612. He began it on 27 November 1611 and finished it on the 8 August 1612. It was essentially, as we have seen, a Lexicon of the New Testament Syriac text, supplemented with words from the text of Severus's *De Ritibus Baptismi*²²⁶. Support is full and the work almost constitutes a concordance (Crinesius claims) of the Syriac New Testament. New Testament citations are glossed in Greek and Latin. Hebrew etymologies are given for entries. Use is made of the Hebrew grammatical term *Benoni*. It has Richter's serto and a Hebrew font. There is a Latin and Greek index. One finds an *Epistula Pauli* often bound at the end of the Lexicon for reading practice, but sometimes it appears separately as a small *4to* (Impensis Z. Schureri, Typis Gormannianis 1612). It takes its text from the *editio princeps* and acknowledges this²²⁷.

Crinesius's Dedicatory Epistle to the Lexicon offers us his concept of Syriac. Daniel and Ezra spoke pure Chaldaean but less pure and authoritative is Syriac (used in Genesis 31.47). This was the spoken vernacular of Christ and his apostles as 'Talitha Qumi' and 'Aceldama' (so called (Acts 1.19) in 'their own proper tongue' *i. e.* in the speech of Jerusalem) indicate. This was *mera Syriaca* – pure Syriac.

The Syriac New Testament was the first translation ever made from the Greek of the New Testament and made moreover in the vernacular of the time gives the sense better than either the original Greek or the later Latin. The translators worked at Antioch where they could ask Peter and Paul, who spent a year teaching there (Acts 11.26) about difficult or obscure passages. Europe has been without this first translation of the New Testament for 1400 years and at considerable cost until Moses of Mardin arrived in the West. So too even for the Greeks who used the original Greek text, matters are clarified. Take our 'daily bread' (*epiousios/superstantialis*). The Syriac has 'bread of our poverty' which makes the meaning clear: in John 5.2 'Bethesda' is seen to mean 'house of Grace'; 'Marana-

²²⁶ Published in 1571 by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie. On this work see: *Kabbalistic Scholars*, p. 103-106. Severus was in fact Patriarch of Antioch.

²²⁷ The separate edition is dedicated to Fabricius in Wittenberg, J. Drusius in Franeker, N. Albertus in Prague, J Buxtorf in Basel and C. Helvicus in Giessen – "the Christian rabbis of Europe, most learned in Aramaic".

tha' in 1Cor 16.22 becomes intelligible; I Cor 10.2 'baptized into Moses' is explained by the Syriac 'by the hand of Moses'. In Romans 4.8 the Syriac adds support to the doctrine of *sola fide* to the upset of the Louvain censors. In 1Cor 12.20 the Syriac 'eating and drinking' justifies giving the chalice to the laity against the Jesuit Johannes Harlemius (just 'eating' alone was an argument not to). The Syriac often refutes papists and has remained untainted by Eastern superstition. Less confessionally contentious, in Acts 16.6 the Syriac's 'Spirit of Jesus' variant may be used to argue for Trinity. There are more than 600 places in the Syriac New Testament where this extra help is given²²⁸. Finally we may mention his *Disputatio de Confusione Linguarum, Continens Linguae Hebraicae antiquitatem, veros characteres et partes constitutivas* (Johann Gormann, Wittenberg 1610) which defends the thesis of the primacy of Hebrew though treating of Chaldaean, Syriac, Greek and Latin. Sections XVI-XXV treat of Syriac, by brief description of unique features, its ultimate descent from Hebrew, though close similarity with Chaldaean, and from references in Old Testament. Reference is made to Widmanstetter and *Rituale Severi Episcopi Alexandrini* (dated to AC 82). There is no font other than Hebrew.

Martin Trost

Martin Trost (Trostius) (1588-1636) had already acted as *respondens* for one part of Crinesius's Lexicon (*Disputatio Secunda*). He had similarly been inspired by Fabricius in Wittenberg. He taught at the gymnasium in Köthen (a small village south-east of Dessau) in 1628 but then returned to Wittenberg in 1629 and became Professor of Hebrew in Fabricius's stead. Later he was to contribute to Walton's Polyglot Bible. In 1623 he brought out the largest Syriac Lexicon so far: *Lexicon Syriacum ex Inductione omnium exemplorum Novi Testamenti Syriaci adornatum; Adjecta singulorum vocabulorum significatione latini & germanici cum Indice triplici*. (Prostat Lipsiae ex Officina Cotheniana, Köthen). Trostius was the first to draw attention to Syriac phraseology on a larger scale, and the Lexicon entries are often phrases. His special interest in syntactical questions is also testified by his intention, announced in the preface of the Lexicon, to publish a *Particularum sylloge*, which however never appeared.

Trost also published the first Protestant edition of the Syriac New Testament to use Syriac characters (and the second after Tremellius) *Dīyatīqī ḥedattā Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*

²²⁸ Crinesius's *Ogdoozētēma glōttikon* (Scherffius, Altdorf 1628) offers illumination of chosen biblical texts from different Oriental and Western languages. The fourth essay *Latere Christi in cruce perfosso, Joh. 19. 34*, uses the Syriac for enlightenment.

Testamentum Syriace: Cum versione Latina: Ex diversis editionibus diligentissime recensitum: Accesserunt in fine notationes variantis lectionis, ex quinque impressis editionibus diligenter collectis (Köthen, 1621, 1622, 1627). It has a preface by Jacobus Martini of Wittenberg University. As Trost indicates it was produced from previous printed editions and like Widmanstetter's edition omits the *Historia adulterae* at John 8.1-11. The Richter serito is used and vocalised. The use of the Syriac font makes the difference from Hebrew vocalisation clearer²²⁹. Though not yet a 'complete' New Testament, this was a notable addition to Protestant studies of Syriac. He the author relies upon his own careful analysis and consolidation rather than any new material or an authoritative teacher.

Trost's *Grammatica Ebraea eademque universalis recognita et locupletora vice altera...* (J. W. Fincellius, Wittenberg 1653) contains *Hypotyposis Harmonica Linguarum Orientalium: Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicaeq; cum Matre Ebraea* by his pupil Andreas Sennert²³⁰. The work has a serito and an Arabic font and moves through the headings of a Hebrew Grammar indicating the extent of similarity and difference in the other two languages, both for the benefit of learners but also to display their common descent from Hebrew. One notices the common emphasis upon comparison in a pedagogic context.

Andreas Sennert (1606-1689), Trost's pupil, was in his turn professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg. His small 4to *Chaldaismus & Syriasmus, hoc est praecepta utriusque linguae, in harmonia ad Ebraea...* *Accessit in fine lexici utriusque linguae compendium...* (Typis et sumptis J. W. Fincelli Wittenberg 1651) gives generous acknowledgement to his predecessors, especially Trost and De Dieu. Later a more ambitious harmony of Aramaic in a growing network of Semitic languages was offered in his *Rabbinismus: h. e. Praecepta Targumico-Talmudico-Rabbinica: In harmonia ad Hebraea, eademque Universalia, Chaldaeo-Syra nec non Arabica (seorsum antehac*

²²⁹ His *Epistola B. Joannis Apostoli Syriaco-Latina* (Köthen 1632) is a separate edition of I John with a primer also in the Richter serito. His *Quaestiones nobiliores Syro-Ebraicae*. appeared in Wittenberg in 1630. He had published an earlier *Concordantiae Chaldaicae, ex Danielis et Esaias capitibus Chaldaico idiomate conscriptis collectae* also in Wittenberg in 1617.

²³⁰ The first edition of this Grammar was *Grammatica Ebraea Generalis cui Chaldaeo-Syriasmus collectus relictis accessit, ita ut communia, quae habent hae linguae, quae minus ἀποψία statim exponantur...* (Impensis & Typis Johannis Röhneri, Wittenberg [1637] 1639) which similarly compared Hebrew, Chaldaean and Syriac. Sennert added the *Hypotyposis* combining Syriac and Arabic grammatical rules matching paragraph by paragraph the Hebrew 'mother'. Andreas Mylius, Professor of Hebrew in Königsburg, was dependant on Trost's Hebrew Grammar in his *Grammatica Chaldaica in quantum ab Hebraea differt* (Danzig 1737).

edita illa ab autore) conscripta illustrataque. Accessit in fine Compendium Lexici Targumico-Talmudico-Rabbinici, Radicum & Vocum notabiliorum praecaeterisque usitatorum, &c. Autore Andrea Sennerto, P. P. In Acad. Witteberg. (Typis & Sumptibus Fincelianis, Wittenberg 1660).

Tübingen, Jena, Altdorf and Leipzig

Wilhem Schickard (1592-1635) was a Lutheran minister busy with pastoral work until 1619 when he was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the University of Tübingen²³¹. In 1631 he was also appointed professor of Astronomy there. Schickard was a universal scientist. His research was broad and included not only Biblical Languages but also Mathematics and Surveying. He invented several machines, famously one for calculating astronomical dates and another, remarkably, for Hebrew grammar. He and his entire family were wiped out in 1635 by bubonic plague during the Thirty Years War. The Hebrew Grammar which Gerhard modified by adding a Harmony (below) was a late version of Schickard's popular *Horologium Hebraeum* written with the intention of teaching Hebrew in 24 hours over a number of days. Schickard himself wrote a short harmonizing work systematizing the conjugations of five languages (Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic)²³². He also left an unfinished Syriac grammar in manuscript written when he was a deacon in Nürtingen which is now in the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg²³³. Their emphasis is upon comparison within an efficient pedagogic programme.

Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621-68) another Lutheran Professor of Theology at Jena supplemented Schickard's work with a *Harmony* of Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic²³⁴. He

²³¹ CLAUDIA OTT, "Schickard als Orientalist – verkannter Genie oder interessierte Laie?", in F. SECK (ed.), *Zum 400. Geburtstag von Wilhelm Schickard Zweite Tübinger Schickard Symposium* (Thorbecke, Sigmaringen 1995) p. 117-130.

²³² WILHELM SCHICKARD, *Circulus Conjugationum Perfectarum Orientalium, Ebraeae, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicae, Aethiopiae harmonice delineatus & explicatus juxta methodum...* Jena: (Sumtibus Christiani à Saher Bibliopolae Erfurtensis... Charactere Georgi Sengwaldi & Caspari Fretschmidi, Jena 1646).

²³³ See (ed.) F. SECK, *Wilhelm Schickard (1592-1635) Astronom. Geograph. Orientalist, Erfinder d. Rechenmaschine* (Mohr, Tübingen 1978) p. 49-101 for his Hebrew and Chaldaean; p. 102 -104 for the Syriac Grammar, *Dialectus Christij Hoc est Syriasmus* (HS504). The Grammar makes use of the Elder Buxtorf's *Grammatica Chaldaica* and knows only the New Testament and Psalter. It deals with prosody, vocalisation and roots and is concerned to reduce apparently four-radical roots to tri-radicals by postulating affixes or reduplication of original bi-radical roots.

²³⁴ Far less ambitious is a Harmony confined to Hebrew and Aramaic, *Brevis Institutio Linguae Syriacae, D. Joh. Henr. Maji Hebraicae atque*

acknowledges as predecessors; Bonaventura Cornelius Bertramus, Angelus Caninius and more recently Joh. Buxtorf and Louis De Dieu²³⁵. But their work suffered from just using Hebrew type which obviously created problems when pupils came to read texts in their proper script. (Though the deficiency did show the cognate relationships of Chaldaean and Syriac.) But Gerhard intended to use real script for Chaldaean, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. This will show (fear not) no less the languages as descendants of Hebrew their Mother. The title page shows a Matronly *Ebrea* seated crowned below a radiate Tetragrammaton and attended by her four daughter languages in distinctive dress standing two on either side. *Ebrea* has a book with Hebrew script on her lap which *Chaldaea* and *Syriaca* touch. *Arabica* has a book with Arabic characters open at her feet. Sadly *Aethiopica* does not seem to have characters on the book at her feet. An opening presents Hebrew in one large column with a smaller one showing Harmony with Chaldaean. The next page displays that for Ethiopic, Arabic and Syriac. There are indices and (inevitably) a huge list of errata. The Dedicatory Epistle nonetheless boasts of the ground-breaking Ethiopic font. The letters in all the languages are very crude and struggle both with ligatures and vocalization.

In 1649 Gerhard brought out for his own part his *Skiagraphia Linguae Syro-chaldaicae cum Analyseos Syriacae specimine* (Typis Haeredum Oeschlengeli, Halle) dedicated to twelve other fellow Orientalists and signed as from Jena. Chaldean is compared throughout with Hebrew and Syriac is compared with Chaldaean in a few final tables.²³⁶ Gerhard considered knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac important for reading the

Chaldaicae nuper emissis Harmonica ad collegiorum conscripta a M. G. C. B. (Typis Johannis Wustii, Frankfurt-am-M. 1696) which appeared from The Elder Majus (1653-1719) Lutheran and Professor of Hebrew at Gliessen from 1688. M.G.C. B. refers to Magister Christian Bürklin's (-1716) *Brevis Institutio Linguae Chaldaicae Hebraicae antehac editae Harmonia* of 1695. Maius considers Syriac derived from Hebrew and Chaldaean: He considers: *permutatione litterarum*, vocalization; noun; pronoun; strong verb, weak verbs, vowel changes and has a note on absence of accents.

²³⁵ *Institutiones Linguae Ebraeae, noviter Recognitae et Auctae. Accessit Harmonia Perpetua aliarum Linguarum Orientalium, Chaldaeae, Syrae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae...Opera M. Johannis Ernesti Gerhardi Jenensis* (Sumtibus Christiani à Saher Bibliopolae Erffurtensis... Charactere Georgi Sengwaldi & Caspari Fretschmidi, Jena 1647). RIJK SMITSKAMP, *Philologia Orientalis* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1992) #131.

²³⁶ The work has vocalized serto and vocalized Hebrew. The Grammar treats: the peculiarities of Syriac writing, verb, verbal patterns for the themes, tenses, defective verbs; the noun *nudum* or *auctum* as in Hebrew; prefixes; suffixes. Acts III 19-21 receives an *analysis grammatica* but there is no Syriac text.

Targums, understanding the Aramaic words in the New Testament and reading the bible commentaries of the Rabbis.

Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669) in turn was a pupil of Gerhard and became Professor of Theology in Jena in 1640. His *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae* appeared in 1637²³⁷. His selection of passages was made from the whole New Testament which had now been completed by the work of De Dieu and Pococke (below). He considered Syriac to be the language of Christ. He boldly ventures emendations to the newly available Syriac text of Jude and prints Psalm 150 in Syriac with vocalization from Erpenius' edition. The work enjoys Hebrew, Greek and Syriac type (Richter's serito) but there is no Arabic. Passages are given in Hebrew Greek and Syriac. Matthew 5.18 is given in Syriac and in Tremellius' transcription ("Immanuel Tremellius haec in characteribus Ebraicis ita (sed non satis accurate) expressit".) 'Amen' in Greek, we learn, comes not from the Hebrew or the Chaldaean but the Syriac form, though there are lots of loan words in Syriac. There are annotations on grammatical points and vocalization: he discusses 'Chaldaeanising', the Eastern long /a/ and the Western long /o/. There is also consideration of errors: using *dagesh forte* as opposed to the use of Syriac *kuschoi* (seen as similar); gemination contrary to practice of Amira and Sionita; shewas; silent letters (*alaph* lost in pronunciation, and first person plural imperfects in /n/ rather than Syriac *yudh*). Errors are pointed out in Matthew 6.9; 16.18; 16.15,16 etc. etc. and the work contains a *Censio in Scriptorem Tremellianum*.

Dilherr makes reference (*z'l*) to Daniel Schwenterus (1585-1636) Professor of Sacred Languages and Professor of Mathematics at Altdorf and his *Ventilatio Grammatica Gemina, Altera de pronuntiatione vocalis Syriacae z q p 'altera An Syri diphthong os Agnoscant? Cui en paraodoi genuina pronuntiatio Kametz & Pathahh Hebraeorum accessis, Dictata Altdorphi Noricorum* (Typis Simonis Halbmayeri, Nuremberg 1627). Schwenter addressed the vocalization of the Syriac vowel sign

²³⁷ JOHANN MICHAEL DILHERR, *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae* (Lobenstein, Jena 1637). The first edition comprised two volumes bound together in one: *Rudimenta Grammaticae Syriacae* is volume 2. The following year: *Eclogae Sacrae Novi Testamenti, Syriacae, Graecae, Latinae. cum notis & observationibus ita explicatae, ut, praeter rerum non inutilem cognitionem, adhibitis Grammaticae Syriacae Rudimentis antehac excusis Attentus Lector Linguam Syriacam proprio Marte possit addiscere. Adduntur Indices locupletissimi et manuale Lexici Syriaci...* (Joh. Lud. Neuenhahn. Litteris Joh. Jac. Bauhöffer, Jena 1638). An edition of 1646 'Typis Haeredum Oelschlegelianis printed in Halle in 1646 uses both Richter's type and that of J. Viccars, COAKLEY, p. 72-75. Later Edition: Apud Joh. Lud. Neuenhahn Litteris Joh. Jac. Bauhöfferi, Jena 1662. See COAKLEY, p. 49 for Johannes Richter's type.

zqapha which he considered was pronounced /a/ (like a *Kametz Hebraeorum*) and not /o/. He also like Dilherr maintained that Syriac had no diphthongs²³⁸. The indices of the *Eclogae* comprise a word list for Hebrew and an *Index Vocum Syriacarum qui loco manualis Lexici Syriaci esse potest*. This is an alphabetic list of Syriac words with Latin translation values. We meet here in Dilherr the practice of gathering passages from the Syriac Scriptures into an anthology for learners. This was not just a matter of convenience: not every student could be expected to have even an edition of the Syriac New Testament. The editions of the Old Testament in the Polyglots were even more inaccessible if only for reasons of rarity and cost. Other teachers will offer similar *excerpta*.

J. A. Danzius (1654-1727) in his turn brought out *Aditus Syriae reclusus, compendiose ducens ad plenam linguae Syriacae Antiochenae seu Maronitae cognitionem...* (sumptu Jo. F. Bieckii) in Jena in 1689. Whilst many thought the language of Antioch and Maronites to be that of Christ, he considered that of the Targums Jonathan and Onkelos to be more of the era. Several Aramaic words cited in the Greek New Testament are from the language of the time and are not the later forms. Still, this dialect developed early, though not perhaps so early as suggested by the opinion of *Soadedi Episcopi Hadethiensis* cited by Sionita in his Syriac Psalter. He held the Syriac Old Testament dated mainly from time of Solomon who wished thereby to please Hiram, king of Tyre²³⁹. Syriac is important for understanding Semitisms in Scripture (he follows De Dieu) and, of course, it is the sacred language of many Eastern Christians and their Scriptures.

Hermann von der Hardt (1660-1746), Professor of Oriental Languages at both Jena and Leipzig was given the Chair of Oriental Languages in Helmstedt in 1690. We have his *Brevia atque Solida Syriacae Fundamenta* (1660. Second edition Typis & sumptibus Georgi Wolfgangi Hammii, Acad. Typog. Helmstad, 1701) and *Elementa Syriaca in usum Auditorum suorum Helmestadi* (Hamm, Helmstad 1694, 1694) which have an evident diadactic purpose and are directed at his students, as was a similar 1693 *Elementa Chaldaica in usum Auditorum suorum edita*. A *Hebraeae Linguae Fundamenta* appeared also in 1694 and a *Via in Chaldaeam Brevis et expedita, in fundamentis linguae ...* dealt with biblical Aramaic (3rd ed. Apud

²³⁸ DANIEL SCHWENTER, *Ventilatio Grammatica Gemina, Altera de Pronunciatione Vocalis Syriacae zqapha, Altera An Syri Diphtongos Agnoscant?*... (Typis Simonis Halbmayeri, Nuremberg 1627). Nicolai (below) was of the same opinion.

²³⁹ Further citations of this view are conveniently assembled in Hieremias à Bennetis, *Chronologia Critica et Historiae profanae et sacrae...* (Haeredes Francisci Bizzarrini Komarek, Rome 1766) p. 91-94, esp. 93.

Christ. Frider. Weygand. Litteris Schnorriani, Helmstad 1732). Hoffmann remarked dismissively that the *Fundamenta fere nihil nisi paradigmata continent*²⁴⁰. Von der Hardt gives some paradigms and examples of parts of speech. There is a reading passage from the Syriac Matthew with phrase by phrase Latin translation. The language is considered the vernacular of Christ and the Apostles spoke *Dialecto Syro. Chaldaica*. These works are essentially course books for Von der Hardt's lectures and hardly exciting. Reviewing the history of Syriac in 1727, J. H. Lysius found far more interesting Hardt's attempt to derive not only Syriac but the other Semitic languages from Greek.²⁴¹ The sons of Japhet who colonised Scythia under the influence of the sons of Shem (very oddly spelled) produced Syriac which is able to articulate all the force of Greek²⁴². Lysius was dismissive and cited supporting authorities for his view. Hardt's unusual spellings he found key to his misrepresentation. Nevertheless the view received countenance from De Dieu and Hottinger²⁴³.

Finally we may turn to Leipzig. Hieronymus Avianus, entertaining an interest in versification, produced a two-volume lexicon to facilitate the production of poetry²⁴⁴. It boasts a Letter of Salutation from Buxtorf senior. The lexicon draws on the acknowledged work of forerunners Crinesius and Trost; words are listed by termination to facilitate the appreciation and composition of poetry which in these languages, rather than relying on quantity, uses rhythm especially that of endings of words. Three languages are presented in Hebrew font. Lists of grammatical functions of various endings for each of the three languages are given distinguishing between Chaldaean and Syriac. A list of Syriac words is given. Specimens of epigrams written in the appropriate languages are also provided. There is sadly

²⁴⁰ HOFFMANN, p. 53.

²⁴¹ *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae...* (Regiomonti Litteris Reusnerianis 1727) B2, B3.

²⁴² The theory is exposed in his *Arabia Graeca* (Helmstad 1715) and *Syria Graeca* of the same place and date.

²⁴³ DE DIEU, *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti Libros Omnes ...* (Elsevir, Leiden 1648) in Gen. Cap. X v22; HOTTINGER, *Smegma Orientale* (Typis et Impensis Adriani Wyngaerde, Heidelberg 1658) p. 262.

²⁴⁴ HIERONYMUS AVIANUS, *Mafteah dot li-melekheth shire hakodesh Clavis poeseos sacrae, numquam antehac visa, trium principalium LL orientalium hebraeae, Chaldaeae ac Syrae rhythmos, seu omnium & singularum homioptōta kai homiooteleuta, juxta Alphabeti seriem inversam ita disposita, ut simul Lexici vulgaris usum admittant, exhibens... olim in privatum usum ex authenticis Buxtorffii Crinesii & Trostii Lexicis non sine labore fideliter concinnata etc.* (Godfried Gros, Leipzig, 1627). There is also a 1628 edition. For consideration of Hebrew versification and metre amongst Lutheran Hebraists, STEPHEN G. BURNETT, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660)* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 2012) p. 112-113.

no Syriac type and in the Introduction the difficulties preventing the production of a Syriac font in Leipzig are discussed.

9. Reformed Scholars

The fruits of much of the developing Christian Aramaism we have been following are gathered in the works of solid textual scholarship exemplified for 135 years by Buxtorfs - father, son and grandson - with some sixty editions to their credit from Basel alone. The culmination of their work being perhaps the monumental *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639-40). J. Buxtorf *filius* (1599-1664) succeeded his father (1564-1629) as Professor of Hebrew in Basel and became Professor of Theology in 1647.

J. Buxtorf *pater* had produced a Grammar of Aramaic and Syriac in Basel in 1615 where he mentions as his predecessors Münster, Mercier, Tremellius, Bertram and Martinez²⁴⁵. Buxtorf bewailed the lack of type in the Basel printing offices. His son brought out a second edition *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae Libri III... Inserta quoque passim est dialectus Talmudica & Rabbinica. Editio secunda, auctior & emendatior.* (Haeredes L. König, Basel 1650) allowing his father's remarks to remain unchanged. But by this time he had produced his own Syriac Lexicon in 1622 with proper types²⁴⁶. The Lexicon comprised Aramaic words from the Old Testament, the Targums and the Syriac New Testament. He mentions Münster and Levita as predecessors. Buxtorf brought out his late father's

²⁴⁵ *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae Libri III. Quorum primus vocum singularum proprietatem declarat: Secundus coniunctarum rationem ostendit, tertius praxeos chaldaicae et syriacae exempla varia et luculenta continet ex Daniele, Onkelo, Jonathane, ex Targum Hierosolymitano, Talmud Babylonico et Hiersol[ymitano], ex Zohar, et versione Novi Testament[enti] Syra: Cum facili vocabulorum difficultium explicatione Grammatica, et pravorum ad veram linguae analogiam collatione. Inserta quoque passim Dialectus Talmudica et Rabbinica* Typis C. Waldkirchii, impensis L. König, Basel 1615). The Grammar draws on rabbinic literature and is essentially a grammar of Biblical Aramaic. After the Aramaic forms, the corresponding Syriac forms are given in italics, but all Syriac is printed in Hebrew characters. Readers are recommended to use the grammars of Masius and Waser to learn the Syriac alphabet. In the third part of the book he gives several texts in biblical and rabbinic Aramaic and the Syriac text of Matthew 6.5-13 with Latin version and *notae grammaticae*.

²⁴⁶ *Lexicon Chaldaicum et Syriacum quo Voces Omnes Tam Primitivae quam Derivativae, Quotquot in Sacrorum Vet. Testamenti librorum Targumim seu Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, Onkeli in Mosen, Jonathanis in Prophetas, & aliorum authorum in Hagiographa: Item In Targum Hierosolymitano, Jonathane altero in Legem & Targum Secundo in librum Esther; Denique In Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca reperiuntur, Accurate et Methodice... describuntur...* (Ex Officina Ludovici Regis, Basel 1622).

Aramaic Lexicon – the fruit of 30 years combined work—in 1639²⁴⁷.

Louis De Dieu

Other scholars maintained the distinguished standards set. Louis (Lodewijk, Ludovico) De Dieu (1590-1642), son of Calvinist pastor, studied at Leiden under Thomas Erpenius and Jacobus Golius before becoming himself a pastor at Flessingue (Vlissingen), Middelburg and eventually Leiden where he was also Regent of the Collège Wallon. His *Animadvertiones*, like Heinsius's *Exercitationes Sacrae* (1639) were the first purely philological commentaries on the New Testament to appear from Leiden²⁴⁸. His two teachers were themselves, of course, most distinguished²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁷ *Johannis Buxtorfi P. Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum, Et Rabbinicum, Nunc Primum in lucem editum a Johanne Buxtorfio F. Ling. Heb. professore, Cum Privilegio* (Sumptibus et Typis LUDOVICI REGIS, Basel 1639).

²⁴⁸ *Animadversiones in Veteris Testamenti libros omnes, in quibus ex Chaldaeorum Targumim, et Syrorum, & Arabum & aliorum versionibus, ut & Hebraeorum commentariis, & recentiorum observationibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & diligenti collatione habita explicantur; Animadversiones sive commentarius in quatuor Evangelia, in quo collatis, Syri imprimis, Arabum, Evangelii Hebraei, Vulgati, Erasmi & Bezae versionibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & variae lectiones conferuntur. Accessit Appendix in Matthaeum, in quo cum praetermissa quaedam, tum Aethiopicae versionis nonnulla adduntur & expenduntur; Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum, ubi collatis Syri, Arabi, Aethiopici, Vulgati, Erasmi & Bezae versionibus, difficiliora quaeque loca illustrantur, & variae lectiones conferuntur; Animadversiones in Pauli Epistolas ad Romanos... Accedit spicilegium in reliquis ejusdem apostoli, ut & Catholicas epistolas* (Elzevier, Leiden 1648; 1631; 1634; 1646). The exotic scripts were printed by the Elzevier publishers with the fonts acquired from Erpenius' press. For the type see Coakley p. 66-68. In the preface to the first volume the author claims to have used an incomplete Syriac-Arabic glossary in the Scaliger legacy, composed by Jacob Elgais, *i. e.* the 10th century glossary of Ishô bar 'Alî. See BAUMSTARK, p. 242, SMITKAMPS, *P.O.* p. 305-307.

²⁴⁹ Thomas Erpenius (Van Erpe) (1584-1624) died of plague scarcely forty years old. Master of Arts at Leiden 1608, he perfected his Oriental languages especially Arabic with William Bedwell in London and with Casaubon and others in Paris where he wrote his *Grammatica Arabica* (In Officina Raphelengiana, Leiden 1613). In that year became Professor of Arabic at Leiden. He created an Oriental printing house at his own expense. Erpenius brought out as a small quarto in 1625 *Psalms Davidis Regis & Prophetarum, lingua Syriaca nunc primum, ex antiquissimis codicibus in lucem editi a Thoma Erpenio...* (Ex Typographia Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, Prostant apud Joh. Maire & Elzevros, Leiden 1625). This was based on two Jacobite manuscripts offering a vocalized text, one of which came from Joh. Borelius and the other of which was procured by Erpenius himself and both of which are now in Cambridge. Erpenius finished the printing but died in 1624. It was subsequently published with a preface by his widow who included a dedication to the States-General. (In 1625, as we

De Dieu brought out a Syriac edition of Revelation in 1627 which together with Edward Pococke's Syriac edition of the Minor Catholic Epistles (2Peter, 2-3John and Jude) was intended to complete the Syriac New Testament with the books absent from the ancient Peshitta²⁵⁰. He published the first text of the *Pericope Adulterae* in 1631.²⁵¹

De Dieu represents the Dutch school of biblical exegetic scholars favouring the grammarian's point of view who, in the wake of the Buxtorffii, did so much to sieve and select from the Rabbinical commentaries. His interpretations often compared the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions.

His *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium* appeared in Leiden in 1628²⁵². The *Grammatica* displays together Hebrew,

have seen Gabriel Sionita published a Syriac edition of the Psalter in Paris. Both claimed a first edition, but both were ignorant of the karshuni Psalter from Quzhayya (Lebanon, 1610.) Upon Erpenius' decease his Oriental manuscripts were bought by the Duke of Buckingham and were given in 1626 to Cambridge. Jacob Golius (van Gool 1596-1667) was the author of the *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden, 1653) which was based on the *Sihah* of Al-Jauhari. He came to the University of Leiden to study Mathematics in 1612, but registered again in 1618 to study Arabic. He was the pupil of Erpenius whom he replaced (1625) after accompanying a Dutch embassy to Morocco (1622). Thereafter he toured Syria and Arabia until 1629 when he returned to Leiden to hold the chairs of Mathematics and Arabic. In 1656 he published a new edition, with considerable additions, of the *Grammatica Arabica* of Erpenius. After his death, there was found among his papers a *Dictionarium Persico-Latinum* which was published, with additions, by Edmund Castell in his *Lexicon heptaglotton* (1669).

²⁵⁰ A. WILLEMS, *Les Elzevier: Histoire et annales typographiques* (Typographie C. Annoot-Braeckman a Gand, Brussels 1880) #269 and #334 and SMITKAMP, *PO* #303 for De Dieu's edition from a Scaliger legacy manuscript, by the hand of a certain Caspar of Malabar who was copying manuscripts in Rome. Pococke's work (*Epistolae quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda & tertia, & Judae, fratris Jacobi, una...* (Elsevir, Leiden 1630) was offered explicitly as a supplement to De Dieu's (who probably saw it through the press) and was probably published through the good offices of G. Vossius who visited England in 1629. The arrangement of the two editions is identical but there are differences in the headings and considerable typographical difference. For the font see Coakley p. 66-68: De Dieu's book is in the old Plantin font, but Pococke's is in a completely new type. They were intended to be published together, as indeed they were. A Latin translation of Pococke's text was published earlier in 1612 in Mainz by *Nicolaus Serarius* in his *Commentaria in Epistolas Canonicas*.

²⁵¹ See his *Animadversiones sive Commentarius in quatuor Evangelia* (Leiden, 1631) p. 443-444. He took the text from a manuscript lent him by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, which is now in Trinity College Dublin. The same text appeared in Walton's Polyglot.

²⁵² *Dikduk leshonot ha-kedem shel Ibrim we-Casdim wa-Aramim ... id est Grammatica linguarum orientalium Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum inter se collatarum ...* (Ex Officina Elseviriana, Leiden 1628). Also the same *ex recensione David Clodii* (J. D. Zunnerus, Frankfurt-a-M, 1683).

Chaldaean and Syriac grammar. He explains “*Tres linguas sibi apprime vicinas inter se conferimus, Hebraicam, Chaldaicam, Syriacam: ut quod commune habeant, quid different, lector uno intuitu quasi in tabula perspiciat*”.

De Dieu commends Oriental languages on the grounds that mankind, civilisation and religion came from the East. But their utility in the study of Scripture makes them more important. The Chaldaean Targums are useful for explaining for explaining the Old Testament text and contain messianic prophecies. There is the usual list of Chaldaean or Syriac words in the New Testament, but it is also important he asserts, to attend the wider Semitic phrasing of New Testament locutions. He does distinguish Syriac from Chaldaean because others do, but nonetheless he thinks they are essentially the same language: see Daniel 2.4 where the Chaldaean speak to the king ‘*aramith id est Syre*. Chaldaean is seen to be more like Syriac if just the consonantal text rather than the different vowels are attended to. Cases where Aramaic has a *yod* which is really marking a vowel and Syriac does not, or vocalizations such as *-hûn* for *-hôn* show this. Generally he follows Buxtorf’s vocalization of Chaldaean, but is convinced that arbitrary European decisions rather than any rules of language are at work there. Buxtorf had done good work in emending Chaldaean vocalizing but De Dieu felt there was a lot further to go in conforming the Chaldaean to the Syriac. Syriac grammar has surer rules than Chaldaean²⁵³. He examines cases from Daniel correcting towards the Syriac. There is something of a new departure here. We may recall Mercier’s attempts to correct the Targums to Biblical Aramaic and Tremellius’ ‘Chaldaeanising’ of the Syriac New Testament. Here De Dieu wishes to correct the Targums to Syriac! It is in this context that he acknowledges his principle debt to Amira: “*Maximam autem in syriacis opem mihi tulit Georgius Amira Edeniensis, a monte Libano maronita, qui luculentam scripsit grammaticam syriacam Romae anno 1596 excusam*”.

He also tells us that his late teacher, the regretted Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624), had already for publication an abbreviated version of Amira’s Grammar at the moment of his untimely death: *Hanc in brevissimum compendium contraxit clarissimus Thomas Erpenius, vir longiori vita dignus, et magno literarum dispensio extinctus. Id iam procul dubio lucem vidisset, si ipse author superstes extremam manum adhibere, et in characteres syriacos transfundere potuisset. Iam enim hebraicis est*

²⁵³ ... *in hac linguarum collatione Syriacae magis quam Chaldaee linguae insistam. Non tantum, quia hanc copiosius quam illam tractavit in grammat. sua Clariss. Buxtorf, sed vel axime, quia linguae Syriacae precepta longe sunt certiora quam Chaldaicae, & haec ad illam dirigenda.*

*exaratum*²⁵⁴. De Dieu acknowledges benefit enjoyed from Bertram's work, but especially from that of Buxtorf in Chaldaean.

De Dieu expresses disagreement, however, with Erpenius on the writing of silent letters having been advised by (reading) Gabriel Sionita²⁵⁵. Merx further observed that De Dieu was

²⁵⁴ THOMAS ERPENIUS, *Grammatica Chaldaea ac Syra opera ac cura Constantini L'Empereur de Oppijck ...* (1628 Altera editio ex Officina Francisci Moyardi, Leiden 1659). Syriac Grammar is treated under: orthography, the verb, the noun, particles (prepositions pronouns, the 'genitive') and Syntax (mainly concerning 'affixes'). The Chaldaean grammar follows. Chaldaean is very like Syriac but closer to Hebrew: five 'rules' are given to distinguish them. A second edition, *opera et cura Constantini L'Empereur* subsequently appeared (Franciscus Moyardus, Leiden 1659). The second edition fills up empty space with *De Anomaliis in Lingua Hebraea ex Dialecto Aramea* taken from J. Alting's *Grammatica Hebraea*. This is followed by J. LEUSDEN, *Scholia Syriacae Libri Tres* (Ex officina Meinardi à Dreunen, Typogr. Utrecht 1658). Only the introductory epistles and the contents page were however printed. This work comprised Book I Grammar – letters, vowels, syllables word and points; Book II Syntax - 'the joining of words'; and Book III giving examples mainly taken from the Syriac New Testament. Book IV dealt with the differences from Samaritan Letters and language. Constantine l'Empereur's *Praefatio ad lectorem* makes a virtue of the fact Erpenius, though he believed Chaldaean and Syriac were the same language, used only Hebrew type and therefore was different from others who wished to print the Chaldaean parts of the Old Testament in Syriac script. Hebrew script made it easier to display the similarities of the languages and was useful as the Syriac New Testament now also existed in Hebrew type. This point holds good, he considered, even if one holds with Masius and others that the Hebrew Letters used to print contemporary Hebrew texts had evolved over time into the Syriac script (Scaliger and others, of course, considered that the letters used in contemporary printings of the Hebrew bible were not those used at the time of Ezra).

²⁵⁵ *Caeterum puncta vocalia literarum Jod, Wau & Nun, quae is Syriacismo ex sententia quorundum doctissimorum virorum otiari multis locis asollent, cum ea author propria manu ascripsisset, negligere non fui ausus: cum authorem commemoratae sententiae non fuisse ignarum & p13 constat manifestissime, utpote qui cum ipsis Syris aliquoties loquutus fuerit. Verum quidem est i, u, & a, ultimas vocum vocales cum Jod, Wau & Nun passim in affixis & verbis distincte ac manifeste non audiri; attamen nullum omnino edere sonum, saltem, i in affixis & a, in verbis, Masius (& ipse a Syro praecceptore, cuius peritiam alicubi laudat, institutus) in genere non asseverat. Sed enim quandoquidem ista lingua arctis limitibus conclusa non fuit, evenit fortassis, ut diversa diversis locis pronuntiatio obtinuerit, prout in Arabismo videre licet: nam aliam pronuntiationem a D. M. Erpenio edoctus fui, quam postea Lutetiae a viro linguae Arabicae pariter ac Syriacae peritissimo, D. Gabriele Sionita, (cui plurimum debeo) me percepisse memini. Nec etiam mirum cuiquam videri debet, si vocales vel literes in celeri sermone absorbentur audiri nequeant, quae nihilo secus, si quis lente & distincte verba proferat, aliquatenus saltem auribus percipiuntur: quod vel vulgares nobis linguae experientibus palam faciunt. Atque huc pertinet, quod me aliquando Lutetiae Parisiorum audivisse memini e Maronitis celeberrimis D. Gabriele Sionita (de quo supra) eiusque collega, quum de lectione vocum Arabicarum, quae per weslon conjuguntur, sermones inciderent: afferebant viri doctissimi, eliph illud unionis, quod una cum vocali sua non auditur, ubi*

correct in holding that the stress (*tonus*) in Syriac generally falls on the penultimate syllable²⁵⁶. This was confirmed for Merx by the work of D. T. Stoddard on modern Syriac²⁵⁷. He observed the convergence of Syriac accents of those with Arabic which stresses the penultimate syllable if long, but the antepenultimate if the penultimate is short. He remarked that the topic was avoided altogether by the older Syriac grammarians. Crinesius and Dilherr and others rather rashly imposed here the Hebrew pronunciation upon Syriac, but analogies from this dialect do not constitute a rule. It is far better to follow Arabic practice. De Dieu's remarks in this respect are found in his *Grammatica Linguarum Orientalium* p55 et seqq.²⁵⁸.

10. The London Polyglot

England was not the first of countries to be distinguished in Oriental studies, but in Walton's Polyglot Bible research, drawing freely on antecedent continental scholarship, reached a peak of philological and typographical excellence²⁵⁹. Ten years after

uno spiritu, absque ulla intermissione, vocabula conjunguntur: nihilominus una cum vocali sua proferri posse, si (ut nonnunquam fieri solet) inter hujusmodi vocabula spiritum ducere, atque interspiratione (ut loquitur Cicero) intercedente, ipse efferre lubeat. Quis si simile, quid hic evenire statuamus, ut discrepantes alioqui sententiae eo facilius coeant atque conciliantur. Enimvero quos jam commemoravi missos facio: en viri Doctissimi Boderianus & Tremellius, cum Syriaca expresserunt literis Hebraeis (ut in hoc opusculo, author noster) literis Jod, Wau & Nun passim suas vocales ascripserunt. Denique si lingua Syra a Chaldaeae diversa non est, nonne cum illis Danielis & Ezdrae Chaldaeis vocales passim alioquo saltem modo resonent, idem in Syra lingua fieri, videri queat? Ut aliquanto vocales non desiderari in ipsis Syriace excusis libris taceam. Hac eo non quod vocales, quas alii multis locis reticere sono proferri velim; sed ut praeter sententiarum conciliationem (de qua peritiores dispiciant) iis qui puncta passim apposita mirabuntur fortassis, si pote sit satisfaciam, hoc praelequium praemittendum expedire estimavi. Qui & eo libentius puncta auctoris minime negligere volui, quod Danielem, Ezdram ac targum, ubi puncta passim conspiciuntur, auditoribus enarrare constituerim si libuerit benignissimo & omnipotenti Numini: quod, ut tuo labore benedicat, veneror.

²⁵⁶ *Grammatica*, p. 136.

²⁵⁷ D. T. STODDARD, "Grammar of the Modern Syriac Language as spoken in Oroomah, Persia, and in Koordistan", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 5 (1855-1856) p. 1-180 at p. 20.

²⁵⁸ For other proposed rules on accents: DILHERR, *Rudimenta Gramm. Syr.*, p. 23 seq.; HOTTINGER, *Rudimenta Gram. Harmon.*, p. 16; LEUSDEN, *Schol. Syr.*, p. 33; GRAFUNDER, *Gram Syr.*, p. 19; CELARIUS, *Porta Syr.*, p. 9; OPITIUS, *Syriasmus*, p. 24.

²⁵⁹ Simon Sturtevant, a member of Christ's College Cambridge, brought out *Dibre Adam or Adam's Dictionarie A Rare and New Invention for the speedie atteyning and perfect retheyning of the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriack. Where (by the motion of 66 characters) all the dictionarie words of the language of Canaan are truly represented and cleerly written. Divised and compliled by S. S. ([F. Kingston], London 1602).* (The first two words of the

that of the Paris Polyglot the printing of the London Polyglot began²⁶⁰. It was principally the work of Brian Walton (1600?-1661), assisted by several other English scholars. The Syriac text was that of the Paris Polyglot, revised for the Old Testament by Walton with recourse to several manuscripts supplied by J. Ussher and E. Pococke (see vol.VI). In the New Testament John 7, 53-8,11 was printed from the manuscript of Ussher which De Dieu had previously used.

Herbert Thorndyke (1598-1672) was an Orientalist and canon of Westminster Abbey²⁶¹. In 1640 he was appointed Hebrew lecturer to Trinity his Cambridge college in 1640. Thorndike, who carried on a correspondence with Walton, Ussher, and Pococke, took an active part in the editing of Brian Walton's Polyglot, the Syriac portion of which was his special contribution. He was responsible for *Variantes in Syriaca versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones e codicibus mss.* in Volume VI of the Polyglot (London, 1657). He also wrote *Epitome Lexici Hebraici, Syriaci, Rabbinici et Arabici; una cum observationibus circa linguam Hebraeam et Graecam. Authore Harbello Thorndicke Cantabrigiensis* (William Jones, London 1635 and 1637). This is an Epitome of Schindler.

John Viccars (1614-1660), by contrast from Oxford, also collaborated on the London Polyglot. He produced a learned commentary on the Psalms *Decapla in Psalmos: sive Commentarius ex decem linguis; viz. Hebr., Arab., Syriac, etc.* (O. Pulein, London) which was published in 1639 and 1655²⁶². The commentary drew on twelve major Jewish sources and other

title are xylographic.) This comprises an Introduction of 32 octavo pages. This was apparently all that got into print: what happened to the rest is unknown. See G. LLOYD JONES, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester University Press, 1983) p. 261. This book is an excellent introduction to Christian Hebraism in England.

²⁶⁰ *Biblia Sacra polyglotta, complectantia Textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum; versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII Interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat., quicquid comparari poterat. Cum textuum, et versionum Orientalium translationibus Latinis... cum apparatu, appendicibus, tabulis variis lectionibus, annotationibus, indicibus... Edidit Brianus Waltonus* (6 vols Thomas Roycroft, London 1655-1657). See: PETER N. MILLER, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653-57)", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63 (2001) p. 463-482; ADRIAN SCHENKER, "The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London (1568-1658)" in MAGNE SÆBØ (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History of its Interpretation II From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008) p. 774-784 at p. 781-784. The Polyglot is best approached by reading its own introductory material. For the type, COAKLEY, p. 72-73; 75-77.

²⁶¹ W. B. PATTERSON, *DNB*. Life of Walton vol. I, p. 209-215.

²⁶² G. J. TOOMER in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

versions and made use of manuscripts consulted in Paris and Rome. He shared with his brother Samuel the expense of the Arabic and Syriac types described in the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury as ‘*novis Typis Syriacis & Arabicis (sumptibus haud exiguis) adornata*²⁶³’. A table of these Arabic and Syriac fonts, the first to be cut in England, appears on the errata page at the front of the second edition. Syriac words are quoted throughout *propria lingua et caractere non illo novo Estrangelo* (f2 recto)²⁶⁴.

Christian Ravis (formerly Raue) (1613 Berlin–1677), by contrast, was an itinerant German Orientalist and Theologian²⁶⁵. In 1630 he entered Wittenberg University, where he studied Oriental languages under Trost before going to Holland in 1637 to study Arabic under Golius. Ravis was a facile linguist (his English writings are thoroughly idiomatic), but not a profound one. He strove for the original, but usually achieved only the bizarre. He played no part in the production of the Polyglot yet produced the first English Grammar of Syriac, though setting the language in a rather unusual comparative context.

He was patronized from 1639 by James Ussher in order to enable him to make a journey to the East to collect manuscripts. Ravis spent some time in Smyrna and Constantinople, assembling manuscripts on his own account, and returned to England in 1641 with his amanuensis, Nicolaus Petri of Aleppo, an Arabic-speaking Greek (who subsequently made Golius suspicious of Ravis’ integrity—he called him a ‘treasury of lies’). He carried with him some 300 manuscripts, mostly Oriental, of which the most notable was an Arabic version of Apollonius’ Conics. Back in England in 1648, he was sponsored to give lectures in Oriental languages for Sion College Oxford, he was elected fellow of Magdalen College and taught Hebrew²⁶⁶.

²⁶³ COAKLEY, p. 73-74.

²⁶⁴ SMITKAMP, *P.O.* #368 for illustration of the Syriac type.

²⁶⁵ G. J. TOOMER, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), p. 83–4, 142–5, 151–2 & 183–200. ID., ‘Ravis, Christian (1613–1677)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

²⁶⁶ Failing to obtain the chair of Arabic at Oxford (his patron Pococke was suspected of Royalist sympathies), Ravis accepted an offer of appointment as Professor of Oriental languages at Uppsala from Christina of Sweden in 1650. He lectured on Oriental languages at Kiel after 1669 where he published his particular ideas on biblical chronology as *Unica Vera et Infalibilis Chronologia Biblica* (1670), which met with almost universal derision. He devoted the rest of his life, and several publications, to defending this. In 1672 Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg procured him a chair as Professor of Oriental Languages and Biblical Chronology at the

Ravis who displayed an unattractive blend of penury and self-promotion figured significantly amongst English Orientalists in the 1640s. He proposed that the teaching of Oriental languages might assist in the conversion of the Jews, and that the printing of the Koran might lead to its refutation and the success of a mission to the Turks. Otherwise, he claimed his knowledge of Hebrew could improve the translation some difficult places in the Bible. His book, *A Generall Grammer for the Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic Tongue*, was published in London in 1648 and went into several editions from 1648 to 1650, and was published with his *Discourse of the Orientall Tongues*, and a collection of letters from scholars²⁶⁷. In this work, which was intended as a preface to the *Grammer*, he propounded his peculiar theory that these six languages are not merely related, but are in fact the same language (which may be called 'Arabic'). According to Ravis, Hebrew was the oldest language, which had been corrupted at Babel into many different pronunciations, from which the modern Semitic languages resulted. As we have seen other scholars do, Ravis stressed the copiousness of the biblical Hebrew in which a relatively restricted number of roots could express the whole of language and (moreover) that people could easily be taught to read the Hebrew and English scriptures side by side.

In spite of its context in this unusual comparative analysis *A discourse of the Oriental tongues* is the first scholarly introduction to Syriac and Arabic in English. It comprises three differently titled works with varying title pages and dates as follows: *A discourse* dated 1649; *A generall grammer for the Hebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongue. By Christian Ravis*; and *Sesqi-decuria (!) epistolarum adoptivarum* dated 1648. Detailed analysis of grammatical rules for Semitic languages are illustrated with strikingly executed engraved text plates for Hebrew nouns and verbs. There is reading practice in all five languages. The first elements of the Oriental languages with semitic alphabets are presented in 29 numbered columns. There are three pages of Syriac paradigms and one of Ethiopic. Finally there are eight pages on Arabic orthography and declensions. Ravis did not consider Hebrew vowels coeval with consonants nor show much respect for Hebrew accents, dismissing them as 'pricks and strooks'.

University of Frankfurt an-der-Oder where he died of scurvy in 1677. His Arabic manuscript of Apollonius' Conics went to the Bodleian.

²⁶⁷ *A Discourse of the Oriental tongues viz. Ebrew, Samaritan, Calde, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic. Together with a generall grammer for the said tongues. Whereunto is added the Synonimas of the Hebrew tongue* (W. Wilson for T. Jackson, London 1649-8 // J.Y for G. Adderton 1647). The fifteen letters from other scholars printed here include one from Sionita.

Yet this rather singular comparative context for the Semitic languages (they are all essentially Arabic) excluded other possible axes of comparison²⁶⁸. It is “but in vaine”, Ravis claimed, “to fashion the ebrue grammar after the greeke and latine grammars²⁶⁹.” It was pointless, he argued, to try to find special terms for the Hebrew subjunctive: there was only one mood in Hebrew, so there was no need to try to distinguish more than one as in Latin²⁷⁰. Ravis also pointed out that if grammarians “had not the anomalies and defects of the pronownes in latine and greeke (where there is more reason for them) yet in their memorie, and had never yet learned great grammars, but some little compendious ones, they would have made more plaine worke about the pronownes here. For what need is there to speake much of many amomalies [sic] and defects... leame you the pronownes, and observe, that you have but ten whole pronownes, of which cometh the contrated ones, called, *af-fixes*”²⁷¹.

Yet consideration of Ravis merely distracts from the some of the really substantial comparative work done in the wake of the Polyglot project. Edmund Castell (1606-86) was appointed Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic in Cambridge in 1666. Castell moved to St. John’s in 1671, because of the library there. His great work, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum, et Persicum* (1669), took him eighteen years to complete, working (according to his own account) from sixteen to eighteen hours a day. He employed fourteen assistants on the project, and spent £12,000, ruining himself in the process as there was little demand for his finished work²⁷². Before under-

²⁶⁸ The point made here and the quotations are taken from VIVIAN SALMON, “The Study of Foreign Languages in Seventeenth Century England” *Histoire Epistémologie Langage*, 7 (1985) p. 45 -70.

²⁶⁹ C. RAVIS, *Annotations upon the Ebrue Grammar of P. Martinius*. Appendix to *The Key of the Holy Tongue*, by PETRUS MARTINIUS, translated by John Udall (2nd edition For L. Sadler and G. Bedell, Amsterdam).

²⁷⁰ *A Generall Grammer*.

²⁷¹ *Annotations upon the Ebrue Grammar of P. Martinius*, p. 184.

²⁷² H.T. NORRIS, “Edmund Castell (1606-86) and his *Lexicon Heptaglotton* (1669)”, in G. A. RUSSELL (ed.), *The ‘Arabick’ Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth Century England* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1994) p. 70-87. Also ROBERT JONES, “The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584-1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe”, *ibid.*, p. 88-108. JAMES CROSSLEY (ed.), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington*, Vol. I (Cheetam Society, Manchester 1847) p. 243. The first Persian dictionary to be printed was compiled by Golius.

taking the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Castell had helped Walton in the preparation of his *Polyglott Bible*²⁷³.

The *Lexicon* is still today the only complete ‘synoptic’ Semitic dictionary and contains a rich treasury of material. The Preface acknowledges use of Schindler, but moves far beyond his work. The Syriac section was not the work of Castell but rather of William Beveridge (1638-1708) who had entered St. John’s in 1653 who in later life in 1704 became Bishop of St. Asaph²⁷⁴. Beveridge did his work badly²⁷⁵. Perhaps he may be somewhat excused as at twenty years old he produced the first English Grammar solely of Syriac (though still, of course, in Latin)²⁷⁶. This appeared in 1658 in *De Linguarum Orientalium etc. praestantia et usu, cum Grammatica Syriaca* (London 1658, 1684). Thomas Roycroft, printer of the London Polyglot used the type for Beveridge’s *Grammatica Syriaca*²⁷⁷. The Grammar, which sported a vocalized estrangela heading, was designed to be used with the Polyglot as its title indicates²⁷⁸.

²⁷³ Somewhat later Henricus Opitius (Heinrick Opitz) (1642-1712), a friend of Castell and Professor of Oriental Languages at Kiel from 1679 to 1689 (who produced a popular Hebrew Grammar, an edition of the Hebrew Bible and several works as synopses or harmonies of Hebrew and Aramaic) brought out: *Gēmārā dē-leššānā ārāmāyā Seu syriasmus facilitati & integritati suae restitutus simulque hebraismo et chaldaismo harmonicis, ac regulis quinquaginta absolutus. Exemplis & singularibus quibusvis versionis syriacae vet. & novi test. summō studiō annotatis* (1678 2nd ed. Joh. Caspar Meyer, Typis Colerianis, Leipzig 1691). The second edition has a Syriac title in bold red estrangela. The serto is that of Johannes Richter used in Köthen from 1621, appearing also in Trost’s New Testament and in Jena for Dilherr’s *Eclogae Novi Testamenti*. Once some differences are acknowledged (Syriac has no *sheva compositum*, *mapik*, *figurae accentuum* & *kametz chatuph*), the Harmony of the languages is displayed in fifty memorable rules covering *De elementa linguae* (vocalisation, syllables accents); *de Etymologia seu Notatione* (radical and servile letters, derivations from Hebrew, anomalies in medially defective verbs) and *De Mutatione Vocalium* finishing with an appendix *De idiotissimis Syntacticis*.

²⁷⁴ See p. 3 of the Preface.

²⁷⁵ Only superficial use was made of Bar Bahlul’s *Lexicon* c. 963 (*Bib. Or.* III p257). The Syriac section of the *Lexicon* was issued separately at Göttingen in 1788 by J. D. Michaelis.

²⁷⁶ In his *Epistola Dedicatoria*, though it is in his interest so to remark, he bewails the unavailability of Syriac Grammars in England and the exorbitant price of any that may be found. Cost deterred many from approaching the subject.

²⁷⁷ COAKLEY, p. 77.

²⁷⁸ *Grammatica Linguae Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sive Grammatica Syriaca tribus libris tradita, quorum primus vocum sigularum proprietatem, Secundus Syntaxin, tertius figuras grammaticas & praxin continet. Omnibus adeo breviter & dilucide explicatis ut menstruo spatio (ut praefatione ad Lectorem docetur) ipsa linguae medulla exugatur... in usum Bibliorum polyglottatōn Waltoniensium* (Thomas Roycroft, London 1658).

The third section (on syntax) is fuller than is usual and illustrates with citations *Ellipsis*, *Enallage*, *Pleonasmus* *Synthesis* & *Syllepsis* as grammatical figures and finishes with some longer reading passages. The notice *Ad Lectorem* contains commonplaces on the ease of the language for Hebraists, commends the Lexicons of Ferrarius, Trost and the Younger Buxtorf. Unfortunately none as yet existed for the Old Testament, but he hoped for one from the editors of the Polyglot.

The *De Linguarum Orientalium* to which the Grammar was appended addresses the value of Oriental languages in much the same way as Walton in the Polyglot²⁷⁹. *Cui Christus sine scripturis, cui Scripturae sine linguis?* asks Beveridge. His aim is to establish Scriptural authority against the Aristotelians and the Cartesians on one hand and the unsupported claims of Tradition on the other. To understand Scripture one must know Hebrew: but one cannot know Hebrew well if one knows nothing of the other oriental languages. They are necessary for the establishment of the text, explaining difficult vocabulary and illuminating the usages of Scripture. The Aramaic words in the New Testament are, of course, discussed²⁸⁰.

The London Polyglot provided an enduring and definitive expression of seventeenth-century Orientalism and Biblical Philology. It not only provided a complete Western Canon of Scripture – particularly for Syriac – but also in supporting material gave scholarly definition to the languages involved. An *Introductio Ad Lectorem Linguarum Orientalium* (Roycroft, London 1655) provided a reading guide to the several scripts (p39-55 for Syriac) and a *Praefatio* discussing the various languages. The history and utility of Syriac are described in the light of the scholarship to date. After a discussion of *Sermo Galilaeus*, three dialects are distinguished: *Babylonica*; *Hierosolymitana*, *Antiochena seu Comagena & Maronita*. Though Widmanstetter made popular the view that Christ spoke the Syriac of his *editio princeps* of 1555, Breerwood observed that ‘Syriac’ words in the Greek New Testament differ from corresponding ones in the Peshitta. It is concluded that dialects (like those in contemporary Devon or Yorkshire) might be very local but also quite different. Gregorius is cited from Pococke’s *Histor. Arab.* p.360 to distinguish three contemporary dialects: *Aramaea* (the most elegant) spoken in Roha, Harran and further Syria; *Palestina* (similar to it) used in Damascus and the Lebanon and the Syrian interior; and finally (*at omnium impurissima*) *Nabataea*.

²⁷⁹ *De Linguarum orientalium praesertim Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae & Samaritanae Praesantia. Necessitate & utilitate quam & Theologis praestant & philosophis. Per G.B.* (Thomas Roycroft, London 1658).

²⁸⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 35-37.

Walton's *Dissertatio in qua, de linguis orientalibus Hebraica, Chaldaica, Samaritana, Syriaca, Arabica, Persica, Aethiopica, Armena, Copta...breviter disseritur* (Typis Johannis Colombii, Deventer 1658) deals with these languages and the authority of the Scriptural texts in these languages in the various Polyglots. Page 55ff offers for *lingua syriaca* a compendious and authoritative statement subsequently widely cited. The comprehensive Prolegomena to the Polyglot deals with languages, scripts, editions, versions and variant readings. *Cap. XIII De Lingua Syriaca & Versionibus Syriacis* (p87-92) may be properly considered a full and authoritative statement of Syriac Studies to date. It thus marks the climax in our chosen period of Syriac's status as a learned biblical language, necessary for the study of the biblical text and enjoying edited texts, serviceable teaching grammars and increasingly comprehensive lexicons.

11. After the Polyglot

The substantial achievements of the Polyglot did not repress further publications; rather several works appeared in the wake of the Polyglot which in their comparative scope draw upon the Polyglot. Thus Castell's work may be compared with that of Johann Friedrich Nicolai (1639-1683) Professor at Jena, *Hodogeticum Orientale Harmonicum quod complectitur I Lexicon Linguarum Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopiae et Persicae Harmonicum II Grammaticam linguarum earundem, secundum Prima Praecepta Delineatam Harmonicam III Dicta Biblica cum et sine Analyti Grammatica Exhibita, Harmonica...* (Typis & Impensis Johannis Jacobi Bauhof-eri, Jena 1670)²⁸¹. The *Ad Lectorem* describes the origin of work and makes honourable mention of Golius (for the Persian) and Walton. The difficulties of the typesetting are discussed. The demands were complicated, but the results are not particularly pretty. Merx described letters attempting to join those preceding but never quite succeeding.

²⁸¹ The three parts were published both together and separately. Thus for the Lexicon: *Johann Friedrich Nicolai, Critica sacra, Sive lexicon Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum et Arabicum... Ex optimis Lexicographis, Buxtorfio, Castello, Golio, Aliisque Autoribus ita paratum atque conscriptum...* (Richter, Frankfurt 1686 and Hamburg). It has the same *Ad Lectorem* as the 1670 edition. For the Grammar: *Grammatica Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopiae, Et Persicae Lingvarum Harmonica: ex Optimis, qui haberi potuerunt, Auctoribus conscripta & secundum prima praecepta compendiosa methodo ita delineata, ut ad Regulas Linguae matricis Ebraicae fundamentales fundamenta Linguarum reliquarum facile formari, atque sic omnes sex Linguae una opera & doceri & disci possint* (1670 Jena). Herrm. Nicholai's octavo, *Idea et comparatio linguarum Aramaearum per comparationem unius cum altera et utriusque cum Hebraea brevibus praeceptis methodice comprehens* (Copenhagen 1627) is to be distinguished from J. F Nicolai's work. See HOFFMANN, p. 48.

The Classical scholar Christoph Cellarius (1638-1707) in his *Universal History Divided into an Ancient, Medieval, and New Period* helped popularize this three-fold division of History. Cellarius may be taken here as a further example of the scope of works which might be now offered facilitated by Walton's Polyglot and associated lexicon. The material was accessible and authors competed in claims for the ease of learning their works provided for students. Thus a grammar of several languages is offered in *Philologicarum lucubrationum sylloge: hoc est praecipuarum linguarum Orientis, Ebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syrae, Samaritanae, & Arabicae grammatica praecepta, quarundam etiam pericopae Biblicae & glossaria, cum sciagraphia universae philologiae sacrae ...* (Prostat apud Iohannem Bielckium; Typis Fridemanni Hetstedii; Typis Martini Jacqueti. Ienae; Cizae; Francofurti). He dealt with Syriac more specifically in *Porta Syriae Patientior sive Grammaticae Novae, perspicuis praeceptis ita adornatae, ut primigenia Christianorum lingua a quolibet, qui non plane rudis Ebraeae, paucis diebus feliciter arripi possit* (Zeit, 1677, 2nd edition Sumt. Io. Bielickii, Bibliopol...Typis Fridem. Herstedii, Ducal. Saxon. Numb. Typog. Jena 1682)²⁸². He referred there back to his earlier *Excerpta Veteris Testamenti Syriaci cum interpretatione nova et annotationibus* (Jo. Bielckus, Cizae 1682) and his *Excerpta N. Testamenti Syriaci, cum Latina interpretatione nova & Annotationibus* (Jo. Bielckus, Jena 1682)²⁸³. Anthologies of Syriac biblical passages we have already met as a convenient and

²⁸² “Gate of Syria” is a conceit paralleling restricted linguistic access to the language with the difficulty of access in mountainous Syria where the vernacular language of Christ and his apostles was long preserved inaccessible to Europeans. He discusses: letter forms, diacritical points and accents and the diphthongs of the *Syri hodierni* are given (*nam de veterum pronunciatione non satis constat*). Then: nouns—with prefixes and suffixes, separate pronouns, the verb – conjugations of defective and weak verbs and *de mutatione vocalium* on quiescent and mute letters. He remarks the sources of Syriac lexical items in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin. The type is vocalised sermo and helpful tables are provided. He comments up the differences in vocalisation between Gubirius and the more accurate London Polyglot. The text follows Walton rather than Trost or Gutbier.

²⁸³ He did the same for Samaritan in *Horae Samaritanae, hoc est excerpta Pentateuchi Samaritanae versione ...* (Sumptibus Jo. Bielcki, bibliopola Jenens. Exscripsit Friedmannus Herstadt 1682). And provided a word for word Latin translation. He also produced a beginner's grammar of Arabic in *Isagoge in Linguam Arabicam* published anonymously in 1678, with a second edition appearing in 1686 (2nd ed J. Bielck, Jena 1686. SCHNURRER, p. 83-84). According to Schnurrer we find here for the first time displayed the Jena Arabic types modelled after those of Erpenius, and from then on used everywhere in Germany. *Christophori Cellarii Chaldaismus sive Grammatica nova Linguae Chaldaicae, copiosissimis exemplis, & usu multiplice, quem Chaldaea Lingua Theologiae & Sacrae Scripturae interpretati praestat, illustrata* (sumpu Bielckiano excudebat Fr Hetstedt, Zietz 1685) contains no Syriac.

cheap tool for students. Also from Joannes Bielckius in 1683 came a *Glossarium Syro-Latinum, nuper vulgatis utriusque testamenti excerptis accomodatum* - a word list glossing into Latin.

J. Coccejus's *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici Veteris Testamenti. Accedunt interpretatio vocum Germanica, Belgica ac Graeca ex LXX interpretibus; et necessarii indices*, (Ex officina J. à Someren Amsterdam: Excudebat A. Verhoef, Leiden, 1669) is a dictionary, favoured by both Remonstrant and Pietist theologians, offering a detailed lexicon of Old Testament Hebrew with Greek, Latin, German (the Luther version) and Dutch translations of the lemmata. The main work includes a special section for Aramaic (cols. 985-1037). Nonetheless the work is something of a disappointment. There is little engagement with comparative philology by offering e.g. an Arabic or Syriac quotation and with respect to Syriac little advantage is taken to exploit any knowledge of Oriental languages.

Protestant scholars working after the London Polyglot further consolidated the study of Syriac and developed the comparative context in which the language was understood. Two outstanding Dutch scholars, Gutbier and Leusden, also produced new separate editions of the Syriac New Testament in the wake of the London Polyglot.

Two further editions of the Syriac New Testament

Giles Gutbier (1617-1667) travelled extensively during his academic career, spending time in Leiden, Oxford and Paris. He set up a printing press (a recourse others had found necessary) in his own home (1664-1667) and undertook the production of a seroto Syriac font at his own expense²⁸⁴. He printed with this his duodecimo fully vocalised edition *Novum Domini Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace* 1663-1664²⁸⁵; his *Lexicon Syriacum, continens omnes NT Syriaci dictiones et particulas* in 1667; and his *Notae criticae in NT Syriacum* in 1667²⁸⁶. The

²⁸⁴ COAKLEY, p. 83-86. The types were probably cut to his design by Bartholomeus Voskens and appear in his Hamburg specimen as *Colonel Sirisch*.

²⁸⁵ *Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace, cum omnibus vocalibus & versione latina Matthaei ita adornata, ut unico hoc Evangelista intellecto, reliqui totius operis libri, sine interprete, facile intellegi potest accurate... Aegidio Gutbiero* (Typis, & sumptibus auctoris, Hamburg 1664).

²⁸⁶ *Lexicon Syriacum Continens omnes N.T. Syriaci Dictiones et particulas; Cum spicilegio Vocum quarundam peregrinarum & in quibusdam tantum N.T. Codicibus occurrentium, Et appendice, Quae exhibet diversas punctationes, a praecipuis huius Linguae Doctoribus in Europa circa Novum T.*

three works are often bound together in various editions and combinations. An instance of common binding is *Novum Testamentum Syriacum Punctis Vocalibus Animatum. Cum lexico & institutionibus l. Syriacae. Accedunt Notae difficiliora N. T. loca explicant* (Hamburg 1663) which has an elaborate frontispiece framed by female figures representing the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament under Christ and a radiant Tetragrammaton of three *yods*. It displays not only Hebrew and Greek fonts but also Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic.

The New Testament has the Western Peshitta text (*i. e.* is not restricted to the Syriac canon) with the *Pericope Adulteriae*, the Western reading of Hebrews 2.9 as well as the Five Western Books (II Peter, II John, III John, Jude and Revelation). There are Latin running titles and chapter and verse numbers. Matthew is equipped with a Latin translation at the bottom of the page and it is claimed that working through this will teach one to read the rest. In the *Praefatio* to the *Notae Criticae* discussed below Gutbier ascribes the origins of the punctuation in his edition to non-Western manuscripts shown him by his teacher Constantine l'Empereur in Leiden. He transcribed their ancient vocalisation into his edition of Trost and used that and nothing else as the basis of his edition.

The *Praefatio* betrays an enthusiasm for Oriental languages and a defense of their status and utility. Gutbier is clearly seeking to improve the accessibility of Syriac and commends his combination of text, lexicon and notes as a pedagogic *clavis*. The utility of Syriac is by this time become almost conventional: particularly Jesus' use of language will be illuminated²⁸⁷. Several pages of *Testimonia & Judicia Cl. Virorum de Lingua & Versione N. T. Syriaca* display the extent of the consensus that Syriac was Christ's vernacular.

The New Testament Lexicon of 137 pages sports vocalized Syriac serto, Hebrew and Rashi script. A list of variants in mentioned editions and grammars is arranged in alphabetical order, but without indicated preference. The *Praefatio* discusses the recurring problem of different methods of vocalization²⁸⁸. He retains his educational approach and clearly hopes

syr. Hactenus usurpatas, Adjecto Indice latine ... (Typis & Sumptibus Gutbirianis, Hamburg 1667).

²⁸⁷ Particularly those words and phrases considered to be Syriac: *Lama sabachthani* Mt 27.46; *korban* Mk 7.11; *ephphatha* Mk 7.34; *bar iona* Mt 16.17; *boanerges* Mk 3.17; *mamona* Lk 16.9; *talitha qoumi* Mk 5.31; *sappheie* Acts 5.1; *tabitha* Acts 9.36; *cephas* Jn 1.43; *abba* Romans 8.15; *acedama* Acts 1.19; *maranatha* I Cor 16.22.

²⁸⁸ *Diversae autem illae Editiones non una semper eademque punctandi ratione sive Dialecto utuntur; hinc & Lexica, in earum usum edita, ipsique Grammatici in hac parte aliquando inter se dissentiunt; prout ex Widmanstadii, Masii, Waseri, Trostii, Crinesii, Tremelli, Buxtorphii, Georgii*

his work will be used by those favoring the vocalization of the two new Polyglots of Paris and London. Similarly didactic, the *Notae Criticae* seek to show how the vocalization of the Paris and London Polyglots and some other previous editors differ from the ancient practice by placing the different variants cited by sigila alongside each other in a list following the order of the Scriptural chapters and verses²⁸⁹.

Gutbier is presenting evidence of ancient vocalization. We know, he argues, that the Syriac of Christ's day showed dialectic differences – *Syriacam linguam iam Christi aetate suas habere Dialectos*. This is made clear by references to Peter's speech (Mt 27.73 and Mk 14.70, especially in the expanded Arabic version). In ancient Syriac manuscripts, therefore, we

Amirae, Ludovici de Dieu, Abrahami Ecchellensis Grammaticorum institutionibus; & ex Trostianus, Crinesiano, Buxtorfiano ac novo Anglicano (cuius partem iam vidimus) aliisque lexicis satis liquet. Post praeclaros igitur doctissimorum virorum labores, quibus laudata opera confecta sunt, studiosae juventutis utilitas doctissimaeque antiquitatis auctoritas postulare visa est, ut diversae illius punctationis memoria non omnino apud nos exolescat. Ea enim veterum quarundam punctationum ratio, ea supra laudatorum Auctorum conditio est, ut non nisi gravissimis & certissimis rationibus adductis rejici ac repudiari possint. Widmanstadius usus est, una cum Mssts, Praeceptore Syro, Mose Meridinaeo, ad cuius patrocinium a Masius provocat tandemque Waserus [Vide utriusque praefat. In Grammat. Syr.]. Guido Fabricius Boderianus, praeter MSSorum apparatus, laboris sui socium habuit Gulielmum Postellum, Virum exacta & exquisita rerum & Linguarum Orientalium scientia instructissimum, qui, teste Baumbacheo, [Tract. de L.L. Orient. cap. 13] parte Asiae semel atque iterum peragrata, magnas & Syriacae & Arabicae linguae opes consecutus est. [Vitae praef. dicti Guidonis in Tom. V Operis Regii Hisp. (i. e. the Antwerp Polyglot.)] Ludovicus de Dieu, Georgii Amirae & Gabrielis Sionitae imprimis vestigia legit. Sic & Buxtorffi, Crinesii & Pocokii punctationes non e fungis certe natae sunt, sed Virorum industriae & eruditionibus laude illustrium observationibus nituntur. Discrepantes igitur illae punctationes collationem potius, quam censuram nostram mereri visae sunt. Non in universam Linguam Syriacam, sed solius Novi Testamenti Syriaci usum hoc Lexicon conscriptum est. Causam igitur variae punctationis cura pro me dicet, candide Lector, si methodus eius omnium votis & desideriis non responderit. In appendice nostra omnes dictiones annotatas invenies, quae in Anglicana, illique examussim fere respondente Parisiensi Novi Testamenti Syr. Editione aliter punctae sunt, quam in hoc Lexico. His parum immutatis Lexicon habebis recentissimis illis editionibus accomodatum. Caeterae formae Trostianae aliarumque punctatum Editionum lectori inservient. Et quia duas illas Editiones praeter hodiernae Linguae Syriacae usum & consuetudine constans & uniformis punctandi ratio commendat, illas praecipue tam in Notis quam in appendice volui conferre.

²⁸⁹ From his son we have an *Aegidii Gutubrii Notae Criticae in Novum Testamentum Syriacum; Quibus Praecipua variae punctationis exempla aliaeque variantes Lectiones, quae observationem merentur, inter se conferuntur: Ex optimis quibusque Exemplaribus olim collectae, & in gratiam Studiosae Juventutis editae; nunc vero revisae & emendatae a Johanne micheale Gutubrio (Typis & Sumptibus Gutbirianis, Hamburg 1667).*

should not be surprised to discover that the vocalizations of Jerusalem, the Maronites, Comagene and Antioch may all have come down in part to us, but without material change to the sense. In his list of notes Gutbier follows the authority (*analogia*) of the vocalization of Paris and London, but only to display more effectively the honour due to the remains of the old punctuation. He reminds us how after Rephalengius & Buxtorf (these are the two he cites) the diverse vocalizations of the Targums have been conformed to that of Daniel and Ezra. Finally he warns us that the ancient manuscripts are often rather strange in their pointing and have other usual scribal features. In such cases he defaults to Walton's Polyglot²⁹⁰.

Jan Leusden (1624-1699) was a distinguished Dutch Calvinist Theologian and Orientalist and Professor of Hebrew in his home town of Utrecht. His *Scholae Syriacae Libri Tres una Cum Dissertatione de Literis & Lingua Samaritanorum* came out in 1658²⁹¹. It comprises five books: 1. Grammar (letters, vowels, syllables, individual words and points); 2. Syntax—*sive voces in oratione conjunctas*; 3. Extracts from the Syriac New Testament and elsewhere with translations; 4. *Synopsis Chaldaica, inserviens explicationi Textus Chaldaici Danielis & Ezrae*, followed by *Dissertatio de Literis & Lingua Samaritanorum*. There is some Samaritan type. Leusden had himself taken in hand the cutting and casting of the type. Because the University of Utrecht had no Syriac type for his book, he had matrices and type made at his own expense in Amsterdam²⁹². One is reminded *inter al.* of Gutbier.

²⁹⁰ *Denique hoc moneo: Cum Syri in MSS. Suis vocales non semper suo loco ponant, sed eas saepe praecedentibus syllabis addant, quae sequentibus debentur, & interdum puncta non tantum vocalia in literis Ribbui notatis, sed & essentialia literarum; & omittant vel confundant; harum & aliarum anomaliarum exempla, quae in Archetypo nostro paucissima erant, in his notis ad Anglicanae Editionis analogiam revocavi.*

²⁹¹ Ex Officina Meinaardi à Dreunen 1658; second ed. again 1685 Apud Jordanum Luchtmans, Leiden. Also ex Officina Gregorii à Poolsum, Utrecht 1672. Leusden also wrote a 40 page *Lexicon Novum Chaldaeo-Biblicum in Danielem & Ezram* which appears in William Robertson *Lexicon Novum Hebræo-Latinum, Admodum Lexici Schreveliani Græci Compositum, Per Modum Indicis Hebræi Primo a D. Robertsono Conscriptum; Sed Jam Latinitate Donatum ... Atque Adauctum Lexico Chaldaeo-Biblico a J. Leusden* (F. Halma, Utrecht 1687). It is a dictionary of Biblical Aramaic arranged in alphabetic order.

²⁹² *Illustris nostra Academia hactenus typis illis caruit, & ego eosdem nullibi ullo pretio antea accipere potuerim, tandem, savente summo numine, incidi in quosdam Amsterdamenses, qui mihi magnis meis sumptibus & laboribus archetypos exculpserunt, Matrices, uti vocant, effecerunt, & Tandem typose in illis Matricibus suderunt* (p2-4). COAKLEY, p. 80-83.

Leusden addresses the question of the two schools of thought concerning pronunciation of some final letters²⁹³. He notes the practice of the *recentiores* in reading pronouns and verbs not to sound some endings. Thus *malki* > *malk* and *pekudw* or *pekudi* > *pekud*, because these ending are never vocalised in Syriac books. However many grammarians (Buxtorf, Hottinger *et al.*) pronounce these syllables. (Waser often also agrees, for in his Grammar *malki* is written with a final vowel.²⁹⁴) Leusden follows this older fashion because: 1. The *antiqui Syri* always pronounced these letters as the Greek translation of Mk 3.41 *talitha koumi* indicates for we can hear there that Christ pronounced the final syllable. Similarly in Mat 27.46, Christ's Syriac word is transliterated into Greek as *sabachthani* again with the final syllable sounded. 2. If these last syllables are not pronounced great confusion will arise as several words will not be distinguished. 3. These syllables were are pointed and pronounced in Chaldaean. So they should be in Syriac because of the great similarity of the languages. 4. Should one retort that these final syllables are *never* punctuated in Syriac books, the response is that many other words and syllables are not either. Whence one may conclude that it is brevity alone which motivates the modern practice: anyone can easily know to sound a /y/ or an /a/ from a final *yudh* or *waw*²⁹⁵.

The consequences of this disagreement may be seen in the 1708 edition of the Syriac New Testament, the thirteenth, which was the work of both Leusden and C. Schaaf²⁹⁶. Up until Luke 18.27 the vocalization of the *Chaldaizantes* is preferred²⁹⁷. But thereafter (following Leusden's death) Schaaf

²⁹³ *In nonnullis dissentio à Lud. de Dieu: quia ille novissimam Syrorum pronunciationem sequutus est; ideo etiam multas syllabas, praecipue finales, desinentes in [Waw] & [Yudh] absque ulla pronunciatione praeterivit: sed ego juxta Buxtorfium, Hottingerum aliosque has syllabas judicio esse pronunciandas; & propterea easdem etiam vocalibus ornavi. Rationes do infra pag. 62 & 63. Angli hanc novam Syrorum pronunciationem, in novis Bibliis polyglottis, etiam imitantur; ideoque easdem syllabas non punctarunt: sed Lector, eligens antiquam Syrorum pronunciationem, eas deficientes vocales facillime inter legendum addere potest.*

²⁹⁴ On p. 62. The matter of accents and silent letters in Eastern and Western Syriac is clearly set out in A. MINGANA, *Clef de la langue araméenne ou grammaire des deux dialectes syriaques* (Mosul / Paris 1905) p. 6-7; 8-33.

²⁹⁵ This matter is also discussed in De Dieu, Buxtorf and Gutbier.

²⁹⁶ *Novum Testamentum Syriacum, cum versione Latina; cura & studio J. Leusden et C. Schaaf editum* (C. Boutesteyn & S Luchtmans, typis, Mulleri, Leiden 1708). For the use of stereotype plates first with this book, (ed) R. SMITKAMP, *Luchtmans & Brill : driehonderd jaar uitgevers en drukkers in Leiden 1683-1983* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1983) p. 48-49. COAKLEY, p. 85-86.

²⁹⁷ This edition also offers 100 pages listing all the variant readings of previous editions collated *magno sudore* by Schaaf.

continued with the vocalization used in the Paris and London Polyglots. In the Introduction to *Relatio historica ad epistolam Syriacum a Maha Thome 1717* which he intended to be placed at the end of his New Testament, Schaaf claims that he brought out the New Testament edition in the purest dialect of Antioch following the example of the native speakers Amira and Sionita.²⁹⁸ He also complains that he has not had his fair share of glory for his labour²⁹⁹.

In 1708 and 1709 Schaaf's Syriac Lexicon was published as a companion volume to the New Testament.³⁰⁰ It had Syriac

²⁹⁸ "Et hunc librum [NT] edidi juxta purissimas dialecti Antiochenae regulas".

²⁹⁹ *Hunc quoque in finem meum Novum Testamentum Syriacum, simul cum Lexico meo Syriaco a me edito (cuius mei Testamenti meam operam Lector melius ex Testamenti Praefatione intellegit, quam ex Testamenti Titulo: nam in Tituli pagina operae meae honor valde spoliatus conspicitur: Professor enim Leusden p. m. in Testamento hoc edendo non ulterius mecum operatus est quam in decimum quintum caput Evangelii Lucae; nec post mortem suam operae suae literam unam reliquit. Proinde de caetera omnia ad Testamenti finem usque mea solius opera peracta sunt. Praeterea solus ego Testamentum Syriacum inde a capite ad calcem ad omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci Editiones, quarum praeter meam duodecim sunt, diligenter recensui. Solus ego ex omnibus dictis editionibus Varias Lectiones magno labore collegi ...* The under-scored words are italicized by Schaaf. (The context is a discussion of the Letter from Mara Thoma, an edition and version of which Schaaf had prepared so that it might be conveniently added to his New Testament and Lexicon.)

³⁰⁰ *Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale, Omnes Novi Testamenti Syriaci Voces, Et ad harum illustrationem multas alias Syriacas, & Linguarum Affinium dictiones Complectens, cum necessariis Indicibus, Syriaco & Latino; ut & catalogo nominum Propriorum Ac Nominum gentilicum N. T. Syr indefesso labore elaboratum ...* (Typis Joh: Mulleri, Joh: Fil: Apud Vid: & Fil: Corn: Boutesteyn, Samuelem Luchtmans, Leiden 1717). There had appeared earlier *Opus Aramaeum complectens grammaticam Chaldaico-Syriacam; selecta Targumin, cum versione Latina, et annotationibus: Lexicon Chaldaicum, libris Vet. Test. Chaldaeis; item selectis Targumicis accommodatum* (J. Luchtmans, Utrecht 1686). After the usual brief summary of the history of Aramaic, there is a longer account of its utility, now embracing the Old Testament and contemporary Oriental Christians. Syriac words in New Testament are given and the list of *Syriasmī* has grown: *biblos pro catalogo* (Mat 1.1) *aion pro mundo*; *adelphos pro socio*; *chera pro terra*; *rema pro re aut negotio*; etc. etc. There are Syriac passages in praise of the work; an Aramaic Grammar and reading passages from the Targums. Hebrew font is used except for a few words in the dedication and the Syriac passages. And half a dozen cases of Syriac words appear in the vocabulary list. An attempt to put Syriac vowels onto Hebrew letters when they are first introduced is not elegant. There is an awareness of different Syriac scripts (distinguished properly by age), the question of o/a, diphthongs and silent letters. There is episodic distinction in the notes between Chaldaean and Syriac, but essentially they are the same language. For the type in Schaaf's *Opus Aramaeum* (1686), *Lexicon Syriacum* (1708) and New Testament 1709, see COAKLEY, p. 80-81.

type, cognates in Arabic, Ethiopic and Samaritan fonts as well as Hebrew (except when they evidently ran out). The Lexicon is comprehensive for the New Testament. The *Ad Lectorem* explains how entries are arranged and how material is arranged within entries (following the order of grammatical function). Greek influence is noticed upon some entries. Syriac was Christ's vernacular, which explains those Syriac phrases in the Greek New Testament. Following Martinus he maintains that the Syriac New Testament is a version, but the first of all versions and most ancient, written by one of the evangelists or those at Antioch who had the Apostles there to cast light on difficulties. It is therefore the only source which may be consulted on difficulties and obscurities with total confidence. It is the only source of illumination for the Greek text and therefore approaches it in status. Its antiquity, Leusden added, was demonstrated by the absence of the Minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse – books which had attracted the doubts of the very early churches.

Schaaf edited a letter of Mara Thome in such a way as to be conveniently bound with his NT³⁰¹. This was a letter sent by Bishop Maha Thome of the St Thomas Christians in Malabar to the Patriarch in Antioch asking for appointment to vacant offices to help defend against Nestorian influence from Babylon. One copy of the letter is in Syriac, another given to the Dutch Governor of *Malaku*, Cornelis van der Duin (1692-1696), was in 'Belgian'. Schaaf had produced Latin versions with some note of the circumstances. He expresses particular regret at having to use the same type as for his Lexicon and New Testament for the characters of the bishop's epistle *quae literae a nobis communibus literis multum discrepant*. He prints without vocalization. Schaaf was particularly struck by what he was able to recognize as the pure classical style of the bishop's letter. Here we see Protestant awareness of Syriac as a modern language and an interest in the contemporary Eastern church – in the context, not of Roman efforts to promote unity, but in the context of Dutch colonialism³⁰².

³⁰¹ *Relatio historica ad epistolam Syriacum a Mahathome id est, Magno Thoma Indo, antiquorum Christianorum Syrorum in India Episcopo, ex Chaddenad in Malabaria scriptam, ad Ignatiam Patriarcham Antiochenum: Et ipsa illa Episcopi Indi epistola syriaca, cum versione Latina; Accessit Epistola Syriaca ad eundem Episcopum, etiam cum Versione Latina. Acurante Carolo Schaaf* (Sumptibus editoris & Authoris, Leiden 1714).

³⁰² David Grafunder's *Grammatica Syriaca cum syntaxi perfecta hactenus non ita visa et lexico brevissimo, in usum gymnasiarum et scholarum ita elaborata ut quis suo et proprio Marte hanc linguam possit addiscere opera et studio M. Davidis Grafunderi, Scholae Cuestrinensis* (Wittenberg 1665) may be taken as a typical teaching Grammar of this period. It collects remarks of Mercerus, Gerhard, Dilherr, De Dieu, Buxtorf, Hottinger and Leusden. There is an emphasis on syntax, a lexicon and selected New Tes-

Johannes Henricus Hottinger (1620-1667)

Hottinger studied at Geneva and lived in Groningen and Leiden where he lodged for several months with Jacob Golius the Professor of Arabic. After travel in England and France he became Professor in Zurich in 1643, was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages by the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg in 1651 and returned to Zurich in 1651. He drowned in the River Limmat just outside Zurich before he was able to take up a chair at Leiden. The number and importance of his works make him a suitable scholar with which to conclude our discussion. His work covers broad aspects of Syriac linguistic study and also the growing awareness of native Syriac literature³⁰³. If Syriac Scriptural studies in our period reached its climax with Walton, Hottinger may mark the high point of achievement in the comparative location of the Syriac language and also of the less extensive knowledge of non-biblical Syriac literature. His contribution particularly underlies the increasing security with which Syriac was placed in a comparative Semitic philology and the 1661 *Etymologium Orientale* itself establishes Hottinger as a founding father of Semitic philology.³⁰⁴ One recalls the work of De Dieu and others.

The *Thesaurus Philologicus seu Clavis Scripturae; qua quicquid fere Orientalium, Hebraeorum maxime, & Arabum habent monumenta de religione ... breviter & aphoristice ita referatur, & aperitur ...* was first printed in 1649 and thereafter in 1659 in Zurich and again in 1696. It is an important theological work founded upon the principle, intrinsic to the Walton Polyglot: *Scriptura non potest intellegi Theologice, nisi prius intelligatur Grammatice* (1659 p. 4 verso). In the second edition he thanks his publisher for newly acquired Arabic, Syriac

tament passages and a Creed with a Latin translation as grammatical exercises. Grafunder's *Grammatica Chaldaica, Methodo adeo facili conscripta, ut quis proprio Marte sine manu ductore hanc linguam addiscere possit* (Sumptibus Philippi Fuhrmanni... Typis Matthaei Henckelii, Wittenberg 1670) is merely an Aramaic Grammar – though with the same claim of easy learning.

³⁰³ The *Historia Orientalis quae ex variis orientalium monumentis collecta; agit ... De Chaldaismo, seu Superstitione Chaldaeorum Nabataeor. &c* (Typis Joh. Jacobi, Zurich Bodmeri 1651, 1660) is essentially a book about Islam. The *Dedicatio* reviews previous Orientalists and praises Bibliander, Erpenius and De Dieu. The book uses the new fonts. Ecchellensis' *De origine nominis Papae* was directed primarily against Johann Hottinger's *Historia Orientalis*. REITBERGEN, p. 19.

³⁰⁴ JAN LOOP, *Johann Heirrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Warburg/ Oxford 2013) p. 74-79 for Hottinger and comparative Semitic Philology.

and Samaritan types. A poem by Huldricus praises the new types, used again in the *Historia Orientalis* of 1660³⁰⁵.

Hottinger's *Grammaticae Chaldaeo-Syriacae Libri Duo Cum triplici Appendice, Chaldaea, Syra & Rabbinica* (Typis Joh. Jacobi Bodmeri, Zurich 1652) has a clear pedagogic aim, yet seeks to integrate the language into a comparative understanding. Though printed only in vocalised Hebrew script, Chaldean and Syriac are compared. Question and Answer are used to deal with the eight *orationis partes*. Syntax is discussed, but the grammatical terminology used is Hebrew. There are Appendices on Rabbinic, Aramaic and Chaldaean with useful messianic proof-passages and Revelation 21 in Syriac with very detailed grammatical comment. Hottinger proclaims a middle path in Syriac vocalisation avoiding both the Hebraisms of Tremellius and the opposite excesses of the *recentiores*³⁰⁶.

A comparative perspective is evident in Hottinger's *Grammatica ... Harmonia* of 1659³⁰⁷ which prepares us to examine his *Etymologium Orientale* or *Lexicon Harmonicum* of 1661³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁵ For type see COAKLEY, p. 78-79. Also: J. H. HOTTINGER, B. KOEBLINUS, J. F. COAKLEY ET AL., *Elementale Quadrilingue: a Philological Type Specimen (Zurich 1654)* (Jericho Press, Michigan 2005).

³⁰⁶ *Quam fuerit superiori Seculo syriaca lectio incerta, ex variis Novi Testamenti editionibus facile est colligere. Alii Hebraica praecepta sequuntur ut Tremellius in quo non modo; praeter Syrorum consuetudinem; Patach furtivum ubiq; reperias, Dages fortes seu geminans; sed & formativum Futuri Jod, & alia, quae Syris plane sunt ignota. Alii rigide nimis recentiorum Syrorum auctoritatem urgent, & a regulis eorum ne latum quidem unguem recedunt. Hi plerosque nostrae aetatis Linguae Syriacae studiosos in sua jam castra pertraxerunt. Media nobis videtur tutissima, quam in ipsa aliquoties Grammatica vindicavimus. Ejus geminum nunc dabimus specimen, alterum quidem punctatum; alterum vero studiosorum relinquemus industriae suis ornandum apicibus. Cum enim Syrorum libris punctis, ut plurimum destituantur vocalibus, in ipso statim limine voces, ex flectionis & formationis analogia, suis vestire dicent accidentibus Linguae hujus studiosi. Appendix II, p. 168-169.*

³⁰⁷ *Grammatica Quatuor linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae et Arabicae Harmonia ita perspicuere & compendiose instituta ut Ad Linguam Hebraicam, tanquam matrem; caeterarum etiam, ceu filiarum, Linguarum, accomodentur...* (Adrian Wyngaerden, Heidelberg 1659). Hottinger speaks of the complementary nature of his works in the *Dedicatio: Ista Lexicon Linguarum Hebraicae, Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae; Samaritanae etiam & Aethiopicae Harmoniam exhiberet. Haec denique tum Grammaticam Harmonicam, tum Bibliothecam Orientalem suppeditaret.*

³⁰⁸ *Etymologicum Orientale sive Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton quo non matris Tantum, Hebraicae linguae, radices Biblicae omnes vel constituuntur; vel ubi inter Iudaeos temporis injuria usitatae esse desierunt, ex Chaldaea, Syria, Arabia, Aethiopia, &c. restituuntur, diversisque significatibus suis explicantur; sed et; Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Samaritanae, Ethiopicae, Talmudico-Rabbinicae dialectorum, ceu filiarum, voces juxta seriem radicum Hebraicarum, magno numero, ex libris tam canonicis,*

The Preface of the Lexicon deals with possible objections to his harmonic enterprise and clearly states his sources. He has not collected his own words, he protests: *Helvetius natus sum, non Hebraeus, non Arabus, non Syrus* (f b4recto). Starting from a triliteral root (often reconstructed), of which two letters are printed in bold on the right side, the dictionary gives words (roots and derivations) for Hebrew, cognate words in more than one Semitic language; words not occurring in Hebrew, and words occurring in one particular other language.

Finally the *Promptuarium or Bibliotheca orientalis* of 1658 is a convenient point to consider the knowledge of Syriac literature available in the mid-century³⁰⁹. The third chapter deals with Syriac studies. It would have been fuller if only he had had Abdiso's catalogue which Ecchellensis had published five years before in 1653. He treats biblical works (Bible editions and commentaries) and Theological works (*didactica*, histories and liturgical works) and Philosophical works (grammars, systemata philosophica, letters and lexica). Not all of these classes are well represented. Of Old Testament Scriptures he knows the Peshitta and one translated from the LXX. He also mentions *versio Maronita Syro-Arabica*. He knows his New Testament from the editions we have already reviewed. Of bible commentaries he knows of the *Hexaemeron* of James of Edessa which he found in a manuscript in Leiden. He knows of commentaries by James the Syrian (Bar Salibi) edited by his friend Dudley Loftus; commentaries by Ephrem, James of Nisibis, a certain Denys, Severus of Antioch and Ishodad of Merv. Amongst *didactica* he counts theological works of Ephrem (known from the manuscripts at Leiden and those belonging to Ussher); the *De Paradiso* of Moses bar Cepha and the Treatise of Severus of Antioch against John Grammaticus and other works published with these by Masius. As history he mentions a *Chronicon Syro-Arabicum* of Bar-Hebraeus. Describing the Syrians enthu-

quam Ecclesiasticis exhibentur; Harmonia simul vel matris cum filiabus, vel filiarum inter se luculenter ostenditur, propriae denique cuiusvis radicis significationes adjiciuntur; ... Accesit ... brevis apologias contra Abrahamum Ecchellensem Maronitam (Sumptibus Joh. Wilhelmi Ammmonij, & Wilhelmi Serlini, Frankfurt 1661). The *Apologia contra Abraham Ecchellensem* is entitled *Epistola responsoria ad Joh. Jonstonum* and discusses Hottinger's *Abrahami dokimasia*.

³⁰⁹ *Promptuarim; sive, Bibliotheca Orientalis: Exhibens Catalogum, sive, centurias aliquot, tam authorum, quam librorum Hebraicorum, Syriacorum, Arabicorum, Aegyptiacorum, Aethiopicorum, etc. Addita Mantissa Bibliothecarum aliquot Europaearum, tam publicarum quam privatarum; ex quibus, quid deinceps etiam praestari possit ab aliis, luculenter monstratur. Scriptum, Quod Theologorum, Iurisconsultorum, Medicorum, et philosophorum accomodatum est Studiis* (Typis et Impensis Adriani Wyngaerdeni ... Heidelberg 1658). The type is that made in Amsterdam for Leusden, COAKLEY, p. 80-81.

siasm for liturgy he mentions a Liturgical Thesaurus made by Moses of Mardin in 1556 (and in Hottinger's day in the library at Saint-Gall³¹⁰); the liturgical works in Morin's *Commentarius*; the commentary on Pseudo-Dionysus by John of Dara; the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies published by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie and another writing on baptism by James of Edessa of which a manuscript was in the library in Tübingen. Amongst the philosophical works he mentions the Book of Spendours which Masius mentioned in his *Syrorum Peculium* and a grammar of Mar Gregorius (not apparently consciously linked with Barhebraeus). *Systema philosophica* has a sole mention of Mar Isaac and Letters comprise only those exchanged between Moses of Mardin and Masius. Finally there is mention of the dictionary of Bar Bahlul seen in England in a manuscript that came from Thomas Erpenius and the Lexicon of bar Ali (copied probably from a manuscript of Scaliger: he possessed the text as far as nun) and an *Etymologicum Syrum*. The expose is rounded off by some of the dedication of bar Ali's Lexicon chosen to give an example of the scholarly and classical style of Syriac. This harvest Hottinger found dispiriting. The Period had been good for language studies and bible editions but not so for literature. In the dedication of the *Promptuarium* to Jean Maurice de Nassau he feared that Oriental Studies had fallen into decline in the middle of the Seventeenth Century and appears anxious for the preservation of the humanists legacy³¹¹.

Hottinger's subsequent *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus ...* (Sumptibus Melch. Stauffacheri, Zurich 1664), which uses transcriptions or Hebrew characters, contains Leo Africanus' biographical work on Arabic authors of 1527 and benefits from Abdiso's catalogue which Ecchellensis had published. The section *De Scriptoribus Syriacis* (with oriental characters in transcription or Hebrew) offers a new summary under similar headings of known Syriac authors and their works³¹². Having found in Walton's Polyglot a lasting identity for Syriac as a learned biblical language, we may in Hottinger's comparative linguistic sophistication find a similar terminus for Syriac in the context of Semitic Philology. Knowledge of non-biblical Syriac literature was obviously limited.

³¹⁰ BAUMSTARK, p. 47.

³¹¹ *Eo vero libentius in hanc discendi arenam* (that of Oriental languages), *quod haec studia, praeter meritum, inculta observabam jacere, et si non exitio, exilio saltem pene vicina. Quam enim vereor, ne brevi tempore tam laboriose expulsa barbarie, et Originalium (de caeteris Orientalibus ne quidem loquar) Linguarum pudenda et segnis revocetur ignorantia.*

³¹² LE ROEY, p. 30-32.

12. Finale

Considerably later, Joannes Henricus Lysius summarised the field of Syriac studies in his Dissertation of 1727 with the anticipated learned notes³¹³. He discusses the various names for the language and also the different things which might be meant by calling it Hebrew. It is not totally different from, but may also be distinguished from Chaldaean or Aramaic. (Hottinger was right to suggest that we know nothing of early Chaldaean texts³¹⁴.) Syriac uses different scripts. There are vowel differences: Chaldaean wrote and pronounced *bilchôr* (*tantum*) but Syriac has *balchûr*; Chaldaean has *tchôth* (*sub*) but Syriac *tcheth*; Chaldaean has *qdam* (*ante*) but Syriac *qdom*. There are different contractions of words and phrases. Chaldaean has one praeterite tense like Hebrew which does for imperfect, perfect and pluperfect tenses and indicative, subjunctive and optative moods. Syriac however has a proper preterite, a perfect and rarely a pluperfect with the auxiliary verb 'to be'. Syriac has its own idioms unknown to Chaldaean which Opitius listed in his *Appendix ad Syriasmum restitutum* and De Dieu in Book V of his *Harmonic Grammar*. Though some vocabulary is shared, Syriac has its own unique words. But this does not justify those (De Dieu again) who take the Aramaic of Dan 2.4 as really Syriac.

Nor is the language older than Hebrew: some say rather it is the child of Hebrew and Chaldean. Amira says the opposite, appealing to Scripture, and claims that Syriac preceded Hebrew; that it was implausible that such a fine language should arise from such a harsh one; and that Hebrew speakers have difficulty speaking Syriac - none of which impress! Rather refugees returning from Babylon mixed Chaldaean and Hebrew to make Syriac.

Hardt's idea that Syriac is descended from Greek is rejected – though loan words from Greek and Latin are acknowledged. Conversely Syriac may be considered the mother of Arabic (which “appropriated her script and conformed to her sounds”) - and also Ethiopic, even Persian.

As Christianity spread from Antioch, the capital of the East, so did the Syriac language and letters spread to Persia and even India. After the arrival of Islam in Seventh Century, Arabic replaced Syriac as the vernacular, but though it is now only spoken in a few villages in Lebanon, it nonetheless survives as far away as India.

³¹³ *Dissertatio Philologica de Historia Linguae Syriacae... submittit M. Joannes Henricus Lysius Orient. Lingu. Prof. Extraord. Designatus ... 3 October 1727 Regiomonti Litteris Reusnerianis).*

³¹⁴ *Smegmate orientali*, p. 35.

Several Classical sources suggest the *Syroi* may have invented letters, but others take this to refer to the Hebrews. Three types of Syriac letters (scripts) are identified.

Once Syriac vowels were confined to *y/w/ aleph*. Subsequently vowels were marked by dots (mentioned by Ephrem) or Greek vowel letters.

There are three dialects of Syriac: Babylonian, that of Jerusalem and Antiochean, but Babylonian long ago withered away. More properly the Jerusalem dialect is called Syriac, different in period and purity and different also from Galilean which often confused distinct letters and joined different sounds awkwardly (This was Peter's dialect in Mk 14.70). Antiochene was the dialect of the church in Antioch. Sometimes it is named for Comagene, the far region of Syria, or called *Maronitica* from the Christians of Mount Lebanon. This is the sacred language of Christians throughout the East who use it for Scripture and worship, though their vernacular is Arabic. Abulfarajius mentions another dialect Nabatean, *maxime rudem*, spoken in the mountains of Assyria and by the *pagorum Eraci incolae*.

Nonnus considered the titulus of Christ's cross written in Latin, Syriac and Greek. Taken in this sense, the question arises whether the inspired New Testament writers wrote some things in Syriac (*quosdam Syriaco idiomate scripserint*) which our age possesses (now only) in Greek? The Fathers thought Matthew and Hebrews were written in Hebrew, but this has difficulties. Widmanstetter though these were first written rather in Syriac and Walton concurred³¹⁵. This is because (i) Hebrew had withdrawn into Temple and scholarly debates; (ii) because of the desirability of preaching the one message in a language all could understand; (iii) the Apostles would not have been reliable witnesses if they had not articulated and handed down to us the heavenly philosophy of Christ in the same language they had heard it proclaimed; (iv) Matthew the publican was ignorant of Hebrew; (v) providentially - as with the priesthood of Melchizedek (he is thinking of Hebrews) - with the new law came a new language for articulating the heavenly teaching. But for Lysius these are persuasive rather than probative arguments and show only that neither Matthew or Hebrews was written in Hebrew: but that doesn't make them written in Syriac - why not Greek?

As for the Old Testament, Syriac had a two versions; one from the Hebrew and one from the Septuagint (which Walton has shown was "not from the time of Solomon, but rather from the time of King Abgar"). Some (both Maronites and Westerners) look for very early origins for the Syriac New Testament. It is without doubt the earliest version. Lysius then list the ma-

³¹⁵ *Praefatio ad N.T. Syriacum*; WALTON, *Proleg.*, XIII.6.

ior Syriac biblical from Widmanstetter's New Testament, *via* Sionita's Psalter to the two Polyglots. He concludes (a sign of an established discipline) with a bibliography.

