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DR. EDMUND CASTELL.

(1606 - 1685)

A Collection of Letters & Documents  
illustrating the misfortunes of Edmund  
Castell during the production of his  
Heptaglot Lexicon; mainly transcribed  
from his cipher-writings.

With Studies on Some Aspects of Eastern  
Learning in Seventeenth Century Britain.

Being a Thesis presented by

Morris Zamick

to the University of St Andrews  
in application for the Degree of Ph.D.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of researches carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out under a scheme of Seventeenth Century Studies begun by me in 1926: the material is brought together from a wide variety of sources: part of the work was done at St Andrews, the rest at various places. The direction was in the Department of English Literature.

CERTIFICATE.

I certify that Mr Morris Zamick, M.A.  
has spent nine terms at Research Work  
in  
that he has fulfilled the conditions  
of Ordinance No. 16 (St Andrews) and  
that he is qualified to submit the  
accompanying Thesis in application  
for the Degree of Ph.D.

CAREER.

I matriculated in the University of St Andrews in 1922 and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts until 1926.

In October 1926 I commenced the research on which is now being submitted the following as a Ph.D. Thesis.

I was appointed in 1926 to a Berry Scholarship and in 1928 to a Carnegie Scholarship, with the financial help of which I was enabled to begin training in research-work. The completion of the Thesis was delayed after 1928-9 by my taking up teaching in the University of Manchester.

May 1933.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES.

Biography and History  
of Culture.

DR EDMUND CASTELL  
1606 - 1685

A Collection of Letters & Documents  
bearing upon the misfortunes of a  
scholar attendant to the enterprise  
of the Heptaglot Lexicon, largely  
transcribed from the cipher and  
augmented by other material.

"Alas ! What encouragement has he had but from  
God, and from his Soul ambitious to communicate  
itself, and to give after men and ages the full  
prospect into Cryptic useful Learning".

With studies on some aspects of  
Eastern Learning in Seventeenth  
Century Britain.

MORRIS ZAMICK, M.A.  
(St Andrews)

List of Documents in  
Appendices to Chapters in Vol.I.

Lud.Cappellus to the Editors of the Bible:Dd. vi.  
 Job. Ludolf to the Editors of the Bible: Dd.vii.  
 Professor Joh. Buxtorf To Walton: Dd xlii.  
 Lady Bettsworth to Sancroft: T31 ccxlviiii.  
 Lady Bettsworth to Sancroft: T30 lxiv.  
 Deed of Purchase: Ad.  
 Francis Turner to Williamson: PRO 203/116 Card  
 Francis Turner to Williamson: PRO  
 Sheldon's Letter to the Bishops: Dd ccxi Cp.  
 Reynold's Letter to Earles. Dd lxiii Cp.  
 Bond forthe Bedwell MS: Ad.  
 Grace :Dd 39  
 Reynold's Letter to Conant: Dd xli Cp.  
 Goddard's Letter to Bond.Dd ccccxixv Cp.  
 Gentius' Letter on the Caraeites. Dd ccclxxxii:Cp.  
 Frampton's Letter from the East: Dd c CP.  
 Waterhouse's Letter to Simon Adams: Dd clxxv.  
 A Friend's Letter to Simon Adams:Dd ccclxxii Cp.  
 Benevolence to Castell: T 145 lxi.  
 Sancroft's Memorandum: T.37.xi.  
 Calendrinus to Golius:Dd 4 ccciv.  
 Depositions of Anne Massey: Dd ccclxxxv.  
 William Herris' Promise: Dd clxviii Cp.  
 William Shepherd to Sancroft: T. 130 lxvii-lxviii.  
 Formula Celebrandi etc. & Consecratio etc. T.448.  
Other material incorporated into the text.

Addendum:

Castell to Sancroft: MS. Harl. 3784. f.104.

Abbreviations:

Cp: Cipher.  
 Dd: Camb.MS.Dd 6.4.  
 T: Bodl.MS.Tanner  
 Ad: B.Mus.Ms. Additional 22905  
 PRO : State Papers Domestic.

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"Polyglottic Learning".  
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The Heptaglot Lexicon and Samuel Clarke.
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 Athias: Paul Colend Scialitti: Michael:  
 Jacob ben Rabbi Samuel: Jonas Gabay: Isaac  
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 Israel Lyons.

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 Letters to Johan Buxtorf.

NOTES to the Letters.

Chronological List of Letters

PART III.

Chronological Index of Letters

Abbreviations:

- Dd. Cambridge MS Dd 6.4.
- L. British Museum MS Lansdowne 1005
- Ad. British Museum MS Additional 22905
- T. Bodleian MSS Tanner
- D. Bodleian MS D 317. Rawlinson MS.

The Letters in the first section are considered to be adequately edited: those in the second section, on account of their difficulties of arrangement and fragmentary nature are added to complete the material. With regard to the Cambridge manuscripts, as the Library Catalogue indicates, besides the documents given here, there are many notes of various sorts, of which no notice is taken.

Roman numerals are employed to indicate pagination. Cipher manuscripts indicated by Cp.

- 1 Before 1657 To Brian Walton: MS Cant. Dd 11.39.v. Cp.
- 2 Before 1657 To Brian Walton: MS Cant. Dd 11.39.ccxlix.Cp.
- 3 Before 1657 To The Lord Protector: MS Cant. Dd. 11.39.v. Cp.
- 4 Before 1658 Draft Prospectus: MS Rawl. D 397.clv.
- 5 Before 1658 Draft Prospectus: Dd xi. Cp. (supra)
- 6 Nov. 26. 1657 To Ralph Cudworth: Dd xxiv. Cp.
- 7 Dec. 2. 1657 To John Lightfoot: L. xlii.
- 8 Dec. 2. 1657 To John Lightfoot: Dd xxxv. Cp. (supra)
- 9 Dec. 1657 Alteration of first scheme: Dd viii. Cp.
- 10 Dec. 1657 To John Lightfoot: L. lxii.
- 11 Dec. 1657 To John Lightfoot: Dd xxxiv. Cp. (supra)
- 12 Dec. 1657 To Anthony Tuckney: Dd xxxiii. Cp.
- 13 Jan. 4. 1657/8 To Dudley Loftus: Dd xxxii. Cp.
- 14 Jan. 12. 1657/8 To Ralph Cudworth: Dd xxxiv. Cp.
- 15 Jan. 1657/8 To Mr Firman: Dd xxxiii. Cp.
- 16 Jan. 28. 1657/8 To Chas. Fytch: Dd ccccxviii. Cp.
- 17 April 6. 1658. To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xi.
- 18 June 7. 1658 To Thomas Greaves: BM. Ad. MS. 4162. lxiii.
- 19 July 1. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xiii.
- 20 Aug. 5. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xv.
- 21 Nov. 11. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xviii.
- 22 Nov. 17. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xx.
- 23 Dec. 2. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: D. xv.
- 24 Dec. 23. 1658 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xxii.
- 25 1658 To Brian Walton: Dd xxxviii. Cp.
- 26 1658 To Mr Marshall: Dd. xl. Cp.
- 27 March. 7. 1658/9. To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xxvii.
- 28 Feb. 4, 1659: To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xxix.
- 29 1659: To Samuel Clarke: D. vii. Cp.
- 30 March 2. 1659 To Samuel Clarke: D. ccxcviii. Cp.
- 31 March 31. 1659 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. xxxi.

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- 22 April 5.1659 To Alexander Huish:Dd.ccccxv.Cp.
- 23 May 28.1659 To Samuel Clarke:Ad.xxxiii.
- 24 June 1.1659 To Mr Hill. BM.Sl.MS.4275. Copy in Ad.
- 25 June 6.1659 To Samuel Clarke: Ad xxxv.
- 26 1659 To Samuel Clarke:Ad. xxxvii.
- 27 Nov. 21.1659 To Samuel Clarke:Ad. xl.
- 28 Dec.15.1659 To Samuel Clarke: Ad.xlii.
- 29 1659/60 To Edward Reynolds. Dd xxi. Cp.
- 30 <sup>orahn</sup> Aug.21.1660 To Humphrey Henschman: Dd lxiii. Cp.
- 41 1660 Advertisement. Dd lxx. Cp.
- 42 Aug.25.1660 To William Juxon:Dd ccccxlii.Cp.
- 43 Sept. 20.1660 To Theop. Dillingham:Dd lxvi.Cp.
- 44 Mar.16.1660/1. To Brian Walton:Dd lxxiv.Cp.
- 45 1660/1. To Theop. Dillingham:Dd lxxi.Cp.
- 46 1660 To Humphrey Henschman:Dd lxx. Cp.
- 47 Nov. 13.1660 To Humphrey Henschman:Dd lx.Cp.
- 48 1660/1. To Mr Bounds. Dd.lx.Cp.
- 49 March 14.1660/1. To William Juxon:Dd ccccxix.Cp.
- 50 Mar.15.1660/1. To Brian Walton:Dd ccccxix.Cp.
- 51 1660/1. To Samuel Clarke: Ad.lxii.
- 52 April 2.1661. To Mr Paget:Dd lxxv:Cp;
- 53 1661. To Gilbert Sheldon:Dd lxxvi:Cp.
- 54 1661 To Gilbert Sheldon:Dd lxxviii.Cp.
- 55 April 4 1661 To Samuel Clarke:Ad.xlviii.
- 56 Apr. 25.1661 To Richard Baily:Dd lxxviii:Cp.
- 57 June 11.1661. To Mr Bounds: Dd.ccccxvii.Cp.
- 58 1661. To Sir Geo. Downing:Dd ccccxvii.Cp.
- 59 1661. To Mr Thrampton (Rbt.Frampton?):Dd ccccxvi Cp.
- 60 1661. Petition to the Bishops:Dd lxxxiii:Cp.
- 61 1661. Petition to the Bishops:Dd lxxxiii:Cp.
- 62 1661. Petition to the Bishops:Dd lxxxviii:Cp.
- 63 Aug.8.1661. To Mr Marshall: Dd lxxxix:Æ
- 64 1661. To Sir T. Nightingale, etc.Dd lxvii:Cp.(xciii)
- 65 1661. To a Patron: Dd xcvi: Cp.
- 66 1661. To William Juxon: Dd xcvi:Cp.
- 67 Febr. 4.1661/2. To William Beveridge: Dd.ccccxlii.
- 68 1661/2. To J.M.Wansleben: Dd.ccccxv:Cp.
- 69 1661/2. To George Hall: Dd ccccxiv:Cp.
- 70 March 21.1661/2. To Mr Paget:Dd cxi.
- 71 <sup>the advan</sup> 1661/2 Losses through Mr Nye: Dd.cxiv:Cp.
- 72 May 8.1662: To Samuel Clarke: D xiv.
- 73 May 15.1662 To Giles Alleyn of Haseleigh:Dd ccccxlii:Cp.
- 74 May 19.1662 To Mr Paget:Dd cxi:Cp.
- 75 May 19.1662 To Lord Grandison: Dd cxi:Cp.
- 76 June 27.1662 To Alexander Huish: Dd ccccxlii:Cp.
- 77 Sept.5.1662 To Mr Marshall:Dd ccccx:Cp.
- 78 (Nov). 1662 To Mr Marshall:Dd ccccxviii:Cp.
- 79 1662. To Lady Grandison:Dd ccccxix:Cp.
- 80 Jan.20.1662/3. To Samuel Clarke:D ix.
- 81 1662/3 To Edward Reynolds: Dd cxviii:Cp.
- 82 Feb. 13.1662/3 To Isaac Basire:Dd cxix:Cp.
- 83 May 21.1663 To Chas. Fytch: Dd cxxxii:Cp.

Chronological Index . Contd.

- 84 April 18 1663 To Samuel Clarke: D viii.  
 85 May 25 1663 To William Roop: Dd cxxxiii: Cp.  
 86 August 6. 1663 To William Herris: Dd cxxxiii: Cp.  
 87 August 20. 1663 To Gilbert Sheldon: Dd cxxxiii: Cp.  
 88 Sept. 30. 1663 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. 1.  
 89 1663 To J. M. Wansleben: Dd cxxxvi: Cp.  
 90 October 16. 1663 To Alexander Huish: Dd cxxxvii: Cp.  
 91 Nov. 16. 1663 To Chas. Fytch: Dd cxxxix: Cp.  
 92 Dec. 5. 1663. To Edward Reynolds: Dd cxi: Cp.  
 93 (do.) 1663 To Edward Reynolds: Dd cxi: (Cp.)  
 94 Dec. 14. 1663 To Gilbert Sheldon: Dd cccc xv: Cp.  
 [95 1663 To Mr Marshall: Dd cccc xviii: Cp.]  
 96 Dec. 24. 1663 To Martin Murre: Dd cxliv: Cp.  
 97 1663 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. lvii.  
 98 1663 To Alardus Uchtman: Dd cxlii: Cp.  
 99 Dec. 31. 1663 To Alexander Huish: Dd cxxxviii: Cp.  
 100 Dec. 31. 1663. To Samuel Clarke: D. xiii.  
 101 1663 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. lxxv.  
 102 Jan. 15. 1663 To Richard Busby: Dd cxlii: Cp.  
 103 Feb. 22 1663/4 To John Lightfoot: L. 1.  
 104 March 14 1663/4 To John Lightfoot: L. lii.  
 105 March 29 1664 To Maurice Barrows: Dd cxlv: Cp.  
 106 1664 To Samuel Clarke: Dd cxlv: Cp.  
 107 April 23 1664 To Richard Busby: Dd cxlii: Cp.  
 108 1664 To Robert Castell: Dd cxliv: Cp.  
 109 1664 To the Countess of Kent: Dd cxlvi: Cp.  
 110 1664 Petition: Dd cxlviii: Cp.  
 111 August 3. 1664 To Edward Reynolds: Dd cxlviii: Cp.  
 112 1664 To the Earl of Bedford: Dd cxlix: Cp.  
 113 August 16 1664: To John Lightfoot: L. lvi.  
 114 August 16 1664 To John Lightfoot (supra): Dd cli: Cp.  
 115 Sept. 16 1664 To Anthony Crouch: Dd ccccxiv: Cp.  
 116 Sept. 22 1664 To John Lightfoot: L. lviii.  
 117 1664 To Barnabas Oley: Dd ccccix: Cp.  
 118 Nov. 14 1664 To John Lightfoot: L. lx.  
 119 Nov. 21. 1664 To Mary Crisp: Dd ccccxi etc: Cp.  
 120 Nov. 25 1664 To the Countess of Kent: Dd ccccviii: Cp.  
 121 1664 To Ellis Crisp: Dd ccccix: Cp.  
 122 Nov. 29 1664 To Robert Boreman: Dd ccccviii: Cp.  
 123 Dec. 2 1664 To the Countess of Kent: Dd ccccvii: Cp.  
 124 Dec. 3 1664 To Robert Boreman: Dd ccccvi: Cp.  
 125 Dec. 13. 1664 To Thomas Bendish: Dd ccccvi: Cp.  
 126 Feb. 24 1664/5 To Sir William Curtese (Curtius): Dd cccc v: Cp.  
 127 March 16 1664/5 To Francis Cooke: Dd clii: Cp.  
 128 (May 1. 1665) To George Collop: Dd ccccxiii: Cp.  
 129 May 1. 1665: To John Hacket: Dd ccccxiii: Cp.  
 130 1665 To Mr Ming: Dd ccccxi: Cp.  
 131 May 19 1665 To Seth Ward: Dd ccciii: Cp.  
 132 May 26 1665 To Robert Yarway: Dd cli: Cp.  
 133 June 3 1665 To Ellis Crisp: Dd cccciii: Cp.

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- 134 June 8 1665 To Mary Crisp: Dd cccci: Cp.  
 135 July 21 1665 To Humphrey Henchman: Dd clvii: Cp.  
 136 July 25 1665 To Seth Ward: Dd clvii: Cp.  
 137 1665 To (Lady Grandison?): Dd cccci: Cp.  
 138 1665 To Mrs Yarway: Dd cccc: Cp.  
 139 1665 To Gilbert Sheldon: Dd ccxcix: Cp.  
 140 Feb. 9 1665/6 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccxcix: Cp.  
 141 Feb. 17 1665/6 To Benjamin Laney: Dd ccxcix: Cp.  
 142 Feb. 22 1665/6 To Francis Wildford: Dd ccxcix: Cp.  
 143 March 20 1665/6 To Mrs Try: Dd ccxcvii: Cp.  
 144 1665/6 To William Herris (?): Dd ccxcvii: Cp.  
 145 March 20 1665/6 To George Fuller: Dd ccxcvi: Cp.  
 146 (March 20 1665/6) To Mr Hicks: Dd ccxcvii: Cp.  
 147 1665/6 To the Earl of Bedford: Dd ccxcvi: Cp.  
 148 1666 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccxcviii: Cp.  
 149 August 10 1666 To J. M. Wansleben: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 150 Aug. 30 1666 To Thomas Marshall: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 151 1666 To Mr Jones: Dd ccclxxxix: Cp.  
 152 Dec. 22 1666 To Tobias Cage: Dd ccclxxxix: Cp.  
 153 June 14 1666 To Edward Taverner: Dd ccclxxxix: Cp.  
 154 April 19 1666 To Mr Fadis: Dd ccxcv: Cp.  
 155 April 19 1666 To Thomas Marshall: Dd ccxcv: Cp.  
 156 May 19 1666 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccxciv: Cp.  
 157 May 19 1666 To Mr Mingay: Dd ccxciv: Cp.  
 158 May 24 1666 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccxciv: Cp.  
 159 June 13 1666 To John Lightfoot: L. lxviii.  
 160 June 13 1666 To John Lightfoot (supra): Dd ccxciii: Cp.  
 161 June 14 1666 To Mr Hicks: Dd ccxcii: Cp.  
 162 June 15 1666 To Thomas Marshall: Dd ccxcii: Cp.  
 163 June 22 1666 To John Lightfoot: L. lxx.  
 164 June 22 1666 To John Lightfoot (supra): Dd ccxcii: Cp.  
 165 July 7. 1666 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 166 July 13 1666 To Edward Taverner: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 167 July 20 1666 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxiv.  
 168 July 24 1666 To Thomas Roycroft: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 169 [see No. 162] 1666 To Chas. Fytch: Dd ccxc: Cp.  
 170 Jan. 17 1667 To Francis Wilford: Dd ccclxxxviii: Cp.  
 171 Feb. 28 1666 To Sir Thomas Adams: Dd ccclxxxviii: Cp.  
 172 May 1. 1667 To Samuel Clarke: Ad. lxxix.  
 173 May 9 1667 To John Dolben: Dd ccclxxxvii: Cp.  
 174 1667 To Adria Harrison: Dd ccclxxxiv: Cp.  
 175 June 22 1667 To Gilbert Sheldon: Dd clxiv: Cp.  
 176 June 24 1667 To Mrs Try: Dd ccclxxxvi: Cp.  
 177 July 8 1667 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxvii.  
 178 July 8 1667 To John Lightfoot (supra): Dd clxiv: Cp.  
 179 July 17 1667 To Samuel Clarke: D xvii.  
 180 August 5 1667 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxix.  
 181 August 20 1667 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxxii.  
 182 Aug-Nov. 1667 Petition: S. P. Dom. 138/57. [Dec. 1666? or S. P. Dom. Calendar]  
 183 Aug 26 1667 To Edward Reynolds: Dd clxvii: Cp.

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- 184 August 26 1667 To George Pitcher:Dd clxvii:Cp.
- 185       1667 To Edward Reynolds:Dd clxvii:Cp.
- 186       1667 To Chas. Fytch:Dd clxvii:Cp.
- 187       1667 Petition: Dd clxx:Cp.
- 188 Sept. 12 1667 To Mary Crisp:Dd clxvii:Cp.
- 189 Sept. 25 1667 To Ellis Crisp:Dd clxviii:Cp.
- 190 Jan. 8.1667/8 To Mr Crask Jnr.:Dd ccclxxxvi:Cp.
- 191 Jan.8 1667/8 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxxiv.
- 192 Jan.14 1667/8 (?) To John Lightfoot: L. lxxxvi.
- 193 Feb. 12 1667/8 To John Lightfoot: L. lxxxviii.
- 194 Feb. 18. 1667/8 To Samuel Clarke: D clxx.
- 195 March 3 1667/8 To Tobias Cage : Dd ccclxxxiii:Cp.
- 196       1667/8 To William Herris:Dd ccclxxxiii:Cp.
- 197 April 1. 1668 To William Herris:Dd clxx:(Cp.)
- 198 May 4 1668 To Samuel Clarke: Ad.
- 199 May 16 1668 To Mr Lloyd: Dd clxxii:Cp.
- 200 June 19 1668 To Daniel Coys: Dd clxvii:Cp.
- 201 June 24 1668 To Samuel Clarke:Ad.
- 202 July 1668 Verses: Dd ccclxxxii:Cp.
- 203       1668 To the Registrar: Dd clxxv:Cp.
- 204 Aug. 22.1668 To Sir Thomas Bendish:Dd clxxvi:Cp.
- 205       1668 To Thomas Turner: Dd clxxvi:Cp.
- 206       1668 To a Creditor's agent:Ddclxxvii:Cp. (Mr Cage ?)
- 207 June 13 1668 To Mr Simon Adam (or Adams):Dd cccxxviii:Cp.
- 208       1668 To Mr Simon Adam: Dd cccxxvii:Cp.
- 209 Sept. 1. 1668 To Mr Young:Dd clxxvii:Cp.
- 210 Sept.23 1668 To John Lightfoot: L xcii.
- 211 Sept.28 1668 To Mr Young:Dd clxxviii:Cp.
- 212 Octob.7 1668 To Sir Timothy Tirrell:Dd clxxviii:Cp.
- 213 Nov.4.1668 To Mr Sclater:Dd clxxx:Cp.
- 214       1668 To William Herris:Dd clxxx:Cp.
- ~~215 Nov. 9. 1668 To Thomas Turner:Dd clxxix:Cp.~~
- 215 Nov. 9. 1668 To Thomas Turner:Dd clxxix:Cp.
- 216 Dec. 11.1668 To Thomas Turner:Dd clxxxi:Cp.
- 217 Dec. 18.1668 To Thomas Marshall:Dd clxxxi:Cp.
- 218 Dec.19.1668 To a Benefactress:Dd clxxxi:Cp.
- 219 Jan. 28 1668/9 To Peter Gunning: Dd clxxxii:Cp.
- 220       1668/9 To Gilbert Sheldon: Dd ccclxxxii:Cp.
- 222 June 9 1669 To John Lightfoot: L. xcvi.
- 223       1669 To Samuel Clarke (?): D lxix.
- 221 (May 5.1669 To the London Gazette: S.P.Dom.259/188.)
- 224 July 5 1669 To John Lightfoot: L. xcvi.
- 225       1669 To John Breton: Dd ccclxxiv:Cp.
- 226 Aug. 5.69 To William Sancroft: Dd ccclxxiv:Cp.(infra)
- 227 Aug. 5.1669 To William Sancroft: T 44/143.
- 228 Aug. 20 1669 To John Lightfoot: L. ci.
- 229 Sept. 24 1669 To John Lightfoot: L. ciii.
- 230       1669 To John Hacket: Dd ccclxxxiii:Cp.
- 231 Dec. 23.1669 To Samuel Clarke: D i.
- 232 March 17 1670 To Theop. Dillingham:Dd ccvi:Cp.

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- 223 April 13 1670 To John Wright of Wrightsbridge:Dd ccxi:Cp.  
 234 1670 To John Fell: Dd cclxxi:Cp.  
 235 May 18 1670 To Mr Fadis:Dd cclxxi:Cp.  
 236 June 10 1670 To his Patron:Dd cclxxxiv:Cp.  
 237 June 20 1670 To Mr Fadis: Dd cclxx:Cp.  
 238 Oct. 24 1670 To John Lightfoot: L. cv.  
 239 Dec.12 1670 To John Lightfoot: L. cvii.  
 240 Dec. 28 1670 To Robert Boyle:Dd cclxx:Cp.  
 241 Dec. 31 1670 To Henry Oldenburg:Dd cclxx:Cp.  
 242 March 17 1670(/71) To John Breton: Dd cclxxv:Cp.  
 243 June 27 1672 To Edward Reynolds:Dd cclxxvi:Cp.  
 244 June 1673 To Rev. Samuel Clarke: BM MS Sl.4275  
 245 August 16 1674 To John Spencer: Lambeth Ms 674/26.  
 246 May 4 1675 To Sir William Adams: Dd cclxxv.  
 247 1675 Petition: Dd cxlviii:Cp.  
 248 July 7 1676 To William Sancroft: T 40 xi  
 249 1678 Petition (to Sancroft).T 33 xxxvi.  
 250 Sept. 1678 To William Sancroft: T 314 xii.  
 251 Oct. 28 1678 To William Sancroft: T 39 cxxi.  
 252 Dec. 10 1678 To William Sancroft: T 39 cxliv.  
 253 Nov. 24 1679 To William Sancroft: T 38 ciii.  
 254 March 15 1679/80 To William Sancroft: T 38 cxxxv.  
 255 April 13 1680 To William Sancroft: T 37 xii.  
 256 Sept. 1. 1680 To William Sancroft: T 130 i.  
 257 Sept. 15 1680 To William Sancroft: T 130 xxxvi.  
 258 Oct. 18 1680 To William Sancroft: T 130 xxxv.  
 259 Feb. 3. 1681/2 To William Sancroft: T 36 ccxxvi.  
 260 May 22 1682 To William Sancroft: T 314 xcv.  
 261 Oct. 3.1682 To William Sancroft: T.35 xcvi.  
 262 Nov.10 1682 To William Sancroft: T 35 cxxv.  
 263 Dec.18 1682 To William Sancroft: T 35 cxlviii.  
 264 Dec. 22 1682 To William Sancroft: T 35 cliii.  
 265 June 20 1683 To William Sancroft: T 34 liv.  
 266 1683/4 To Henry Compton: Ad. c.  
 267 May 11 1685 To Henry Compton: Ad ci.  
 268 Oct 24 1685 Castell's Will: Baker Ms 26 cclxxviii.(Copy).

The following Letters, doubtful in text except in the case of the Castell letters to Professor Buxtorf, will be found in their correct places wherever it has been possible to date them. Their numbers, run in the same series as those listed above.

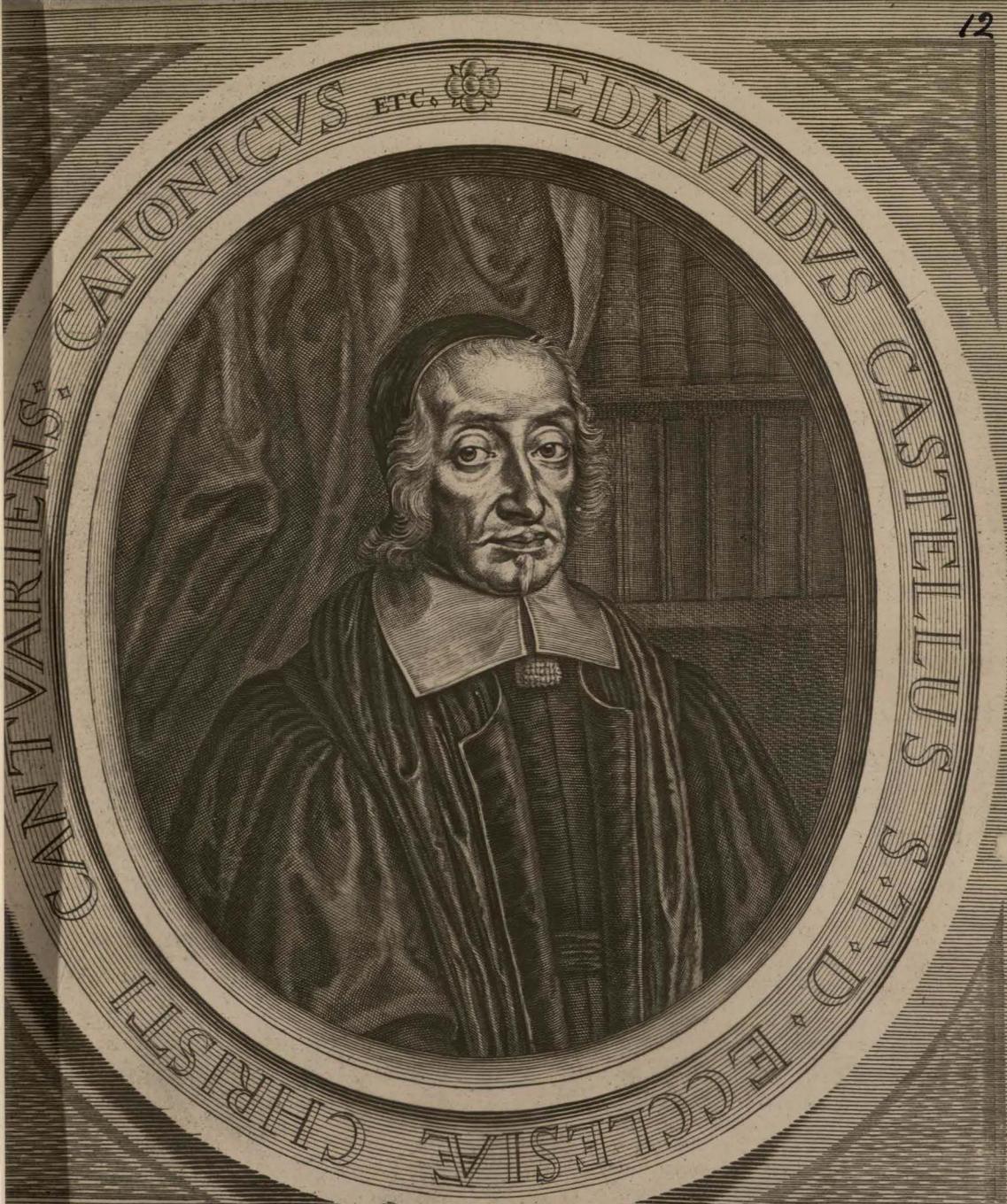
do not

Chronological Index contd.

1. Oct. 2 1656 To Joh. Buxtorf : Bas.MS.GI 62.12.
2. Aug.14 1657 To Joh. Buxtorf : Bas.MS.GI 62.20.
3. Feb.24 1659 To Gervasius Gallaeus: Dd lxi.
4. Sept.31 1659 To Gervasius Gallaeus: Dd xliii.
5. Nov.12.1659 To Jobus Ludolf: Ddxlii etc.
6. Dec.23.1659 To Servatius Gallaeus: Dd xliiv etc.
7. Jan.2 .1659/60 To Theodr. Petraeus: Dd xli.
8. Feb.3. 1660 To Job. Ludolf (?): Dd xxxi.
9. March 31.1659/60 To Mr Muller :Dd lxii.
10. Nov.9.1660 To Job. Ludolf: Dd lxix etc.
11. April 5 1661 To Ernst Gerhardt : Dd lxxvi.
12. May 1.1661 To Servatius Gallaeus: Dd lxxix and lxi etc.
13. June 13 1661 To Jac. Golius : Dd lxxx ,lxxxix etc.
14. June 14 1661 To Servatius Gallaeus: Dd lxxxii.
15. July 18 1661 To Job. Ludolf: Dd cccxxi.
16. Sept. 7 1661 To Job. Ludolf: Dd xci.
17. Oct. 11. 1661 To Job. Ludolf: Dd xciv and xcv.
18. 1661 To Jac. Golius: Dd xcvi etc.
19. 1661 To Job. Ludolf: Dd xcvi etc.
20. 1661/2 Testimonial to Wansleben: Dd cxv.
21. April 17 1662 To Job. Ludolf: Dd cxvi.
22. July 21 1662 To Joh. Buxtorf: Bas.MS G I. 62. 14.
23. Nov. 24 1662 To Jac. Golius: Dd cccxxviii
24. Dec.17 1663 To Joh. Buxtorf: Bas.MS.G.I. 62.16.
25. Sept.14 1663 To Martin Murre (?): Dd cccxxxvi.
26. Oct.1 1663 To Mr Gabelcau: Dd cxxxiv.
27. 1663 To a Patron: Dd cxli.
28. Aug.9 1664 To Joh. Buxtorf: Bas.MS. G.I. 62.18.
29. Apr.24 1665 To Jac. Golius: Dd clii etc.
30. April 6 1668 To Servatius Gallaeus: Dd clxxi.
31. 1669 To Jac. Buxtorf: Dd cclxxiii.
32. (Aug) 1669 To Jac. Buxtorf: Dd cclxxvii.
33. (Sept.) 1669 To Dr Gernlar :Dd cclxxiv.
34. 1670 To Mr Harderus : Dd ccvi.
35. Dec.15 1670 To a Patron (A): Dd cciii.

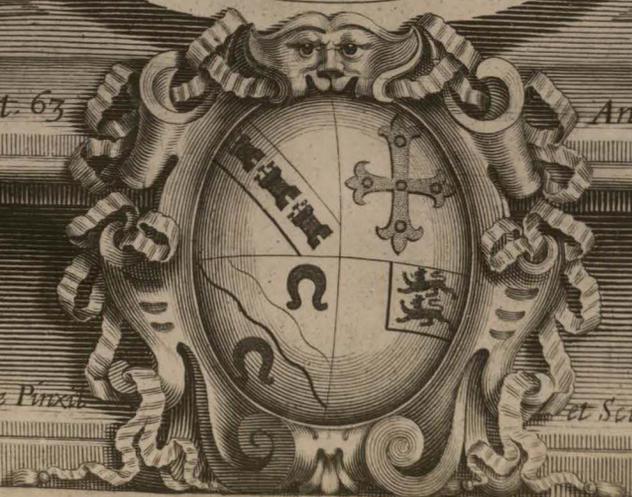
## Letters from Brian Walton to Johannes Buxtorf.

1. January 1656 Bas.MS.G.I.62. 4.
2. October 15 1658 Bas.MS.G.I.62. 6.
3. Dec.2 1659 Bas.MS.G.I.62. 7.
4. Feb. 28.1661 Bas.MS.G.I.62. 9.



*Ætat. 63*

*Anno. 1669.*



*Will. Faithorne Pinxit*

*Et Sculp. sit.*

PART ONE.

EDMUND CASTELL AND  
HIS  
LEXICON OF THE SEVEN  
LANGUAGES.

## PREFACE .

My object is to present a series of documents illustrating the troubled life of Dr Edmund Castell, one time chief assistant editor of the London Polyglot, in its time an epoch-making work of scholarship in Eastern Learning in England, and later editor of his own Heptaglot Lexicon. Without stepping into realms of scholarship from which I am excluded by lack of linguistic equipment, I have tried to place before the account of Castell's life, and the unpublished letters which are here edited, some historical matter, which is not derived from my own insight into the history of Eastern Learning in the Seventeenth Century, but towards which I have attempted to make my own slight and necessarily superficial contribution. I am not able, therefore, rightly to estimate anew the range and depth of Castell's erudition, nor the erudition of any other scholar whose name I have mentioned.

Instead, nevertheless, of reiterating the sufficient and moving narrative of the Dictionary of National Biography, I have furnished as complete (and practically new) a body of biographical material as my researches have permitted, and which I believe is exhaustive. A great number of these documents being originally in shorthand or cypher, I have done my best to provide an adequate transliteration of what was virtually a secret-writing. From these and supplementary sources I have brought together some information concerning particular aspects of Castell's life and his experiences while he completed his life's work and his own <sup>final</sup> ruin<sup>ation</sup>.

The frequent appearance in the letters of learned quotations, some pertinent ,some puerile and pedantic, has made it necessary for me to consult my friends in transcribing and translating them. The enormous bulk of documents, has driven me to make a selection, [and to add the others in the form of a calendar,] a method doubly excusable on account of the lack of true interest possessed by many of them. To these I have added a transcript of the Latin translation of <sup>the</sup> Ethiopic Liturgy which the broken scholar presented to his patron, Sancroft, in 1678, extant in the Bodleian Library. It is my hope that this may be of interest to Orientalists, and that it adds to the value of what I have produced.

The documents, which form the main part of my work, have been transcribed from original manuscripts in the British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, the Bodleian Library, the Record Office, and the Cambridge University Library. The Cambridge manuscript ,being largely in cipher, presented ~~some~~ some difficulty, which I hope I have overcome. Other transcripts will be found to originate from documents in the Library at Basle. To all these institutions, therefore, I owe an acknowledgement, and besides, to many friends who have suffered at my hands on Castell's account, especially those present incumbents of Castell's various livings, who kindly

~~kindly~~ examined the records of their parishes and churches and so permitted me to make some minor additions and corrections to the current narratives.

I have thought it necessary to provide an account of Castell's use of Willis' shorthand, a task which is difficult because it is much easier to read Castell's cypher than to give a really intelligible account of it. It ought also to be noted, that although much of Willis' arrangement is used to demonstrate the writing, I have been solely concerned with Castell's modification of Willis' system. I am not by any means certain that the shorthand transcripts, since the writing is only partially phonetic and largely dependent upon symbols and contractions, will provide any material for students of seventeenth century pronunciation. Castell's cypher is not easily understandable from Willis' accounts, and I myself, while transliterating a good deal of the text with his help, have done much more by experiment.

In restricting the scope of the work, I have taken a wise course: but it will always suffer from the absence of Oriental equipment on my part. The labour of the work will be obvious, but its fruits are meagre.



THE STENOGRAPHY IN THE CASTELL LETTERS.  
(System of John Willis)

John Willis died in 1628. He is considered to have published the first devising of a practical system of shorthand in the modern manner<sup>1</sup>, which he offered to the public in his book "The Art of Stenography" in 1602. Two copies are available, one in the Bodleian Library and the other in the British Museum. This was a book primarily for the student: a companion volume for the master<sup>2</sup> was also published. Neither of these volumes is immediately comprehensible without the teacher. Upon Willis' system the cipher used by Castell is largely based: it is indeed a slight, and one might believe inevitable, modification of it. Shorthand was a subject taught in schools and became for the greater number of its exponents (largely of the middle class) a device for making rapid notes of sermons, a discipline in which the young people of the middle classes of the age were strictly trained. On the whole it is a tolerably tedious method of writing, being largely alphabetical, but years of practice promoted a surprising skill. Transcriptions in this shorthand are not uncommon in Castell's generation, before more convenient methods ousted that of Willis. The alterations which an exponent of Willis' system might introduce were in keeping with the latitude which it permitted, which

2) The Schoolmaster to the Art etc. 1683.

which, particularly in the matter of abbreviations and symbols, was very large without interfering with the basis upon which it was built.

The regular record which Castell kept both of his correspondence and of his transactions in the cipher is responsible for the large number of texts in this biography, the greater part of these writings being either drafts or copies of his notes and letters. The shorthand offered the advantage of being a secret writing for general purposes, as even one diligently read in the handbooks but unpractised in the art, reads these writings with difficulty. The transcription of these present texts were largely made by experiment and by comparison with the full texts where they were both available and recognisable. The labour therefore was considerable: and commensurate with it is any attempt to write out a clear explanation of the working of the system. This note is concerned mainly with the shorthand as Castell wrote it, and not as Willis expounded it. The general lines of the inventor's exposition may be followed, nevertheless.

The simplest elements of the shorthand are the alphabet and the system of vowel-pointing, which, it is not amiss to point out, shows the influence of a familiarity with the established pointing method in Hebrew, to which the inventor makes occasional reference.



Difficulties of printing, and the vile distribution of the cut symbols, vitiate much of the book's value for him who simply reads.

The alphabet is complete, except that the signs for C and K are the same, and that Q (Kw) has a separate symbol. There are separate signs for I and J and Y and one for X. These characters are classed as, (a) Vertical, and (b) Horizontal, according to the general appearance. R and S are straight lines and are respectively Horizontal and Vertical and serve clearly to illustrate the system of pointing. In pointing, six places are made about the characters; in the Vertical character, beginning at the foot, the first three places are along the left-hand side, and the rest, from the top, down the right hand side of the character: in the horizontal character, the first position is in the middle of the underside of the character, and the remainder proceeds first to the left and round the letter, to the right. The first five places are for the five general vowel sounds, including some diphthongs, and the sixth place is reserved for the succeeding consonant or consonants as the case requires. The alphabet is given below.

^	∩	γ	<	L	∟	∅	α	>	Γ	∩	U	\	(	/	∅	-		C	∩	V
A	B	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V
)	∩	∩	Z																	
W	X	Y	Z																	

It will be seen that the difference between L and W

between L and W, O and T is only the fulness of the arc in each case, while that between D and K, E and J, F and G, I and X, L and T, N and P, O and W, is obtained by reversing the character. The distinction between B and M, D and G, and U and Y, is made by inverting the character. V and Z are the same as the Roman letters, although A and V may be reckoned inverted characters. Considerable economy is in this manner introduced into the system.

Characters are also classed as Major and Minor characters, a Major character being one which begins a syllable, vowel or consonant, while a Minor character is one that is added to another symbol. Given a Major character of any type, succeeding letters may be added to it in smaller writing. In the case of a vowel being a Major character, the succeeding consonants are added at the sixth pointing position. In the case of the Major character being a consonant, the following intervening vowel (pointing) is indicated by the position of the succeeding consonant. Should two consonants succeed, then the second consonant of the syllable is strung on to the first consonant. The question of syllabification, therefore, becomes important, and must be rather strictly attended to. A "syllable" consists here of everything preceding the second vowel of a word. This first part of the word is described as Primary and is always (in theory) written as one "syllable":

the remainder of the word, described as Secondary, is represented in a variety of different manners.

An example of the adding of consonants to the sixth position of a character representing a vowel, in a Primary word or part of a word, may be represented in the following manner if the standard characters are kept in mind, thus:

Vertical		Horizontal		
s		R		
3	4	3	4	5
2	5	<hr/>		
1	6	2	1	6

Ought 6 i.e. O (Vertical) plus t (sixth position)

There are no Horizontal Vowel-Characters. Examples of the Consonant Character followed by vowel and consonant or consonants, where the second consonant indicates the intervening vowel by its position, are as follows:

Wit 9 i.e. W (Vertical) plus t (third position)

Rove v i.e. R (Horizontal) plus v (fourth position)

Larks xl i.e. L plus rx (first position).

Turn 4 i.e. T plus rn (fifth position).

Diphthongs are neglected, except when the two vowel sounds are extraordinarily distinct, and the nearest equivalent is used, the five vowel-sounds providing a convenient general representation. Vowel-sounds which follow a primary syllable (and end it or the word) are represented by placing a dot in the correct position.

An example will make this clear to the reader.

Very -V' i.e. V plus r in the second position, and a dot following on the righthand side of the main character. In such a case the extra vowel has simply been placed in the most convenient position compatible with clarity. Should it be necessary to represent a part of a word containing two following vowel-sounds, the first is represented in the manner illustrated above and the second is indicated by separate addition of the consonant. Therefore in the word "mysterious" ,the "ious" is so represented:

- | i.e. R plus dot plus s. In contrast
- | i.e. R plus s (in the fifth position) would represent Rus, and not Rious.

The representation of words of one syllable may be thus summarised. If the word begins with a vowel, the consonant(or consonants)following is placed in the sixth position. If beginning with a consonant and ending in a vowel, the final sound is represented by a dot. If beginning with a consonant and ending with a consonant, the position of the second consonant indicates the intervening vowel-sound.

In a word of more than one syllable, it will be remembered, the word was divided into the Primary and the Secondary parts. The Primary part is represented as a word of one syllable, while three general methods are adopted for the representation of the remainder of such a word.

- (a) If the secondary part of a word consists of a vowel, it is represented by a dot as already indicated above.
- (b) Otherwise the consonants (or consonant) are added in convenient juxtaposition, to the right.
- (c) In the case of a succession of consonants, these are strung alongside to the right, without regard to intervening vowels, except where two vowel-sounds are together (e.g. ious).

In every case, there is only one Major character, the other characters being in smaller writing: but although this rule tends to discourage the multiplication of Major characters, occasions arise where a convenient division of a word makes it desirable. Such words as Michaelmas (Michael Mas) and Viceregent (Vice Regent) are best so represented: these words being represented as if they were two words.

Michaelmas 'U, U i.e. M plus k (third) plus l: and M plus s (first)

Viceregent 'V }- } i.e. V plus s (third): and R plus j (second) plus nt.

In each case it must be noted, except where two consonants are joined together (as nt) in the Minor part of the word, an intervening vowel is always understood between consonants. The case of Viceregent is manufactured for the sake of illustration: in practice nt is stereotyped in a special symbol. Before describing these stereotyped forms, it ought to be noted that some of the characters of the alphabet have additional functions.

It is convenient here to represent the Major and Minor characters (large and small) by Capital and ordinary letters of the alphabet, respectively. In this manner the additional meanings of the characters may be represented thus:

- A amongst
- A appoint (this character has a dot within it)
- a and , hand , -ns, -nce
- B but
- b be, by, bee, buy.
- D(d) do, die, de-, dis-, des-, etc.
- E he
- e end, ent-, nt.
- F for , fore.
- f ful.
- G God
- g good
- H how
- h the, th.
- I I, eye.
- i it.
- J You : j -ject.
- L less, les.
- l lie-, li-
- M make
- m man, men, main (this last underlined; also; mean).
- N not, note.
- n ness, nes.
- O of, off. -
- o our. -ession.
- R remember
- r re, rie.
- S so
- s is, his.
- T that
- t to, -tation.
- U use. un
- u us, un.
- V(v) vent-.
- W which
- w word.
- X ex
- x sk
- Y you, yet
- y if
- z as, az-.

• (dot) may stand for in, en, im, em.

Add to these the small form of a with a dot within,  
to represent -ntion.

There is a variety of symbols representing  
common combinations of consonants, some of which have  
already been described under the heading of the characters.

n	ng
ʒ	bl, ble
ɾ	pl, ple
x	ch
ʌ	sh
s	st (reversed <u>ts</u> )
~	-ment
+	cl
ø	ct
ʒ	gn
ð	did, dead, done, don, dom, dome.
ð	temp
ʒ	itle, ity. tie, tye, an.
ø	have (used in "behaviour")
ç	(th) this <u>etc.</u>

Stereotyped combinations of consonants are regularly  
employed, as indicated below.

~	lt
ð	ld
~	dm
s	str
ʌ	tl, tle
ʌ	pr, pre
ʌ	ft
ç	pt.(with dot within: <u>ption</u> .)
~	nc
~	nct
n,	ngl
ø	mpl
ð	wh
ç	mis,mes, mess.

Writing is phonetic wherever possible without confusion,  
but the spelling nature of the alphabet does not permit  
of much saving through this means. Contraction is the  
device most valuable in the system: and the ways of

of achieving contraction are described as follows:

- (a) By contraction of the final syllable of a word.  
 (i) using the first letter of the syllable, e.g.  
       "command"        -a     (and) ^  
 (ii) using the last letter of the syllable, e.g.  
       "comely"        -l     (lie) ɔ
- (b) By contraction of the first syllable of the word, representing it by its first letter, e.g.  
       "Resign"        R     —
- (c) Contract the whole word by indicating enough to suggest it, e.g.  
       "Nothing"        as Noth. ʃ
- (d) Contract the word by representing it in two characters;  
 (i) the two first letters, e.g.  
       "Shall"        Sh     ʃ  
       "Place"        PI     ɔ  
 (ii) the two first consonants, ignoring the intervening vowel, e.g.  
       "Nation"        Nt     ʃ  
 (iii) the first and the last letter, e.g.  
       "Respect"        Rt.    —

In this particular method of contraction, combinations of letters usually found in the beginning of English words have to be avoided. In words beginning and ending in a vowel, a dot is sufficient to indicate the last letter.

Further devices for contraction consist in the use of special characters and symbols, and in the use of ordinary hand. Long hand letters offer four interpretations, because they may be divided thus:

- (a) Roman                    (i) Capital (ii) Small  
 (b) Secretary

Symbols exist (or may be made) to represent syllables and words: Willis calls these illiterals. This is left to the discretion of the individual student. Willis' recommendation of reporting by paraphrase does not enter into the problem of the Castell manuscripts, and so may merely be mentioned here.

Generally speaking (as Willis indicates) words may be represented by combinations of characters, symbols, and letters, as well as by these things alone. In the same way, phrases may be written by means of combinations, or by special symbols. To shorten the representation, aspirates and vowels are generally dropped in the Secondary part of a word or phrase, except where the indication of a (second) vowel-sound is imperative.

Willis, with the spelled-form in his mind, makes the following equivalences of vowels and diphthongs.

- A. ai ay au aw aoi
- E. ea ee eo oe
- I. ie ei ey
- O. oa oi oy ou ow
- U. eu ew eaw eau ieu iew ui.

In reading the shorthand, variations in pronunciation settle the particular position for some of these sounds indicated in spelling above, as, for example, Castell's rendering of beautiful, not in the U-position, but in the I-position, which in this particular case seems to be his equivalent for the sound indicated by Willis as belonging to the E-position. This preference for a (long) i, is also seen in Castell when he writes Been, preferring that position to that of the E, he undoubtedly pronouncing the word as been, and not as bin (short).

Many irregularities occur in the Castell use of the shorthand, some of which are indicated below.

The w of owe is sometimes put in and sometimes dropped: in words ending in tion and sion, the sound of s is preferred: the k of know is preserved, and also the ld of could and would. Enough is written once, but the form enow is the general one in the shorthand writing; in this word, a dot sometimes renders the ow, but more often the w is indicated. Daughter and draft are once both rendered with at: the aspirate is once inserted in exhausted: en is occasionally preferred to in in ensue, enow, etc. where the in sound is general: sure is regularly written with an s: anguish is represented naturally as angish, whereas other words have forced spelling-forms on the writer: the b in succumb is represented, and at least on one occasion the p of solemp.

Castell eked out the shorthand system by the insertion of words in long-hand, or abbreviations of the same. He also employs (and adds to ) some of the symbols which Willis preserved for his chapter on Steganography, or secret-writing: the symbols he adopts from Willis are those for counter (contra), world, moon: (in Castell the sign shows the full-moon, while in Willis, a crescent).

The best way of completing the elucidation of Castell's use of the shorthand is to place before the reader Tables of his symbols as they occur in his texts.

A TABLE OF THE LETTERS EMPLOYED  
BY CASTELL .

a :	add.
a :	again
α :	accord
∫ :	away
d :	always
∆ :	already
A :	also
∆ :	affliction (dot within) afflict.
A :	affect, affect(ion)
∫ :	benefice
∫ :	benef(it)
B :	belong, behold. Brother.
b :	because
∫ :	before
∫ :	believe
∫ :	case, cause
∫ :	done, down (see also <u>d</u> )
d :	did, dead
∫ :	deliver
e :	even, heaven
ε :	earth
∫ :	ecclesi(ast)
f :	first
fq :	frequent
G :	gentle ( <u>gentleman</u> )
∫ :	general
g :	great
h :	holy ( <u>large</u> , Holy Ghost)
i :	inter-
∫ :	one, on, own ( <u>minim</u> without dot)
∫ I :	judge
K :	king
k :	kind
∫ :	keep
l :	lord
m :	mercy
∫ :	minister
Ma :	majesty, madam.
N :	name, number, negligence
n :	never , ng.
n :	necess(ary)
O :	obey
∫ :	ord- , order
∫ :	ordin)
∫ :	oh
p :	part
∫ :	philosoph(er), 'pothecary
∫ :	perceive

A TABLE OF THE LETTERS EMPLOYED  
BY CASTELL .

a :	add.
a :	again
æ :	accord
4 :	away
α :	always
∆ :	already
A :	also
∆ :	affliction (dot within) afflict.
A :	affect, affect(ion)
∂ :	benefice
∂ :	benef(it)
B :	belong, behold. Brother.
b :	because
ε :	before
b :	believe
∠ :	case, cause
∂ :	done, down (see also <u>d</u> )
d :	did, dead
∂ :	deliver
e :	even, heaven
ε :	earth
ε :	ecclesi(ast)
f :	first
fq :	frequent
G :	gentle ( <u>gentleman</u> )
∂ :	general
g :	great
h :	holy ( <u>large</u> , Holy Ghost)
i :	inter-
l :	one, on, own ( <u>minim</u> without dot)
∂ I :	judge
K :	king
k :	kind
ℓ :	keep
l :	lord
m :	mercy
m :	minister
Ma :	majesty, madam.
N :	name, number, negligence
n :	never , ng.
n :	necess(ary)
O :	obey
ρ :	ord- , order
∂ :	ordin)
∞ :	oh
p :	part
∂ :	philosoph(er), 'pothecary
p :	perceive

A Table of Letters      continued.

Q	:	queen
q	:	quest
~	:	repent
r	:	reverend
℞	:	receive
R	:	receive:(also ℞)
ſ	:	suspicious)
s	:	it is, 'tis, its: (also reversed, <u>is it</u> )
S	:	stand : Saviour, Saint.
sh	:	sh
σ	:	special
§	:	self
§	:	sacrament; (also § , <u>sacrifice</u> )
τ	:	truth
∴	:	therefore
τ	:	temp(er)
u	:	upon, unto.
v	:	under
u	:	unless
℥	:	value:(also small, v : <u>ver</u> )
z	:	as. nd

It will be clear that it is only on a few occasions that Castell needs to go beyond the Roman and Secretary hands: but he does so.

A TABLE OF SYMBOLS EMPLOYED  
BY CASTELL .

∩	continue	ε	begin
κ	church	χ	chapter
o	moon	♥	heart
θ	counter, contra-	☉	son, sun, soon.
⊙	world	Χ	Christ (-)
†	cross	℥	hath
ε	have	∴	as well as
⊂	occasion	f	clam-
Σ	pride	y	observe
	any	℥	Jerusalem
⊙	condition	∩	consider
∞	infinite	~	from
/	a, an	/	any
z	one, own.		

SHORT ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF ABBREVIATED FORMS USED BY CASTELL.

Λ	Aa	answer	— R	remember
2	b <sup>z</sup>	behind	— Rt	respect
3	p <sup>b</sup>	baptism	—, Rw	reward
3	B <sup>l</sup>	bless	l S <sup>f</sup>	signify
3	B <sup>n</sup>	between	b S <sup>et</sup>	subject
3	B <sup>d</sup>	beside	b Sh	shall
3	K.N	canon, cannot	+ S <sup>r</sup>	sure (mem)
3	Kn	know(ledge)	.l	ensue ( <u>actual sign</u> )
3	e r	endure	l Sp	spirit
3	Fr	fruit	l Scr	scripture
3	F n	foreign	l Sn	salvation
3	Gr	grace	l Sa	substance
3	G <sup>l</sup>	glory	z rt	to her
3	H <sup>d</sup>	husband	C T <sup>g</sup>	together
3	I <sup>v</sup>	I have	C T	that
3	I <sup>m</sup>	I am	C Th	this
3	r <sup>M</sup>	master ,Mr	C Th	these ( <u>dot</u> within)
3	M	member	C Th <sup>s</sup>	those
3	N <sup>t</sup>	nation, nature	) W	which
3	N <sup>th</sup>	nothing	3 Wr	were ( <u>mem</u> )
3	Ng	notwithstanding	2 <sup>t</sup> Wh	what
3	(a	occasion ( <u>actual sign</u> )	..	annual ( <u>actual sign</u> )
3	is	only( <u>actual sign</u> )	l <sup>r</sup>	anarchy " "
3	r <sup>P</sup>	prayer	9 <sup>t</sup> th <sup>w</sup>	(with) ( <u>mem</u> )
3	d <sup>V</sup>	divert	V- Vrd	ventured

Mem: the constant seeming pronunciation of sure with the spelling-sound may be due to the abbreviation by first and last consonant.

Experiment shows that the form given in the preceding list for as well as, despite its similarity to were, never reads as whereas.

With may be regarded as a fully written word.

SHORT ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF INTRICATE FORMS USED BY CASTELL.

Λ <sup>e a 7</sup>	accomplished	Γ <sup>n - c 4</sup>	collaborators
Λ <sup>s 11</sup>	apostacies	Γ <sup>s c 7</sup>	constituted
Λ <sup>c</sup>	almighty	Γ <sup>z c r</sup>	commendatory
Λ <sup>y 3 c</sup>	absolute	Γ <sup>p 1 / &lt;</sup>	co-participant
Λ <sup>+ 1</sup>	articles	Γ <sup>z 1 ^</sup>	cogniscance
Λ <sup>&lt; ^</sup>	acquaintance	X <sup>r</sup>	chancery
Λ <sup>&gt; 7</sup>	avowed	Λ <sup>7</sup>	deign
Λ <sup>u 3 c 1</sup>	accumulations	Λ <sup>r 2 1</sup>	difficulties

Intricate Forms

continued.

Λ <sup>Λ1</sup>	apprehensions	Λ <sup>n</sup>	dropping
Λ <sup>Λ-Λ</sup>	abhorrency	Λ <sup>m</sup> Λ	dungeon
Λ <sup>Λ<sup>n</sup></sup>	augmentation	ΛΛ <sup>ε</sup>	disaster
Λ <sup>Λ<sup>7</sup>Λ<sup>7</sup></sup>	academical	Λ <sup>i</sup> Λ <sup>57</sup>	disinterested
Λ <sup>j</sup>	away	Λ <sup>j</sup> Λ <sup>ε</sup>	defaillantly
Λ <sup>Λ<sup>Λ</sup></sup>	burdensome	Λ <sup>m</sup> Λ <sup>~1</sup>	engagements
Λ <sup>Λ<sup>Λ</sup></sup>	imbriled	Λ <sup>Λ</sup> Λ <sup>7</sup>	defected
Λ <sup>Λ<sup>Λ</sup></sup>	benefactors	Λ <sup>Λ</sup> Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	deficiency
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	could	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	physician
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	commence	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	congruous
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	inchoation	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	heirs
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	compensate	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	irksome
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	culmination	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	ignorance
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	commencing	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	eye-witness
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	Constantinople	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	arrear
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	junction	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	solemply
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	if it had	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	scrivener
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	learning	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	inseparable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	labyrinth	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	insuperable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	lexicographers	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	schoolmen
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	leisurable	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	concessionable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	misconveyances	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	instruments
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	mortgaged	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	through
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	utmost	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	throne
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	option	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	unattainable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	procrastinated	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	prevent
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	paucity	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	vanquishable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	quantity	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	adventures
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	wrote	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	writ (e)
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	exopprobated	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	exhausted
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	exalted	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	exhausted
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	except	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	inexcusable
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	extraordinary	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	explicit
Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	associate	Λ <sup>Λ</sup>	assigned

The shorthand system here described is only partially phonetic. The general lines of the method are not consistently followed in practice, much depending upon the humour and memory of the writer. Displacements through haste, omissions and other peculiarities found in the texts, are not to be regarded as reflections of special and peculiar pronunciations. Convenience in a shorthand, after all is said, is the first requisite: exactness and consistency for the benefit of others is not necessary.

The passage given below, is an extract from the shorthand copy of Castell's note to Mr Roop, May 25, 1663. One may see at a glance the shorthand, the equivalents of the characters in ordinary letters, and the transcription. The brackets indicate an abbreviated or special symbol, which is best left to explain itself.

1. ^ 9 ^, α - q > J<sup>o</sup> \ e γ  
2. a thw Al I r() J Wld N Tr<sup>bl</sup> Y<sup>r</sup>  
3. and withal I request you would not trouble your

1. r̄y z < i E<sup>-</sup> J<sup>o</sup> ε \ 4 v  
2. K<sup>r</sup> sp nd nt s () Frth<sup>r</sup> Wh. () N nts m.  
3. correspondents any further who have not sent me

1. i 2 ( G N<sup>o</sup> α J<sup>o</sup> L: N o  
2. () () 0 Th<sup>s</sup> B<sup>x</sup> I stL Wr<sup>t</sup> F: B h  
3. any one of those books I last wrote for: but the

1. U<sup>s</sup> G X<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> ( , Λ<sup>o</sup> c<sup>7</sup>  
2. Mst Old nSpsh B<sup>x</sup> 0 () Ant<sup>kw</sup> td  
3. most old Spanish books of an antiquated

1. J<sup>o</sup> ) α<sup>x</sup> \ U<sup>x</sup> J<sup>o</sup> N ) ε  
2. rK<sup>tr</sup> W IV N M() lSk B L m<sub>T</sub>  
3. character which I have not much skill but less time

1. c U J<sup>o</sup> ( : 2) 2 Portug<sup>l</sup> Lx α R<sup>7</sup>  
2. t M U O: () () Portug<sup>l</sup> Lx I R<sup>d</sup>  
3. to make use of: only one Portug<sup>l</sup> Lexicon I received

1. J<sup>o</sup> ε η ( G<sup>o</sup> 7 α \ η B i<sup>-</sup>  
2. Wld () n<sub>B</sub> 0 Est<sup>m</sup> d I N n<sub>B</sub> b ()r  
3. would have been of esteem had I not been before owner

1. ( α.  
2. 0 1  
3. of it .

(1) See account in D.N.B.



SEMITIC STUDIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
BRITAIN.

The long process of the maturing of Semitic study in England kept pace with the like growth on the continent, and the tracing of that maturity is possibly more a matter of viewing the spread of the learning throughout England rather than of seeing a great intensification of it. There must have been at various periods some scholars whose familiarity with the Eastern Tongues could challenge that of any other scholar of a later period. This is not to forget, however, the coterminate movements in the Semitic field in which the bounds of scholarship were enlarged: and, even remembering this, one could not say (and indeed, some facts seem to point otherwise) that there were not, in the late fifteenth, and in the sixteenth century, men who knew beyond the common boundaries of their age. There may be distinguished, therefore, several historical aspects, amongst which are the studies of early students, the growth of determination to translate the Bible, the production of the authorised version itself, the renewed interest following upon that version with its peculiar intensification as well as popularisation of the study, and finally, the Polyglot Bible and the Heptaglot Lexicon. The rise and fall of the study in Universities and

and in schools, closely follows the rise and fall of the hope or belief that in the achievement of the true text and true translation of the Bible there was something to be added to religion. Without that hope, semitic studies ceased to flourish, until they became part of a purely linguistic or literary interest. The complete understanding of the New Testament was (quite rightly) held to rest upon the complete understanding of the Old. It was all the more necessary to be achieved since upon the individual the burden of understanding was falling more and more as ~~the~~ time went on. The dissociation of Biblical study from religion came only in the period of science and rationalism, and in the period of that sort of nonconformity which did not rely so much upon the strict interpretation of the Text as upon some comprehension of its spirit. What any student immediately realises is that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the study of Hebrew and its associated languages was a matter of utmost importance, a vital matter, upon which few people cared to dispute, and which very few people dared to disparage. To nurture the young upon the Original Holy Tongue was an ideal before the possibilities of which the pedagogical mind grew humble and helpless.

It is not impertinent to say that, at first glance, the number of published books in the seventeenth century dealing with religious or biblical subjects is overwhelming: all other sciences seem to quail before this one, the ramifications of which spread into those other books which deal primarily with other topics. In the matter of sermons alone any subsequent period, prior to our own, could show an equal activity: But in those other studies, upon which sermons are sometimes founded, it is surely not possible that any age poured out so many volumes; tractates, dictionaries, lexicons, commentaries, translations, textbooks, books for the mature and books for the tyro: prophecies of s~~a~~lvation or destruction; calculations historical and mystical; references and quotations in prose and verse, epic and drama; in the newssheets: in the ABC books used for children. But it was not the basis of English culture, which remained in Greek and Latin; for the Judaizers of the time, although zestful and masterly, were held equally obnoxious to the State as to the Church. But it was a fashion or a craze, which, while pursuing a sober and fruitful path in the Universities, swept rather lightheartedly, except amongst the religiously-minded, the length and breadth of Great Britain.

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

Two main problems occupied the minds of those in England who translated the Bible, the rendering into English idiom, and the correction of the current Latin translations from the original texts. In a way, this actually took place in separate stages; ~~for~~, for example, the Geneva or Breeches Bible ~~being~~ a revision of former translations by scholars equipped in the original languages. Towards this end a respectable body of commentary speedily accumulated, and actually outstripped the translators, so that the necessity for new or revised versions continued to be in the minds of scholars. This accumulation of new information, however, was largely collected in critical works or embodied in the polyglottic undertakings, ~~already mentioned~~. In time, therefore, when exact interpretation became again a matter for the scholar and preacher, equipped with his versions, commentaries, and polyglots as well as rabbinical glosses, the English versions tended to fall back into their old positions of the Bibles merely rendered into the mother tongue.

Hallam considered<sup>1</sup> that it is "questionable whether there was either sufficient leisure or adequate knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek

of the Hebrew and Greek languages in the reign of Henry VIII for a thorough censure of the Vulgate text". The same writer rapidly sketches the spread of Oriental learning and the rise of translations in Italy, France and Germany, and other parts of Europe before and after the Reformation. It appeared to him, for example, that the "entire Bible was printed in the Flemish or Dutch tongue within the first thirtysix years of the sixteenth century".

Amongst names cited of eminence in scholarship in this kind of work,<sup>4</sup> Sanctes Pagninus and Sebastian Münster take chief place for their translations of the Old and New Testament, respectively of 1528 (published at Lyons) and 1534 (published at Basle). Two other translations or revisions<sup>b</sup> of the Vulgate are mentioned, the version of Arius Montanus ("chiefly founded on that of Pagninus"), and an edition of the Vulgate by Isidore Clarius, with numerous corrections of the text from the Hebrew. To all of which Hallam adds that it "is doubtful whether any of these translations have much improved upon the Vulgate". Catholics as well as Protestants began to require exact translations.

Protestants and Catholics alike, after the Reformation, pushed on the study of the Oriental tongues and revised the older versions of the Bible, for their own reasons. In England, However, Hallam sees room for controversy with regard to the linguistic and literary equipment of the first translators. Much time has been spent in adducing the extent of this equipment from a general consideration of the state of oriental studies of the time: but with regard to the seventeenth century he agrees that it was an "eminently learned age". It is impossible, however, to discover the particular equipment of individual scholars from such general considerations. The process of revision of the English translation which had gone on from the first edition of Tyndale (whatever his own equipment may have been) simply assumed<sup>6</sup> a more or less final official form in the edition of 1611.

From <sup>an early date in the history</sup> [the earliest times] of the diffusion of Christianity the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament had been translated into Latin, and the difficulties connected with such a situation ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> in a way, resolved in Jerome's Latin version from the original Hebrew. The Vulgate was so good that, without doubt, the earliest vernacular

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vernacular translations could have been entirely, or almost entirely, founded upon it. In England, in any case, translations may have been made before<sup>7</sup> Wycliffe instituted his version, himself translating the gospels, perhaps wholly, and possibly part of the Old Testament,<sup>8</sup> the work being completed and edited by John Purvey before 1400. Yet it was with William Tyndale that the first English translation was made from the original of the New Testament and some part of the Old, ~~the printing of which was~~<sup>the</sup> begun at Cologne in 1525 and completed at Worms, copies being introduced into England. After the culmination of events in 1533, Tyndale set himself to revise his work, the accuracy of which was acknowledged by the revisers in the Authorized Version. The man himself was burned at the stake at Vilvorde in 1535.<sup>9</sup> The complete Scriptures from the original languages, however, came into English through Miles Coverdale. It is reported<sup>10</sup> that Coverdale and Tyndale met at Hamburgh and in 1529, not long before the publication of Tyndale's Pentateuch, *and that* he gave help in the translation. To quote the Introduction<sup>11</sup> to the "English Hexapla" is to make clear the relations of the two translators: "The prophecy of Jonah was the last portion of the Old Testament which Tyndale lived to publish; he was

he was, however, engaged in the succeeding years of his life in translating the historical books as far as the end of the second [in] Chronicles, which translation appears to have remained in the hands of some of his friends - very probably in the possession of John Rogers,<sup>12</sup> afterwards himself in part a translator or reviser of the Scriptures.....in the year 1537, the whole of the portions of Scriptures, which had been translated by the labour of Tyndale, were published together in the Bible which bears the name of Thomas Matthews: in this Bible, those books which had not been translated by Tyndale were supplied out of the version of Myles Coverdale". Coverdale had translated at Antwerp<sup>13</sup> the Bible and Apocrypha from a German version (Zurich 1531) and Latin versions and <sup>wth</sup> <sub>^</sub> the aid of Tyndale's New Testament, the resulting volumes being brought into England in 1535. Modifications were introduced in 1537: in 1539 Coverdale superintended the printing of the "Great Bible" at Paris, and later "Cranmer's Bible", published 1540. The following extract from Styrpe<sup>14</sup> describes the method according to which the Cranmer Bible was produced, and indicates the presence in England of competent scholars: "The archbishop whose mind ran very much upon bringing in the free use of the holy scripture in English among the people,

wth  
^

among the people, put on vigorously a translation of it. And, that it might not come to be prohibited, as it had been, upon pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulness of the translators, he proceeded in this method - First, he began with a translation of the New Testament; taking an old English translation thereof, which he divided into nine ~~parts~~ or ten parts, causing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned bishop, and others to the intent they should make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to send back their parts, so corrected, unto him at Lambeth... and the same course no question he took with the Old Testament". The basis of the revision appears to have been the so-called Matthew's Bible.<sup>15</sup> Coverdale wrote to Cromwell from Paris on June 23, 1538,<sup>16</sup> "we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee, and the Greek, but we set, also, in a private table, the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations, in another table, as shall doubtless delucidate and clear the same".

"It appears" (says my authority)<sup>17</sup> that Coverdale (for that was his department) compared the revised version with the Greek and Latin texts, marking and making a list of variations. These passages

These passages , when they contained any word or sentence in the Latin or Greek which was not in the Hebrew, we shall find that they afterwards inserted in the text itself, in a smaller type and within marks of parenthesis. The "standing text" of the Hebrew with the Chaldee and Greek interpretation, can only indicate, I should imagine, the Complutensian Polyglott which Coverdale, in his editorial care, may have used; certainly no other edition of the Scriptures which had at this time been printed suits the description".<sup>18</sup>

The state of Oriental learning in England was in such low repute, that the suggestion of Cranmer and of the King to have the revision in the hands of the Universities was overridden by their advisers, who declared that the chief learning in the country was to be found in Convocation.

A proposal for another revision of the Bible in which Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius participated, <sup>they</sup> having been invited to England for that <sup>purpose</sup> by the Protector Somerset, and having been made respectively professors in divinity and Hebrew at Cambridge,<sup>19</sup> came to an end on the death of Bucer in 1557. Fagius's death in 1549 had resulted in the calling to his place of Immanuel Tremellius. It had been planned that

~~[It had been planned that]~~ the public lectures of these scholars should tend towards the clear and more exact interpretation of the Biblical texts. The consciousness of the growth of biblical study, manifested in these actions, was also the justification publicly made on behalf of another revision undertaken by the exiles at Geneva, who translated all the New Testament and a good deal of the Old Testament. Coverdale, who returned to Geneva in 1558, was engaged in the work, with whom have been associated the names of John Knox, John Bodleigh, and John Pullain,<sup>21</sup> although both the quantity done by Coverdale, and the actual fact of the co-operation of the others, remains in doubt. The Geneva translators added supplements and notes, which, it is generally agreed, tended to render the original more exactly. The popularity of these notes was such that several editions of the King James Bible were printed with them.<sup>22</sup>

The year 1568 saw another version of the Bible under the guidance of Archbishop Parker. It contained the initials of the translators of its several portions.<sup>23</sup> In the meantime a translation based on the Vulgate was issued from Rheims.

When James ascended the throne of England, the Bibles generally in common use were the Geneva

were the Geneva and the Bishop's Bibles. Accounts have it that James was eager for a new version and responded heartily to the official request for a new translation by Dr Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The king himself proposed the method for the new work, namely that a version should be made by the most eminent scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, and thereafter criticised by ecclesiastics competent in the text and languages. The results were to be brought to the notice of the Privy Council and finally ratified by Royal Authority for sole use in the whole Anglican Establishment. In 1604 fifty four scholars were nominated, as having special qualifications in Hebrew and Greek, whose remarks were gathered together under the direction of Edward Livelie, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge (who died however before the work was really begun), Dr John Harding, Regius Professor at Oxford, and Dr Launcelot Andrews, Dean of Westminster. Actually forty seven names are listed of those engaged on the work. The work began properly in 1607 in a complex and almost incredible fashion, the translators being divided into groups, the basic text being the Bishop's Bible with Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Whitchurch's<sup>24</sup> and the Geneva Bibles as supplementary.

A section of the Bible having been allotted to each company, each man made an individual revision, and the company afterwards met in committee to discuss the translations. As each book was considered in this manner, it circulated amongst all the other committees, and differences of opinion were examined in a general meeting of all the translators. In specially obscure difficulties, any other scholar in the country was to be ready to give his service, while a general message was sent out amongst the clergy demanding their observations on any interesting points. The committees assembled at Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster under the leadership of the ~~Local~~ Professors of Hebrew and Greek and the Deans of Westminster and Chester. The remuneration for the work was practically nil, only accom<sup>m</sup>odation and provision being given in the colleges. The Westminster company, ten in number, took over the Pentateuch and the Historical Books to ~~the~~ Kings inclusive.<sup>25</sup> The President was Dr Launcelot Andrewes, Dean of Westminster: with him were Dr John Overall, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Dr Adrian de Saravia, of Spanish extraction, former Professor of Divinity at Leyden and keeping a school at Southampton, Dr Richard Clarke, Dr John Laifield, whose skill in architecture was (according to report)

(according to report) "much relied on for the fabric of the tabernacle and temple", Dr Leigh, Mr Burgley, Mr King, Mr Thomson, Wilhelm Bedwell, the eminent Arabic scholar of St John's, Cambridge.

The Cambridge committee undertook all the books from Chronicles to the end of the Canticles, the President nominated being Edward Livelie. With him there were assigned, Dr John Richardson, Dr Laurence Chaderton, Francis Dillingham, Mr Andrews (brother to the bishop), Thomas Harrison, Robert Spalding (who succeeded Livelie as Professor of Hebrew), Andrew Bing.

The Oxford Committee undertook the rest of the Old Testament from Isaiah to Malachi and was presided over by Dr John Harding, with whom were associated Dr John Reynolds, Dr Thomas Holland, Dr Richard Kilbye (Regius Professor of Hebrew 1610), Dr Miles Smith (who wrote the Preface and whose diligence earned him the See of Gloucester), Richard Brett, Mr Fairclowe. These three committees worked over the Old Testament. In the meantime three other committees revised the New Testament.

At Oxford the President was Dr Thomas Ravis (died 1609), and with him Dr George Abbott, Dr Richard Eedes, (who died 1604), Dr Giles Tomson, Mr Saville, Dr Peryn, Dr Ravens, Dr Harmer. At Westminster the President was Dr William Barlowe, with whom were Dr Hutchinson,

Dr Hutchinson, Dr Spencer, Mr Fenton, Mr Rabbet, Mr Sanderson, Mr Dakins. At Cambridge with Dr John Dupont, were Dr Brainthwaite, Dr Jeremiah Ratcliffe, Dr Samuel Ward, Andrew Downes, John Boys (regarded as the principal Hebraist of the committee) , Dr Ward.

Two eminent scholars of the day were not appointed to the translating bodies, Hugh Broughton, and William Bedell.

The final stages of the revision came with the selection of two scholars from each ~~company~~ centre, who met everyday at the Stationers Hall for the greater part of a year until the Bible was published. The Authorised Version had all the marks of a national undertaking, and it claimed also to be a translation in the light of the newest scholarship.

Hugh Broughton, who had himself agitated and given public advice for a translation of the Bible, did not permit himself to be passed by unheard.

"Ben Adam he was," said Speght in his Funeral Oration, "as was he, that said Homo sum, I am a man (St Augustine I mean) therefore not free from all infirmities (for then not a man) Yet free, more free from some had he been, had it not rather been through provocation, then his own disposition, which often he protested before witnesses; as I have under their hand-writing to shew, and that on his death-bed."

Himself a great rabbinical scholar, Broughton had not only agitated before and at James' accession for new translations, but had himself provided some, as well as ~~made~~ efforts to turn the New Testament into Hebrew for the benefit of the Jews. In the Epistle to the Learned<sup>er</sup> Nobilitie of England, he discussed the requirements of a good translation:

The holy text must be honored, as sound, holy, pure: heed must be taken that the translator neither flow with lyes nor haue one at all: prophecies spoken in doubtfull termes, for sad present ocasioness, must be cleared by sad study and stayd safty of ancient warrant: termes of equivocation witty in the speaker for familiar and easy matters, must be looked unto, that a translator drawe them not unto foolish & ridiculous senses: Constant memorye to translate the same often repeated in the same sort is most needefull. Facilitie of phrase, defended by the new Testament, the Septuagint, and writers old indifferent for all nations, must be had. And here in, the stately wordes of the new Testament, in Greeke, taken from the Septuagint, may stand profitable in the margent through the old. Also where the later repeat the former holy writers, therein as it were commenting upon them, that should in all clearnes be expressed and noted. These be pointes of necessitie...and speach of all shalbe used, by your honorable patience.

From Tyndale's time a curious affinity had been assured between the English and Hebrew idioms, an accident perhaps more entirely due to the translator's genius than used to be allowed, and to this strangeness and familiarity combined, and to the archaic mode of the earlier translations, the Authorised Version clung largely both with reverence and success. It was an erudite age that produced this summing-up of oriental scholarship, but the problem that will

problem that will continue to engage speculation is the genesis of the literary success, and, indeed, unity of the work, coming as it did through so many hands and through so many committees. The net result of all these labours, nevertheless, appears to be not a new translation but a revision of the Bishop's Bible.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>(a)</sup>  
The Cambridge History of English Literature has it that "whilst the Authorised Version of the Bible itself marked an era, the progress of oriental learning was carried to far greater heights in the succeeding half century". The spread of the holy learning was of amazing rapidity, and was due no doubt partly to the national interest in the biblical undertaking and to the fact that the translators became the teachers of the generation whose scholarship rouses so much admiration. The knowledge of Hebrew, for example, almost became as requisite in the equipment of the man of university culture, <sup>layman or cleric</sup> lay as well as clergy, as Greek and Latin.

..."Theology", says the Cambridge History,<sup>29</sup> had full sway in the Universities, and, as students left the University, their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew became contributory to the great divinity stream... Grammar schools (public and private) were particularly numerous in this period, and managed to cast a Scriptural and theological colour around

(a) C.H.E.L. in matters of this kind, is not exact and dependable.

(theological colour around] ordinary instruction".

In fact, however, the lustre of the time comes from a few extraordinary men, not so much of simple scholarship as of sheer genius. As for the rest, the general atmosphere of Hebraic learning in the country, it was no unreasonable educational theory to instruct youth according to the flavour as well as the light of what was considered to be the fundamental documents of religion and morality. [In an age when Judaizing tendencies were strong, it is not surprising that other tendencies take some resemblances from them.]

sch.

The production of the London Polyglot, and the Heptaglot Lexicon marked the end of the religious aspect of Eastern Learning: the languages, for their own sake and for other literature, were being cultivated, and the range of the tongues was being extended. The Walton Bible itself suppressed further demands for revision of the English Version, and itself would have been as great a failure in 1669 as Castell's Heptaglot Lexicon proved to be. For the public at large, either with their expositors, or with their personal confidence in the spirit of the sacred Text, the Authorised Version was enough. For the new scholarship, the Authorised Version covered only a small part of the field, and that, to some extent, inadequately.

The personal genius of scholars overshadows the actual contributions they make to learning, and the encomiums that were heaped upon the scholars of the second half of the seventeenth century, did no more than repeat the praises of those of the first half. Of Edward Livelie, who died in 1604 as the Authorised Version was about to be begun, Playfere said:<sup>30</sup>

"He was professor of the Hebrew tongue in this University for thirty years. He wrote a book of Annotations upon the first five small Prophets....and many notes, neither unpleasant nor unprofitable to be read, are set out of the Rabbins....."

Lament, lament, all of you, of the Town as well as of the University, because our school hath lost such a singular ornament of this age, because our Churches have lost such a faithful and sincere servant of Christ".

#### REVISIONS IN SCOTLAND.

The people in Scotland had had to be content with the various English versions of the Bible which came to their hands, but the Church<sup>31</sup> was not unaware, for example, in 1601, of the need for the revision. The last session of the General Assembly in May of that year took ample cognisance of it and made moves to effect a remedy.

It being meant be sundrje of the brethern, that there was sundrie errours that merited to be correctit in the vulgar translatioun of the Byble, and of the Psalmes in meetter; as also that there are sundrie prayers in the Psalme Booke quilk wold be altered, in respect they are not convenient for the tyme: in the quilk heids the Assemblie hes concludit as follows.

~~the Assemblée has concluded as follows.~~

First, Anent the translation of the Byble:  
That every one of the Brethern who has best  
knowledge in the languages, imploy thair travells  
in sundrie parts of the vulgar translation  
in the Byble, that needs to be mendit, and to  
conferre the same together at the assemblée.

Anent the translation of the Psalmes in  
meeter; It is ordainit, that the same be revisit  
be Mr Robert Pont<sup>32</sup>, Minister of Sanct Cuthberts  
Kirk, and his travelks to be revisit at the  
nixt Assemblée".

The matter of the Psalms in metre continued to  
occupy the Assembly, who gave thanks to the various  
workers on the problem at the Assembly of January 1,  
1650. The ~~edition~~<sup>32</sup> of the Psalms printed at Edinburgh  
by Lekprevik in 1615 contained forty by Sternehold  
and thirty seven by Hopkins, besides others by Kethe,  
Whittingham, Norton (the collaborator of Sackville  
in Gorboduc), Pulley, and Pont. In 1643 Scotland  
was given the versions of Francis Rous, and it  
was the revision of this version which concerned  
the Assemblies from 1647 onwards. The following  
passage from Laing<sup>34</sup>, gives an account of its history.

"In tracing the origin of our present Version  
of the Psalms, it may be noticed as a singular  
circumstance that this Country (Scotland) should  
have been indebted, in the first instance, for the  
translation that was adopted to a resolution of  
the House of Commons. It is well known that a  
similar design with that contemplated by Charles  
the first of bringing about a Uniformity in the  
doctrine, discipline, and form of Church-government  
and worship in both Kingdoms, was nearly accomplished  
by the Presbyterians in England. The labours of the  
Westminster Assembly in England were chiefly directed  
to promote this object; and a New Version of the  
Psalms was specially recommended to their notice.

~~Specialy recommended to their notice.~~ Several metrical versions had been previously published in England in the view of superseding Sternholde's; and although considerable exertions were made, chiefly in the House of Lords, to adopt a translation by Mr Wm. Barton, the preference was awarded by the English Parliament to that by Mr Francis Rous, one of their own members and a man of great learning and distinction. He himself states in the preface to his Psalms, printed in 1643, that many passages in the old version "seemed to call aloud for amendment", of which he selected "some patternes"; but "apprehending many years past (which experience hath showed to be a true conjecture), that a forme wholly new would not please many, who are fastned to things usual and accustomed, I assaied only to change some pieces of the usual version, even such as seemed to call aloud, and, as it were, undeniably for a change. These being seen, it was desired that they should be increased; which being done, they are here subjoined".

A revised version was brought out in 1646. The General Assembly <sup>35</sup> put this issue in the hands of John Adamson and John Row. Adamson was a poet and Row was a fine Hebrew scholar. Various opinions continued to be canvassed, copies were made and circulated. The afternoon session of Nov. 20, 1649 was spent wholly in reading and examining the result, and much of the time to November 23 was passed in this work. On that day, an Act was passed for establishing and authorising the new Psalms, as from May 1, 1650. On January 1, formal thanks were extended to Adamson, Zacharie Boyd and Robert Lowrie for their useful travail in correcting the old and compiling the new paraphrase. There was considerable ~~anx~~ anxiety not only to have the Psalms brought nearer the Hebrew but to have them in language sufficiently worthy of the originals.

Notes

1. A.M. Hyamson, Hist. of Jews in England, cap. xvi.
2. Hallam, Hist. of Europ. Lit. vol. 1. p. 385. par. 36.
3. Hallam, cit. pp. 220ff.
4. Hallam, cit. p. p. 385ff.
5. Hallam, vol. 2. p. 95. Montanus and Is. Clarius were Catholics.
6. The wording of Hallam, vol. 2. p. 455, par. 79.
7. See Intro. to the English Hexapla (E.H.) p. 23.
8. DNB. Wycliffe.
9. DNB and Intro. to E.H.
10. See E.H. quoting from Fox.
11. E.H. cit. p. 56.
12. DNB. 1500?-1555. Intimate with Tyndale and a convert to Protestantism: supplied prefatory matter and marginal notes and edited Tyndale's version at Antwerp 1537 (Matthews Bible): the dedication signed with the pseudonym "Thomas Matthew". Sentenced 1555 and burned at Smithfield, the first victim of the "Marian Persecution."
13. DNB.
14. E.H. cit. p. 79 quoting from Styrpe's Cranmer, Fox's Ms.
15. E.H. cit.
16. E.H. cit. p. 84: spelling modernised.
17. E.H. cit. p. 85.
18. In 1539 there was a "recension of Matthew's Bible" by Richard Taverner (1505-1569). On Feb. 6. 1564/5 Sandys complained to Parker that the translation of Cranmer's bible was too slavish in following Munster. Evidence seems to justify any close following, rather than otherwise. See E.H. cit. p. 138.
19. Fagius Hebrew Reader at Cambridge 1549: he had been Professor at Strasburg 1544-6 and at Heidelberg, 1546-9. Generally speaking all competent lecturers made a practice of treating of the difficulties of the biblical texts.
20. E.H. cit. p. 130.
21. JJPullain. See DNB. 1517-1565: deprived of his rectory at Mary's accession but restored by Elizabeth. In the interval was at Geneva. The New Testament is dated 1557.
22. E.H. cit. p. 132
23. E.H. cit. Amongst names so indicated and identified, at end of Pentateuch Wm Alley, Bp. of Exeter: end of 2nd bk. of Samuel, Richard Davies Bp. of St Davids: end of 2nd, bk. of Chronicles, Edwin Sandys (Wigorensis): end of bk. of Job. Andrew Peerson, prebend of Canterbury: end of bk. of Psalms, either Thomas Bentham Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry or Thomas Becon. End of Canticles, Andrew Perne: end of Lamentations, Robert (Wintonensis)?: end of Ezekiel and Daniel, either Thomas Cole of Lincolnshire or Thomas Bentham, considered the most learned in Hebrew of all those participating: end of Minor Prophets, Edmund Grindall, Bp. of London: end of

Notes 2.

- London: end of Apocrypha, Johannes Norwicensis: end of Gospels and Acts, Richardus Eliensis(?): end of Epistle to Romans, Gabriel Goodman, Dn of Westminster: remainder of N.T. has no initials. This Bible known as Bishop's Bible or Matthew Parker's Bible: not regarded as equal to Geneva Bible: the basis of A.V. which was executed (see always E.H.) on different principles and differs widely in general characteristics.
24. Whitchurch (see DNB) with Rbt. Grafton distributed in England copies of Bibles in English: published the Matthews Bible (Antwerp): Coverdale's corrected version of N.T. (Paris 1538): also published the "Great Bible" London 1539.
25. E.H. cit.
26. August 7. 1612. See Broughton's Works ed. Lightfoot, Intro. Life.
27. Written 1597: pub. 1599: see DNB. Works, cit.
28. Cf. ref. in Hyamson loc. cit.
29. CHEL vol. vii. pp. 316ff.
30. Playfere's Funeral Sermon on Lively: see print in Todd's Memoirs of Brian Walton, cit. passim.
31. Book of the Universal Kirk, 1601, May 16. ed. Maitland Club.
32. Rbt. Pont (see DNB) 1524-1606.
33. See Laing's ed. of Baillie's Journal, pp. 526ff.
34. Ed. Baillie's Jnl., cit.
35. Proceedings of Commission of General Assembly, 1647, July 8. Scott. Hist. Soc. See also there footnote 1.
- 32a In 1631 appeared Dr Wm Alexander of Inverurie translation of the Psalms: purporting to be by Kg. James Calderwood published objections bit between 1631 & 1637 when its reception was enforced by proclamation, it was revised and enlarged. See Bann miscell.

"POLYGLOTTIC LEARNING"

[The use of] the phrase "Holy Tongues" <sup>denoted</sup> ~~implied~~ the languages of the Bible, in which, in this connection were included Greek and Arabic.<sup>?</sup> The meaning was extended in the same direction to take in such languages as were normally studied by students of Holy Writ, until the term "Polyglottic" was similarly applied. "Polyglottic Learning" applied primarily to the "sacred tongues" and those connected with them. Aramaic? (Ch. 100)

The appearance in Europe of Polyglot Lexicons increased the scope and encouraged the production of books of minor quality for students. These Lexicons completed the work begun in the various kinds of Bibles being issued about the same time. The most famous of such Bibles and Lexicons included grammatical apparatus, and generally speaking, the Bibles and Lexicons were associated. The four great ~~of~~ Bibles of this sort given to Europe were the Complutensian Bible, the Royal or Spanish Polyglot, the Polyglot of <sup>Paris</sup> ~~Heidelberg~~, and the London Polyglot. the Paris copy

The Complutensian Bible (1502-1517) gave texts in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, and was issued in six folio volumes. In this production it had been thought wise to have the Hebrew text corrected by Jewish converts. The Royal Polyglot was issued at Antwerp by Christopher

x

The Heidelberg Polyglot is the same second rank.

[Christopher] Plantinus, in eight folio volumes (1569-1572), the scope of the texts being enlarged to include Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Chaldaic. Arias Montanus, famous for three generations, supervised the printing. To the Complutensian texts here incorporated and extended, there were added the Chaldaic translation of the Old Testament, and the Latin translation of the Old Testament of Sanctes Pagninus with the corrections of Arias Montanus. Grammars and lexicons of the several tongues being appended, the work was a most satisfactory gift to the learned world.

Arias here

The Heidelberg Polyglot (1586), of two folio volumes, contained Hebrew and Greek texts, the Latin versions of Jerome and Pagninus and the notes of Vatablus. The margins of this printing contained idioms and roots of difficult words in order to facilitate study and translation.

delete

The London Polyglot issued by Brian Walton, and the Paris Polyglot issued by Le Jay comprise the same materials, the Le Jay Bible (which ruined its publisher and was finally sold as wastepaper) being the basis of Walton's work which is to be regarded as a cheaper, corrected and improved version.

The Paris Polyglot was issued in 1645 "in ten sumptuous volumes"<sup>2</sup>

This undertaking, so unfortunate in its consequences for the promoter, comprised the Antwerp Polyglot with additional texts in Arabic and Samaritan. After careful printing over the greater part of seventeen years it was hurriedly completed without supplementary apparatus. To the Paris Bibles, therefore, Walton added texts in Persian and Ethiopic, an appendix of additional Targums, and complete apparatus. Alphabetical Tables of the languages contained and some others completed the work.

The Castell Heptaglot Lexicon, crowned the work of the London Polyglot by completing the linguistic side of the enterprise, and not this one enterprise only but the work of over a hundred and fifty years research and compilation, being supplementary to the texts provided by his former employer, <sup>Walton</sup> who designated him

Vir in quo Eruditio summa, magnaque  
animi modestia convenere etc..

(Ms Lands.987. 69)

The immense typographical labour within the six volumes of the London Polyglot ought to be deemed worthy of remembrance . Mr Reed points out that each double page, when open, comprises the several versions of the same passage in parallel columns, so set that

so set that each exactly comprehends the same amount of text. Of the actual printing, it is thought that the Hebrew only is least well done, and the production a triumph of seventeenth century oriental typographical work. The Targums and the Chaldaic text are in Hebrew characters, the Hebrew text is pointed, and Rabbinical characters (cut in wood) are employed in the Prolegomena. These types were almost entirely used by Castell, who also issued his two volumes of the Lexicon in uniform style and size.

For such printing special workmen had to be trained and employed. Amongst other delays which Castell suffered, he was greatly incommoded by the death of nine of his compositors during the Plague, after which he was put to the task of training other workers. Castell also printed in Ethiopic on behalf of

*for* (Iob) Ludolf, and in 1660 his multilingual Sol Oriens. The first volume of the Lexicon was issued for subscribers about 1663/4: and after five years delay, the full issue with the second volume, and the Persian Lexicon of Golius was made in 1669.

Hebrew type was for long put to many uses before printing in other Eastern languages was established.

The first Hebrew printing type (the earliest to be employed, not for Hebrew only of the sacred tongues, but for the others also) appeared <sup>apparently</sup> supposedly about 1475 in Germany.<sup>5</sup> Italy followed in the same year in a Hebrew work in four volumes,<sup>6</sup> and with some rude but neat Rabbinical characters.<sup>7</sup> By 1488 the entire Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino, by a family of German Jews.<sup>8</sup> Excellency of type was achieved first by Bomberg at his press in Venice in 1517 when he issued his famous Bible. France followed Italy in some small issues until 1520, when the appearance of Kimhi's Grammar brought the first Parisian work of a book wholly printed in Hebrew. Hebrew printing progressed in France and in Spain, but not so clearly in Germany. In Switzerland and the Low Countries Hebrew typography was well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the Netherlands rapidly became a centre of fine printing of this sort.

The first rude characters, cut in wood, that appeared in England ~~was~~ in de Worde's printing of Wakefield's Oration in 1524.<sup>9</sup> The lack of types had led to the omission of the third part of the book. The use of woodcuts of Hebrew words was continued in J. Day's printing of Humfrey's "Life of Bishop Jewel" in 1573. But twenty years passed before any quantity of Hebrew type was used: and then it had to play many

had to play many parts.<sup>10</sup> Mr Reed says that the Hebrew fount used in Walton's Bibles was probably the first important fount cut and used in the country: the other founts , a particularly fine achievement when the history of polyglottic printing is considered, gave more satisfaction to the critics. It has already been pointed out that Walton had no matrices for his Rabbinical characters.

It is presumed by biographers that Walton acquired his equipment in the Eastern tongues after he went to Oxford in the troubles of the Civil War. It is also generally assumed that the idea of the Bibles originated there<sup>11</sup>. After considerable cogitations with friends and patrons, Walton published his first advertisement in 1652, entitled a "Brief Description of an Edition of the Bible"<sup>12</sup> in which Hebrew, Samaritan and Greek texts were mentioned, and "the most ancient translations of the Jewish and Christian Churches", the Septuagint, Chaldaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Persian, with Latin translations . The proposals and descriptions were accompanied by a specimen sheet containing the first twelve verses of the first chapter of Genesis, polyglottically set out with Latin translation. On one side<sup>13</sup> stood the Hebrew with inter-linear translation in Latin, the Vulgate version, the Septuagint version with Latin translation, the Chaldaic

the Chaldaic Paraphrase and translation, and the Samaritan version. On the other side stood the Syriac with translation, the Arabic with translation, the translation of the Samaritan, and the Persian with translation. The actual printer of this specimen was James Flesher of London and not the more renowned Roycroft of the Bibles and Lexicon. The subscription demanded by the promoter was £10 a copy, or £50 for six copies. The estimated cost of the first volume was £1500, and succeeding volumes, £1200. Months before the first volume went to the printers, £9000 had already been subscribed. The first volume was complete before September 1654: Walton's "Introductio" for the benefit of subscribers followed it and was a fair sign of confidence and the promoter's acumen. The second volume was ready for 1655: the third for 1656: the remainder before the end of 1657. Except for incorrect printing of the Hebrew in the later volumes, the work was astonishing in its accuracy, fineness and speed: <sup>14</sup> its composition was as follows.

Volume one contained Prolegomena, and the Pentateuch in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic and Samaritan: volume two, <sup>h</sup>Josua to Esther in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic: volume three, Job to Malachi in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic, the Psalms in the same and in Ethiopic: volume four, the Apocrypha, in Greek, Latin, Syriac and a great part in Arabic, to which was added

to which was added as appendix two Chaldaic Targums and a Persic Pentateuch: volume five, the New Testament; volume six, the Variant Readings. [The text of the Chaldaic and of the Targums is printed in Hebrew characters.] - *of course no other way possible* *Exclde*

The advertisement had given the names of Dr Stokes,<sup>15</sup> Mr Wheeloc,<sup>16</sup> Mr Thorndike,<sup>17</sup> Mr Pocock,<sup>18</sup> Mr Geaves,<sup>19</sup> Mr Vicars,<sup>20</sup> Mr Smith,<sup>21</sup> and Walton as the principal overseers and correctors. The general advisory committee included the Lord Primate,<sup>22</sup> Selden,<sup>23</sup> Dr Sheldon,<sup>24</sup> Dr Sanderson,<sup>25</sup> Dr Sterne,<sup>26</sup> and Dr Hammond.<sup>27</sup> Hyde took Wheeloc's place on his death in 1653. There were many other advisers, as Lightfoot, who declined to take a direct part in the work. The chief assistants were Alexander Huish, Edmund Castell, and Samuel Clarke.

Castell let it be widely known to his friends that in the work of the Bible he had supervised the texts in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Samaritan, Arabic, Syriac and Ethiopic, as well as half of the Persian, leaving little but the Latin and Greek outside his office. The extraordinary equipment, augmented in detail by the Biblical work, which he brought to his own enterprise, must command respect.

The general feeling regarding Walton's Polyglot in England is well exhibited in the notice taken of it by one whose first work was the education of children, Charles Hoole.<sup>29</sup>

"...if one desire to learne those Oriental Tongues, in which the great Bible is now happily printed, (by the great vigilance and industrie of Dr Walton, who hath carried on the Work to the honour of the Nation, the comfort of the poor Church of England, and the encouragement of good literature, in the midst of distracting times) he may make use of Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum Orientalium, and of the Lexicon (which I conceive ere this time is well nigh finished) made of purpose to explicate the words of the Bible, according to their several Languages; viz. Hebrew, Chaldie, Samaritane, Syriack, Arabick, Persian, Aethiopick, Armenian, and Coptick, which is a kinde of Aegyptian Tongue."

The promise of the speedy appearance of Castell's supplement to the Bibles was not fulfilled, and nine years were to pass before Hoole's readers could handle a copy of the Lexicon in its complete form. Hoole himself may have seen the first volume before he died in 1667. But in the decade that passed such enthusiasm vanished: subscribers had died or defaulted: booksellers were antagonistic because the Lexicon had been printed entirely in the editor's interest: few schoolmasters contemplated equipping themselves with such a learning to teach their pupils.

Polyglottic Learning

- (1) Le Jay's enterprise: see Nichols Lit.Anec.vol.iv on Polyglotts and the note on Le Jay. Robert Baillie (Journal Oct.13.1647 Letter to Wm.Spang) wondered "who will give a thousand merks for a Bible of ten volumes.?" He as a student and teacher would have preferred the various Bibles to have been issued separately. Walton's cheaper issue, especially with its added merits, offered the best solution. *Hebrew...*
- (2) T.B. Reed. "History of Typography".
- (3) The following note is taken from Mr Reed's book, to which most of the typographical information here is due. "In addition to the four great Bibles, the following polyglot versions had also appeared before 1657;-1516 Psalter in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, published by Porrus at Genoa. 1518 Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, by Potken at Cologne. 1546 Pentateuch in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Persian, Arabic, at Constantinople (but all in Hebrew type). 1547 Pentateuch in Hebrew, Spanish and modern Greek, at Constantinople. 1586 Bible in Hebrew, Greek, Latin (two versions) at Heidelberg. 1599 Bible (portions) in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic etc, by Hutterus at Nuremberg." Polyglot lexicons are considered elsewhere.
- (4) T.B.Reed op.cit.
- (5) *for* T.B.Reed op.cit. and subsequent notes. The book was printed by Conrad Fyner at Esslingen in Wirtenburg, and entitled "Tractatus contra perfidos Judaeos".
- (6) Arba Turim of Rabbi Jacob ben Ascher.
- (7) Salamon Jarchi's Commentary on the Pentateuch by Abraham ben Garton ben Isaac.
- (8) T.B.Reed cit.
- (9) See Reed. "Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium Linguarum".
- (10) See Reed's account of Oriental typography in England.
- (11) Compare Todd Memoirs of Brian Walton, and D.N.B.
- (12) See Todd, op.cit. pp 49ff and Reed who quotes from the same.
- (13) Todd and Reed refer to a copy said to be in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.
- (14) Taken from T.B.Reed's analysis.
- (15) David Stokes 1591-1669. M.A. and Fellow of Peterhouse Cambridge 1618:D.D. 1630. Incorporated at Oxford 1645. D.N.B.
- (16) Abraham Wheeloc 1593-1653. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge 1618. Librarian 1629-53. Professor of Arabic 1630: also a Persian scholar. D.N.B.

Polyglottic Learning.

- (17) Herbert Thorndike 1598-1673. M.A. Trinity College, 1620: Hebrew Lecturer: contributed the Syriac portion to the Polyglot. D.N.B.
- (18) Edward Pocock 1604-1691. Magdalen Hall and Corpus Christi, Oxford; M.A. 1626. First Oxford Professor of Arabic 1636: Hebrew Professor 1648. "His learning was the admiration of Europe". D.N.B.
- (19) Thomas Greaves 1612-1676. Corpus Christi, Oxford: deputy Reader of Arabic 1637: also a Persian scholar of note. D.N.B.
- (20) John Viccars 1604-1660. B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge, 1622. M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford 1625.
- (21) *J. Miles Smith (1618-1671) Magd. Coll. Oxon. 1638. Rec. Coll. Secy. of the Bodleian Library.*
- (22) The Lord Primate. James Ussher (1581-1656) was a prime encourager of the Polyglot: the Archbishop of Canterbury, is not meant here, but the Primate of Ireland. See D.N.B.
- (23) John Selden 1584-1654 Jurist and Orientalist: his Oriental MSS were left to the Bodleian Library: with Ussher, he promoted the enterprise and procured and <sup>lent</sup> loaned MSS. See D.N.B.
- (24) Gilbert Sheldon 1598-1677. M.A. Oxford 1620: B.A. at Oxford 1618, incorporated at Cambridge 1619. ~~Bishop~~ D.D. 1634. He became Bishop of London at the Restoration, and succeeded Juxon as Primate in 1663. to whom, in his old age he had acted as deputy. See D.N.B.
- (25) Robert Sanderson 1587-1663. D.D. Oxford 1636. Regius Professor of Divinity 1642. Bishop of Lincoln 1660. D.N.B.
- (26) Richard Sterne 1596-1683 M.A. Cambridge 1618: D.D. 1630: Archbishop of York 1664. D.N.B.
- (27) Henry Hammond 1605-1660. M.A. Oxford 1625: D.D. 1639: New Testament scholar: see D.N.B.
- (28) E.g. Walton to Ussher July 18 1653, Parr's Usher.
- (29) "A New Discovery" etc. by Chas. Hoole, London 1660: edited by E.T. Campagnac. The Master's Method: Cap. III.

The most effective patrons of the Biblical project were Ussher and Selden, whose efforts on its behalf both in the way of obtaining subscriptions and supplying and procuring material and necessary aid and sympathy were equalled by none. The editor engaged also in correspondence with scholars at home and abroad, submitting to expert and encouraging eyes each new detail of the project; the matter of the quality of paper to be used in the volumes, as well as the arrangement of the texts, was equally canvassed and assiduously considered.<sup>21</sup> Just as scholars of note were applauded and respected both by Parliament and Court during and after the revolution, so the great Polyglot was considered above politics. The Parliament gave its encouragement to the work, the Protector allowed paper to be imported duty-free, and Walton declared in his revised Preface, that the exiled King would have taken the total burden of expense had circumstances permitted. It was a great national undertaking, from which the rest of the learned world expected great results. They were not disappointed. The once obscure Brian Walton became a curiosity and a legend: his fame transcended his own contributions to the work which he directed. The Bibles were issued without more than the degree of loss inevitable in such undertakings, and brought

meaning?

(and brought) to Walton and most of his collaborators their rewards in good time. The greater number of scholars associated in the work were well enough disposed to the King. To these the Restoration brought its preferments, restorations, bishoprics, and university offices. Almost alone of them all, Edmund Castell, Walton's chief paid assistant, who had exerted himself for the work in extraordinary ways generally acknowledged, but whose own family had some Parliamentary complications in the Protector's time, remained without official recognition. It is true that he had no benefice to which to be restored, apparently never having been actually deprived, and that he had held no university office: it is also true that the time for his promotion might yet have been to come, for he also, like Walton, now received the encouragement and approbation of all those great men connected with the first project, to go on with his own work.

Before the actual issue of the last volumes of the London Polyglot, the public announcement of the association of Castell, Hujish and Clarke, with the approval of Walton, and the testimonials of every considerable Orientalist and Churchman in England, was printed and circulated. The antecedent activities of these men guaranteed the new work, for which materials had been accumulating since the editing of the Bibles began. A late advertisement is as follows.

The Heptaglot Lexicon.

"When the great work of the Polyglot Bibles was upon designe, it was the advice of the most reverend Lord Primate of Ireland, Bishop Walton, Mr Selden, and many others, that no alteration at all should be made in our edition from the French Bibles, which were proposed for our copy: the most yielded to, was but of typographical errors only, which also was not don without the reluctancy of some: by which means, not a few wainfuls of foule and fals translations have passed in our Bibles, which were studiously permitted, and the correction of them referd to an intended Lexicon, which men of greatest honor and quality for learning, both at home and abroad, with earnestnes: desired might be compiled for use of our Bibles, like as the Spanish had for theirs; this of the Heptaglot being so much the more necessary, in regard of sundry languages in the Polyglot Bibles, which had never any helps for the knowledg of them before printed. By the use of which Heptaglot, made not for printed books only in such languages but MSS. when but the alfabet of them is attained, it will not be difficult for any, with but a very litle skill in Hebrew, to rectifie all the gross mistakes committed in the several translations, which for the most part, are all taken notice of in the said Lexicon. Wherin farther, not a few, especially of Hebrew brotherles words, that occur but once in all the sacred text, very absurdly expounded the most of the modern Jewes, who are made by (most) guides both to the English, and almost all the European translations, thei are heer, from the best and purest antiquity, the genius of the most conterminat Eastern languages, and the meetest accordance with the matter, much more aptly and appositely rendred. Nor be they only biblical errors, but those of the cheifest Oriental lexicographers, Buxtorf for the Chaldea, Ferrarius for the Syriaque, Wemmars for the Ethiopique, Morinus for the Samaritan, Golius, Giggeius, Ec. for the Arabique as also of the principal authòrs in all the aforesaid languages, which are in this work very often amended: besides many larg additions to them all of numberles words, some of them sent from forrain professors, not to be found in any printed Lexicon. And not words only, but things of chiefest concern and use, are frequently mentioned in this work; the faith, rites, lawes, proverbs, physical cures, Ec. of the Jewes, Syrians, Samaritans,

of the Jewes, Syrians, Samaritans, Ethiopians, and Persians, not from the vain repast of talking travellers, but taken out of the best and most authentique records and writings of every nation. Proper names, intended at first to be reserved for another distinct work, are amply inserted into this; and the most classical authors in every language quoted ordinarily with the page and line. The Persian tongue, of very great affinity both for the words and the fabrique of it with our English, of great extent in two of the World's cheif empires, the Turkish and Persian, wherein are to be found extraordinary great variety of learned authors in every art and science; which had never before any printed vocabulary, hath in this work, besides sundry of (their) MS Lexicons, the twenty year's labor of the eminent Dr Golius, who, out of more than three hundred Persian authors, gathered a larg collection in folio, intirely transfused into the Heptaglot; of which many singukar and most advantageous uses may, and will be made in succeeding ages, for the unimagined advancement and increas of sacred and secular learning".

Castell wrote this account of the Heptaglot Lexicon about the time of its completion as the referenes in it to Golius' Persian Lexicon show. It throws a curious light on the genesis of his scheme, the compilers of the London Polyglot having been so restricted in their work, that an appendix containing corrections of errors in the Bibles was to be issued after it. Unless Castell had been previously engaged on some lexicographical work of his own, the project began after he came to assist Walton, so that it was neither his scheme nor entirely under his control but progressed with the Biblical work. The materials however came to be so extensive, that no doubt his suggestion for

for the issue of a regular dictionary, after the manner of similar publications, was welcomed, and the work given over to his supervision, until at last, with the withdrawal of Walton from active work, the further accumulation of materials, the further extension of the dictionary's scope, and financial reasons, he was placed at the head of an independent adventure. Apart from more important reasons and more enduring expectations there may have been in this new project some prospect of getting back the money he had invested in the Bibles. Having been, also, an important agent in the finding of subscribers to Walton's work, Castell might hope to have equal success with regard to his own.

While opening up for scholarship the hitherto uncharted regions of Turkish and Persian literature, the lexicographer could not but express the traditional advantages of "unimagined advancement and increase of sacred ... learning". In his last years Castell was still convinced that there was soon to be a great light breaking from the East, and that the West ought to be prepared for it. There were many who doubted the religious claims which Castell made for his Lexicon, just as there had been many who doubted the similar claims made by Walton, concerning whose work, Dr Boate wrote to

of [Dr Boate wrote to] Usher<sup>2</sup>, who sponsored the enter-  
 prise, that he " was of the opinion that that  
 Design was not of so high a Concernment for the  
 advancement of true Religion, as the Authors  
 thereof did perswade themselves; and yet he  
 thought very well of it, and held it to be of  
 great use, pro omnibus Literarum studiosis, if  
 it were done as it should be". Boate had a  
 variety of reasons for fearing the Bibles might  
 not be done as they should, and it ought to be  
 noticed that he objected to the following of the  
 Paris texts in the Syriac and Arabic, although on  
 the grounds of alleged interpolations. It seemed  
 to him, if the work was primarily to be with  
 reference to the Bible, that it would be enough  
 to omit the Persian and merely notice its  
 discrepancies <sup>with</sup> to the Chaldaic and Samaritan. The  
 ends of scholarship, however, he was sensible  
 might be better served if manuscripts could be  
 obtained of the Syriac and Arabic. In this respect,  
 Castell's work would have satisfied him. And in  
 1656 both Walton and Castell applied to Lightfoot<sup>3</sup>  
 for the loan of a Syriac "copy of the Prophets" in  
 the University Library. Pressure from outside, and  
 the growth of Castell's scheme, brought some  
 unexpected improvements to the Bible itself.

The further criticisms of such men as <sup>4)</sup>Boate, who looked mainly for linguistic achievement, and correctness of text, were met in the enlarged plan of Castell's undertaking. It was 1657, actually, which saw the first public appeal on behalf of the new undertaking. In March, William Sancroft <sup>5</sup> (then abroad) was informed by George Davenport that the great Bibles were reported to be in the way of completion by Easter and that new propositions were being sent out for a Lexicon of the languages.

In the meantime the scholars abroad showed great interest and extended their encouragements, amongst whom were Buxtorf and Hottinger, besides those whose work was later incorporated by Castell, including several obscure students who aided by lending manuscripts or by making or sending collections. The German scholar, Hottinger, was meanwhile himself revolving plans for the production of his own book, the Etymologicum Orientale; sive Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton, published at Frankfurt in 1661, into which he was to incorporate Castell's work, with gracious acknowledgements, especially his list of obscure words peculiar to the Pentateuch and his observations on the Samaritan, as well as what he required from other parts of the

other parts of the London Polyglot. It may be (but it is purely conjecture) that Castell's first linguistic interest was this list of "brotherless" Hebrew words, and his extended study, that of the Samaritan tongue, which, indeed, he specially handled when working for Walton, and on account of which he received the delighted commendation of Robert Baillie<sup>b</sup> of Glasgow, whose own interests were largely pedagogical. A contrast is invited between Hottinger's work and Castell's, but it is clear that these scholars were actuated by entirely different motives. Hottinger was attempting once again the etymological adventures which a later generation was to condemn and stigmatize as the barrier to true scholarship. He arranged his Heptaglot in five parallel columns of which one demonstrated the Harmony of Hebrew with the other tongues, and another, the Harmony of the other tongues with each other. The seven languages were Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Rabbinical Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Arabic. In contrast to Hottinger, Castell was producing a greater work, and his results, if not his foremost conscious aims, were of an entirely different stamp<sup>7</sup>. The arrangement, however, of the Lexicon Heptaglotton, provided for this sort of study.

It is probably true that the etymological goal lay behind every polyglot undertaking of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There had been Wasserus<sup>8</sup> in Greek,<sup>9</sup> Latin, Gothic, German, Spanish, French, English, and other languages, who had compared and made derivations from the Hebrew. Other scholars in this field had been Thomas Hayne, Postel, Avenarius, and (most happily) Georgius Cruciger who had demonstrated the Harmony of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German with the great applause of the erudite. The Frenchman, Stephanus Guichartus, had enlarged the field by bringing together Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, Belgic, English, Swedish, Danish, to be followed by the Englishman, William Lamphagh, who most diligently collected Latin, Greek and English words to compare with the Hebrew in the Epitomen of Buxtorf's Lexicon.<sup>10</sup> The industry of Scaliger, Casaubon, Megiserus and Martinius, was considered valuable.<sup>11</sup> In finding the affinity of Persian and English, the remarks in Graeve's Grammar<sup>12</sup> were in high esteem, and were available in the Apparatus to the Walton Bibles. The researches of English philologers had not been little esteemed by compilers of such books, amongst whom, of European repute,<sup>13</sup> were Henry Jacob of Merton College, Oxford,

2) Henry Jacob, of Merton College, Oxford,] John Selden, Castell, and the brilliant and illustrious Pocock. There were two uses to which such concordances might be put; one was to detect the true meaning of any particular word by comparison with like words in associated tongues; the other to demonstrate that Hebrew was the most ancient of tongues and the mother of all: that it was, in fact, the Language of God, all others being simply corruptions of the Original. In Castell's lexicon, as in every other one before his time, the basic language and the standard was Hebrew. To know the Hebrew alphabet was to hold the key not only to the dictionary, but to the whole field of Oriental learning. Castell<sup>14</sup> himself followed Greaves in seeing the affinity of the Persian and English tongues, both in words and structure. The solid scholarship, nevertheless, which lay behind these beliefs, has sustained the value of the work which those two centuries produced.

It was upon Schindler's Pentaglot Lexicon of 1612 that Castell founded his own Heptaglot. His copy, interleaved and plentifully enlarged in his handwriting remains in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Schindler's was the first noteworthy attempt at a comparative study of the Semitic languages, and in it the Hebrew was accompanied by Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldaic. His plan was to enlarge this first attempt and to reduce the additional languages to the same method. Castell took into his work the labours of all precedent lexicographers of note, made his own additions and also brought in the results of efforts made in his own day. It was partly on these grounds that the project aroused some interest amongst scholars. In this respect the following piece of information which Samuel Hartlib passed on to his friend Dr Worthington in his letter of September 24, 1661, is interesting: Mr Worsley sent this advertisement for Mr Beal's benefit.

"As to the lexicons, pray let Mr Beal know that for the Hebrew (wherein only I can pretend to anything of a curiosity) I scarce find any but hath its peculiar excellency; and therefor though Pagnin, with the editions of Mercerus and Cevellerius, be accounted instar omnium, yet I have found most choice and most worthy things in Forsterus, in Marinus his Arca Noae, and in Schindler, and in each of them what I sometimes could not find in others. I think Avenarius not wholly to be despised. For David de Pomis, I have heard him commended and seen him, but have him not myself. Buxtorf's last Lexicon Tal-

Lexicon Talmudicum hath in many places also most choice Hebraical observations. The Lexicon Polyglotton, he will see what it is by the printed papers, the supervisor of which is, for his care, ardency, assiduity, and intolerable labour and pains thereof, never sufficiently to be commended.

Although the matter here in discussion is mainly Hebrew, the problem of the economical organisation of various yet related learning exercised the same attraction to scholars as did Walton's Bibles. The presumably competent opinion in "The Legacy of Israel"<sup>2</sup> hardly does justice to Castell's equipment and his objective. To his own labours he assiduously added the work of the best Orientalists of his time, to whom the Lexicon Preface is a long testimony of indebtedness, as well as a witness of Castell's own researches and judgement.

The text of Walton's Bibles had been carefully examined and collated with other texts in Syriac, Arabic and Samaritan. The Erpenius edition<sup>3</sup> of the Moorish-arabic version of the Pentateuch, and a portion of the Pentateuch in Arabo-samaritan with Arabic commentaries had also been scrutinised for material, to which he added a Ms Arabic Josua, Judges and Samuel, loaned to him by a friend.

The Chaldaic Paraphrase of the Paralipomena had been accurately transcribed from the Cambridge manuscript

transcribed from the Cambridge manuscript] by Samuel Clarke and translated for the Polyglot, the material so collected being incorporated into the dictionary, as was also such material as had come to hand from the same scholar's preparation of a seventh volume to the London Polyglot, of ancient versions hitherto unedited, Chaldaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Arabic and Persian. Clarke never brought out this work, but Castell asked for and probably received the manuscript from his executors. There is set out an imposing list of texts printed and in manuscript from which something had been added, not always of Biblical nature; Psalters, Liturgies, Missals, Breviaries, of every sort and variety in a large range of tongues, the Ethiopic having been added to and having been part of the work of Ludolf, and his pupil Wansleben. Some of the manuscripts in Ethiopic were the gifts of Pocock: a large book of Homilies and books of other nature had been sent by the Dane Theodore Petraeus. Syriac manuscripts had been lent by his friend Dudley Loftus. The whole range of medieval Jewish commentary had been traversed to complete these collections, with more recent work of the same kind, and the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds. Acknowledgements were due to the work of Abraham Wheeloc and Dr Pierson and John Greaves.

With regard to Lexicons, chiefest note had

With regard to Lexicons, chiefest note had been taken of the Hebrew of Kimhi and the lexicons of Avenarius,<sup>8</sup> Forsterus,<sup>9</sup> Pagnin,<sup>10</sup> Pomerius,<sup>11</sup> Buxtorf,<sup>12</sup> and Schindler, which he had almost wholly incorporated. In Chaldaic especially, the foremost and latest authorities had been consulted.<sup>14</sup> In Syriac, there were Massius, Ferrarius, Trostius, Buxtorf, and Novarinus.<sup>15</sup> In Samaritan, Morinus,<sup>16</sup> and the necessary part of Marshall's trilingual Dictionary.<sup>17</sup> In Ethiopic, Wemmens,<sup>18</sup> and the already-mentioned Ludolf. In Arabic, Raphelingius, Giggeius, Germanus, and Golius.<sup>19</sup> To these there had been added some manuscript lexicons: Bar Bahlul, of the Syriac tongue with its numerous citations to other lexicographical work and innumerable authors, physicians, historians, philosophers, and men of letters: Camus, with its catalogue of innumerable writers in Arabic: the Ethiopic lexicon of Gallaeus,<sup>20</sup> and the aids always provided in that tongue by the noble Ludolf. There were other Arabic Lexicons: Gieuharus, Camusius, Lancelot Brown, and the many volumed and perplexing manuscript lexicon left by Bedwell. [all in - i]

Manuscripts of the Persian lexicon, ← had been collated, four in all, in which aid had been given by Graves and Seaman, the second of whom had contributed the Turkish to the lexicon. But the most noteworthy contributor in Persian had been Professor Golius.

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Upon all these works, and innumerable others not mentioned, the editor had kept a vigilant eye for mistakes and omissions. His labour in this respect and his protracted sufferings he did not pass by in silence in his remarks to his readers. What he spent, what he lost, and how his colleagues had deserted him, all are pitifully noted, with the details of his bodily accidents and infirmities, for indeed the work emaciated and weakened his body and his physical faculties. The toil of the Lexicon had repulsed some of those most willing to give their help, and the assistant who remained longest with him, for seven years, the German student Martin Murre, he regarded as remarkable. Wansleben who took part in the Ethiopic work and Beveridge who had care of the Syriac portion hardly remained half that time. Deserted in turn by his partners, and when the cost of the work rose to £8000 by the printer Roycroft, Castell persisted to the end, and without an amanuensis or a corrector completed the last sheets and the preface as his eyesight began to fail him, on which account he begged his readers' forgiveness for such mistakes and omissions as sullied the final parts of his work.

The production of any Dictionary is an enterprise capable of creating that deadening respect and wonder which comes upon us before the spectacle of inevitable ruin and frustration, towards

towards which monumental patience and erudition, combined to mark the closing of an epoch of scholarship, seem always to turn. All the more heroic appears Castell's adventure, since it was to so large an extent independent of help and financial backing. It is an interesting thought, that had Castell's work appeared half a generation earlier, it might have been a financial success: and instead of being assigned to a merely respectable place in the history of Eastern Lexicography, would be remembered still as one of the outstanding achievements of its kind in Europe.

At the end of his work, this unfortunate man was creditor to his subscribers for £600, while in 1682, thirteen years after he had handed over the last copy called for, he still owed money on the work. The Fire reduced the number of his second volumes, either by consuming them or destroying parts of them, while the Plague and accidents and business troubles had held up the work, as if all the elements in the physical as well as in the world of opinion had combined to denounce beforehand a work the basis of which had been to demonstrate how the Eastern Tongues were "propogated from the Hebrew", as the method of Schindler's Lexicon, taken over by Castell, undoubtedly aimed to do.

LUDOVICUS CAPPELLUS TO THE  
EDITORS OF THE POLYGLOT BIBLES.

Nobilissimum certe ac Vere Regium mirandumque prorsus  
Opus vos animo agitatis atque moliminj, rei literariae  
sacrae apprime utile & opportunum, quo (si quando ad  
umbilicum producat) omnes Verbi devincietis, &  
demerebimini. Nam praeterquam quod isthic erunt quam  
plurimae Veteres, hactenus Europeis Christianis pene  
ignoratae S. textus metaphrases emendatissimae, et  
Utilissimae, ad totidem earum. Latinis Versionibus,  
hoc insuper accedit, quo Lector mire juvabitur quod  
illae sic sunt dispositae, ut uno veluti oculi jactu  
illae interse & cum Hebraico textu nullo negotio com-  
parari possint. *C. A. B. ?* Obstipuit sane et pene extra me fui  
quam tot ac tamque rara & exquisita sacrae antiquitatis  
monumenta vidi a vobis in pauca divini istius operis  
esse conjicienda, tamquam totidem inditissimam Gazam  
Pretiosissima  $\pi\kappa\epsilon\mu\acute{\nu}\delta\iota\alpha$  (?) aeternitati consecranda.  
Non possum etiam dissimulare me vehementer esse  
delectatum, quando vidi fore ut nomen meum per vos in  
tam eximiis compareat, siquidem vultis excerpta ex  
critica mea collocari inter varias lectiones ex omnibus  
S. foederis antiquis translationibus a vobis annotandas,  
tum quod video vos in eadem mecum esse de veteribus  
literis Heb. Samariticis sententia: haec enim aperte  
juvant probant & confirmant meam de novitate punctorum  
& variis lectionibus in arcano & critica mea adversus  
Ba. & Buxt. opinionem quo enim spectare potest tam

potest tam accurata variarum lectionum collectio  
 & annotatio quam pollicimini nisi ut quum opus fuderit  
 in locis scr. arduis afferi possit et sensus planior  
 & commodior elici quam qui ex hodierna seu punctatione  
 seu lectione Masorethica exurgit? quod unicum &  
 praecipuum est totius meae Criticae & Arcani Propositum.  
 Macte itaque .....

Da 6.4. 6.

LUDOLF OFFERS HIS SERVICES TO THE  
EDITORS OF THE POLYGLOT  
BIBLE.

Reverendiss. & Clariss. tuo nomini addictissimus  
Iobus Ludolfus Erfurtinus Metropolis Thuringiae.

Reverende admodum Amplissime ac Clarissime Vir  
Magnae quidem mihi fuit laetitiae  
intelligere coeptum apud vos Opus Biblicum non  
numero tantum linguarum aut venustate typorum, sed  
eruditorum exacta cura longe commendatissimum:optassem  
tamen paulo citius id cognovisse. Quippe latere  
Claritatem tuam nolo, me ob causas quasdam gravis-  
simas (quâs enarrare longum foret) Christianorum  
Aethiopum, seu Abyssinorum lingua, rebusque cognoscendis  
occupatum aliquandiu fuisse, atque inter aliae com-  
perisse Gentem Verbi Divini studiosissimam, nihil  
aeque dolore quam quod ea qua nos per Dei gratiam  
proditi sumus commoditate habendi legendique SSanctas  
litteras destituatur, & ob ignorantiam imprimendi sacra  
volumina MSSta aut sparsa aut mole sua nimis vasta  
opulentioribus quibusdam tantum reliquere cogatur.

Unde non parum utilitatis Reipub. Christianae  
accessisset, si illa quoque lingua vel addita fuisset,  
vel sacri Codices seorsim Aethiopice perdiissent; in  
eoque non Curiositati tantum Europaeorum, sed & nec-  
essitati Africanorum Christianorum Verbum Dei instar  
aeque sitientium <sup>rat</sup> satisfactum fuisset. Nunc quoniam  
<sup>va</sup> ed reproductam esse audio ut de Biblijs integris  
Aethiopice edendis concilium nimis tardum videri  
possit; volui

possit; volui tamen nihilominus me licere ignotum tibi offerre, utpote cuj operam in hoc negotio praeclaram esse audivi, ut si forte adhuc in libris quibusdam saltim N. Testamenti Aethiopice addendis, vel in Apparatu conficiendo usui vobis esse possim, id tantummodo mihi significetis, aequo pacto id fieri possit rationem ostendatis; certi, me postulatis vestris, quantum in me est, nunquam defuturum.

Vale, neque amicitiam et officia ignoti hactenus, tuj tamen in posterum cultoris aspernare.

Dabam in Nundinis Francofurtensibus reditum in patriam parans die 12 Septembri A.S. 1655.

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PROFESSOR BUXTORF TO WALTON  
ON THE SCHEME FOR THE HEPTAGLOT LEXICON

Viro admodum Reverendo & Clarissimo  
D. Br. Waltono S.Th. Doctori & Philologo  
celeberrimo & Amico & Patrono plurimum  
honorando Londinum

S.P. plurimum Reverende & clarissime Vir Domine  
honoratissime

Ex Reverendo D. Duraeo per nuper ad amicum huc  
scriptis literis animadverti dubios vos esse...  
...whether he had received his three Volumes of  
the Bible ... quanta cum voluptate ego sanctissimos  
& incredibiles vestros labores aspexerim, quantum  
cum gaudio eos exceperim illi testabuntur quibus  
ego vestram operam ostendi & commendavi Cura tua,  
liberalitate tam pretiosum munus ego accipio quod  
prorsus tum adhuc sine ullo meo merito obtulisti,  
id merito maximi facio: gratias quas debeo referre  
non possum: gratum a animum, & beneficii summi con-  
dignam praedicationem & memoriam polliceor, avide...  
... expecting the other Volumes.

De Lexicis etiam scripsi meum iudicium, cujus  
& probe memini, haec fuit summa: in unum corpus  
conjugi posse linguas Hebraeam, Chaldaeam, Syram,  
Arabicam, ceu magis affines; linguarum caeterarum,  
veluti Aethiopicae Persicae Samaritanae peculiaria  
posse dari: sed vos proculdubio huic rei jam vestra  
prudencia & industria providistis. Mea studia hac

hyeme, Diaboli

hyeme, Diaboli instinctu valde fuerunt interturbata,  
intentata mihi molestissima litea Regiis nostris  
Bibliopolis de qua ex alijs fortassis audies....

...ea de causa interruptam esse editionem Bibliorum  
Hebraico-latinorum in 4<sup>to</sup> ..... si quid est in quo  
mea Tibi in has Regionibus Usui esse possit opera,  
ut libere ea utaris, rogo: Ad omnia ad quae mea  
tentuitas idonea ergo promptissimus. Te Vir  
Reverendissime, ut solita et coepta erga me benevol-  
entia porro constanter me prosequaris, etiam atque  
etiam rogo. Vale .

Datum Basileae d. 21 Martii Anno 1658

Magni Tui nominis studentissimus Cultor  
Johannes Buxtorfius.

P. 44.MS D.d.vi.iv. Castell's copy.

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EDMUND CASTELL.

Arms were originally granted to the Castell family in 1479 in which year on June 10 the record was made in favour of Robert Castell of Yorkshire, Clerk of the King's Exchequer (a). From this gentleman the Essex and Cambridge Castells traced their descent (b), while the family was itself intricately intermarried with the gentry of the Fens, (c) notably with the Alleyns and ~~Alleyns~~ with the Fytches. The riches of the family were increased by successive marriages with heiresses and widows. At Hatley in Cambridge-shire in 1619 the eldest son of the family there was aged 15, and named Robert; Robert and Edmund having been the traditional names respectively of the eldest and the second (eldest) sons. Edmund Castell, the second son, was aged 13. Their father had been twice married, first into the Lowknor family of Denham, Suffolk, of which there was no issue, and second with Elizabeth Alleyne of Hatfield Peverill in Essex, of whom were born these sons, and three daughters, Constance, Martha, and Elizabeth. (d). Edmund was baptised on January 4, 1606, at East Hatley where the family then resided (e). The Castells of East Hatley had estates or relations also at Woodham Walter in Essex (f). The father of Robert and Edmund lived on until 1630, when he was buried in East Hatley on November 9. (g). His surviving wife died the following year.

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Robert Castell, the elder son, is noted in the Heraldic Visitation in 1612 as being eight years of age. He married as his first wife Susanna, daughter of Sir Peter Saltingston Knt. by whom he had his only offspring by her, Robert. By his second wife, Elizabeth, sixth daughter of Sir Gervase Helwyse Knt., Lieutenant of the Tower, he had a son Edward (Edmund?) and his only daughter Mary. Mary survived both her brothers and became Robert's heir: she married Ellis Crisp who with her befriended Castell in his evil days.

Ellis Crisp was the second son and (his elder brother, Rowland dying early) the heir of Tobias Crisp D.D., this Tobias being the third son of Ellis Crisp, Sheriff of London and the father of Sir Nicholas Crisp of Hammer-smith Knt. and Brt. The Parish Register records the birth of Edward in 1636 and in 1638 that of Mary. The records are faulty however until 1659.

The current accounts (i) of the second son of the elder Robert Castell, Edmund, are defective in point of dates and details of his early life, beyond a general statement that he had the usual grammatical education. No light can be thrown on his youth, but some dates may be corrected in other matters. He may have attended the Grammar School at Colchester, where a Castell was a pupil in the eighteenth century, (j) but defective records render any such assumption useless.

Both brothers, Edmund and Robert, were admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where, ~~possibly~~, their father had also been a student. The elder possibly studied later for the Bar, and Edmund for the Church. In the regular course of events after his admission in May , 1621, Edmund became B.A. 1624/5 and M.A. 1628.<sup>(k)</sup> He remained as a theological student, studying the Fathers and the Oriental Languages till he graduated B.D. in 1635.

Castell was patronised by the Earl of Bedford, but what exactly his connection with that family was, it is impossible definitely to say, but he proceeded immediately after his graduation to the living at Hatfield Peverill, where the Alleyn family resided, and which,<sup>(l)</sup> having been held for thirty one years since 1605 by John Stable, he held in turn for two years from 1636 to 1638, when Joshua Blower succeeded him. It is not until 1647, however, that Castell appears definitely as rector of the neighbouring parish of Woodham Walter, the list of rectors being incomplete about that date.<sup>(m)</sup> In this parish resided the Fytch family whose daughter, Dorothy, Castell married on August 3 1648. The living was probably then in the patronage of the Fytches, but until 1583 the patronage had been with Thomas, Earl of Sussex. Castell's immediate predecessor had

had been appointed, presumably, as a stopgap, such that Castell may have had an interest in the Living between 1638 and 1647, when he relieved his predecessor, Mr Brooke, from the place, during which years Castell may have been forced from his living through the accidents of the Civil War, throughout which, although his brother was a Parliamentarian, he remained a Royalist and a High Churchman. Castell clung to this living until 1670 when he got his curate appointed, who had served him since 1667, under the patronage of Sir Barrow Fytch to whose family the living then belonged.

In the meantime Castell associated himself with Walton in the work of the London Polyglot ,and later with Clarke and Huish in that of the Heptaglot Lexicon, and during these years he supplied his livings with curates . Much of his time, therefore, he spent in London , while in later years he attended his Lecture at Cambridge, his office at Canterbury, and sometimes his living in Bedfordshire at Higham Gobion.

The Higham Gobion living became to the ageing Lexicographer a place of retreat from his work and his resting-place after it was completed, although he attempted also to cling to several other livings that had fallen to him, but which he had to resign

On January 29 1662/3 Castell was formally inducted (10) 97  
to the living at Higham Gobion on the resignation  
of George Lawson, who had succeeded Henry Lynn under  
the patronage of Edward, Lord Howard, Baron of  
Escrick. He had been appointed by his patron George,  
Viscount Grandison (Sir George Villiers) and until  
the dispute of patronage had been settled and until  
the death of the Bishop, Castell had been kept out  
of the living. He came to live at Higham Gobion in  
1664, and held the adjacent parishes of Higham and  
Hexton until his death.

The full complement of the livings which  
he begged or obtained can never be determined:but  
he held for a little time the living at Icklingham  
near Cambridge (p) and in 1672 was presented with  
that at Foulbourne (q). In the entanglement of his  
drafted letters it is impossible exactly to say  
which livings he was holding at one time, and which  
he was disputing or resigning . His actual work  
as a preacher must have remained suspended from the  
time he was hounded from his parish in the Civil  
War until he settled down at Higham to admonish and  
quarrel with the churchwardens and dispute about  
lands and tithings. He was then almost completely  
blind, and certainly broken in body, having sustained  
the accidents of nature and the misfortunes of work  
and bad health over a long period of years, with

with disappointments, imprisonments and dunning of creditors. He refers to a living which the Earl of Suffolk had granted to him, but where it was cannot be said. He had left behind in his past livings many debts owing to him, and he had left his living in Essex at Woodham Walters, when the parsonage-house had fallen in decay. All his own patrimony and what else he had inherited he had sold piecemeal for a total of £1460, the selling price at low rates of about 1000 acres. Some lands he had lost in Llangwoodfen through a failure to pay the taxes due on fenlands: Bowers (which he inherited) he sold in 1664: he possessed finally at Higham ninety five acres of arable land and eleven acres of meadowland let out to a George Fowler, and forty nine acres and one rood of arable land and four acres of pasture let out to the Pruddens, these being his last investments, bequeathed to his wife and at her death to his niece, Mary Crisp, to both of whom he owed debts in gratitude and money.

In 1666 he had been made Arabic Reader at Cambridge and Chaplain to the King: in 1667 he succeeded John Reading in a prebendary at Canterbury. In 1674 he was a member of the Royal Society. At his death besides the lands already mentioned, the remainder of his estate consisted of a few hundreds of unsold copies of his Lexicon. (P)

Castell's wife at his death was Lady Elizabeth Bettsworth (u), relict of Sir Peter Bettsworth Knt., and of John Herris. His first wife, Dorothy Fytch, had been buried on March 11, 1651 about the time when he became immersed in his philological work. He had had a son Edmund, baptised in June and buried in August 1649, and a daughter, Dorothy, baptised in 1651 and buried in June 1661. Of Lady Bettsworth <sup>she</sup> appears to have had no surviving issue either, but she herself had surviving children, two at least from the Herris marriage, one of them William: of the others and by which husband nothing definite can be said.

Mary Crisp became the heir both of her father Robert Castell, and of her uncle Edmund, and these inheritances she handed on <sup>at</sup> (to her son in turn) by Ellis Crisp on her death in 1716.

The following bequests were made by Edmund Castell in his Will, in which he mentions his relatives both through his niece and through Lady Bettsworth and which, for that reason, are given here in detail in order to complete the story. As a document, Castell's Will is a curious commentary on his life's work.

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To his wife for life and thereafter to his niece, Mary  
Crispe and her heirs, <sup>he left</sup> 95 acres of arable land and 11  
acres of pasture and meadow-land in the tenure of a  
George Fowler in the parish of Hexton: 49 acres and one  
rood of arable land, and 4 acres of pasture in the  
tenure of John Prudden, with the great tithes of grass,  
hay, and corn, also in Hexton. To his wife he also  
left his chattels and moveables at Higham Gobion, with  
the exception of his books, Mss, and Lexicons. His  
Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Persian and Arabic  
manuscripts he <sup>bequeathed</sup> gifted to the University Library at  
Cambridge: his printed books in Hebrew to Emmanuel  
College: his Bibles and other parts of Scripture in  
the Oriental Tongues to Henry Compton, his patron,  
Bishop of London, along with 100 copies his his  
Heptaglot Lexicon. To his nephews he bequeathed 100  
Lexicons each, <sup>Edmund,</sup> Samuel, and Ellys Crisp. To the other  
children of his brother-in-law, Ellys Crisp, £5 to  
buy plate with his name and arms upon them. His silver  
tankard (on which he seems to have set some store) went  
to St John's College, whither it was to be fetched  
from Emmanuel College. All his books on Common Law  
were given to his grandson, Edmund Harris: his books  
on Divinity to his other grandson-in-law, William Herris.  
Separate volumes were variously distributed, and finally  
there was the bequest to each of his three grandchildren-  
in-law, Edmund, William and Elizabeth, one hundred copies  
of his Lexicon. The residue of the estate, except for

The residue of his estate, except for the remainder of his books which were granted to his godson, Edmund Crisp, went to his niece and executrix, Mary Crispe, whose kindness to him and whose constant help and sympathy he never forgot. The 49 acres in the tenure of John Prudden had been bought from the Pruddens in December 1684 (v) and was Castell's last investment, very possibly with the help of the Crisps to whom it at length returns. But it was not unreasonable for the widow to lament to the Archbishop that there was little left for her three children except the copies of their father's unsold and unsaleable philological tomes, for which there had actually been some negotiation by the kindly Professor Ludolf to take them up at 40/- a copy, an arrangement, however, frustrated by the death of the compiler. (w).

Within this framework of his life, the true substance was the philological work in which Castell was engaged at least so far back as 1651: and in which, first as assistant and later as principal he expended his own estates, those of his relations, and every penny that came to him from offices and livings, begged, gifted and fought for, often with bitterness and often with words careless of the humiliation. He lowered himself (in our eyes) below the dignity of scholarship and the charity and sincerity

expected in a priest, to procure appointments for the sake of the few pounds they brought into the depthless pits of his public undertaking. But towards scholarship itself, students and libraries, he remained to the end a potential if not always an actual benefactor. He composed himself in his last years, unavoidably neglected and unknown to the new generation of scholars, as a local wonder and grand old scholar: to a few in London and in Cambridge. he was an encourager of learning, generous donor of valuable books: to himself (not without justification) the zealous servant of the Church and of pious learning, and an advancer of these interests, broken in the cause. Minor domestic disturbances, squabbles and the intermittent litigation which was the echo of his adventure twenty years before, did not lessen the final effect, nor make an unfitting finale to the toils and misfortunes credited to his eighty years of life. The great civil war and the restoration of monarchy, and the period of the decline of the Stuarts itself, play only a minor part in this lexicographer's existence: they meant trouble, funds, or encouragement, only, in his undertaking, or at least the possibility of these things. I think that he believed that his philological work was destined to advance the cause of Christianity, and that he fostered his interest in it and pursued it unremittingly, almost wholly with that consolation.

He was not uncomfortable in his last days, possessing an adequately furnished establishment and perhaps a coach. With rich and influential relations to aid him he was not destitute in his last years although he never obtained the advancement which he thought due to his work . He restored part of his beautiful church at Higham Gobion and set up a monument to himself and his family, beneath which, following the directions of his will, he was buried in the chancel in the dead of night, by the light of torches and with the funereal pageantry befitting a gentleman of family and of the Church of England, one who reckoned himself a main supporter of his Church ,if not one deserving worthily of it. His funeral sermon was preached by his friend Mr Humphreys of Barton and ~~five~~<sup>two</sup> guineas were especially allotted in his will for that purpose. He let East Hatley go out of his mind with the sale of his patrimony there and the presence of Sir George Downing on his family manor, now a mere farmhouse. Only the daughter of his elder brother expressed a last wish to be buried there. The monument he erected to himself in his church outlasted both the printed volumes of his Heptaglot and his reputation as a scholar, except in remotest corners where both are regarded as pioneering work in a now immenser and richer field. The force of religion, however, was the strength that Castell actually brought to his efforts.

Before his retirement from London the aging scholar became the cynosure of the curious learned and of rising scholars. In a letter to Samuel Hartlib, of September 9, 1661, generally quoted in notices of Castell, Worthington then described him as follows:

"Dr Castell is a modest and retired person. Indefatigably studious, (and for many years his studies were devoted to these Eastern Languages) he hath sacrificed himself to this service; and is resolved, for the glory of God and the good of men, to go on in this work, though he die in it, and the sooner for the great pains it requires...  
... I never see Dr Castell, nor think of him, but his condition affects me. He hath worn his body in the unexpressible labours which the preparations of such a work for the press require. He hath been forced to sell some part of his no great temporal estate, to procure money for the paying off the workmen at the press; the money subscribed falling short, and there being such a scarcity of persons so nobly affected as to contribute. God preserve him in health.... Persons deserving highly for their endeavours of the public good, would have found not less encouragement in the heathen world..."

While another wrote of him at a later date:

"Alas ! What encouragement ha's he had but from God , & from his soul ambitious to communicat itself, & to give after men & ages y<sup>e</sup> ful prospect into Cryptique useful Learning".

With no less serious regard for this remarkable man, James Graham, travelling in England with his tutor Mr Walker, obtained an introduction to Castell from Samuel Clarke, for which he thanked him in the letter below.

" London, April 16, 1668  
from our Lodging at Mr Tongues, at  
the Signe of the Sugar Loaf, at  
Charring Crosse.

Sir,

Among many other favours, for which I stand deeply ingaged to you, I reckon this one not to be forgotten (& such indeed are all the instances of your respect to me) that you were pleased to make my address to D.Castell by your letter, which procured me great civilities from that venerable & most obligeing personage. As to their progresse in the Heptagl. Lexic. he assur'd me that about Michaelmasse the work wold be brought to a period, there being now but 50 sheets to print. As concerning my owne studies, though I have as yet had no leisure to review what in a tumultuary way I did run through at Oxon. yet I firmly resolve to pursue seriously what I have attempted".

(Add 44 22905)

Castell's name continued to be mentioned with respect at home and abroad in textbooks and in more important publications concerning the Eastern Inaguages. In 1673 Joseph Cooper, in a Hebrew epistle, had dedicated his Domus Mosaicae Clavis sive Legis Septimentum to his fellow-countryman. Towards the end of his life, Castell's name became associated with the attempt to bring to England the valuable collection of books left by Professor Golius.

The following letters to Sancroft, Castell's patron, from his widow, Lady Bettsworth, will remind the reader of the thought constantly in Castell's mind but against which he struggled, that public work is done by private persons whose failure involves the failure of their families. Although not starving while he held his Bedfordshire living and his University and Church offices, his death left Castell's family largely dependent upon their friends, so that this lexicographer left his family in the same state as many another country clergyman of his time except for the ownership of the two parcels of land let to tenants and the warehouse-worn and rat-devoured remnants of his printed sheets. It was not an unreasonable expectation that the reward of his labours should be of a material sort.

Note: Castell's father (like Edmund himself) had been Fellow Commoner of Emmanuel: the elder Castell, with strict observance of the Statutes of the Founder that no rich man's son should become a Fellow, would not permit Edmund to accept an offer. See Letter to Huish June 27, 1662.

## WIDOW CASTELL TO SANCROFT.

My Lord

May it please your Grace:

My dear Husband Dr Castle is now dead and has left a disconsolate widow & three children unprovided for. Hee dyed much in debt, by which meanes wee are reduced humbly to desire the welcome Assistance that may flow from your Goodness who had so great a respect for his worth; My Lord, my dear Husband was in a fair way to have his Lexicons taken of his hands by a German, one Seignior Ludolpho at the rate of fourty shillings a peice, But it pleased *God* to receive him to Himself before that could be accomplished; My Lord hee left to each of these three children a hundred copies, but being in such a hand as mine to dispose of for their advantage I fear they must suffer losse to a greate degree: Now my humble request to Your Grace is that Your LoPP would be graciously pleased to take y<sup>m</sup> into your Grace's owne hand, by w<sup>ch</sup> gracious favour Your LoPP will ever oblige the distressed widow and Fatherlesse to pray for your Graes long life & happiness. My Lord, I am your Lopps most thankfull & most humble servant

Elis. Castell

(Higham) Gobing: January 25. 1685/6

By Mr Leech Rector of over-Standon.

(No cover)

## WIDOW CASTELL TO SANCROFT

May it please your Grace

I haue writ one Letter to you, though not with my owne hand, for I am a poore old woman & in great sorrow, & distrese, for the Lose off so Deare a Husband, and not able to worke, & 3 children not as yett put out to prentis, but one, when Dr. Castell & I marrid, I had prett<sup>y</sup> means of my owne, to subsist with, but when hee came to the great worke of Bible & Lexicons, hee had 500<sup>l</sup> of me wch is yett unpaid as I haue it yett to shew, & hee promised me that I should bee paid when hee sold his Lexicons - therefore my Humble request to your LoPP to consider of this my poore condision & helpe me off with these 300 coppies that I may provide for my poore Children & my selfe in some smale way, that Littell time I haue to Liue - the Lexicons ware at 4<sup>l</sup> a peice therefore it ware very hard case, if they should not goe off at 40<sup>s</sup> apeice, if not at 30<sup>s</sup> - yett I will goe Lower at 20<sup>s</sup> apeice, had not I suffered so much in Oliwers time, as to the Lose of 2 or 3000<sup>l</sup> I should not haue desired any helpe, from any freinds, I am noe meane woman, that desires this fauour from your Lord ship, but one, that is in affliction,

seuerall wayes, &

WIDOW CASTELL TO SANCROFT, contd.

seuerall wayes, & too home should I goe now but  
to your Lopps who is in gods sted, to bee a  
fathere to the fathereles, & a husband to the  
widdow ? but most of all too Dr Castell (his)  
wife & children , the good Dr takeing so much  
paines, I may euen say night & day at that great  
worke of the bible & Lexicons, & neuer to haue  
any Iust reward for his paines ? I am not willing  
to weary your Lops with Large Lines, but I hope  
god will so giued your hart, as to giue me, a  
Comfort-table answeere, too this, be ing the first  
& Last request of, though I begg my bread -

your Graces most Humble and obliged seruant

Elis. Castell

this 11 of  
Iune 86

(No cover)

CASTELL AND THE CRISPE FAMILY

The following account of the relationship of Castell and the Crispe family is taken from a genealogical document printed by A.F. Crispe in his account of the family (1882 etc. 3 vols. and another) in the first volume, page 90;

Samuel Crispe of Wimbleton in Com. Surry Esqr. departed this Mortal life at Plimouth in the County of Devon.....1694 in the 30 year of his Age and was Interred with Escocheons of his Arms in the New Church..... the Defunct was 2d Son and heir of Ellis Crispe of Wymbleton aforesaid Esqr. and of Mary his wife only daughter of Robert Castell of East Hatley in Com. Cantab. Esqr by Elizabeth his 2d wife 6th daughter of Sr Gervase Helwyse Knt Lieut. of the Tower of London and surviving Edward her brother (who was heir of the half blood to Robert Castel eldest son of the said Robert by Susanna his first wife daughter of Sr Peter Saltingston Knt) at length sole heir to her brother which Robert the father was son and heir of Robert Castell of East Hatley aforesaid by Elizabeth (his 2d wife) daughter of Edward Allen of Hatfield Peverill in Co. Essex, which Ellis Crisp was the second son and heir (Rowland his elder brother dying young) of Tobias Crisp Dr of Divinity Rector of Brinckworth in Com. Wilts ..... which Tobias was 3d son of Ellis Crisp Esqr Sherif of London father of Sr Nich.Crisp of Hammersmith...Knt and Bart.

The wills of the various members of the Crisp family, as for example those on pp. 39 and 67 of the first volume, that of our Ellis Crisp who died in 1684, and of Mary his wife who survived to 1716, there expressing a desire to be buried "in Hadley", will show that they were very wealthy. Castell's family connections, also, besides the relationship of his elder brother with gentle families, are also touched upon in this important document. It is invaluable in connecting up the details in the Letters.

Deed of Purchase, relating to Land in Hexton.

11452  
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Know all men by these p<sup>r</sup>sents that wee Iohn Prudden of Hexton in the County of Herts yeoman & Sara Prudden of Hexton aforesaid widdow have received of Edmund Castell of Higham Gobyon in the County of Herts doctor of divinity the sume of three hundred pounds of lawfull money of England in full paym: & discharge of one purchase of one close & pasture ground nine & forty acres & one roode of arreble land & sward ground with them & evry of their app<sup>r</sup>tenances situate lyeinge & beinge in Hexton aforesaid the receipt wherof the said Iohn Prudden & Sara Prudden doe by these presents acknowledge & thereof & of evry pte & piece thereof doe acquite exonerate & discharge the said Edmund Castell his heires executo<sup>r</sup>s administrato<sup>r</sup>s & assignes & evry of them by these p<sup>r</sup>sents. In wittenesse whereof wee the said Iohn Prudden & Sara Prudden have hereunto sett our hands & seales the Nynteenth day of december Anno dm 1684 Annoq regni dom nostri Regis Caroli scdi etc. tricesimo sexto.

Sealed & deliverd  
in the presence of

John Meayer  
Roberte ffeillde  
Cha: Nicholls.

John  
F. Prudden  
the marke of  
X  
Sara Prudden.

Dr FRANCIS TURNER TO WILLIAMSON

Sr

It was extreame kindly and charitably done of you to procure y<sup>e</sup> grant of Foulburne for poor Dr Castell ; I am full of hopes it may come to good effect, for I have consulted y<sup>e</sup> books of Valuation & I find it above 20<sup>l</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> King's, i.e. 25<sup>l</sup> . Tis true there is another Foulbourne under Value, But that is a neighbour-parish and is not now vacant. One objection is started by some (w<sup>s</sup> Intent it is to bring in somebody else) that y<sup>e</sup> King is not Patron, But a Scotch Gent: One Ramsey . Others affirm y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King and this Mr Ramsey p<sup>r</sup>sent Alternately , & y<sup>t</sup> this is y<sup>e</sup> King's Turne. Tis sed also that our M<sup>r</sup> Bacon (who went upp to towne about y<sup>s</sup> business a weeke agoe) ha's gotten y<sup>e</sup> King's Title. If y<sup>t</sup> should prove true (as I hope & beleive y<sup>e</sup> Contrary) it must be by M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Trevor of w<sup>ch</sup> I desire you gett Informa<sup>ti</sup>on .

Sr This thing will strangely Revive y<sup>s</sup> drooping soule w<sup>t</sup> ..... Success, to find it is thus Performed by my Lord Arlington & y<sup>r</sup> selfe: He is out of towne, and either at his Country living; or in London, I know not how to give him any Advertisement of his good fortune by y<sup>s</sup> post; But suddenly you will hear of him & receive

receive his express acknowledgments , as you do  
mine & my Ld of Chichester's hearty service. I  
beseech you passe y<sup>e</sup> Businesse as far as it will  
goe. You have in This & many others y<sup>r</sup> favors  
hugely obliged, Sir,

Y<sup>r</sup> most affectionate humble serv<sup>t</sup>.

ffran: Turner

March 2. 1671  
St John's Cambr.

DR. FRANCIS TURNER TO SIR JOSEPH WILLIAMSON.

Honoured Freind

I am glad of any opportunity to doe you any little service in lieu of so great kindness as you have done me uppon many occasions & in Dr. Castell's affairs: I will bee carefull for Dr. Breval & Good Sir, continue y<sup>r</sup> Care for y<sup>e</sup> poor profesor of Arabick, who will loose y<sup>e</sup> benefitt of your favor , if it be possible to be lost , so helpless he is & ~~in~~<sup>ex</sup>perienced in any but his Oriental Business. He will wait uppon you, I believe , before this can advise you. The last Incumbent Dr Reeve's had it by y<sup>e</sup> broad Seale, My L<sup>d</sup> Chancellor requiring him to rely uppon y<sup>t</sup> Title. I have written to my L<sup>d</sup> of Ely to beseech his LP not to Institute uppon any private patron's presentation . I am , Sir,

Your very affect: faithfull &  
 most humble serv<sup>t</sup>.

Fran: Turner.

St John's Cambr.  
 March 1671.

Note: Transcribed from S.P.Dom. Chas.II 303 f.186, being slightly different from the copy in the Calendar. Castell was presented to the living of Foulborne (Poulborne) in Cambridge on the death of Dr Reeves: see S.P.Dom. Entry Bk. 35B. fo. 20.March 1.1672.

- (a) Harl. Soc. vol. LXVI Grantees of Arms. See also Ely Ep. Records Ministers Accounts 16 Ed. IV. p. 467 (Ed. Gibbons, 1891) concerning Robert Castell, attorney to the Bishop.)
- (b) Harl. Soc. vol. XXXII. See also Sir T.P. "Visitation of Essex, 1619".
- (c) The following notes may be of interest: The Bendish family at Barrington in 1600. See Ely Records cit. p.244: 1602 Rbt. Hasledene and Maria Castell married 19 May, Ely Rec. cit. East Hatley: 1604 Edw. son of Ed. Castell gent. and Agnes, bapt. Aug. 19, Joan 1606, Alice 1607, John 1609, Robert 1610. Ely Rec. cit.: 1606 Edmund Castell son of Rbt. and Eliz. bapt. 4. Jan., Constance 1607, John 1608, Martha 1610, John 1610; Constance wife of Rbt. Snr. buried April 25: op, cit. supra. these last referring to the father and grandfather of our Edmund Castell. 1612 Robert Castell of East Hatley married Elizabeth Alleyne daughter of Edmund Alleyne of Hatfield Peveril, son of and heir of Giles Alleyne, Harl. Soc. vol. XIII: For Alleyne of Haseleigh (Giles Alleyne) see J.J. Howard, Visitation of Essex 1664-1668: 1628 Thomas Bendish and Constance Castell married sept. 16. Ely Rec. cit. p.282 (Chesterton): 1629 (East Hatley) Thos. son of Thomas and Constance Bendishe bapt. June 21: 1630 Robert Castell Esq. buried Nov. 9: 1631 Elizabeth Castell, widow, buried May 2: 1632 Alice daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Castell bapt. Aug. 16, also Thomas 1633, John 1638; 1634 Robert Castell of Wodeham Walters noted as having two sons (Harl. Soc. XXXII) Robert of East Hatley and Edmund, despite the date possibly referring to the Robert dead in 1630. 1634 John Wright of Wrightsbridge married as first wife Martha daughter of Robert Castell of East Hatley; their son John at Grays Inn 1634 (Harl. Soc. cit.): 1636 Edwd. son of Robert and Elizabeth Castell bapt. Dec 15: also Mary 1638, this Mary being Edmund's niece and benefactress married Mr Ellys Crisp: 1639 Elizabeth wife of Robert Castell buried Dec 9. Ely Rec. cit. The East Hatley records are deficient 1641-1659.
- (d) Wm. Berry Pedigrees of Essex Families etc. 1883.
- (e) Ely Ep. Rec. cit. Parish Registers East Hatley.
- (f) Harl. Soc. vol. XXXII. (g) E.E.R. cit. (h) Ibid. also Howard. cit. (i) D.N.B. e.g. even Venn (Alumni Cant.) in case of Higham Gobion.
- (j) Round & Acland 1897 The Royal Grammar School of Colchester.
- (k) Venn cit. (l) Mr Steele of the "Priors": see his "History of the Church of Hatfield Peveril: I am glad to acknowledge his kindness. (m) Information kindly given by the incumbent Rev H.M. Lang. (n) The records read "for that turn only" see m. (o) I am much indebted to Rev. R.M. Cory /f of Higham Gobion for this and much other information.
- (p)
- (q) S.P. Dom. Entry Bk, 38 B.f. 20. In 1670 (S.P.D. Ent. Bk 32. f. 9) Castell was granted an injunction in favour of his having Much Munden the rectory of his friend Lightfoot.

- (r) The difficulty of the drafted notes in cipher which bearing no date occasionally invite dating by their position in the notebook, which is always uncertain.
- (s) Castell's will: see Register of Wills
  
- (t) Information from Rev. H. M. Lang of Woodham Walters.
- (u) See the transcription of the memorial tablet which was first erected by Castell in the first year of his residence at Higham Gobion:
  
  
- (v) Brit Mus. Ms
  
- (w) List of baptisms from Higham Gobion records through the kindness of Rev. R. M. f. Cory.

Castell relates that the troubles of the Civil War had driven him from his living in Essex, probably referring to that at Woodham Walters, having suffered from maltreatment and quartering from both sides in the dispute. He offered his living to his curate, who refused it, and removed himself somewhere nearby Colchester until the leaguer there drove him away again, it may be back to Woodham Walters. About this time he married into the Royalist family of the Fytches ( ) and here he remained either in person or by proxy until his definite absence in London, the death of his wife, the decay of his parsonagehouse, and the attainment of a better living, caused him to give Woodham Walters back again to his patron.

Walton acknowledged his indebtedness to his chief salaried assistants, Castell, Clarke and Huish, and they in turn freely acknowledged his adequate remuneration for their work. But when Castell assumed the role of promoter on his own account, he began to hint that the remuneration was just sufficient for his expenses, and that the acknowledgements were not full enough. In the scheme for the Lexicon, Walton had had himself put down as a supporter: his withdrawal was followed by that of the partners, Clarke and Huish.

It had been about 1651 that Castell had thrown up his living into his curate's hands to stay in London

while Walton and he completed the arrangements before the work on the Polyglot Bibles could begin. He claimed that he had been invited not by Walton only but by more important personages interested in the design, as Selden, Ussher and other scholars and dignitaries, not excepting His Majesty himself. He entered on the work with zeal, and for three quarters of a year lived without salary, brought into the treasury of the enterprise thousands of pounds from his friends and patrons, and invested considerable sums of his own. Hard and wearing work at the overseeing and correcting of the press and the terrific pace demanded by the editor, and upon which the commercial success of the enterprise was based, were accepted and religiously done. Castell now drew an adequate honorarium, but just sufficient to meet his expenses, which were great, owing to his curates and his own assistants. He was Walton's chief man in other ways than in the real work of the printing: he acted as his secretary and corresponded with scholars at home and abroad: drew up proposals and generally prepared the public for the work, while

who?

the presence of the brilliant young Orientalist in it was due to his personal engagement. For four years and nine months Castell slaved out what he had of the best abilities, and at last, proud of his own linguistic equipment, and conscious of

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conscious of the prime help he had been in the production of the Bibles, he began to challenge his chief editor. In a way he considered himself indispensable, and hinted to Walton that he might with difficulty find himself such another man, so that when the pace became too heavy, when Walton was increasing the number of printers and the number of presses, Castell made his complaint, on his own behalf and on behalf of his fellow subordinates. His insinuation to Walton that correctness of text, and "well-doing" was of more importance than the speed at which the work was produced, could not have helped to maintain what remained of amicable relations between the two men, for Walton, pompous and determined as he was, and Castell, outwardly modest but arrogant of his learning, could hardly meet without some roughnesses, about which the sense of being regarded as a paid workman in a public enterprise by his superior, did not but add to the acerbity.

Walton pushed: Castell resisted. With a gesture, much advertised amongst his friends, Castell generously pursued the work for the sake of the public good, and prophesied that greatness would come from it in after ages, to the promoter of the design. Walton did not forget it.

Castell was a sound scholar, and his instinct was for accuracy and care against all impatience, and this gave him the first opportunity to regard the true work of the Bibles as his own, and not Walton's. The animosity between the two men grew until it came to open hostility at the time when Castell was compiling his own Lexicon. With words which he afterwards regretted, Castell accused Walton not only of hindering him in his Lexicon work, but of actively advising against his receiving any honour or gift at the Restoration which might enable him to complete his precarious work. Nevertheless Castell remained a poor compiler and Walton patronised him from his Bishopric. It may be that in this matter, Castell had counted too largely on the Preface which had been placed in the first printings of the Bibles dedicated to the Protector.

Except for about 250 copies unsold in 1658, Walton's enterprise had been successful: there was some debt, but the volumes had come out at a time when there was still a great interest in the work, and no time had been wasted in its production. When Castell completed his Lexicon he was in definite failure, great debt, disappointment, and laid low with physical disabilities. At some times he claimed that

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claimed that his Lexicon was independent of the Bibles, at others that it was supplementary to it: and at other times made both claims together. He complained that all his associates, and all those who had so freely promised him patronage, had deserted him: even his subscribers deserted him and refused to take up their copies. Men like Walton, whom he considered to have laboured no more than he, were raised about him to high office in the Church and Universities. He remained at last a victim of mischances and neglect, entangled in litigation, burdened with debts, and aggravated with petty domestic and pastoral annoyances.

Castell possessed none of the energies of the promoter which Walton had added to his other accomplishments. He was a patient and laborious scholar and efficient corrector of the press, which he came at last to acknowledge in some measure, for about him, in both Universities, and in the Church, were wonders of learning, genius and culture in whose light he could only bask. But above all he lacked the drive and commercial ability of his predecessor. Of his partners in his own enterprise (and there were three to begin with) first Clarke, then Alexander Huish left him. The printer, Roycroft, then took their place: but he, finding little hope

little hope of return from the completed work, also gave up his part and Castell finished it alone.

The Heptaglot Lexicon began as a compilation on the lines of Schindler's Dictionary (c) but it was inevitable that the scope should grow beyond it. By 1657 and 1658 Castell was announcing his plans and his association with Clarke: he was beginning to canvass opinions amongst the most reputable Orientalists of the day, and the reply was a general and hearty encouragement to go on with the work. Soon an appeal was made by petition to the Lord Protector for the free import of paper, as in the case of the Bibles, and this was granted. Although Walton had vaguely promised to lend his name and perhaps his hand to the new work, the petition was made in the names of Castell, Huish and Clarke.

That whereas by the good hand of God upon the unwearied Labours of the publishers of the Great Bible, in many Languages, the same is now very neare accomplished to y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God & the great honour & benefitt of this Nation, the like having never beene before performed. And forasmuch as there is noe Lexicon extant for all those Languages together, & for some of them none at all, w<sup>t</sup>out which that most excellent worke cannot be soe usefull as otherwise it might be, yo<sup>r</sup> petitioners (who have long addicted themselves to the study of those Languages, and have been all along assistant to y<sup>e</sup> worke of the Bible, & there by had the more opportunity to observe the proprietie, and use of words therein) have upon the request of divers persons of Worth & Learning undertaken the Composeing & publishing

publishing of such a Worke, wherein the Labours of former Lexicographers may be compleated by their observations, & the same be had at a farre Cheaper rate then some Lexicon of one Language could heretofore be had. (d)

An exceedingly long and full statement was drawn up by Castell and his friends and studiously circulated, setting out the new scheme and requesting encouragement. (e)

The worke of the great Bible being by a singular hand of divine Providence well nigh happilie accomplished, by the great industrie & care of the learned & reverend Dr Walton & his assistants, we find it to be the generall desire & expectation that some other worke of like nature, tending to the advancement of pietie and learning, & so consequentlie to the glorie of God and the generall good should be immediatlie undertaken. In particular divers eminentlie learned & judicious persons have not onelie declared their judgements in this behalfe, but alsoe earnestlie importuned us, to the end the s<sup>d</sup>. worke might be of more generall use as well to those that are studious of the languages therein contened, as to these y<sup>t</sup> are allreadie masters of all or anie of them, to compose & set forth a Lexicon of all the Oriental languages therein published, furnished w<sup>t</sup> all the words therin to be found, or in anie other edition of the Bibles either printed or manuscript, or in other authors alreadie extant in anie of the s<sup>d</sup> languages, or y<sup>t</sup> shall be published by us hereafter, if it shall please y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>d</sup> to crowne our undertakings w<sup>th</sup> successe. We therefore, Edmund Castell, Alex. Huish, & Samuel Clarke, having amongst others been assistants in the s<sup>d</sup> worke from the beginning to the end upon serious consideration of the usefullnesse & necessitie of such a work as this now propounded, have thought it not consistent w<sup>th</sup> our dutie to be wanting in anie thing y<sup>t</sup> in us lies for the accomplishment thereof, especiallie in regard of those advantages y<sup>t</sup>

advantages y<sup>t</sup> we have in some kinds above others for the effecting thereof, as this (to name no more) that Dr Walton having fullie performed w<sup>t</sup> was at first by him undertaken, out of his desire still to promote the generall good, is willing to accomodate us w<sup>t</sup> the use of characters & presses & coppies, for this or any other designe y<sup>t</sup> may be usefull for the publicke: These regards upon advice had w<sup>t</sup> divers eminent for pietie & learning, and mature deliberation amongst ourselves, we have resolved, as God shall enable us, to reduce the Hebrew together w<sup>t</sup> the Samaritane, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabicque, Aethiopicke, & Persian, being all of them propogated from the Hebrew either in whole or in part, into one generall Lexicon, & jointlie to exhibite them after y<sup>t</sup> method w<sup>ch</sup> is used by Schindler in his Pentaglotton: yet everie one in its proper Character, w<sup>ch</sup> is wanting in his, w<sup>t</sup> the addition of manie hundreds of words, neither to be found in y<sup>t</sup> or anie other Lexicon yet extant; besides the Samaritane, Aethiopicke, & Persian, whereof he hath nothing at all. A design not much unlike to this was long since laid by the learned Erpenius, in pursuance whereof we have resolved upon this method: judging y<sup>t</sup> it would be most expedient by reason of y<sup>t</sup> cognation & dependance, w<sup>ch</sup> is betwixt those languages, whereby they will verie much illustrate one another. Together w<sup>t</sup> this, as a key to the use thereof, we purpose to set out a briefe delineation of Grammar of all the forenamed languages, & y<sup>t</sup> for these two ends especiallie. (1) That those who are unskillfull, & want other grammars may be thereby direct<sup>d</sup> how to seeke in the Lexicon for such derivative words, as by reason of the addition of servile, detraction of some radicall letter, or letters, or some other grammatical alteration from the radix, might without such an helpe cause trouble to those y<sup>t</sup> are unacquainted w<sup>t</sup> the Etymologie of the languages.

(2) that they may be thereby enabled to understand aright the construction & so consequentlie the true sense & joynt scope of those words, whose severall significations ~~were~~ allreadie either by the Lexicon or otherwayes knowne to them. Thus the Lexicon & gramar will be mutuallie helpfull one to the use of the other, & joyntlie usefull for the right understanding of y<sup>e</sup> Bible & other authors.

Much might here be added concerning the usefullnesse of this worke, if well performed, but we forbear at present: onelie thus much we shall say, y<sup>t</sup> if it shall

yt if it shall please God to carrie us through it as we now propound it to our selves, it will be as usefull, to anie yt shall have it, as if he should lay out seaven times the price, or more, to furnish him selfe wt the severall Lexicons & Grammars yt are allreadie extant; as Giggeius & Golius for the Arabicke, Buxtorfe amongst others for the Hebrew & Chaldee, Trostius & fferrarius for y<sup>e</sup> Syriacque, not to goe through all the rest. Nay rather of more use, especially in relation to our Bible, unt<sup>d</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> it is chiefly intended to be subservient (for yt cause to be printed in as large a volume) in regard of so manie words there used, w<sup>ch</sup> none of the forementioned authors have so much as taken any notice of, though accounted perfect: for the Aethiopicke done onelie by Wemmers, & the Samaritane by Morinus, are both verie imperfect, but the Persian Lexicon hath not as yet been set out by anie. Yet we shall not need to confine the use of it to our Bible, it will be verie usefull alsoe to those yt have anie other edition of the Bible, be it the Parisian, or Antwerpian, or Complutense, yt have diverse languages together, or others that have them apart. To conclude, those that shall read anie other bookes yt are extant in anie of y<sup>e</sup> fores<sup>d</sup> languages, Erpenius edition of the Pentateuch & the New Testament, the Maroniyes edition of the Psalmes, & y<sup>e</sup> Nebian Psalterie, not to mention in particular divers manuscripts parts of the Bible w<sup>ch</sup> we have perused, & out of them gathered wtsoever might be of use & inserted it into this worke: to these adde humane writers, as for instance in the Arabick onely; Avicennas Geographia Nubiensis, Historia Saracenic & the Alcoran it selfe though not yet printed, having no other Lexicon but this, shall not lightlie find themselves disappointed when they have recourse thereto.

but/ We had a purpose to have set out a compleat Concordance of the Hebrew & Greeke, after a new & verie exact method: but because we find y<sup>e</sup> to doe it as it should be it will amount to a great bulke, & make a just volume of it selfe, though we know it could not/be exceeding usefull, we have wayed it at p<sup>r</sup>sent: yet we thought fit to declare yt if any shall intimate to us their desire of yt worke, & their willingnesse to contribute towards it, ere the Lexicon & grammars be ended, ~~which~~ we shall proceed therein accordinglie.

In the meantime

In the meantime we trust, that all those who are either learned or lovers of learning, and desire to see religion & learning flourish together, will readilie assist us both with their prayers and other wayes as the exigencie of such an undertaking as this, at p<sup>r</sup>sent propounded require. In order whereunto we make these proposals following: concerning the reasonableness & equitie of w<sup>ch</sup>, as all those to whom we have alreadie imparted them, have declared themselves to be thoroughly satisfied; so we doubt not but y<sup>t</sup> all other judicious persons, y<sup>t</sup> are willing to engage in a ~~designe~~ of this nature, upon their or our information will readilie assent & subscribe thereto. (e)

These proposals, very modestly set out, were several times altered, mainly by the incorporation into the Lexicon of the Arabic words in Golius' Lexicon and the addition of the Persian Lexicon of the same scholar, the last of which held up the work for two years, each alteration, however, receiving nothing but applause from those who took notice, but enhanced the price, raised the costs, and delayed the issue. In the first enthusiasms Castell was not deterred by the small number of subscribers, and the few patrons who came forward to help him. He cast off Alexander Huish from the work, and not until Samuel Clarke left him, did he feel the full significance of the events that were falling about him. Walton refused to give over his types unconditionally, and although he received a payment, persisted in his right to use them as Castell set them up. Meantime no help came from the booksellers.

The Printed Propositions issued by Castell at the end of the work of the Polyglot Bible contain the following information: the scheme bore the recommendation of Wm Fuller (d. 1659) Dean of Durham, Brune Ryves (1596-1677) Dean of Chichester, Brian Walton, and Herbert Thorndike. Additional commendations were added by Gerard Langbain, Nathaniel Homes, Philip Nye, Edward Alston (Sir Edward, 1660), Nathan Paget, and <sup>Jonathan</sup> Jonathon Goddard.

1. Whosoever shall subscribe and pay the summe of fifty shillings, that is to say, thirty shillings within the time beneath expressed, and the other twenty shillings, at or towards the end of the Work, shall have one perfect Copy.
- 2 Whosoever shall procure five such Subscriptions to be paid in the manner aforesaid, which will amount in all to twelve pounds ten shillings, or so much of free contribution; shall have one Copy over and above as a Gratuity for his paines.
- 3 Whosoever without procurement shall either by himself, or joyntly with others, subscribe and pay in the said summe of twelve pounds ten shillings, shall have six Copies, and so according to that <sup>proportion</sup> proposition for any greater summe.
- 4 If any honourable or Worthy Person, out of love to Learning, and a desire to promote those good ends, which are the grounds of the Work, shall freely contribute thereunto, he shall be honourably mentioned as a Benefactor, and have one Copy or more, if he shall desire it, according as his bounty shall be enlarged.
- 5 We desire that whosoever intendeth to subscribe or contribute there to, as aforesaid, would with all convenient speed signifie unto us such their intention, that we may frame our proceedings accordingly, and that there may be a competent summe of money advanced whereby we may be enabled to enter upon the Work; we desire also that the first payments may be paid at the farthest before the first day of April 1658 into

the hands of Mr Edmund Castell at the Printing-house in Charterhouse Yard: who shall give to every one subscribing and paying any of the said summes, a Receipt of the same, with a promise thereupon under our Hands and Seals, to deliver a proportionable number of perfect Copies, according to the Propositions above mentuoned within twenty daies after the finishing of the said Work; and that the same shall be carried on with all convenient speed, and without any wilfull neglect of the Parties undertaking.

The gentlemen, University dignitaries, divines, scholars and men of culture, mentioned as Undertakers, were the Guarantors of the Heptaglot Lexicon scheme, occasionally mentioned in the Letters. Most of them died before the work was completed. The plan to include the Arabic Lexicon of Professor Golius, had caused the price to be raised. With these Propositions were also issued others in Latin.

It ought to be noted that the effect of the propositions, and the method of procuring-copies, cut down considerably any profits which a bookseller might make in taking up the volumes, although it permitted of his doing so at a profit of eight and fourpence a copy, provided the subscription list did not prevent his sales and provided he was prepared to lay out some of his money beforehand, both unlikely, and in the way of business, unprofitable.

NB

Binding error: pp 130-134  
displaced

Samuel Clarke.

Castell and Clarke were drawn together not only in the Bible work but by the likeness of their interests and a personal regard. The years of association in the Walton enterprise drew them together into the most personal friendship, their families as well as themselves living in closest mutual kindness. Their associate, Alexander Huish, was a man of different temperament and different interests, because, in the main a divine and student of Greek and Latin, he did not share their absorption in the Oriental Languages. Besides being somewhat beneath their regard in the matter of the extension of his learning, he was a most unaccommodating personality, old-fashioned in his methods, and corroding in his stubbornness.

The disparity of years between Clarke and Castell in no way prevented Castell from giving his colleague <sup>the</sup> honour and respect, <sup>which he</sup> whose studies in Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish merited ~~the same,~~ <sup>and</sup> as his nature and graciousness inspired it. Nevertheless Clarke had some part in the part played by Oxford University in frustrating Castell's work, not so much by active antagonism as by an unwillingness to extend him sufficient aid.

See 12 leaves forward →

on the work which Golius had done. It is another matter that Professor Golius was not entirely pleased with the situation.

Clarke, however, had a plan of his own. It was to produce a seventh volume to the Polyglot Bibles. He had been aided and encouraged in this by Castell, who used his influence and his friendships to obtain loans of manuscripts, and the work continued to occupy Clarke's attention till his death, when the manuscript of his work was found and (I think) handed over to Castell for inspection. There was always present, therefore, an interest which might interfere with Clarke's enthusiasm for Castell's dictionary work, although it also provided or might provide material for it. In 1658 he was not yet separate from Castell, and while he remained in Oxford entering on his duties in the University, he corrected press-sheets and waited until Castell should complete the arrangements in London.

By August of 1658 Castell was in a maze. Clarke was pleading for delay: he could not, or he would not, leave Oxford. To Castell's enquiries, there were no replies: no definite decision had been made concerning the place where the work was to be carried on: nothing had ensued from the proposal that Clarke should obtain dispensation from the University: nothing had come of

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of the plan for Castell to obtain a living near Oxford: the Lexicon was to be deprived of the valuable assistance of Thomas Hyde by his University preferment to the Hebrew Readership: Richard Busby gave it as his opinion that Oxford was generally hostile to the undertaking, and that there was a plan to do the work there. Friendly relations, however, persisted. Castell wrote at last that if it was decided to do the work at Oxford, he would be glad to be relieved from the task, which was involving him in vexations and troubles almost beyond his endurance.

Clarke intimated that there was still a chance of his continuing in the Heptaglot work on certain conditions, one of which was that his allowance should continue in case of illness. To this and other stipulations Castell eagerly agreed, and undertook to go better on any proposal he might make. The printer was offering objections but he felt sure he could overrule them. But by this time Castell had engaged both Mr Pierson and the "incomparable" Mr Murre. It was still (apart from friendship<sup>d</sup>) necessary to the credit of the Lexicon to retain Clarke in it. Castell asked Clarke to come to London and let him know the decision of the University. Clarke did not arrive.

1694

On the second of December Castell wrote to ask Clarke for his "absolute, ultimate, and final resolution".

He received in return a "full and clear answer" definitely announcing Clarke's withdrawal from the partnership, and, although cast down by the news, Castell was glad to hear the worst, and proceed with his work.

Fresh troubles were breaking in open <sup>upon</sup> the lexicographer from Walton and from Hui~~sh~~. Walton was insisting beforehand on having 250 copies of the Lexicon for his own use, having persisted in claiming that the money paid to him for his printing material did not represent a clear sale and transfer. Roycroft the printer was estimating that the sum of £700 would be spent to do it, seven times more than Castell at that time expected to make by his undertaking. With Hui~~sh~~ the matter was more petty. This scholar's <sup>skill</sup> did not extend beyond the Latin and Greek tongues, and his ~~methods~~ entailed an unlooked~~e~~for amount of correction and rearrangement by Castell, who did not approve of his undue enlargements of the Indices. Besides, he insisted upon having Clarke's room in the house let to the promoters by Lord Grandison, and refused to move from it, creating generally a trying atmosphere for the harassed principal. Afterwards he insisted upon doing his work in the country: and finally, having <sup>written</sup> inscribed a variety of puzzling and disagreeable letters, he gave Castell the opportunity to dismiss him. In all these vexations he found the skill, industry and good-temper of the young Martin Murre from Grypsw~~e~~<sup>a</sup>ild, his

his most reliable assistant, a source of constant satisfaction and consolation.

Pushing on the work as quickly as he could, Castell was printing from the Bedwell MS in about a month's time, in spite of the two thousand and odd hundred papers scattered loosely throughout, and the innumerable obscenities and misquotations in it..Having received the manuscript early in January, he had printed off the first sheets by the twenty-fourth of February. The friendship between Clarke and Castell continued unshaken: Clarke continued to correct proofs or to receive them as gifts, to make suggestions and give advice. Castell continued his <sup>interest in</sup> solicitousness for his friend's nephew, Will Ryder, whose morals and behaviour he scrutinised, sent to school, upbraided, reported upon, and endeavoured to have apprenticed to his printer. Hundreds of letters passed from Castell to scholars at home and abroad. He entered into communication with Professor Golius regarding the manuscript of his Persian lexicon. The work of production was in full swing. The next interruption came from physical causes: in the Spring <sup>of 1659</sup> Castell was lame for three months, with loss of time and increase of difficulty. In April of 1659 he was able to come to an agreement with the dilatory Huish. In May the full effect of the strain was evident, his hands were so weak, he could hardly hold a book or write

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without pain, and his foot som bad that he had long been unable to go out-of-doors. As work was resumed his spirits rose. He printed an <sup>E</sup>Aethiopic specimen for Theodor. Petraeus who was visiting the Universities: there was abundance of material for the lexicon: there were to be many things in his dictionary, even in the best known tongues, which were absent from all others. Castell had doubled his staff of assistants. The only trouble was the increasing expense. He began to borrow. At the Restoration he had already mortgaged and sold some part of his private estate, being indebted even to his wife, the Lady Bettsworth, for five hundred pounds.

Castell expected preferment from the restored regime. He went to the expense of composing and printing a volume of verses to the King in the several tongues of the Lexicon. He obtained nothing, or little to his satisfaction. For seven years he had been losing money, as well as his labour, in linguistic adventures of a Holy sort: all these years he had been forced from his ecclesiastical and temporal estates, which from neglect, had got in to a bad way. He was indebted to the extent of a thousand pounds: had sold his properties, and was ~~in~~ constant<sup>y</sup> expenditure<sup>ng</sup> of twenty to thirty pounds a week. He had no benefactors, and he pleaded the prospect of ultimate fallure to

draw the benefactions of the government without great success. To his disgust he saw men who had been his inferiours in the Biblical undertaking promoted left and right in Church and University. He addressed the King: he addressed the Bishops: he addressed the University: he appealed to everybody it was possible to appeal to. Some pity he aroused but also a good deal of disgust. He became, as all persistent petitioners become, tiresome. To these discouragements, troubles with his assistants were added: they did not apply themselves to their work, nor take a real and permanent interest in it. Th them it was simply a rung in the ladder to better things. Few remained ready to assist him, and those few crumbled beneath the work. Castell, then ,nearly sixty years old, was really standing alone beneath a great burden. In actual fact the Lexicon work had not been under way officially for more than thre~~e~~ years. It was early to realise what fate the undertaking was to receive, and in what position its promoter was to find himself. More troubles followed rapidly.

Clarke continued to afford ~~some~~ help:he arranged for young Edward Bernard to take a hand in the lexicon: canvassed for subscriptions:kept Pocock interested in it: made him presents: stayed his friend in his recurring lamenesses and bodily accidents of which Castell suffered

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suffered many, and some so serious, that on one occasion the wearied and depressed scholar accepted Clarke's offer to carry on the work in case of his decease, a will being planned to that effect. They tried to give each other help in vending their books, for Castell had brought out, under the supervision of Michael Wansleben, the pupil of Ludolf, and for a time Castell's assistant, an Ethiopic Lexicon by Iobo Ludolf, printed at his press. It was a sad world for Oriental scholarship because both experienced difficulty in selling their volumes, and Walton was writing to Clarke that it was a dangerous venture to try <sup>to</sup> bring out at this time the Seventh Volume of the Bibles. Isolated from the Universities, which he loved in an extraordinary fashion, Castell gratefully received from his friend odds and ends of University gossip, and news of events: in return Castell sought out amongst his friends in London, little bits of information concerning the more active world at home and abroad: to him, also, he retailed his troubles and anxieties, to all which his friend listened with patience and sympathy.

About 1663 Castell was able to bring out the first volume of the Lexicon, but affairs were in such a state that in November Archbishop Sheldon circulated a letter to the Clergy threatening them

\* See p. 146

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with his displeasure and the "spur of shame" if they did not take up or cause to be taken up copies of the unwanted Heptaglot Lexicons. Their Lordships regarded it very little and did not think that the failure of the work "would so infamously redound to the disparagement of our Church and Nation," should they "suffer a person that had laboured so much for the public good, to sink under the charge of so honourable a work." (see p. 146)

*not clear  
what is meant*

In the same year, the embarking on a new stage of the Lexicon, namely, the inclusion of the Persian work of Professor Golius, promised to add to its attractiveness: but instead of new vigour, the project, though its delays, sapped resistance, and added annoyances to the subscribers, who still asked why so small a work should take longer in preparation than the six volumes of the Bibles. Debts and imprisonments followed, with the Plague and the Fire. Castell was in need of friends, and before his Lexicon was published Clarke died in 1669. He was already, however, turning more completely to the eminent John Lightfoot of Catherine Hall Cambridge, with whom, owing to his Arabic <sup>skip</sup> Lecture in the University, he was becoming more personally acquainted, and whose hoppitality he accepted there, and whose [kindness

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kindness became a kind of healing balm for the selfregard of the poor scholar, who thought himself scarce worthy to carry his books after him. The money he received from his offices as Reader and Chaplain was augmented by the Prebend~~ed~~ which he at length received, and the various livings from which he extracted considerable sums. Weighty debts and unfortunate investments, as well as a forced loan by the Exchequer, tended to obliterate the benefits he received. He lived meanly in London, and lived much where he worked. But he was not altogether <sup>quite so</sup> poverty-stricken as he made himself out to be: he always had something and his wife and family lived in a better way than many other families of country clergy. But the threat of complete ruin was always on him, and the anxiety of continually staving off his creditors and his loss of self respect weighed upon him, ~~and~~ who had sold his patrimony for his work, and who, a man of good family, was forced at times to fetch his own beer and bread, and <sup>who had</sup> sunk so low when in prison that sixpence a day was all he could spend. But he was happy in some of his friends, his niece and her husband, Ellys Crisp, Henry King, Henry Compton (that great and remarkable man), and William Sancroft, besides <sup>Francis</sup> ~~Thomas~~ Turner and less eminent personages, all of whom helped him not a little, but how little could actually be done for a man in Castell's

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~~137~~

predicament in such times and under such conditions Castell himself was not prepared to acknowledge. His niece's relatives were wealthy, his own relations were landed gentry and his wife no doubt had some fortune. Each patron, therefore, after a while found himself exhausted except in kindness and consideration. His friends arranged that he should be freed from debt by compositions or by more drastic means. But he was an exceedingly miserable man, and in his anxieties made the most miserable shifts to put off his lexicons, not by so doing increasing the patience of his patrons. In the last years with Clarke, the friends seem to have drifted apart, but on his death Castell received from Clarke's executors some of the manuscripts of his work. ~~[The mingling of~~ His zeal for the Lexicon and his importunity for assistance are inextricably mixed.

The Bibles had largely been an Oxford enterprise pushed on by Oxford men: Castell in his turn found less sympathy there than he might have expected, with Clarke the Architypographus to the University. In Cambridge he had some interest, but nothing of prime influence in his work, and the strange fact is that he looked to Oxford rather than to Cambridge for help. At Oxford <sup>there had been some agitation</sup> some opinion had agitated for the making of the Lexicon there, probably with Clarke, at least nominally, at the head of it. To this end Castell once hoped he might be granted a benefice near Oxford so that he might be enabled to play his part, content to be subordinate. That failing, he was alarmed by the reluctance of his friend to continue with him in the scheme, and also the unwillingness of the University to grant Clarke leave of absence if the work should have to be carried on in London. With the withdrawal of his friend from the enterprise, and the indifference, if not hostility, of Oxford Castell was cast on his own slender resources, deprived at once of an important colleague, whose name had in part guaranteed the work to the subscribers, and of the financial help that might have come from the University. He could look to Lightfoot in Cambridge, and to Pocock in Oxford, for encouragement only, for both these men stood [high above

high above the labour of dictionary work, especially of the encyclopaedic type as Castell's was. They gave advice, criticised the proposals, encouraged the editor, sent him collections, manuscripts and the fruits of their studies, indeed, performed everything that Castell asked and might expect from them both. But in the matter of the actual labour of the work of compilation, the removal of Clarke was a desperate blow

Samuel Clarke had been a student at Merton College, Oxford, from which he graduated M.A. in 1648. Leaving the University during the Civil War he took up teaching in a school at Islington, from which about 1650 he began to give his aid to Walton, working mainly on the Hebrew and Chaldaic Paraphrase, and the Latin version of the Gospels in Persian. He appears to have come eventually to live in London at the chambers assigned to the chief assistants at Dunsmore House, somewhere near Charterhouse Lane where the printing was carried on, and here he and Castell became friends. Jointly they issued the Prospectus for their new work, and each canvassed his friends with regard to it. Together they agreed on the scheme and in every way at the beginning took equal interest and responsibility. But with the return of Clarke to the University and the restoration

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restoration to him of his offices there in 1658 ,  
the bulk of active responsibility naturally fell  
upon Castell.

Besides the duties of Esquire Bedel of Law and  
of supervising the printing done by the University  
Press, Clarke was revolving in his mind the  
production of Persian and Turkish dictionaries  
and the issue of a seventh volume to the London  
Bibles of texts there omitted. Evidences of these  
designs remain in an incomplete form in the manus-  
cripts of his in the Bodleian Library. His tendency  
was to consider himself secondary in the Lexicon  
work, and at last, when definitely tied to Oxford,  
to concentrate his energies upon his own enterprises.  
It is surprising to our minds, that work, such as  
Clarke's and Castell's, acknowledged generally in  
both Universities as of importance and of value,  
should, first of all, have been undertaken privately,  
and secondly ,not been commissioned by the Universities  
in some manner. For not only had Minsheu's Dictionary  
brought in nothing to its promoter as an advantage  
in publication by subscription, but Walton, also,  
had only satisfied his expenses. The money available  
in the Universities for public work could not, of  
course, be considerable.

Samuel Clarke was a friend and associate of Pocock in learned treatises, publishing in Pocock's 'Lamiato'l Ajam , a tractate on Arabic metre, Scientia Metrica et Rhythmica, seu tractatus de Prosodia Arabica , in 1661, while the book entitled Massoreth Beracoth Titulus Talmudicus (1667) is ascribed to him. His scholarship was something of the same quality as Castell's , solid and extensive, accurate and full, but he, no more than Castell himself, could ~~not~~ shine in the light of his friend Pocock. But he was a man of affairs, as his University offices show him, which Castell was not, and how much Castell needed a man of affairs who was also a linguist, does not require to be emphasised. Good Angels he might have to stir the Waters for him. (as he himself puts it) amongst the dignitaries of the Church, but a man accustomed to business, and who went amongst scholars and rich men who had bents towards the Holy Study, was a necessity, which Walton had, largely in himself, and which Castell <sup>had</sup> did not.

The time came when opinion moved Castell to enlarge the scheme of his work . Scholars in Arabic doubted the usefulness of his selection of words bearing only upon the Biblical texts. He did not require much persuasion to extend it, and to enrich it . In such a situation, therefore, the

the first alteration was to include the full Golius Lexicon without exception of any word, which increased the work to be done, the number of corrections to be made, the checking of words and citations and a constant reference to the manuscript Arabic lexicon <sup>of</sup> which William Bedwel, one of the Westminster translators who died in 1632, and whose work had been rendered useless by the appearance of Golius's book.

Being with some importunity moved by sundry of the persons above named, and divers others, to take in Golius's Arabic Lexicon entirely into ours, which will swell the volume into a much greater bigness then we proposed or promised, as by the specimen herewith annexed will appear, not a small proportion, finding it to be the universal desire of all to whom it hath been imparted to do, though with the enhancement of the price, we have agreed thus far to alter the proposition concerning this above, that instead of forty shillings for the whole Lexicon, only thirty shillings shall be paid any time before or by the beginning of this first of April (1658), and twenty six shillings more at the coming out of the whole work; and so we resolve to take in all the Arabic words in Golius without exception.

The proceeding was marked by a feverish ransacking of libraries, and calling up of friends for books and manuscripts: from the Cambridge library Castell procured the Bedwell manuscript, the large number of loose papers in which, and the indifferent arrangement of the material, as well as the faulty citation, consumed a good deal of Castell's time and patience. There was to be <sup>an</sup> advancement [and enlargement] ← back 12 leaves

Note: Walton wrote the following letter to Clarke with reference to his plan to supplement the Biblia Polyglotta: August 11, 1659: MS Sloane 4274 f.91.

"Concerning yo<sup>r</sup> intention of publishing yo<sup>r</sup> additional translations to the Great Bible I cannot but approve of yo<sup>r</sup> designe, concerning wch I signified my opinion to Mr Castle not long since, but as I then intimated to him, I am very doubtfull especially as the times are, whether you Will find encouragement by way of subscriptions for y<sup>e</sup> charge. I found many Weary of What they had begun for y<sup>e</sup> Bible, so y<sup>t</sup> a great part of y<sup>e</sup> subscriptions is not yet paid, & Mr Castle findes by experience how backward men are about y<sup>e</sup> Lexicon, though he hath used all diligence to promote it, & I have recommended it to many. If you could engage some of y<sup>e</sup> cheife booksellers to undertake for y<sup>e</sup> charge or some few freinds, who might have most of y<sup>e</sup> coppies, allowing you a proportion for your selfe, I thinke it y<sup>e</sup> most probable way, or if y<sup>e</sup> University, & y<sup>e</sup> severall Colledges would approve in it, & contribute to y<sup>e</sup> charge, it might happily be carryed on. I shall wish you good speed, & recommend it as I have occasion"...

ARCHBISHOP SHELDON'S LETTER TO THE BISHOPS,  
URGING SUPPORT OF THE LEXICON.

My very good Lord,

After my hearty commendations etc., together with this you shall receive a packet of printed papers containing some propositions concerning the edition of the Heptaglot Lexicon to the Polyglot Bible, which, together with the author's condition, I do hereby earnestly recommend to your Lordship's care and consideration. I shall not need to use many arguments to persuade men of piety and parts to the encouragement of a work so eminently conducing to the advance of religion and learning, and I should be sorry to use the spur of shame to quicken any in the affair, the failing where in would so infamously redound to the disparagement of our Church and Nation, should we suffer a person that hath laboured so much for the public good to sink under the charge of so honourable a work. Therefore, with all earnestness, I recommend to your Lordship the furthering of this worthy undertaking, desiring that, as well as by yourself, as by some one or two the most active and able persons of your church and diocese, you will disperse these papers to the dignitaries and best benefited among your clergy, and other persons, lovers of religion and learning, leading them up to be forward in contributing

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ARCHBISHOP SHELDON'S LETTER TO THE BISHOPS,  
URGING SUPPORT OF THE LEXICON. (contd).

contributing to this so excellent a work according to the propositions of the author. This is a business most proper for our function, wherein I cannot doubt of your best assistance, and so I bid you heartily farewell,

Your Lordship's very loving friend and brother,  
Gilbert, Cant..

Lambeth, 18, November, 63.

For his much honoured friend John Earles  
Dr in Divinity, Dean of Westminster and Clerk of the Closet  
to the King's most excellent Majesty. These.

Sir,

I know you are so great a lover of learning and learned men, that, without the improval of my personal interest and acquaintance, you will give me leave to commend to your favour and acquaintance this most learned gentleman, Mr Castell, who had a principal hand in promoting the printing of the Biblia Polyglotta, and was a constant and indefatigable attendant upon that work for many years together. He is at this time the sole compiler of a great Lexicon of all the Oriental Tongues to be an Appendix to those Bibles, in prosecution of which painful work he doth not only waste his time and his body, but, which is the usual fate of such works, his estate too. Plantin, they say, was undone with printing the King of Spain's Bibles, and so was H. Stephan by his Thesaurus. This learned and modest gentelman hath already sold and spent a great part of his estate in this work. To prevent so sad a fruit of so excellent a work, that ~~whāch~~ will be beneficial to the users may not be injurious to the author, I have taken the liberty to commend him to your knowledge, who possibly may be a good angel to help stir the waters for him, and by some propitious hand or other, now many places are disposing, to commend him to some place of encouragement, that he may, not enrich himself, but by a public supportment be enabled to carry on so public and honourable a service. I beseech you to own him, and pardon this confidence of

Your old friend and humble servant,  
Ed. Reynolds.

July, 15. 1660.

EDMUND CASTELL & SAMUEL CLARKE.

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*affidavit*

Bond for borrowing Bedwell's Manuscript Lexicom  
from the Library of the University of Cambridge.

Know all men by these presents that I Edmond Castell  
Rector of Woodham Watter<sup>s</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> County of Essex am  
holden & firmly bound to Samuel Clarke, Archtypograph-  
er and one of the Esq<sup>r</sup> Bedles in y<sup>e</sup> University of  
Oxford, in the Summe of two Thousand pounds of Lawfull  
Money of England t<sup>o</sup> be paid to the s<sup>d</sup> Samuel Clarke  
his Execut<sup>r</sup>s. Administrat<sup>r</sup>s or assignes To the which  
payment well and truly to be made, I doe bind myself  
& my heires Execut<sup>r</sup>s and Administrat<sup>r</sup>s by these  
p<sup>r</sup>sents. Sealed with my Seale dated the first day  
of March in the year of our Lord, one thousand and  
six hundred ffifty eight.

The Condicion of this obligacion is such That whereas  
the above bounden Edmond Castell hath borrowed out of  
the publike Library of the University of Cambridge, Mr  
Bedwells Arabike Lexicon in Severall Volummes The above  
mencioned Samuell Clarke at y<sup>e</sup> request of The said  
Edmund Castell, standeth joyntly bound by their bond  
obligatory bearing date the sixth day of July in y<sup>e</sup>  
year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty & eight  
In the sume of one Thousand pounds to the Chancellour,  
Masters & Schollars, theire Successors and assignes of the  
University of Cambridge afores<sup>d</sup>, for y<sup>e</sup> delivering back  
the said Lexicon whole and entire, as the same was at  
y<sup>e</sup> time of Borrowing y<sup>e</sup> same within the space of two  
years or their about, to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Chancellour, Master &  
Schollars, their successors or assigns or some ofthem.  
If therefore the said Edmond Castell his Execut<sup>r</sup>s  
Administrat<sup>r</sup>s or assignes or any of them shall well &  
faithfully deliver or cause to be delivered, the s<sup>d</sup>e  
booke whole and entire, to the s<sup>d</sup> Chancellour, Masters,  
& Schollars, their successors & assignes or some of  
them, at the tyme afores<sup>d</sup>, or when the same shalbee  
by them demanded, That then this p<sup>r</sup>sent obligation  
to be voyd or else the same to stand in full force &  
vertue.

Sealed & delivered in the presence of us

Martinus Murray  
John Tibbold

Edmund Castell  
(seal)

## GRACE TO CASTELL AND CLARKE .

Cum Viri celeberrimi Edmundus Castel & Richardus Clark in lucem daturi sint Lexicon *πολύγλωσσον* et ( ad illud magnum opus accuratius perficiendum) Dictionarium Arabicum Ornatissimi Viri Guilielmi Bedwelli e bibliotheca nostra publica mutuo accipere cupiant (quod constat ex literis multis ad Procancellarium scriptis) exhibeantque obligationem mille librarum qua se devinciunt libri omnia volumina illaesa, & schedas singulas integras restitutos.

Placet nobis ut Procancellarius obligationem illorum mille librarum accipiat & Bedwelli lexicon Arabicum cum singulis ejus partibus (Academiae nomine) ad usum praedictum accomodet, restituendum nobis post biennium.

lect. & concess. die Veneris  
Jun.25 1658.

The original Grace now pasted in at p.39 Dd6.4. A copy is written on p.39 and the "Richard" (corrected in the original Grace in Castell's hand) rightly written in the copy as "Samuel".

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BEDWELL'S MS. ARABIC LEXICON.

Y<sup>e</sup> Number of y<sup>e</sup> loos papers in Bedwels

Lexic<sup>n</sup>

TOM.1 - 279  
2 - 385  
3 - 257  
4 - 12  
5 - 308  
6 - 394  
7 - 79  
8 - 11  
9 - 34

Bundle marked

Bα 20 - 84  
Bα 21 - 124  
Bα 22 - 124  
Bα 23 - 0 - 5 - 1

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COPY OF DR. REYNOLD'S LETTER TO DR. CONANT.

January 11, 1778.

Dear Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

There were with me this morning two learned gentlemen, Mr. Edmund Castell, and Mr. Samuel Clark, who have taken great and constant pains in the edition of the Great Bibles in the learned languages, and who have by their fidelity, and indefatigable industry, and ability in that noble work, deserved much honour and encouragement from all lovers of learning.

Their business was to impart unto me a further design of printing a large lexicon of seven oriental languages, which may be both in the nature of an appendix and apparatus unto the Bible, (being to be printed in the same paper and volume) and may likewise sell alone as an entire work by itself. And because they are desired to take in all the words that Golius hath in his Arabic Lexicon, unto which they shall add many others which he hath not, the price will necessarily arise unto more than they at first contrived. Their desire was that I would use the interest that I have in Oxford to promote the business of subscription to the work there. To that purpose, knowing your readiness in so good a work, I have desired them to send you down as many of their specimens as there be governors in the Colleges or Halls in the University,

and my request

COPY OF DR.REYNOLD'S LETTER TO DR.CONANT.(contd).

and my request unto you is that you will put forth yourself in promoting so honourable a work, and persuading the governors of Colleges and Halls to commend it to their respective Fellows, Gentlemen-Commoners and Members, for subscriptions in order to advancing money for the work.(a)

(a) Top of page : "v. p. 63." (i.e. of ms.)

DR. GODDARD'S LETTER TO DR. BOND.

Sir,

I presume to give you the trouble of these lines upon my apprehension both of your favourable respect to me, and of the fairness and freeness from inconvenience of the thing itself, wherein I am engaged to move you. It is at the request of Mr. Castel, a person learned in the Oriental tongues, who hath taken pains about the late edition of the Bible in the learned languages, and is now taken up about the publishing of a Lexicon of the same Oriental tongues.

Now I surmise the University of Cambridge have a manuscript of the Chaldaic Paraphrase on the Book of Chronicles which is not publicly extant. This he desires to have the use of, in order to the better accomplishment of his work, or perhaps for publishing in print, and to borrow upon sufficient security. It hath been used at Oxford<sup>(a)</sup>, upon such public accounts, to accomodate with rare manuscripts in the University Library or elsewhere. If you shall please to afford him your furtherance in our request that he may be accomodated so far as is in your power and doth consist with the rules to which you are bound up, it would I hope turn to some account of public good to be desired as from your University, and (if that signified anything) you would thereby lay an obligation

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DR.GODDARD'S LETTER TO DR.BOND. (contd).

obligation upon,

Your affectionate and most humble servant, J.Goddard.

March 31, 59.

(a) The Ms.was wanted not by Castell but by Clarke.  
See letters to Clarke.

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GENTIUS' LETTER CONCERNING THE  
CARAEITES.

S.Pl.

Reverende Pater in Deo Fautor amplissime

Quoties ad animum revoco inusitatissimam humanitatem tuam agnosco literis mei saltem nominis memoriam refricandam esse, Sed si metior incomptum dicendi meum genus, impar voto ingenium, atque aetatem senili T. gravitate longe inferiorem, scribendi animus languescit. Vereor non ne interrumpam manibus meis literis gravissima T. negotia quibus distringeris. Nihilominus metui officium non post ponendum duxi, cum sciam Te juvenili errori per senili sapientia Tua facile condonaturum. Constare tibi arbitror (Illustre saeculi nostri decus) Religionem. Caraeitarum a caeterorum Judaeorum plane esse diversam, nec unquam Christianis satis esse cognitam: Cujus sane exquisitiorem notitiam, Fata, temporaque doctoribus inviderunt, quippe solis suae gentis circumscripta limitibus, non ambiat externos, nisi ab ipsis ambiretur. Saepe equidem mihi in votis fuit, ut (si Diis placeret) ejus gentis solidiores scriptores, legerem, animus non praesagiebat, eam purius, atque Judaeorum sapientia altius quodpiam tradere, quum altius longe Talmudicis magistris sapere viderentur. Rejectis non fabulis & toto Talmudico opere, seu Lege Orali (quam etiam divinas Traditiones appellare Judaeorum superstio consuevit) solis sacris literis invigilent, purisque fidant, neque mentem ex majorum fabulis frivole affingunt, sed Religionem intelligunt atque puriori animo Divina oracula venerantur & interpretentur. Si hujus gentis praestantiores authores in publicum Christianorum bonum, luce donare possem, certe itineris mei finem invenissem, atque votis meis fere satisfecissem. Non reticendum est me nuper felicissimo casu in praecipuum quendam hujus Gentis authorem incidisse, qui omnia illorum precepta complectitur, diverso modo ab eo quem coeteri habent Judaei, & maximi faciunt. Spero etiam, si pro rem liceat, me illum obtenturum, & porro perlectum, in Commune bonum evulgare posse. Qua propter R. Pater in Deo, etiam atque etiam rogo, ut me illo beneficio quo D. Ravium fovisti, adjuvare velis, prout benevole promisisti. Illud certe beneficium me ad multa egregia molienda animabit: probabo etiam me tuo favore non esse indignum, Curandum vere est, nisi jam curatum fuerit, ut ... illud mihi per mercatorem aliquem hic annuatim annumeretur. Certe mihi nullum est dubium quin (summe varorum) tuis auspiciis itineris mei fructum brevi sim inventurus, nisi jam invenerim. Hebraeorum gens me frequenter invisit, atque ob qualemcunque Hebraicae Linguae notitiam amplectitur & arcana, pectorisque consilia reteggit, Inter Graecos Graecae linguae peritos nullos fere invenio. Omnes non exceptis 2 Cretensibus

spurii sunt,

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spurii sunt, atque horum alter uter, ne Grammatica quidem satis; quid fluida oratione sive florida praeditum quaeram. Exaruit dulce Graecorum flumen, neque sapientiam retinuerunt quam ipsorum majores habuisse probarunt. Ego quidem qui primos annos sedulo Graecis literis operam dedi semper dubitabam cum Graecis, atque in suis literis enutritis in aciem prodire: sed comperio illos incerto usu, atque vaga consuetudine majorum suorum linguam addiscere; ubi nos certiori via per precepta Grammaticae erudimur. Hinc aliquis a me Grammaticae precepta edoceri cupiebat, quod perfecto mihi videbatur ridiculum, Graecum a non Graeco Graecam linguam i.e. Minervam a sue, discere velle. Hic Graeciae status est, quem vel millies deploro: optandum erat aliquod saltem in tota Graecia gymnasium institui, ne prorsus et Graeciae nomen extingueretur. Quod quidem haud factu difficile crediderim, sint modo authores qui ignavos expellant gravitate. Quo in re non leve momentum sit habiturum Tuum, o Immortale decus, consilium, quod dandum erit Antistibus Graeciae presertim uni alteri Cretensi, quem ferunt doctissimum, qui ad Antistitis fastigium ascendat. Cum quo nondum mihi intercessit notitia; est vere frequens in aedibus nostris, ut narrant, quando Constantinopolin venit. Graeciae vulnus exquisitos medicos requirit, alioquin verendum est, ne & ipsum Graeciae nomen intreat.

Hic Vale Immortale decus & me amare.  
perges Tuo nomini addictissimum

Georg. Gentium

Dat. Constantinopoli  
xi Dec. 1641.

ms. D. 6. 4. 382/380

The above is an 'edited' text: abbreviations, e.g. being written here in full.

CASTELL'S COPY OF ROBERT FRAMPTON'S LETTER<sup>(a)</sup>  
ON THE PLIGHT OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST.

For my much respected friends, Dr.Hall, Dr.Pearson, Dr.Ball, Dr.Harding, all or either of them, worthy and dear friends, I congratulate with you from my soul, the Restoration of his gracious Majesty, the peace of the Church of England, the prosperity of all good men in it, and in particular yours, whose deserts and virtues have made you so justly eminent.

With the same passion and concernment, I commend to your care and piety the cause which I have in hand, viz. the relief of the Eastern Church, whose misery is unspeakable, Jerusalem, Antioch, Aleppo, Trepoli, Damascus, Mount Libanus, all full of Christians, and all worn out with sore oppression. It is with no small anguish and grief of spirit that I have seen many a quite spent sufferer turn Turk through mere desperation, and with no less, that of those which stand, I see so many within the nets, and at the brink of the selfsame precipice, whose apostacies to my power I have both prevented and do prevent, but finding the bank too feeble, turn to you in England to have it strengthened, and had done it long ere this had not the necessities of our own exiles spent all the alms

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CASTELL'S COPY OF ROBERT FRAMPTON'S LETTER<sup>(a)</sup>

ON THE PLIGHT OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST. (contd).

alms of our noble country. I shall not, therefore, apologise to you, nor is there any need, I presume, to do so, that when being summoned by Dr.Duncán to gather alms for our English sufferers, and deposit it in your hands, I excused it and turned the stream on their importunate necessities that stood so near to me.

The good Patriarch of Antioch, who is a Greek, and whose praise is great in this Eastern world, hath written my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, and in another letter of the same date, to all the worthy chiefs of our English Church, both in Arabic, his skill in Greek being too feeble to be entrusted. He had written to His Majesty, and visited England perhaps in person, as he hath formerly the Duke of Muscovy, but being timorous of offending, hath rather written, as you see, Episcopus ad Episcopos, beseeching their lordships to mediate for him with His Majesty, whom God preserve, and with whomsoever else they shall judge convenient. At his request I have ventured also a humble remonstrance to His Grace, touching the estate of the persons mentioned, in which, if the piety of the design may but countervail my presumption in it, I doubt not but your affection<sup>(b)</sup>

will find

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CASTELL'S COPY OF ROBERT FRAMPTON'S LETTER <sup>(a)</sup>

ON THE FLIGHT OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST. (contd).

will find some excuse for the dullness of it. Having seen for these five or six years past, nought but the ruins and desolations of Palestina, Syria, and parts adjacent, it is impossible but my expression must have such a languishing and dampness on it, as must render it unacceptable. Now it is my humble request to you, if you neither judge the cause unworthy, nor are ashamed of me who am labouring in it, to accompany my worthy friend, the bearer, some or all of you, to His Grace. I am persuaded in my mind that they are as worthy of compassion, and as much merit the name of martyrs, thousands of them, as any sufferers in the world that either now are or ever have been. I beseech you, therefore, not by that friendship with which you favoured me so much in England, though I am certain it is much too noble to deceive my just dependence, but, because no human respect whatever is of credit, worth, and well enow to rest the whole weal of so dear a cause upon, by that love you bear your Saviour in whose cause we are all joint-workmen, to countenance my poor endeavours, and perfect them by your assistances.

If His Grace be inclined to succour them, and you please to signify it to Aleppo, I shall once

more assume

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CASTELL'S COPY OF ROBERT FRAMPTON'S LETTER  
ON THE PLIGHT OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST.

I shall once more assume the liberty to write you how we distribute ours and how all alms in Turkey must be distributed that while we succour the poor men's wants we may not feed the (pretenders') avarice. If nothing can be done I shall yet have the pleasure to have complied with (the bidding ?) of my conscience and the comfort that not averseness either in His Grace or you retarded it, but the state of the Church of England, whose recovery, though full and perfect, you cannot grieve to make such emissions. I shall go on, therefore, with such poor alms as my own shallow powers can yield them, and such as I can prevail for with my worthy friends in the English Factory, relieving them in what I can, and where all other helps forsake me, dropping my tears as fast as they if I cannot relieve them further. That you may not mistake in our request, thinking it greater than it is and so be discouraged from doing anything, know that the fivehundredth part of such relief as was formerly sent to Piedmont would be a blessed refreshment to them and might be so made by careful faithful persons as to be a lasting and a continued one; to God's glory be it spoken, I have redeemed scores of them out of prison and saved them were on the point of turning from their religion. Adieu  
~~my dear and worthy friends. If I can any way serve~~

CASTELL'S COPY OF ROBERT FRAMPTON'S LETTER<sup>(a)</sup>  
ON THE FLIGHT OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE EAST. (contd).

upon the point of turning from their religion.

Adieu, my dear and worthy friends. If I can any way serve you in the East, or any other of your friends, I shall think myself honoured to be employed by you, and shall endeavour to shew it effectually.

I am your most affectionate countryman, and faithful servant, Robert Frampton.

From Scanderona, where I was occasionally.

October, 9, 1661.<sup>(e)</sup>

- (a) Robert Frampton, later Bishop of Gloucester, was chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo, 1665 - 70. See.D.N.B.
- (b) There is some uncertainty as to the use of the symbol here : normally I would read "affliction".
- (c) Blotted in Ms.
- (d) Symbol normally for "you".
- (e) The Patriarch's Arabic letters to the Archbishop and the Bishops follow on succeeding pages with Latin renderings, which appear to have been Castell's work.

## EDMUND CASTELL'S BANKRUPTCY.

Through the Great Fire, the Plague and the Dutch War, Castell estimated that he had lost a total of five thousand pounds sterling. His brother's mismanagement of his estate and the complications with the speculating scrivener, Robert Yarway, cost him another four thousand pounds. Delays in the press, import of paper, legal delays, illness and imprisonment could also be calculated into an appreciable sum for goodwill. By 1669 his Lexicon had cost him about sixteen hundred pounds, of which twelve hundred had been paid and ~~fourteen~~ hundred remained as debt.

Having produced his work as an independent enterprise he was not able to persuade the stationers of London to undertake the sale of the book when he himself failed to effect it. He therefore entertained the idea of letting <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~ go at half price. Besides this, a quarter of the total impression had been lost or damaged; three hundred consumed in the Fire, two hundred spoiled. In the course of the years following their completion, the Lexicons were moved about to different storehouses nearly twenty times, six times before the Fire, six times ~~during~~ the Fire, and near eight times afterwards. Due notice having been given to his subscribers that he would attend in person to distribute the copies, Castell waited patiently until

until the imminence of his return to his duties as Arabic professor at Cambridge, gave him the excuse to throw up what he realised to be a hopeless errand. At Bartholomewtide of 1678 he was informed that the landlord of his warehouse had become bankrupt and that his stock of volumes was in danger of confiscation. In bewilderment he rushed up from Bedfordshire with wagons and labourers, without any idea of where he might deposit his books until he fell in with his son-in-law, Ellys Crisp and deposited part of the edition in one of his empty houses at Wimbledon. The remainder he took to Higham Gobion, to Cambridge, and Middlesex. These <sup>transfers</sup> traverses added nothing to the condition of the Lexicons, which had already suffered by the bad state of the several warehouses.

From the date of issue, the Lexicon became a symbol of defaulting subscribers and bankrupt debtors, round about which Castell expressed his disgust and made his frequent complaints. Periodic letters, cajoling and threatening, reached the higher clergy of England from the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking them to take up the books: but no such disposal was ever effected, even though some men maintained that to buy them was as good an investment as plate. The noble German scholar, Jobo Ludolf, made some gestures  
*a proposal is*

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of taking up the copies at forty shillings, but the death of Castell put an end to the negotiations.

The work had not been under way for four years, but the editor found it impossible to go on unless he sold or mortgaged his private estate. By 1660 he was frantically attempting to remove the mortgages that he might sell the remainder, but receiving no adequate offers, and fearing that the realisable total would not in any case defray the costs of his work, Castell endeavoured to interest the University of Cambridge in his financial position by placing his accounts in the hands of Dr Dillingham, the then vicechancellor. Preferment being generally in the way of the well affected, Castell hoped that something might come of the move, he himself being able to show proof of his loyalty to King and Church. Nothing, however, of real importance came of it.

A few years later, about 1664, Castell's elder brother, Robert, who had lost his son, fell sick so grievously that on his recovery he agreed to Castell's suggestion that he should put his affairs in order in anticipation of his demise, so that Castell was to inherit so much as would clear off such debts as his brother owed him, and give him opportunity to make a little on the transaction. Robert appears to have owed Edmund a total of £1000.

Round figures like these are not dependable as Castell was apt to be free in such calculations. Nevertheless a considerable sum was acknowledged as owing. In the sequel, apart from Mary Crisp's inheritance, Castell took over some of Robert's estates, and the responsibility for some of his debts. One particularly noteworthy debt of £250 due (through a legal mistake) to the scrivener Yarway and his creditors, eventually spread until its real amount, so far as Castell was concerned along with the matter of mortgages, came to £2000, in which Castell found himself liable for payment of £1500 of it, for part of which he found himself imprisoned several times.

Thus out of what had appeared to be a good bargain with his elder brother, Castell came to realise that all was not so fair. In the end he and his friends called down upon the head of Robert as frequent and as downright curses as they called down upon Robert Yarway the scrivener whose death in the plague had set the whole affair in movement. There was always in these businesses an irritating sureness in protecting the true heirs from the consequences of other legacies. Mary Crisp did not suffer from her father's arrangements, nor did the family of the scrivener through the bankruptcy of his estate. Castell found it so.

His inheritance by this time was wholly sold away, and the estimated cost of his Lexicon with which he was faced was placed at £4000. He had been engaged also on his brother's behalf, who had passed on to him certain dues as security. Castell therefore demanded that these securities should be formally made over to him, along with formal acknowledgements of the distribution of the estate of their deceased sister, Martha, of which, presumably, either both or Edmund alone, had been the trustees. This past expenditure had been to the extent of £300 which Castell had had to pay out in legacies, while he alleged that he had been deprived of £200 to which he claimed a right. Castell proceeded to demand that his brother should take upon himself that extent of indebtedness of their sister's estate. As part of the inducement to do so, Castell undertook to collect certain bills on his brother's behalf and to see that the monies were properly paid over to the heirs or appointed persons at his brother's death. Whatever the other details of the agreement might have been, on his brother's death in the next few months (Castell was not able to attend the funeral) Castell became the trustee and the largest legatee of his brother's estate.

Edmund Castell had a long memory for debts owing to himself. In his correspondence with his brother

1685

his brother) and his brother's daughter (who was another beneficiary under the will) he called to mind that he and his brother contracted a mutual debt when youngsters at the University. It was £12, and the money was paid out of Castell's allowance. When he had inherited Bowers' estate, he granted his brother wood valued at £20. He granted him £200 in dues, freely. When he held Stib as well as Bowers, he paid him out £304.10.0 to be repaid with interest should Castell himself ever have occasion to raise cash: and after thirty years, no interest paid, a considerable part of the capital was in arrears, while for twenty years Castell had been borrowing larger sums at heavy rates. It is impossible to follow out the details of the large estates which both brothers inherited at one time or another, what sales and purchases they effected, or what losses they sustained: but it seems reasonably certain that Robert Castell died a much more wealthy man than his brother was when he took over that part of the inheritance assigned to him. In later years Edmund affirmed repeatedly, that his only property consisted of his Prebendary's income, his dues from his livings and his University post, the expenses of every one of which exceeded the income. At the end, having saved some four hundred pounds from his office at Canterbury, in order to help clear his debts, he was deprived of the money by the King's order, and the

and the four hundred pounds was swept out of the Goldsmiths' hands into the Exchequer. All he received after that event in 1679 was some (quantity) part of the interest, while his creditors began to threaten him the second time with imprisonment. He was imprisoned the first time about July 11, 1667.

The Castell family had long been interested in speculation in the Fens, and they possessed at various times considerable lands there. For the purposes of such investment, as seventeenth century landowners vouchsafed considerable interest in the several drainage schemes of the age, Robert Castell had been borrowing money for years through the agency of Mr Yarway. This scrivener of London loaned and borrowed large sums of money for speculative purposes. The bulk of the cash raised by Robert Castell was alleged to have been repaid, but there had been some irregularity in the transactions, such that it was necessary for Robert and Edmund to sue the scrivener, and also for like action to be taken by their son-in-law, Mr Crisp. Some recognition of Robert's claim was extracted from Yarway but the case was never effectually followed up. On Robert Castell's death, Edmund found that he had not only inherited some dues and legacies to be paid out of

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paid out of his brother's estate, but also the continued indebtedness to Yarway, and the complications which this indebtedness entailed, for Yarway not only borrowed and loaned in his own name but in the name of other people who were his clients, and who in this manner chose to invest their money.

Nevertheless the first thing that Castell did was to raise fourteen hundred pounds and to proceed to pay off his creditors by first discharging the legal claims against him as trustee, second, such bonds as he was bound <sup>in</sup> for his brother, and third such debts as he himself was not actually bound for. At the same time he made every effort to collect the odds and ends of his brother's property and all such debts as were still outstanding to him. He also made an appeal to his co-heirs to waive their claims in his favour or come to some arrangement with regard to them, taking no scruples to plead his public expenses and indebtedness, and showing himself incapable of regarding his own or any one else's obligations except in the light of his Lexicon work. Having in his hands such monies as he was able to raise in this manner, he began to fear that his brother's liabilities might eat up not only that amount but what he was able to raise from his own estate, so that the inheritance must cost him more than it was worth. In three months

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In three months he paid out four hundred pounds, and other debts were being pressed. The expenditure in this direction soon rose to a thousand pounds, while another two thousand pounds remained to be settled. His near relatives, the Bendishes and the Crisps, were amongst his creditors, and he was largely successful in making them agree to concessions, as for example the Crisps, who agreed to take into account the wording of an imperfect will of his brother's which had been discovered and which was more favourable, presumably, to Edmund.

Some of the Fenlands went to the Crisps. Castell bought part of these for four hundred pounds and an agreement that two hundred pounds should be paid out of them to his nieces, the Bendishes, at Barrington. By June 1665, however, he was certain that he had been swindled in the transaction, quite an uncalled for allegation, but one which he based on the fall in the value of the land, the debt upon it of £3000, and the arrears of taxation to the amount of £200. He declared that he was losing a hundred pounds a year on his speculation. The immediate need then was to find some fifty or sixty pounds to pay off taxation arrears. He procured the patronage of Lord Bedford and Lord Gouge who stood surety for the arrears, and when they

when they called in their money, Mr Crisp was accordingly induced to clear the debt. When he had disposed of the bulk of his lands, Castell found himself attempting to take off the mortgage and arrears from his last piece of ground, which he had bought for £600: he begged his patrons once more to support him, which they did, so far as may be made out: but their agent was not able to effect a settlement for the taxation, and the land was handed over to a Mr Bradburn, Castell alleging that he was the only one that year to be so treated for arrears, all others having been allowed to continue on account of the times, and that this was so because his land was the most valuable of them all. It was the year following the great disasters of the reign, and that year brought further troubles to Castell, for during the plague, Robert Yarway, the moneylending scrivener, died. Yarway's creditors, finding his estate securely out of their reach, immediately descended on Castell, his total indebtedness on this count being fifteen hundred pounds. The situation that followed was that Castell was suing the Yarway estate, and Yarway's creditors were suing Castell. Judgements were issued left and right, but, although it was generally known that Yarway had left sufficient to clear off all his debts, nothing was got out of his properties. Castell, on his part, pursued the Yarway

Yarway trustees in the lawcourts for four terms, until he was the sole creditor doing so, all others having withdrawn from that aspect of the case, or having made separate arrangements. His own creditors, however, did not spare him. They sprang up in all directions, and added themselves to his old ones in harrasing and dunning him incessantly. He proclaimed again and again that the debt had been paid by his brother: and that his brother had simply failed to pursue his legal right. He himself issued summonses left and right and probed every possibility from such judgements as he obtained against Yarway's business associates, while about him at this time the Fire and the Plague had reduced his own private debtors (all seemingly sound men) to bankruptcy. No banker would give out money: there was a general stoppage of payments, and financial business was at a standstill. In such a juncture, a creditoress, a certain Mrs Try, named a date in May 1667 on which she required payment of £250. Since she had a writ against him, Castell asked her to include in it the names of some other creditors, as for example other purchasers of his brother's lands like his niece's husband, Mr Crisp. Some delay was granted, but in June on the twenty fourth, after fruitless attempts to raise money, he tried to placate Mrs Try with the offer of what was due to him from the

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1657/1  
from the Yarway estate as part settlement of the  
debt. This offer Mrs Try not unnaturally refused  
and about the eleventh of July, when the ships were  
fired at Chatham, she had him imprisoned. He was  
taken successively to the King's Bench Prison, the  
Counter, and finally, at his own request, to the  
Fleet.

He lived in prison on sixpence a day, in the  
midst of vile and verminous environment, in a fair  
amount of terror and misery, until he made friends  
with his gaoler. He was visited and cared for by  
his niece and her husband, although it appears that on  
one occasion his wife was denied access to him .  
Friends such as these were instrumental in obtaining  
his release in August, after he had been in prison  
(in this instance) for the greater part of a month.  
Castell was grateful for the kindness, and about his  
imprisonment he does not make many comments. He  
lamented, however, the delay his misadventures  
brought upon his work and the holding up of the  
printing presses. Walking back to the printing-house  
he still had his debts hanging about him. One  
large creditor or another was placated by friends  
and influential acquaintances: as for example Mr  
Fadis and Mr Simon Adam, the latter a kinsman of  
Yarway's, with whom arrangements were made. Notable  
amongst such friends was Mr Edward Waterhouse, LL.D.  
of Cambridge, and Trin College.

It is to be noted that Castell made some agreements is secret, giving preference to one creditor over another. He made over properties to kinsmen, in the regular manner of the bankruptcy, altered bonds in a dubious manner, and evidently tried hard not to overreach the law. At one time he declared that he did not have forty shillings with which to meet his creditors. Nevertheless, probably aided by the Crisps, he raised money in 1684 to buy the forty nine acres of land in Hexton from the Pruddens which he left to his wife and his niece Mary after her, paying £300 in purchase money, although in 1682 his subscribers still owed him six or seven hundred pounds.

Despite such machinations, Castell was reduced from being a comparatively wealthy man, through whose hands had passed many thousands of pounds, to a very poor one, and he was not wrong in ascribing the greater part of his ruin, and the crucial situation of the Yarway administrations to his exploits as editor of the Lexicon. He summarised his misfortunes in his petition to William Sancroft, in which he related how he had been called to the Bible work in 1653 and thereafter persuaded to take up the compilation of the Lexicon, which undertakings had been the "Sepulcher" in which for twenty years he had buried the strength of his body and laid waste the faculties of his spirit, seldom working less than 16 hours a day, sometimes

sometimes 18 and 20. Towards which also he had given up about 1000 acres of land in Essex and Cambridgeshire, while through it he had lost his friends, especially those who took disgust at the audacity of his adventure, with the departure of peace of mind, and the coming, instead, of malignity, obloquy, and the vast debts incumbent upon him.

Many cross contingencies had traversed the editor and his work "constraining them both to groan between the presses", for a greater number of years than had been foreseen: the Lexicon had been improved but the compiler had been ruined and disabled. Amongst bodily accidents he counted the luxation of his hip-bone, as he went about the sale of his estate, the contusion of his side by a fall downstairs, the dislocation of his shoulder-bone by another fall, all which hindered the work. Besides these, interruptions had come through the Wars, the translation of Arabic letters from the Patriarch of Antioch, and the two years delay from the negotiations with Golius for his Persian Lexicon. Amongst Divine Infections he counted the Plague and the death of nine of his workmen: the Fire, through which in a variety of ways he <sup>lost</sup> lessed £3000: the Dutch Wars which held up importation of paper: his imprisonments. The decay of his parsonage-house in Essex led to his resignation, due to the inevitable neglect from his absence. After being his Majesty's Chaplain for fifteen years, he had only received his

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his Prebendary at Canterbury, either for his relief or his encouragement. Except what had been done for him by one or two of the Bishops, and especially the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, little had been contributed or procured for his work. The first four years profits of his Canterbury office was swept up into the Exchequer: his expenditure in the attempt to extract the debts due from his subscribers had been wasted: the constant removals of his volumes did not increase their value. And opposition had always met proposals to give him advancement.

Lord Bishop Walton, who with the greatest instance beyond all others the better to vend his Polyglotts, urged Dr Castell to the compiling of his Heptaglott, with promise that he would be his partner in the work, caused both the Doctor, Mr Clarke, and Mr Huish, who were actually engaged in partnership with him, to print a paper, wherein the Bishop promised for encouragement, freely to lend the use of all his types to further this design, but before the work began all these three deserted their partnership, and the Bishop retracted also his publicly declared promise: so as the Doctor was compelled to stand upon his own bottom, and to give £100 for the use of those types. Although the Doctor by what he gave and subscribed and promised from others, brought in almost £1000 towards the Polyglott Bibles, yet the Lord Bishop neither subscribed himself nor procured the least mite towards the Doctor's undertaking: but contrariwise, when the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of London and Worcester were mentioning the Doctor's name, to be put up unto His Majesty for obtaining a Prebendary, Bishop Walton made answer (which the Doctor had from his own mouth) What need of such haste, to prefer one that had a Parliament<sup>ee</sup> for his brother (for whom the Doctor paid some thousands of pounds) and a Lady to his wife (cui nisi nomen, her former husband being a Royalist, was deprived utterly by some grand

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grand Parliamenteers of his whole estate) and a good estate of his own. He yet was not unknowing that the Doctor was at the same time upon the sale of all his lands in Essex. Afterward Mr Roycroft the printer became the Doctor's partner, and so continued till the charge of the work amounted to above £8000, then he likewise abandoned him.

Therefore in 1669 when his creditors might have hopefully looked for something in the long looked for publication of the Heptaglot Lexicon, advertised ten years before as something to astound the world, the poor compiler shuffled through his warehouses with their uncalled-for copies and within earshot of the noise of the presses on new works not his own, explaining to all who asked that the subscribers were not taking up their volumes, and that he had been sending messengers entreating them in vain.

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DR WATERHOUSE'S LETTER TO SIMON ADAM,  
ON BEHALF OF CASTELL.

Mr Simon Adam Dr Waterhouse's letter  
to him July 14. 68.

Good Sr

Tho I am yet a stranger to You, yet my resolves are not long so to bee becaus I not only hear of Yo<sup>r</sup> personal civility, but have a design to becom a clyent to it, in case of y<sup>e</sup> reverend Dr Castel, whose learning & pain's in y<sup>e</sup> great performance he long ha's, & is yet about to produce to y<sup>e</sup> World (for wch he is justly stiled by y<sup>e</sup> most learnd abroad, to be ad stuporem doctus) renders him les able to encounter w<sup>th</sup> his misfortunes, or to extricate himself from them, then otherwise he would be. I understand by a letter he ha's shewed mee of Yo<sup>r</sup>'s, y<sup>t</sup> Yo<sup>r</sup> patience ha's taken som provocation from his not answering Yo<sup>r</sup> expectation before this. To wch tho I will return no answer of contradiction, yet I may honestly make You a reply of reason. I know upon his taking my Counsel from time to time, nothing ha's more Eaten up his already wasted & macid body, but y<sup>e</sup> thoughts of those mischeifs wch his most unnatural brother, & most dishonest scrivener have made his debts. That he stil prosecutes Mr Yarway (whom I take to be Yo<sup>r</sup> kinsman, & trusted by you to dispose y<sup>t</sup> mony) when alive w<sup>th</sup> prayers, & more quickening apply's, but al to no purpos : I

myself

myself dealt w<sup>t</sup> Mr Yarway to do what possibly he could, to discharg y<sup>os</sup> debts, of w<sup>ch</sup> Yo<sup>r</sup>s S<sup>r</sup> was one for payment of w<sup>ch</sup> he had received mony's so long before. Yet his impotency was such, y<sup>t</sup> nothing he could do, save give a Iudgment, w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dr took w<sup>th</sup> intent to convert y<sup>e</sup> proceeds of it to Yo<sup>r</sup> & y<sup>e</sup> other credito<sup>r</sup>s satisfaction, Whom Yarway had abused, as in such disappointment, he had don him also. Since Yarway's death, no man could more studiously prosecute y<sup>e</sup> judgment to make it effectual, y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dr has don, to his expens by a suite in Chancery to about 60<sup>ll</sup>. And al this he yet farther intends to do, to give You, & other Credito<sup>r</sup>s what satisfaction may be thence given You: Alas ! S<sup>r</sup> litle did he think, Debts so long paid off to y<sup>e</sup> scrivener, from whom y<sup>e</sup> principal was received & to whom y<sup>e</sup> interest from time to time was continually paid, should after so many years, rise up against him. Nor can it I am sure but greive You, to be necessitated by a kind of justice to Yo<sup>r</sup>self, to becom an occasion of his greif, as by Yo<sup>r</sup> letters & by Yo<sup>r</sup> suits You threaten to bee, When You consider y<sup>e</sup> sea of Sorrowes y<sup>t</sup> environ him, indeed he is a gentlem<sup>n</sup> who deserves no trouble from y<sup>e</sup> World, but ha's nothing but trouble in it, & y<sup>e</sup>i are flanda naufragia that both (?) his generous Work, & his degenerous wages for it, occasion to him.

Alas !

Alas ! What encouragement ha's he had but from God, & from his soul ambitious to communicate itself, & to give after men & ages y<sup>e</sup> fine prospect into Cryptique useful Learning. Smal have been contributions & aids to y<sup>e</sup> vast Charg of y<sup>e</sup> Work & long wil it be ere he see anything consederable towards a rebursment. The Prebendary y<sup>t</sup> he ha's had about 6 months ha's put him to more charg then he has yet received from it.

What heer after may be, wil ad something to him, w<sup>ch</sup> yet it ha's not don, but vice versa. Up<sup>on</sup> these premisses, w<sup>ch</sup> are al (Reverend S<sup>r</sup>) true in point of fact, & stated as they ought to You, I do by al y<sup>t</sup> is swasive w<sup>th</sup> You, as a Person of Learning, as a Gentleman of Reason, as a Christian of Tendernes, conjure & humbly beseech You, not to proceed in any rigo<sup>r</sup> against him, but rather to acquiesce al thoughts of terro<sup>r</sup>, or discomposure of him. Or els to accept of What termes he is able to propound & make good to you, & to hear them from personally: y<sup>t</sup> so meeting together You may be satisfied each of other. In w<sup>ch</sup> correspondence I would be glad to act my part, as a Cement of y<sup>t</sup> reciprocal freindlines. For surely S<sup>r</sup>, y<sup>r</sup> can be no greater mercy shewed to any for Gods, & Vertues sake, y<sup>n</sup> not to impede y<sup>e</sup> almost birth of so blessed a Work; & y<sup>e</sup> prosperity & reputation of so unwearied a Bee, as has collected hony these many years to give us y<sup>e</sup> sweetnes & pleasure of it, in

his Polyglot

his Polyglot Lexicon. The God of Heaven who  
ha's al o<sup>r</sup> Hearts at command, deal w<sup>th</sup> You S<sup>r</sup>,  
to this desirable compliance & rule this addres  
to such an issue, as may be most for his Glory  
& both Yo<sup>r</sup> Comforts, so pray's

Yo<sup>r</sup> most humble servant & affectionat freind

E Waterhouse

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A FRIENDS LETTER TO MR. ADAMS

ON CASTELL'S BEHALF.

9 October, 69.

Sir,

This which I am about to write is not with any purpose to prejudice Dr. Ca(stell) in any kind, but proceeds from a true and real respect both to him and you. Sir, I am to you unknown, but not to the Doctor, whose condition I cannot but commiserate, being very well known to me. When he first commenced his suit by virtue of his judgement Mr. Yarway gave him against what estate of his could be discovered, he was told by his lawyer, who was best acquainted with Mr. Yarway's estate I believe of any men in England, that three terms would dispatch the whole business. He hath spent a great deal of time to the much damnification of his great work, and vast sums of money for above these three continued years, the fourth now current, no effect at all as yet. He hath<sup>1</sup> spared to make use of the best lawyers, Serjeant Fountain<sup>2</sup>, Mr. Conyars<sup>3</sup>, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Wright, Mr. Cage . . . , yet, after long hopes, not the least mite hitherto of any benefit. He would willingly make over both all the hopes he hath of this suit and whatever .....

His debts are very great, besides the fifteen hundred pounds Mr. Yarway engulfed him in, his great work

hath left

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A FRIEND'S LETTER TO MR. ADAMS

ON CASTELL'S BEHALF. (contd).

hath left him, in the close of it, fourteen hundred pounds more in debt. His elder and only brother hath cast upon him a debt of above two thousand pounds more. His prebendary hath not paid near the charges it hath put him to. His benefice yielded him but eight pounds last year, and cost him in journies to it, sixteen pounds. His lecture at Cambridge hath cost him ordinarily ten pounds, and sometimes fourteen pounds, a quarter, whereas ten pounds quarterly is the utmost he receives. So as if all his copies could be sold at the best hand, of which there is no likelihood at all, but that they must be sold for half the value, he is not in a possibility to satisfy the moiety of what he owes. However this offer myself, with some other friends of his, will tender you, If a hundred pounds paid down into the hands of Mr. Smith sometime this month, may satisfy for the whole of his debt to you, so you will send down a full discharge, you shall not fail to have it paid in accordingly.

The earliest letter from Castell to Lightfoot which remains from the former's voluminous correspondence is dated on the second of December 1657, and brought to Lightfoot's notice the full proposals for the new Lexicon, inviting his criticism, his advice as to whether the work should go on or be stopped, and announcing that Samuel Clarke had joined in the scheme. Here he added that for more than half his life he had contemplated, in some form or other, the production of such a work. The letter is brief and formal. Castell's letters to the eminent scholar remained formal: his attitude was always respectful, although the tone gradually became warmer, and the details more personal. He was humbly and fervently an admirer of the man, and with humble gratitude accepted his patronage and his friendship. There was only three or four years difference in age between them, yet Castell always was a pupil and an idolator of his great contemporary, and the deepening of this feeling and its growing warmth of friendship, became the greatest event in Castell's troublous career.

John Lightfoot, then Master of Catherine's Hall in Cambridge, had been one of the erudite personalities whom Walton was glad to acknowledge as having had some

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some part in the making of the Polyglot Bibles. He was a student of the eccentric Hugh Broughton, and collected and published his works. His own interests were largely more theological than linguistic, but he was acknowledged to be a great Orientalist. He possessed, also, a valuable library of manuscripts and books.

When the time came for Castell to announce to Dr Lightfoot the proposal to include Golius' Arabic Lexicon in the Heptaglot, Castell felt that it was necessary to point out to Lightfoot that there was considerable bulk of new material for the general purposes of the Heptaglot, so that it might have been that Lightfoot's first reaction to the scheme had not been entirely so satisfactory as Castell made it out to be. On the other hand, Castell may have been simply anxious to show his friend how well and thoroughly he proposed to treat the work. He mentions accordingly the Buxtorf MS of reading<sup>s</sup> of the Chaldee Paraphrase, the Arabic Christian MS of the Pentateuch from the Bodleian Library, a MS in Arabic of the Psalms differing from any before printed and nearer to the Hebrew, Arabic MSS of the Prophets and part of the Apocrypha, and various other parts of the Scriptures and ancient commentaries in Hebrew, Syriac, ~~A~~Ethiopic and Persian. By 1663 Castell still wrote to Lightfoot as to a kind but not an intimate patron. Their friendship

hitherto formal, began to take on a closer nature after Castell's arrival in the University as Professor of Arabic. It is thus, therefore, that the bulk of the letters which are preserved for the second part of Castell's life are addressed to Lightfoot, as those of the earlier part are addressed to Clarke.

When Castell was moving into his living at Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire, he knew that Lightfoot's living at Much Munden in Hertfordshire was within easy reach, and many times he expresses his happiness at being so near to his friend. His friend in turn had so much esteem for Castell that in 1670 Castell was granted the first call for the Rectory<sup>(a)</sup>, although he never was able to enter. Highly complimentary letters in an extravagant, yet sincerely friendly and respectful style, made Munden the centre of learning, and Lightfoot the cynosure by which all scholars steered their way. In Much Munden, at the feet of the master, not only was Castell content to sit, but anyone who sought the streams of sacred and profane learning, especially in its bearing on the mysteries and difficulties in the Scriptures

(a) See S.P.Dom.Entry Bk 32 f.9.June 26th.1670.

Castell also assured his friend, that of all benefactors to sacred learning, Buxtorf of Basle alone stood with him at the head. Together also they contributed verses to the memorial volume produced on Buxtorf's decease in his honour: and they held in common the friendship of such men as Hottinger and Ludolf abroad, and of such worthy gentlemen as Dr Worthington and Mr Sclater at home. Castell expressed gratitude for many obligations, in the way of benefactions, gifts of books, subscriptions and actual help in the production of the Lexicon, and when he came to Cambridge to deliver his Arabic readings, he was soon sought out by Lightfoot and pressed to accept his hospitality, and to live in Lightfoot's rooms. At first it was the hospitality of St Catherine's Hall and later it was Lightfoot's chamber in St John's College. Lightfoot's liberality and his courteous friendship with Castell gave the poor lexicographer some solid ground to tread pleasantly upon. He was one of those few whom Castell never envied, and at his death in 1675, Castell flung himself on the favour and pity of Sancroft, Spencer and Compton: but although he had much gratitude to them, he was not able to give them the admiration and humble friendship he held for Lightfoot, nor were they able to supply him with the gentle, yet courteous and liberal, patronage to which he had been accustomed.

It was then that Castell felt more fully than ever that the generous sustenance which Lightfoot had given him by his eulogies and by his actions was a necessary part of his existence, and that "the unkindnesses he had met with from some, had so dejected his spirit, that nothing of height or eminency could be henceforward expected from him". His lines had truly been a refreshing breath (as Castell wrote) in his affliction: his letters were "semper ante oculos": he could not suffer them to be out of his sight, "so replenished they were with soul-cheering and supporting encouragements". As the time drew near for the completion of the Lexicon, Castell looked forward to some sort of idyllic period of a quiet and erudite life lived between Munden and Higham with his friend, whose work made him wish that he and his lexicon had come an age after, that he might have embellished it "more amply with those sparkling Orient excellencies, which shone forth most illustriously in every line that, not flowed, but rather beamed from his pen". It was a sincere and valuable friendship, and Castell exerted himself to be worthy of it. Poor as he was, and certain as was Lightfoot's wish to relieve him of expense when he came to Cambridge, sought/ Castell/frequently to lodge himself, and his servant in the town: and when he brought his family with him he looked about him for a house. He scrupulously checked the cost of every cauldron of coals brought into Lightfoot's

brought into Lightfoot's rooms for his benefit; and it was not a meanness of mind that hesitated to accept favours, but the respect and nobility of a poor but sincere admirer.

Note: Castell did not personally know Lightfoot's family in 1666. He also refrained from staying at Catherine's Hall in 1670 when he was lodging in St Andrews Parish. There were actual negotiations between him and the University in the matter of Wheeloc's house, but the bad condition of it, caused these to be given over.

EDMUND CASTELL AND WILLIAM SANCROFT.

Castell had left Emmanuel College for half a dozen years before Sancroft took his Master's degree and became a fellow and tutor there. Sancroft was abroad about the time when Castell and Clarke were publishing their proposals for the compilation of the Heptaglot Lexicon, but he returned from Padua in 1660. In 1662 he became Master of Emmanuel, in 1664 Dean of St Pauls, in 1668 Archdeacon of Canterbury, and ten years later Archbishop. It was in those capacities that he came in contact with the harassed and aging compiler, and it is possible that his first interested contact with him came about at the time when Castell was seeking dispensation from attendance at Canterbury. Sancroft showed some interest in his misfortunes, but there was never any intimate relationship between the two men, a thing perfectly understandable and expected. The Dispensation was granted as a matter of course through agitation to the King, and a sum of money was also granted to Castell from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. Sancroft was still Archdeacon when the Lexicon was completed in 1669 and he received a carefully selected copy, got up with great pains to the requirements of the recipient, who, unlike many of those in high office who took copies, was interested and competent in the volumes.

By 1676 the continuous solicitations of his friends and his own appeals drew some renewed notice from the rising prelate, in gratitude for which Castell apparently promised to give him the Heptaglot Lexicon in the special printing on Imperial paper. It was so many years past since Castell had seen his decaying volumes, that, despite his anticipation of being able to build up complete copies with corrections, he had to go about purchasing copies to satisfy prior engagements, especially that to the Elector Palatine. He was therefore unable to fulfil his promise, and apologise for his delay.

The facts of the next connection between the two are not clear. It seems likely that Castell made a mistake. When Sancroft was raised to the Archbishopric, Castell remembered the favours done him and his own gifts and past obeisances, all most cordially received: if he rushed forward hastily and fulsomely to congratulate his patron, he was received coldly, and proceeded to aggravate the position with humble but profuse apologies. He was enabled soon, however, to lay once more the full narrative of his sufferings, the remembrance of many years of bounty, and his hope to be taken again into grace, before the new archbishop: he had showed less thankfulness to him than to any, but in his heart (he said) his gratitude was constant and abundant. To

To his first overtures there came an apparent repulse, but all was well, since the prelate's reply had only been detained in the post. His relation of his disasters met a <sup>were sympathetically received</sup> sympathetic eye, and he was invited to wait upon his Grace.

When the last sheets of the Lexicon had been printing, Castell was overcome by a partial blindness which increased as time went on, being largely due to cataract, for which he underwent several unsuccessful operations, until he ceased to attend the surgeons lest he should become totally blind. He went up to London about the beginning of September 1679 "with a seeing eye, that could read a very large print, and after a great deal, of misery and torment sustained, he returned the beginning of November, having it stone-blind, and unable with the other eye to distinguish between either persons or things". In such a plight he thought he could not wait on his Grace, in a great palace, full of courtiers . Besides his oculist had ordered him to remain within-doors until he returned to the country. He sent a present instead of Ludolf's Ethiopic History, and since he had had hope of a recovery, he promised beforehand the present of the first work he should do when his sight returned.

Castell's days of work had passed, except for such lucubrations as came from him in his duties as Professor of Arabic. He had presented the Archbishop with a manuscript, a small book bound in sheepskin with gilt edges, of forty leaves, on April 27, 1678, which contained his prelections on various loci in the Old Testament: but he had then been able to make the work more valuable by prefixing two interesting items: Formula Celebrandi S. Dominici Corporis Coenam, a Sancto Johanne Evangelista, ac suis usurpata: Consecratio Sacrosanctae Coenae ab ipsis Apostolis usurpata, comprising the Ethiopic Liturgy done into Latin, a small gift but a good one. But succeeding years (so far as these things may be made clear) did not bring any new thing. Instead in March 1679/80 he was being threatened once more with recurring legal action concerning his old indebtedness. He appealed to Sancroft, hinting that his remaining creditors might be no less severe than some were formerly, and that his next news might be that he was "haled and hurled in gaol again". The upshot was that sancroft circularised his clergy, recommending them to take up Castell's remaining volumes, as Castell himself had suggested. *(see reference to p. above)*

The Clergy on the whole remained indifferent. Castell then offered the remnants of his printing to the Archbishop as a free gift to dispose of as he wished.

This generous but pointless gesture on the aged lexicographer's part moved Sancroft to make enquiries through mutual friends, whereupon it became apparent that it was simply a way of placing the responsibility of disposing of the copies more completely upon the archbishop, who did not fail, nevertheless to enquire of Castell whereabouts he held his stocks. The copies remained unsold.

The following September brought Castell once again to the archbishop's notice. The affair of the Higham Chalice Cup, which was claimed severally as the property of the church and as the property of one of the churchwardens, Mr Shepherd, was the occasion, and it involved not only a reiteration of the general outline of Castell's career, but a particular account of his litigations with the Dowager Countess of Kent, because Mr Shepherd had obtained the patronage of the Earl of Kent in the affair, while Castell had his former patron Lord Grandison. The matter was referred to, and presumably settled by Sancroft: Shepherd got his Cup and the Churchwardens and Castell subscribed for a new one which is still used in the Parish. But this quarrel, ending as it did, in no way made Castell more comfortable in the presence of his patron.

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May 1682, when Castell was nearing his end, brought him a mixture of new hopes and new miseries. He was not in a fit state to attend at Lambeth, but he was still nursing hope of seeing better, although his health did not permit of his having his eye couched at that time. Nevertheless he was infected with an ambition to undertake some new work, to which his friends were spurring him, and he had come to London from Bedfordshire to see the surgeon: but in London he met reminders of discouragement, unpaid and unpayable debts. The University also had made no gesture towards him of recognition: he complained that he had been cheated of a living in the country.() Till December he continued his complaints and reiterated his disappointments, with the addition of new and bodily accidents - a "leipothymie" descending on him one morning in the Cathedral at Canterbury - a rupture as the result of a hurried ride to attend at the same place - waiting on the visiting Duke and Duchess of York at the Minster with other members of the Chapter, his sight decayed, he "fell upon a stone, <sup>while</sup> lamed him for above a quarter of a year after". He was not simply making it clear that he was attending his duties at the risk of his life, but that every misfortune that came to him, came to him through <sup>his zeal in</sup> the execution of his duties, and ~~his zeal to do it~~. He was capable by this time of tracing

of tracing through his whole life a thread of events in which cause was his desire to benefit the public and submit to his superiors; and effect, every accident, every debt, and every other instance of ingratitude and neglect: a modern Job patiently bearing his burden. But he continued to appeal. He might obtain a another or a better place in the University, or some further benefice, on the hopes of which he had been long fed, for the expenses of his family ( a matter generally ignored ) were on the increase; the complete sustenance and care of six persons depended upon this old man; he was now seventy-six years of age. He said that he was still indebted for the expenses he had made in the Bible work for Walton, as well as for his own. And so he feared he might dishonour, in his last days, his gentle birth and his family's good name. Whatever he might receive, he felt certain would be known to future ages, which would illustrate the patron's name.

*do honour to*

In reply to this extreme petition, he received some benefaction, properly acknowledged, and with dignity. Castell felt acutely that he, the producer of a magnificent work, a benefactor to learning, was thrusting himself amongst his peers in miserable beggary, and asking for charity - "post exantlatum Opus tam magnificentum, inter

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inter mendicantes infeliciter detrudi, vitamque quasi ex Eleemosynis trahere infaustam". He did not want charity; he offered his Lexicons in return for what they were worth: he would deposit the stock at Lambeth.

Between 1682 and 1685 (the year of his death) the Lexicons remained unsold. The old man got into trouble with the Bishop of Lincoln through permitting a young scholar to preach in his parish, in which matter he was grateful for delivery ~~by~~ the offices of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to whom he bequeathed his most valuable books. In 1685 he had already attained the "utmost period of the Mosaical Determination" and he was preparing himself for his death with a calmness and balanced consideration to which he had long been a stranger, disposing most usefully of his books and manuscripts, and interesting his mind in the most generous aspects of scholarship and scholarly patronage. He was not so poor in the last year of his life but he was able to lay out £300 from somewhere to purchase some forty-nine acres of arable and sward land in the neighbouring parish of Hexton: but that was his last investment, and on his death it went into the Crispe family. It seems to be the literal truth that he left his children nothing but the rotten pages of his dictionary, scrupulously bequeathed in his will, one hundred copies each.

Castell's widow was left with three surviving children, none of which (she said) <sup>was</sup> were yet fully equipped to support <sup>himself</sup> themselves. Accordingly she wrote to Sancroft first through the kind/offices of a clergyman friend, and secondly in her own hand, in both of which she reported her husbands death, and called piteously but with restraint for protection. All that was <sup>asked</sup> asked was the sale of the Lexicons, to such an extent did the whole fate of the Castell family <sup>hang</sup> hang about this adventure. It was a request that could never be granted, because there was neither a buyer, nor indeed a complete saleable copy amongst those that had not been taken up. Sancroft did not reply to the first letter, and it is doubtful whether he ever replied to the second before Lady Bettsworth died. The Lexicons therefore, so often mentioned in the correspondence of Castell and his friends at home and abroad went to the waste-paper merchants at the waste-paper merchants' prices.

As for Castell's dependents, the Archbishop knew that Ellis Crisp and Mary Crisp were wealthy and ready to help them. In 1685 Sancroft had crowned James King of Britain, and was soon swept into the midst of that conscientious action against his sovereign which drew him away from poor scholar and their unhappinesses. He had moved in spheres

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spheres grander and more active than that of the broken and blinded country clergyman, and his name is not to be remembered by his kindnesses to the compiler of the Heptaglot Lexicon, nor is his memory in any way illustrated on that account, for indeed his many kindnesses to unknown hundreds of the same sort cannot be chronicled. Man of letters, scholar, publicist, patron of learning and the Arts: prelate and eminent, cultured, and powerful, Sancroft serves to replace Castell in his proper environment. Lightfoot was the type of greatness in the shade of which Castell moved, and in this circle Castell himself was not of the first number. It is true that Castell "natus iratis Musis" (as all accounts have it) did not possess any genius, by which, with a smaller learning, and less labour, he might have left a more illustrious, if not a more pitiful, reputation. Yet his erudition was probably greater than that of any living contemporary, at least in extension. His dictionary work, which gives him what name he possesses also was the narrow mould into which he poured his abilities. His Lexicon and his life together epitomise the crystallisation of seventeenth century Oriental learning and its failure to become anything stable and practicable in English culture. The unwantedness of the Heptaglot Lexicon also marks the dissociation of the Authorised Version from scholarship.

BENEVOLENCE TO DR.CASTELL.

May 13th.1669.

At St Pauls Chamber or Chapt<sup>r</sup> House,  
p<sup>r</sup>sent y<sup>e</sup> Dean, M<sup>r</sup> Dean of Canterbury, D<sup>r</sup> Pory.  
.....

Orderd, y<sup>t</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> be paid out of y<sup>e</sup> Common  
Chest to D<sup>r</sup> Castell, as a reward for his great pains &  
charges for y<sup>e</sup> publick service.

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ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT ON CASTELL'S BEHALF.

This in favor of poir D<sup>r</sup> Castell.

Letters & Mess. full of very sad import.

He hath (worn) out hims & his Estate in publ. service: to w<sup>ch</sup> he hath bin for these yy. a constant, & faithf. Drudge. He hath a Cat. in each Ey., & is upon y<sup>e</sup> Matt<sup>r</sup> qte blind. & having sufferd much y<sup>e</sup> last y. in ( ) to y<sup>e</sup> couching of y<sup>m</sup> ( of w<sup>ch</sup> he had great Hopes given him) it proves y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup>out other Effect, y<sup>n</sup> y<sup>t</sup> he is much worse, y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>n</sup> he began. How much he hath done, & sufferd & spent in serving y<sup>e</sup> learned World, & for y<sup>e</sup> reputation of y<sup>e</sup> Nation, is not unknown I think to y<sup>e</sup> greatest part of it. He never received for All this any Reward, but his prebend of Cant. (tho he was promised - And aft<sup>r</sup> he had from thence received, & laid up in a Goldsm. hand 400<sup>l</sup>. it was shut up in y<sup>e</sup> Exchequ<sup>r</sup> long since, & his Depository proves not so solvent, as others are, of the Compensation at last allotted him among y<sup>e</sup> Rest. The sorrow is, He expects ere long to be thrown into a Jayl for his remaining Debts - He hath still left him some Copies of his polyg<sup>t</sup>.Lex. w<sup>ch</sup> if he could put off at y<sup>e</sup> usual (very moderate) rate of 4<sup>l</sup> per book, they might help well toward his Rescue. But he hath not for severall yy. sold any one of y<sup>m</sup>. The Booksell<sup>rs</sup> are very cross, bec. y<sup>e</sup> B. went not thro y<sup>r</sup> hands, but was printed

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ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT ON CASTELL'S BEHALF. (contd).

was printed at y<sup>e</sup> Autho<sup>r</sup>s own charge: & acc. to y<sup>r</sup> usual Maxim resolve to destroy it, & will not buy a B. unless they may have it at next door to nothing. The B. is richly worth y<sup>e</sup> price 'tis valued at, being y<sup>e</sup>greatest Treasury of y<sup>t</sup> kind of learning, y<sup>t</sup> ever was extant. It will never be printed ag. so y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> price will improve too. However, money is as securely laid out upon it, as upon plate, or Jewels. That w<sup>ch</sup> I drive at is this. I would p<sup>r</sup>vail with as many learned men as I can in Colleges, Cath.ch". & among y<sup>e</sup> Laity too, who are learned, or charitable, or both, to lay out for y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>t</sup> good m. each of y<sup>m</sup> 4<sup>ll</sup>! & to take for it a book, w<sup>ch</sup> I am sure is worth a great deal more. You are y<sup>e</sup> first I have solicited & I doubt not you will ( ) attempt w<sup>t</sup> may be done in y<sup>r</sup> ch. Coll. or neighb<sup>r</sup>hood.(a)

- (a) A letter to Sancroft, dated May 15, 1680 from "Mr. Adams's House a Tailor in White Lion Court Fleet Street, and signed "Io: Sudbury", seems to be a reply to this letter. (Tan.Ms.37.23).

My Lord,

I am very sensible of the sad condition of my worthy friend Dr.Castel, and I shall be ready to

give him

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT ON CASTELL'S BEHALF. (contd).

give him any assistance worthy of his merit, and our old acquaintance and friendship. I cannot promise to do much for him in that way which Your Grace proposeth: we have one of his Lexicons in our publick library, and I have one in my own. And I beleeve there are two more among those of the chapter. I will speake as effectually for him as I can, to as many as I can persuade to help him against the Conspiracy of the booksellers. I mentioned him to the Deane of Wells who is now in waiting with me. If your Grace please to write to him, he will prevail with some of his Colleags<sup>es</sup> to take some of the Books at that price. And I beleeve if you write to the B<sup>D</sup>. at Oxford and other Heads of houses in both (in) Vinversities, it will be to the most provable way of helping him to the sale of those copies which he hath remaining

.....

Jan. 27/11.

See also note to Castell's letter of April 13.1680.

Edmund Castell and the Adams Lecture  
at Cambridge.

The first holder of the Arabic Lecture at Cambridge was Abraham Wheeloc, who was appointed by his patron the founder, Thomas Adams in 1630. On the death of the erudite Wheeloc in 1657, Adams permitted the Readership to lapse until he restored it and endowed it permanently, and appointed Castell about February 1665/6. The foundation was finally placed in the care of the Drapers Company, but there were evidently some preliminary difficulties between Sir Thomas Adams and the University concerning the actual conditions of the institution and of the appointment.

Castell himself appears to have been constantly present at the deliberations of the founder and indeed it is very likely that Adams had his condition and his work in mind when he determined to restore the Lecture, to which end Castell acted as the go-between for Adams to the University. Negotiations began in February 1665/6 when Castell strongly urged the University through Dr Francis Wilford, the vice-chancellor, to accept the Readership, and not to press for it being united to the Lecture <sup>ship</sup> in Mathematics, which Adams had hoped, being once settled, would permit a stable settlement of the Arabic one: otherwise he feared the greater might in time eat up the less, and thus vitiate the purpose of his foundation, which he had made despite the poverty and hardship which

and hardship which his act inflicted upon his relatives in the disastrous times of the Plague and Fire. At the time of his induction to his new office, a gift neither from the University, nor from the Crown, Edmund Castell was sixty years old and infirm. At various times he sought rooms in some College, or lodgings with his friend, Dr Lightfoot in St Catherine's, or a ~~house~~<sup>house</sup> in Cambridge itself, once contemplating taking over Wheeloc's old house for that purpose. For the most part, however, he stayed in Lightfoot's rooms, for he found that the expense of coming down from London to take his lecture was apt to be more than its profits.

Once the Lecture was <sup>settled</sup> arranged, and even before the final motions were made, Castell was preparing to come to the University to give his first lecture, the Inaugural Lecture which he published in 1667. June had passed, however, and the lecture had not been delivered, Castell being lame and ill in London, and still struggling with the work of the Lexicon. He was given leave to delay. In January he once more begged leave to delay, with some annoyance to old Sir Thomas Adams. It was actually in July that he appeared, in a sort of frenzy at his backwardness and in case the lecture should have had to be further put off until Michaelmas. It was in ~~June~~ 1666 that he made an effort to appear on June 23, but almost a year passed between his appointment and his actual speech. On July 20 he wrote to Dr Lightfoot apologising for having left London the

London the day Lightfoot arrived there, but that he had been forced to do so in fear of prolonged delay to the annoyance of his patrons and his own detriment.

By May 1667 Castell began to grumble that the Lecture consumed more money than it brought in, and indeed not only the cost of his repeated <sup>travels</sup> journeis several times a year, but the expense of his family weighed rather heavily upon the already bankrupt lexicographer. The hospitality which he experienced at St Catherine's Hall lightened his burdens considerably, and the eulogies of his friend Lightfoot lightened his heart. On January 8 1667/8 he informed Lightfoot that he intended to go to Cambridge for a fortnight in order to deliver two, and, if possible three, of his lectures, for he was now nearing the end of his editorial work. About this time, however, he found himself in prison over the Yarway affair. As the end of his Lexicon work came in sight, Castell sought and obtained dispensation from the University, and the same from the King in the matter of his attendance at Canterbury. In September 1668 he accepted Lightfoot's invitation to stay in Cambridge on the 13th. but not to stay long, and perhaps not to give his lecture, for the Lexicon was two sheets short of completion, apart from the grammar, the appendix, and prefatory material. He was in Cambridge however, and wrote a letter of thanks on ~~November~~ November 4 to Mr Sclater, the President of St Catherine's Hall. By June 1669 he was

distributing copies

distributing copies of the advance issue of the completed Lexicon Heptaglotton, and was therefore preparing to be in Cambridge before the end of the month, which he was, although once again, he missed his friend Lightfoot. His family by this time was both older and increased, and he abandoned the idea of taking over Wheeloc's house, when he wintered that year at Cambridge. Whatever arrangements Castell finally made, and he had the University take up the matter of a house for him at Cambridge, it is clear that by the end of 1670 he ceased to require accomodation in the College. He was now in a rather happy position, his Rectory at Higham Gobion, being near both to Cambridge and to Much Munden where Dr Lightfoot held a living.

In the delivery of his Lectures ,Castell was delighted to count and note any eminent persons who attended them, and this gave much consolation both to himself and to his patron Sir Thomas Adams while he was alive. It is not probable that Sir Thomas had the pleasure of having reports of more than two or three disquisitions. Until the year of his death, Castell still tottered to Cambridge.

Note: The King's signature was obtained for the Arabic Foundation on July 4 Chas.II.18, the stipend being fixed at £40. The following extract from the printed Deed indicates the duties etc. formally expected from Castell: " volo statuoque ut dictus Professor teneatur singulis intra cujusque termini Academici spatium septimanis semel aut linguae Arabicae rudimenta tradere aut Authorem aliquem in ea lingua praeclarum exponere per unius circiter horae spatium loco et tempore a Procancellario assignandis sub poena decem solidorum pro singula lectione omissa ex stipendis ipsi debito per Procancellarum subtrahendorum ac Bibliothecae Academiae

pro co-emendis Orientalis linguae libri<sup>s</sup> applicandorum  
nisi ex gravi corporis infirmitate officio suo satisfacere  
non poterit". The Inaugural Lecture was published at  
Cambridge in 1667.

The general management of the treasury of the Walton undertaking was placed in the hands of Alexander Huish, and likewise in the beginnings of the supplemental work on the Heptaglot he controlled the finances for the new company. His linguistic attainments were mainly in Latin and Greek and with regard to these he was employed by Walton to work over the New Testament material. He collated the Alexandrian MS for the Polyglot. To Castell, apart from his partnership and his financial knowledge, Huish was never of outstanding value.

Huish had been the first graduate (1614) of Wadham College, Oxford, became a Fellow in 1615, and proceeded M.A. in 1616. In the year 1627 when he took his B.D. he was made Prebendary of Wells. His benefices were in Somerset, from which he was ejected during the Civil War and to which he was restored at the Restoration.

In 1658<sup>2</sup> the three partners, Castell, Clarke, and Huish were arranging to begin their work in London, renting for that purpose the house which had been occupied by them in the Walton work and which was owned by Sir George Villiers, the Viscount Grandison who later patronised Castell.

Space in the house was limited. Apparently parts of it were occupied by members of the owner's family, who were constant witnesses of the industry of the editor and his staff. The trio of editors was peculiar. Huish was about sixty-four, Castell fifty-two and Clarke thirty-three years old. Even when he was older, despite his rheumatism which was perpetually crippling him, Castell was always vigorous and enterprising. But Huish was given already to peevishness and obstructionism. The obvious regard which Castell had for young Mr Clarke, and his rather too pointed and public estimates of Huish's restricted skill in the languages, would not have made Huish more accommodating. He delayed therefore in putting his hand to any definite agreement of partnership and at length, to Castell's satisfaction withdrew. But his first <sup>act</sup> antic was to insist upon having the rooms assigned to Clarke in Dunsmore House, partly because they were more convenient and partly because (so far as Castell could make the matter out) he preferred to behave so. It was all the more irritating to the lexicographer since Clarke prolonged his absences from London, and, despite Castell's hopes, was rumoured to be about to give up his place in the work: so that Huish's confidence in the affair nettled him.

As the time drew near for definite decisions to be taken, Huish refused to reply to Castell's entreaties until in the beginning of December 1658 it became a matter of his writing in time whether he would be included in the **new** articles of agreement which were to be drawn up between Roycroft, the printer, and the editors. Clarke withdrew but Huish continued to be attached to the enterprise. But apart from Murre, Castell had no definite assistants, so that he pointed out to Huish in his letter of April 5, 1659 the necessity of a definite resolution, and that he must decide whether he could become a partner, not only in prospective profits (of which indeed it was becoming apparent there were few) but also in any expenditure and risk that might be involved. He also pointed out to him with equal frankness that Huish was handicapped both by his lack of languages and by his own family and pastoral responsibilities. An immediate reply was demanded and (apparently) received, for in November Huish was amongst those, five others besides Castell and Huish, who were "continually employed about writing, gathering, and composing the work".

On the whole, however, and it was not entirely (to be misunderstood) Huish preferred  
*himself as an able*

Huish preferred to do his work in Somerset, where he resided. So it seems that gradually he dropped away from a true partnership and remained only as an assistant. In 1662 he was preparing his indices for Castell, but with much dilatoriness and, in the execution, with too much extension. Castell wrote to him on June 27, asking to see as much of his work as he had done so that the printing might proceed, and inviting him to pay him a visit. In November 1663 Castell was again enquiring for the Index, and, obviously in reply to Huish's demands, proposed that he should accept some books as part remuneration for his work and so bring their agreement to an end. From what he had seen of Huish's compilations, there would be necessary both careful revision and contraction before what had been done could go to the printer. Castell was weary, but wrote in friendly fashion, relating his own burdens and troubles and excusing himself on these grounds. By this time, his printer had decided that he must leave his partnership, so that the whole responsibility for the Lexicon now lay upon one man. In December Castell wrote again, and with asperity. The Index was still withheld: he was unable to continue supplying Huish with money; and he had decided that it was impossible to permit him any longer to share in the subscriptions

share in the subscriptions, which, few as they had been, were coming in in decreasing numbers in proportion as the expenses of the work increased. And so he demanded at least "the civility of an answer".

Alexander Huish died in 1668. In the intervening years Castell had experienced many distractions and misfortunes and was by that time bringing his work to an end. In the year of publication his friend Samuel Clarke died. With both of these he had long ceased to be a regular correspondent, although he and Clarke continued to be close friends. In the loss of Clarke, Castell sustained a great blow, possibly as much to his confidence as to his aids in his work. But the protracted uncertainty always connected with Huish, and especially as Huish's work was not considered important, was an irritation from which he considered himself lucky to be free.

Alexander Huish.

Notes.

(1) See the accounts of Huish in D.N.B. and in Todd: Memoirs of Brian Walton. With regard to Huish's Treasurership in the Polyglot and Heptaglot, see the following entry from the Cambridge notebook Dd 6.4. p. 460, amongst copies made about 1663, although the passage itself originally dated (without doubt) about 1658.

"Know al m<sup>n</sup> by y<sup>se</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sents, y<sup>t</sup> I, A.H. of y<sup>e</sup> Society fr & in y<sup>e</sup> print<sup>s</sup> & correct<sup>s</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> gr<sup>t</sup> Anglic<sup>n</sup> multilingual<sup>ous</sup> bible, do give my ful & free consent y<sup>t</sup> Mr E.C. & Mr S.C. of y<sup>e</sup> sam society sh<sup>l</sup> allow unto y<sup>m</sup>selves out of y<sup>e</sup> Treas<sup>r</sup> fr y<sup>e</sup> print<sup>s</sup> of an Or. Lexicon of 7 Lang. y<sup>e</sup> sum of 100ll p. annum, whilst y<sup>e</sup>i continue in London imployd in p<sup>r</sup>par<sup>s</sup> y<sup>t</sup> work".

My surmise may be mistaken, if this passage merely refers to a partner's agreement to the employment of moneys for which the three men were jointly responsible.

mm  
Hombletter

CASTELL'S "ADMIRABLE MR MURRAY".  
( Martin Murre.)

Seven years service of unstinted work, with few altercations, was Martin Murre's contribution to the Castell Lexicon, always duly and most gratefully acknowledged by the compiler, who was in constant admiration of the young man's powers and equipment, his character and his driving enthusiasm. Castell valued the man so much that at times he was fearful some untoward affair might deprive him of his work and his friendship.

Martin and his brother Thomas<sup>22</sup> matriculated at the old University of Greifswald in November 1635/6. Martin's name continued to appear in the Registers until 1654, in one capacity and another, so that his connection with the University had not long ceased when he came to England. He was most expert in Arabic, and also well skilled in most of the other languages in which Castell was interested. It must have been about 1657/8 when Murre was first regularly enlisted in Castell's service, but he appears to have spent about ten years in England, and to have left before the actual issue of the complete Lexicon in 1669: for towards the end of the work, the compiler seems to have depended mainly upon the work of a London minister, ~~whose name~~

~~considered the Mr. Murre~~ for whom he was at one time so solicitous in his misfortunes, and whom he claimed to have trained himself in the Oriental languages.

According to all accounts, Murre did not return to his native town, but went from England to Hamburg where he is said to have died about 1701. In London he had been Castell's friend as well as his assistant, and the remembrance of him abroad was chiefly on that account. His name was set down in the Preface to the Lexicon, as that of one of those few assistants who remained longest with the poor lexicographer--"vir non minus doctus, quam admodum ingenuus, qui per septenii fere spatium Arabicas meas concredideram collectiones". But he had had a hand in many other portions of the work besides the Arabic.

Murre (along with the younger Mr Pierson) was definitely engaged by Castell in November 1658, and in the following March Castell felt that he alone of his assistants could be depended upon to remain with him in his difficulties. In 1661 Castell explained to Clarke that he was always chary in choosing his assistants: " a main thing to be looked at", he said, " next to ability, is his naurel (as the French calls it), his disposition, morality and behaviour. I have had not so few as ten to twelve

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to twelve assistants, home-born and foreigners, some of very excellent parts and polyglottic learning... ..who have consumed me great sums of money, and stood me in very little stead, less than you can well imagine, making this crushing, heavy, ponderous burden upon me only play and recreation; to let pass the morose, festinous and haughty carriage and behaviour I have experienced in some...whereof I wish the improvements they made here had not been either the cause or the occasion". There is little doubt that Murre shone as an exception, although it is not impossible that Castell became rather a difficult master as time went on, and also that Murre had the benefit over other helpers inas much as he was so highly established in his employer's esteem, that he was able to behave in some respects with an impunity denied to the rest. For Castell wrote in the same letter, which was concerned with the prospective engagement of a young scholar, that he "persuaded himself Clarke knew his temper far enough from any harshness or rigidity": and his attitude was to require an applicant, by mildness and gentle condescensions to bring him to do that for him which might be a benefit and ornament to him all his life after. Not only might there be some doubt about the second thing, but some doubt may be entertained about Castell's powers of wise

wise restraint and appreciation of perspective in his management of such a work as his under such terrible conditions, under aggravated anxiety, and under such terrifying fears of delay. Nevertheless it is clear that he dealt mildly with Murre in at least on<sup>l</sup> instance, for he was the man with whom (as he wrote to Wansleben) he would share his riches, and for whom, indeed, he appears to have made some effort to obtain a Fellowship ( ).

I pray deal clearly with me, and tell me whether anything hath been done to the preparing of the Persian copy since Michaelmas last. For the Arabic, I am sure, nothing hath been done now a long time. Though you knew well the very great charge I have been at, you have forborne your stipend a while by Mr Roycroft's fault, but you have received it constantly from year to year, so as there is nothing in arrear due to you, but all is fully paid within a very few days after that came to be my concernment only to defray it. I must necessarily desire to know in what a readiness you are both for the Persian and Arabic, and what you will do in future. You cannot forget how displeased you were when I at any time took in hand to ease you in preparing some part of the Arabic, as I did in sundry letters.... You would often say you knew you could get that ready before I could despatch all the other letters, which have been all finished about three quarters of a year since. Whenever I spake to you concerning this business, your answer was, let me give you but a month's time, and there should be no stay on your part. My kindness towards you, for now it is years together, I hope you are sensible of. Sure it is beyond that I have done for any man I ever yet had to do with.... Let this, and not a few other arguments I could use, be available to obtain a civil and correspondent return and answer.."

"Yet he was very well eased by Mr Murray, whose incredible pains and exact care of the Arabic, he could never enough commend". Besides, Mr Murray, along with Castell's friend (and maybe kinsman) Mr Tibbals, gradually assumed such high position, that Castell shared his responsibility with him in the working arrangements and ordering of the work and all its attendant complications both on the press and on the financial side. Yet in the August of 1667 (following his imprisonment) Castell writes as if Murray had left his service, and that his only surviving assistant, a most skilful worker of his own upbringing, the poor city minister who had been burned out of his living in the Great Fire, was just dead: and although Castell called this man the "best and most skilful assistant" it was Murre's services that he acknowledged. Murre returned to Germany: other assistants died or gave up the work as too great for them: so that when Castell was writing out his last words for the Preface of the Lexicon he said that he was left alone, broken and crippled, without an amanuensis and without a corrector, who in his time, had salaried more than fourteen scholars.

(1) State Arch. Pub. of Prussia. Ldp. 1893: "Ältere Universitäts-Matrikeln: Greifswald. vol. I (p. 558), vol. II (p. 61) etc. Jocher. Teil 5: Moller (Cimb. Lit.) Tom. 2. p. 565.

IACOB GOHL

Castell's Relations with Professor Golius.

Golius was an eminent Arab<sup>s. t.</sup>~~ition~~ and a learned Persian scholar. He had been well known as the favourite and most illustrious pupil of Erpenius whom he succeeded in office at Leiden University. Castell's first connection with him was through his project to include the whole of Golius' Arabic Dictionary in the Heptaglot Lexicon. The first intention had been to employ Golius' work along with other lexicons as the basis for a compilation, but Castell's own desire and the general feeling of his advisers soon enlarged the plan. As early as 1657 Castell was canvassing the opinions of his most eminent subscribers, and deciding that it was well worth while to risk the necessary rise in the cost of production and to charge 50/- instead of 40/- for the volumes. With the acquisition of the Bedwell Ms Arabic Lexicon borrowed from the University, and the appearance of Martin Murre, skilled generally in all the Eastern tongues but especially in the Arabic, Castell and Clarke found that they were able amply to supplement the work of Professor Golius. At the beginning there was some doubt as to how the learned professor would regard this plan, but it appears that he agreed to it, although it must have been with some reluctance, since Castell was afterwards in doubt as to the reception of his second alteration in his original Heptaglot scheme.

second alteration in his original Heptaglot scheme.

Castell soon heard that Professor Golius was engaged in the compilation of a Persian Lexicon, the manuscript of which was found amongst the professor's papers at his death. Castell printed it as a whole and independently, <sup>preparing to the first volume of</sup> ~~adding it to~~ his own Lexicon, his offer of incorporating it into the body of his work having been rejected. As early as 1658 Castell was enquiring on what conditions Golius would be willing to forward his manuscript, and in this affair he employed the good offices of mutual friends, Dr Thomas Marshall (rather a friend of Clarke than of Castell) who was preacher at Dort to the Merchant Adventurers, and Mr Paget who was English Pastor at Rotterdam. At the beginning of his negotiations he experienced difficulty in treating directly with the learned but sufficiently aloof scholar whose Arabic work had been rather ruthlessly digested into the Heptaglot. The first negotiations had been through Samuel Clarke who had persuaded Pocock to sound Golius on behalf of the English editors of the Lexicon: but Castell was kept waiting for word of the advance of his scheme. The Doctor, therefore, conceiving little hope of the advance of his



of the advance of his idea considered himself rebuffed , partly because of what had passed in the management of the affair of the Arabic Lexicon. Castell himself being skilled in the Persian tongue, of which he had half the management in Waltons Bibles, also felt that he was in an uncomfortable position in the reflection on his scholarship implicit in the rebuff. With his usual doggedness and disregard for his personal repute in every matter concerning his compilation, he continued to approach the professor by whatever means he could..

By June of 1661 he received from Golius the conditions on which the Persian work was offered to him. These were highly unreasonable and Castell returned them with alterations <sup>rendered</sup> necessary <sup>by</sup> to the state of his finances. A considerable sum, also, had been spent <sup>on</sup> in the Persian Lexicon prepared for the Heptaglot by William Seaman, and Castell proposed that Golius should make additions to Seaman's work and accept honourable mention in the Heptaglot and a number of copies for his pains. This proposal very naturally received little consideration from a man like Golius: neither did the accompanying alternative which was that he should compile an appendix of his collection with alterations and emendations once the Seamon Lexicon was printed. Castell proposed, also, a time limit within which he would expect the return of the amended copy in order that the work should not be retarded. Golius refused to negotiate on these terms. He insisted on having his work printed in full and independently.

printed in full and independently. New proposals were therefore drawn up and left in the hands of Messrs. Marshal and Paget; precautions for the return of the manuscript intact to the author were agreed upon.

At first the professor proposed to make a copy of his manuscript by his own hand. Finding this beyond him, he next offered to forward the actual manuscript. Suddenly he decided that it would be better to employ an amanuensis to make a transcript which he would correct. All these fluctuations, duly transmitted to Castell who varied the order and progress of his work according to them, along with the several sets of conditions, nearly drove the good lexicographer crazy: but he succeeded in bringing the negotiations to an end after several vicissitudes.

On August 8 1661 Dr Castell drew up a memorandum for the use of his friends in Holland to treat with Golius. He was no longer in a position to make such offers as he had at the beginning of his work, the cost having far outgone any estimation. He therefore made the suggestions mentioned above concerning additions by Golius to the work already done in the Persian offering the gratuity and acknowledgements. In the following March a new set of conditions were being discussed. Castell agreed to pay an amanuensis to make a transcript of Golius's manuscript or to make a payment to the professor himself should he undertake the labour, and to leave the amount to be fixed

to be fixed by arrangement between Golius and their mutual friends, to which, indeed, he was willing to make additions. He had offered the sum due to him from his subscribers, and in case that might not prove sufficient, was prepared to deposit in the hands of Dr Paget, kinsman of Mr Paget, whatever sum should be required, along with some additional sum should ~~the~~ the affair be concluded with expedition. He said that he considered it a significant favour that the excellent professor was contemplating the making of a transcript in his own hand. The Doctor was therefore ready to wait for the copy till August and if necessary till September. He suggested that the transcript should be divided into three portions, and so forwarded when complete: and also that some arrangement should be made whereby another copy might easily be prepared, in view of the accidents possible in transit by sea. When the first portion was received, Castell would be able to estimate what time would be necessary in the arrangement and printing of the work. Money would be ready whenever demanded at all cost. This being arranged, Castell held up his printing, dismissed his assistants and sat in expectation of the manuscript which failed to appear, while <sup>other demands</sup> [his resources rapidly emptied themselves] and drained away his money and his credit, whereupon he was presented with a new set of proposals from Golius, which startled him considerably. In his letter to his friends of September 5, 1662 he pleaded the absence of

he pleaded the absence of his partner and his obvious disagreement to the proposals to justify his delay in replying. He observed with some justice that a full year had passed since Golius had agreed to send his copy to England, and that it should be made by himself, with which expectations Castell had been fed till August. To every demand and suggestion, Castell had been a ready seconder and, indeed, a generous one in his own opinion. One of the conditions had been that the professor should receive a copy of the Bibles: Castell had made <sup>(1)</sup> a copy of fine paper and of the best binding. Every effort had been made to place money in readiness for the professor. Castell considered that he had not been lacking in his side of the business. But the next thing he had heard was that public affairs prevented the professor making the transcript, and that the actual manuscript would be forwarded. Depending on this promise, and in high pleasure, Castell delayed his work and waited, when he now received a demand for four Bibles, of such a quality, as to buy them would cost at least £60. A condition was attached to the demand that should the Bibles be lost at sea in transit, Castell should forthwith replace them. The total risk of the Persian transcript was also placed upon him, coming to England and returning to Holland. In addition to these things, he was limited to six months, <sup>(1)</sup> with forfeitures rising from £2 to £4 each additional month he detained the copy. It was not unreasonable of Castell to declare that

to declare that these were unjust demands in view of the apparent fact that he was to be at the expense of printing the Lexicon for the use of the world in general and of Professor Golius in particular. So far as the copy was concerned Castell declared his willingness to take every precaution to ensure its safety and return. He was ready to bind himself and his executors in a bond of £100 to deliver the copy to any nominee within nine months after its receipt, and to make reasonable satisfaction for any accidental loss. Alternatively, he offered that Marshal and Paget should immediately deposit a bond for £50 in the professor's hands, while he and Roycroft should likewise deposit a bond for £100 on their behalf in the hands of friends in London. Once Golius had received his remuneration, and the Lexicon had been carefully printed at Castell's expense as quickly as possible, there was no reason for extravagant demands concerning the transcript, which he promised faithfully to return. If these aspects of the business were satisfactorily arranged, Castell was ready to submit to every other condition. It appears that bonds were drawn up and Castell bequeathed twenty of his Lexicons in his will to Professor Golius. It was agreed that the transcript should be returned through the agency of Mr Calendrinus as was subsequently effected. In February 1664/5 the general progress of the Heptaglot was such that Castell asked Sir William Curtesse to arrange the insertion of a notice in the Francfurt Catalogue, naming

Michaelmas following

Michaelmas following as the date of completion. Subsequent general and private disasters, however, hindered the work. Nevertheless he was pushing on with the Persian once the manuscript had been received, having arranged with Caesar Calandrinus, Dr Paget, and Martin Murre to stand surety for the return of it through Cunaeus,<sup>2</sup> all duly accomplished before June 1666 when the manuscript was carried into Holland with the Dutch Ambassador. The receipt by Golius was apparently delayed, but the transfer of the manuscript was duly attested in the following statement, subscribed by Calendrinus, Paget and Murre:

We whose names are hereunder written do by these presents acknowledge the receipt of the eminent Professor Iac. Golius his Persian MS containing 374 folios perfect and unblemished of Dr Castell who having finished the printing of the same with his own collections, hath according to promise returned it again into our hands to be sent the Author by the excellent Dr Cunaeus chief Secretary to the Dutch Ambassador, the Professor himself having so appointed it.<sup>3</sup>

The return of the manuscript had been delayed until a favourable opportunity occurred for its safe passage. Thereafter Golius completed his work for Castell by drawing up a short series of observations on the Persian language and its Literature. The relations between the two scholars were now eminently satisfactory, and Castell especially entertained

especially entertained a high regard for the Dutch scholar. The death of this eminent linguist in 1667 threw his valuable collection of books and manuscripts into the market, and through the <sup>good</sup>graces of his friends and his own friendship with the deceased Golius, Castell was able to receive the best terms for the library, although public and private purchasers were making attempts to acquire it. He made great efforts to have the collection come to England.

From Dordrecht, Thomas Marshal wrote to Clarke<sup>4</sup> reporting the death of their good friend Professor Golius on the 18/28 September, and followed his letter with another:<sup>5</sup>

"I am glad to hear yt y<sup>e</sup> notice of Professor Golius his Orientall Library is taken into consideration of our friends at Oxford. I did first & ( I think) **onely** write to Dr Castell about it, using some argum<sup>t</sup>s from y<sup>e</sup> Late Duke of Buckingham, &c. to move an intertainment of such a notable opportunity ..... I made a journey to y<sup>e</sup> Hage & Leyden to inform myself y<sup>e</sup> two sons of Dr Golius, of their intentions about their late father's Orientall MSS. The resolution received from them....was as followeth.

(1) They did intend to sell his Orientall Books, not by parcels, but together to some one person.

(2) The number of them thought to amount to between 200 & 300. being books of all faculties.

(3) They were in hand with a Catalogue; a copie wheroff they promised me, as soon as it could be finished: and this I now dayly expect.... They have little or noe expectation of y<sup>e</sup> States resolution to keep them upon a convenient price & I as little fear the Jesuits of Antwerp,

I as little fear y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits of Antwerp, formerly busy about Erpenius his Library, but now(I think) half frightened out of courage for great disbursements by y<sup>e</sup> French Alarmes. The boldest competition I expect is from France, where y<sup>e</sup> Chancell<sup>or</sup> & Mon<sup>or</sup> Colbert are said to be inquisitive for such library-furniture. But these are only my conjectures".

In August 1668<sup>7</sup> Marshall was much troubled that as yet he had not received any further information concerning the Golius MSS, and being at that time in England, he awaited still the arrival of the promised catalogue. Back again at Dordrecht,<sup>8</sup> he saw a sheet of the list of Oriental manuscripts; the catalogue was still delayed,<sup>9</sup> but at last it arrived from Leyden and the copies<sup>10</sup> forwarded to England: the price demanded was high.<sup>10</sup> To Clarke's expressions of surprise, Marshall replied thus:

...But you say you are startled at y<sup>e</sup> price. I answer, so are we here: but conceive there may be great difference between asking ~~and~~ & taking. Yet I have heard say, that about thirty years agoe, this Collection of Orientals (then much lesse) was valed at 20<sup>1</sup> more than is now asked. And in a letter to me from an ancient Orientalist of our own Nation, I have this passage: Was I worth but 2700<sup>1</sup> in all y<sup>e</sup> world, I would part with 2600<sup>1</sup> to purchase such a Treasure.

Castell thought that £2000 would buy the collection, with rareties added not mentioned in the printed list. He knew ways of raising £1000 towards the purchase and wrote to Dr Gunning offering to do so in consideration of a grant from the King of £100.

In Castell this offer was not so much meretriciousness as opportunism: he was and continued to be genuinely interested in the acquisition of the collection for England, and if possible for Cambridge. The matter however was not pursued by the University, although Castell, following Marshall's suggestions, mentioned the possibility of having the Duke of Buckingham interested in adding to his father's munificence.. He continued his efforts in 1670, when he informed the vicechancellor, Dr Breton, that the Library was now being offered for £1000, towards which he freely offered to contribute £40 (worth to him now as much as £500 formerly), and to procure at least £200 in subscriptions. He exerted himself again in 1674, by which time he had been assured that he was serving no useful purpose. He had once actually raised £1000 for the purchase, but after six years assiduous interest, he had seen the affair miscarry and had relaxed his efforts. The library of the much travelled scholar, considered the finest collection in Europe of its kind, was sold at Leyden in 1696, broken into the parcels which his sons had tried so hard to prevent, and after having been in the market for nearly twenty years. Castell, therefore, died without seeing the disposal of the books from which Golius had made the collections which he had edited, and the value of which he understood.

To the many encomiums heaped upon the illustrious Golius, and Castell was not in any way backward in justly making his contribution, there ought to be added the words of regret for the glories of his days written by Professor Uchtman to his friend Ludolfus: "Hebraea & Syriaca negliguntur apud nos, vel tam parce discuntur. Arabica quoque Professio a morte Jacobi Golii, felicis memoriae, ab octennis plane cessat, nullo doctore vel successore, nullis quoque auditoribus, qui illi sese studio addicant". With the passing of these giants of learning, great gaps seemed to open in the lives of those ~~of their~~ of their contemporaries who cultivated the same studies, to whom a new but not a better order appeared to be about to begin. It was a general European feeling, and it is not certain but Castell counted himself, once Golius, and Hottinger, and Buxtorf, were gone, one of the two or three remaining of the race. It was a generation which completed the task of making the linguistic foundations absolute of a study, which was not only to be built upon these foundations, but which in their own time, was itself rapidly nearing completion. The longer the men of the minor ranks tarried, the more complete was to be the fall in their reputation.

(1) In 1663 Castell mentions that the agreed time in which he was to keep the Golius ms. had elapsed, an extension must have been obtained.

CALANDRINUS TO GOLIUS ON BEHALF OF  
CASTELL.

Praestantissime Vir

Domini Castellii fides adeo perspecta est apud omnes probos, ut meo testimonio nihil ipsi accedere posse certus sim. Tamen quia pro tuo insigni candore & boni publici zelo rarum illud pignus tuae profundissime eruditionis & indefessi laboris Lexicon Persicum ipsius fidei committere non dubitasti, sollicitus est vir optimus ne quid a sua parte omittatur ad abundantem cautelam, qua tuae securitati plenius satisfiat. Itaque sic se res habet.

Commiserat meae custodiae Dr Castellus obligationem 100 librarum sterling simul cum suo Testamento in securitatem restituendi Tui Lexici. Jam cum sit in procinctu tradendi dictum Lexicon in manus D. Cunaei, assenserunt D.Dr Paget & D. Martinus Murray, qui mihi in hac sponsione adjuncti sunt, ut redderem ipsi obligationem centum librarum, cui ista traditione libri eatenus satisfactum sit, & ipse porro coram iisdem fide dignissimis viris, se & suos Executores obligaret in debita forma ad consignanda in manus nostras duo exemplaria Lexici 7glotti intra spatium duorum mensium post editionem absolutam. Tibi transmittendam, una cum suo Testamento in quo valde liberali donatione suam erga Te gratitudinem, testatur D. Cunaeus curabit, ut Lexicon Persicum per medios

fluctus tuto

fluctus tuto & prompte transportetur: siquidem ipse adhuc apud nos continuet aliquandiu, quod nobis tantis per aliquam licet exiguam spem praebet accomodationis non omnino desperate. Faxit Deus Oramus suspiramus, ad Deum anhelamus pro pace Zionis. Ego vir clarissime pro virili satagam, ut fiducia quam in nos reponis, non sit vana. Deus aspiret Tuis studiis & Te diu servet incolumen. Commendo me Tuis precibus.

Tui studiosissimus ad omnia officia  
in Christo

Caesar Calandrinus

Londini 9 Maij 1665

Celeberrimo & Doctissimo viro D.D. Jacobo Golio Linguarum Orientalium in illustri Academia Lugdono-Batava Professori Lugdunum Batavorum.

Castell's relations with Professor Jobus Ludolfus.

Ludolf had studied under two of the most illustrious Orientalists of his time: with L'Empereur in the Eastern tongues generally, and with Golius particularly in Arabic. He began his studies in 1646 at the age of 22 after having gone through the general University training of his time. He had been born at Erfurt on June 15, 1624.

In 1648 Ludolf visited England: went to London and Oxford but was driven back to Leiden "post superatas mille molestias". He came again, however, 1683-1684, and no doubt visited his ancient friend in Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire, who had printed for him his Ethiopic Lexicon. Michael Wansleben had seen the lexicon through the press, corrected it, and made additions to it in 1661, although in the preface to the edition of 1699, <sup>Ludolf</sup> he declared that the London edition contained errors "multa inepta & mendosa" ( ) from the hands of his disciple Wansleben. Besides the lexicon Ludolf published an Ethiopic Grammar, attached to the London lexicon, and reprinted at Francfurt in 1702. Both these works were incorporated into the Lexicon Heptaglotton. It is irrelevant to add that Ludolf survived his

survived his three wives, respectively Aemilia Maria Timpler (1662), Anna Catharina Muller (1682), and the widow Maria Catharina Lersner, who died in 1685 . His life had been various and in a way adventurous, for he was not only a man of studious genius but also a man of affairs. His name, however, is notably associated with the Ethiopic language.

The letters which Castell wrote to Ludolf are in Latin and of considerable bulk. There are also many references to him in his other correspondence in English and to other scholars abroad. For a time they had a mutual friend in Wansleben who came to England to edit his master's work: but before that there had been an exchange of letters, and in 1655 Ludolf had written either to Castell or to Walton offering his aid in the Ethiopic parts of their work. It was no difficult matter, therefore, to enlist Ludolf's sympathy in the Heptaglot Lexicon, and towards the end of 1659 Castell was helping to circulate specimens of a proposed Ethiopic Lexicon.

To Castell's lamentations and recountings of his losses, it appears that Ludolf turned a very friendly ear, and a more sympathetic one than other distant scholars cared to vouchsafe, which resulted in his making at last, <sup>proposals to</sup> those motions of purchase of the lexicons near the time of Castell's death. 7

CASTELL AND THE COUNTESS OF KENT.

When Castell was presented by Lord Grandison to the living at Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire in 1662, it was practically a sinecure, a parish of three or four houses, to which was annexed the curacy of the neighbouring Hexton. From that time he came into collision with the Countess of Kent, Arrabella, and Mr Taverner the Lord of the Manor of Hexton. The trouble had begun during the incumbency of Mr Lynn over a question of tithing and church lands lying in Little Higham Pastures. Mr Taverner made composition but the Dowager Countess held out against Castell and called him insolent. Castell and Taverner, therefore, Taverner having everything to gain in the issue, joined against her. But according to Castell's fate, he was left to pursue the lawsuit in the Exchequer, which for a time the Countess evaded by pleading Privilege of Parliament. At the end of the litigation, Castell was allowed costs and losses, part of which was paid by Taverner, or at least one instalment of it.

Apparently two parcels of land were in dispute. On Castell's arrival in the parish, he became concerned for the income of which he was in need. A summons was issued against the Countess in Hilary

Hilary Term 1663. The affair is explained by Castell in a letter to Edward Taverner, the son of him who had been associated with Castell, when he appealed to him for the remainder of the monies due from the agreements.

Judgement against the Countess was granted. He claimed that he had handled the proceedings with respect and delicacy, but that he had not been prepared to forego the Church's rights; and when he found her Ladyship willing to give way only upon condition that he himself stood the loss of expenses and arrears, he pursued the action further, with the approval of his patron Lord Grandison. He protested to the Countess that if the Glebe were taken away from him, or his right to it, he would be deprived of the only maintenance he then had left in the world. The upshot of the matter was that Castell obtained his demand, less two acres and one rood, (and preserved) for himself <sup>there</sup> after the enmity of the Countess.

Considerable trouble and losses he also sustained at various times through other defaulting parishioners, defaulting tenants, and others. Besides settlements made through Commissioners, Castell made private agreements, and <sup>kept hold</sup> lingered especially in Woodham Walters, refusing to give it up, until his debts were paid.

Note: The administrator appointed for the Yarway estate was *in Henry* Coningsby who sued the various possible holders of the scrivener's property: e.g. see Chancery Proc. C7 490/26. June 1666. Robert Yarway dealt in large sums of money both on his own behalf and for others: he lived next door to Edward Thompson, whose property he rented and to whom at his death £11 in rent was owing: Thompson therefore reentered the premises and distrained the goods contained in it. The other defendant in the cited case was Thomas Asply to whom Yarway had mortgaged a house on account of a debt due.

Robert Castell, to part of whose property Edmund succeeded sued an alleged creditor of his son, Robert, in May 1661 .(see Chanc. Proc. C7 552/99). The affair concerned the sale of a horse or nag and a subsequent usurer's transaction: from this notice it is clear that Robert junior being about twenty years old in April 1655, was born about 1635 and died by 1661.

Litigation with the Dowager Countess of Kent (Annabella) over the glebe-land of Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire began in the time of the Rectorship of Mr Lyn, with whom was associated Mr Augustus Skynner and others. The Countess sued Skynner in 1660 (see Chan.Proc. Affidavits: July 1660 & Nov. 5, 1660). Castell was later associated with Mr Skynner (to whose son he explained the affair) and was suing the Countess in 1663. The affidavit is missing, but is noted as lodged in Hilary 1663.

CASTELL IN RETIREMENT IN BEDFORDSHIRE.

e/ "Edmundus Castell, S.T.D. Regiae Majestati Caroli II a sacris, Ecclesiae Christi Cantuarensis Canonicus, Linguae Arabicae apud Cantabrigiensis Professor, Regalis Societatis Socius, author Lexicon Heptaglotti, necnon hujus ecclesiae Rector. Mortalitatibus quod reliquum est tam ipsi quam lectissimae ejus conjugii Dominae Elizabethae Bettsworth, Petri Bettsworth militis aurati primo relictae, deinde Joannis Harris Arm. (cujus filius Willielmus una cum filia ejus Elizabetha hic jacent) Anno Aetat. Edmundi 68. Dae. Elizabethae 64--Anno Christi 1674--Vivus hic legat humandum."

The tablet containing the inscription above is said<sup>2</sup> to have been placed in the Chancel of Higham Church in the first year of Dr Castell's residence<sup>1a</sup> in Higham Gobion. It was originally on the north wall near a screen no longer existing. Now the tablet is over the Chancel entrance door on the south wall, having been removed in the "restorations" of 1879-1880. Castell's entrance into his Bedfordshire living must have begun, however, about 1663, at the time he entered into litigation with the Dowager Countess of Kent and Mr Taverner, lord of the manor of Hexton, of which the rectors of Higham Gobion are perpetual curates. At Higham Castell was within call of his friend Lightfoot at Much Munden; here too he kept the most valuable part of his library, and in the years after the failure of his enterprise, a great number of his

great number of his unwanted lexicons.

To Higham Gobion he speedily transferred his wife and family, occasionally removing them with him at first to London and then later to Cambridge as his occasions called for. His home was comfortable if not luxurious,<sup>3</sup> and exercised great attraction for him. But in the main he experienced several anxieties. First his entrance to his living was resisted. His predecessor, George Lawson, was granted the living on the death of Henry Lynne, by Edward Lord Howard, Baron of Escrick. Castell having been ordered to be instituted on January 29, 1662/3, Lawson resigned, and letters to induct arrived dated in May. Castell regarded Lawson as a usurper and depended upon the patronage of George Viscount Grandison, but the opposition of the Bishop kept him out. *until 1665*

Secondly there were domestic difficulties with regard to his family, and especially his wayward son William Harris.

Before 1661 Lady Bettsworth had lost her eldest son, and this William was the only surviving, and so weakly, that Castell refused an offer from Sir George Downing to get him a place in Holland. In the middle of 1663 it was decided to send the young man abroad for his improvement, and to keep him

keep him out of mischief. Probably he actually went then to Holland, but failing to take kindly to some business was called home. Castell could not have been the wisest of fathers: he rated the young man and recalled to him how he had given him a good education, and threatened that that would be his only legacy from him, unless he found him dutiful: whatever his mother might leave him, also, would never prosper without discretion. William, therefor<sup>c</sup>, in all probability having been recalled, came to live in Higham Gobion, while his father spent the greater part of his time in London. His behaviour, however, continued to cause him anxiety: and no doubt his wife sent Castell frequent enough letters dealing with her son's lapses. In 1667, therefor<sup>c</sup>, Castell received from his son, a solemn promise of future good behaviour, acknowledging his faults and making humble submission. In the meantime William got himself married to an Esperance Wood, to which union there appears to have been some resistance by both sides. In the arguments which ensued regarding the apportioning of necessary support for the new family, Castell found it necessary to collect (according to his habit) depositions duly attested, of which one, witnessed by a certain Ann Massey, gives the gist of the affair.

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Mris Wood in the presence of divers persons then in the same roome affirmed it openly more then once that she knew m<sup>r</sup> William Hennis had an intention to be marryed to her daughter M<sup>r</sup>s Esperance Wood, & made love to her, & that she should be wors then a beast if she should deny it, but M<sup>r</sup>s Wood would never give her consent to y<sup>e</sup> marriage w<sup>th</sup>out m<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Hennis his mothers consent also granted, w<sup>ch</sup> was never sought for, nor granted til after y<sup>e</sup> marriage was sometime past.

The Lady Bettsworth at the same time also speaking of making an allowance to her said son W<sup>m</sup> Hennis yearly of twenty pounds per annum in case her son could be provided of a good place or calling, and m<sup>r</sup> Wood could hire a house for W<sup>m</sup> Hennis & his wife at a reasonable rate, y<sup>e</sup> said Lady Bettsworth would furnish a room for her son, upon condition m<sup>r</sup> Wood should likewise do somewhat proportionable for his daughter, the said allowance of 20<sup>l</sup> per annum was only promised to be paid to her son William Hennis.

*Reference?*

Lady Bettsworth appears to have possessed some considerable fortune of her own, and without doubt, despite his perpetual lamentations, Castell and she managed reasonably well: and this document is characteristic of the strictness of the several financial transactions in which Castell and his friends involved each other. Despite these things, and despite his marriage to the worthy Esperance, William continued to pursue an uncertain path. He was immediately warned by his stepfather that news of his waywardness had come to his ears: an account was demanded of the company he kept, and an assurance that he was avoiding his late evil ways. Full warning

Full warning of the consequences of his continued disobedience was conveyed to him with all the solemnity of the rheumatic style which the father adopted in such epistles: but this warning, and this threat having no effect, arrangements were made for the removal of William to some place, where he would be deprived, not only of his personal associates, but of his relatives, namely to New England. He departed in 1667/8, receiving a letter of warning as he sailed from Dartmouth. Another note was sent him on April 1 1668, urging him to appreciate the kindness of friends who had fitted him for his journey, and giving him advice, in the style of Polonius, on general behaviour and how to keep a true friend. Six books were also sent with which pleasantly to spend his vacant time. But so far as one may follow this episode, the wayward William did not repent, and found, even in New England, further means of troubling his parents. Since his death appears to be recorded in the memorial tablet which Castell erected in his Church, he returned to his native country, and died at Higham Gobion before 1674.

some mention has already been made of Castell's litigation with the Countess of Kent.

A connected dispute arose through the action of a churchwarden of the parish who had the support of the family of the old Countess. It concerned the plate used in the Higham Church.

The Cup and Paten in present use<sup>s</sup> in Higham Church is not the same plate as Castell used when he first resided in the parish, but was acquired in 1681. In the old parchment entrybook of the Church there is a memorandum:

There was a parish cup given to the Parish the third day of February 1681 with a fair paten to it, pretended to be sent by George Lord Vic. Grandison as a free gift to the Parish but in reality it was not so, for Mr Halfpenny & William Sheppard both of this parish gave five shillings towards the buying of it. That is to say either of them gave five shillings a piece and it is supposed by the Parishioners that Dr Castell gave the rest of the money it cost.

Behind this lies an interesting tale of a parish controversy in which the Rector had to climb down at the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. When Castell began to hold services in the parish, it was the custom to send to Mr Shepherd to ask for the Communion Cup, to which the clergyman added some plate of his own and his own linen. About 1680 it began to be rumoured that William Sheperd intended to leave the district: whereupon Castell, vigorously supported by his wife, formed a faction, and claimed the chalice cup as the true property of the Church.

In the ordinary course of his duties, Castell had baptised a daughter of William Shepherd, one of his churchwardens, in 1673. There is no reason to presume that trouble between Castell and the Shepherds existed before 1680, in which year Castell wrote to Sancroft complaining that the property of the Church was in danger, and that it was being wrongfully withheld. William Shepherd held that the Cup belonged to his family and that he could prove several descents of ownership. Castell in reply asserted that the Cup was the property of an ancestor of his patron Lord Grandison. The initials J.B. were engraved upon the vessel, signifying John Lord Butler (son of Sir John Butler who was created Lord Butler of Bramfield) who married Elizabeth daughter of Sir George Villiers by his first wife. Presumably Sir George, later Lord Grandison, claimed the Cup on that account, and supported the arguments of his protégé. It was alleged that the former chaplain to Lord Butler, Mr Lynne, used to send for the Cup to a Mr Eaden on the occasions when it was required: its shape made it clear that it was consecrated and used as a Communion Cup, and on his lordship's death, it was left by his order in his house with one of his lordship's servants, namely George Eaden.

On the other hand it was claimed, that, since the Cup was undoubtedly always asked for, it was not the property of the Church. Castell could only reply that it was never withheld, and claimed in addition that a flagon, usually associated with the Cup, had been embezzled. When he first entered the living, Castell had had to use his own plate for Communion, because he was informed that the Cup had been mislaid, or possibly stolen. Next year, however, 1666, William Shepherd's father, Stephen, came to the Doctor's house, and in the parlour (as was abundantly witnessed) before Lady Bettsworth, declared that the long-lost Cup had been found. William's brother, John, later deposed as to its being found amongst some old lumber and documents. The Shepherds living in Lord Butler's old house, and Castell having been accustomed to receive it regularly thereafter from the Shepherds, it appeared that Castell had a good case.

William Shepherd now claimed that he had bought the Cup from his father, with other goods, wherefore it must have been his father's to sell. On the other hand, William Shepherd's wife declared, firstly, that in his last days, old Stephen Shepherd was delirious, and secondly that it was freely granted to her as a gift. Castell wished

Castell wished it to be inferred that they were both liars, and pointed out that neither Mr nor Mrs Shepherd denied the obligation to deliver up the Cup on demand for Communion. It was clear to him that Lord Butler did not take his plate with him when he left the parish, but left it for the use of the church where several of his family, and he himself, were buried. Furthermore there was the support of Shepherd's own brother who affirmed the declarations of his father: and the fact, also, that neither Mr nor Mrs Shepherd made any claim to the Cup until Stephen Shepherd had been dead two years.

The composure of Castell was soon disturbed by the vigorous moves of his opponent, who began to make a party and to resuscitate the old feud between the Kent family and Lord Grandison, the Earl of Kent coming to the aid of Shepherd. In this way it was not long before the Archbishop had the case before him. With his characteristic pusillanimity when action was required, and with his inveterate fear of offending Church dignitaries and men of rank, Castell began to reflect on the possible ill-feeling that the case might arouse. Seeing some possibility of defeat, he offered to quiet the feud by giving way should the Archbishop so propose.

The Archbishop, however, wished to examine the case, and William Shepherd made his depositions. He affirmed four ~~descents~~, he being the fifth. It was true that the Cup was loaned for Communion, but it was also true that the Cup was always restored immediately afterwards. No quarrel arose until it was rumoured that Shepherd was to leave the district, and then Lady Bettsworth took the lead in challenging the ownership of the Cup. He argued, since the claim for the Cup rested on the fact that it had been loaned to ~~the~~ Higham Church, that, inasmuch as Dr Castell had also loaned some silver plate and linen for the services, the Doctor's property was as much forfeit to the Church as his. He had, therefore, proposed to the Doctor a mutual bestowal of these articles. But to this Lady Bettsworth had offered a firm refusal. In the meantime, the parishioners were prepared to buy another Cup, and Shepherd was prepared to pay his portion. Understanding, however, that the Archbishop had been in communication with the Earl of Kent, and not being desirous of troubling men of rank and power, he also was ready to bequeath the Cup, or gift it to the parish, when he left the district, retaining still, however, the assumption that the Cup was his own property.

Shepherd had in his turn challenged the Rector, and made several propositions to him. First, that the Doctor should produce a single witness to testify that the Cup had ever been used in the Church before his father or he lent it: second, that the case should be heard in the Commissary Court, or wherever else the Rector should choose: third, that the case should be referred to two independent judges, clergy or laity: fourth, that the Cup should continue to be used, and, that the customary return should be resumed: fifth, that both parties should bestow on the Church for the Church use the goods belonging to them and in question: and sixth, that the Doctor should produce a single witness to testify that there ever had been a Cup, <sup>given</sup> gifted, bought, or dedicated to the Church, in which case Shepherd would give it up. To all these the Doctor returned refusals.

The documents were before Sancroft early in September 1680: by October, Castell found that his supporters were deserting him. On two occasions Castell rose in the pulpit in 1679 to preach at his antagonist. On Christmas he spoke from the text 26 Mathew 27, Drink ye all of it, and said, if it was sacrilege in Churchmen to take the Cup away from the laity, judge then whether it was not

whether it was not a like sin for any of the laity to take the Cup away from the Church. Shepherd himself was absent at the time, but he heard of the sermon, and yet continued his attendance at church. At Whitsuntide, while Shepherd was present, he preached from John.15.1. I am the true Vine, asking, if they were deprived of the fruit of this Vine, which so much rejoiceth the heart both of God and man, was it any fault or blame of his ? Needless to say, William Shepherd absented himself thereafter. In his account of the affair to Sancroft, Castell ingeniously demanded : "Now for God's sake, I beg your Grace to judge whether this can be called a defamation". Castell, who had journied up and down to London on this and other business, was in a harassed state of mind. By the end of January 1681/2 Sancroft had put an end to the dispute. A new Communion Cup was bought, largely from money put <sup>forward</sup> forward by Lord Grandison, and partly from the subscriptions of the most important people of the parish, including Castell and Shepherd. It weighed eight ounces less a three-penny weight, and went from Castell (who presumably bought it) to both Grandison and Sancroft before it was definitely placed in the Church.

To these disturbances, sickness in his own family, his diseased eyes, his disregard at Cambridge,

his disregard at Cambridge, and the continued, if not renewed pressure of his old indebtedness, all added their burden. The Bishop of Lincoln took him up for permitting a young nonacademic<sup>(1)</sup> preacher (whom he had himself educated) to stand in his Church in his stead. The good offices, only, of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, procured his pardon. Gradually the old man divested himself of active part in his offices; ceased to attend at Canterbury, in London, and at Cambridge, and accepting the obscurity that was his lot, wended his days attending to domestic and personal business, and moving about only within the bounds of the four or five houses that constituted his parish, in a very lovely part of England.

<sup>(1)</sup> the young preacher was Nicolas Aspinall whom Costell recommended to the Lambeth library - for which, however, he was refused.

Concerning William Herris & Esperance Wood.

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Mr<sup>s</sup> Wood in the presence of divers persons then in the same  
roome affirmed it openly more then once that she knew m<sup>r</sup>  
William Herris had an intention to be marryed to her daughter  
Mr<sup>s</sup> Esperance Wood, & made love to her, & that she should be  
wors then a beast if she should deny it, but Mr<sup>s</sup> Wood would  
never give her consent to y<sup>e</sup> marriage w<sup>thout</sup> m<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Herris his  
mothers consent also granted, w<sup>ch</sup> was never sought for, nor  
granted til after y<sup>e</sup> marriage was sometime past,

witnes  
Ann massey

The Lady Bettsworth at the same time also speaking of making  
an allowance to her said son W<sup>m</sup> Herris yearly of twenty pounds  
per annum in case her son could be provided of a good place or  
calling, & m<sup>r</sup> Wood could hire a house for W<sup>m</sup> Herris & his wife  
at a reasonable rate, y<sup>e</sup> said Lady Bettsworth would furnish  
a room for her son, upon condition m<sup>r</sup> Wood should likewise do  
somwhat proportionable for his daughter, the said allowance of  
20<sup>££</sup> per annum was only promised to be paid to her son William  
Herris,

witnes  
Ann massey

WILLIAM HERRIS' PROMISE  
TO FOLLOW THE WISHES OF HIS PARENTS.

I do solemnly promise, before the great Judge of the whole world, that I will not give myself to vain and idle company, but will associate myself with<sup>(a)</sup> such sober, grave, judicious persons as I shall be recommended to, and apply myself faithfully, with my utmost endeavour, to make the best improvement of whatsoever adventure it shall please my parents to entrust me with. So help me God. Amen.

15, October 67.

A cold reward, a killing encouragement for what he hath done and suffered<sup>(b)</sup>.

(a) Cancelled ; "wholly to".  
(b) Possibly Castell's comment.

WILLIAM SHEPHERD'S STORY OF  
THE HIGHAM COMMUNION CUP.

s<sup>r</sup>,

I understand by a letter from you to m<sup>r</sup> Hooper thatt his grace the Lord archbishop of Canterbery took an oportuenety to speake to my Lord of Kente aboute a Silver Cup which I have: I do beleve that his grace is informed thatt the Cup belongs to the church of higham which I Humbly conceive itt doth nott ffor I can proue 4 Desents and I the fift and the originall from persons of Honor: It is true I hath Lent the Cup and so has my ffather before me this 12 or 14 years to administer the scacramentt in, butt itt was allwaise returned to us againe as soone as the commuening was over, untell itt was sposed thatt I was going oute of the parrish and then itt was Chalinged only by doctor Castell or Rether his Lady to be the Churchis wright upon no other ground then ower lending of itt for the Church saruis so longe: the doctor him selfe lent a siluer plate and som linan for the Church sarvis all the time wee have lent ower cup// therefore if my Cup be forfeited to the Church so I conseve his isplate: and this I prefered the doctor thatt if he wold bestoe his plate I would bestoe my Cup upon the Church butt is good Lady would nott consent toek thatt: nether his thaire any nesetie for itt: for the parishoners  
are willing

WILLIAM SHEPHERD'S STORY OF

THE HIGHAM COMMUNION CUP.

(contd).

are willing to by a cup and other Vtensells thatt his wanting in the Church and I am as willing as any of them though the third peny will cum out of my priuitt pockett// S<sup>r</sup> I am sorry that I give you this truble butt moore sorry abundantly to give any truble upon such a small ocasyon to pursons of thatt ranck and quality as his grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbery and the noble Earle of Kente is: I ashever you thatt upon the comand or request of any of these two:Lords I shall when I leve this Lyfe or this parish leue the cup to the youes of the Church though I know itt to be my proper coright as any goods I poses.

S<sup>r</sup> I haue heare inclosed sent you the propo-  
sisyons I mad to doctor Castell when he chalinged the  
cup of me to provent all anamosities that might aries  
betweene us; I rest,

Yo<sup>r</sup> Reall frind to sarve you,

Will<sup>m</sup> Shepperd.

Higham Gobion<sup>(a)</sup>.

.....

(Enclosure).

ffirst: thatt if doctor Castell could produce any one witnes thatt could testefie that my Cup was Euer yousde in the church or for the church saruis byfore my father or I lent itt

him

WILLIAM SHEPHERD'S STORY OF

THE HIGHAM COMMUNION CUP.

(contd).

him I would not dispute itt.  
.....

2:ly: thatt doctor Castell and I might by:  
consent haue a hearing byfore the Comisary  
or in any other court thatt the doctor should  
apoynt to make an End of itt.  
.....

3:ly: thatt I would Refer itt: to two indeferant  
pursons thatt the doctor should Chuse clargey  
men or others  
.....

4:ly: thatt he should still haue the youse  
of the Cup: prouided itt might be returned  
to me allwise when he has don w<sup>th</sup> itt.  
.....

5:ly: thatt if he would bestoe his silver  
plate upon the church I would bestoe my Cup  
or one as good as that.  
.....

6:ly: thatt if doctor Castell could produes  
any witnes that could testefie thatt thaire  
was a cup: or any other Vtecell belonging or  
yousd cominly in Churchis: Ever giuen baught  
or didicated to the Church of higham gobion  
He should haue my cup.  
.....

All thease propisitions doctor Castell  
refuesde.  
Will<sup>m</sup>: Shepperd. (no cover)

(a) Date lost in the binding.

Castell in Retirement in Bedfordshire

Notes.

- (1) See Lyson's Magna Brit. vol.1.pt.1.p.94
- (2) Castell must have been actually settled in the parish and officiating in person on convenient occasions by 1665.
- (3)(2a) The great courtesy and kindness of the Rector, Rev.R.F.Cory, has furnished me with these and many other easily recognisable details.
- (3) See Todd's surmises concerning the Inventory of Castell's goods at Higham Gobion,(printed in Nichols op.cit. and in MS 22905,)in his ~~MEMOIRS~~ Memoirs of Brian Walton.
- (4) I have taken the liberty to repeat the matter of the letter of August 6,1663 of Dd 6.4.p.133:in this I feel justified in making these conjectures.
- /F (5) Rev. R.M. Cory, Rector of Higham Gobion. The assay-mark on the present plate is of 1681. It would appear that Shepherd kept his Cup.
- (6) Actually the trouble began about the end of 1679
- (7) Harris's were settled in New England from the earliest settlements: but whether these were related to Wm Harris is (of course) problematical. See lists in ?

An Alphabetical List of Castell's Lexicons &c.  
From the Millington Catalogue  
1686 .

The Preface to Bibliotheca Castelliana contains the following remarks from the Bookseller to the Reader:

"It would be easy, did I design a Character of this worthy Man(Castell), to produce many other Instances of his Learning and Generosity, particularly the great Charge he was at in procuring, from most parts of the World, by the assistance of his Friends and Correspondents, those many rare and valuable Books in the Oriental part of the Library, that were subservient ...to the Lexicon."

The Books classed as Orientalis take up four pages of the Catalogue, and do not include the volumes in the list below. The following however are noteworthy from the references in the Letters.

Bochart. Geog. Sacr. Cad.1651  
 Buxtorf. Concord. Heb. Hebraice

Accurens. Gram. Ling. Arab. per Joh.Accurens.Patriarch Rom. 1647

Alcoran . L'Alcorano de Macometto ex Arab. in Ling. Ital. 1547

Avicen . Avicenna de Univers. Med. Sc. precept. Venet. 1580

Catechismus Armenicus Arm.Lat. Amst. 1667

Coch . Duo tituli Thalm. & Maccoth cum Excerpt. ex Gemara Amst. 1669  
 Eccles. Sol. Harm. dispositione. Brem. 1636

Erpenius. Gramm. Arab. dicta Jarumia Dord. 1617

Euclidis Elementa in Arab. Ling.

Hackspani Miscel. Heb.Lat. Norimb. 1660

Lara . Cohen de Lara De Conven. vocab. Rabb. Amst.1638.

Lightfoot. Horae Heb. Marc. Cantab.1663:  
 Johann . Lond. 1681

Officium Suaplex Justa usum Eccl. Maronitam. Rom. 1647.

Pagnin. Thes. Ling. Sacr. Plant. 1578 *fructus manna*

Pool . Mat. Pool Synopsis etc. Lond. 1669

Richelieu Arab. Catech. Paris 1640

Sionata. Geographia Nubiensis...per Gab. Sionatam Paris 1619.

## Lexicography.

- Avenarii Lex. Heb. & Witeb. 1589  
 (Bib. Hispan. cum Gramm. Hisp. Angl. 1591)  
 (Buckneri Thes. Erud. Schol. &c. Lyps. 1655)  
 Buxtorf. Lex. Chald. & Syr. cum Test. Syr. Bas. 1622  
 Buxtorf. Lex. Chal. Talm. & Rabb. Bas. 1640  
 Calepini. Dict. Octo Ling. (ed. de la Cerda) Lugd. 1663  
 (Camerarii Utriusque Ling. Graec. Comment. Bas. 1551)  
 Caninii Instit. Ling. Syr. atque Thalm. Par. 1654  
 (Castelli Lexic. Med. Graeco-Lat. Rot. 1651)  
 (Cobarrueas. Tesoro de la Ling. Espan. Castel. 1611)  
 (Constantini Lex. Graec. Ling. Gen. 1592)  
 (Cooperi Thes. Ling. Rom. 1584)  
 (Cotgravium. Dict. Gallic. & Angl. Lond. 1632)  
 (Crispin. Lex. Graeco-Lat. Lond. 1551)  
 (Cunupii Thes. Polon. Lat. Graec. Cracov. 1643)  
 (Cunupii Thes. Polon. Lat. Graec. Cracow 1652)  
 (Davies. Antiq. Ling. Brit. Dict. 1632)  
 Dict. Heb. Chal. & Syr. cum Add. var. in Mss.  
 (Dict. Angl. Belg. German. Gallic. Lond. 1627)  
 (Dict. Lat. Lusitanic & vice versa 1630)  
 ( do con le Esposit. Vocab. Eccl. per Cardozam 1630)  
 ( Dict. Hal. Francise tedesio &c &c Fran. 1640 )  
 ( Dictionario Volgare & Lat. Bolog. 1578)  
 Ferrarii Lex. Geog. Univers. Orbis. Lond. 1657  
 Ferrarii Nomenclator Syriac. Rom. 1622  
 (Floriæ First Fruits Ital. & Eng.)  
 Forster Dict. Heb. Nov. ex Rabb. Comm. &c 1564  
 (Frisius. Nov. Dict. Puerorum, Lat. Germ. Tig. 1578)  
 Germani Fabrica Ling. Arab. cum Interp. Lat. Rom. 1639  
~~Giggei Lexic. Arab. Lat. seu Thes. Ling. Arab. Med. 1632~~  
 Giggei Lexic. Arab. Lat. seu Thes. Ling. Arab. Med. 1632  
 (Goldmanni Dict. Anglo Lat. &c Lond. 1664)  
 Golius. Lex. Arab. Lat. cum Indice Arab. L.B. 1654  
 (Jani Grateri Notae Rom. vet. 1603)  
 (Hexam Dict. Belg. & Angl. Rot. 1647)  
 Hottingeri Etym. Orient. seu Lex. Harmon. Fran. 1660  
 Dict. Theol. Hist. Poet. &c par Juigne Par. 1644.  
 Kirsterii Gramm. Arab. & Prosod. Orthog. Arab.  
 (Laurentii Amalthea Onomastica &c Lugd. 1664)  
 (Cuzavy libro de Grande Scienza Compuesto p. Levita  
 Portuguesse 1523)  
 (Lat. Ling. Thes. Bipart. ex Cicero &c Coll. p. Lucium)  
 Ludolph. Lex. Eth. Lat. London 1661  
 Martinii Lex. Etymol. & Sacrum Franc. 1655  
 Megiseri Thes. Polygl. vel Dict. Multi-Ling. Fran. 1603  
 (Joh. Meursii Gloss. Grecobarb. L.B. 1614)  
 Minsheu Diction. 11 Ling. & Voc. &c 1617  
 (Minsheu. Dict. Hisp. Angl. &c Lond. 1623)  
 (Molnar Lex. Lat. Grec-ungaricum Heidl. 1621)

- (Angel Monosinii Flor. Ling. Ital. Ven. 1604)  
 Thom. a Novariae Thes. Arab. Syro Lat. Rom. 1636  
 Omoioptota Ling. Syr. Syr. & Lat.  
 Pagnin. Thes. Ling. Sanct. seu Lex. Heb. Gen. 1614  
 (Parei Lex. Crit. Ling. Lat. Noramb. 1644)  
 (Il. Mem. della Ling. Ital. del sig. & Giac. Pergameni  
Ven. 1656)  
 Plantav. Thes. Synonym. Heb. Chald. Rabb. Lodov. 1644  
 (Julii Pollacis Onomasticon Greco Lat. Fran. 1608)  
 Dictionario Novo Heb. molto Cop. &c David Pomis 1587  
 Franc. Raphelingii Lex. Arab. Arab. Lat. Leyd. 1613  
 (Nic. Rigaltii Gloss. sive de Verb. Signific. Lutet. 1601)  
 (Rivolae Dict. Armen. Lat. Paris 1633)  
 (Joh. Scapulae Lex. Grec. Lat. &c Bas. 1580)  
 Schindler. Lexic. Pent. Heb. Chald. Syr. Talm. Lond. 1635  
 (Schrevelii Lexic. Lat. Grec. Lugd. 1657)  
 Gul. Seaman. Gramm. Ling. Turk. Oxon. 1670  
 (Skinneri Etymol. Ling. Angl. &c 1671)  
 (Somneri Dict. Saxon. Lat. 1659)  
 (Spelmanni Gloss. Arch. Cont. Lat. barb. Lond. 1664)  
 (Stephan. Thesaur. Tulli Ciceronis &c per. Carol Stephanum  
1556)  
 (Stephani Thes. Ling. Graec. &c. Step. 1573) *Stephani's name*  
 (Stephani Thes. Ling. Lat. Lugd. 1573)  
 (Sylburgii Etymol. Mag. Graec. &c. 1594)  
 Thresor de l'histoire des Langues de Cest Univers. 1619  
 (Torriano's Ital. & Eng. &c Dict. 1659)  
 Du Val. Joh. Bapt. Du Val Diction. Lat. Arab. Par. 1632  
 (Vitalis Lexicon Math. Astron. Geom. Par. 1668)  
 (Vocab. de Gli Acad. Della Crusca Ven. 1612)  
 (Ger. Vossii Etymol. Ling. Lat. &c &c Amst. 1662)  
 (Vulcani Glossar. & alior. vet. Auth. Gloss. Lugd. 1600)

FORMULA CELEBRANDI S. DOMINICI CORPORIS CAENAM,  
a S. JOHANNE EVANGELISTA, & SUIS USURPATA.

and

CONSECRATIO SS. COENAE ab IPSIS APOSTOLIS USURPATA.

Being the two translations contained in  
the small gilt and sheepskin bound volume  
presented by EDMUND CASTELL to his patron  
ARCHBISHOP SACROFT, April 27, 1678 .

i / Reverendissimo in Deo Patri Gulielmo Archiepiscopo  
Cantuarensi, totus Angliae Primati, Patrono suo  
UNICO Multisque nominibus colendo  
S.P.D.

r / Pro varias Aegritudines, nec unquam mihi magis  
vel intempestivas, vel ingratas, hactenus ab officio  
summopere desiderato, infelicitate (cum bono Mephi-  
boshetho) praepeditus, sortem meam ne dicendam  
quidem in communi bonorum omnium gaudio, propter  
exoptatissimum hunc Diem; Regnisque hisce omnibus  
faustissimum faventissimumque quo, ad summum Dignitatis  
Fastigium, evecta est T.G. per tam grande  
temporis spatium, testari adhuc potis non fui, est  
omnibus nihil certe gratius, certiusve, quam quod  
ad Supremum Ecclesiasticae Potestatis culmen Ascen-  
dente T.G.<sup>a</sup>, fortunatissimus, faustissimusque nobis  
omnibus affulserit DIES, qui Anglicano unquam quovis  
in aevo acciderit Orbi. Felicitatem tantam tam  
pregrandem cum donis celebrare solebant Antiquitas.  
En munusculum levidense quidem atque exiguum (sed  
inest T.G. parvis) nec tamen omnino tritum ac vul-  
gare: Liturgiam nempe Aethiopicam, sub nomine D.  
Johannis Evangelistae nobis traditam; nec non aliam  
SS. Apostolorum titulo insignitam; utramque Latio  
sermone donatam: una cum Heptade Praelectionum Ar-  
abicarum, desertis in locis, non Arabiae, sed  
maximae florentis Academiae habitarum. Cum his me ipsum  
quoque, ad pedes G.T. quam humillime provolvo:  
sincero agnoscens animo, meque meaque omnia G.T. deberi  
Benignitati; Quae me toties tantis (tantis), tamque  
innumeris donavit atque ~~innumeris~~ devinxit Benefi-  
ciji, nullis non modis continuo, atque omnifariam  
in me collatis: Nunc ~~αὐτῷ~~ per Teipsum; nunc per  
alios, verum ab eodem Fonte: modo aperta, modo operata  
manu; hac sepiissime: Ah si fas dicere! Sit fas, vel  
hac in re sola. Superiori anno, non sine faustis

auspiciis ,

auspiciis, Qui post aliquot menses, a Rege  
 secundarius futurus erat, Munificentia me  
 cumulavit vere Regia, nec minus quam septies,  
 sub eadem haud dubie Persona, factae sunt  
 mihi hujus modi suppetiae; - quae omnia cum  
 reliquis G.T. Beneficentijs, officij mei,  
 certissime exigit ratio, ut publici fiant  
 juris: est qui hoc sancte promiserit; Veniam  
 expecto- tantum, in praesentiarum vero, quid  
 mihi, nisi Vota supersunt ? de G.T. Deus O.M.  
 Regimen pacatum, ac prosperum; Amicos cordatos  
 et fideles; Consilium prudens, sapiens, semperque  
 sanum, servos paratissimos, per omnia obsequen-  
 tes; noctes securas et quietas, dies laetos  
 atque jucundos, feliciter protractos in annos  
 plus quam Nestorianos: Tandem (at serus sit  
 ille Dies) Coronam nunquam marcescentem in  
 Coelis sempiternam. Sic vovet,  
 Servorum tuorum omnium  
 quam humillimus.

Aprilis 27.  
 1678.

Edmundus Castellus.

Formula Celebrandi S. Dominici Corporis Coenam,  
 a Sancto Johanne Evangelista, a suis, usurpata.  
 Eucharistica Administratio Sti. Johannis: Oratio  
 et Amantibus Benedictio ejus cum Ydee Marjam.

Ad te Domine tollimus oculos nostros, elevamus corda  
 nostra, et exaltamus animos nostros, quia existens est  
 sibi ipsi, qui fuit ante seculum, et erit usque in  
 seculum. Non est tibi terminus, nec est Tibi finis; Nemo  
 reperit illum, nec aliquis reperit te, nec scit aliquis  
~~quisquam~~ (cognovit quisquam) te, nec est  
 aliquis qui possit videre te, Tu ipse nosti teipsum.  
 Non defuit regnum tuum, nec infirmatur (infirmari potest)  
 robor tuum, nec imminuitur (imminui potest) magnitudo  
 tua, nec occultatur (-tari potest) gloria tua. Abconditus  
 es ab omnibus, Tibi v. nihil est absconditum; Non est  
 tibi initium, tu vero das omnibus complementum, non  
 est tibi terminus, tu vero das uniuersae rei finem.  
 Omnia a te, et omnia per te, et omnia propter te (existunt)  
 et tu in omnibus existis. Celsissimus omnium es in  
 magitudine tua, et (nihilominus) tamen visitasti  
 humiles adventu filij tui. Remotissimus omnium es in  
 abscondito tuo; et (tamen) attrahis remotos misericordia  
 tua. Tu es internum omnium, et tu es externum omnium.  
Obvelata est magnitudo

Obvelata est magnitudo tua in te ipso;et occultatum est robur tuum in te ipso.

Narravit nobis de te Filius tuus, quem genuisti; praedicavit nobis historiam tuam. Ille Ipse qui natus est ex te (aeque) honoratus est ac tu in perpetuum, instar Genitoris Sui; & tu Ipse (quoque) de illo narrasti nobis, & testis ejus es in verbo tuo,quod verus sit Filius tuus,et tu; legitimus (naturalis)Pater ejus. Te adorant cum filio tuo, et Ei gloriam (tribuunt)cum illo qui genuit Ipsum. Non est dies inter illum et te, Nec est hora inter Filium et Genitorem Suum.Pater non est natu major Filio, & Filius non est minor natu Patre Suo. Non potest cogitatio cordis profunde satis assequi, ut antevertat Cursores, et exaltetur supra Vigiles,ut Habitet in abscondito, et intret in occultum, ut veniat & videat Te, ut Scrutetur et assequatur,& cognoscat parum, de finibus (extrinseco)

Hora instar momenti (est) neque de Te , neque de Filio tuo, inter Filium & Patrem Suum, & Spiritum tuum Sanctum, (et vivificantem)Iste novit profunditatem Divinitatis tuae. Iste narravit nobis de essentia tua, et predicavit nobis de Unitate tua, et docuit nos de conjunctione tua, et instruxit nos de Trinitate tua propter coaequalitatem vestram , quae non senescit, et unionem vestram, quae non dissolvitur, et animum vestrum, qui non separatur.

Pater(est) testis filij, et Spiritus Sanctus, et Filius predicat de Patre et Spiritu Sancto quod sub uno nomine ~~te~~ venerentur. Abstrusam & miraculosam gloriam tuam, manifestas et ostendis per misericordiam gratiae tuae, illia qui celebrant te. Excelsi singuli suo ordine, Angeli singuli gradibus suis Vigiles fulgure suo, Cherubini terrore suo, Seraphini sanctificatione sua, Omnesque (reliqui) cum timore et remore adorant te, qui de longinquo, adorant Deum qui est propinquus.

Diaconus.  
Respondete.

Similiter nos quoque celebramus te,et credimus quod Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, tu es, Domine Sebaoth.Toti pleni sunt coeli, et terra sanctitate Laudis tuae. Venerabilis es, et existis Pater Sancte,Venerandus es, et existis Fili Sancte; Venerandus es, et manes,Spiritus Sancte, Tria Nomina, Unus Dominus. Omnibusque Sa<sup>n</sup>ctis tuis in bonitate tua dedisti, ut sint (fierent)sancti, et omnia opera tua creasti per verbum tuum. Creasti omnia, nec subjiceris (ulli); Portas omnia nec defatigaris; alis omnia nec diminueris;consideras omnia nec tamen somnolentus es; das omnibus, nec tamen evacuans (Humectas); fingas omnia nec tamen exarescis; Recordans omnium,nec

Oblivisceris;

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Oblivisceris; Custodis omnia, nec dormis; Audis omnia, nec pigrescis; Reliquis unicuique, nec resumis. Gloriosus, quam (gloriam) alteri non dabit. Creator cui nemo imperat; Rex quem nemo constituit; Dominus cui nemo dominatur; Deus, quem nemo emulari potest; Dives, cui nemo largitur; Donator de illo quod nunquam deficit. Quamvis esses (omnia) Universitas (rerum) (tamen) narrarunt nobis de te quantum possumus audire, misistiquē Filium tuum ad nos. Venit ad nos, nec tamen exijt a te; Profectus est, nec tamen a te dimotus fuit; Totus apud te mansit, Misisti eum ad nos, nec tamen sejunctus fuit a te; Ibi est ubi Tu es. Sedet in coelis apud Patrem suum, estque in terra cum Genitore suo. Descendit nec tamen detrahitur quidquam de altitudine sua, additur autem humilitati suae. Conceptus est in ventre, quamvis sit incircumscribibilis; Habitavit in ventre, quamvis sit incomprehensibilis. Sedit in utero, creator omnis carnalis (substantiae); habitavit in filia carnis, qui Cherubino insidet; induit carnem ignis consumens, et amictus est membris spiritus subtilis. Natus est ex occulto in apertum, et factus est infans, qui concinnat infantes in utero (adhuc existentes) Involverunt cum linteis, qui amictus est Lumine; Habitavit in aedibus pauperis sicut egenus; et tamen misit legatos. Instar regis attulerunt Ipsi munera de longinquo; jacuit in presepi, qui ostendit bovi dominum Suum. Lactatus est instar infantis, Et adoraverunt ipsum tamquam Dominum universi. Incessit instar servi, qui operatur instar Domini. Essuriit sponte instar filij hominis, et (tamen) saturavit famelicos, multos populos exiguo pane tanquam Omnipotens; Sitivit instar moribundi, et fecit ex aqua vinum, tanquam vivificans anima. Dormivit instar filij carnis, evigilavit et increpavit ventos instar Creatoris. Fessus fuit, et requievit instar humilis, et ambulavit supra aquas instar Excelsi. Percusserunt caput ejus instar servi, et (tamen) liberavit nos de jugo peccati instar Domini universi. Patienter tulit cuncta, exceptit sputum pollutorum, qui sputo suo vivificavit caecos, et dedit nobis Spiritum Sanctum. Deum judicarunt ipsum, qui remittit peccata; Iudicarunt Iudicem Iudicum. Suspensus est in crucem ut auferret peccata. Reputatus est inter malefactores, ut uniret nos cum bonis. Mortuus est, ~~non~~ ~~marka~~ sua sponte, et sepultus est voluntarie. Mortuus est, ut mortem auferret, (interimeret) mortuus est ut vivificaret mortuos. Sepultus est ut excitaret sepultas, et conservaret vivos et purgaret immundos, et justificaret peccatores, et congregaret dispersos, et converteret ~~marka~~ sceleratos in laudem et gloriam. Tibi laus et honor, et gratiarum actio in secula seculorum.

Diaconus.

Respiciamus.

Obvelantes facies suas fulgure, ne consumat illos ignis consumens, tegunt pedes suos prunis, ne comburat eos  
flamma roboris

flamma roboris ; et volant in quatuor partes mundi, et in omnes fines, ante illum qui est in omnibus finibus mundi; clamant ut sanctificent Unigenitum, qui omnibus absconditus est, voce magna, et clara, et mirabili; singuli exercitibus suis, et singuli gradibus suis, singuli coetibus suis, singuli functionibus suis adorant Te, te patrem adorant, et Filium tuum unicum celebrant, et Spiritum tuum vivum et Sanctum, et omnes pariter gratiarum actionem laudis tuae offerunt tibi. Concede nobis etiam, ut (nos quoque) una cum illis, per misericordiam tuam Domine.

Diaconus          Versus orientem

Diaconus    et    Sacerdos.

Jan 1922

Ab illis quos a mortuis excitasti, et a viventibus quos servasti, ab immundis quod mundasti, a peccatoribus quos justificasti, a dispersis quos congregasti, et a malefactoribus quos convertisti, Tibi (debetur) fides Amen. Adoramus et celebramus te, Sermo sapientiae, et vox consilij, Thesaurus auxiliij, et Receptaculum letitiae. Scaturigo exuberantiae, Fons prophetiae magnus, fluvius laudatus in Apostolis, Putens gloria et culmen (fastus) regni. Corona pura Sacerdotum, Rex insigni corona, quem adorant oriens laudis, et lumen gloriae. Vestis intexta, et tunica inconsuta. Via ad Patrem suum Janua quae versus Genitorem suum. Thesaurus absconditus; et Margarita reperta. Mina quae lucrata est, et Talentum quod duplicatum est. Fermentum quod fermentat massam, et Sal quod condit insipidum. Lumen quod dispellit tenebras, et Lucerna quae illuminat universum mundum. Fundamentum inconcussum, et Structura quae non potest subverti. Navis quae non potest frangi, et Habitatio quae non potest spoliari. Iugum suave, et Onus leve est Iesus Christus, Virtus et Sapientia Patris sui. Cogitat de omnibus, et satiat omnia, dat caecis ut videant, Aperit fenestras clausas, et audire facit surdos, et perfodit aurem. --- Auferit a corporibus vestem lepram, et induit illam velamine carnis. Rectificat (Extendit) brachium viri aridum, et ambulare facit pedem claudij. Restituit animam in membra sua, et collocat spiritum in habitaculum suum; Submērgit gregem procorum per Daemones legionis, et expellit tormentum e corpore debili, Sol justitiae et Fons exuberantiae. Tibi Laus, et Gloria, et gratiarum actio, in secula seculorum.

Diaconus.    Populo ---  
Sacerdos.

Offerimus tibi oblationem puram perfecte, pro absoluteione (ablutione) animarum nostrarum, ut sanctificetur corpus

nostrum integre

nostrum integre. Non est aurum neque argentum quod offerimus tibi, neque gemmae pretiosae injustitiae et peccati; non vestes quae (cito) veterascunt, neque greges quos mors consumit, neque agnus mactatus: sed is qui morte sua, salvat gregem suum, et vivificabit nos sibi. Illi vero non vivent qui abnegarunt eum qui salvavit illos, et per quem salvati sunt. Sed tuum de tuo offerimus, humanitati tuae, tibi offerimus divinitati tuae, tibi offerimus, conspectui tuo, coram venis tuis; corpore et sanguine tuo, offerimus tibi coram essentia tua: Pro Ecclesia tua sancta quae salutem adeptam est per Te a morte, et propter quam colaphis caesus fuisti in senatu ut liberares eam sanguine tuo, et obsepiatur cruce tua, et circummuretur --- e medio tentationum, donec introeat ad Nuptias tuas Coelestes. Item pro omnibus Prophetis sanctis, qui Sonitum ediderunt tanquam Tuba, et predicarunt ortum tuum in omnibus gentibus tenebrarum. Pro omnibus Apostolis tuis, qui ararunt terram gentium aratro Crucis tuae, et Seminarunt thesaurum Verbi tui in omnibus finibus Terrae. Pro omnibus Martyribus tuis vincentibus, fidelibus et castis, quos propter gregem tuum devoravit lupus vorax instar agnorum. Pro omnibus Metropolitanis qui administrarunt officium Suum castitate, et quorum --- accepisti ut retribuas illis praemium, secundum justitiam illius. Pro omnibus Presbyteris qui custodierunt sortem suam in justitia ut accipiant hereditatem suam in gaudio. Pro omnibus Diaconis qui elevarunt alas suas spiritus, ut consociantur illis qui in Spiritu Sancto sunt. Pro omnibus Lectoribus (Anagnostis) qui bene ministrarunt, et docuerunt populum tuum, et predicarunt scripturas tuas. Pro omnibus Regibus fidelibus qui in fide requiescunt. Pro omnibus adolescentibus qui odio habuerunt hunc mundum, et praelegerunt nuptias coelestes. Pro omnibus Sanctis, qui tradiderunt animas suas tibi, et absolverunt certamen suum, et in patriam redierunt honesto nomine, ut exposcant mercedem suam alta voce. Pro omnibus Patribus et fratribus nostris, qui migrarunt ex hoc mundo, ut illorum facias memoriam coram te. Pro omnibus qui nati sunt in baptismo Ecclesiae tuae sanctae, ut exhilares illos in certamine illorum, et reddas eos participes coronarum suarum. Pro omnibus qui interfecti sunt lancea, et qui capti sunt. Pro pauperibus et egenis, pro viduis et orphanis, et pro servo tua. Ego humilis, Tu qui vocasti me per gratiam tuam; quamvis non fuerim dignus; Magnum reddidisti et exaltasti me, qui ineptus fui, attraxisti me ad te per misericordiam tuam, ut stem coram altari tuo Domine, ut remittas animae meae, & toti gregi tuo. Pro hac Congregatione, ut prospera reddatur per multitudinem gratiae tuae. Ut, roborentur imbecilles

et justificentur

et justificentur peccatores, ut, purificentur illi qui poenitentiam egerunt, et custodiantur justi, ut, eripiantur tribulati et opprobrijs affecti. Ut, animentur tristes, et laeti reddantur moesti: ut, eripiantur spei expertes, et sanentur aegroti; ut, convertantur scelesti, et inveniantur aberrantes. Ut accedant remoti, et custodiantur propinqui. Pro omnibus qui desiderant ut faciant illorum memoriam coram te, quoniam Tu exacte nosti omnes, et recordaris omnium. Pro frugibus messis, quae est corona anni, ut benedicatur ei per misericordiam tuam. Pro illis qui afferunt hanc recordationis oblationem, ut suscipias votum illorum, et --oblatio illorum. Pro illis qui acceperunt Sigillum Tuum, et ex hoc mundo aerumnoso exierunt et pervenerunt in regionem laetitiae ut intrent ad festum tuum, et accipiant coronam tuam, ~~et accipiant coronam tuam~~ et requiescant in habitaculis suis perpetuis in civitate tua, cujus Tu Ipse Magister et Archytectus es. Pro omnibus qui peccarunt et deliquerunt, ut Tu homo es, Deus misericors, benignus (et) spes illorum, remittas illis peccata illorum, et auferas delicta illorum. Pro omnibus quorum nomina scimus, et quorum nescimus. Quoniam tibi est manifesta notitia illorum. Fiat memoria illorum coram Te, per Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, in secula seculorum.

Diaconus pro Beato  
 Diaconus Sacerdos

Illorum ut et reliquorum animas requiescere fac, et educa eos super aquas refectionis, in campis hortorum, in finum Arabiae, Isaaci, et Iacobi, per ductores Lucis, Angelos tuos, in sanctis habitationibus tuis, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum quem diligis. In illa nocte in qua apprehenderunt ipsum, in qua idem voluit ut interficerent eum, et Ipsi placuit ut affligerent eum, et ut perferret dolores clavorum, et ut redimeret Ecclesiam Christi per Sanguinem suam, ~~et edificaret altare suum~~ et confirmaret populum suum per crucem suam, ~~ut edificaret altare suum~~ et subverteret idola, eligeret sacerdotes, et dispergeret idolorum sacrificos.

Diaconus Respondete presbytero.

Acceptit panem in manus suas sanctas et beatas dotem sponsae tuae, et repudium synagogae quam repudiavit; Gratias egit, benedixit. Fregit et Dedit discipulis suis dicens: Haec est Caro mea, qui comederit eam non morietur, et qui sumpserit eam non interibit. Accipite, edite de illa vos omnes. Similiter quoque oravit super calicem

John. 6

et dixit: Hic

et dixit: Hic est sanguis meus Novi Testamenti, accipite, bibite de illo vos omnes. Miraculum signum est illis, qui adorant illum, caetui crucifigentium, qui scriptus est sanguine suo, impressus cruce sua, et obsignatus internecone sua, propter vitam aeternam in qua remittitur peccatum. Hoc modo facite memoriam mei cum congregati fueritis. Nos igitur Domine qui congregati sumus, ut faciamus memoriam passionis tuae, et ut participes reddamur resurrectionis tuae a mortuis, Suppliciter oramus te Domine Deus noster, ut quemadmodum collectus est iste panis, quamvis dispersus esset, inter colles et montes et campos, et valles, collectus autem factus est unus panis integer; Sic quoque abstrahere nos ab omni cogitatione mala, peccaniosa, in fidem tuam perfectam: Et quemadmodum permistio hujus vini cum aqua non potest iterum invicem separari : sic quoque misceatur Divinitas tua cum humanitate nostra, et humanitas nostra cum Divinitate tua; Altitudo tua cum humilitate nostra, et humilitas nostra cum altitudine tua; et suscipe (a nobis) hanc oblationem nostram o Domine coram te, in memoriam justitiae aeternae, quam offerimus tibi cum abelis puro (puritate) et omnium quibus non est macula, in quibus complacitum est excellentiae tuae; ut et in oblatione illorum, quorum in perpetuum manet recordatio coram te; Cum (illa) Noachi confidentis, et omnium mansuetorum, super quibus requiescit Divinitas tua, et quos magnos fecisti bonitate tua, ut accipiant portionem bonam, et haereditatem, vitamque aeternam in regno coelorum. Cum omnium qui bene se gesserant coram te; Cum Abrahami, Isaaci et Jacobi partibus nostris dilectis, qui bene operati sunt, et incesserunt in puritate, et regnarunt in justitia. Cum (illa) Mosis servitui, et omnium Prophetarum, qui predicarunt nobis absque dubitatione, ut accipiant mercedem suam perfecte absolutam; Cum Simonis Petri et omnium discipulorum tuorum; cum Pauli et omnium Apostolorum tuorum Sanctorum qui portarunt Evangelium tuum in cruciatibus suis et custodierunt praedicationem doctrinae tuae in mortibus suis; Cum Stephani et omnium Martyrum tuorum, qui effuderunt sanguinem suum pro sanguine tuo, ut acciperent honorem a laude tua : Igitur scripta sunt nomina illorum in libro vitae, in Hierosolima libera coelesti, quae est Mater nostra, et vere credit per eam in Ecclesia tua Christiana Sancta; orat te suppliciter Domine et genua flectit tibi Ecclesia tua, magnificat te Sponsa tua gratias agit tibi populus tuus. Per orationes perfectorum, et per adorationem sanctorum, per petitiones vigilum, et laudes Angelorum, et celebrationes Archangelorum. Per sanctificationem Seraphini, et per gloriam Cherubini, et per excellentiam omnium excellentium. Scindatur janua luminis, et late

pandatur porta

pandatur porta laudis, Veniat Spiritus tuus vivus et Sanctus, descendat, et sedeat, et habitet, et requiescat, et benedicat consecrationi hujus panis, calicem quoque sanctificat. Fiat iste panis participatio corporis tui vivi, et iste calix participatio sanguinis tui clementis, ut omnis qui credit in patrem vivum, et in Filium unigenitum, qui ortus est ab eo, et in spiritum vivum et sanctum et imperscrutabilem. Amen. et qui sumit corpus et sanguinem tuum, cedat ipsi in spem et Salutem, in remissionem peccatorum, et resurrectionem a mortuis in lumen regni coelorum, et in vitam aeternam. Amen.

Da nobis ----  
Oratio fractionis.

Et iterum suppliciter oramus eum qui omnia comprehendit, Dominum universi, Patrem Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi quoniam largitus est nobis iterum, ut ad finem perducere potuimus hoc sanctum Mysterium; Eundem oramus supplices, ut diem Benedictionis largiatur nobis, qui omnia gubernat Dominus orbis Deus noster.

Orate.

Domine Dominus omnium, comprehensor omnium, Pater Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, Rogamus te, supplicamus tibi, per omnia, et in omnibus, quoniam largitus es nobis iterum ut ad finem perducere potuerimus hoc sanctum mysterium, Item ut ad benedictionem nobis cedat largire, ne venenquam ex illis impium pronuncia, nec voluptatem ejus non - pone: sed ut omnibus voluptati sit, fac nobis (quoque) ad accipiendum mysterium tuum sanctum, per Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, Per quem tibi cum illo et Spiritu Sancto sit laus et potentia, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Diaconus  
Diaconus Sacerdos

Quaenam benedictio, aut quisnam sermo laudabilis, quaenam vox, et quaenam humilis confessio? quaenam gratiarum actio, et quodnam nomen quod dicere possumus super hoc pane qui frangitur? praeterquam nomen tuum solum Iesum Christe, cujus nomen vivificum et salvificum (est). Hic (est) panis vitae qui de coelis descendit pro salute mundi; Tu qui factus es nobis via loco Vitae: (habitationis) gratias agimus tibi in Verbo tuo, qui creasti omnia. Tu es ductor, et porta ad gratiam, Tu es sal, et tu es thesaurus margaritae, Tu es rete vitae, Veritas, Virtus, Sapientia, Arx, Requies, Auxilium, et Vita. quos expectasti ut voceris his nominibus propter amorem hominum, ut salventur et reddantur novi a manifeste malo opere priori, qui lapsi sunt per illud in peccatum.

Directio Animae

Directio Animae.

Et iterum supplices rogamus eum, qui omnia comprehendit Dominum Patrem Domini, Domini orbis et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi: Gratias agentes ei per omnia et in omnibus; quoniam largitus est nobis ut ad finem peragere potuerimus Sumptionem Sancti Mysterij: Eundem quoque rogamus, ut diem benedictionis largiatur nobis, qui omnia comprehendit Dominus Deus noster.

Orate:

Domine Dominus omnium, omnia tenens, Pater Domini, Domini orbis et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, Rogamus te et Supplicamus tibi per omnia et in omnibus, quoniam abscondisti illos ab illis (qui) videntur sibi quasi sint sapientes et intelligentes, et revelasti nos (nobis) mansuetio? (clementiam). Utique O Pater, quia talis est voluntas tua coram te, ut quod sumptio sancti tui mysterij non cedat nobis in contaminationem, neque in iudicium; sed in remissionem peccatorum et in vitam aeternam, et ad cognitionem veritatis largire (ut cedat) nobis: Et quemadmodum largitus es nobis sumptionem sacri mysterij in hoc mundo; sic quoque in futura resurrectione mortuorum una cum Sanctis tuis, sit portio nostra; Per Dominum et Salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi cum illo et Sto. Spiritu etc.

Imponens manum

Coram sanctitatis tuae laude humilium servorum tuorum et ancillarum tuarum tuarum, puritate, anima, corpore et spiritu; Inclina aurem tuam ad petitiones illorum; Benedic utrisque ut et illis qui in coelo sunt, per Benedictionem Angelorum tuorum fortium. Benedic operi manuum eorum, et sis cum illis in omni opere bono (fac ut) Sumptio Sacri mysterij cedat illis ad prudentiam, Vigilantiam et Recollectionem ab omnibus, in cibum animae, et corporum, et spirituum illorum Per Dominum nostrum et Salvatorem Iesum Christum.

Finis.

Consacratio Sacrosanctae Coenae ab ipsis  
Apostolis usurpata .

Gratias agimus tibi Domine in dilecto filio tuo Iesu; quod in ultimis diebus miseris nobis filium tuum Salvatorem, et redemptorem nostrum, Angelum consilij tui. Hoc est, Verbum quod a te est, et per quod omnia fecisti secundum voluntatem tuam.

Pro beato.

Illorum et reliquorum omnium requiescere fac animas, et clemens esto illis, qui de coelo misisti Filium tuum in uterum Virginis. Gestatus fuit in utero, caro factus est, et manifestata est nativitas ejus a Spiritu Sancto. Coram te stant millia millium, et myriades millium sanctorum Angelorum et Archangelorum, et veneranda Animalia tua, quibus sex alae seraphim et cherubim, obtegentes duabus alis suis faciem, duabus alis pedes suos, et duabus alis volant a fine ad fines mundi; omnes itaque perpetuo ut te laudent et celebrent, cum omnibus qui celebrant et laudant te: Suscipe praeterea nostram quoque consecrationem, qui dicimus Tibi, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Sebaoth, pleni sunt coeli, et terra Sanctitate laudis tuae, Revera implevit coelum et terram Sanctitas laudis tuae, (Laus Sanctitatis tuae) per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, Sanctus filius tuus venit, et a virgine natus est, ut voluntatem tuam perficeret, et populum tibi faceret Sanctum. Extendit manus suas in dolores (passionem) passus est ut afflictos eripiat (salvet) illos qui confidunt in te. Traditus est sua sponte in afflictionem, ut mortem auferat, et vincula Satanae rumpat, ut voluntatem patris sui impleat, et infernum conculcet; ut sanctos ducat, Testamentum instituat, tenebras removeat, et Resurrectionem suam manifestet; In illa nocte in qua tradiderunt eum, sumpsit panem in manus suas sanctas et beatas, qui absque macula: suspexit in coelum, ad te, ad patrem suum. Gratias egit, Benedixit, Fregit et dedit Discipulis suis, et dixit: Accipite, Comedite, Iste Panis, Corpus meum est, quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum. Similiter quoque Calicem gratias agens, Benedicens, et Sanctificans, dedit Discipulis suis, et dixit illis: Accipite, Bibite, Iste Calix Sanguis meus est qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum: Et quotiescunque hoc feceritis, memoriam mei facite. Nunc igitur Domine dum memoriam facimus mortis et resurrectionis tuae confidimus tibi, et offerimus tibi panem et Calicem gratias agentes tibi. Nam per illum fecisti ut cum gaudio stemus coram te, et tibi ministremus. Rogamus itaque te Domine, et supplicamus

tibi, ut mittas

tibi, ut mittas Spiritum tuum Sanctum ,et virtutem supra hunc Panem et Calicem. Faciat Corpus et sanguinem Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi: In secula seculorum. Unionem tuam da omnibus qui sumunt de illo,cedat illis in sanctitatem et plenitudinem Spiritus Sancti,et ad confirmationem fidei verae, ut te Sanctificent, et laudent filium tuum dilectum Iesum Christum, qui cum Spiritu tuo Sancto.

Da nobis  
Benedictus  
Mitte dic  
Oratio Fractionis

Et iterum suppliciter oramus, qui omnia gubernat, Dominum Patrem, Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi,concedat nobis ut cum benedictione sumamus de sancto mysterio. Robur da nobis, ne quenquam ex nobis impuritatis arguat, sed ut omnibus in voluptatem cedat, qui accipiunt Sump-tionem Sacri Mysterij Corporis et Sanguinis Iesu Christi, qui omnia gubernat Domini Dei nostri.

Orate.

Domine qui cuncta gubernas rogamus te, et supplicamus tibi, ut Sumptio Sancti (da nobis robur)tui mysterij , nec quenquam ex nobis impuritatis argue; sed omnibus benedicito per Christum, per quem tibi Ec.

Dicito.

Domine orbis aeterne, gnarus occultorum et manifestorum, coram te humiliat se populus tuus, et tibi subjicit obstinatiam animi et corporis. Respice a parato (paterno) tuo habitaculo, benedicito utrisque . Inclina ad illos aurem tuam, et exaudi preces illorum; Robora (illos)per virtutem dextrae tuae, obtege, et eripe a calamitate mala. Custos sis tam corporum quam animarum illorum.Auge fidem tuam in illis utrisque et timorem Nominis Tui, Per Unigenitum Filium tuum.

Dicito  
Director animae.

Et iterum suppliciter oramus eum qui omnia gubernat, gratias agimus tibi, quoniam largitus es nobis ut sumere potuerimus de sancto tuo Mysterio. Quaeso ne non cedat nobis in contaminationem, neque in iudicium; sed ad innovationem animae, Corporis et Spiritus, per Unigenitum Filium Tuum, per quem tibi cum Ec.

Finis.

ADDENDUM.  
Harl. 3784

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TO WILLIAM SANCROFT.

Reverend & right worthily honor'd Sr

This gentleman Mr Mich was recommended to mee by the eminent professor Dr Buxtorf of Basil, hee is of noble extraction, sent to travell for his better accomplishment, especially in the Languages. Sr May it please You to Countenance him & procure him the liberty of Studying in some of Yo<sup>r</sup> cheifest Libraries, the experience I have had of his probity & Integrity, as wel as of his Ingenuity, do sufficiently warrant mee to becom his Security. Hee hath been received & entertained in o<sup>r</sup> Sister University wth goo respect & Civility. Nor have wee been ever noted as ritrose to her in that vertuous qualification. Yo<sup>r</sup> knowen transcendency heerin above others, hath emboldened mee to this presumption, & likewise to request fath<sup>r</sup>, that (through) Yo<sup>r</sup> communicative Goodness, some others of o<sup>r</sup> Academical peeres, would also shew him such favour, as may cause him both to remember and attest it in all places, whether hee shall come afterwards. Which consequentially will bee a d<sup>e</sup>er engagement upon mee too, never to be forgotten, to make a due acknowledgement heerof, & acc<sup>o</sup>rding to my best capacity, a just retaliation, in doinge wherof no man shalbee more studious to approve himself really

TO WILLIAM SANCROFT contd.

approve himself really

sr

The most commandable of all

Yor<sup>r</sup> devoted servants

E Castell.

## PART TWO

ORIENTAL AND BIBLICAL STUDIES IN  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BRITAIN .

The main lines of advance in Oriental scholarship have been already here, and more fully amongst historians, outlined. The presence of Jews amongst the Christians of fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe guaranteed a continuous curiosity concerning the Hebrew Text and the commentaries that had accumulated about it. The Reformers employed their knowledge of Hebrew both as a weapon of Reform amongst themselves and as a weapon of attack against the Catholic Church. This language amongst Christians almost came to be made the symbol of the martyr and certainly the mark of the advanced divine. The whole bent of scholarship, therefore, lay towards the elucidation of the Holy Text and, except in a few cases of mysterious machinations of the order of Cabbala, continued so. As has been sufficiently noted also, the Christians turned towards the Jews in order to demonstrate to them through their "own tongue" and their own commentaries, the error of their theory of the Messiah. With the passing of this missionary fervour, local controversy within the national Church, gave further evidence of the impulses deriving from the same source. The discovery of important Manuscripts in the East, brought to England and elsewhere by scholars and messengers,

supplied a continuous interest in the studies under consideration, the most eminent being the Ussher Ms of the Samaritan Pentateuch. England at least was safe from Catholicism, but it was not safe from schismatics of its own rearing, as the sequel of religious history shows, especially from those years of Independent Regime, when, with the largely disseminated knowledge of Hebrew and the Bible, as well as an evangelistic discovery of the Authorised Version amongst the emerging classes of society, the sects of our own day in Britain and America had their rise. In some ways, therefore, it is possible to belittle the influence of Hebrew learning and in others impossible to exaggerate it.

At the end of the seventeenth century one may see how on the one hand the people who dissented went to the Authorised Version and on the other how the divines and Church of England communicants brought their scholarship to bear upon it; while again that class which had given rise to Biblical Scholarship, turned away from the Bible itself to larger fields of study, founding modern Eastern Scholarship. The sequel therefore is not without interest.

Without too heavy a hand on the matter, one might say, keeping certain distinctions of knowledge in mind, that there was information and knowledge of and about the Eastern Languages, and also some culture emanating from them and the study of the Bible, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of a large and spreading sort. Where these things had been united in the best earliest scholarship, the separation speedily came. The amazing vulgarisation of learning on the one hand, and the rise of a new class of learning on the other marks the separation, and if it is being too much insisted upon, it is because it has struck students in so strong a measure, especially in times when the study of Hebrew, unlike that of Latin and Greek, has been deleted from the schoolboys' courses. The mark of the Authorised Version is undoubtedly still upon the ideology of the nation and it may be (although there are doubts) upon the language, but there are also other strains of influence perceivable in some ways of thinking, which have their rise in the particular conceptions taken over by seventeenth century writers and thinkers from the commentaries on the Bible in which the age was so <sup>deeply</sup> interested. The work of Saurat in this field is one instance of its elucidation, and to him may be ascribed a school of research work in his train. But these

investigations, which require so great and extensive scholarship and reading, have not yet been, and probably never will be adequately completed and then organised. It is only my purpose here to draw attention to the facts as they have been indicated by workers in the field from which I must necessarily be excluded.

After the establishment of Hebrew studies by Reuchlin, all Europe was carried away by them, and while scholars continued to approach Hebrew after Latin and Greek there was still hope that the sanity required in scholarship might be also established, but the fervour and religious enthusiasms of the first Orientalists were repeated in students who possessed neither their scholarship nor their assiduousness of method. The golden age of Biblical studies was the time of the production of the various Rabbinical Bibles and Polyglots with their Lexicons and Apparatus. For scholarship, these great events abased the national versions of the Bible in the vernaculars, and inevitably led on to those others studies which took the place of the old one.

In spite of the great labours of scholars and lexicographers in the seventeenth century, the new age esteemed their work little in comparison with new achievements in other fields: and with respect to linguistic study in the Bible itself, it was not long before it was being clearly said that the ancient dictum that a priest without the tongues was as a lawyer without the laws was effete. Castell's Lexicon, somewhat pretentiously heralded by the compiler, and the fruit of much suffering, came to a learned world which had decided that no useful purpose was served by his book. They already had around them greater works, not so great in comprehension, which remained the standard monuments of such linguistic study as they cared to pursue in Holy Writ. The work of Buxtorf abroad, and the scholars about him like Hottinger, Golius, and a whole generation before and with them, along with the various polyglot bibles issued from time to time, provided a sufficient corpus, so that supplementary scholarship could only be regarded with mild approval.

Walton's Polyglot, however, was carried to its completion on the last waves of enthusiasm for the comparative studies of Biblical texts in different languages: but it was not a entire success. The Polyglot seems to have been as much as the world

as the world of Oriental learning could support, so far as its particular kind of study was concerned. Compilers still claimed attention on the grounds of alleged benefits conferred on the Christian world: but their readers doubted: at odd moments of his career, Castell himself hoped that his dictionary might be useful to merchants in the East, and to students of non-scriptural literature.

The keen study of the sacred tongues which had characterised the previous age, subsisted on the controversial and doctrinal temper of the time, and it came to manifest itself in the large bulk of miscellaneous writings which had little or no bearing on the actual problems from which it first arose. There was therefore not only a reflection of an intense and erudite interest in the Eastern tongues, but also a rather unhappy display of puerile equipment in the general literature of the day: a learned treatise or a fashionable quotation in Hebrew, were, nevertheless, evidences of a universal interest in the subject. In this earlier epoch was educated the brilliant galaxy of orientalist who ornamented the Commonwealth, and who stand apart from the pretentious students of the age: and also are not to be mingled with merely well educated men, of large reading and culture, such as Milton,

Milton, to name one illustrious example. The Pococks, Seldens, Lightfoots, Cudworths, cultured as they were, stand for a special aspect of scholarship and genius: the Waltons and Castells were their servants, occasionally recruits. Yet vestiges of what was a popular study appeared in odd places,<sup>3</sup> sometimes adorning, sometimes belittling the work. At its worst it was held up as being no better than astrology and of no greater claim to seriousness or sense.

The seventeenth century became entangled<sup>4</sup> in the difficult question relating to the oriental equipment of the clergy: the ecclesiastical tests required some training in the Holy Tongues, and, indeed, the students who proceeded to the degree in divinity furnished the greater number of real scholars: yet many men passed their tests with a minimum of the languages. The nonconformist clergy, also, somewhat inclined to stress other aspects of a minister's equipment, often showed great zeal in acquiring the original languages of the scriptures. In England, however, the edge was off: there was smoothness and quiet and the best studies matured slowly, while the general flow became regular. Scotland still, very much excited

very much excited and zealous for the new learning upon which it was hoping to found its new era, eagerly learned and eagerly taught, satisfied mainly with the rudiments of the tongues and especially those languages which had most direct bearing upon Holy Writ. Robert Baillie<sup>5</sup>, for one, although he was perfectly aware of the scope of Oriental scholarship, became petulant over the production of books bearing upon the newer trend of interest in England and goaded his friends in the south to put him in touch with scholars who remembered to cater for his divinity students. In all possibility there was in the second half of the seventeenth century a greater number of the Scottish clergy reasonably equipped for the study of the Bible, than there was amongst the general clergy of England. The Scottish Universities proudly taught their Hebrew, their Syriac, and their modicums of Rabbinical literature. It need not be imagined, however, that there were not sufficient numbers of theological students in Scotland who forgot what they had learned for their trials. Even as Ralph Josselin<sup>6</sup>, a Cambridge graduate, already in orders in 1643, then made frantic efforts to learn Hebrew, and ejaculated

"Oh my folly to forget my school entrance, and to neglect this study at Cambridge!"

so Thomas Boston,<sup>7</sup> as late a laureate as 1690, being

being about twenty-three when he entered on the theological course in Edinburgh under Alexander Rule, could say that he "remembered no remarkable advantage he had thereby". For the rest, Adam Martindale<sup>8</sup> may be mentioned, who having been called suddenly from his school to a ministry in Lancashire, determined to equip himself with Hebrew, and zealously pursued his textbook until he was proficient in the rudiments, such that he had for a while a Hebrew class in the school; into which came a Cambridge graduate, causing his non-university master some laughter by his ignorance. In so far as Scotland was behind the times, so much later did the teaching of Hebrew in schools and Universities persist after the fashion had died out in England. Even the able John Byrom,<sup>9</sup> once pupil at Merchant Taylors School, famed in the age before for its Hebrew studies, although not with claims clearly substantiated by results, took up Hebrew after other interests had waned. He came from Cambridge, famous also for its Semitic training, although this also was rather offered to theological students; and it was ten years after he had taken his Master's degree that he was interested in Teodichi, the Arabian, amongst whose accomplishments he noted the Oriental tongues. Four years later, having been stimulated further, and having also heard the condemnation of Hebrew so far as the clergy was concerned from the mouth of a minister,

minister, he began to borrow grammars: conned the Hebrew dictionary with assiduity: and then took up with a converted Jew for a tutor, one Moses Marcus, and later another, Israel Lyons. By this time, in his forty first year, he was able to sit up by lamplight and ruminate over the possibilities in "Bereshith bara", which he saw was " In Principio". It was only when he came at last upon a textbook of the previous generation, Robertson's Psalms in Hebrew with English transliteration, that he made real progress, bought a Hebrew Pentateuch, and a new Grammar, and in ten years time was able to carry on an erudite correspondence with Mr Whitefield of Liverpool, after having been at great pains to keep in contact with several Jews. And Mr Whitefield, after confessing that he himself did not take up the learning until he was fifty-six, praised his friend and rated his erudition above his own. The Edmund Castell of this biography, when he was getting into his thirties, had already become known as a proficient Orientalist, and was already turning over in his mind ambitious schemes in this field. He belonged to the previous age. The scholars of that age, the teachers of Castell and his like, had vehemently condemned and steadily deplored the rapid vulgarisation of semitic studies, and the growing simplification of textbooks necessitated by it. To

To such men, the teaching of Hebrew through English textbooks, which became to fashion instead of Latin towards the end of the century, was the disappearance of the last barrier before the charlatan and the driveller: and they did not hesitate to prophesy the imminent decay of the study. When Walton completed his Palyglot Bibles the process was being completed through the exhaustion of Biblical studies for religion: and when Castell was attempting his sequel to that work, the indifference of the general cultured public ruined and beggared him. Hebrew having by this time been dispossessed by the sciences and newer studies, and the public having dissociated it from its former adherent studies, it became the curiosity of precious ladies and gentlemen, and even so late as Mrs Thrale<sup>10</sup> it remained so. In the meantime the Universities, where small groups of scholars still pursued the study of Eastern culture, were making the Biblical tongues the groundwork for those more comprehensive Eastern researches in history and philology which are the foundations of the brilliant modern work in a wider and richer, but now apparently almost exhausted, field."

## Notes.

- (1) Cf. Hallam, Introd. to Europ. Lit. vol.1.p.473. In Germany the study of Hebrew flourished under Protestantism, the language being there prized as highly as Latin in Italy. The first grammar and lexicon of Chaldaic appeared in 1527 by Sebastian Munster: Pagninus's Hebrew Lexicon in 1529: Munster's in 1543. etc. etc. See also vol. II p.132 where Hallam comments on the effect on the public mind of "the free spirit engendered by the Reformation, and especially the Judaizing turn of the early Protestants, those at least of the Calvinist School, which sought for precedents and models in the Old Testament, and delighted to recount how the tribes of Israel had fallen from Rehoboam". etc. etc. And again on p.347.
- (2) H.J. Todd "Memoirs of Brian Walton" 18
- (3) Cf. Hallam op.cit. vol. III p. 444. "The frequent sprinkling of its (Hebrew) characters in works of the most miscellaneous erudition will strike the eye of every one who habitually consults them. Nor was this learning by any means confined to the clergy as it has been in later times—since the chief Hebraists of the time were laymen. The study of this language prevailed most in the Protestant countries of Europe; and it was cultivated with much zeal in England. The period between the last years of Elizabeth and the Restoration may, perhaps, be reckoned that in which a knowledge of Hebrew has been most usual among our divines".
- (4) Again compare Hallam cit. vol. IV p.39. where he speaks of the marked change in the religious attitude of the later period of the seventeenth century, the increased boldness in enquiry, the disregard for authority, the spirit of "a slightly learned but acute generation of men rather conversant with the world than with libraries". He mentions the rareness of quotations in the theological works of the time, their service simply as testimony, illustration etc. "but not so much alleged as argument or authority in themselves".
- (5) Baillie's Journal
- (6) Diary of Ralph Josselin
- (7) Boston's Memoirs
- (8) Adam Martindale's Journal. Chetham Soc.
- (9) John Byrom's Remains

## Notes.

- (10) Consider generally the activities of the Johnsonian Bluestockings and the evidences of Mrs Thrale's elementary exercises in the Hebrew in the MS remains in John Rylands Library.
- (11) The epoch of comparative studies had, of course, been inaugurated before Castell's work. Compare Hallam's admirably minded remarks op.cit. Vol. III p. 444 par. 24. "Upon this subject I can only assert what I collect to be the verdict of judicious critics. It seems that the Hebrew language was not yet sufficiently studied in the method most likely to give insight into principles, by comparing it with all the cognate tongues, latterly called Semitic, spoken in the neighbouring parts of Asia. Postel, indeed, had made some attempts at this in the last century, but his learning was very slight; and Scindler published in 1612 a Lexicon Pentaglottum, in which the Arabic, as well as Syriac and Chaldaic, were placed in apposition with the Hebrew text. Louis de Dieu, whose "Remarks on all the Books of the Old Testament" was published at Leyden in 1648, frequently has recourse to some of the kindred languages to explain the Hebrew. But the first first instructors of the latter had been ~~Hebrew~~ Jewish Rabbis; and the Hebraists of the age had imbibed a prejudice, not unnatural though unfounded, that their teachers were best conversant with the language of their forefathers. They had derived from the same source an extravagant notion of the beauty, antiquity, and capacity of Hebrew, and, combining this with the still more chimerical dreams of a mystical philosophy, lost sight of all real principles of criticism". Compare also the quotation in Mullinger "The University of Cambridge" p. 416, after writing of the growing neglect of Oriental studies in Cambridge, at a time when "an exaggerated and false estimate of the relation of Hebrew to other languages" prevailed, goes on to quote Playfere in 1605 ("at that time the most distinguished pupil orator in the University") at Livellie's funeral, who declared Hebrew to be "the ancientest, the shortest, the plainest of all languages .... In so much as when any man hath founde out the Hebrew etymology then he neede seeke no further... Therefore though a man cannot read the Rabbins, yet unlesse he can understande handsomely well the Hebrew text, he is compted but a maimed, or as it were, but halfe a divine, especially in this learned age". This illustration of the repute of the tongue at that date, is complementary to Mullinger's lamentation over the subsequent decay: to this he adds his comment on this repute, citing Leibnitz a century after appearing "to

Notes.

(11) continued  
a century after appearing "to remove this one great  
stumbling block from the threshold of the science  
of language".

THE STATUS OF ORIENTAL LEARNING.

The study of Hebrew and the associated tongues in seventeenth century (and earlier) England did not fail to produce its crop of prodigies, apart from its brilliant and established scholars. A knowledge of and a skill in Hebrew was apt to be (generally) regarded, even amongst good judges, as a mark of intelligence and high culture. Along with the sprinkling of Hebrew characters in pamphlets and more learned publications, a display of Hebrew learning was regarded as both desirable and ornamental. It was not confined therefore to the pulpit and the University. Amongst a lengthy list of youths who died from overstudying the sacred text and the Hebrew Tongue, and others who gave their whole time to these studies, there must be placed quite a large number of Royal students and a respectable array of names of gentlewomen, the bluestockings of the epoch. The space, however, which these lists require is not equal to the interest they give nor the information that may be deduced. Such collections as Wood, Clarke's Marrow, Baxter's Life, and so forth, furnish much of the material, completed from other biographical sources. It is sufficient that it is clear that Hebrew did become a popular mark by which to recognise the cultured and the learned.

The enthusiasm and encouragement given to students of the Eastern Languages had been so great that the decline of the vogue affected the great scholars of the end of the era, as for example Pocock whose discouraged references to the change in public taste may be gathered from <sup>T. Twells</sup> Twell's Life and his letters to his friends. In one case he wrote to Greaves that the genius of the times, as for those studies, was much altered since Greaves and he first set about them, while in Pocock's Prefatory Letter to his Micah he remarks that "there is in it much stress laid on such part of Learning( the Oriental, he means) which of late, if not all along, has had that unhappiness as to be scarce able to keep itself, not only from neglect, but contempt, as needless, at least of no great use or necessity". He had, however, hope that in good time it would recover its honour. It is not difficult to understand that it was because students saw the exhaustion of such studies with regard to the Scriptures, and were unwilling to broach the larger ways of scholarship, that the studies declined. It had been a different matter with the Reformers and their followers, as, for one instance, the 1548 translation of Hulrich Zwingli's Certejn Preceptes by Dr Richard Argentyne makes clear, where, in the Aphorisms of the Second Precept

Aphorisms of the Second Precept , it is laid down that the way to set the mind in order is to have in hand and labour both night and day in the word of God, to do which very well one should understand the Hebrew and Greek tongues rightly, because without the one of them the Old Testament, and without the other, the New, cannot without difficulty purely be known. Latin ,however, could not be neglected although it conduced less to the knowledge required than Greek or Hebrew. Zwingli's Short Pathway was also turned into English in 1550 by Thomas Veron Senonois, in which the master's experience is cited, how he learned the word of God out of His pure and simple words, and found at seventeen years of age, that what he learned from Philosophy and Science was nothing compared with what he drew from Scriptures.

It was not wholly for their own benefit that the Reforming teachers learned the Holy Tongues. In Hugh Broughton's works zeal is still very evidents towards two objectives, the Catholic Church on the one hand and the Jews who give themselves to the Serpent the more they are provoked to believe. In the 1609 Principal Positions occurs a passage which illustrates this. "The Apocalypse",(he points out), " in two sorts draweth all the Law to it. It sheweth Christ from all the Law and Prophets, and the curse of Rome

the curse of Rome from all the curses since the Serpent deceived Eve. This cannot be so well done ( shown) in any tongue as in Hebrew, as John translateth Hebrew most strictly: and this would win millions of Jews which groan to be taught".

But to order the mind properly, by study which conduced to right understanding as well as right discipline, Hebrew tended to take a place above Greek and Latin. Lady Jane Grey, whom Ascham and John ab Ulmis praised so highly for her Latin and Greek, was easily persuaded to take up Hebrew, so that her letters to Bullinger at Zurich are adorned with both languages and she wrote "Postrema hebraicari iam incipienti mihi si viam et modum aliquem ostenderis quem in hoc studiorum cursu tenere maxima cum utilitate debeam me longe tibi devinctissimam reddideras"<sup>2</sup>. But not always was this order of the mind attained, for when Protestantism emerged from the stage where it was controlled by erudite divines, complaints against the abuse of learning swelled greater and greater, so that Walton, in his Considerator Considered talked from his experience of those "who have attained a little smattering knowledge .... especially in the Hebrew" who "are usually more puffed up with that little umbratile knowledge, though weak men otherwise, and of little judgement in any reack or

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in any real or rational learning, than those who have attained a far greater measure". Although this was aimed at his opponent in a controversy, much truth lies in the remark of general application: he was acquainted also with citizens, even women, in London " who, having learned to read Hebrew, were so conceited of themselves, that they despised the ablest divines about the City, and have almost doubted of the salvation of all persons that could not read Hebrew". This marks the end of the Judaizing craze, but in 1673 Joseph Cooper, in the dedication in his Domus Mosaicae Clavis, still mentions ladies, like Mary Biddulph, who had successfully taken up the study: but the end to which it could lead as a discipline could be better served by Latin and Greek, and the feeling was growing that, as Walton<sub>4</sub> said, except for those who had the gift of personal truth, there was higher authority in textual and explanatory matters for the reading of the Hebrew Bible.

The heyday of Hebrew<sup>study</sup>izing began with the controversial combats of Hugh Broughton and Ainsworth the din of which spread over England and Holland if not farther and the spirit of which permeated the less cultivated students of Holy Writ throughout the Civil War. It was laughed at in Broughton's day by Ben Jonson, and in later times by Samuel Butler, to name two of the most eminent men of letters

who took part in the baiting.

It was not only the medieval spirit in which discourses were carried on amongst these "learned" but curious people, but also their actual material and equipment that was satirised and against it was opposed the large wisdom that smiled at small knowledge.

Harrington<sup>3</sup> mentions, for example, that Hugh Broughton was gone, as he heard, to teach the Jews Hebrew. Ben Jonson satirised him in the Alchemist, with his "primitive tongue", and his "heathen Greek".

"All's heathen but the Hebrew".

Wherefore Doll herself was such a rare scholar, that she had gone mad with studying Broughton's Works, and "if you but name a word, touching the Hebrew, She falls into her fit, and will discourse So learnedly of Genealogies, As you would run mad too, to hear her, Sir", of which an example is given in the third scene of the fifth act.

"For , as he says, except We call the rabbins, and the heathen Greeks To come from Salem, and from Athems, And teach the people of Great Britain To speak the tongue of Eber, and Javan We shall know nothing.... And so we may arrive by Talmud skill, And profane Greek, to raise the building up Of Helen's house against the Ismaelite, King of Thogarma, and his habergions Brimstony, blue and fiery; and the force of King Abaddon, and the beast of Cittim; Which Rabbi David Kimchi, Onkelos, And Aben Ezra do interpret Rome".

"Out of Broughton: I told you so" is Face's comment.

2/4

There was never another man like Broughton with his erudition, his zeal, his obsessions and his poetry, and John Lightfoot studiously reversed in a later time the judgement of Ben Jonson.

The same spirit of criticism is evident in Randolph's Jealous Lovers and Muses Looking Glass: in Hey for Honesty not so much. Rather puerile fun runs through this writer's other pieces, as for example, his Apology for his False Prediction. Yet Eiron apologised significantly enough to Alazar in the Muses Looking Glass for being able to speak his mother tongue only, not having gained the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac or Arabic. And every man had heard of the Rabbins and the Talmuds and the Cabbala

An early satire of Butler's on the Imperfection and Abuse of Human Learning discourses of the burden on the brain in Eastern studies:

The Hebrew, Chaldee, and the Syriac,  
Do, like their letters, set men's reason  
back,  
And turn their wits, that strive to  
understand it  
(Like those that write their characters),  
left-handed.

While in a Fragment he writes of the learning of the Universities

In foreign Universities,  
 When a King's born, or weds, or dies,  
 Straight other studies are laid by,  
 And all apply to poetry:  
 Some write in Hebrew, some in Greek,  
 And some, more wise, in Arabic,  
 T'avoid the critic, and th'expense  
 Of difficultest wit and sense.

It was not long before the English Universities followed the lead of the others and Arabian pothooks were scrawled generously over the greater number of University Verses.

"What pamphlet" asks Hall in his Satire

What pamphlet is there, where some Arabic  
 Scours not the coast ? from whence you may  
not pick  
 Some Chinese character or mystic spell,  
 Whereon the critics for an age may dwell" ?

And Mr S.S. is one, who like a Jew, vagabond and moneyed too:

Who feed'st on Hebrew roots, and like a tare,  
 Unbid, unwelcome, thrive everywhere;  
 Who mak'st all letters by thy guttural,  
 And brings the conjugations to Kall;  
 Who though thou live by grammar rules, we see  
 Thou break'st all canons of morality.

This clever manipulation of satirical elements argues a good knowledge of Hebrew for the author himself.

Hudibras, also, was granted his portion of Hebrew roots, as well as connected mystic lore, which was now becoming associated with despised classes, and Puritans generally

Whose primitive tradition reaches  
 As far as Adam's first green Breeches.

For the rapid acquisition of the elements of this desirable learning, there soon sprang up a large variety of systems of teaching with textbooks and devices. Wherein the vulgarisation so much apprehended by serious scholars was made complete, to the total destruction of real learning. But with the codification of modern Hebrew Grammar at the *beginning of the nineteenth* ~~end of the eighteenth~~ century by Gesenius, the phase of modern school teaching or college teaching displaced the vulgar but possibly more amusing interest.

The association of this learning with the mathematically minded produced such apparatus for the finding of roots etc. as in the elaborate device in Schickard's Horologium and in that in the Commonplace Book of Robert Muston (Sl.Ms. 2117 p.357). The comprehensive table to be appended to textbooks, was also circulated alone as, for example, that by Christian Ravius (?) Orthographiae & Analogiae ... Ebraicae Delinatio, with some other like attempts to state the full information required by students of Hebrew and Polyglottic Learning in a few pages, and if possible, on a single sheet. A large number of verses, were also written in Latin and English concerning Derivation and the Finding of Roots. Concentration upon the technique of study and not upon the subject itself is very evident.

Schulmeister

- i. See Mayor's Ascham ed. 1863 & Epist. Tigur. 265
- ii Zurich Letters 1840 Letter 2: also addenda to Letter 1 on page 3.
- iii Nug, Antiq. (ed. 1771) Pt.II p. 10. p.65.
- iiii Act. II sc i. sc. iii: ~~Act~~ IV sc. iii: Act V sc v.

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The advance of Oriental studies proceeded so rapidly through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that within fifty years of the issue of the Authorised Version of the Bibles, besides the numerous complaints that had in the meantime been lodged against it, the Grand Committee<sup>1</sup> for Religion ordered steps to be taken for an official re-survey on January 16, 1656/7. A sub-committee was appointed consisting of Dr Walton, Mr Hughes<sup>2</sup>, Mr Castell, Mr Clarke, Mr Poulk, Dr Cudworth and others, "to consider of the Translations and Impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein". These scholars, mainly those associated with Walton in the Polyglot Bible then being issued, agreed, for all the errors they discovered, that the standard version was the "best of any Translation in the world", and this general opinion was reflected in what Walton wrote in his Prolegomena<sup>3</sup>: the casual mistakes of transcribers and printers could be rectified, yet in all matters of moment, Providence had preserved the text entire. The establishing of the text by comparison with other versions and by other means was all that was required and that work was now done in the Polyglot Bibles of 1657, which contained the largest number of versions of all Polyglot Bibles.

To the array of notable translators and redactors of the Bible and the subsequent versions of the Holy Text, there can be added the names of professors and teachers, compilers of annotations, preachers, men of the Church and nonconformists, schoolmasters, and other learned men, all of whom were cognisant at least with the Hebrew tongue, if not more widely erudite."

"...about 200 yeares since," writes the gentle Hakewell, "together with the Arts, the languages likewise began to revive in so much as Hebrew and Greeke are now as common as true Latine then was.... The many exact translations and faire editions of the Bible in this later age, deserved here to have beene remembered; as also the Samaritan Pentateuch, which about 4 or 5 yeares since the most renowned father in God, and most excellently learned Prelate, the present Archbishop of Armach , and Primate of Ireland , not without great charge (as a rare jewell) got into his hands.....And for the true sense of holy Scripture , never had the Church more judicious and faithfull Interpreters, then by the Divine Providence it hath enjoyed these last 100 yeares".<sup>s</sup>

The large number of men of culture who entered the Church, many of whom have made themselves famous in literature, attest the fact that the Universities made an attempt to instil the rudiments of the holy tongues into such students as proceeded to the B.D. In the same way, nonconformist divines equipped themselves, in order to read the Bible in the original tongues, and, when necessary, to be fit to oppose opinions to their antagonists.

The stimulation towards this learning exercised by nonconformity and the collision of Church of England, Puritanism and Presbyterianism, at least for the short period of the Protectorate, should not be underestimated. There were as many topics of argument which could be related to the true interpretation of the Bible, the expositions of the rabbinic, and other works of the same sort, as ever had been the case in the period of the Reformation. Scotch divines proved terrible in debate when they came to London: the air of Assemblies and Parliamentary Committees was thick with erudite citations and verbatim quotations.

In a letter to Wm Strang, about June 1645, Robert Baillie wrote:

"The Erastian party in the parliament is stronger than the Independent, and is like to work us much woe. Selden is their head. If L'Empereur would beat down that man's arrogance, as he very well can, to show, out of the Rabbins, that the Jewish state was diverse from their church, and that they held the censure of excommunication among them, and a double Sanhedrim, one civil, another ecclesiastick; if he would confound him with Hebrew testimonies: it would lay Selden's vanity, who is very insolent for his Oriental literature".

George Gillespie, who was born in Kirkcaldy, one of the Commissioners to the Assembly at Westminster, is reported to have risen once, and in an extempore speech to have refuted Selden, who is said to have observed that the young man, by a single speech, had

that the young man, by a single speech, had swept away the labour and learning of ten years of his life.

The source of these intense interests might be sought in the Universities, and in the experts who taught there. In general this holds good only with regard to the tincture of Biblical learning widely spread amongst the clergy: but more correctly with regard to the influence of the personalities and writings of these teachers. In the last case, English scholarship alone did not feed the stream of English studies, although the printed book played its part. Lightfoot held that many readers had become Hebreicians by the mere perusal of Broughton's Works. Libraries with their printed books and their manuscripts, texts and authoritative textbooks, supplied the real material of any studies advanced beyond the elementary (~~and therefore useless~~) stage.

The process of scholarship at any time in the period is well illustrated (opportunity had to come in some way and access had to be gained to a library) in the following letter of March 12, 1669/70 from Worthington to the Lord Keeper, Bridgman:

I would humbly beg your Lordship's favor for Mr Worseley, who may need it more than some that perhaps may seek for it, and will not (I hope) behave himself undeservingly..... I have known him long: from his youth he was studious and ingenuous. He is Mr of Arts of Trinity Coll. in Cambr. and of good standing ('tis 9 years at least, since he took that degree) one of a religious, sober, and peaceable disposition, of a regular conversation, a good scholar, and a lover of books: which he not being able to buy, doth hope to enjoy the use of, if he be settled in Grantham, where there is a library belonging to the Church, and therein the King of Spain's Bible and the Polyglot, books which he hath a great desire to converse with, having good skill in Hebrew; a proof whereof I have seen, in his turning the Rules of Hebrew Grammar into verse.

Worseley was never appointed and missed his chance. The case was the same elsewhere and at different times: Masters of Arts as well as Bachelors of Divinity took with them from the University a little of the learning, to make use of or to forget as their opportunities and inclinations led them.

The Universities and the Libraries attached to various Institutions in London and Edinburgh, provided the serious student with the books he required. The dispersal of individual collections by sale, enriched these libraries and gave to the poor man an opportunity to acquire volumes normally beyond his means. The James Catalogue to the Bodleian in 1605 displays an amazing list of books in Latin and Hebrew, from the perusal of which must have come a good part of the extraordinary linguistic equipment of the finest scholars. Another James Catalogue

Another James Catalogue of 1635 sets out an imposing list of Interpreters of the Scriptures, of nearly ninety-four columns of authors and titles. It was in the Bodleian ,for example, that Pocock read and discovered four Catholic Epistles which he transcribed in Syriac and Hebrew letters, to which he added the corresponding Greek text, Latin translation and notes. Pocock too, enriched the Library with his manuscripts from the East, collected while Chaplain to the English Turkey Merchants at Aleppo.

In Edinburgh the Library instituted in the seventeenth century grew rapidly from public and private munificence, and the efforts of the enthusiastic teaching staffs in Oriental Languages and Divinity saw that their department had some share of the books. But the lists in the seventeenth century are not so impressive as those of the English Libraries: Glasgow, also, had a rather poor array of such books. In contrast to the Bodleian Library, whose keeper had to be highly skilled in the Eastern Languages, other collections dwindle in importance. The Library of the University of St Andrews, was also collected largely by donations,<sup>10</sup> although books had been bought with some of the money contributed by candidates for degrees. Many of the books in St Mary's were the gift of Archbishop Hamilton: in St Leonard's, the

in St Leonard's, the foundation by Prior Hepburn was increased by gifts and bequests, the older books possessing the names of John Hepburn, Alexander Young, Thomas Cunningham, John Annaud, John Law, John Duncanson, George Buchanan, James and Robert Wilkie: further additions were made after 1611 by the Earl of Buccleuch, Sir John Scott of Scotsarvet, and especially by Sir John Wedderburn, physician to Charles I. ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~. Dr Mungo Murray (afterwards Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, and Rector of Wells) bequeathed before his death in 1670 "several thousands volumes". In the same way the Library of St Salvator increased. In 1612, the University Library was founded by James VI, who drew up Articles to ensure the attraction of theological students. The Inventory of the books of New College included a Syriac New Testament in Hebrew type with the notes of Tremellius: Pagnin's Thesaurus: in St Leonard's (although mainly concerned with the New Testament) there was a Hebrew Bible. In 1612 James <sup>presented</sup> gifted a Pagnin Thesaurus, Prince Henry a Bible, an interlinear Bible and Hutter's Testament in 12 languages, and Princess Elizabeth the Clavis Sacrae Script. of Illyricus. John Johnston, Professor in St Mary's <sup>gave</sup> donated the Biblical Dictionary of Arius Montanus; George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Hebrew Bible, and Patrick Young, a Complutensian Bible.

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The Library at St Andrews continued to be increased by donations and public acts. The following notice of the acquirement of a Paris (Le Jay) Polyglot about 1646, although otherwise interesting, illustrates one rather peculiar circumstance of acquisition."

Act in favo<sup>r</sup> of the Universitie of Standrois. Anent the supplica<sup>o</sup>une given in to the estates of parliament Be the Lector and remanent membeis of the universitie of Standrois desyreing the parliament to tak some course and meanes for bettering of the Librarie of the universitie And for that effect To dispose of the buikis belonging to the umq<sup>le</sup> sr Rot spotiswode<sup>r</sup> (ather acqyred be himselfe or Left to him in Legacie be his umq<sup>le</sup> fath<sup>r</sup>) for the use of the said universitie and the better advancing of religion and Learning thairin Speciallie sieing it is noto<sup>re</sup>lie knawne That bothe the said umq<sup>le</sup> sr Rot spotiswode and his fath<sup>r</sup> did wrong to the universitie In borroweing bookis out of th<sup>r</sup> Librarie and not restoring th<sup>r</sup>of and uth<sup>r</sup>wayis retaining of manie buikis from the samen as the supplica<sup>o</sup>une beiris As also Anent ane ith<sup>r</sup> suplica<sup>o</sup>une given in to the parliament Be sr dāvid crichtoune of Lugtoun sr Alex<sup>r</sup> moresone of prestoungrange and sr Johne spottiswode of dairsie for themselfis and in the name of the remanent credito<sup>rs</sup> of the said umq<sup>le</sup> sr Rot spotiswode craveing that no right nor warrand be granted of his buikis In prejudice of his Laifull credito<sup>rs</sup> Seing it is more then noto<sup>re</sup>s That whatsoever belonged to him will come farre short of the supplicantis just debtis and engagements And if there wer anie thing frie commiser<sup>o</sup>une wald be had of the desolate estate of the defunctis foure children haveing nothing to mantene them As this supplica<sup>o</sup>une also mair fullie beiris QUHILKIS tua supplica<sup>o</sup>unes Being red in audience of the parlia<sup>t</sup> And the samen w<sup>t</sup> the desires th<sup>r</sup>of Hard and considered be the estates of parliament THEY out of their respect for the Universitie of St androis and for ane mark of th<sup>r</sup> favo<sup>r</sup> to that universitie Gives and dispones to them the foresaidis buikis sumtyme belonging to the said umq<sup>le</sup> sr Rot spotiswode ather acqyred be himselfe or Left to him in Legacie be his umq<sup>le</sup> fath<sup>r</sup> And now perteing to the estates of this kingdome by his forfaeto<sup>r</sup> But prejudice to the Erle Marshall or ony

to the Erle Marshall or ony uth<sup>rs</sup> Lenneris of anie  
of the said buikis to the sd umqle s<sup>r</sup> Robert to have  
repetition of suche th<sup>r</sup>of as perteine to them And  
ordanes the sd umqle s<sup>r</sup> Rot<sup>t</sup> spotiswode his hail  
bookis to be gathered together and the pryce th<sup>r</sup>of  
to be payit be the publict and the bookis to be  
delyvered to the universitie of St Androis for bet-  
tering of th<sup>r</sup> Librarie But prejudice ut supra Bot  
in the meantyme ordanes the saidis buikis to remane  
where they are presentlie untill the publict give  
satisfaction th<sup>r</sup>fore as sd is As also The estates of  
parlia<sup>t</sup> In further testimonie of th<sup>r</sup> respect to the  
universitie of St androis Ordanes the new printed  
Byble set out at pareis to be also bocht upon the  
charges of the publict and delyvered to the universitie  
of Standrois to be put in th<sup>r</sup> Librarie for the use  
of the universitie Anent the whilkis premiss abone-  
mentioned The estates declares thir presentis salbe  
a sufficient warrand.

The Booksellers' Catalogues and Inventories of the  
seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the  
Register House at Edinburgh bear witness to the good  
stocks of Hebrew Books, lexicons, grammars, elementary  
textbooks, and Hebrew Bibles, kept in the shops, pre-  
sumably for a large demand. And some such books  
printed in the late sixteenth century were still  
being kept for sale by the Edinburgh booksellers of  
the eighteen century.

Two curious manuscripts in the Library of  
Trinity College Cambridge illustrate local activity  
in the language in the seventeenth century: a Hebrew  
MS by Jacob Wolf, a converted Polish Jew, dedicated to  
Dr Neville, and an anonymous bad Hebrew translation of  
the Assembly's Shorter Catechism.<sup>13</sup>

At Trinity College Dublin, the books which  
the learned and gracious Ussher bought for the

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which Ussher bought for the library in England, and his own collection of books and manuscripts which it acquired in 1661, gave the Library some reputation.<sup>14</sup> After the battle of Kinsale, the victorious troops subscribed £700 to buy books for the newly founded College: and Luke Challoner and Ussher went to London to make the purchases, collaborating in this business with Sir Thomas Bodley to their mutual advantage. Amongst other books, Hebrew Bibles were bought. Ussher's own Library was left to Lady Tyrell (his daughter) in 1656:<sup>14</sup> "The Library was famous, and Parr, in his Life of Ussher, states that 'the King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin endeavoured to obtain it...but Cromwell having, by an Order in Council, prohibited it being sold without his consent, it was bought by the soldiers and officers of the then army in Ireland, who, out of emulation to the previous noble action of Queen Elizabeth's army, were incited to the like performance..they had also with it all his manuscripts".

Under similar auspices,<sup>15</sup> the House of Commons acquired for the University of Cambridge from George Thomason, the "Collection of Books, in the Eastern Languages, of very great value, lately brought <sup>out</sup> of Italy, and having been the Library of a Learned Rabbi there." The sum spent was £500.

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The importance of the manuscript parts of collections and libraries was paramount for research. It was a practice of scholars to journey in the East buying (and frequently being duped in the process) manuscripts: or to engage some person to do so on their behalf. Ussher is described by Parr as having been assiduous in such matter<sup>s</sup>:

AO 1627

After his being Arch-Bishop he laid out a great deal of money in Books, laying aside every year a considerable sum for that end, and especially for the procuring of Manuscripts, as well from foreign Parts, as near at hand, having about this time by the means of Mr Thomas Davies, then Merchant at Aleppo, procured one of the first Samaritan Pentateuchs that ever was brought into these Western Parts of Europe, (as Mr Selden, and Dr Walton acknowledge) as also the Old Testament in Syriack, much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts, together with other Manuscripts of value. This Pentateuch, with the rest, were borrowed of him by Dr Walton, after Bishop of Chester, and by him made use of in the Polyglot Bible: All which Manuscripts being lately retrieved out of the hands of the said Bishop's Executors, are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The correspondence of Ussher bears witness to the keenness of the research stimulated by such acquisitions: while interesting on that account are the trials of Thomas Davies Himself, searching for writings in the East. He first reports<sup>11</sup> that "the five Books of Moses in the Samaritan character, I have found by a meer accident, with the rest of the Old Testament joyned with them: but the mischief is, there wants two or three leaves of the beginning of

Genesis,

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2

of the beginning of Genesis, and as many in the Psalms, which notwithstanding I purpose to send by this Ship, lest I meet not with another." He had sent to Damascus and to Mt Gerazim in hopes of getting a complete copy. To Mt Libanus he had also sent for the Old Testament in Syriac, and also to Tripoly: he was to get copies of it, and pointed out to Ussher that by Syriack in these parts people meant Chaldaic. With regard to this proposed copy, Davies wrote:

Also I beseech you to take knowledge that I dare not promise you to send it according to the Hebrew; for neither myself nor any other Man here, can determine it; only I must be forc'd to take his word that sells me, who is a Minister of the Sect of the Marranites, and by birth a Caldean, but no Scholar, neither is there any to be found in these parts..

Besides these things, the agent was making enquiries about the overflowing of the Jordan, all amid a tediousness of travell and amongst "Infidel Enemies to God and his Christ". The Pentateuch in Samaritan characters came safely to Ussher's hands, and the search continued, always in danger of hindrance from the troubles in and about Jerusalem.

but as for the Old Testament in the Chaldean Tongue, my diligence hath not wanted to procure; and to this end, sent divers times to Tripoly and Mount Libanus, but could not prevail. I have seen here the first two Books of Moses, but examining them according to your Direction I found them to be out of the Greek; whereupon I resolved to send to Emmit and Caromitt a City in Mesopotamia, where divers of the Sect of the Jacobites do remain; and after a long time there was sent to me (which I received eight days past) the five Books of Moses only, in an old Manuscript, and according to the

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according to the Hebrews, with a promise ere long to send the rest of the Old Testament: the Party that sent me this, is the Patriarch of the Jacobites in those Parts who writ also that I should have Eusebius's Chronicle, with some of the works of Ephraem.

"It would grieve a man's Heart", he adds, "to see the poor Estate and Condition of the Christians in these Parts; nor so much for their outward Estate, tho that be marvelous grievous, but they are to be pitied for their Estate of Christianity; for I know that in a manner all true Knowledge is departed both from Minister and People, the Lord in Mercy visit them".

The Old Testament in Chaldaic continued to exercise Davies' powers: <sup>18</sup>

I have used my best Industry to procure those other Books that you would have bought, but hitherto have not been so happy as to light upon any of them, such Books being very rare and valued as Jewels, tho the Possessors are able to make little use of them. Amongst all the Caldeans that lay in Mount Libanus, Tripoly, Sidon, and Jerusalem, there is but only one old Copy of the Old Testament in their Language extant, and that in the custody of the Patriarch of the Sect of the Maronites, who hath his residence in Mount Libanus, which he may not part with upon any terms: only there is liberty given to take Copies thereof, which for a long time hath been promised me, and indeed I made full account to have been possessed of one ere this time, having agreed for it; but I was deluded, which troubled me not a little, so in fine resolved to send a Man on purpose to Libanus to take a Copy thereof, who is gone, and I hope in four or five Months will finish it...

The Patriarch who sold the Books of Moses turned out to be not a Jacobite but a Nestorian: and he did not keep his promises. In a while, however, Davies was able to send certain books and loose papers in Samaritan, the

the value of which he did not know, and the Old Testament in Chaldaic, "which after seventeen months time, is written in a fair Character, wanting only the Book of the Psalms, and the second of Esdras."

Pococke went to Aleppo as Chaplain to the Turkey Merchants, arriving there in 1630, his intention being to collect manuscripts and to extend his knowledge of tongues and conditions: he mastered Arabic,<sup>21</sup> and studied Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, and Ethiopic. It is said that "of all the numerous collectors of MSS whose treasures have enriched the Bodleian Pococke alone escaped being deceived and cheated in his purchases". Between 1637 and 1640 Laud sent John Greaves (brother of the Greaves who aided Walton) to the East to procure books and manuscripts. Amongst other scholars who are associated with English studies, Christian Ravius and Michael Wansleben went out on similar adventures. From the libraries of foreign scholars, purchases<sup>a</sup> of manuscripts came at last either directly or indirectly to England, the gift to Trinity College Cambridge of Oriental manuscripts in Arabic Persian and Turkish in 1679 by Thomas Gale, Dean of York, being an example. Most of these manuscripts had been the property of Gerebrand Anslov of Amsterdam.

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The father of Hebrew studies in Europe, Johann Reuchlin, provided the first important printed authority for students in his Rudimenta Hebraica, Pforzheim 1506. Amongst his pupils<sup>22</sup> are found those writers who became in turn European authorities in Oriental studies: as Melancthon, Cellarius, Sebastian Munster (at Heidelberg and Basle), Buchlein (Fagius, who was at Isny, Strasburg, and Cambridge), all of whom owed a debt to the Jewish scholar, Elias Levita. Elias Levita himself, was normally consulted, and also the Jewish convert, Felix Pratensis, who taught at Rome under the patronage of Leo X, and had a part in the production of the Bomberg Bibles. In the sixteenth century, a representative scholar was Le Mercier, and in the early seventeenth century, Drusius. In the seventeenth century proper, the normal authorities became Selden, Castell, Pococke, in England: de Dieu, in Holland; Bochart, in France: + *Bochart*; Ludolf and Hottinger, in Germany; and the Buxtorfs, at Basle. Philological criticism (the theme which turned Oriental studies into its modern channels) was represented by Cappellus, who died in 1658.

John Done<sup>n</sup> in his sermons referred largely to the Complutensian Bible, Munster, and Reuchlin. He also cited the Chaldaic Paraphrase, Arabic Version of the Psalms, the Talmud, Rabbi Aben Ezra, Rabbi Moyses, Rabbi Solomon, although probably from indirect sources.

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The references in the writings of Sir Thomas Browne, and in Burton, are largely secondary if not almost wholly so, but Browne refers directly to Munster's Hebrew Bible. In both cases, however, Latin writings supplied the recondite allusions, while in some contrast, Done himself possessed and studied a rabbinical Bible.

In his Critica Sacra (1639, 1642) Edward Leigh set out a list of authorities for the section on "All the Radices". The five "chiefest Hebrew Lexicons" are Pagnine, Forster, Avenarius, <sup>2. Schindler</sup> Schlinder, and Buxtorf. Mercer on Pagnine is as great in repute as it is in bulk. Forster was the foundation for the work of Mollerus on the Psalms, and Avenarius for Minsheu in his Dictionary. Schindler is commended as one of the greatest linguists in Christendom: while Buxtorf is praised by Drusius. Leigh's own references are to Junius and Tremellius, Vatablus, Drusius, Mercer, Fagius, Masius, Musculus, Mollerus, Forerius, as well as to Ainsworth, Rivet, Willet, Jermin, Cartwright, Pemble, Brightman and Lively. <sup>15</sup> Arnold Boate, the Dutch Hebrician <sup>arist</sup> and physician, who practised in Dublin and was a correspondent and associate of English scholars, supplied a list of authorities and authors to his Animadversiones sacrae ad textum Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti (1644), which, on account of its fulness and interest, is appended below.

Ecclesiastes or A Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching, 1646, by John Wilkins, M.A. contains interesting lists, claiming to be aids to the study of the Scriptures. He apologised for writing in English when Latin was desirable, but excused himself because he wished to instruct hearers as well as preachers, and also because "many of those who pretend to this Gift, and yet understand onely their Mother Language ,may the better discern that great disadvantage in the want of Academicall education, and learning." He assumes that

The understanding of Scripture being one of the chief businesses of a Minister to which all his other studies are subordinate 'Tis to be supposed therefore in the first place that he is provided with the Old and New Testaments, both in their originals and most authentick Translations.

As "preparatory" (laying down rules and directions for profitable reading and right interpretation of Scripture) Wilkins cites Ferdin. de Escalante (Clypeus Concionatorum), Fr. Wolfgang (de Interpret. S.S.), Sol. Glass (Phil.Sacra), And. Hyperius (de S.S. Lectione), Flac. Illyricus (Clavis Scripturæ, pars secunda), And. Rivet (Isagoge), Nicol. Serrarius (Prolegom. Biblica), Ludov. de Iena (Isagoge), and Michael Waltherus (Officina Biblica). But "the books that do more principally and directly tend to make a man a good Textuary" are considered to be Concordances, Commentaries, and Reconcilers. In the matter of Concordances for words, for the Hebrew, Buxtorf; Chaldaic, Trostius; the Septuagint renderings of the Old Testament, Conr. Kircherus;

Septuagint renderings of the Old Testament, Conr. Kircherus; for the Syriac, Trostius. With regard to Concordances of Things, he cites the Thesaurus of Allotus, Index Moralis of Berchorius, Concordantiae Morales of Eulardus, Index of Toffanus, Doctrinale Bibliorum of Vitus, Thesaurus Biblicus of Bernard, Holy Oyle of Clark, Dictionary of Wilson, Clavis Scripturae of Fl. Illyricus, Critica Sacra of Leigh, and the Enchiridion of Marlcoratus.

A large array of interpreters and commentators of the Scriptures follows, especial reference being made to English divines, as Ainsworth, Ames, Baines, Byfield, Birghtman, Cartwright, Davenant, Mayer, Perkins, Sclater, Willet, etc. For sermons and practical divinity in the most eminent form, Wilkins lists,

- Bp. Andrewes, Mr Atterfull, Mr Ball, Mr Bifeild,
- Bp. Bilson, Mr Bolton, Mr Burroughs, Mr Caryll,
- Mr Dod, Bp and Mr Downeham, Mr Dyke, Dr Featèly,
- Mr Gataker, Mr Th. Goodwin, Dr Gouge, Mr Greenham,
- Bp Hall, Mr Harris, Mr Hieron, Dr Jackson, Mr Mayer,
- Bp Morton, Mr Pemble, Mr Perkins, Dr Preston,
- Mr Reynolds, Mr Rogers, Dr Saunderson, Dr Sibbs,
- Mr Smith, Dr Taylor, Bp. Usher.

Although primarily intended for preachers, Wilkins book provides an adequate summary of the average careful opinion of his time, and is doubly interesting on account of its attention to English scholars.

After the issue of his Prolegomena, Walton began to figure in the lists of authorities cited abroad as well as in Britain, and with the increased extension of linguistic study, the following are cited (in Synopsis Institutionum Georgii Othonis) :

Synopsis Institutionum Georgii Othonis):

1. For Samaritan: Christ. Cellarius.
2. For Rabbinics: idem, Buxtorf, Hackspanius. S?
3. For Arabic: Erpenius, Wasmuth.
4. For Ethiopic, Ludolf (hujus literaturæ unicus Apollo)
5. For Persian: Ludovic de Dieu, John (for Thomas?) Greaves.

By 1663, the general clergy were apt to turn to English writers who gathered into their work the labours of past scholars as well as their own in comments and expositions, sermons, and translations. The Exact Collection or Catalogue of 1663, therefore will serve its purpose here, the authorities in English being The Douai Bible, 1609; English Annotations by Certain Divines, 1657; Annotations of John Diodate, 1656; the five folio volumes by John Mayer, 1653; the Key of the Bible, 1649, by Francis Roberts; Bishop Hall's Paraphrase, 1633; the Dutch Annotations, 1637; Hugh Broughton's View of the Scripture, 1640; the English Bible with notes, 1599. On the Old Testament alone, Bishop Richardson's Choice Observations 1655, the remarks of Bishop Babington, Henry Ainsworth and Arthur Jackson. This incompetent selection may truly reflect the decay of Oriental studies about the time. Even as a bookseller's catalogue, it is not imposing either by its bulk or by its freshness.

Castell in a way restored the prestige of Eastern learning when he cited in his Preface in 1669, such names as Kimhi, Avenarius, Forsterus, Pagninus, Pomarius,

Pagninus, Pomarius, Buxtorf, Schindler, B. Aruc, Ph. Aquinas, Elias Levita, de Lara, Fabritius, Munster, Masius, Ferrarius, Trostius, Novarinus, Morinus, Wemmers, Ludolf, Rapheling, Giggeius, Germanus, and Golius.

In 1673 Copper dedicated to Castell his Domus Mosaicae Clavis, and recalled by his references the richer scope of the best scholarship of the day. The theological student of 1678<sup>28</sup> still compared the findings of Chevalier, Schickard, Bythner, Roal, de Dieu, Pagnin, Mayr, Erpenius, Arias Montanus, Stephan, Hutter, and Buxtorf, all authorities but <sup>some of them</sup> rather compilers of textbooks of the first-class than pioneers in scholarship, a form which good university student work naturally <sup>assumed</sup> took. The collection of researches into convenient books was inevitable, and as yet acute forms of crystallisation of information were not very common. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however,<sup>29</sup> students were recommended to the guidance of good learner's books, such as W. Robertson's Manipulus (Cambridge 1683), a small lexicon or general index of the more difficult words, and irregular and defective words, in the Hebrew Bible. In the meantime, however, there was a decline of University study, the renaissance of which was ushered in by such scholars as Simon Ockley,<sup>30</sup> whose remarks on the learning of Hebrew, therefore, have something of the old seventeenth century width in their references. He prefers, nevertheless books with praxes, and brief rules; he considers Buxtorf's Thesaurus too difficult and prolix for the student, and for his time Roza's Pentateuch is the

Roza's Pentateuch is the last word in perfect texts, such that the study of Hebrew presents no longer those problems which affected an earlier generation so much. The sacred text itself is now so orderly, and the paths to it so fixed and perfect, and indeed the end to be accomplished so depleted of holy adventure, that I think I am not wrong in saying that it indicates the new status of Hebrew studies most adequately, and succeeding instruction for the young student shares the same matter of fact atmosphere. Following Ockley closely in 1720, Number 4 of the Compleat Linguist (edited by John Henley), sold universally at two shillings a number, brought to the world the new curiosity of Hebrew Learning, illustrating again the decay of these studies in the sense I have attempted to convey. The new textbook in its best aspects was a teacher's handbook and a students textbook, rich or povertystricken according to the learning and culture of its compiler, a highly reputable one being that of Professor J. Robertson of Edinburgh, Clavis Pentateuchi, 1770, of remarkable scope and generosity of sources.

In 1688, P. Freher of <sup>Leipzig</sup> Nuringburg recalled the old adventurers whose names had been illustrious in the academies of Europe in Oriental Learning, and in 1715,<sup>22</sup> J.C. Wolf compiled a list of writers on Biblical Literature arranged under suitable headings, to which the new era might historically refer.

With regard to the matter of textbooks on Hebrew, to which reference has already been frequently made, and in which I see a progression towards simplification, vulgarisation and complete separation from the older, if more prolix, abstruse, and erudite discourses, and the usurpation by them of the vital functions of the ancient teachers, into a tradition which had no need for that vitality, I simply give here the standard list, taken over from Professor H.F. Fletcher's appendix to his Milton's Semitic Studies (1926), to which I add in an appendix of my own, an examined list of such textbooks, not so much historically famous, as most often found amongst seventeenth (English) century collections. My own list, therefore, may seem defective in reference: and on account of the books after 1700 which I mention, may appear to overstep its bounds. Its full purpose, however, requires both conditions, and it is to illustrate my opinions on realistic evidence.

Professor H.F. Fletcher's Lists

(a) Contemporary Hebrew Grammars.

Reuchlin, Johann.	<u>Rud. Ling. Heb.</u>	1506
Capito WF.	<u>Instit. in Heb. Gram.</u>	1516
Munster, Seb.	<u>Epitome Heb. Gram.</u>	1520
Pagninus, Sanct.	<u>Instit. Heb.</u>	1520
Tremellius, Em.	<u>Rud. Ling. Hebr.</u>	1541
Martinus, Pet.	<u>Gram. Heb.</u>	1568
Schindlerus, Val.	<u>Instit. Hebr.</u>	1575
Bellarminus, Rbt.	<u>Instit. Ling. Hebr.</u>	1578
Junius, Fr.	<u>Gr. Hebr. Ling.</u>	1580
Udal, John.	<u>Key of the Holy Scriptures</u>	1593
Buxtorf, Johann.	<u>Praecepta Gram. Hebr.</u>	1605
Amama, Sixt.	<u>Gram. Hebr.</u>	1625.
Trostius, Mart.	<u>Gram. Hebr. Universalis</u>	1627

(b) Contemporary Lexicons

Reuchlin, Joh. Rud. Ling. Hebr. una cum Lex. 1506  
 Munster, Seb. Dict. Hebr. 1529  
 Pagninus, Sanct. Thes. Ling. Sanct. 1529; Epitome, 1570.  
 Buxtorf, Joh. Lexicon Hebr.-Chald. 1607  
 Schindlerus, Val. Lexicon Pentaglotton, 1612.  
 Amama, Sixt. Hebrew Lexicon (Dutch), 1628  
 Alabaster, Wm. Spiraculum Tubarum, 1635  
 Leigh Ed. Critica Sacra, 1639.  
 Castell, Edm. Lexicon Heptaglotton, 1669.

One might be permitted to say, with regard to Professor Fletcher's list of Grammars, that it does not seem pertinent either to his own particular purpose with regard to Milton, nor to an illustration of the possible textbooks most in circulation in England in the time about which he writes. My own list and analysis, although not exhaustive, and therefore not a ground for authoritative inferences, is more representative of the actual books popularly used during the seventeenth century. The background, indeed, to Professor Fletcher's interesting studies, is altogether shaky and unrealistic, and his boldness in inference is often in keeping with his assumptions with regard to the groundwork of Oriental studies in Milton's day.

A List of Writers in Hebrew Verse  
In XVIIth Century Academical Publications.

Oxford 1612-1695

1612. Barbatu~~s~~, Jos. (Arabs Memphiticus Copheteus)  
Eidyllia. Death of Prince Henry.
1612. Kilbie, R. (Regius Professor) Iusta Oxon. Death of  
Prince Henry.
1613. Kilbie, R. Williams, J. Waki, John, (of Christ Church).  
Iusta Funebria. Death of Thomas Bodley.
1613. Kilbie, R. Epithalamia. Marriage of Frederick Count  
Palatine and Princess Elizabeth.
1619. Kilbie, R. King, Peregrine, (B.A. Madgelen). Seward,  
Sam. (M.A. Fellow of Lincoln). Funebria Sacra. Death  
of Queen Anne.
1622. Meetkerke, Edw. (Regius Professor). R.T.(?) (Fellow  
of King's). Thomas Richardson (?). Ultima Linea.  
Death of Henry Saville.
1623. Meetkirk, Edw. Carolus Redux.
1625. (Unsigned) Epithalamia Oxoniensia. Marriage of Charles  
I.
1625. Richardson, Th. (Fellow of King's). Casaubon, Meric.  
~~Metkerke~~, Edw. Parentalia. In memory of James I.
1640. Hammliton, James (B.A. of Braseness). Horti Carolini  
Rosa Altera.
1641. Jacob, Henry. (M.A. Fellow of Merton) Eucharistica  
Oxoniensia
1641. Jacob, H. Anglo-Batavia Pari Plusquam Virgines. To  
Princess Mary and William (of Orange).
1654. Button, Radolph (Ralph) (Canon of Christ Church &  
Public Orator) With English translation. Ob Foedera  
Auspiciis etc. To the Protector. Also Wall, John  
(Preb. of Christ Church).
1660. Poccocke, Edw. (Professor of Hebrew & Arabic), Wall, J.  
Cauton, Th. (of Merton). Britannia Rediviva.
1660. Wall, J. Smith, Th. (of Quæen's) Epicedia Academiae,  
Death of Mary.
1662. Smith, Th. Domiduca Oxoniensis. Congratulations to  
Catherine (of Braganza)
1688. Fisher, Jos. (of King's) Strenae Natalitiae (Birth  
of the Old Pretender)
1689. Bagwell, Jo. (Fellow of Exeter) Edwards, Th. (Chaplain  
to Christ Church, Oxford). Vota Oxoniensia. To  
William & Mary.
1695. Altham, Rbt. (Regius Professor). Clavering, Rbt. (of  
Lincoln). Bernard, Edw. Pietas Universitatis. Death  
of Queen Mary.

Cambridge: 1612-1700

- 1640. Coke, J. (Fellow of Trinity) A jocular reference only. Voces Votivae. Congratulations on birth of a son to King and Queen.
- 1641. Retchford, Wm (of Clare). Cudworth, Ralph (Fellow of Emmanuel) Irenodia Cantabrigiensis. Return of Charles from Scotland.
- 1660. Cudworth, R. (Master of Christ's), Smith, Th. (Protobibliothecar) Ad Carolem II Reducem.
- 1660. Castell. Edm. Sol Oriens. (Pub. London).
- 1661. Cudworth, R. (Regius Professor), Boreman, Rbt. (Fellow of Trinity) Threni Cantabrigienses Death of the royal Henry and Mary.
- 1670. Bright, G. (of Emmanuel) Musarum Cantabrigiensium Threnodia. Death of George, Duke of Albemarle.
- 1677. Edwards, Th. (of St John's) Epithalamium. Marriage of William and Mary.
- 1689. Stubbe, V. (Professor of Hebrew). Ellis, Chas. (Fellow of Christ's). Musae Cantabrigienses. To William & Mary.
- 1689. Bennet, Th. (Fellow of St John's) Gratulatio Academiae To William
- 1694. Bennet, Th. Mann, Jos. (of Christ's). Lachrymae Cantabrigienses. Death of Mary.
- 1700. Allix, Pet. (of Queens') (died 1717). Ockley, Simon, (Hebrew Lecturer and Professor of Arabic, 1711) Clarke, Greg. (of Catherine's) Threnodia Academiae. Death of William, Duke of Gloucester.

The publications listed above contain verses in other languages besides the Hebrew, by the same authors, and by others omitted from the list. Few of the poems here mentioned are printed without errors, and hardly one (on the opinion of Hebraists) possesses literary merit. But it will be clear that Greek had been displaced to some extent, and indeed that Turkish and Persian, besides Arabic, were becoming reputable vehicles for the occasional effusions of the dons.

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EXAMPLES OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
MATHEMATICAL DEVICES  
FOR THE  
TEACHING OF HEBREW .

- I The ROTA of W. Schickard from the "Horologium"
  
- II The TABLE from Muston's copy from "Mathematicall  
Recreations".

The accompanying explanatory text  
transcribed in each case.



ROTULA

The Device in the 1639 edition  
of  
Schickard's " Horologium".

The Horologium was one of the most popular and most successful of the elementary textbooks. Wilhelm Schickard, it ought to be noted was Professor of Hebrew at Tubingen 1619 and Professor of Astronomy 1631.

1. Declaratio Partium.

Conjugationes Hebraeorum sunt septem: 4 leves, Kal, Niphil, Hiphil, Hophal. Et 3 graves, pihel, Pyhal, Hitpahel: quae semper Dagesch gerunt in media radicali.

Tempora tantum habent bina; Praeteritum nempe & Futurum. Nam Praesens plerumque circumscribitur. Modos vero tres; (a) Participium, imperativum & Infinitivum, quorum hi duo posteriores cum ob conformitatem copulari possint, relinquuntur saltem Quatuor, in una qualibet conjugatione tractanda: quibus ideo totidem spacia, decussatim opposita assignavi.

(a) Participium sonat modum indicativum.

Singula subdividuntur in Personas; quae Generibus quoque differunt. Nam & in verbis Sexum distinguunt Hebraei. Ordo ipsarum arbitrarius est; (b) in hoc quidem conveniunt omnes, quod in praeterito a 3. quae Radix est, in futuro autem a 1. sit incipiendum, & inde ad caeteras vel retrogrediendum vel progrediendum, scire Arbitraria: Mihi placuit ista, quae similium Accidentium formas associat, ut nempe pluribus quadraret (a) foramen. potuisset tamen postremum par praeteriti, penultimo commodius forte praeponi. Sed nunc de Singulis sigillatim.

(b) Sic solent ordine scribendi; non autem ordine discendi.

(a) i.e. Patium in tabella.

I. PRAETERITA novem habent Variationes. Initialis semper in ipsam Radicis literam desinit: caetera octo in serviles: quae dicuntur Augusta Consequentia. horum potestates & officia praesens indicat Tabella.

Persona	Sing.		Plur	
	1a	5	9	comm.
2a	3	7	masc.	
	4	8	foem.	
3a	2	(b)	foem.	
	(c)		comm.	

- (c) Terminatio prima e ultima litera radice. Vid. in 7p<sup>e</sup> 7 ut supr. dictu est.
- (b) cum unica terminatio pluralis e communis generis sed terminatio singularis e regione in tabella collocata e masculini generi.

Sunt autem per omnes 7 . Conjugationes Eadem; unde fit, ut praeteritorum similes personae similiter ubique terminentur. Exceptis tribus hisce 7p<sup>e</sup> quod ter, 7q<sup>e</sup> & 7r<sup>e</sup> quae singula semel mutantur; prout fenestalla A & D innuunt, atque infra clarius dicam. Cum hisce terminationibus combinantur id quod in quolibet legitimo situ per fenestellam C prospectat; hoc est prima Thematis litera: quae in Kal vocalem Kametz, indicio foraminis E bis in scheva mutat (antepenultima scilicet sede ab accentu) in caeterarum vero plerisque characteristicas sibi literas praemitit in Nipal 7 : in Hiphil 7 Hophal 7 Hitpahel 7 .

II PARTICIPIUM in solo Kal geminum est (a) Benoni scilicet & (b) Pahul: in caeteris unicum, sed augmento a fronte auctum in Niphal rursus 7 Pihil & Pyhal 7 Hiphil 7 Hophal 7 Hitpahel 7 . Ubique autem flectitur more nominum, terminando Maculinum Plurali in 7 . Foem. Sing. in 7 , vel 7 . Foem. Plur. in 7 . Quae syllabae tantum cum illo, quod per fenestellam I prospectat, combinantur

- (a) i.e. participium activum appellatur 7 7 . (i) inter medium quia inter preteritum, & futurum.
- (b) participium passivum , sic dictum ab antiquo exemplari 7 7 quod ita punctatur in hoc tempore ad sonandum pahul .

III Imperativis praeponit in Niphal 7 sequente dagesch forti; in Hiphil 7 Hophal 7 Hitpahel 7 in caeteris nihil. Postponitur autem ubique Masc. pluralibus 7 foem. sing. foem, plur. 7 instar Futurum. Hoc augmentum consequens syllabicum 7 locavi ad foramen F quia cum illo manet forma initialis, quae cum caeteris duobus A syllabicis mutatur, prout e foramine G apparet.

Ei similis est INFINITIVUS (qui propterea nullo peculiari spacio indiguit) nisi quod in Kal etiam יָּפֶּז usurpatur cum Kametz sub prima; praesertim quando verbum cum suo proprio finito construitur, ut הָפֶּז. יָּפֶּז lapidando lapidabitur.

IV FUTURIS ab initio quatuor literae serviunt, nempe ך prima singulari, ך prima plurali, ך tertius masculinis, ך caeteris: quae omnes in Hitpahel hic (ut & in tota conjugatione) ך insuper assumunt. Singulae certas requirunt vocales. Aleph in Kal, Niphal & Hitpahel habet Saegol; in Pihel & Pyhal Hatephpatha: monstrante foramine K. sed caetera in illis Hireck; in hisce Scheva. omnia vero in Hiphil Patha, in Hophal Kametzhatuph (vel sequente daegesch-abili Kybbutz interdum) id quod foramen N & apposita tabella clarius docent. Consequentium augmentorum ך ך eadem hic est ratio quae in Imperativis: Et quaedam finales literae, quibus initialibus gaudeant, ex ipso positu parellelo cuius statim apparet.

	ך	ך	ך	ך
K.N. Hit:	.	.	.	.
Pl. Pyh.:	.	.	.	.
Hiphil	.	.	.	.
Hophal	.	.	.	.

Notandum vero facilitatis causa, in genere de tribus hisce, participio, Imperativo & Futuro; quod etsi duplicatas habeant fenestellas, inferiores tamen I G M a suis superioribus H F L plerumque una saltem vocali postrema differant: quae si supra -- vel ך fuerit, infra ante augmenta ך ך ך idem ך & ך in scheva mutatur, plerumque inquam, non semper. Excipiuntur enim

1. terminationes - & ך quae immutabiles manent, adeoque supra & infra Idem habent
2. participium posterius Kal, quod retento ultimo Schureck, suum Kametz penultimum quando propter vocis incrementum factum est antepenultimum, in scheva corripit, h.e. ex ךך ךך efficit.
3. Imperativus ejusdem Kal, qui suam non in ךך sed ךך convertit, h.e. duorum schevajim concurrentium prius in Hirel elevat. Et haec omnia ex generali ratione mutationis vocalium: quae etiam causae praeteritorum ךך ךך & ךךך transformarunt.

V MARGINIBUS ascripsi latina quaedam Pronomina, suis ubique formis respondentia, quae essent vice denominationis Personarum, & singularum significata distinguerent. Hoc evidentius fore putavi; quam si meris Notis 1 2 3 S P M F C a se mutuo discriminassem. Sub caeteris quae ibidem in Umbris visuntur, non est ut Mysterium aliud venerit; faciunt ad ornatum, vel si mavis, explent hiatus.

## 1. in Paradigmate.

quod norma est reliquorum. Ejus artificium omne dependet tum a scita rotulae circumgyratione, tum apta disjectarum syllabarum combinatione. Conjugaturus itaque verbum  $\text{קָרַע}$  sic age:

1. Comprehende organon altera manu ita, ut pollex anterioris faciei umbrosus quendum marginem, Index vero digitus a tergo rotulam teneat; eamque supra dextrorsum, vel infra sinistrorsum eoque circumage, donec conjugationis Kal, & successive caeterarum quoque nomina, fenestram B (cui manus est appicta) praecise occupent: sic enim & reliqua foraminibus eo exactius respondebunt.

11. Conjunge voces quae ex illis foveis emergunt, cum hisce quae in superficie.

1. In PRAETERITIS combina syllabas  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  &c. quae per rimam C prominent, cum terminationibus communibus  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  &c. singulas cum singulis: sic habebis in Kal  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  &c. in Niphal  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  & sic deinceps. Praeterea diligenter attende ad hiatus A D E nunc ubi quid exceptionis importent? Nam A monet, pro  $\text{קָרַע}$  in Pihel & Hitpahel  $\text{קָרַע}$  in Hiphil vero  $\text{קָרַע}$  esse dicendum. D vero innuit, pro  $\text{קָרַע}$  &  $\text{קָרַע}$  in eadem Hiphil  $\text{קָרַע}$  &  $\text{קָרַע}$  reponendum. E tandem ostendit, in Kal pro  $\text{קָרַע}$  bis substituendum esse  $\text{קָרַע}$  quando nimirum  $\text{קָרַע}$  &  $\text{קָרַע}$  sequuntur. Nec obliviscere puncti Dagesch, quod per totas conjugationes graves literae Kuph seu mediae radicali impremendum est, prout id tali circello  $\text{קָרַע}$  punctulum gerente (cum aliter non possem) innuere volui, post syllabas  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$ .

2. In PARTICIPIIIS lege masc. singularia ex foramine H caetera ex I (sic modo a superioribus differt) adjunctis terminationibus  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  compone. Ut in benoni Kal  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  Licet & foemina sing. conjugationum omnium (praeterquam Pahul & Hiphil) in  $\text{קָרַע}$  formare, ut  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  &c.

3. IMPERATIVIS Passiva carent; excepto Niphal, cum active vel neutraliter significat. Flectuntur autem initio vocem F nude legendo, deinde  $\text{קָרַע}$  interveniente scheva ei apponendo, mox voci G terminationes  $\text{קָרַע}$  &  $\text{קָרַע}$  adjungendo, ut in Kal  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$  &c. Initiali seu nudae vici similis est INFINITIVUS, qui nunquam deficit. Imo alicubi duplex est, ut supra tactum.

4. FUTURIS praemittuntur Augmenta antecedentia  $\text{קָרַע}$  &c. quae si unam communem habeant vocalem (ut in Hiphil & Hophal) subjicitur illa omnibus, & reperitur in solo foramine N si Aleph habeat peculiarem, (ut alias ubique) notatur ea foramine K. Combinantur deinde. 4 priora cum voce L ut in Kal  $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$   $\text{קָרַע}$

cum quinta ei adjungitur ןו mediante scheva, ut ןוּׁׂ׃׃׃  
 Caetera tria ex M desumuntur & similiter augmentis  
 utriusque ornantur, ut ׁׂ׃׃׃ ׁׂ׃׃׃ ׁׂ׃׃׃

III Tonus recte locandus est. Sunt autem Milhel sive  
 peracutae personae, 1. praeteritorum in ןו ׁׂ׃׃׃  
 2. Participiorum in ןוּ 3. Imperat. & futur. in ןוּ  
 4. conjugationis Hiphil ׁׂ׃׃׃ desinentes. Caeterae  
 omnes Milra, h.e. Accentum gerentes in ultima.

IV Significationes ex ascriptis pronominibus facile  
 dijudicabuntur. Nec metus est confusionis, modo quis  
 ad personam, numerum & tempus attendat. e.g. EGO in  
 praeterito non potest aliud quam, visitavi, signific-  
 are; & in futuro visitabo, non visitabis, nec visitabimus,  
 &c 2. in aliis verbis.

CANON.

1. Pro paradigmatis 3 literis ׁׂ׃׃׃ substitue tres  
 alias Thematis; caeteras serviles nec non vocales  
 retine, quales sunt in typo.  
(examples follow in Pakad (visitavit), Katab,  
(scripsit) and Shamar (custodit)).

2 Non omnia per omnes 7 conjugationes flecte, sed  
 usum specta: quem, si ad huc desit, consultum Lexicon  
 suppeditabit. 3 Inde etiam disces Significationum  
 vicissitudines. quae plerumque sunt in Kal activae  
 vel neutrae in Niphal, Pyhal & Hophal passivae: in Pihel  
 frequentativae: in Hitpahel reciprocae.

VARIATIONES.

Propter quasdam literas paululum disceditur ab analogia  
 paradigmatis, Sibilo consonantes, Aspiratione autem  
 vocales mutante, ut sequitur.

I. Si prima radicalis est una ex Sibilis ׁׂ׃׃׃ tunc  
 Thav characteristicum Hitpahel ei postponitur.  
 (Examples follow)

II Si prima rad. est una ex Gutturalibus (vel aspiratis)  
 ׁׂ׃׃׃ tunc pro scheva muto habet aliquam ex hate-  
 phatis, & augmentum antecedens similem brevem. hoc est  
 1. Hatephpatha & patha. in futuris Kal &  
 Hiphil atque participio Hiphal ut

: prim.	:	Aug.:	
: rad.	:	Ant.:	
: -:	:	-	: F.K. Hip. pa. Hi. :
: :::	:	-	: Pr.N. Hip. Pa. N. :
: -:	:	-	: Hophal :

(Examples follow)

Excipe Aleph tam servile quam radicale, futuri Kal,  
 & quaedam alia, maxime intransitiva quae more sequentium  
 Hateph-Saegol habent: ut ׁׂ׃׃׃ ambulabo ׁׂ׃׃׃ clamabis

הַיְהוּבִי simulabit. 2. Hateph-Saegol & Saegol, in praeteritis Nipha; & Hiphil, atque participio Niphal.

(Examples follow)

3. Hatephkametz & Kametzhatuph in tota Hophal, ut גַּזְזִי sistetur יִדְכֹּדֵךְ comprehensus.

Nota tamen, pro composita vocali, interdum Euphoniae causa manere simplex scheva mutum: יִשְׂרָאֵלִי delectaberis יִשְׂרָאֵלִי conversus.

III Si prima vel secunda rad, est Indageschabilis (quales sunt gutturales & Resch) גַּזְזִי tunc ex praecedentibus brevibus, per compensationem omissi dagesch, fiunt analogae longae; secundum hanc Tabellam. ut

י	.	-	ex
i	..	·⊕	sit

(Examples follow)

Interdum haec compensatio, praesertim cum gutturalibus omittitur: ut יִשְׂרָאֵלִי irritavit, וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי inflammavit, וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי corruptit, וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי combusit.

IV. Si secunda vel tertia est Gutturalis aut Resch; vel significatio intransitiva, tunc terminationes Holem & Zeri plerumque mutantur in Patha.

(Examples follow)

V Si tertia Rad. est una ex וּבִי תunc post longas אִיִּי assumit patha-genufa (ante suam consonam legibile) vel breve. convertit in patha-vicarium (Milhel)

(Examples follow)

VI Quaecunque Radicalis est Gutturalis, ea Scheva mobile sub se convertit in Hatephata ut וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי pro וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי (Followed by other examples)

VIII Hirek M terminale Hiphil, saepe, praesertim in futuris, mutatur in cognatum Zeri: וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי cibabis.

IX Tandem quarum prima est יִי vel secunda יִי aut duplicata: vel tertia יִיִי illa plures anomalias sustinent, & ad peculiare imperfectorum Classes pertinent, de quibus D.V. alias.

3 USUS IN ANALYSI

Si in textu offendis verbum ab וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי incipiens, (i.e. a literis ו, י, א.) vel in וַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי desinens, verte Rotulam, donec vocales & augmenta praecise correspondeant:

sic apud manum B apparebit Nomen conjugationis,  
& in cruce Tempus, vel Modus atque in margine Persona,  
Genus, Numerus. Exemplis non opus habet, qui priora  
tenet: cum eadem sit Analyseos ratio, quae Geneseos.

Finis.

Note:

The BM copy of Schickard's Horologium (1630) belonged  
to Samuel Green of Jesus Coll. Cambridge: who according  
to the Register was a pensioner and matriculated Easter  
1658:BA 1661/2:MA 1665: he therefore took up Hebrew  
from the beginning of his university course since his  
copy is dated 1659.

A TABLE of hebrew Roots.

א	רתתנ (ל) [אל] צ, ק, ו, ם אלל, אלה 'אל, איל	רהא (ת) אות [את] יאת, אאת	ליהנא (ל) הקעם ם כלה [כל] 'כל, ככל, כלה
רטהורכ [כ] [אכ] דקסזל ,אבנ, אבה ו,אנ, אוב	רזולסלת (מ) יאכס [אמ] ש אמן, אמה	כ	[כמ] ה (מ) במה
דפזסלוד (ו)	יחהא (כ) שקפסו און, אנה [אן] אין	[כא] שד (א) אבה, בוא	[כנ] סה (ג) בון, בניו, בנה
[אר] דנסכ (ה) אוה, אור	דפורם (ס)	[ככ] ת (כ) בוב	[כס] ז (ט) כ'ים
[אה] להב (ה) 'את, אחה	(ע) סולהר (פ) תדקפע אנף [אפ] אפף, אפה	דקלרא (ד) אכד, כדו [כד]	לטהא (ע) בעה [בע] הר גכש
לחהדכ (ו) [אין] חרצל איה	[אע] דל (צ) איא	[כה] דקום , אבה, בהת	דקצעל (צ) כוצ, בצע [כע]
ולהדבא (ן) אוא [אן] רק אנה	ק (ק)	לרנכא (ו) שדקצסן	שדקע (ק) , נקק [נק] כוד
סלןהד (ת) [את] שר איה, אחה	והנכא (ד) קצעלסדת אדנ [אין] שד איד, אלה	דקנת (ן) בין, כזת [כז]	והיא (ד) השדקמדת , כורה, בדר [כד] כוד
דנסטר (ט) אשט [ש]	לדתד (ש)	דנל (ת) ןלהא (ט) 'נט [נט]	שדממל (ש) בוש, ובש [בש] כשש
לחרב (ו) תשקום אזת [א]	[אש] שדקם , אש, אשת ואש	חדצן (ו) דהג (ב) כור, כבה [כב]	(continued on folio 395a.) and traced
ףל (כ)			

A Table for Hebrew Rootes

רקלה (ה) כנה [כת] כוח, כחה	לדג (ו) גיא [גי]	חחבא (ג) שדקל דבב [דב] גרב, רבה ראב	עזסה (מ) דמת [דמ] דמס, דן
ח	חהדכא (ל) שעמל גלל [גל] ג'ללזת	דלה (ג) ידגה [דג] ד'ג	ד [ד] ג (ג) רין
ג [ג] לה (א) גאה [גא], גה ג'א	להדא (מ) גמ [מ] רע נמה	רסב (ה) וורת [רה] גרת	דע [רע] (ט) ורע
לחחבא (כ) גכ [כ] שרען גוכ, גכב, גכא נכה	זוב (כ) גכ [כ]	רתתדג (ו) שרען רית [ד]	(caetera desunt.)
גכגא [גכג]	שרלתא (ע) געעה [גע] כגע, געע	קלת (ת) דב [דב] דכד, דבת	
להדב (ד) גד [ד] שדקע גרה, גרר, גרד גור, גור	גפ [פ] דקן (פ) ג'קפ ג'ק	לתהג (ל) דל [ל] תק ידלה, דלל רדת	
גה [ה] רח (ה) גהה, גהה, גתח	לזתגב (ד) דקעס [קע] גדה [גד] ג'ד, גרד, גרד		
ותנהב (ו) שרפעל גוה [גי]	גש [ש] שם (ש) גש		
לזתב (ן) גח [ח] גש, גש גון, גדה, גלן	גה [ה] ח (ת) גתת		
גת [ת] ל (ח) גת, גות	ג		
	הגב (א) גדה, ידה [ג] דאת [דא]		

The Commonplace book of Robert Muston, medical practitioner, containing recipes and courses of treatment with physiological dissertations. A note on the enlistment of his son Henry for Tangiers is dated Monday December 21 1663 (p.357). The following description of the foregoing Table occurs under the heading "Mathematical Recreations": at a glance, the reader is able to see whether any combination of characters makes a Hebrew Root used in the Bible. The Table is introduced by preliminary discourse upon (a) Like Letters, (b) Vowels, and (c) The Chiefe rules of Reading. The copyist gave up his work with fatigue at daleth of the Table. In the text references occur to a preceding discourse upon servile letters and derivation, not included in the MS: there is also absent the Praxis said to follow. It is to be noted that emphasis is finally laid upon the usefulness of the Table in detecting Deficient Roots so that it could not wholly be regarded as a curiosity.

I have not been able to see the original "Mathematical Recreations/ from which Muston made his copy.

.....

#### A TABLE OF THE HEBREW ROOTS .

There is contained in this following table all the roots in the Bible, both Hebrew and chalde, so that they may be all numbred how many they be either in whole under all the letters; or how many their are under every letter of the alphabet, orderly, and secondly, at one glance of the eye, as it were, may be knowne whether such a roote be extant in the Bible or not, and that thus, suppose you would know whether  $\overline{\kappa}$  abad, be an Hebrew roote or not: looke the first radicall letter  $\kappa$ , in the top, of the first colomme, inclosed thus  $\overline{\kappa}$  as all the following first radicall letters are also in like manner written before the second and third radicall letters which follow under them; so that the letter thus inclosed, doth stand for the first radicall, to all the letters following, till there occur another letter so enclosed; as  $\kappa$  as before inclosed in the first radicall letter, to all the letters following till ye come to the letter  $\beth$  beth, inclosed also thus  $\overline{\beth}$  and then that Beth is the first radicall letter to all following, till ye come to  $\daleth$  gimel written also thus  $\overline{\daleth}$  and so forth of the rest of the letters, afterwards looke the seconde radicall letter  $\beth$  beth enclosed with this marke, thus  $\overline{\beth}$  and so are all the second radicall letters written before their third following and then orderly by the letters following,

by the letters following, joyne the third radicall  
 letter, which is set downe after the second. if it be  
 extant in the Bible; so the first root occurring under  
 א aleph, and ב beth for the first two radicalls, is  
 אבא Abab, and the second is אבא Abad which was the root  
 enquired for: and after followeth אבא Abah, and אבא Abach,  
 and אבא Abal, and so the (same) of the rest, but if ye  
 would know whether אבא Abag, or אבא Abam, be an Hebrew  
 root, look ג Gimel, and ט, amongst the third radicall  
 letters following ג, the second radicall, inclosed thus  
 above thus (ג) and because these letters are not amongst  
 the third radicalls, it followeth that these roots, are  
 not in the Bible, and just so it is with all other  
 roots, to be looked orderly under their first radicall  
 inclosed thus — and after their second radicall thus ( )  
 inclosed; joyning to their third radicall letters  
 following; but thirdly which is the chiefe use, & most  
 profitable and which was never done in any table hitherto,  
 by this table all the defective roots in the Bible may  
 be found out, so that when servile letters are all laid  
 aside, if there be but two radicall letters remaining,  
 or but one of the three last; the root may be presently  
 found out what it is, and the letters defective or  
 wanting put to, thus, after the three radicalls are  
 sett downe as is above described, then followeth orderly  
 the defective roots, or the letters wanting one, or two  
 of their radicalls, with a marke thus [א] if one letter  
 be deficient; or thus [ב] if there be two letters wanting.  
 so that any word being offered in the text, the servile  
 letters must be thrown away (which what they usually are,  
 will be easily knowne by the rules going before, and  
 the praxis following after) and if their remaine but  
 two letters radicall then seeke those two (what ever  
 they be) orderly, as they are placed here according to  
 the Alphabet, after the third radicalls (following these  
 two, put as is described before, for the first and  
 second radicalls) and ye shall have them inclosed as  
 is said before with this marke [ ] and then the roote  
 which they come from set downe: after them; and if  
 their remaine but one, then seek that one orderly, as  
 is said, inclosed thus [א] after the third radicalls;  
 and after it, will follow the root shewing the letters  
 deficient; as for instance this word אבא Abot, being  
 found in the text, it is knowne that אבא oth, is the  
 servile termination of Nounes feminine in the plurall  
 number, therefore these two servile letters אב, must  
 be throwne away, and then their remaines but two radicall  
 letters to wit, [אב] aleph and Beth, which must be looked  
 after the third radicalls following these two (put for  
 the first and second radicalls, as is said above) and  
 there then shalbe set downe thus inclosed [אב] and  
 after, the root, or roots from which they may be derived  
 thus [אב] אבא Abah, &c. so if but one remaine,  
 when serviles are all cast away, as in this word אבא  
 vajet, and he inclined Ps.40.2: the letter א in the

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in the beginning of a word, is the copulative particle ,and; and ' noteth the third person singular of the future tense, so that these serviles cast away, there remaineth but only the radical ו which must be looked, where it is set downe in its owne place for the first radical; and after the second & third radical following; it is thus set downe וּבְנֵי נָח, natah, which importeth this, that when only ו, is left of the three radical, the root which is deficient in two letters (to wit ו, before, and ה, after) is וְהָיָה נָח, natah, and so of any two letters, or one, left of a roote, they must be sought in thaire place and order, and their roots from which they come will follow them, so that by this table, all the roots of and in the Bible either under all the letters of the Alphabet, or under anyone, may be in an instant, as it were, run over, numbred and remembred by a good memory, (or at least so knowne) that by running them over frequently, in a short space by the very sound ye will know an Hebrew roote, and whether it be in the Bible or not, and any roote deficient may be easily found out, but the practise following, will make the use of this table more cleare and plaine, then can be to beginners here expressed although I have bin larger in Explaining of it, then willingly I would have bin, if it had not bin to make it plaine and Easie; only this is further to be noted, that it is in no wayes disadvantageous, but rather both plesant and profitable, to search out the divers roots from which these letters are taken, and to choose the signification of that root or primitive word which is most sutable to the forme of the word, and to the text, where the word is found; as for Instance, the word before cited, אָבוֹת Abot, with these points, signifyeth Fathers or forefathers, and so is to be reduced to the root; אָבָה Abah, he willed or desired, from whence is the Noun Masc<sup>l</sup>: אָב ab, a father (who desireth all good to his children) and in pl: אָבוֹת abot, doth signifie Bottles, as also those who have familiar spirits, (because they speak hollow, and from the bottom of their bellies, as it were through bottles) and thus it is the plurall number from the primitive noun in singular אָב ob, one who hath a familiar spirit, speaking with a hollow voice, (in giving Answers) as if he spoke through a hollow, and narrow mouthed bottle. Now the forme of these two words (in their different points) and the consideration of the text where any of them is found; will easily shew which of these two roots, or primitive words, they come from; and are to be reduced unto: and so the forme of other words; as the Characters of the conjugations, the marks of the tenses, or the Heemantique and servile letters; with their different poyntings, &c. will readily shew, in the consideration of the text, to which of these different roots, they doe chiefly belong, in their formes and significations. now followeth the Table.

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Short List of Textbooks for the  
Beginner in Eastern Studies from 1600.

- 1506 Latin. Reuchlin J. Rud.Gram.Heb.  
Incorporates an account of his education,  
travels, meeting with Jewish teachers and  
later studies: series of discourses treating  
of the elements, grammar, syntax, etc.
- 1509 Latin. Quinquarboreus J. Ling. Heb. Instit. (Paris)  
Incorporates notes on Syro-Chald. by P.  
Vigualius: Poetics, by Gilb. Genebard: Exercise  
on Pslmn. xxxiiii by Rob. Bellarmine: Rabbinics,  
by Vigualius: etc. compendium.
- 1525 Latin. Munster S. Gram.Heb. Claims to be based on  
Elias Levita: three orations on Grammar, treat-  
ing of thirteens points considered fundamental.
- 1539 Latin. Ambrosius Th. Intra ad Chald. Syr. Arm. etc.  
Deals in the mysteries of Kabbala etc.
- 1544 Latin. Compens I. Ex Variis Libellis Gram. etc.  
The tabula serves as index to the grammar.
- 1549 Latin. Quinquarboreus J. De Re Gram.Heb.  
Specially set out for the benefit of students.
- 1550 Latin. Ibid. Notes on Clenardus: Tabula in Gram.Heb.  
Consists simply of short tables and paradigms.
- 1555 Latin. Gesner Con. Mithridates .See Leach, who says:  
"An attempt in comparative philology, giving a  
short delineation of the character of all  
ancient and modern languages, from the Ethiopic  
down to Gipsy language in alphabetical order".  
Folded plate of the Pater Noster in 23 tongues.
- 1557 Latin. Isaac J. Perf. Heb. Gram.  
Three books, each book successively reaching  
deeper into the subject: references to contemp.  
authors.
- 1566 Latin. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Cevaller Ant. Alph. Heb.  
In Greek Latin and Hebrew: contains the  
alphabet etc., Verba Deem, transliterated,  
and translated: Precation. Dom., Exercises,  
extracts from the Bible with Latin transliter-  
ation, square Hebrew, and rabbinical script.
- 1568 Latin. Avenarius J. Liber Radicum.  
Claims to be innovator: puts down the proper  
(as opposed to the metaphorical meaning) of  
each word; claims, where possible, to have  
translated the Hebrew words by the derivative  
words in Latin; cites verse and chapter; tries  
by comparison to demonstrate derivation.
1569. Latin. Alphabetum Hebraicum (Antwerp)  
Alphabet: Deut. XXVII in Heb. Greek and Latin.  
Bound up with a Hebrew Grammar.
- [1577 English. Ludham John. Practis of Preaching (from  
the Latin of And. Hyperus 1552). Not a textbook  
of sort here cited, but placed here because of  
writer's doubts of the necessity for Latin.]

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Short List of Textbooks continued.

- 1580 Latin. Bellarmine R. Instit. Ling. Heb.  
Gathered from the best authors: orderly in arrangement: has gram. exercise on Ps. XXXIV. Claims that book may be used without a master.
- 1585 Latin. Marinus M. Hortus Eden, Gram. Ling. Sanct.  
Grammar, tables, phrases, praxis on Ps. I.
- 1585 English. Junius Ad. Nomenclator:  
A translation by John Higgins.
- 1616 Latin. Kecherman Bart. Syst. Gram. Heb.  
Brief precepts on etymology and syntax. Comprehensive treatise in two divisions, institutions and rabbinics. Institutions comprises Grammar, vocabulary, declension etc, use of grammar and lexicon in translation.
- 1617 English. Minsheu J. The Guide into the Tongues.  
Dealing with Harmony, Etymology, Origins etc. in eleven languages, the eleventh being Hebrew. Ductor in Linguas. 1626.
- 1619 Latin. Helvicus Chr. Libri Didactici.  
Apologises for lack of material in Chald. and Hebrew owing to difficulties in typography: universal grammar, followed by series of special grammars: Hebrew grammar accommodated to common needs. Appears to show influence of Comenius.
- 1621 Latin. Glassius Sol. Philol. Sacrae.  
Oration for 1621; followed by elaborate tracts and treatises.
- 1621 Latin. Erpenius Th. Gram. Heb. Generalis.
- 1622 Latin. Martinus Pet. Gram. Heb. & Chal. Gram.  
Praises the exceptional studies at Cambridge.
- 1625 Latin. Amama Sixt. Gram. Ebr. Martini-Buxtorfiana.  
Mentions as friends and aids, Livelie, Prideaux, and Meekirk.
- 1625 Latin (as above) adds Coronis ad Grammaticum. i.e. Explanation of anomalies and difficulties, dissertation (and various readings) on Keri and Chetib, and advice on the study of the tongue, e.g. compare the Latin versions and commentaries of texts with the Hebrew, going from Kimhi to Aben Ezra and thence to Rabbi Solomon on Hos., Joel, Obad, and Jonas; in Syriac NT for difficulties of distinction from Chald. advises use of Tremellius, Buxtorf, Fabritius, Schindler's Pentaglot. For Syriac versions in Syriac characters, Waser, Crinesius, Erpenius, Buxtorf (the younger), Trostius. (1621)
- 1631 Latin. Alphabetum Aethiopicum etc.  
Beginning in Ethiopic, with the normal texts and arrangements for beginners.

Short List of Textbooks continued.

- 1638 Latin. Seidelius, Gasp. Binjamimi Munaphiae, ... dicti.  
List of Hebrew roots with interlinear Latin.
- 1639 Latin. Buxtorf, J. (Younger) Lexicon Chal. Talm. & Rabb.  
Based on best authorities etc: refs. e.g. to  
Munster, Fabritius, de Pomis, Val. Schindler.
- 1639 Latin Hague Th. (of Linc. Coll. Oxon.) Linguarum Cognatio  
The usual cognate studies: against the exposition  
of the Bible by people unskilled in Greek and  
Hebrew: holds with Broughton and Busby that  
Talmudic study lightens up both NT & OT.
- 1639 Latin Schickard's Horologium (printed at London)  
Claims to teach the tongues in brief space:  
asserts that some students learned Hebrew in  
twentyfour hours: popular and successful textbook  
containing curious device for finding roots,  
and analysing words.
- 1642 Latin. Dickerrus JM. Oratio de Recta Lib. Educ.  
Treatise on the education of children, in which  
author declares that Hebrew ought to be known  
familiarly, and that the dislike for the study  
is due entirely to prejudice and ignorance.
- 1642 English. Leigh Ed. Critica Sacra.  
Observations on all the roots in the OT in  
alphabetical order. Gathering together of the  
findings of the best authorities.
- (?) English. A Treatise Concerning Tongues.  
Discourses on Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chald., Syr.,  
and Arabic; with instructions for learning  
without a master: an advertisement for a private  
tutor of forty years standing, offering seven  
or eight lessons of two hours apiece, the  
intervening time to be spent copying and medit-  
ating upon certain writings. The student is to  
learn by heart the consonants, and vowels of  
the languages: "As Chaldee is learned after  
Hebrew, so is Syriae easier to apprehend after  
the Chaldean. Also he that understandeth the  
generality of Hebrew words, will soonest  
comprehend the Arabic: and means is now extant,  
whereby the greatest part of the Hebrew may in  
short time be understood". English books are  
recommended without qualification to those  
ignorant of the Latin.
- 1644 Latin. Row, J. (1637) Heb. Ling. Instit. (Glasgow)  
For the young learner, of eight or ten. Recom-  
mended for others as students in theology and  
philosophy. Students ought to be able to handle  
a lexicon in a weeks time. Claims to displace  
pölix and abstruse writers like Martinus,  
Junius and Buxtorf. Much space given over to  
Praxes (Amama the basis here): includes a poem  
on the finding of Roots.

Short List of Textbooks continued.

- 1644 Latin. Boate Arn. Animadversiones.  
Notes for students of about twenty years, concerning grammars, texts, lexicons etc. Mentions that English booksellers are averse to printing books not in the vernacular. The author had the valuable aid of J. Buncke (whose help Castell acknowledged in the Heptaglot), and the book is really a reply to Joh. Morinus (Exer. Eccl. in Pent. Sam.) written with enthusiasm by the author in his twentyeighth year. Contains valuable list of references.
- 1646 English. Wilkins J. Ecclesiastes  
Reference book primarily for preachers: partly apologises for writing in English instead of Latin, and excuses himself on the grounds of there being preachers ignorant of the tongues. Interest, however, mainly theological.
- 1646 English. Reeves Edm. A Treatise Concerning Tongues.  
Written after forty years experience of teaching. Aims at providing a book for students without a master: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic. Introduction to General Grammar, and notes on requisite books.
- 1649 Latin. Hottinger J.H. Thesaurus Philologicus.  
Systematic treatise dealing comparatively with texts, beliefs and customs, with appropriate excerpts from documents in all the Tongues: quotes Reuchlin on the need for the theological student first to understand Scripture grammatically before he comprehends it theologically.
- 1653 Latin. Baillie R. Appendix Practica ad I.B. Epitomen.  
Strong insistence on praxis: praxes on Psalms, Genesis, Decalogue, excerpts from Job, Isaiah, Daniel, Jeremiah: also examinations of renderings from Hebrew in various languages. Based on the Buxtorf Epitomen with references to Tremellius, Chaldaic Paraphrase, Septuagint, Vulgate, and various Bibles, Delrio, Gretser, Bellarmine, Mirandolla, Montanus, Beza, Deodatus. Competent teacher's handbook: valuable.
- 1654 Latin. Calepinus Amb. Polyglot, ed by Ab. Comelinus.  
See reference by Leach: included Hebrew.
- 1654 English. Robertson W. The First Gate or Outward Door.  
Introduction to Hebrew on lines of Comenius' didactic principles, consists of chief elements of grammar, table of roots with directions for finding roots, and Praxis to the Grammar and the Table on Obadiah, Decalogue and Isaiah 12. Noteworthy for its arrangement and application of text and principles. "The Hebrew Text itself

Short List of Textbooks continued.

"The Hebrew Text itself is first set down, and then every Hebrew word of those places of Scripture is read in English letters, then expounded, and Grammatically resolved in English.."Declares that a general knowledge of Hebrew necessary in view of the near time of the promise that the Gospel would cover the earth. Denies that this knowledge through English will lead to (and is) a vain jangling and puffing up. Claims to have established a new method, passing over obstructing difficulties, or rendering them understandable."I have not so much as named here the mutation of points, nor the ribble rabble of the superfluous accents; neither have I set down a Paradigme of all the formes of imperfect Verbs". Has been at pains to be exact in the Praxis, his teaching experience showing him that it is better to be long in the Praxis and short in the Grammar. Comprises Mnemonics to find Roots (pp.22-24), Table of Roots (25-40) Grammar (pp 41) and Praxis (pp89) .Epilogue promising a Key to the Hebrew Bible.

- 1655 English. Robertson W. Iggeret Rammashkil.  
Tract in which he defends the attitude in which Hebrew is deemed necessary for a minister of the Gospel.
- 1655 Latin. Walton Br. Introductio ad lect. Ling. Or.  
Parallel to the Polyglot Bibles in process. Hebrew, Chaldaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Coptic. Advice and references for study by tyros.
- 1655 English. Robertson W. The Second Gate or Inner Door.  
Compendious Hebrew Lexicon. Hebrew and Chaldaic Roots in the Bible set down and numbered: Praxis with resolution in English. Claims to supply the want of a Dicionary in the vulgar tongue; to be used along with the Grammar: claims to comprise the substance of Buxtorf's Lexicon with additions, arranged specially for beginners. Laments the dearth of teachers of the Holy Tongue. Advice to the students as follows: Compare the Hebrew alphabet and vowels with the English transliteration; go on to read, following the transliterations, and looking up the words according to their numbers: learn those Rules of reading most quickly understood: thereafter, the declensions, conjugations, tenses: revise all.

Short List of Textbooks continued.

revise all. Author's opinion that this might be gone over in one day. Then learn how to use the Tabke. If that is found difficult, pass at once to the Praxis, through which proceed with care, comparing tenses, numbers, persons in Kal: two or three revisions recommended.

"And of all such who doe know these gramaticall termes, I would gladdy crave license from them, to set down in a few lines.... a briefe description of these chief and most usuall termes, for the ease and Use of those, (chiefly of the Female Sexe) who have never learned them, and so have never had the means to know what they mean". Calls his "the fullest (if not the first) Hebrew Dictionary that ever was published in English, or any other Vulgar language", and that his translations are the closes extant.

1655-6 English. Davis J. A Short Introduction.  
A translation of the Buxtorf Epitome for such as are ignorant of Latin: comprising interlinear texts of Psalms, rules for accents etc. "Though an English translation of the O.T. be extant, yet so that it may express the truth of God in many places, and also in many much wander from the truth". Work of a schoolmaster: dedicated to tutor, Mr Help Fox of Gloucester, scholar of Newland Fræe-school in Glo'ster. Rules short and pertinent.

1656 English. Robertson W. Hebrew Text of the Psalms.  
Again ridicules idea that easy learning of Hebrew leads to jangling: text and transliteration.

1657 Latin. Leusden J. Philologicus Hebraeus.  
Mainly replies in controverted points of scholarship.

1658 Latin Tuckney Ant. Grammatica Syriaca.  
Bound with Beveridge's De Ling. Orient. 1658  
Institution into Syriac

1658 Latin Beveridge W. De Ling. Orient.  
The necessity of theological and philosophic students to have Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Samaritan. Apt to lean heavily towards Syriac as the language of the Saviour: follows Syriac Grammar and Praxis.

1658 English. B.A. The Learner's Help (Part from the Scholars Companion) Rules how to find the Roots in the Bible: reference then to the Companion which is sort of lexicon.

Short  
List of Textbooks continued.

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- 1661 Latin .Hottinger JH Etymol.Orient.  
AHeptaglot Lexicon, showing the harmony of derivation:comprising the most recent researches.
- 1673 Latin. Cooper Josph. Domus Mosaicae Clavis.  
Printed at London:English author.deals with the subject of Hebrew Points,examiningthe arguments of Elias Levita,Capellus,Walton, Morinus and Gordon Huntley. Remarkig on the decay of studies amongst theological students, thinks they might devote to it some of the energy they give to pipe-smoking.
- 1674-5 Latin. Otho JH. Lexicon Rabbinic.  
Mentions with respect Lightfoot,Pocock,Bernard, and Gise of Oriel College,"stupendae erudit- ionis in quibus eleganter habitat omnis liter- atura Orientalis."
- 1682 Latin. Leusden J. Phil.Heb.Mixt. una cum Spec. Phil.  
Labour of 33 years:deals with large variety of topics of Jewish antiquities and Talmudical treatises.
- 1683 Latin. Leusden J. Phil. Heb.-Graec.Generalis.  
Treats of the question of influence of Hebrew culture on the NT: remarks,"Novi enim,quam frigide passim in Academicis & scholis,haec studia tractentur."
- 1683 Latin. Robertson W. Gram. Hebraica.  
Deals with the language freed from the Points; employs Latin grammatical terminology,and with Latin equivalents, brings the method of the grammar in line with the modern method of the Latin Grammar. Reading without points, leads to the formulation of two rules involving (i)auxiliary and (ii) artificial consonants.
- 1685 English. Stennet Jehuda. Comprehensive Grammar.  
Contains English interlinear version of the 23d Psalm, with grammatical exercitation. Mentions that daily epitomisings bring the langage within easy grasp of the tyro in a few months study,and that no professor of Christianity can be without it. Readers of Latin have been well cared for, but not so much those who are ignorant of it: praises the English methods of Robertson,to whom he owes a good deal. Recommends the reader to rush onwards without palling at difficulties, as "one thing will unfold another,and by custom all will become pleasurable and easie to the industrious". Contains concise paradigme with tranliterations and translations: a poem to help find Roots: and about 650 familiar Roots:aslo Table of Accents,rhetorical,grammatical & musical

Short List of Textbooks continued.

1686 French. Leusden J. Courte Grammaire Hebraique &c.  
Refers to his Flamand version of 1663.  
Part of a scheme to spread the Grammar in  
other tongues as German and English.

1687 Latin. Leusden J. Lex.Nom. Heb.-Lat.  
Arranged according to the index scheme of  
W.Robertson (Manipulus), to whom author  
avows his inspiration. Latin version for  
general use, to which is added Leusden's  
Chaldaic-Rabbinic Lexicon.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX.~~

1689 Latin. Seaman W. Catechesis Relig. Christ. Brevior.  
The Latin version with Hebrew translation.

1704 Latin. Pfeiffer Aug. Opera.  
Deals with difficulties in Scripture; as  
(a) Dubia vexata:(b) Ebraica atque Exotica  
NT e suis fontibus derivata;(c) Decas Selecta  
Exercitationum ad loca Bib. Vet. et NT:(d)  
Critica Sacra (discussing the divisions, edit-  
iones etc of the codices); Tractates on Rites,  
Classification of Oriental languages, the  
Talmud: accents: etcete; antiquities: also  
general philological treatises.

1706 Latin. Ockley S. Introd. ad Ling. Orientales.  
Printed at Cambridge. Method of study, and list  
of authorities; Rabbinics and Talmud, Jewish  
antiquities. Deals with Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian,  
Armenian, Coptic, Turkish, as well as Hebrew.  
Casts doubts on the status of Hebrew as original  
tongue. Deplores decline of studies at Cambridge  
in which Hebrew is made to fall into oblivion.  
List of best versions for student as follows:  
Interlinear Arias Montanus, Seb.Castalioni,  
Junius & Tremellius, and Anglican Version.  
Grammars, Schickard or Bythner, preferring Bythner  
on account of praxis, brief apposite rules, and  
the double references in the praxis.  
Dictionary: Buxtorf's Thesaurus: admits as  
difficult and prolix but to be used mainly with  
the Grammar especially in syntax. Recommends  
continuous study of Bythner's praxis. Thereafter  
proceed to the Bible, of which he recommends  
Plantin, Manessah ben Israel, Janson (NT Greek),  
Arias Montanus, Jos, Athias, Rbt. Stephan, of  
which the most convenient is Athias with the  
marginal Latin notes: the type in Janson is too  
minute, the interlinear version of Montanus is  
bad for young students, and Stephan has many  
grave errors. Roza's Pentateuch is reputed to be  
perfect. Also recommends the London Polyglot,  
and the Bomberg Bible, which is best.

Short List of Textbooks continued.

Bomberg Bible which is best. The method of study recommended is as follows: read first cap. of Genesis, neglect anomalies, go on to the end of Pentateuch: thereafter the first Prophets, Joshua, Samuel and Kings: then to Chronicles: then the Hagiography, Ruth, Nehem, Esther, Eccles.: read the major Prophets last. Next the Proverbs and Job, difficult in their parables and similitudes, and Job especially on account of the Arabisms and unusual words. Read without points (see Rules in Bythner's Lyrae, cap. xiii & xv) Write out a chapter daily with and without points, and correct the version: "pedentim enim ac lente in his studiis procedendum est". Thereafter take up Chaldaic of which passages are specified in Daniel and Ezra. With regard to Chaldaic Grammars, says Bythner is too short, Buxtorf too complex, and recommends Crinesius: and even better le Dieu who discriminates between Syriac and Chaldaic. Special aspects may be studied in Caspar Leideburio's Catenam Scripturae, or Robertson's Manipulus which is based upon Leideburio and Wasmuth. Tractates on Rabbinics may be consulted in the Venetian Bible: Lexicons, Pagnin, Mercer, Busby whose work is most suitable for the young, the best edition being that of 1646.

- 1707 Latin. Happel JH. Brevis Instit. Ling. Arab.  
1716 Latin. (Paris) Gram. Heb. a punctis libera.  
Devises a new system of pronunciation: holds that in any case the Jews themselves have no standard pronunciation. Commends Robertson's Manipulus, and recommends study of his book a chapter a day, special attention to finding of roots, and careful praxis-work.
- 1717 English. Busby's Grammar for Use at Westminster.  
Evidently had been printed previously, cf. e.g. refs. with regard to Walton and himself, in Castell's correspondence. Small teacher's handbook in skeleton form.
- 1720 English. Henly J. The Compleat Linguist .No. vi.  
Copied from Ockley, of whom he tends to give false impression, taking over his recommendations almost as his own. Popular 2/- volume.
1728. Latin. Mullius D. Catalecta Rabbinica  
Series of excerpts from the Rabbinical literature for private students.

Short List of Textbooks continued.

- 1735 Latin (3d ed.) Langius Joach. Clavis Heb. Cod.  
Hebrew with Latin translations and analysis of the words (roots): followed by complete synopsis of grammar: he considers this method of exposition in the text the most fruitful
- 1738 English. Corey Ric. New and Easy Method.  
Learnign Hebrew without points: contains a Praxis on Proverbs and the interlinear version of Sanct. Pagnin: introduces no new vowel system but says "what vowels are to be sounded with each Consonant, must be learnt partly by Use, and partly by Rule".
- 1740 Latin. van Bashiysen HJ. Clavis Talm. Maxima  
A collection of tracts giving the substance of such writers as R. Jos. Levita, R. Samuel, L'Empereur (Clavis Talmudicae), R. Eliakim Panzi (Clav. Germ.) and the notes of Ritmeir.
- 1770 Latin. Robertson J. Clavis Pentat.  
For young students at the University (Edinburgh). Objects to Bythner (Clav. Ling. Sanct.) Cant. 1648, because he made 485 vocables: here omits the more difficult verb tenses and persons in order to make the study easier for tyros, and in every other way tries to simplify without falsification. Emphasises the necessity to learn the rules and master derivation. His method is to analyse each word in his text as it occurs, giving the person, tense, case etc. in full, until he considers the time arrives to drop the details gradually, except in difficult cases: uses special exercises to make his points clear. Drops the details of point mutation. His analysis embraces idioms and metaphorical expressions as well as simple parts of speech. His references are mainly to Calasius, Conc. Heb. but many others are made to supplement. Occasionally demonstrates affinity of Hebrew & Arabic, and besides other writers here has consulted Bochart, Pocock, Schindler, Hyde and Schultzer. To these he always adds critical and philological notes, various readings, and the opinions of all the most worthy scholars: culls from similar sources illustrations from civil and natural history and travels: and finally appeals to students and teachers to furnish him with corrections and criticisms, e.g. in his renderings, his choice and arrangement in conjugations, his parallels of Hebrew and Arabic. Elsewhere he deplures the falling off of theological candidates in Hebrew learning, and asserts that the study is neither difficult nor lengthy: and for his own consolation epilogises, "Est ~~mirum~~ interim quod laetamur, religioni et eruditioni gratulemur, Musas

Short List of Textbooks continued.

Musas Hebraeas, quadam dulce dine vobis,  
academia hujus alumnis, arridere coepisse."

List of Hebrew etc. Books from the Booksellers etc.  
Probate Lists in the Edinburgh Chapterhouse.

Commissary Records. Printed

- 1579 Thomas Bassandyne  
ane Tabula Hibraice
- 1586 Robert Gourlaw  
Grammatica Hibraica Monsteri  
Grammatica Hibraica Mertini
- 1622 Andrew Hart  
twentie bund small Hibrow buikis
- 1632 James Cathkin  
ane Siriak New Testament  
2 littill Hebrew Bybles  
1668-1678 Catalogue of Books bought for Archibald  
Hislope's Shop.
- 1670 Lightfoot's Horae hebraicae
- 1677 Hebrew Arithmetik (?)
- 1687 Inventory Note of Hislope's Books  
Brownes (?) hebrew gramer  
Buxtor Heb. Gr.

1670-1697

(Names in the printed Register of Printers & Booksellers)

- William Brisbane: Testament confirmed July 28, 1676
- James Miller, Stationer August 12, 1672
- Johne Monteath, Printer, July 20, 1674
- Johne Miller, Bookbinder January 21, 1675
- James Andresone, Stationer July 1, 1679
- Alexander Cunyngham, Printer (Glasgow) February 25, 1681
- Robert Broune, Stationer, May 7, 1685
- Robert Bowter, Stationer (London) July 22, 1687
- John Johnstone, Stationer, June 13, 1693
- William Jaffray, Stationer, December, 30, 1695
- Archibald Hislop, Bookbinder, June 8, 1697.

1690 to 1794

List of Hebrew Books from the Booksellers Etc  
Probate Lists in the Edinburgh Chapterhouse.

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List of Hebrew books from the Booksellers Etc.  
Probate Lists in the Edinburgh Chapterhouse.

- 1690 Wm Skene  
Ane Hebrew Gramer  
The Key of the Bible
- 1709 George Johnston  
Buxtorf's Heb.Lexicon
- 1709 ?  
Buxtorf's Epit. Gram. Heb.  
Junius and Tremmellius Biblia Sacra.  
J.Row's Gram. Heb.
- ? P. Rob.  
Pagnin's Thesaurus Heb.  
Michael's Instit. Ling. Heb. with Psalms in 4 tongues.  
Sanctae Linguae Erotemata ?  
Psalmi quidam Hebraici
- ? ?  
Grammatica Hebraea
- ? Henry Hunter  
Row's Hebr. Grammar  
Robertson's Key of the Bible  
Hebrew Psalms  
Hebrew Bible
- ? F. Robert.  
Gram. Hebr. (Aretius)?  
Pagnin's Thesaurus Ling. Hebr.  
Institutiones Ling. Hebr. (Item alia Institutio)
- ? M.H. ?  
Paradigmata in 4 Ling. Orient.  
Arch. Henderson  
Isagoge ad Sac. Lit. of Pagnin.  
Anotationes in Sac. Script.  
Biblia Antwerp.  
Quatuor Volumina Hebraice (in England)
- ? Robert Sanders  
Ane Hebrew Psalm Book.
- 1794 In the Marchmont Collection:(excluding catalogue of 1755)  
Buxtorf's Comment. Masoreth.: Orat.Dom. in various versions:  
Biblia Hebr. of Athias with Leusden's notes:Rbt.Boyle,de  
Stylo Sacr. Script.: Martinius Mat. Mem.Bibl.: Psalt. Heb.  
with version of Junius & Trem.: Hebr.& Gk.Test. with Latin  
vers. by Ar.Montanus: Bibl.Heb. 2 vols. : Wm Robertson's  
Lex.Heb.-Lat. Biblium: P.Martinius's Gram.Heb.& Chald.:  
Leusden's Hebrew & English Grammar:Erpenius Th.Gram.Hebr.etc  
ditto Compend.Bibl: Compend. Lex. Hebr.of Kulsius: J.Row's  
Compendiolum Grammatica Hebr. et Vocabularum, (Glasg.1644)

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List of Authors in Boate's "Animadversiones"  
1644 .

- A Benezra R Abraham  
Aegilius, Ant. Comm. in Psalmos. Paris 1611  
Ainsworth, Hen. Annot. on the five Bks of Moses, Psalms,  
and Canticles. London 1626.  
Amama. Frank. 1620  
Bibles in English.  
Aquila (The early Greek translation, displacing LXX)  
Arabic. Pent. Arab. Lugd. 1622  
Nov. Test. Arab. Leyd. 1616  
Psalmi Arab cum Interp. Lat. Rome 1619  
Arius Montanus. Bib. Heb. cum interp. vers. Sanctis  
Pagnini (nostra ed. prodiit ex officina Plantina  
Raphelengi)  
Biblia: Anglica, Arabica, Belgica, Chaldaica, Gallica,  
Germanica, Graeca, Hispanica, Italica, Latina,  
Syriaca: Castalionis, Clàrii, Hieronymi, Munsteri,  
Osiandri, Pagnini, Piscatoris, Tigurinatorum, Tremellii,  
Vatabli.  
Borrhaus, Mart. Comm. in Mosen (1555), Jos. Jud. Sam. (Bib. Reg.  
1557), Esa. Apoc. (1561) Job. Ecc. (1564) Basil.  
Brunius. De Spreuken van Solomon. Middlbrg. 1619.  
Bucerus, Mart. Comm. in Psalmos, etc. (R. Stephan 1554)  
Buxtorfius. Thesaurus (3d ed. 1620) Basil. Lexicon (4th ed.  
1631) Concordantiae Bibliorum hebraice (ed. by  
son 1632) Lexicon Chald. (1639) son's additions.  
Cajetanus, Th. Comm. in Pent. etc etc  
Calvinus J. Comm. in Lib. Mosis. Geneva 1597. etc. etc.  
Castalio. Biblia Interprete Sebast. Castalione (with notes)  
Basil 1551  
Drusius Joh. Ad Loca Diff. Pent. Frank. 1617.  
Veterum Interp. Graec. in totum V. T. Arnheim 1622  
Nova Versio et scholia. Amst. 1636.  
Erasmus  
Essaides R. Ab Abenezra  
Euthymius Comm. in Psalmos  
Ferrarii. Lexicon Syriacum  
Forerius Fr. Esa. Proph. Vet. et Nov. ex Heb. versio cum  
comment. Antwerp. 1567  
Genebrardus Gilb. Comm. in Psalmos Lugd. 1607.  
Glassius Sol. Phil. Sac. Jena 1623, 1636. 1634.  
Gregorius Syrus. Scripsit Syriace Scholia.  
Jansenius Corn. Paraph. in Ps. etc. Antwp 1614  
Junius Fr. cum Emm. Tremellio. Collectis operis.  
Lutheri Vers. Germanica  
Lyranus. Biblia Sacra cum glossis etc. Venice 1588  
Mariana Joh. Scholia in V. & N. T. Paris 1620  
Marinus Marc. Arce Noe s. Thes. Ling. Sanct. Ven. 1593  
Marnix Ph. De Psalmen Davids overgeset etc. Leyd. 1617  
Masius And. Imp. Hist. explicata. Antwerp. 1574.

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List of Authors in Boate's Animadversiones  
Continued .

- Mercerus Joh. Comm. in Genes. Job. Sol. etc Geneva  
1598,1573,1572
- Mollerus Hen. Comm. in Psal. Malac.Esa. Geneva 1619,  
Witteb. 1569, Tigur. 1602.
- Muisius Sim. Comm. in Psalmos etc. Paris 1625
- Munsterus. Bib.Heb. & Lat. with comments and notes  
from the Rabbins. 2 vols. Basil 1534.
- Musculus (Wolfgangus Musculus Dusanus) Comm. in Psalmos  
Basil 1599 (ed. postrema) Comm. in Esa. Basil  
1570
- Oecolampadius Joh. Comm. in Esa. etc Geneva 1558,1567.
- Oleaster Hier. Comm. in Esa(Paris 1622) in Pent.(Lugd.  
1588)
- Osiander. Sacrorum Bibliorum pars prima(ap. Matth-Beckerum  
1609, secunda pars(Franc. 1609)
- Pagninus. Versio Lugd. 1577
- Pellicanus Conr. Comm. in Mosen etc. Tigur. 1538,1582.
- Piscator Joh. Translation of Bible with scholia on  
each chapter. 1604
- Reuchlinus Dict. Heb.Lat. cum Gram. Heb. 1506
- Rivet, And. Comm. in Hoseam, in Psal. etc. Lugd.Bat.  
1625,1626.
- Roa. Martini de Roa singularum Sanctae Script. pars sec.  
Lugd. 1634
- Schindlerus Valen. Lex.Pentag. Franc. 1612
- Stephanus Bib. Sac. Heb. 1586
- Stencher (Aug. Stencher Eugubinus) ~~Episcopus~~ Paris  
1578
- Tremellius Emm. et Fr.Junius. Old Test. in Latin: a  
London ed. 1581.
- Zuinglius, Huldric. Annot. in Gen. etc Tigur 1581.

Ms Add. 22905. ciii contains the following account  
of Ussher's manuscripts.

These Mss were procured and bought at a  
great rate by the most Rever. Ja: Usher:  
Arch Bp of Armagh ; and of right belong  
to Sr Tim. Tyrrell Knt.

1. The Samaritan Pentateuch Two vol: fol.
2. The Arabico-Samaritan Pentateuch : I vol. fol.
3. The Syriack: whol Old Testam<sup>t</sup> and apocryphall Books
- 4 . The Syriack Pentateuch at the end whereof is  
the Chronographia Eusebij 4<sup>to</sup>
5. The Psalms of David Syriack: 4<sup>to</sup>

In all Six Vols.

The price of the Samaritan: pentateuch: was once  
expressed to bee 600 Sicles of Silver wch Jewish  
account would rise to 125<sup>ll</sup>. This the Primate  
observed himsele : as appeared by a note at the end  
of one of the books to him.

Of the Syrian Translation of the Pentateuch: he sayth  
in a letter to Dr Ward Jun. 3: 1626: viz. I my  
selfe have need now out of Mesopotamia an old MS. of  
the Syrian Translation of the Pentateuch out of the  
Hebrew (the same wch S. Basil citeth in his Examenon)  
wch I make very great account of. Of the Syriack  
Old Testament he sayd that twas also sent (as promised  
him) by the Patriarch of the Jacobites in those parts,  
of wch he made a very great account also - and valued  
them as Jewels.

This Ms ends here having been torn across.

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Decay of Biblical Studies.

Second Half of the XVIIth Century.

Notes.

1. Extracts from the Whitlock Records in Todd cit.
2. George Hughes (1603-1667) theological writer: suspended for Nonconformity 1663: see DNB.
3. Walton Prolegomena, vi Sect. 1.3. see citation in Todd.
4. Names might be collected from various biographical works as Marrow of Divinity 1649, Martyrology 1677, (Clark) Calamy's Abridgement, besides the regular authorities cited in Todd etcetera. No useful purpose would be served however by such a collection.
5. Hakewell An Apology etc. 1627: see 3d edit. 1635, p.268.
6. Baillie's Journal (Letter 96)
7. Woodrow's Analecta cited in note to Letter 7, p.69 of Baillie's Journal, ed.
8. Worthington's Diary Chetham Soc.
9. Life of Melville, Mc Crie.
10. Miscellany vol.i. Maitland Club.
11. Act. Parl. Car. I AD 1646 cap.244 vi.i.
12. Spotiswode was taken prisoner at Philiphaugh with Montrose 1645: executed 1646.
13. WA Wright TCC Library
14. Abbott TK The Book of TCD 1892
15. See quotation e.g. in Hyamson cit: generally mentioned in every reference to the subject.
16. Ussher, Parr. Letter LXIX Aug. 29, 1642.
17. Ibid. Jan. 16, 1625.
18. Ibid. July 1625 (letter LXXXIII)
19. Ibid. Nov. 14. 1626
20. Ibid March 14. 1628
21. Pococke Twell: see DNB ref. to Pusey's Cat. MSS. Bod.ii Praef. iv.
22. Chaplains at Aleppo generally made a practice of such researches.
23. Encyc. Brit. Oecolampadius another name to be noted.
24. See Table of Authors etc in the edition of Sermons.
25. Refers also to Piscator and Tarnovius.
26. An Exact Collection or Catalogue of our English Writers on the Old and New Testament, Either in Whole or a Part: Whether Commentators Elucidators Adnotators or Expositors, At large or in Single Sermons. Interleaved: additions after 1700.
27. Lexicon Heptaglotton.
28. MS Sl. 3385 Paxton's Notes.
29. See Gram. Heb. Paris MDCCXVI. Gram. Heb. a punctis libera. Cap. XXVII.
30. Simon Ockley Introd. ad Ling. Orient. Cantab. 1706
31. ~~xx&wx~~ P. Freher, Theat. Vir. Erud. Clar. 1688.
32. J.C. Wolf Bib. Heb.

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## HEBREW & EASTERN STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

No one may dare underestimate the influence of Tutors and minor teachers in the <sup>English</sup> Universities in the teaching of the Eastern languages, and it seems from some evidence that these men were ultimately responsible for the greater part of the equipment of students, even in the times of the most eminent Hebraic<sup>ists</sup>ians who graced the Chairs and the Age with their learning. The attendance of students at public lectures (where it may be examined) need not reveal any strict evidence of the popularity or unpopularity of Hebrew studies. But the large body of students attended courses in order to satisfy the tests for the Church, with which slight equipment they left the University.

Outside the Universities there was always a number of private students, at first almost entirely interested in matters of doctrine, who read assiduously in what came to be regarded as University study. A great number also of students went abroad for one reason or another and acquired an equipment in the Eastern Languages which caused some aspersions normally to be thrown at the studies in their own country

Under Livelie at Cambridge<sup>!</sup> in 1564, nearly two hundred students attended lectures, largely (no doubt) compulsory: four from Peterhouse, nine from Clare, nine from Pembroke Hall, six from Gonville & Caius, seven from

six from Gonville & Caius, seven from Corpus Christi, twenty four from King's, twelve from Queens, seven from St Catherine's, thirteen from Jesus, eight from Christ's, thirty two from St John's, three from Madgalen, sixtytwo from Trinity. In 1581, the decline in numbers is to thirty one, six from Trinity, two from St John's, four from King's, two from Queens, three from Peterhouse, two from Christ's, three from Pembroke, five from St Clare, one from Govnille & Caius, one from Corpus Christi, and two from Magdalen<sup>e</sup>. In 1589 the statutes took it for granted that the Hebrew lectures were attended by all Masters of Arts, but presumably few of them took the trouble to do so.

University practice in the sixteenth century caused graduates to study Theology and Hebrew together. To candidates for the Church, the attendance at Hebrew lectures might be excused if the student was known to <sup>been</sup> have or to be, privately pursuing such studies. In these circumstances much of the Eastern scholarship amongst the students of the Universities was post-graduate, and in many other (possibly the greater number) of instances, the result of private work, the fruits of which normally appeared about middle life. To any student, therefore, except such as continued his enthusiasms amongst other and newer interests, school-training in Hebrew suffered from the long vacant period from matriculation to graduation.

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In Scotland, where matters of learning seem to have lagged at least a generation as compared with England, the prime difference from English practice appears to be that the Professors of Eastern studies paid greater attention to actual teaching, not usually possessing the aids common in the English Universities, for the system of regents offers no real parallel either of function ~~or~~ of effectiveness.

Reformers in England and Scotland had grown very hungry for Eastern study, if only in the Hebrew Tongue; some of them acquired the knowledge in their travels abroad or returned home with their books after having so been introduced to the study, to continue and spread it amongst their friends and pupils. In Scotland especially true it is to say, that the awakening of what became a mania for Hebrew was due to the influence of scholars educated abroad. In the same country, the Church began to fear this influence and about the New College which Cardinal Beaton was organising before his death, there was to be in St Andrews a centre from which these influences might be met, and in which careful attention was to be paid both to Theology and to Hebrew. Good judges said<sup>4</sup> it would be of consequence to procure teachers able to instruct in the three languages : that it was highly commendable also to add to these, teachers of Chaldaic and Arabic. Such opinions were, nevertheless,

Such opinions were, nevertheless, ornamental, and it was not indeed until the Reformation that St Andrews became the centre of Eastern studies in Scotland which had been envisaged, and then it was not the bulwark of Roman Catholicism but of the Reformed Kirk.

It is generally said that the Universities of Scotland were engrossed in the Scholastic Philosophy to the complete dismissal of Theology (or at most a nominal study) when the Reformers proposed their scheme for a new model in the First Book of Discipline. Their plan never reached fulfilment, but it arranged for division into three Colleges, the first of which was to be devoted to dialectics, mathematics, natural philosophy and medicine; the second to ethics, economics, politics, and Law, and the third to Greek, Hebrew, and divinity. In 1563 a complaint concerning a defect in teaching in the University, led to a Visitation, through which Buchanan drew up a plan of organisation, in which the third college, that of divinity, was to have a principal only, who was to teach Hebrew and Law. Continued attention to St Andrews through the years 1576, 1578 and 1579 at last resulted in a scheme in which the New College (St Mary's) was given over entirely to Theology and the languages associated with it. Students were to attend for four years, during which one of the teachers was to expound the New Testament by comparing Greek and Syriac versions. This entailed

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This entailed (one imagines) a study of Hebrew and the Old Testament text. No student was to be admitted to the ministry without completing such a course and showing proficiency in these studies. In order to ensure this innovation success, the masters in the New College were discharged and replaced. McCrie is so high in his praise for this plan that he declares that, so far as he knew, "it was the most liberal and enlightened plan so far established in any European university:"the attention paid to the sacred languages, and especially to the Oriental tongues, is entitled to the highest commendation....I would not, however, be understood as intimating that the benefits which actually resulted from this change in the university were proportional to its merits." Action was very partial, both in the system of study and the increase proposed in the number of teachers. The scholar and teacher to whom the responsibility of this scheme is given is claimed to be Andrew Melville, who had already inaugurated a similar system at Glasgow. It is, therefore, largely about the life of Andrew Melville, that the history of Eastern studies revolves so far as the Scottish Universities are concerned.

Melville's life was as momentous as it was important for Scotland. He was educated at Montrose Grammar school and at St Mary's, St Andrews (1539).

Leaving St Andrews, Melville visited Paris, where he studied Greek and the Eastern Languages. After a variety of incidents, he became Professor of Humanity at Geneva in 1568. Returning to his native country in 1573 he was appointed to the Principalship of Glasgow University where he inaugurated a comprehensive range of studies, innovations sanctioned in 1577 by Royal Charter. The Second Book of Discipline, which definitely moulded the Reformed Church in Presbyterianism, found the agent of its theory in him and his party. University matters continued to occupy him, and he had a large part in the reconstruction of Aberdeen in 1575, and St Andrews, 1579, of which University he became head in St Mary's College in 1580. In the later events which led to his attainment for treason, Melville escaped to England, where he was well received by the Universities. He was able to return to Scotland in 1585, and in 1590 became Rector of St Andrews from which office, however, he was displaced nine years later, although he was made dean of the Faculty of Theology. His antianglicanism eventually brought him to the Tower in 1607, from which he was released through the offices of Henri de la Tour, duc de Bouillon, who took him to Sedan (where he died) to take the Chair of Theology.

With regard to Melville's work in Scotland, in establishing Hebrew and Oriental studies, the following facts are pertinent.

When Melville attended at the University in Paris, two eminent orientalist, Mercerus and Quinquaboreus, were conjoint Regius Professors of Hebrew and Chaldaic. Cinq Arbres was not without some reputation in the teaching of grammar, while Mercer was regarded as having contributed more to the advancement of Eastern studies than any man of his time. It appears that Melville also attended the lectures of Joannes Salignacus, pupil of Vtablus and a distinguished rabbinical scholar. When Melville decided to leave France after the siege of Poictiers, he set out for Geneva with his small Hebrew Bible slung at his belt.

While Professor at Geneva, Melville attended the lectures of his colleagues, and "it was<sup>9</sup> at this period that he made that progress in oriental literature for which he was afterwards distinguished". Rodolph Chevalier had just left the University and had been succeed by Cornelius Bertram, reputed to be Chevalier's superior in erudition. It is said that from Bertram Melville acquired his knowledge of Syriac which had only recently become an established study in Europe. It ought to be noted here that Antoine Rodolph Chevalier was earlier tutor in French to Queen Elizabeth , and in 1569 was Hebrew professor at Cambridge.

At Glasgow, Melville introduced advanced students only to the Eastern Languages. His ~~nephew~~ describes

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His nephew describes<sup>10</sup> how he taught Hebrew, at first rapidly and in a general manner, going over the elementary points in Martinius's Grammar, and after, making a more exact examination. To this he added exercises on the Psalter and the Books of Solomon. Having achieved so much, he turned from Hebrew to Chaldaic and Syriac, studying with his students the pertinent parts of Ezra and Daniel in Chaldaic, and the Syriac version of the Epistle to the Galatians.

Later on in his management of Glasgow, Melville confined his whole teaching to Theology and the Biblical Tongues, and it was only about the time when he left Glasgow that a separate teacher of Hebrew was appointed. During Melville's Principalship, Glasgow became the centre of Theological studies in Scotland, and was regarded by Scotsmen as being incomparable in Europe.

At St Andrews the same qualities of teaching were universally acknowledged by Melville's own enemies. His course extended to four or five years, wherein he is said to have taught learnedly and efficiently the knowledge and practice of Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Rabbinics.

In England Melville had learned friends, as George Carleton (afterwards Bishop of Chichester) and Thomas Saville, whose great erudition and premature death roused European regret.

James Melville, Andrew Melville's nephew and pupil, was appointed to the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in St Mary's at St Andrews in 1580, and carefully (as in most things) and faithfully continued his uncle's work. On his ~~retiral~~<sup>retire</sup> to Anstruther, his cousin, Patrick Melville, succeeded him, having held a like position at Glasgow. A similar history, but in a less degree, with regard to the Eastern languages in Scotland, centres about another Scottish family, <sup>the Rows</sup> beginning also with the activities of a Reformer, in the Rows, associated with Perth.

Aberdeen University, whether by reason of its geographical position or not, seems never to have attracted a great number of students despite the many men of marked merit who taught in it. About 1578, nevertheless, Aberdeen was involved in the changes which had been initiated at Glasgow and St Andrews. But a considerable period elapsed before the opposition and the evasions which the plan provoked could be overcome. The proposed alteration involved the Principal of the University introducing his students to the Holy Tongue, besides teaching Theology, while the subprincipal concentrated what energies remained to him after physiology, natural history, geography, astrology, general cosmology, and "the reckoning of time", to the actual rudiments of Hebrew in preparation. There were assistants.

By 1581 the respect into which the Holy Tongues had risen in Scotland<sup>13</sup> was so high that one of the counts in the indictment of Montgomery, Archbishop of Glasgow in that year, was "that, so farre as he could, he travellit to bring the original languages, Greek and Hebrew, into contempt." Archbishop Adamson of St Andrews, also, sought to debase the authority of these newly risen tongues. Without doubt these men had simply brought up the Catholic argument in the normal manner, but the viewpoint of their accusers had taken this definite orientation with regard to the **sacred** "sacred tongues".

To revert to some points of interest in the details of this Scottish phase, the ideals of teaching set up as a result of the Earl of Morton's Visitation of St Andrews (dated April 16 1574) ought to have been noted. In the New College it was thenceforward expected that a master should read four lessons weekly on the Hebrew language, namely on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, each lesson to be of an hour duration, from eight oclock til nine each morning. The students (as has been previously mentioned) were those who also took classes in Divinity.<sup>15</sup> Meantime in 1574 the General Assembly was still content to have its ministers skilled in Latin so that they might be able to peruse the necessary Biblical commentaries, and even from that requirement, dispensation might be granted.<sup>16</sup>

The Act of Parliament which set up the new regime at St Andrews in 1579<sup>7</sup>, outlined the courses in detail.

ffirst we ordane the new college for the studie of theologie allanerlie In the qlk five maisteris daylie teacheing sall in fo<sup>r</sup> yeirs compleit the haill cours of the new and auld testament and the comoun places in this ordo<sup>r</sup> viz The first lecto<sup>r</sup> in the first sex monethis sall teiche the preceptis of the Ebrew grammer and practize thairof in david salamon & Job. In the uther sex monethes the preceptis of Caldaicque syriacque and use of the samin in daniell Esera the paraphrasis and syriacque new testament. The secund lectoure in the secund yeir and ane half sall interpret out of the ebrew and sensible oppin up the law of moses and the historie of the auld testament Conferring w<sup>t</sup> the paraphrasis Septuagintis and uther lernit versionis q<sup>r</sup> neid beis The third lecto<sup>r</sup> in the last yeir and ane half sall w<sup>t</sup> the like diligence expone the prophettis greit and small The fourt lecto<sup>r</sup> sall teiche the new testament out of the greik tounge during the haill cours conferring w<sup>t</sup> the syriacque The fyft lecto<sup>r</sup> sall reid the commoun places during the haill cours Swa that the studentis of theologie heiring daylie thrie lessonis the space of foure yeiris sall w<sup>t</sup> mean diligence becum perfite theologians To this end than salbe daylie repitionis Anys in the oulk publict disputationis Everie moneth declamationis Thrie solemne examinationis in the cours The first in the end of the first yeir in the toungeis And sa fer as they have hard of the commoun places & new testament The secund examinatioun efter the secund yeir and ane half in the law historie and sanekle as salbe red of the commoun places and new testament and the third examinatioun in the end of the cours in all the toungeis in the haill bible and commoun places. Thir thrie solemne examinationis salbegyne the tent day of september q<sup>r</sup> in everie lernit man salbe frie to dispute And becaus their is greit raritie at this present of men lernit in the knowlege of the toungeis and uther thingis neidfull for sic professors we have thairfoir electit certane of the maist qualifyt personis knawin to ws as the saidis five maisteris for teaching of the courd of theologie in the ordor befoir w<sup>t</sup>tin the said new college.

The increased expectation, therefore, witnessed in the short space of four or five years is extraordinary.

It is not surprising to find it being expressed in government circles in 1583<sup>16</sup> that the plans for the rising theologians were auspicious, although the tendency for graduates to leave their native country is deplored at the same time.

In our colleges here there is no small number of youth well trained up in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and all parts of philosophy. But being once pastmasters in the art, there is no means to entertain those who have dedicated themselves to serve God in His Church, such is our misery and confusion, whereby the greatest part, by extreme necessity, are driven to France, and there "mak shipp wraik of conscience and religion".

The time was to come, indeed, when Scotland would cry out for greater and greater numbers of ministers, and take steps to prevent those with skill in the Eastern tongues from taking teaching posts in her Universities.

In 1588 the New College at St Andrews was visited by a Royal Commission, which reported that a lesson on the Psalms in Hebrew was taught every day from five till six in the morning, while each day also the Hebrew Grammar was taught and the Prophets in Hebrew. In 1599<sup>19</sup> Parliament laid down once more certain specific regulations for the theological course at St Andrews.

The first year the intrants salbe teicht be m<sup>r</sup> patrik melvill the holie language w<sup>t</sup> the pratize thairof in sum of the poetickall buikis And be m<sup>r</sup> Johnne Johnestoun ane fourt part of the new testament and be m<sup>r</sup> andro melvill ane fourt part of the commoun places viz de deo creatore The second year thay salbe teachit be m<sup>r</sup> andro melvill ane uther fourt

salbe teachit be m<sup>r</sup> andro melvill ane uther  
 fourt part of the commoun places viz de deo  
 redemptore Togidder w<sup>t</sup> the third part of the  
 historie of the auld testament and be m<sup>r</sup> Johnne  
 Johnestoun ane uther fourt part of the new test-  
 ament And be m<sup>r</sup> patrik melvill ane third part of  
 the propheittis w<sup>t</sup> the tua buikis of Salomon The  
 thrid yeir of the sourse they salbe teachit be  
 maister andro melvill ane uther fourt part of  
 the commoun places viz de deo Sanctificatore.  
 Togidder w<sup>t</sup> ane uther thrid part of the historie  
 of the bybell And be m<sup>r</sup> Johne Johnestoun ane  
 uther fourt part of the new testament and be  
 maister patrik melvill ane uther thrid part of  
 the prophettis . The last yeir thay salbe teachit  
 be m<sup>r</sup> andro melvill the last fourt part of the  
 commoun places viz de ecclesia Togidder w<sup>t</sup> the  
 last thrid part of the historie of the auld  
 testament and be m<sup>r</sup> Johne Johnestoun the last  
 fourt part of the new testament and be m<sup>r</sup> patrik  
 melvill the last thrid part of the propheittis  
 Sa that m<sup>r</sup> andro melvill sall haif for his audit-  
 ouris of the commoun places yeirlie the haill  
 schollaris and for the auditouris of the historically  
 buikis the schollaris that hes past thair first  
 yeir M<sup>r</sup> Johne Johnestoun salhaif for his auditouris  
 of the new testament yeirlie the haill schollaris  
 and m<sup>r</sup> patrik melvill for his auditouris of the  
 languages the intrants yeirlie and for his audit-  
 ouris of the propheticall buikis sic as hes past  
 the first yer ...

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It is observed by Mc Crie that for at least fourteen  
 years after the popularising of Hebrew studies by Row,  
 the Reformer, there had not been a single professor  
 in the Scottish Universities who could teach its  
 alphabet. Whatever exaggeration there may be in this  
 assertion, it is true that, in contrast, about the year  
 1600 the Hebrew language was being adequately taught in  
 each of the Universities " along with the cognate tongues  
 which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland".  
 About this time therefore the Book of Discipline demanded

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Book of Discipline demanded that theological students should be proficient in Hebrew before they entered upon their divinity course.

"That none be admitted into the class of divinity but he shall have sufficient testimonials of his time well spent in dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, moral philosophy, and the Hebrew tongue, and of his docility in moral philosophy and Hebrew".

Although this enactment reflects more the ideals of the Reformers, it also hints that those Arts graduates who were about to enter Theological classes, had to learn Hebrew as a preliminary. It would seem, therefore, that here is the beginning of that tradition of Introductory Hebrew Classes which most students continue to take in Scottish Universities as they are completing their M.A. course. Meanwhile at least Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac were studied by all students. The difficulty was to remain in general, however, to persuade the bulk of students to continue their studies, and many cases where students complain of their lack of adequate instruction in Hebrew in the next generation ought to have laid their complaint rather upon the preliminary nature of their studies than upon their teachers. In spite of all things, Hebrew tended to remain the mere qualification to enter classes in theology. The results, therefore, in Scotland as well as in England were similar. It fell finally to the Presbyteries to decide on the fitness of a Pastor, and

and by 1602 the General Assembly had to lay down the necessity for examination: but even in this notice there is a strange circumscribing of the details of an interview.

#### The particular tryall of Pastours

...Thereafter, if neid beis, let him be tryed be the opening up of some place of Scripture, and be questiouns; let it be inquiryt of him, quhat helps he hes for the advancement of his studies; if he hes the text of the Scripture in the originall languages, in case he be sein in the tongues; if he hes Tremellius translatioun of the Auld Testament, and Bezas of the New, with the vulgar Inglis translatioun; if he hes Common Places; if he hes the Ecclesiasticall Historie; quhat Commentaries he hes upin the Scriptures, and speciallie upon his ordinar text; if he hes Acts of the Counsell of Trent; and quhat uther wryters of the controversies of religioun..... etc.etc.

One might remember at this point the words of Hugh Broughton in another context about the same period,

....I shewed them, how the uncorruptnesse of the sacred Original could not be known by the course in which our University men busie themselves, unlesse thereto was joyned perfect knowledge of ~~the~~ Thalmudical matters

Such study at least could not be carried on by any man not expert in the sacred texts, a philologist and a philological critic.

Nevertheless about the second decade of the seventeenth century, individual scholars of note in Hebrew were appearing. Patrick Simpson acquired the language in his old age, and his brother William Symson<sup>24</sup> is reputed to have published the first work on Hebrew in Scotland. And it was now that the troubles

of the times combined with the misery and hardship to interrupt what seemed to be a growing enthusiasm. In 1638, therefore, the General Assembly was ready to pass an article which insisted upon an examination of pastors by the Presbyteries in their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>21</sup> But the shortage of ministers and the small number of really well equipped teachers began to force upon the Universities the practice of importing their professors.<sup>22</sup>

In 1642, the General Assembly<sup>23</sup> once more revised its requirements from University students in theology<sup>24</sup> some measure of knowledge, not only in the Greeke but Hebrew tongue...

In their first years, students were to be educated in Latin and Greek until June: thereafter

The remanent tyme of that yeare, after the tenth of Junij, to be spent in learning the elements of the Hebrew toung, that at least they may be able to read, and the elements of Arithmetick, the foure species at least. That these necessary studies be not neglected, it is ordained that they be examined, not only in the knowledge of the Greek, but also in there reading of the Hebrew and beginning of Arithmetick.

This not only indicated some slackness in the study, but the leaning of the Assembly to subordinate it in the first year as an introductory study. In the Divinity School at New College, the number of professors was short, but it was proposed to have one to teach the Old Testament, except for Job, Psalms, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, while another should teach these parts and

and the Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac tongues. But there were two professors only to do the work of four. The introduction to Hebrew, therefore, was bound to be the more practical course. The Assembly had therefore to encourage both its Professors and its students by the provision of bursaries,<sup>29</sup> a course which actually did tend to raise the standard of study and scholarship.

That Hebrew studies should be subordinate to theological studies, necessitated the formation of some form of course which while serving this end would also be reputable in other ways. As before, the trend was to model courses on foreign models, but for the sake of the theology, Robert Baillie sought information about models which had received approbation from religious bodies of authority. He accordingly wrote on August 23, 1648, while professor of divinity at Glasgow (he having himself been episcopally ordained) to his friend Spang, in the following strain:<sup>30</sup>

I find that twenty years ago, the professors of Leyden, with the consent of the Synods of Holland, have agreed on a course, to be taught both in grammar schools and colleges, which the magistrate has commanded to be every where but one. I pray you try at Apollonius, or the schoolmaster of Middleburgh, or some other, if it be so, and what the course is, which you will set down, and send over here to me in your first letter.

In ten years time, Baillie, who had to learn with his students, established a course that deserved greater fame than it now has. In a letter to Gisbertus Voetius in 1654, which he enclosed with a copy of his Praxis ,

he betrays his interest in the work of Golius as well as of Buxtorf, in Arabic, Chaldaeo-syriac, and Rabbinics. With his intent upon teaching, he continually chafed at the cumbersome and erudite treatises that continued to appear as the Oriental field expanded, and cried out always for praxes. He appears himself to have been anxious to acquire new learning mainly in order to attempt its dissemination through this medium, if only typographical difficulties could be overcome. To Baillie Voetius wrote a long letter<sup>53</sup> from Antwerp, referring to their mutual friend, William Spang, outlining a plan of study, descriptive of his own practice, which might be suitable for Baillie's students. Its comprehension is remarkable, and could only have remained an ideal for Scottish teaching. Students were to be kept reading and re-reading the Bible, making use of Buxtorf's Eptomen Radicum and the Thesaurus Grammaticus. There were six, or rather seven, topics of study: Rabbinics, Talmudics, Chaldaic, Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic.

With regard to rabbinical study, Leusden was shortly to issue the text of Jonas with rabbinical commentary, with Latin translation, grammatical analysis and notes, which with the Buxtorf Rabbinical Lexicon, would make a useful course. In the matter of Talmudical study, there was already on the market the Amsterdam edition of the Mishna, pointed and with Latin interlinear and marginal interpretation

*W. Voetius, Epistola ad Baillieum de studio Hebraico, Antwerp, 1697.*

Mishna, pointed, and with Latin interlinear and marginal interpretation, as well as excerpts from other tractates with grammatical analysis and notes. Ita via patebit doctrinae Talmudicae studiosis ad totum Talmud, auxiliante Lexico Rabbinico Buxtorfii nunquam satis laudando.

The advice with regard to Chaldaic was to ground study upon the works of Buxtorf ,the Chaldaic and Syriac Grammar, with the appended exercises, and if need be ,to add to it by using (a collegio nostro edendis) the Chaldaic paraphrase of Jonas,with Latin version,grammatical analysis and notes. The Rabbinical lexicon of the elder Buxtorf and the Syro-Chaldaic lexicon of the younger Buxtorf were the props here for the learner. Nisselius had provided in his teaching, and was now collaborating further with Voetius,aids for the study of Samaritan, in a series of extracts from the Paris Bible with translation and notes. As for Syriac,there was Buxtorf's Grammar and its exercises,except for its deficiency in the matter of type, a matter recently rectified by Dilcherus,whose Eclogarum Syriacarum comprised a grammar,exercises, vocabulary,all in Syriac characters. For Lexicons there were the younger Buxtorf's and Grinssius' work, both of which however were restricted as to matter,but the appearance of the texts in the Paris Bible was leading to an augmentation. The Grammar and appended exercises in Arabic by Erpenius is recommended for that study.The students were to

The students were to proceed from the grammar to the Epistles of John, James and Juda, in pointed Arabic, with a Latin version by Nisellius. Thence they were to take up other sacred or profane books as might be at hand, making use of Golius' Arabic Lexicon. Aethiopic study, since the dialect was built out of Chaldaic and Arabic, might be taught without much difficulty, and even to those unlearned in the two languages. Voetius himself used the Ethiopic Psalter, with the Greek, Hebrew and Latin versions published by Potkens at Cologne. But lately Nisselius had published the Epistles of James, John and Juda, in Aethiopic with Latin version, and the Epistles of Peter were to follow.. There were two Grammars from the presses at Rome, that of Ernest Joh. Gerard, Grammatica Harmonica, comprising the study of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and the Ethiopic Lexicon of Wemmers, difficult, however, to obtain this side of the Alps. It was a fact that Ethiopic texts, not only a Bible, were difficult of access, even if they existed: but there were missals and liturgies.

How welcome at such a time would Castell's Lexicon have been to such students, and how welcome, indeed, did Walton's cheap and corrected print of the Paris Bible actually appear. On the wave of such an enthusiasm, had it continued in Britain till 1669, Castell would have risen to be a renowned and a rich man. But other tongues, (wrote Voetius to his friend,) were not so necessary to a theological student. It is a touching comment on

comment upon Eastern studies in England as well as in Scotland, even when Voetius says,

Fuerunt viri docti, qui alias quasdam linguas orientales Hebraicae filias, aut propagine, aut dialectos statuerunt, sed imperite, cum omnes sint linguae peculiare. Propter Hebraicam ergo, aut cum respectu ad eam et ad philologiam sacram, tales a theologis conferri haud opus. Inter eas tres sunt, quae caractere Arabico utuntur, Persica, Turcica, Malacica, quod forte viros doctos in errorem duxit. Duae, ut vocabulis, sic etiam caractere ab Hebraica reliquisque ejus dialectis distinctissimae sunt, Armenica scilicet, et antiqua Coptica, seu Aegyptiaca.

To which he adds,

Has quinque orientales si quis ex abundantia a limine salutaverit, operam non luserit; sed non puto operae pretium facturum quonquam theologorum, si in penetralia earum se immiserit, antequam rariores at praestantiores scriptores viderit ad scopum aliqua ratione facientes.

In these strange tongues, the most he expected from a theology student was to be able to read, and be able to distinguish in grammar, and so forth, their differences from the Hebrew Harmony.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Baillie showed extreme interest in Walton and the Polyglott Bible.

I am much in love with that man's labour..  
...That which I would desire of him is the printing of an Arabic and Samaritan Praxis. The Samaritan he promises, by that man who oversees the Samaritan Pentateuch; and I pray you what man is that?..... (Dr Walton) could easily give us a Letter grammar of the Arabick, and a full Praxis; also of the Samaritane: for Chaldee and Syriack we want not helps.

In the midst of this, the divine in Baillie persisted above the philologist:

But the great thing we need is a Course of philosophie.

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But the great thing we need is a Course  
of philosophie.

Lawrence Charteris, professor of divinity in Edinburgh  
from 1675 to 1681, once opened up his mind<sup>36</sup> to a  
friend regarding University students.

Talking once with him of y<sup>e</sup> small progress,  
that young men in the universities make in their  
studies, he said, he thought it a great defect in  
the Masters, that they do not hold out to these  
Schollars the usefullness of every part of learning,  
and how these things may fit them for better and  
greater, for he observed many pious youths neglect  
the study of the languages and philosophy because  
they could not see, for what end they should learn  
them.

It was rather a pedantic conversation, but bore somewhat  
on the topic proposed. Charteris looked to a philosophical  
training to clear up disputes towards which he had  
nothing but contempt. He averred, nevertheless, that  
he thought the best way to obtain knowledge of  
theology, apart from being able to understand the  
terms, was

by comparing exactly the divers places  
of scriptures, y<sup>t</sup> the word was to be found in,  
in the original language, weighing and examining  
the context.

So it might seem that these things were no longer  
being adequately done in his time, but that divinity  
students in Scotland were content to leave their  
difficulties in the hands of the recognised authorities,  
and to regard their training as mere qualification  
on paper to attain the ministry, which with its  
practical problems was enough to absorb them.

By 1685 there is evidence to support the assertion<sup>37</sup> that " a knowledge of Hebrew was not a necessary condition of obtaining license", and the case is cited of John Pierson, admitted on September 2, 1685 at Dunkeld, "who was altogether unacquainted with the language".

"When he was examined in the languages,<sup>38</sup> he stated that he was ignorant of the Hebrew. The Presbytery approved him "in all they heard"<sup>39</sup>.

Pierson was three years at St Leonards and had been appointed the Presbytery's bursar in 1682. In a similar manner, on February 16, 1693 the Presbytery of Perth and Dunkeld, sustained the call to Comrie of John McKercher,<sup>40</sup>

"with this declaratiōne, that he not understanding the Hebrew Language, they dispense therewith for the tyme, butt resolves not to doe so hereafter, recommending it to him to studie the Hebrew tongue cearfullie".

Indeed there was something weak about the status of Hebrew amongst the clergy, and some of the blame, if blame there be, must be borne by the Universities, which were tending now towards their most degraded condition.

At his laureation, Thomas Boston<sup>41</sup>, 1694, had " a competent understanding of the logics, metaphysics, ethics, and general physics", and thereafter entered on his theological course, at Edinburgh.

"I was also for a while, at that time, I suppose, with Mr Alexander Rule professor of Hebrew; but remember no remarkable advantages I had thereby".

It was his need to clarify his teaching with the inspiration of the original texts that led Boston, licensed and

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licensed and a minister at Simprin, to turn to the study of Hebrew and Greek. It was not until 1710, however, that he acquired a Hebrew Bible, the second edition of Athias:

"Thus provided, I plied the Hebrew original close, with great delight; and all along since it hath continued to be my darling study."

It is therefore with some doubts that one ought to regard the Act of the General Assembly of 1690, which proclaimed how necessary it was

that they who declare the Oracles of God to others, should themselves understand them in the Original Languages

and which required

that none be licensed to Preach, or ordained to the Ministry unless they give good Proof of their understanding the Greek and Hebrew: And the General Assembly recommendeth to all Candidates for the Ministry, to study also the other Oriental Languages, especially the Chaldaic, & Syriac, so far as they can.

But although, in a natural and perfectly understandable way, the studies of the Eastern Tongues lost their former savour, there always were some students who became proficient in them, and local bodies continued to try and encourage such young men, as for example, ~~to~~ George Gordon, at the Carrington Kirk Session on October 14, 1694, who, designated as a "student of the Oriental Languages" received £3.10.0 out of the Casualties of the Poor, and indeed, it was a custom of the Assembly itself to grant bursaries from lands

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from lands and benefices in the district to which students belonged on their reversion, and this not confined to divinity, but also extended to Arts, Law and Medicine.

Hebrew in Scotland, perhaps on account of the national tradition of respect for learning, re-assumed a respectable place in University study, and so continues; but it remains largely the study of theological students, and indeed in England also: and for a large part, the student who is asked to acquire the rudiments of the tongue, like his predecessors, "forgets his tests".

The history of Hebrew studies in England is better known than that in Scotland, and has therefore been given cursory treatment in comparison. On the whole, however, current accounts are concerned with the list of eminent scholars who held Chairs and teaching posts in the Universities, other materials being scant, and the bulk of biographical material (although containing a fair number of prodigies of learning) tending to show that the theological student in the seventeenth century did not profit to an extraordinary extent from his university curriculum.

Some idea of the University course in England, apart from formal lectures upon set topics, may be

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may be obtained from one of the odds and ends of manuscripts of the seventeenth century which occur in the British Museum collection.<sup>43</sup>

From this manuscript it appears that we have the notes taken down by a student in class during a course of Hebrew study about 1678.<sup>44</sup> It may be inferred from its contents that the class studied mainly the Book of Genesis, and upon it based their introduction to the subject.

The students also were capable in Latin and Greek, and found no difficulty in taking down in Hebrew characters the words which they were to examine: their English notes conclude the evidence that they were adult and already trained students.

The notes were taken in English with care and correctness so that the teaching in the elements of the subject was done tutorially. A Hebrew text was used with Latin translation, the interlinear one of Arias Montanus, and the lessons came to consist of a number of notes upon this particular text and translation, whereby, through a sort of analysis of the text, the difficulties and the introduction to Hebrew were simultaneously examined. The analysis comprehended references to the opinions of the authoritative lexicographers, and comprised references to other instances and occurrences in other parts of scripture.

The notes reveal that study proceeded by a series of questions raised by the tutor, with replies based on his experience and upon the authorities he consulted, to which he added appropriate notes and observations, the range of his references, although largely confined to Genesis, extends to Exodus, Proverbs and the Psalms.

The lessons begin with the difficulties in reading and pronunciation and the anomalous occurrences of forms in various lexicons or in the same lexicon, the explanation of which tends to clear up the subject of pronunciation, bring in such topics as the quiescent letters, the long and short vowels, dages and other of the pons asinorum variety of beginners' desiderata. In this way the whole question of reading is treated, with many examples and valuable dictionary references. The student then proceeds to the derivation of words, in this manner,

Words are derived from other words 3  
manner of ways: either 1<sup>o</sup> by changeing  
of the vowel .... 2<sup>o</sup> by the addition of  
some of the Hemantic letters to the Theme  
or Roote ... 3<sup>o</sup> by taking away some of the  
Rad: letters...

With many examples the lesson goes on taking in on its way the complete topic, proceeding to the verb, and gradually increasing the number of notes upon words. Discussion soon arises concerning the translation of passages and the manner and method

method of Arias Montanus compared with other renderings, as for example,

N. Arias Montanus does not always give the literal or metaphrastic translation of the word, but sometimes the paraphrastic as appears in the word ...

Other notes are as follows; "Minde the manner of the Hebrue way of speaking in the words following": "N. modum loquendi": "observ the following Hebraism w<sup>ch</sup> is hard to be understood without being full well acquainted with the mode of speech amongst the Jews". The lessons end in a series of philological and informative notes, the rather lengthy form of the students note-taking speedily diminishing, until the barest lists serve his purpose.

In these outlines one must admire the skilful and valuable method of introduction and the natural manner in which the course shapes intself into observations upon the sc<sup>r</sup>ipture texts.

Note.

For some additional light upon courses in Oriental Tongues in Scotland (Edinburgh) see my article on J.C. Otto in the University of Edinburgh Journal Autumn 1931.

Notes The Universities.

1. G.C. Moore Smith: MS Lands, 20 no. 77. f.200
2. Ibid. MS Lands. 33 no. 43 f. 84.
3. Ibid. MS Lands. 57 no. 92 f. 212. See Leach, Stat. of Col. of Oxf. Vol. i.
4. M'Crie Life of Melville. ref. f.lix Arch. Hay "De Foelici accessione dignitatis Cardinalitiae..1540": see the Hebrew motto referred to.
5. M'Crie, Life of Melville .
6. Ibid. pp.58-64.
- 7 See "James Melville's Diary" & D.N.B. etc. 1545-1622.
8. M'Crie, cit.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid. reference to Adamson's Life.
12. M'Crie , cit.
13. Ibid.
14. Refs. in M'Crie cit.: Flor. Archiep. MS Bbb.Jurid.Edn. M. 6.9. Num.47. p.133 vol.1.
15. University Commissions of Scotland.
16. Ban.Clb. B.U.K. 1574 Sess. 7.
17. Act. Parl. Jac. VII. AD 1579 c. 62 III
18. Cal.St.Pap.Scot. Vol. vi. p. 635. No. 671 Oct.13,1583. Thomas Smeton to Walsingham.
19. Act.Parl.Jac VI. AD 1599.
20. M'Crie 's Melville, cit.
21. Book of Discipline, ed. Elgar "The Ideals of the Reformers".
22. Maitland Club B.U.K.S. 1602 Sess.5. Nov. 13.
23. Broughton's Works, ed Lightfoot. Cap. ix. "Miscellanea of a course for the study of Theogy".
24. 1556-1618. See M'Crie's' ref. to MS Bib. Jurd. Ed.
25. Died. 1620. Ref. Sibbald, De Script. Scot. p. 7 by M'Crie: "Gul. Simpsonus edidit breves et perspicuas Regulas de Accentibus Hebraicis, 12o. Lond. 1617". M'Crie had not seen the book: nobody appears ever to have seen it.
26. Act.Sess. 23. 24. Dec. 17,18. 1638. Art. 23.
27. E.g. Otto at Edinburgh (see Un.of Ed.Jol. Autumn 1932, article on Otto by me): Amideho later. About the times of the civil strife.
28. Comm. apptd. by Gen. Assemb. 1642-9: Aug. 9, 1642: St Andrews. The italics are mine.
29. See Gen.Assemb. 1645 Feb. 13. sess.ult.: 1647 Sess. xxvii etc.etc.
30. Baillie's Journal ed Laing. To Spang.
31. Ibid. Sept. 1654 from Glasgow.
32. Praxis ad Epit. J. B.
33. Laing. cit. MDCLV Id. Apr.
34. Journal. cit. 1655 Dec. 31. Aug. 27, 1656.
35. Aug. 27. 1656. "the man", was Castellii: Lightfoot translated it

36. Ed. University MS 97. "Notes incorporated in "Lectures on Psalm 119 by Lawrence Charteris, S.T.P. Edinr". circa 1675.
37. J. Hunter "The Diocese & Presbytery of Dunkeld", vol. II. Licence and Ordinations.
38. See supra p. 289 note 2. Hunter also cites case of J. Leslie "ignorant of the Hebrew", recommended by the Prebytery for licence to the Bp. of Aberdeen. (Records 78) 1667 and 1671 the Bp. and Synod required Greek and Hebrew from the candidates. (103.107)
39. 1679-1732 .See Memoirs.
40. Art. xxii. See also for 1696: sess. 18. Jan. 4. There is some doubt in various notices about the date.
41. Records Vol. II.
42. B.U.K.S. Maitland Clb. cit.
43. MS Sloane 3385: recipes and notes: marked as Richard Paxton's book, 1678: also claimed by several Ridley's  
 Contains the following verses:  
 Richard Paxton his booke  
 god give him grace on it ti looke  
 and when he dead the bells shall knowle  
 god save his body and his Soule.
44. The book may have originated from none of these: and may be th tutor's own notes. The book is dated thus:  
 Richard Paxton 1678  
 Richard Paxton Grantham.

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ORIENTAL TONGUES AS AN ITEM IN  
SCHOOL EDUCATION.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in England continued to favour Latin and Greek as the basic subjects of school education, and thereafter admitted the Mother Tongue. The agitation for a completer and basic education in English began in the Seventeenth Century, but only bore a little fruit in that time and afterwards, until the contemporary era, when Comenius, cultivated by advanced educationalists of the Seventeenth Century, was rediscovered. But it was also argued that a young man (if not a young woman) ought to know the original tongues of the Bible, on which account the study of Hebrew was admitted into the curricula of some of the foremost schools. With the increasing attention to English itself, it was proposed also that Hebrew should be learned through the Mother Tongue. In some respects the Holy Language was visualised as displacing the Latin and Greek upon which education was based.

The history of Hebrew as a school subject, has been studied by A.F. Leach<sup>1</sup> and Foster Watson<sup>2</sup>, in the most exhaustive and authoritative manner. Both Brinsley<sup>3</sup> and Hoole<sup>4</sup>, one at the beginning and the other in the middle of the seventeenth century, considered that Hebrew was fit and proper for school teaching, representing the body of opinion which opposed

opposed the contention that the Eastern Tongues were proper only to University studies. To Brinsley, Hebrew was the "mother of all languages"; the literature was already familiar, the difficulties few, and the subject sacred and essential. The upshot of these enthusiasms was that some students came to the Universities "not unacquainted with Hebrew". It cannot be sufficiently stressed, however, that Foster Watson's generalisation stands good:

"Up to the end of the Commonwealth, the Grammar Schools of England may be regarded as apparently exclusively Classical in the material of instruction, with the exception, that under medieval Catholicism, and afterwards under sixteenth and seventeenth century Puritanism, they were in intention and largely in practice, permeated with moral, religious, and pietistic instruction".

But there was, indubitably, an intention in some places that the moral, religious and pietistic instruction, should have the Bible in its original tongues as its basis. And after the end of the Commonwealth, the study of Hebrew in schools declined and at length disappeared. The religious tendency in education, therefore, slightly (sometimes effectively) displaced the importance of the renaissance Latin and Greek, by associating them with Hebrew under the title of the "Holy Tongues", and by focussing them upon the Bible.

Early Statutes of Grammar Schools in England, at least in four well testified instances, <sup>7</sup> tended to demand the teaching of some Hebrew, occasionally some

occasionally some Chaldaic and Syriac, and so forth, to the boys of the upper forms. It is also held that the elementary schools, where they persisted, undertook to instruct in the Hebrew alphabet as well as in the Latin and Greek alphabets. The method of exposition in schools is taken to be generally akin to that employed and recommended by Charles Hoole.

Although it is certain that in some private seminars and in some families, the younger members mouthed Hebrew before they could well speak their native language, it is generally agreed that Hoole's method was largely accepted, by teachers in his own day and after him. His system of education began with English, upon which was based Latin: in its turn the Latin bore up Greek, which again became the basis for Hebrew. The introduction to Hebrew began in the fifth form, and in Hoole's estimation, it was the preparation for University studies, a University student being regarded, no doubt, as one entering into the ministry. The Grammar was introduced preferably through Buxtorf's Epitome, and a number of Hebrew roots were learned each day by heart. The parsing and construing of parts of the Pentateuch followed in a regular manner, until the Psalms were taken as the regular basis of practice. The pupils then were to proceed in order through Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job. Further studies were not usual, but in some

in some instances practice in the composition of orations and poems in Hebrew were famous graces of a school; while again some pupils enlarged their knowledge by delving into the mysteries of "Arabick and other Oriental Tongues". To this short account of a well-known system, there may be added the following<sup>10</sup>

The remarks of compilers of textbooks in Hebrew for beginners give some idea of the systems which were generally practised. The earliest and most obvious device was to provide Praxes upon some suitable texts of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, the translations of which in the vernaculars were common knowledge. A Praxis consisted in a careful review of every word and phrase in the text, in its meaning and grammatical and syntactical relations. The principle of transliterating the Hebrew into Latin letters was also an early device, and was soon followed by a general adoption of interlineation, sometimes alone and sometimes along with a vernacular translation, either current or specially adapted to the needs of the detailed praxis. The Lord's Prayer, Verba Decem, and equally well known texts, as well as the simpler extracts from the Bible were also handled in this manner. The departure from the belief that it was right and proper only to study the ancient tongues through the medium of Latin, gave rise to English textbooks,

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English textbooks, which are either translations from the Latin or slightly modified imitations. About the second half of the sixteenth century the textbook for use without a master grows in popularity, although without doubt these were largely used in schools and colleges notwithstanding. The standard textbook however, now tends to bring together vocabulary, grammar and exercises. Students are advised, and no doubt did so under the guidance of their masters, to compare the Hebrew with their Latin versions, finding out the difficulties by a review of the several renderings of the same passage in Holy Writ, and for special words to consult the variety of readings and interpretations in the growing number of Dictionaries concerned with the Eastern Languages. A belief continued to flourish (no doubt on the same grounds which supported Roger Bacon) that an adequate knowledge of Hebrew could be acquired in a few days space, and some books are specially designed to provide for this requirement, which however was contented with an understanding of the elements of the tongue and an ability to use rightly a Lexicon, one of the most popular textbooks of this sort being Schickard's Horologium (London 1639). The rise of mathematical devices for deriving words is another feature of this period as well as the learning of verses in Latin or in English to the same effect.

By 1640 the growing insistence upon the elementary study of Hebrew and the growing number of masters in the tongue gave rise to the principle that mere prejudice and strangeness alone were the obstacles to the easy learning of the tongue. Masters were offering private lessons, not extending beyond eight or not more than two hours each, the student in the intervening time to employ himself in exercises. Hebrew was to be learned first, Chaldaic second, Syriac third, and Arabic last. To this end the exercises tend to select in order such passages in the Bible as permit (and so far as the Arabic idioms there present) the orderly study of these tongues. It was still the hope of teachers to have the young student handle his Dictionary with accuracy in a week's time! The more "advanced" textbooks continue to direct their emphasis however, more and more on analytical exercises. Meantime in order to facilitate the acquisition of all the Holy Languages, and as an illustration of their peculiar harmony, books of the nature of general grammars begin to be provided for the student. The Praxes, with increasing number of references and comparisons to the judgements and renderings of the best scholars, become the dominant feature of the best and most useful books. Towards 1650 the didactic methods of Comenius begin to appear in this subject, the most notable and best known example being the work of William Robertson, the main institution

the main institution of these being not only the teaching of the Tongues in English but the belief that there was no need whatever for a preliminary Latin culture. Robertson's method was to set out a Hebrew text, and to add a transliteration, a grammatical exposition in English and a translation. Only the main elements of Grammar are required to be learned, exceptions are generally omitted, and an ingenious device of numbering the roots, the grammar and the vocabulary, provides an easy method of reference.

The various problems which had caused many students to founder in their studies, as the mutation of points, accents, and the paradigmes of imperfect verbs, are studiously passed over, a long praxis and a short grammar, providing an attractive setting for the untrained scholar. A Dictionary with a like system of references by numbers completed the innovation.

In the meantime the issue of Walton's Introductio marked the growing diversity of school studies and the studies of serious scholarship.

The school method was now to compare the Hebrew alphabet with the Latin transliteration, and to proceed as quickly as possible to reading with the aid of the transliterations, looking up the words in the Dictionary as the references to them occurred. When the rules of reading were mastered, the student went on to the declensions, conjugations and tenses. At this stage

stage a halt being called, revisions were made.

The next step was to master the method of using the Lexicon, which, if it provided any serious difficulty, was to be abandoned for the exercises and analyses of the praxes, where the student was carefully to compare the occurrences of tenses, numbers and persons in the Kal. Several revisions of these exercises were recommended. The principal difficulty which a schoolmaster found in dealing with his pupils was their stumbling at derivation, the preliminary to finding the root in the Dictionary. Numerous books claiming to dissolve this difficulty were accordingly in the booksellers' shops, and normally contained some sort of accompanying Lexicon. As school studies ~~went on the increase,~~ general university study ~~went on the decrease,~~ complaints now arising concerning the low standard of knowledge amongst professed candidates for orders. It was necessary, therefore, for their benefit, to recapitulate the examinations of such problems as those of the Hebrew Points.

(Cooper's Domus Mosaicae Clavis, 1673). At the end of the seventeenth century, an attempt was made to institute the reading of Hebrew without points, and therefore, schoolbooks were apt to devise artificial schemes which would enable this to be done. The term necessary for the learning of Hebrew, however, is gradually extended from a few days to a few months,

a few months, but the earliest settings of the study of Hebrew into the methods of the modern preliminary studies for older students aiming at a fit equipment for the ministry, still reflect the aims and methods of Robertson's textbooks. The student has still to rush forward heedless of difficulties, waiting until custom made all easy and one thing explained another. But concise paradigmes creep back again and stand beside the transliterations and translations of the past: here also return the tables of accents, as well as the table of roots. In time to come special praxes were to be manufactured, to guide the student gradually through the difficulties of his studies. The final stage of Robertson's influence (which was European so far as school teaching was concerned) was the ironical rendering into Latin for universal use, of his textbooks, so firmly based on the vernacular; although contemporaneously his translator, (Leusden), provided a series of vernacular grammars of his own, in French, Flemish, German, and English. By 1700 or thereabouts, opinion on method of study (represented say by Simon Ockley) is as follows: the first chapter of Genesis, is to be read through rapidly, neglecting anomalies, and then an attempt to complete the whole Pentateuch. There<sup>a</sup>after the student is to go on to the minor ~~Major~~ Prophets, Chronicles, and the Hagiography, in that order. Next the major Prophets are to be read in the

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read in the same manner, and thereafter in turn the more difficult Proverbs and Job. The student is to read without points, to this end writing out chapters daily with and without the vowels. Chaldaic is taken up next. The scheme envisualises a comprehensive study of the ancient tongues and entails references too large and widespread for the ordinary schoolboy, who indeed, by this time is outside the consideration of the teacher of Oriental tongues, textbooks hereafter being entirely directed towards the university student, or the mature linguist.

Note: No references are necessary in the text of the above section on methods of teaching, as the bulk of the material appears supra in the chronological list and analysis of text-books.

The mention of Comenius's name with reference to his influence upon the teaching of Hebrew in Schools, requires some explanation. It is a reference not so much to his ideals as the abuse of his principles. From the emphasis he placed upon teaching through the vernacular, there arises that vulgarisation of studies, and that crude simplification of method which is the destruction of knowledge, and in the case of Oriental studies led to that extraordinary horseplay which characterised the charlatan and the dull-wit protruder into Eastern Languages of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As late as 1661 Evelyn could hear the exercises of the scholars of Westminster School, where the best traditions of teaching still existed, and from which school, as well as from Merchant Taylors and St Pauls and Charterhouse, learned linguists came to advise and assist Walton and Castell, teachers of high skill. At the exercises at the Election of University scholars on May 13, he heard the prolusions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, in themes and extempore verses, some of the students not above twelve or thirte<sup>n</sup> years of age. "Pity it is" he had to add, "what they attaine here so ripely, they either not retain, or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men".

Christian Ravius was the laughing-stock of the Universities for his Oriental learning: but he lectured in public on the subject. Place beside Mulcaster of St Paul's (whom Broughton described as the most learned Hebrew scholar of his day) and Busby of Westminster, such men as Robertson and Balthasar Gerbier, who taught through the vernacular, Gerbier's speeches being on sale afterwards (so his Advertisement of October 31 1649 informs) at a friend's house after they had been read at his Academy: while the other (or some one of the same kidney, for his acquaintances fell into a cold sweat should he have dedicated a book of his to them) advertised in No. 63 of Perfect Occurrences (March 10/17 1648) a Hebrew Lecture "newly begun to be read in English, in a plaine familiar way, whereby such as understand neither Latin nor Greek (in a short time) may attaine to some competent knowledge, in that excellent Language, so especially conducing to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures". There is not simply a difference in method but a difference in ideas and ideals.

The most important channel through which Comenius came to England, although without doubt known to some before his time, was through Samuel Hartlib, the friend of so many scholars and teachers of this era; and through him, the continuation of Comenius's methods from his friend Cyprian Kinner.

The New Method of Didactic consisted in organising study in three stages entitled Vestibulum, Janua, and Atrium, the way of the child in his subject being governed by his growth and understanding: the final stage was the Thesaurus embracing all topics and of universal application. Comenius' textbooks, therefore, to which he gave these appellations, were arranged according to the theory as already indicated, and which, although it did not envisualise a pupil not completing the complete journey into the subject, nevertheless permitted a pupil to break off at any particular stage with a crystallised system of knowledge, the evils of which could not but have been present to the ingenious inventor, although Mr Keatinge, his editor, duly and rightly praises him. Comenius not only thought that teaching ought to be through the vernacular, and indeed the first school is at the mother's knee, but he also definitely limited what various sorts of people required to know of a subject. The same method of learning is applied to all languages, the declensions and conjugations are read and copied over and over again, producing the famous four-fold result, reading, writing, formation of case endings and the meaning of words, in the language studied. But language being simply a means of getting knowledge and imparting it, a limit is set to the extension of learning in different cases.

Philosophers and physicians were to know Greek and Arabic, since their sciences were most studied in these tongues: Theologians, Greek and Hebrew. These subjects were to be learned thoroughly but only so far as they were necessary, a most interesting state of affairs. For example one limitation is that it is not needful to be able to speak Greek or Hebrew since none converse in these languages, it is sufficient to be able to read and understand. This total enthusiasm for the "practical" side of language ignores the greater part of knowledge, and the wisdom that should come from understanding what knowledge is. Comenius is sometimes a trifle erratic and inconsistent, yet he makes it clear, that despite all his leanings towards utilitarianism in the ordinary sense, he would have all learning subordinated and organised under and subordinated to the Scriptures, towards which, having first learned the Mother Tongue, you proceeded to that nearest, Latin, thence to Greek and lastly to Hebrew. Besides the Mother Tongue, after eight or ten years, any other modern language ought to be learned sufficiently in a year, Latin in two years, Greek in one year, and Hebrew in six months, the time varying, of course, according to the utility of the subject. The great service was the insistence <sup>on</sup> of early and long training in the Mother Tongue, the abuses possible of the rest, are patent at a single glance.

The followers of Comenius proceeded to work out his methods in practical detail for school teaching, and initiated the accepted division of studies between Latin Greek and Hebrew, and the modern or commercial languages as French Spanish and Italian. In the Sloan Ms (649) as studied by Foster Watson and Leach the limitation of studies for those of different occupation has been worked out in exact detail, what they shall learn, how, and how long. It was education not learning at which these men aimed, and what education should be can be long argued: but Kinner himself in his continuation of Comenius The Way and Method of Teaching 1648, the translation published by Hartlib, can claim as well as another that he aims at three marks, Piety, Learning and Civil Prudence. But you cannot have a basis of culture upon a vernacular version of the Bible and also direct disciplinary studies towards the original tongues at the same time. The very basis of the idea is unsound, and the natural consequences followed, and had it not been for the application of the principal that one might learn Hebrew without knowing Latin or Greek, there had still been some purpose in it. But Hebrew became instead a useless and ornamental learning, more liable to "jangling" because of its connections, than any other study.

The teaching of Hebrew in schools in Scotland does not bear the same relationship to University study as that in English schools in the period under examination. Evidence of the same sort as for England is not forthcoming, although there are several instances well attested of the teaching of the subject, and in some one or two cases of it being included in the curriculum of the foundation. National pride, however, has led to the expression of opinion rather than of fact, as for example in the case of the late Reverend Professor A.R.S. Kennedy<sup>11</sup> who discussed the subject of the teaching of Hebrew in Parish Schools.

My attention was first called to this interesting fact in the history of the education of Scotland, by Mr Clarke, the minister of Saltoun, who laid before me evidence that for a century after the Reformation Hebrew was taught not only as we have seen, in the Grammar School of Perth, but in the Edinburgh High School, in Glasgow, Haddington, Prestonpans, and Dunbar.

In this field of study the work of M'Grie and of Grant provide the more important information: and from other sources one might conjecturally increase the number of towns where Hebrew might have been taught in schools, but except for Perth, and Prestonpans, and perhaps Dunbar, the evidence is of no conclusive kind: and in these places one might suspect some more idealisation than fact. Under any circumstances the methods and aims in Scottish schools must have been, where the course existed, somewhat after the manner of instruction

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instruction in English schools, except that from the start, the University was regarded in Scotland as the proper place for the study of Hebrew. There must have existed, nevertheless, in Scotland as well as in England, the same kind of profusion of private tutors who taught the Oriental tongues, and some private seminaries wherein it was cultivated with some pride.

John Row, the Reformer, acquired the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew during his stay in Italy, and he returned to Scotland at a time when it is supposed that Hebrew was "almost entirely unknown" in the country. Establishing himself at Perth in the Grammar School he began to teach it.

The grammar-school of Perth was then the most celebrated in the kingdom, and noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children thither for their education. Many of these were boarded with Row, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Row's house but French. The passages of Scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew. ... His son, John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, before he knew the English letters; and at eight years of age he read the Hebrew chapter in the family. When he went to the newly-erected university of Edinburgh, his uncommon acquaintance with the Hebrew language attracted the particular notice of the learned and amiable Principal Rollock... In 1637, his grandson, John Row, became rector of that school, in which he taught Latin Greek and Hebrew...

It is true that for three generations at least the teaching at Perth was held in high regard by University

teachers, but it was a unique school with a unique history, and it was more the repute of the Row family than the learnedness of the school's pupils, that brought forth all the encomiums:

O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam !  
O ter beatum Rollum rectorem tuum !

To the praises heaped upon the first John Row, however, one ought to add the estimate of James Melville in his account of his uncle , Andrew.

About this tyme (1580) rested happellie in the Lord Mr Jhone Row, minister of St. Jhonstoun (Perth), a wyse, grave father, and of good literature, according to hys tyme.

Melville considered, therefore, that great strides had been made since the days of the reformer. One cannot seriously entertain the enthusiasms of M' Crie when he makes the invidious comparison between the pupils of the Row's and the "literati who entertain such a diminutive idea of the taste and learning of these times".

The founder of Prestonpans school (John Davidson) made provision for the teaching of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and an Act of Parliament established the foundation in 1606. Davidson's church and school were hereby recognised as the Parish Kirk and School. Parliament ratified and approved the erection and foundation of the said school for teaching of the said Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues and languages.

Without in any way depreciating the culture of sixteenth and seventeen century Scotland, it is sufficient to say that lack of evidence precludes any faithful and full account of the teaching of Hebrew and the Oriental Languages in Scottish schools

It is probable, however, that it was less common than in England (meagre as it was there), and that the national ideal of education and learned training tended to confine the study to the adult pupil entering upon his theological course after taking his Master's degree in the University.

Note.

Concerning the Haddington School, see M'crie's Melville: J. Grant "Scottish Burgh Schools": and p. 400 Spalding Club Misc. for Aberdeen etc. Notice also in Parr's Ussher the references to the Scotsmen Fullerton and Hamilton at Dublin Grammar School, but Parr is uncertain whether Ussher acquired any of his Eastern Learning there: see references also to Ambrose Ussher in T. Smith's Vitae ...Erudit.. (1707). The same division of study into Classics and Commercial arose in Scottish schools as in English schools.

Notes. Schools

1. A.F. Leach : a long list of monographs: documents.
2. Foster Watson: "English Grammar Schools to 1660": see also synopsis in HF Fletcher (Milton cit.) pp.32ff.
3. Brinsley's Ludus Literarum, 1613.
4. Chas. Hoole, A New Discovery etc. 1660: see Campagnac's edition, 1926.
5. Watson, cit.
6. Watson: "Beginnings of teaching of Mod. Subjects": Intro. xxii: "Grammar Schhols to 1660", p. 535.
7. AF. Leach lists East Retford (1552) Formiv, Westminster (c.1560) Form vii: Newport (Essex) 1599: Heath Grammar School, c. 1600.
8. Hoole cit.
9. See Fletcher cit. p. 38 who estimates that the boys were thirte~~n~~ or fourteen years of age.
10. See my synopsis of textbooks. supra.
11. See report of Address in Scotsman July 4, 1914.
12. See M'Crie's Life of Knox .
13. Ibid. See preface to Row's (the third) Grammar: Row's Historie , pp.372-375.
14. Principal Adamson's encomiastic verses in the Grammar: (Ling. Heb, Instit). See references to first Row in Excerpta..J. Jonstoni (MS Bib. Jurid. Ednb. A.6.42) cited by M'Crie.
15. Melville's Diary: see e.g. M'Crie's Life of Melville. One ought to remember the career of the tutors who came from Scotland and settled in London to teach Hebrew, where private study of that kind was rather popular: see information in synopsis of textbooks.

The question of the Bible for the seventeenth century was bound up with the question of the Jews in more exciting ways than one might guess. In the seventeenth century (especially during the first half of it) English people were rather amazed at the realisation that the Jews and the Hebrews were the same. The most extraordinary influence of this presentiment emerged in the agitation for the official re-entrance of the Jews into England, and in addition the philojudaizers and those interested in their conversion tended to make the Jews an interesting if a perplexing topic of speculation. Besides the Jews themselves, now appearing in the country, there were those Englishmen who considered themselves the "chosen people" and proceeded to Judaize accordingly on their own account. It was not long, however, before the Jews lost this brief enhancement. For scholars it soon became clear also that every Jew was not a learned man: that they lacked system in their studies, and finally that they were circumscribed intensely by the traditions of their learning.

With the Humanistic and Reformation drive towards the study of the Oriental Languages, it was the most natural thing that scholars should turn hopefully to the Jews about them for the elements of this learning,

and the key to the Rabbinical literature which it appeared to offer. Owing to their position in society, the learning of the cultivated Jew was dual, one side being occupied with the methods and languages of commerce and the other with an intense and exhaustive study of theology and Biblical literature: even the ordinary Jew found himself sought out and made to sit with the scholars, spelling out for them the mystic alphabet and comparing the commentaries. Many a scholar said with Scaliger said of his Jewish friend: " My teacher in the Talmud, but he died and left my studies barren and desolate". Besides this activity, at its best very important, the Jews became necessary for correcting the press, setting type, and vending books in the Eastern Languages. That multitude of Jews who fled from Spain into Italy and into the Netherlands, carried with them books much desired by the gentile scholar. It was from those in the north of Europe that England was to feel most influence but even from the Levant, these booksellers came with their bundles. Secret Jews invaded England in Elizabethan times, more came in at the Restoration. None of them were first rate or of high importance in scholarship, but Manesseh ben Israel, as many another like him, was stopped in the streets of London by English scholars and plied with questions, sometimes answered satisfactorily. Converted Jews were occasionally granted posts in the Universities.

Testimonies with regard to the status of the learning ,culture, and authority of the Jews, are taken from Hugh Broughton, Robert Burton, and Edward Pocock . It was generally held by scholars that the Jews ,although they knew the language, were ignorant of the Hebrew Grammar, not a surprising thing since the Hebrew Grammar was established by the gentiles in the sixteenth century and was not finally established until the time of Gesenius. It was complained of them that because they learned the tongue by use and not by rule, the majority of the Jews were not able to impart their knowledge to others. The outstanding case of Philippe d'Aquin of Avignon was cited, who, when Professor of Hebrew, sometimes read Hebrew words one way and later on another way, because he had no definite ideas on the question of points. Morinus, who was his pupil, fell into the same errors, and Louis Cappel (whom he visited at Saumur) recommended him to learn Hebrew Grammar, of which at that time, he hardly knew the first principles. In the matter of discussions with Jews with the hope of converting them, however, scholars were prepared to overlook some peculiarities<sup>2</sup>

sed quod cum Judaeorum conversioni  
 studeamus, illos in rebus leviculis  
 irritare et a nobis alieniores reddere,  
 nec pii hominis est, nec prudentis.

But all this (although right,because the Christians were indeed the better scholars at the end of the story) was different from the early history.

Sebastian Munster's edition of The Hebrew Grammar of Elias Levita (1532) contains the editor's message to his readers, in which<sup>3</sup> he speaks of his difficulties in translating his original and the out-of-the-way tongue he is expounding. He was striving to have Elias teach Hebrew Grammar to the Latin-reading peoples and not himself to teach. The modesty of Munster is equalled by his predecessor Reuchlin. They sat humbly at the feet of the Jewish scholar, but again, not all Jewish scholars were men of the stamp of Elias the Levite.

Burton, in his usual encyclopaedic manner, spoke thus of the Jews:

"the Jews at this day are so incomprehensibly proud and churlish, saith Luther, (Comment. in Micah) that soli salvari, soli domini terrarum salutari volunt. And as Buxtorfius adds, so ignorant and self willed withal, that amongst their most understanding Rabbins you shall find nought but gross dotage, horrible hardness of heart, and stupend obstinacy, in all their actions, opinions, conversations: and yet so zealous withal, that no man living can be more, and vindicate themselves for the elect people of God".

Broughton, however, with his characteristic enthusiasm, and vehemence and confidence, attempted to appeal to the Jews by turning the New Testament into Hebrew. He fought his cause all over Europe and his fame as an exponent of Christianity amongst the Jews spread to the Levant.<sup>5</sup> "I have turned the Apocalypse into Hebrew "he said, " and so I would expound it, if the Turkey Merchants would pay the charges. If they

If they refuse, I will leave them to try, whether strange shipwrack shall revenge them. Their agent L. Ed. Barton gave the beginning; writing thus:

If Mr Br may be brought to Const. that may turn to the commongood of Christendom. "

Broughton alleged that this had originated from the desire of the Chief of the Synagogue at Constantinople, whose letter arrived in London and was forwarded to Broughton in exile at Basle for saying (as he puts it)

"that Barrow and Greenwood were pardoned for all, as they were, but for denying that our Lord went to Hell".

The King promised him help in his work<sup>7</sup>, "Ebrew Institution of Ebrewes", provided he left off baiting his Bishops. At Basil, as Ainsworth did at Amsterdam, Broughton sought out and held the Jewish divines in triumphant controversy

"I shewed one Rabbi Elias at Basil, how learnedly St Matthew discardeth wicked Joakim ..... Then he admired St Matthew and the rest, and requested me to handle their Gospel in such Hebrew as I spake, and said I should turn all their nation. And now the Jews of Hanaw have chosen that very Rabbi to deal with me, that if I perswade him, they will all be Christians. I told I wished they knew our grounds first, and saw Christ through all the Law".

This enthusiasm for the salvation of the Jews was not at all characteristic of English scholarship generally but it had a hold of some importance. In any case, the general feeling was that the Jews were incapable of reason with respect to their cherished delusions, and one legend had it that Ainsworth's death came through an injudicious attempt of this sort. The story is

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The story is that when Ainsworth was starving in Amsterdam he came upon a diamond in the gutter, and advertising his find, he discovered that the owner was a Jew, who offered him any reward he demanded. Ainsworth said he wished a debate to be arranged between himself and a learned Rabbi of the town on the prophecies relating to the Messiah. One version now has it that the Jew had no influence to obtain the meeting, and to save his face, had the man poisoned. The other version relates that the meeting was arranged, and the Jews so effectually routed in the debate that they brought his end about in malice. It ought to be noted that Holland in general and Amsterdam in particular permitted intricate and advanced organisation of Jewish society.

Pocock in his Preface to Micah discusses the Jews with particular and direct reference to their learning.

"though they have now so far lost their own ancient Language, that it is not any more common to them as a vernacular, or Mother Tongue, but, what they have of it, they learn, as others that study it do: yet do those of them who will get any Learning, so make that their whole study from their childhood, that they are more then ordinary versed in it, and get more skill in the Letter of the Scriptures, then usually any others;"

Pocock referred more particularly to the old commentators, as Salomo Jarchi, Abraham Ezra, David Kimhi, and Isaac Abarbanel. In much the same strain he writes in the

Preface to Hosea:

The Jews I look on as especially in this case to be had regard to, not because the language is now to them as a mother tongue vulgarly

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vulgarly spoken, as anciently when the Scriptures of the O.T. were written, it was, but because divers of them looking on it as their ancient inheritance, strive to recover the possession of it by a constant practice and study in it from their infancy, and by that means many of them have become more expert, than usually others, in it; as those most known expositors of the books of the O.T., which we have of them: and those are they which we especially have in our present case to do with, not the Talmudical and Kabalistical Writers, whose traditions we as little rely on as any except when backed by better authority, or where they make for confirming some truth against themselves.

Those others whose study hath been about the Grammatical part of the tongue and the text of the Bible, have by most learned men been thought to afford such helps, as that they have chosen to make use of them as very conducive to the literal meaning of the text; and I have heard a learned man complain as of a defect in expositors, that they have not given a more full account of what those Jews do say in that kind.

In this last connection Pocock also cites the use of Syriac and Arabic " to which help the most learned Jews do frequently recurre".

But with all these careful distinctions, the idea of converting the Jews is occasionally seen amongst the seventeenth century scholars: as for example in Worthington, who, writing in December 1660 to Samuel Hartlib about the project of Borell concerning the Mishnaioth, says:

If he would publish in Latin so much as he hath of the translation of the Mishnaioth, it would be for the use of Christians, that hereby might be better instructed to deal with the Jews.

And once more in June of the following year:

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If Christians would more knowingly and pertinently deal with the Jews and Mahometans, they should be acquainted with the Mishnaioth and the Alcoran.

Conversions were not always such serious matters as that of the attempt upon the young Jew, Jacob Barnett, whose learning procured him close intimacy with the chief professors and tutors at Oxford in the first years of the century, who on the eve of baptism, took to his heels, causing Casaubon to write with amusement that it was no crime punishable by law to refuse to become a Christian.

Of the Jews, about the time when opinion was being canvassed concerning their recall to England, Lightfoot wrote:

but these, after above twenty times seventy years, under dispersion and obduration, have now as little appearance of amendment of their hearts and of their condition, as there was so many hundred years ago: the same blindness, - the same doting upon traditions, - the same insisting upon their own works for salvation, - the same blind confidence, that they are God's only beloved people, - the same expectation of Messias to come, - the same hatred of Messias already come, - and the same opposition against the gospel, is in them still, that was in that first generation, that crucified the Lord of life. That generation is plainly and often asserted, by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament, to be antichrist; and the very same antichristian spirit hath continued in all the generations of them, ever since, even to this day".

He would not have Christian men interfere in the fate of those condemned of God. The antichrist of Judah and Rome were to end together, not by conversion,

not by conversion, but by perdition.

Despite these things, it was generally acknowledged of those Jews desirous of getting learning that the old verses were true:

- Filius quinque annorum ad Biblia
- Filius decem annorum ad Mischna:
- Filius trededim annorum ad Praecepta:
- Filius quindecim annorum ad Talmud.

Concerning these verses Franzius says

Quod supra innui, filius quinque annorum solere adhibere ad legenda Biblia inter Judaeos, et optandum esse, ut apud cunctos, et ita quoque apud nos idem ab universis et singulis fieret, id omnino intelligi cuperem etiam de ipsis linguis, ut maturius cuncti ad linguam Hebraeam, Syram, Arabicam adhibeantur pueri.

Some account follows of Jewish teachers and book-sellers, whose names occur in the public and private business of the era under consideration. For a contemporary account of Jewish Education outside England, Abendanna's article in his Almanack, may be judiciously read; but his account was the one accepted by his learned Christian contemporaries.

JEWISH LEARNING IN THE XVIIth CENTURY.

Isaac Abendana's account of the education of Jews in the Oxford Almanach for 1693 may be supplemented by the later account of his own education given by Moses Marcus which may be read in the subsequent notice of this young man. Some information concerning Abendana himself [and his brother] will also be found later. In his sketch, Abendana described the ancient schools as well as the schools of his own day, and in his Calendar he apologised incidentally for any mistakes in Roman Affairs, since the general bent of his own studies had lain another way.

The first care of a Jewish community was to set up a school, and Abendana cites some famous institutions in Spain, Portugal, Germany and the Levant, Barbary and Persia. These schools were maintained out of public monies, and the methods of teaching traditionally preserved similar elements from ancientest times to Abendana's own day. The strictness of discipline required that such parents as could not take advantage of a public school, had to provide private tutors. The general plan of public schools was as follows.

The School was divided into the Elementary School and the College (or school proper). Two inspectors were selected from the chief men of the community to assign rewards both to pupils and teachers.

The qualifications of masters included good parts and intellectual ability, probity and integrity, so that they might instruct by precept and example, their life "comporting with doctrine". They had power to chastise their pupils, but only with severity when absolutely necessary, and then with purpose to strike terror into such minds as required it, and "not to gratify their own hatred, or any other indecent passion".

The scholars were to be humble and docile, apt to learn, modest and with reverence towards their teacher, and qualified to learn through their virtue and good manners "to reap the benefit of instruction". Their first instruction was the fortification of their minds against viciousness: and, if either for want of natural sagacity, or sufficient industry "anyone is found incapable of rising to a sufficient pitch of Learning, he is took off from his studies and obliged to betake himself to some meaner employment": it being thought inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the Law that it should be handled by persons of mean capacities.

No child under six or seven years of age was admitted to the School, being then considered too young for instruction, and until that age he was expected to have received preliminary teaching at

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his mother's knee and his father's table, namely in the principal texts of the Law and some prayers.

In the elementary schools the number of pupils was fixed at twenty five to each master: "and if forty should be the number, then the master must take an assistant: if above forty another master is required or another school has to be set up. The tender years of the students was thought to require an extraordinary care and diligence to be used towards them.

In the greater schools, the number was not so determined, sometimes three hundred or four hundred students attending the lectures, where the Rabbi, in capacity of Professor, seated on a raised chair "above his auditors who are scattered about him" dispensed his doctrine. Pertinent questions were permitted, otherwise silence was enforced, but an "Interpreter" repeated the words of the teacher to those who were too distant from him to hear.

Scholars, especially the poor ones, were kept hard at study having only for respite Sabbath Eve and the Festivals: and on Sabbath Eve it was only to change a lesson for revision of the week's work.

Persons qualified to teach refrained from so doing at the risk of social stigma inasmuch as their refusal "hinders the progress of the Law".

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In the same manner, no man of mean capacities might be permitted to handle the Law. These teachers were approved by the community as well as by their fellows and a degree was conferred upon them before the congregation granting powers to read, interpret and inflict penalties. Such powers having been proclaimed in this public fashion the ordination of a teacher was concluded by setting him in a chair with a Hebrew book of the Law in his hands, so proclaiming him Doctor. Different titles were conferred in different places, the commonest degree being rabbi.

After the elementary teaching of the Law with its history and tradition, the next study was in the Prophets: "it being thought most proper, that their( the childrens') first advances in Learning should be bottom'd upon the same Foundation with their Religion": the two growing together, and being a significant comment upon the equipment of the Jewish scholar. In a while the students proceeded to the Mishna or Oral Law, and this was succeeded by a course of Logic to make then fit thinkers and fit contemplators of what they had learned. When somewhat mature and experienced, they went on to Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Metaphysics, but these difficult subjects were taught only privately to such individuals as desired them. These sciences,

sciences, however, proceeded directly from Biblical evidences, Natural Philosophy, for example, being grounded on the first Chapter of Genesis, and besides, this study was "so encumbered with difficulties, that it was not wont to be publickly explained", such explanation, it is to be presumed, involving reference to and authoritative citation from rabbinical commentary. In a like manner, Metaphysics was grounded "upon the first Chapter of Ezechiel".

Few Jewish students meddled in Gentile learning, except where it was a necessity or where their professions took them outside the study of the Law. The testimony of Moses Marcus in his Motives for his conversion in 1724 explained that his father was so pleased with his studiousness about the age of nine or ten that he procured a tutor for him, and planned to have him educated in theology and for the priesthood. To that end he was engaged in the Talmuds and Traditions, but being in England outside the centres of Jewish culture it was arranged that he should attend at Hamburg where his family had previously lived, in order that he should become a scholar and a gentleman, and also have gentile accomplishments. He was then aged thirteen. For three years he studied Jewish divinity and the Hebrew language, becoming well versed in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Talmudical and Rabbinical Learning, but being too young

being too young to take a degree, he returned to England for a twelvemonth, returning then to Hamburg to be entered "Chaber" which he said entitled him to be called "Rabbi".

The range of topics set out by Philip Ferdinand in his Haec Sunt Verba Dei (Cambridge) 1597, appears to represent the range, and perhaps in many cases the full equipment, of educated Jews, which is set out in this manner to include the six hundred and thirteen precepts collected from the Pentateuch by R. Abraham Kattani and inserted in the Bomberg Bible: the Biblical and Rabbinical Feasts: the Seven Precepts of Noah: Jewish Diet: those amongst the Jews not capable of bearing witness: capital punishment amongst the Jews: the Thirteen Principles of Maimonides: a short discussion on the Accents, Keri and Kathui, with the opinion of Elias Levita upon their origin: the Notes of R. Jacom Baugual ha-turim upon the First Verse of Genesis, giving a pleasant insight into the methods of occult interpretation: Notes upon the Massorettes or Textual Critics on Ezechiel 38.12: the twenty-four verses in the Bibles wherein the full alphabet occurs, and the Thirteen Rabbinical Modes of interpreting the Law, with the names and aspects of the Law extracted by Kimhi from Psalm 119.

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The shining example of Jewish scholarship in the seventeenth century was the romantic Manasseh ben Israel, compiler and diligent student, and endowed with gentile accomplishments, but less a scholar than a preacher and ambassador. When the Whitehall debate upon the re-entry of the Jews was proceeding, ben Israel was asked by his friends in London to publish a list of his publications, which he did in Vindiciae Judaearum. He had been a student at Amsterdam and become the minister of the Synagogue, and amongst his friends he counted Isaac Vossius and Grotius. Much of his learning was ornamental, the rest was theological and controversial. He knew German, English, Spanish, Latin and Greek: he had collected and printed the Commonplaces of the Rabbins (Midrashim): the Science of the Talmudical Writers, and like investigations into the systems and explanations of the ancient rabbinim, to whose Discipline and Philosophy he had compiled an Index. He had written tracts upon the Immortality of the Soul, the Problems of the Creation, the Term of Life, Human Frailty and the Resurrection of the Dead, all no doubt the fruits of his studies, as was his book upon the Divine Origin of the Mosaic Law. In the field of controversy he had attacked the Pre-Adamites, the Fifth Monarchy and the Image Cult of the Papists, and for Israel's justification

and the hope of her restoration, had written the noble Spes Israel (1650) which was ever afterwards associated with his name, the tenour of which, with his discussions of the Christian sectaries, at one move placed the Jews (to the surprise of their opponents) on the cultural level of their neighbours. This man's work on behalf of his fellow Jews cannot be overestimated, but his scholarship might easily be. He had edited the Humas, the whole Bible, and the prayerbook, printing from his own Hebrew Press. He had established in detail the rites and ceremonies of the Jews and had continued the History of Josephus. In the Hebrew tongue he had drawn up the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, and compiled an Hebrew-Arabic Lexicon. With these he noted down his Orations and Panegyrics, and his translation into Spanish of the Greek Moral Poet, Phoclydes.

The letters of Ussher, Lightfoot, Castell and Worthington, bear witness to the enquiries put to this man, and to other Jewish scholars, who had to choose between them and the unindexed works of their own Rabbi Hugh Broughton, and although they were often enough disillusioned and disappointed, they were occasionally impressed.

Notes.

- 1 Rich. Simon. Biblioth. Select. Tom. I art. 36. p. 269
- 2 Introductio ad Ling. Orient. Cantab. 1706 S. Ockley.
- 3 See the copy of Bradford the Martyr in the Manchester Public Library: see also Introd. on general facts. Elias Levita's Grammar appeared at Rome; many translations followed all over Europe. Some reprints were also made in Germany, but as Munster says, unskillfully.
- 4 Anat. of Melan. III p. 111 Sec. iv. Mem. i. Subs. iii
- 5 Works (Ed. Lightfoot) Cap. xix. A Revelation of the Holy Apocalypse.
- 6 Barrow and Greenwood: see DNB. both had Brownist tendencies: Hanged at Tyburn.
7. Broughton's Works. cit. Cap. xix. A Petition.
- 8 See Crossley's note in Worthington's Diary.
- 9 Worthington's Diary (Cheetham Society) Ed. Crossley. For references and history of Jews in Britain see publications of Jewish Historical Society.
- 10 See Neubauer "Notes on Jews at Oxford". Collectanea 2nd. series ed. Montague Burrowes 1890
- 11 Lightfoot's Works ed. Pitman. Sec. xii Calling of the Jews.
- 12 See ref. to Sebast. Lepusculus Basilides 1559 in Motives to the study of Hebrew (Carmarthen) 1809.
- 13 De Interp. Sacr. Script. ref. in Motives, cit. supr.
- 16 Abendanno in The Oxford Almanach 1693: part of which I append.
- 17 For the regular account (no doubt idealised as all accounts of educational systems are) of Jewish education may be read in the article on the "Jewish Encyclopedia".

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IMMANUEL TREMELLIUS.

The translations into Latin from the Hebrew and Syriac of the Bible by Tremellius remained for a long period the standard text of students of the Hebrew tongue. He was, besides, of some importance in the religio-politics of the time of his conversion to Christianity. Tremellius was the son of a Jew of Ferrara, born 1510. The Dictionary of National Biography gives a full account of him and his relations with the men of note of his day. He was converted by Cardinal Pole, but afterwards turned to Protestantism, and flying from Lucca and Strassburg came to England with other Protestant refugees, was befriended by Cranmer, and became the successor of Paul Fagius, who had come to England when the dominance of the Emperor in the Palatinate drove him there, in the Hebrew Readership at Cambridge. He was also singularly honoured with the friendship and patronage of Archbishop Parker, that great scholar and benefactor, but he did not hold his appointment long after 1549 when he was granted it, although he was made Prebendary of Carlisle in 1552, for on the accession of Mary he was once again to remove, going from England to Heidelberg where he became Professor of Old Testament Studies in 1561, but not without having been imprisoned for Calvinism in 1555 by the Duke of Deux-Ponts whose children he tutored.

In 1576 he was expelled from Heidelberg by a new Lutheran Elector, and moved on to Sedan where he taught Hebrew. His notable translations of the Scriptures occupied him between 1569 and 1579, and his collaborations with the Belgian, Francis Junius, became the recognised basis of Biblical studies all over Europe. He died in 1580.

The following account occurs in the Memorandum sent to Cecil on February 19, 1561 in the Foreign State Papers Calendar (1008):

The writer was one of the earliest Evangelical foreigners, who were patronised by that King (Edward VI), from whom he received the gift of a free denizenship, a salary, and a canonry in Carlisle. But the publication of an edict concerning the restitution of the Mass, upon St Thomas's Day in December (29 Dec.) 1553, induced him to set out from England about Christmas, along with a large body of English Merchants, leaving his wife and family to follow him into Germany in the spring, after having sold the furniture of their house. In the meantime the sedition broke out headed by the Duke of Suffolk; whereupon Master Mor, the guardian of the Church of the Minorities, (near which the family of the writer resided) obtained from the Chancellor (the Bishop of) Winchester authority to confiscate the said furniture and goods, which he contrived to appropriate to himself..... The writer was also deprived of his annual stipend of fifty marks payable by the Treasurer of the Augmentations, Sir John Williams, and the prebend which had been given him by King Edward, with leave of nonresidence. He asks Cecil to cause a reasonable compensation to be made him for ~~these~~ losses.

From Fontainebleau 19 Feb. 1561

Tremellius's son is described in the Heidelberg matriculations as "Anglus". Tremellius himself served the English after 1560, as records show.

Tremellius not only took part in the negotiations between the German and French Protestants but remained constantly an object of interest for English ministers. In 1560 the Earl of Bedford and Throckmorton, having met him at the French Court "pleading for the cause of the Gospel in regard to the city of Metz", asked the Queen to give him "credence", and soon he was not only asking for the restitution of his lost properties in England but acting under instructions. He had been sent by Bedford and Throckmorton to the "Princes Protestant assembled at Neubourg" in an attempt to dissuade the Kings of France and Navarre against the Council of Trent. In the notice of these events on May 9 1561, the Queen was reminded that

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was not only put by the Hebrew lecture which he read in Cambridge, but also had the arrears of his two years' stipend for the same kept from him. He had also a prebend of King Edward's gift taken from him without just cause, and besides these received other great losses. He is very desirous to do the Queen service, and is a very meet man for the same in Almain, where he is both well credited and acquainted, being of that nation, and also entertained by the Palsgrave. He is a sober, wise man, and for his skill in many tongues much to be made of.

A full study of Tremellius may be read in Friederich Butter's "Emanuel Tremellius" 1859. A full list of his works is here given, and may be also seen in the Dictionary of National Biography. At Heidelberg he was honoured with degrees and University

University offices until his expulsion put an end to his career there<sup>2</sup>

Immanuel Tremellius Italus Ferrariensis, theologiae doctor et eiusdem simulac Hebraeae linguae ordinarius professor et academiae Heydelbergensis rector.

Although his translation of the Bible was not faultless, it was generally adopted by Reformers all over Europe as the most accurate Latin version, and it is noted that with some alterations it was received, also, at Douai and Louvain.<sup>3</sup>

- 1. State Papers Foreign.
- 2. Die Matrikel: vol. 2. Heidelberg 1886.
- 3. See account of Tremellius in DNB.

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PHILIP FERDINAND.

The son of a Polish Jew, born about 1555, converted first to Catholicism and then to the reformed religion, Ferdinand found his way to Oxford as a poor student. Here he taught Hebrew, and continued to do so after his matriculation at Cambridge in 1596. William Eyre of Emmanuel College wrote of him to Ussher in 1607 as his master and observes that so long as he remained in the University, there was a slight hope that by his means a certain knowledge of the Hebrew tongue might be kept alive there. Scaliger had written of him to Casaubon in 1602, after he had been dead four years, that he had been his teacher in the Talmud, but his death had left his studies desolate. The year after his matriculation at Cambridge, rather overcome by the great honour he had received in the University and with a becoming grace and gratitude, Ferdinand published his Haec sunt Verba in 1597 and dedicated it to both Universities. He soon afterwards went to Leyden as professor and there he died in 1598.<sup>(?)</sup>

Some information seems to require a correction of the date of Ferdinand's death, which is usually derived from the information in Scaliger's letters. His name occurs as of one in receipt of an annuity from the Domus Conversorum in February 1599. It is therefore conjectured that Ferdinand left Leyden suddenly and returned to die in England but not

but not before February 1600 when another receipt to the Domus is extant. It ought also to be noted that the Album Studiosorum Acad. Lugd.Bat.<sup>4</sup> records Ferdinand as a teacher of Arabic.

Scaliger wrote to his friends that Ferdinand was a fine Talmudist and that great profit had been derived from his conversation and teaching, but he complained, as most European scholars complained of most Jewish scholars, that Ferdinand was almost totally ignorant of Hebrew Grammar.<sup>5</sup> His reputation at Cambridge, however, shows that this was no great obstacle in such studies, but it is also a significant indication of the reluctance towards Oriental learning early in the seventeenth century at Cambridge.

1. See Bass Mullinger, Univ. of Cambridge. Parr's Ussher, letter iv: DNB etc.
2. Jan. 12, 1612 Letters to Casaubon, Epistolae 1654: quoted in all books and articles on the subject: see Trans.J.Hist.Soc. passim e.g. Stokes Studies cit.
3. See Rev. Michael Adler History of the Domus Conversorum: Trans.H.Hist.Soc. vol. iv. Here also photographs of the receipts in Ferdinand's hand.
4. Album Stud. MDLXXV-MDCCLXXV Hag.Com. 1875.
5. Adler, cit. supra.

## JACOB WOLF.

When Archbishop Williams was at Cambridge he spent the years preparatory to taking the Master's Degree in studying Hebrew, being then a Fellow of St John's (1603) and had for one of his preceptors a certain Rabbi Jacob Wolf.<sup>1</sup> He was a baptised Polish Jew. He had some associations elsewhere in the University, notably at Trinity College,<sup>2</sup> where he had the Master for patron and to whom he dedicated his Abbreviationes Rabbinicae (still in MS). The Master (1593-1615) was Dr Nevile. With this rabbi and Robert Spalding, Fellow of St John's, the Lord Keeper had "dived far into the Mystery of that Holy Language".

1. Hacket's Scrinia reserata, 1692 p.10. See refs. in Bass Mullinger and elsewhere.
2. See the Catalogue of MSS in T.C.C(R.8.4) in Heb. & Lat. Ed. Wright, who says that the name of the writer appears to have been "Jacob Wolf, a Polish baptised Jew".

Jacob BARNET

The principal authority concerning Barnet is Mark Pattison's Life of Casaubon. He was a young man at Oxford and friendly with most of the scholars there at the time. It has already been mentioned that he fled on the eve of baptism, causing great amusement at his trepidation. Casaubon wrote of him

The vast mass of Talmudic lore he possesses in a measure far beyond what I have ever met in any Jew before; and a rare thing in a Jew, he knows Latin.

His natural talents and his learning so struck his patron that he carried him off to London. A baptism was arranged:

The day before the ceremony was to come off Jacob had decamped.<sup>2</sup>

He was caught on his way and treated as a blasphemer and deceiver. He was released at last from a damp cell in December. His deception annoyed Casaubon:

Nam quod nolit fieri christianus, crimen legibus puniendum, opinor, hoc non est; sed tantum quod simulaverit.

He had his own kindness, no doubt, to blame.

Kilbye wrote of Barnet

It will be long before another Jew of such attainments comes amongst us. Had he put on Christ, what an aid he might have been to Hebrew studies in this place! It is quite impossible for anyone ever to understand the Hebrew doctors by his own unassisted efforts, unless he had been first initiated by one of that Nation.

- 1. Mark Pattison Isaac Casaubon pp.368ff. Epist.924
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Epist. 924
- 4. Mark Pattison ibid.

JAMES WOLFGANG & JAMES LEVITA

Two Jews read in the Bodleian Library in 1608 although they were not members of the University. Certificates of admission describe one as James Wolfgang "a man well deserving in the Hebrew tongue and a convert from Judaism", and one as James Levita, "Judaeus Orientalis", possibly (it is suggested) indicating Levantine origin. Entries in the matriculation registers of the University of Altdorf may indicate that Wolfgang came from Norimberg. These are two examples of scholarly Jews at Oxford, moving amongst contemporary teachers and students.

1. A. Neubauer Notes on Jews in Oxford Collect. 2nd. series ed. M. Burrows. 1890
2. Die Matrikel der Univ. Altdorf: Wurzburg, 1912  
The entries referred to are (a) "1575-6 Wolffgangus, Jacobus, Strommer. P. Norimb!" and "1600 Wolffgangus, Jacobus, Koburger, Nor."

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JULIUS CONRADUS OTTO

The original name of this converted Jew was Naphthali Margoloith, his conversion taking place about 1602-3 at Nuremberg, where he taught Arabic and Hebrew in the University of Altdorf. In 1607 he relapsed into Judaism and fled the city.

Otto was born in Vienna and had been well educated according to the Jewish fashion and claimed the title of Rabbi: he was forty years old when he was converted. Amongst his publications were Usus Hebraeae Linguae (1604), Grammatica Hebraea (1605) and he had planned a Hebrew Lexicon. Most outstanding was his Gali Razia, in German, Latin, and Hebrew with Latin transliteration, written against the Jews, demonstrating their errors out of their own sacred commentaries.

On his ejection from Altdorf he was discovered to be a fraud and a blotch on the Church that had sheltered him, but he is found teaching in the University of Edinburgh by January 1642, presumably at the age of eighty four years. He taught the Oriental Tongues in the University as first professor until his death about 1655 and left a high reputation amongst Scottish divines and teachers, who either did not know or discounted the evil odour of Otto's name abroad, and whose repute in England remained good in the time of the English scholar, Sherringham. For a fuller account of J.C. Otto, the reader is

is referred to my article in the Autumn Number 1931  
of the University of Edinburgh Journal, (Vol.IV.No.3),  
where all the available material on the man is col-  
lected and discussed.

MANESSAH BEN ISRAEL.  
"The Hope of Israel"

Manessah (often spelled Menasseh) ben Israel, who visited Cromwell in England as ambassador of the Jews to the only nation not yet admitting them, especially at such time when the prophecised coming of the Jews into their own, (and their conversion) was ripe, and all wishing to share in the blessing of this event should help them to spread over all the earth, cannot be separated from the seventeenth century problems of the Jews. His scholarship and his influence has already been described in a previous section.

Ben Israel was probably born at Lisbon about 1604 of a cryptojewish family, which, discovered by the Inquisition, removed to the Netherlands and Amsterdam. He was a precocious youth, and under the care of Rabbi Isaac Uziel, physician and Talmudist, he studied the sacred tongues, and was finally equipped also with Spanish, Latin, Dutch and English, and possibly some Greek: rather an unusual (although evidence seems to point out <sup>that</sup> ~~not~~ not very intelligent use could be made of it) equipment for the Jewish student. In 1620 his teacher dying, it was not long before Manessah, hardly eighteen years old, took his place in the Synagogue and rapidly became renowned as preacher, and scholar, and controversialist. Amongst his friends he had artists, scholars and theologians of

of the Christians. Amongst scholars familiar with him were Isaac Vossius, Hugo Grotius, Bailaeus, Cunaeus, Bochart and Hult. He was not only married to a reputed descendant of King David, but he considered himself the first man amongst the Jews.

His first activity outside teaching and preaching, was to open up the first Hebrew Printing press in the Netherlands, bringing out a Hebrew Prayer Book, after the Spanish Rite, on January 12, 1627. Rival printers, however, soon destroyed his monopoly, but his books circulated all over Europe and even in Scotland, where Robert Baillie came from. In 1647 Baillie was in London<sup>2</sup> at the Assembly of Divines and he wrote to his friend Spang, in Holland, on October 13, that Manesseh's books sold well. As usual with Baillie, he was full of suggestions:

I see the little Hebrew Bible, with points, is printed at Amsterdam in Manasses Ben-Israel's house: it sells here very weel. By some of your acquaintance yow could persuade him or some other to print the Targum, one book, with the points and the Latin version; also the Masora, which Buckstorph's (Buxtorf) Bible hes on the margine, the same way; and some chief parts of the Talmud or the Rabbins wrytes, with the points and Latine exposition: they would sell weel, and do much good.

Manessah's press was not quite of such an enterprising type, besides competition now forced him to enter commerce with his brother, but the venture was a failure. In the meantime he found himself deprived of the leadership of the Synagogue of Nevah-Shalom. He determined to emigrate as a merchant to Brazil.

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Up to this point in his career, ben Israel was of little importance except in his own estimation, but he was completing the second part of his reconciliations of inconsistent passages in the Old Testament entitled El Conciliador (his chief work) and he dedicated it to the Jews of Pernambuco and the General Council of the East India Company. By this time, with a letter of introduction from the Prince of Orange to the American Chamber of Commerce, he was ready to embark, when he was invited to be head of the Theological Seminary founded at Amsterdam by the brothers Periera. Manessah now returned to the studious life and the eloquence which had formerly so much impressed his friends.

With many other men, Christians as well as Jews, Manessah believed that the dispersal of the Jews was nearing completion, and that the Messianic prophecies and the domination of the Jews was about to be fulfilled. He took upon himself, not unworthily as events proved, the office of spokesman. Jews and Christians identified him with their hopes and intently watched his movements. It was some time before he turned his attention to England, but before he had done so he had established a high reputation for himself amongst scholars and in courts.

When Pocock was ejected from his University post Manessah was consulted with regard to a Dutch Jew who

Dutch Jew who might take his place. But Manessah was offended at his friend's conversion and would not further interest himself. He was much in the eye even of those Christians who were most vehemently to deny the Jews legal entrance into their country.

The strange tales from South America brought by Aaron Levi (Antonius Montezinos) and spread all over Europe, related how the lost Tribe of Israel, Reuben, had been discovered in the wilds. The inference was that the dispersal was now complete, and that of all countries England most outstandingly alone refused to take part in the fulfillment of the prophecies. A great number of minds were seriously affected by the thought: one need not belittle the thing.

Negotiations in progress between Holland and England resulted in the arrival of Jewish merchants, but the failures which led to the Navigation Act, since the result was the establishment of counting-houses in England, brought to a head the demand for equal rights for settled Jewish merchants. In 1649, therefore, at this juncture, Manessah turned his Spes Israel into English. Cromwell arranged for him to come to England, but bickering and war prevented his arrival. Ben Israel now became the Ambassador of the Jews. Despite a rising popular distrust at these events, Cromwell again invited the Jew to England, and he appeared in London in 1655, with a retinue of representative rabbis, pleading not only for trade

trade and commercial concessions but more especially on behalf of the persecuted race. His presence brought to a head the whole growing and terrible controversy for and against the Jews, and pamphlets appeared every day on either side, with all the venom and embittered erudition characteristic of the public controversy of the times. Manessah himself played a noble and dignified part issuing Humble Addresses where he pleaded for shelter for the Jews on the grounds of their economic benefit conferred by their trade: and Vindiciae Judaeorum where he tried to clear the Jews of the more apparent calumnies laid against them, although with some emphasis on them as a peculiar and wonderful people. While he awaited the deliberations of the Government and the conferences at Whitehall, his walks were crowded by scholars and theologians. Ussher's friends, Thorndike and Walton made enquiries of him on rabbinical matters, although not always with satisfaction.

As for Manasse Ben Israel, I had agreed with Dr Walton, upon a day and hour to go to him. But meeting him occasionally the day before, he proposed to him, but could not learn from anything he knew, concerning any received number of Marginal Readings. As for the saying of Elias (Levita), he utterly slighted it, not acknowledging or not discovering anything he knew of it. Hereupon I thought it not fit for me, equally a stranger to him, to meet him in the same thing, till I have got some introduction to him..... and then I shall remember your Question of R. Judah, which I count desperate, unless Broughton has told us what he had written, or he that he is one of them that are recorded in the Talmud.

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After the failure of the conference which began at Whitehall in December, Manessah was completely identified with the cause of the Jews and the collapse struck him a great blow. He lingered on a pathetic figure in London, both desperate and poor. He was deserted by his friends: the grants made formally to him by the Protector were never paid. His surviving son, Samuel, died, and the father prepared to leave for Amsterdam to bury him in sacred ground. He received a few pounds from Cromwell and left England but on his way to Middleburgh to meet his wife he died, it is said, of a broken heart. He was then in his fifty-third year and his wife too poor to bury him. The generosity of his fellow Jews in Amsterdam alone performed that last office.

1. For the general history of the controversy concerning the admission of the Jews, see Lucien Wolf, and A.M. Hyamson: the theological works of the period abound in opinions relating to it, even in the best. Popular feeling ran very high. For Manessah see DNB. Wolf, Mission: AM Hyamson, Trans. J. Hist. Soc. vol. 7: Legacy of Israel (Bevan & Singer 1927) : Encyclopedia Brit.:
- 2 Ballies Journal ed Laing. Oct. 13. 1647.
- 3 Twells Pocock, p. 33.
- 4 Parr's Ussher: Thorndike's letter, Nov. 10. 1655, Letter ccxcvii.

## ATHIAS

Athias was a secret Jew and minister of the congregation of which Abraham Israel Carvajal was the head, Carvajal and his son being the first Jews to be granted naturalisation. Carvajal was known outside the Cryptojewish community as Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, and has an interesting history, which it is not our business here to discuss<sup>1</sup>.

Athias hailed from Amsterdam and "vended books," Hebrew and in other Eastern Tongues. He was in Oxford in 1662 specially for that purpose with some books of his own printing, which Thorndike, the Orientalist, and collaborator of Walton, considered "to be a fit entrance into the reading of the Rabbins" as he expressed himself in a letter<sup>2</sup> to Pocock, also hoping that he might be converted to Christianity. Castell<sup>3</sup> was in the habit of getting books from this man, who was Carvajal's clerk in his counting-house, and who lived in Cree Church Lane, Leadenhall Street. He died of the plague 1665/6.

1. See Lucien Wolf: Introd. to Manasseh' ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell. Also cited as authority for Manessah.
2. See Twell's Pocock under date.
3. Letters to Clarke: see Lightfoot's Letters (Pitman) Clarke and Worthington: Nos. lix, xlvii.

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Canon H.P. Stokes in his Studies in Anglo-Jewish History has already collected the material relating to this Jewish teacher, a Florentine Jew, originally named Moses Scialitti, whose Letter Written to the Jews (1663) announces that he was baptised on June 14, 16<sup>6</sup>33 at St Margeret's Westminster, by the Dean of Worcester, while his sponsors were the Bishop of Chester and Dr Samuel Collins, with the Countess of Huntingdon for his godmother. His conversion caused considerable stir in fashionable society. Moses Scialitti was an Italian Rabbi (a Florentine), and he taught Hebrew and allied studies at Cambridge, notably in Trinity College where he received in 1664 £5.6.8, the quarterly salary being £1.6.8. The next year for nine months labours he received £4.0.0. Scialitti appears to have been a man of considerable culture as well as being well equipped in Jewish learning. He was held in respect and well paid in comparison with another convert called Michael, whose name appears in the Trinity lists cited by Stokes, who only received ten shillings on the one occasion he was employed.

1. A Letter Written to the Jews by Rabbi Moses Scialitti A Jew of Florence baptised June 14, 1663 Deelar<sup>ing</sup> the Reasons of his Conversion, and exhorting them to embrace the Christian Faith. London 1663.

MICHAEL

In 1665 a certain Jewish convert called Michael received ten shillings from the Trinity College Bursar for unspecified services, possibly in connection with tuition in Hebrew. No other entry in his name is recorded.

1. See the lists transcribed by Stokes in Stddies etc.

Jacob ben Rabbi Samuel

When Sancroft was Dean of St Paul's and "Governor and rector of Emmanuel College" he had as an occasional teacher and scribe a certain Jacob ben Rabbi Samuel, who addressed to his patron (possibly about 1664) two letters (hitherto unnoticed) asking his favour and employment in return for an old suit of clothes, or money to buy the same as he was destitute. The letters are in Hebrew and English of which the following is the latter:(Harl.MS 3784)

Right Reverend And Learned Deane

I humbly besich yo<sup>r</sup> worship to be so mercifull unto me poor scooler as to give me an ould sout of Clodes, & if yo<sup>r</sup> worship hath Any thing to writ hebrew: with vowlis or w<sup>th</sup>out, I shall humbly & obediently doe it

Right Reverend and Learned Deane  
Yo<sup>r</sup> worships humble and Obedient servant

Jacobus-ben-Rabby-Sam.  
Hebrew Scoolmaster.

ffor his Right Reverend and Learned  
Doctor Sancroft deane of St Poules this p<sup>r</sup>sent.

And the second note.

Right Reverend and Learned Deane

May it be please yo<sup>r</sup> worship to lend me a Crown Because I am to buy me som clodes to day. I will mak it short on my Salory When yo<sup>r</sup> worship will doe any thinge:in hebrew:Chaldaic:or syriak:for so many hoors a-week in yo<sup>r</sup> worships lezir time

Yo<sup>r</sup> worship humble and obediend Servant

Jacobus:ben:Rabby:Samuel:  
hebrew caldaic and syriack schoolmaster.

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JONAS GABAY.

Gabay or Gaby is mentioned here mainly because Castell refers to him in his Letters (to Samuel Clarke, May 9, 1668) and recommends him, vending books, as a very civil and intelligent person. Gabay came from Constantinople, where he suffered great losses by the fire there about 1660 and after his settlement in England, which he appears to have visited before the Restoration, he again fell victim of the similar disaster in London in 1666. He professed Christianity in 1669 but was not baptised until April 28 1672 "with much difficulty", as his certificate puts it, occasioned by the malice and opposition of the Jews, who had violently persecuted him since the year 1669, and "have procured several Persons divers times to set upon him, to the endangering of his Life". He made his wrongs public by printing a sheet to which he affixed his affidavit, dated 1677 and entitled A Brief Account of the Sufferings. The remarkable story he tells is worth repeating for its curiosity. He relates that since his open profession in 1669, he was hunted and maltreated by Jews in general and by Renegado Christians from foreign parts, whose practices manifested them of the Synagogue of Sathan: he was beaten, had the hair pulled out of his head; poison was placed in his food, and by connivance he was arrested and illegally imprisoned. In his several

several lodgings persons had been engaged to beat him:

And in June last 1676, my Landlord and Landlady, Mr Edward Stockbridge and his Wife, living in St Laurence Poutney's Hill near Cannon-street, Hotpresser, where I then lodged (were engaged) most cruelly to beat me, two days together, having fast lock'd the Door and put the Key in their pocket to prevent my escape; and then again beat me about the Head and tumbled me down Stairs several times, that I fell upon my Head, so that I was forced to call out Murther; and the Watch coming by at the same time, caused the Doors to be opened: but my Landlord so ordered the business with the Constable, that I was committed to the Compter without going before a Justice, or having any Warrant for the same: I found no favour, my Landlord being respected, and I myself a Stranger.

Gabay claimed that the Jews had bribed these ruffians to manhandle him, the result being that he was "very ill in his Head and most parts of his Body, ever since to that day," not without danger of his life, and to the expenditure of a large sum of money to the surgeons. The certificate attached to this declaration notes that Gabay had been resident about twenty years in London, and that he was baptised in the Church of St Margerets westminster.

(1) To all Christian Readers etc. The affidavit and the certificate occupy the reverse sides of the printed sheet

Abendana was a popular figure as well as a teacher at both Universities but he settled in Oxford towards the end of the century. His chief patron there was Dr Charlett, Master of University College. His name also appears in the accounts of Magdalen College in 1669 where he received two pounds for teaching Hebrew. At Cambridge he received annual sums of six pounds, and when he left Cambridge in the beginning of 1667 he received from Dr Barrow, the vicechancellor, a gift of ten pounds. Abendanna was engaged at Cambridge in the much desired work of translating the Mishna to which Worthington and his friends attached so great importance, and receipts in the Registry show that he received a total of £89.2.6. in this connection from 1668/9 to 1674. He was paid at £1 a Tractate for sixty three tractates, with additional expenses and payments for other connected services. In 1668 he was given £37 for some Hebrew MSS for the Bodleian Library. In 1689 he began to be employed as a lecturer at Oxford, receiving ten shillings for the last term of the year, £2.10.0 in 1690, and £2 each year from 1691 to 1698 and finally £1.10.0 for three terms in 1699.

Abendana had studied medicine at Leyden but had never practiced as a physician; as a rabbinical scholar, however, he was in great repute, and it is

said by Hearne that he assisted Thomas Hyde, the brilliant Orientalist, in rendering "hard passages" of the Hebrew of Iggereth Orhot 'Olam into Latin: it is also said that he contributed anonymously a Liber Deliciae Regum to Hyde's De Ludis Orientalibus.

In the Cambridge Mishna work Abendanna was engaged from 1663-1675, a copy of which lies in the British Museum (MSS Harl.3947,3847) entitled Mishna: "Latinitate donata atque Notis in variis locis illustrata ab Isaaco Abendana". It was never actually printed. He died suddenly on July 11, 1699.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the most prominent Orientalists of his time were interested in the translation of the Mishna, encouraged him personally, and discussed him and his work in their correspondence; as Lightfoot, in his letter of April 29, 1674, when there were but two sederim to be completed; Bernard, who heard from Lightfoot that the work was expected to be finished in January<sup>3</sup> and was glad to hear it; and Dr Covell, besides others his friends and helpers generally. In the matter of obtaining Hebrew books and manuscripts he did business with the members of the Royal Society, as Boyle and Oldenburg, and in his Almanachs received the patronage of very respectable scholars of Oxford. The following letter from him<sup>4</sup> to Tanner (Tan.Ms 22.46) has not hitherto been published.

Reverend Sir

Your Generous token I received by Dr Mills, for w<sup>ch</sup> and all your continuall favours, I can make my most humble acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> praying to God to reward you, w<sup>ch</sup> did come in a time op<sup>r</sup>tune to relieve some part of my wants I haveing been for about five months afflicted with siknesse that, I did not stirr from my chamber as yett, and I assure that this is the first time I wrotte, the winter being so cold and long, that did putt me in a miserable condition I have written to the Reverend your Vice Chancell<sup>r</sup> whom I had the honour formerly to attend with the instruction of the hebrew tongue, and who did in all times expressed his willnesse of doe me good, w<sup>ch</sup> I doe not doubt that he will in these ocasion recomend me, to the heads of y<sup>r</sup> houses to whom I have send constantly mine Almanak, I am much obliged to the Reverend Dr Gore & Dr Roderick Provost of K. College who allways have generously make a return, Now Reverend Sir, if you be pleased to make them know my miser. condition, and to Mr Vice Chancell<sup>r</sup> & the rest of my friends that they be pleased to give into the hands of Mr Laughton, who is very willing to promote my businesse it will be a charitable action and if you be pleased to lett me heare from you, what they answer it will be a comfort to me in this distresse. This is all at present from Reverend Sr

Your most obliged, humble servant  
Isaac Abendana

Oxon. May 5th.  
1698.

Concerning his other activities amongst scholars the following note from Jer. Oakley to Tamner<sup>r</sup> (also unpublished) casts an interesting light.

Honour'd S<sup>r</sup>

Tis now ten days since I made proposalls to you about Doctour Abendana, w<sup>ch</sup> were these either that we would give him seven pound & coach here down & up for eight weeks stay wth us in order to teach us Hebrew only; or y<sup>t</sup> if he will stay a moneth or 5 weeks longer & teach us Chaldee too, we w<sup>d</sup> give him ten pound diet & Lodging leaving him to pay y<sup>e</sup> Coachman himself. You have not been pleas'd to give us his Answer, and therefore I fear, my letter miscarried; tho I sent by y<sup>e</sup> Post. I pray let me beg a line or two from you now by y<sup>e</sup> Ist return; I hope I have bid

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I hope I have bid like a Chapman ; if not pray tell me so, & let me know y<sup>e</sup> lowest terms he & his Friends insist upon.

Abendana's repute as a teacher must have been high, and the general level of Oriental studies must have been low in the Universities at this time. His English (which is faultless and the spelling without flaw in the published writings, the greater part in his Almanachs) must have been corrected by those friends who were so assiduously concerned in his fair treatment by those who desired to learn of him.

When he died, William Elstob, Fellow of University College, wrote to Tanner

Rabbi Abendana dy'd this morning suddenly, sitting in his chair & smoaking his pipe.

In the same style Dr Charlett wrote<sup>7</sup>

Old Abendana rising at 4 to see me at ... .. about some businesse, having lighted his Pipe, fell down dead. A Merchant Jew, happening very fortunately in Town took away his Body for London.

1. I. Abrahams. Trans. Jewish. Hist. Soc. vol. 8
2. Ms Tan. 21. 128
3. The BM MSS mentioned bear the date 1719/20.
4. Thomas Tanner (1674-1735) Bp of St Asaph 1732 (DNB)
5. Tan. Ms 20.71. No date.
6. Tan. Ms 21. 128. July 11, 1699.
7. Tan. Ms 21. July 18, 1699.

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ALESSANDRO AMIDEHO. (Amideho)

The Hebrew chair at Edinburgh was held by Amideho in 1679. He was a Florentine Jew converted to Christianity, and a friend and correspondent of Dr Covell at Oxford. He was speedily ejected from Edinburgh, for no recorded reason, but possibly inherited the odium strictly due to Julius Conradus Otto, after that man's malpractice had been voiced in England and Scotland. He was deprived of his office in 1681.

See MS 22905 for some correspondence between Covell and Amideho: see also references in Grant, University of Edinburgh, and Fasti Scot. Eccl.

Moses Marcus, the son of wealthy Jewish parents (as he alleged), originating in Hamburg but resident in London and disowned by them, was bred up a Jewish teacher and left the Jewish Faith when still a young man. As an indigent tutor he met Byrom the poet and stenographer who was then [advanced in years<sup>1</sup> and] desirous of learning Hebrew. They met (as the records in Byrom's Diary<sup>2</sup> relate) in the coffee-houses and discussed topics of mutual interest, for example, at Abingdon's on December 31, 1730. He had published by then a book entitled A Defence of the Hebrew Bible in answer to the attacks on it by Mr Whiston in his Essay Towards Restoring the True Text. Marcus' book was a translation from the Latin of the Critica Sacra of J.G. Carpsov (Part III, 1728). He gives an account of his education and his conversion in his Principal Motives & Circumstances already referred to in a previous section.<sup>3</sup> To this is prefixed a certificate from Dr David Wilkins, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had found him a pious, sober, and ingenious young man, very well versed in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Talmudical and Rabbinical Learning, far beyond anybody that ever he knew of his age and education. He knew besides English, German and French from his travels, and had, by the Grace of God, attained to a very good knowledge of the Gospel Dispensation.

In the Dedication to the Archbishop, Marcus declared that by joining himself to the spiritual family of Christ, he had been banished from his natural parents, once most endearing and indulgent, but now conceiving a mortal hatred of him and denying him bread to eat and raiment to put on.

By whom being rejected, I quickly found my self like a shipwrack'd Man, plunging in an Ocean of Hardships, under which, in all human Appearance, I had utterly sunk, had not one of my Susceptors in Baptism, with the greatest Tenderness, took me under his Roof, where he still continues to entertain me, and supports me with the Necessaries of Life..

He then goes on to give the following account of himself.

I am descended of a good Family, well known throughout Germany and Poland. My Father and Mother are of the City of Hamburgh, in Germany, and now live in this City (London) in the greatest Splendor imaginable for private Persons.

In the Year 1701 I was born; my Parents took the greatest Care possible of me, and I being their Eldest and first born Son, and thereby intitled to a double Portion, according to the Mosaick Law, was the more esteemed by them; and especially when I was about eight or nine Years of Age, my Father seeing I took Pleasure in learning my Book, he bestowed a Tutor on me, that when I should come to be Master in the Jewish Divinity, I might take Orders. I was quickly ingaged in the Talmuds and Traditions, where all the Jews, who had the Opportunity, know that I apply'd my self to that Study, with some Diligence, and in all those Books, I made such Progress, that I became the Darling of my Father's Heart. When I was about thirteen, my Father went to India, and left me to the particular Care of my Mother, and my Tutor, and desired her she would not let me want any Education whatsoever, to qualify me for a Gentleman, and a Scholar, and withal, that I might be sent to Hamburgh, as well for the Accomplishments of a Gentleman, as to study the Jewish Divinity.

About a Year after my Father's Departure from England, my Mother sent me to Hamburgh (with a very able Servant) under the Care of an Uncle, and charged him to take great care of me; there I was about three Years, in which Time, I became well skilled in the Hebrew Language, the French, &c. and several other gentile Qualifications, especially in the Jewish Talmuds and Traditions, so that I was respected by all that knew me.

But being young, and not fit to take Degrees, my Mother sent for me home, and received me with tender Affection, and I received several kind Letters from my Father in India. I stay'd in England about a Twelve Month, and then went thither again, and took a Degree called Chaber, by which, I was entitled to be called Rabby.

At that time I became acquainted with several German Protestant Divines, with whom I conversed and discoursed about the several Differences between the Jewish and Christian Faith. In some Articles they convinced me; but in others I could not be satisfied.

1737

17-7

In 1737 he wrote the following letter to Sir Hans Sloane:

May it please Your Honour

I am willing to hope Your Honours extensive Goodness will pardon this presumption. As it is my great misfortune to be upwards of sixteen Monthes Confin'd in this loathsome and wretched Place, for a Debt my Wife Contracted; labouring under the most extreme difficulties of Life; scarce anything to cover my nakedness: upon the brink of perishing; almost devoured with vermin, by which means my Body is full of Sores & Blotches: a most dismal Spectacle to behold! If Your Honour be pleased to send any Person to inspect into my unhappy condition, must be shock'd and astonished at my dismal and frightfull Appearance.

I am willing to hope, as I have been Serviceable to the Publick by my knowledge in the several Oriental and Modern Languages, as is well known to several eminent Persons, whom I have had the honour to teach; especially to His Grace the Duke of Mountague (who together with the Earl of Egmont, the Lord Bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield & Coventry &c., and some Charitably disposed Gentlemen have largely contributed

have largely contributed towards my Enlargement, so that there only remains (about fifty shillings for Fees & incidental Charges) for whom I have translated several Pieces in the Oriental Languages, when the present Interpreter to His Majesty could not translate them, and I received a handsome Gratuity for the same. Likewise when I confuted the objections of the late modern Free Thinkers or Infidels, to the entire satisfaction of the learned Divines ( and received their thanks for the same) as is attested by the Revd. Dr Pearce in His Reply to the Defence of the Letter to Dr Waterland. And by Dr Waterland in his Scriptures Vindicated, And also by the several Books I have wrote and published, a List thereof is hereunto annexed, will induce Your Honour to some pity and compassion that I may not rot and miserably perish in this loathsome Jayl for the sake of so small a matter as fifty shillings, and the Almighty will infinitely reward Your Honour for the same. And if it be Your Honours pleasure and goodness to contribute towards my Enlargement I will acknowledge the same as long as I have Being with the utmost Gratitude. I am with the utmost Respect

Your Honours most faithful, most dutiful and devoted humble Servant

Moses Marcus

Wood street Compter  
 Augt. y<sup>e</sup> 15th. 1737

Books Wrote and Published by Moses Marcus, a Convert from Judaism to Christianity.

1. His Reasons for Embracing the Christian Religion.
2. A Defence of the Hebrew Bible, against Mr Whiston's Essay towards restoring the true text of the Hebrew Bible
3. An Answer to the Letter to Dr Waterland on the point of Circumcision &c.
4. The Traditions of the Jews, with the expositions of the Talmuds &c. 2 Vols. Oct<sup>o</sup>.

Now in the Press

The prayers of the Jews in their Synagogues for Common Days, Sabbaths, New Moons, Feasts and Fasts throughout the whole Year.

To which will be added,

1. The Prayers of the ancient Jews at their Sacrifices in the Temple: Collected from the Mishna & Talmud.

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2. The ancient and modern Customs of the Jews at their Feasts & Fasts &c.
  3. Perke Aboth Or the Moral & Philosophical Sayings of the ancient Sages about 300 years before Christ.

1. As a matter of fact Byrom was only about thirty years old and Marcus about the same age.
2. Byrom's Remains Chetham Society. Byrom, 1692-1763, see references in Introduction.
3. The Principal Motives and Circumstances, Lond. MDCCXIV: sold at two shillings.
4. Sloan MS 4055 f. 167.

ISRAEL LYONS.

Besides Moses Marcus whom he met in 1730, and Moses Beharer the Jew in 1734 at Daventry, Byrom took lessons from another Jewish tutor called Israel Lyons. His first lesson was on the 26th of November 1733 when he was initiated into the Hebrew alphabet and read a little in sepher<sup>1</sup>.

Lyons was a Polish Jew who had settled in Cambridge, where he was well known to the students. He published a Hebrew Grammar which went into four editions.<sup>2</sup> Cole,<sup>3</sup> the Antiquary upon whose notes most of the information concerning Lyons is founded, said that he used to call on him formerly for subscriptions of one sort or another, and then seemed a good tempered harmless inoffensive Man.. But in an obituary note, Cole mentions that he was looked upon as a very malicious and revengeful person. The fullest account is that by Canon Stokes<sup>4</sup> who relates that Lyons was living about 1732 in a lane at the Great Bridge foot, called Pond-Yards; but that he afterwards removed to a house in St John's Lane, near the corner of Green Street, and later still to the corner house of the Regent Walk, a short street then running from opposite the west front of Great St Mary's Church to the facade of the University Library at Cambridge.

Lyons was a silversmith but gave lessons in Hebrew to the members of the University and sometimes styled himself "Teacher of the Hebrew Tongue in the University".

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It appears that he had a certain status in the University, and had a copy of verses in the official volume on the death of Wilhelmina Caroline in 1738, where he styled himself Linguae Sanctae Informator. He was certainly engaged by some of the Colleges, notably by St John's in 1764 from which he received five guineas for teaching Hebrew. At Gonville & Caius, during the incumbency of John Mott M.D. in Dame Joyce Frankland Hebrew Lectureship, Lyons was granted £5 a year (April 27 1744) to instruct the scholars in the Hebrew Language, and he continued to lecture for some years while the official lecturer treated his office as a sinecure. Lyons died August 19, 1770.

1. i.e. Sepher Hatorah, the Pentateuch in which most learners begin their Hebrew studies.
2. See DNB. Cole's' volumes are in MS Add. 5875.
3. MS 5875 f. 96.
4. Stokes: see pubs. of Jewish Hist. Soc. of England. Lyons was not regarded as an orthodox Jew by the Jews of Cambridge: he was buried at his own wish in the churchyard of Great St Mary's Church. He was the author of the Scholar's Instructor a Hebrew Grammar with points Cantab. 1735: Observations relating to various parts of Scripture History, 1768. In 1763 there came out the Boston edition of a Hebrew Grammar collected from Lyons and Grey.

EPILOGUE

These studies have been rather abruptly brought to a close through a hopelessness ever to be able in reasonable time either to perfect or complete them, or even to edit competently the documents with which I had to deal. The growing extension of the subject, increasing day by day, appears to have led me far away from both the subjects I began to study and those nearer and more necessary to me. I draw a line myself where my work ends and where my hopelessness begins: namely at the editing of the cipher letters and the short account of Castell's career. Along with this I include some account of the study and learning of his time in his own field. Beyond that, where I have attempted to go, and I do not exclude the piecing together of scraps of Latin correspondence, (which has caused me unspeakable vexation,) I realise the unprofitableness of the work in my hands. If I could see a merit in continuing the subject further I would do it.