VOSSIUS, SPINOZA, SCHULTENS: The Application of *Analogia* in Hebrew Grammar

0. Introduction ¹

When we take careful note of the development of speech in children we notice that after a certain age they tend to ignore linguistic usage (usus linguæ) and replace, e.g., strong verbal forms by weak ones. Therefore, some children might use I writed for I wrote at a certain age while earlier they used the correct past of to write. They probably construct this past after verbs as to like and to dine, the former one being more likely since usually most toddlers just eat. Without having thoroughly studied grammars such as Varro's De lingua latina or bearing knowledge of the grammatical views of Aristarchus of Samothrake (c. 217-145 B.C.), it is apparent that they adhere to the point of view that 'the people as a whole ought in all words to use Regularity' (populus universus debet in omnibus uerbis uti analogia, Varro 1979, L. IX, cap. 1, 5: 444). The term regularity is the correct translation of Greek analogia.

In this paper, I will first discuss the concept of *analogia* and its application in grammars from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. First, I shall treat of Vossius, who was respon-

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sible for the reintroduction of *analogia* in grammar (1635); the discussion of Vossius is mainly of a theoretical nature. Then I will show the application of analogia in Spinoza's Hebrew grammar (1677) and, finally, I will show how Albert Schultens applied it in the *Institutiones* in 1737.

0.1. BIOGRAPHIES

0.1.1. Vossius

Gerardus Joannes Vossius was born in 1577 in Heidelberg, or in its neighbourhood. His father was a Calvinist minister who had to move frequently. The Vossius family lived in Germany, Holland, Flanders, and finally in Holland again, in the city of Dordrecht, where Gerardus attended the Latin School.

In 1595, Vossius won a scholarship to study at the States' College of Leiden University. He studied classics and philosophy and acquired the degree of Magister Artium on 13 March 1598 (Rademaker 1981: xxv, 35). Afterwards, Vossius studied theology and was for a short period lecturer of philosophy. His life as a student came to an end in 1600 when the burgomasters of Dordrecht appointed him as a vice-rector at the Latin School, which flourished under his later rectorial rule.

By mediation of his friend, the famous jurist Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Vossius was appointed as regent of the States' College in Leiden in 1615. There he became involved in the fray between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, which became increasingly a political and social conflict. Vossius and Grotius published during this period several studies on ecclesiastical history in which they defended the Remonstrants against the accusation of heresy. In 1618, the Dordrecht Synod excommunicated the Remonstrants. Hugo Grotius was sentenced with lifelong imprisonment, from which he succeeded to escape, and Vossius was forced to abdicate his regency. He remained, however, in the Leiden civitas academica, because he had powerful protectors by whose influence he was appointed as a professor in eloquence and history in 1622.

When Vossius was invited in 1625 to occupy the new chair in history at Cambridge University, he declined the offer in favour of a post in Latin and Greek at Leiden University. In his Leiden period, Vossius published several schoolbooks ² and scholarly works on history, ecclesiastical and civil, and rhetoric, with which he gained world-wide fame in the Republic of Letters. However, he remained under suspicion of holding unorthodox religious opinions.

The last mentioned fact might have been the reason for Vossius to accept an invitation by the magistrates of the more liberal city of Amsterdam for the post of rector and professor of history and politicology at the newly founded *Athenæum Illustre* in 1632. In Amsterdam he published his great work *De Arte Grammatica Llbri VII*, printed by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in 1635 ³ which was gratefully dedicated to Charles I, King of England (1600-1649), who had made him a canon of the Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral during his visit to England in 1629. He died in Amsterdam on 17 March 1649 (Rademaker 1990: 11-13).

0.1.2. Spinoza

Benedictus (Bento, Baruch) de Spinoza was bom on 24 November 1632 in Amsterdam. He was of Portuguese Jewish descent. He received his first education in the school of the Portuguese-Jewish community from his fifth to his fifteenth year. In the years that followed he learned Latin and became interested in Cartesian philosophy.

In 1656, he was expelled by the Jewish community because of his unjewish views. He left Amsterdam settling in Rijnsburg (near Leiden), Voorburg and later in The Hague where he died on 21 February 1677. He earned his living by grinding lenses.

² In the nineteenth century, his Greek grammatical textbook was still in use in schools.

³ In 1662, it was reprinted by the Blaeu printing house with the title *Aristarchus*, sive De Arte Grammatica Libri VII. It was published again as volume II of Vossius's collected works in Amsterdam, 1695; cf. Rademaker 1992: 110.

In 1670, he anonymously published his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* which was banned in 1671 by the States of Utrecht and in 1674 by the States of Holland. His other works, such as the *Ethica, Ordine geometrico demonstrata* and his *Compendium Grammatices Linguæ Hebrææ*, appeared in the *Opera Posthuma* (1677) shortly after his death, 21 February of the same year. He corresponded among others with Henry Oldenburg (c. 1620-1677), the second secretary of The Royal Society of London for improving Natural Knowledge, the British physicist Roben Boyle (1627-1691) via Oldenburg, and the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646 1716).

0.1.3. Albert Schultens

Albert Schultens was born on 22 August 1686 in Groningen. He is considered the 'Father' of comparative Semitic linguistics. At the age of 14 he matriculated at Groningen University, afterwards he studied in Leiden and Utrecht, where the Hebraist Adriaan Rheeland (Adrianus Relandus, 1676-1718) occupied the chair in Oriental Languages. In 1709, he acquired his doctor's degree in theology at Groningen. In 1711, he became a minister of the church in Wassenaar (near The Hague).

In 1713, Schultens became professor of Oriental Languages at the Frisian University of Francker. In his inaugural address, he expressed his views on the defects of Hebrew studies of his days. Since the remnants of Hebrew consist only in the 24 books of the Bible, it is impossible to give a full description of Hebrew. For an adequate description, Hebrew should be compared with other Semitic languages, in particular with Arabic. Furthermore, Schultens is one of the first who was able to establish the linguistic relationship of Persian and the Germanic languages and rightly observed that Turkish is a central Asiatic language. It should be noted that Schultens was a colleague of Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766), who was professor of Greek at Francker University from 1717 till 1740, the year he changed the Frisian chair for the Leiden one (Feitsma 1996: 19).

In 1729, Schultens became regent of the States' College of Leiden University. His large Hebrew grammar *Institutiones ad*

fundamenta Linguæ Hebrææ (1737; 2nd ed. 1756) was widely used. It had been reprinted in Klausenburg (Claudiopolis, Cluj), Transylvania in 1743 (Noordegraaf 1996: 37). His comparative dictionary of Hebrew was never published; it is extant in manuscript only at Leiden University Library. In his Leiden period, he was a colleague of Hemsterhuis again. He died in Leiden on 26 January 1750.

1. THE CONCEPT ANALOGIA

Although analogia is originally a Greek grammatical concept, the Latin grammarian Varro has given its final definition and it is largely through Varro that the concept entered into Western grammar, and it is likely that this Roman author is responsible that the alleged analogy-anomaly controversy in Antiquity is considered as a historical fact (cf. Fehling 1956, 1958; Robins 1990: 21-26). Varro defines analogia by stating that it is proper 'that all words that start from similar forms should be inflected similarly' (ut a similibus similiter omnia declinentur uerba, Varro 1979, VIII, XVIII, 34: 398-399).

Although analogia is also present in sixteenth-century grammar, it became a central linguistic principle in Vossius's De Arte Grammatica Libri VII (1635). In his discussion of analogia, it is obvious that Vossius is indebted to Varro since he explicitly refers to him:

In quæstionem præterea venit, an cùm Varro, ut diximus, ἀναλογίαν veritatem & rationem appellet, eique consuetudinem opponat: non æquissimum videatur, ut homines eruditi rationem potiùs sequantur, quam consuetudini obsequantur. Nostra hæc est sententia, similium verborum similem declinationem, quam analogiam dicimus, consuetudine subnixam esse debere, non solà doctorum, nec sôla vulgi; sed illà doctorum, cui bona pars vulgi consentiat. Quemadmodum enim in navi obtemperamus gubernatori; eum autem rationem sequi oportet: ita doctiores populo morem gerunt; is uerò rationis ductum sequi debet.

(Vossius 1635, De Analogia, L. I, cap. 5: 23).

Moreover, since Varro, as we have said, calls *analogia* 'truth' and 'rational regularity' and set 'usage' against it, the

question arises whether it does not seem most reasonable that the learned rather follow reason than comply with usage. Our opinion is this: similar inflection of similar words, which we call *analogia*, should be supported by usage, neither by usage of the learned only, nor by usage of the masses only, but by that usage of the learned which the better part of the masses agree upon. Just as aboard ship we obey the helmsman, who for his part ought to follow reason: in the same way, the learned control the custom of the people, and, indeed, the guidance of this reason must be followed.

It should be noted that the comparison with obeying the helmsman also occurs in Varro (1979, L. XI, I, 6: 444-445).

Vossius also criticizes the grammarians for their use of the term *etymologia*. He prefers the term *analogia* instead of *etymologia*, which term has been used for centuries for phonology and morphology, and, I have a schoolgrammar of Latin from 1945 in my possession of which the title reads *Latijnse Spraakkunst*. *Eerste deel-Etymologie* (Rogge & Koster 1945). It is obvious that the authors had not been acquainted with the works of their predecessor, for Vossius says that the term *etymologia* is being wrongly applied by the grammarians when they use it for 'morphology':

Vulgò tamen Etymologiam appellant; sed perperàm: cum Etymologia vocum origines inquirat; Analogia vocabulorum discrimina exponat. Quemadmodum ex Varrone, & aliis, postea comprobabimus.

Materies, circa quam Analogia versatur, est vox, non quidem ut articulatam ac confusam comprehendit: sed ut $\kappa \alpha \tau'$ $\dot{\epsilon} \xi \delta \chi \dot{\eta} \nu$ sumitur pro articulata, nec quavis, sed ea solùm, quæ ex instituto aliquid significat.

(Vossius 1635, De Analogia, L.I, cap.1: 2).

It is commonly called 'Etymology', but incorrectly: while etymology investigates the origins of words, *analogia* expounds the distinctive features of words, as we shall show later from Varro and others.

The matter with which the *analogia* is concerned, is sound, not understood as articulate and inarticulate both but exclusively as articulate and not as any articulate sound whatever, but only as one which signifies something by agreement.

Cries of pain, fear, etc. cannot be the subject of analogia but what about the Greek negation expressed by a tongue-click accompanied by upward head or brow movement? As far as I know, this negation is the only instance where this sound is used; we might consider it a phonological anomaly. In this context, too, it is useful to dwell for a moment on the following lines of the poem called 'Jabberwocky':

Twas brillig and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe:
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe

Carroll s.a.: 21 & 126

We can conclude from syntax that briillig and slithy are adjectives, gyre and gimble verbs, toves, borogoves and wabe nouns. From its context I may even conclude that outgrabe must be an archaic past of the verb to outgribe, since, as stated by Humpty Dumpty, this verb means 'something between bellowing and whistling, with a kind of sneeze in the middle' (Carroll s.a.: 129) 4. These words are articulate sounds and although they mean something according to Humpty Dumpty, they do not signify something by agreement. Therefore, these words cannot be subject matter of analogia.

Let us now see some of Vossius's other statements concerning analogia:

Vt verò meliùs intelligatur, utrùm ἀναλογίας, ἀνωμαλίας defensores sequendi sint nobis: distinguere oportet inter duo genera uerborum (Varroni utor verbis:) unum fæcundum, quod declinando multas ex se parit dispariles formas: ut est, lego, legis, legam, sic alia: alterum genus sterile, quod ex se parit nihil: ut est, etiam, vix, magis, cras, cur s. Vnde illud consequitur, non esse exigendam ἀναλογίαν inter nox, & mox cùm dissimilia sint; quia alterum sub casum rationem succedit, alterum non item.

(Vossius 1635, De Analogia, L. 1, cap. 5: 21).

⁴ On «Jabberwocky», see Lucas 1997.

⁵ The quotation is from book VIII, III. 9 (Kent 1979: 376-378) and the examples nox and mox in the next sentence are occurring in book X, II. 14 (Kent 1979: 544).

For a better understanding, whether we ought to follow the defenders of analogia or of anomaly, it is proper to make distinction between two classes of words —I quote Varro [sc. L. VII, III, 9: 376-378; 377-379]— one fruitful, wich by inflections produces from itself many different forms, as for example lego, 'I gather' legi, 'I have gathered', legam, 'I shall gather ' and similarly other words; and a second class wich is barren, wich produces nothing from itself, as for example etiam, 'also', vix, 'hardly', cras, 'to-morrow', magis, 'more', cur, 'why'. Hence, it follows that there must not be concluded to analogia between nox, 'night', and mox, 'soon', since they are dissimilar, because the former is subject to case system and the latter is not.

Bearing the last sentence of this statement in mind, I was surprised that Vossius in his speculations in the origin of language maintains that Greek $\beta\acute{a}\rho\beta a\rho\alpha\varsigma$, 'barbarian', is etymologically related to the Hebrew particle $\neg \neg$, $b\mathring{a}r$, 'outside'. So, a barbarian is an 'outside outsider'! Hebrew particles are pluralized or, as in this instance, repeated to express the meaning 'very', as he remarks (Vossius 1645, De Vitiis Sermonis I, cap. 1, p. 2.). No wonder, that Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766) reproaches Vossius for neglecting the analogia-principle in his etymologies of Latin, which resembled his etymology of Greek $\beta\acute{a}\rho\beta a\rho\alpha\varsigma$ where a noun is compared with a preposition:

Hujus quod dico exemplum illustre est in Vossio. Joh. Gerardi Vossii Etymologicon continet quidem res utilissimas et eruditissimas; sed si, quod de vocum Latinarum origine scripsit, indagamus, constat ne dimidiam quidem partem esse veram aut cum ratione linguæ convenire. Id mirum videtur in tam docto homine, et res est pene incredibilis Vossium illum ipsum, qui de analogia eruditissime scripsit, analogiam neglexisse in expediendis linguæ Latinæ Etymologiis, unde sæpe miserum in modum labitur.

(Hemsterhuis s.a., 342–343) ⁶

A very famous example of what I say is to be found in the work of Vossius. His *Etymologion* really included very

⁶ Rademaker 1992; 117 & 124.n.12 gives an incorrect reference, viz. Hemsterhuis 1845; 341.

usefull and very learned matter. However, as we look at what he said about the origin of Latin words, we must say that more than half of it is not true and does not correspond to the *ratio linguæ*. It seems amazing and almost incredible in such a leamed man as Vossius was, that he, who wrote on analogy with so much erudition, neglected the analogy in his research into the etymology of the Latin language because he made many bad mistakes.

(Rademaker, 1992: 117).

We should be careful, however, for there are Hebrew grammarians who maintained that Hebrew particles, indeed, belong to the class of nouns. Such a grammarian was Spinoza.

2. Spinoza's Compendium Grammatices Linguæ Hebrææ (1677)

In his Tractatus Theologico-Politicus Spinoza had stated that knowledge of Hebrew was necessary for a correct interpretation of the Scriptures. There is, however, a great difficulty. How can we acquire a thorough knowledge of Hebrew? The Ancients have not left us any dictionary, grammar or rhetoric. Moreover, only a few remnants of the Hebrew language are left and the Biblical books are few in number (Spinoza 1670: 92). He wrote his grammar at the request of some of his friends, as it is stated in the Admonitio ad lectorem (Spinoza 1677, CG: Mmmm4 v°). But what about the numerous grammars of Hebrew written in the Middle Ages? Furthermore, the amount of Hebrew grammars published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries surpasses the number of grammars of any language. Hebrew is the best described language in those ages. Why did Spinoza, then, decide to compose another grammar? Could his friends not have used any of the existing grammars?

Spinoza is of the opinion that the grammarians had made many mistakes because they had not noticed that in origin—nearly— all Hebrew words are nouns. He is not the only grammarian who thought so. For instance, the Catalan grammarian Profiat Durán (c. 1400) and the Italian Rabbi Abraham de Balmes (cc. 1444-1523) were of the same opinion and

so were other ancient grammarians. Besides, Spinoza mentions the latter and many opinions of de Balmes can be recognized in the philosopher's grammar.

2.1. Identification of word–forms in Hebrew grammar

From the earliest time onwards, Jewish grammarians had a procedure to identify word–forms. This procedure is called *miš qal*, which is best translated into 'balance' or 'scale'. It was qualified by Bacher (1974: 152) as «eine Grundsäule der hebräischen Grammatik». As many other elements in early Hebrew grammar, *mišqal*, too, might have had its origin in Arab linguistics (Bacher 1974: 104). This procedure of identification of word–forms has a striking similarity with *analogia* or *proportio* of the Greek and Latin grammarians (cf. Schenkeveld 1990: 291-297).

I give a simple example of *mišqal*: Dunas ibn Labrat (c.925-c.990) explains that there is a difference between the *qames* of the adjective pp fat, and the one of pp fat, oil, because of the difference in accent between the adjective and the substantive noun (an accentuated *segol* [e] in the first syllable of a word is changed into *qames* [a]):

ובין ושָמן מובדל גדול בנקידה לשד השָמן ממעל, המ`ם בו נקידות תחתיו. פתוח בשלש נקזדים ומעם שמן חלקו מתחת. ומשקל שָמן ושָמן אָבָן ואָבָן, נָפַן ונָפַן, פתן ופָתן ורבים כמו אלה במעם אתנחתא וסוף פסוק.

(Filipowski, 1855: 14).

And between <code>šåmen</code> and <code>šåmen</code> there is a great difference in accentuation: in <code>lesad</code> <code>haššå'men</code> ['cake of oil' [Num 11: 8], it has the accent on the first syllable, the <code>mem</code> in it is vocalized with three points and the accent of <code>šåmen'</code> <code>helqô</code> ['fat [is] their portion', <code>Hab.1: 16</code>], is on the last syllable. And the <code>mišqal šemen ['oil']</code>, is like: 'eben: 'åben ['stone'], <code>gefen: gåfen ['vine']</code>, <code>peten: påten ['cobra']</code>, and many like these latter forms with the accent <code>atnahta</code> or <code>sof pasuq</code>.

In Spinoza's time, *mišqal* was still used. He could have learned it from his teacher Menasseh ben Israel (1604-1656) who was teaching Hebrew grammar in 1647 at the school he attended. Menasseh writes in his grammar:

(6) Os gramaticos, como sejaô [!] que os maes dos nomes se deriuaô dos verbos, ponderaô todos por elles, caysto chamaô למשקט (pezo). Easî acordaraô deos medir por este verbo בְּשָׁל como por exemplo הָבְים por שְׁלֶב פְּעָל por שְׁכֶּם סְּפֶּעל por מִשְּׁל מִשְּׁל פָּעַלוּ a הַּרֶעוּ por מַשְּׁל פַּעַלוּ he הֶּרֶעוּ por que a הַ naô he radical,

(Menasseh ben Israel, 1647, II cap.6: 15 r°).

The grammarians, since it is a fact that most nouns are derived from verbs, balance them all with the latter, and this they call $mi\check{s}qal$ (weight). And they also decided to measure them by this verb $p\mathring{a}$ 'al, for instance, $\mathring{h}\mathring{a}\mathring{k}\mathring{a}m$, ['wise'], by $p\mathring{a}$ ' $\mathring{a}l$ and $\acute{e}res$, ['land'], by $p\underline{e}$ ' $\underline{e}l$, and $mi\check{s}m\mathring{a}r$, ['guard'], by mif' $\mathring{a}l$, while they always take notice of the radical and servile letters, and so we shall not say that $h\underline{e}r\underline{e}$ ' \mathring{u} [l. here' \mathring{u} , 'they made evil'], is 'in balance with' $p\underline{e}$ ' $\underline{e}l\mathring{u}$ [l. pe' $el\mathring{u}$] because the $h\hat{e}$ is not a radical.

Just as in English we cannot compare the morphology of birth with bird, since the th would be called by the Hebrew grammarians a 'servile letter', while the final d in bird is part of the root.

Jewish scholars applied *mišqal* also in coining new words needed for their scientific publications. The same held for the creators Modern Hebrew.

2.2. Spinoza and mišqal

From Spinoza's grammar, it appears that he wrote it with the intention that it would enable his friends to speak Hebrew (1677, CG: 14). Although many terms are translations from Hebrew grammatical terminology, we do not find the equivalent translation of *mišqal*, to wit, *libra bilanx*. Spinoza, however, uses the term *analogia* more than once but it does not necessarily reflect this grammatical procedure but he uses *mišqal* to reconstruct forms which do not occur in the Scriptures ⁷.

⁷ This is no exception in the history of linguistics. See Robins (1990: 44) on Dionysius Thrax: «The *analogíai* of the morphology set out in the *Technè* found their ultimate consummation in the liststs of nominal and verbal inflections, known as

Since the remnants of Biblical Hebrew were so little Spinoza had to reconstruct forms. He does so in verbal inflection and in his explanations of the morphology of the noun. I will give some examples in English first in the same way as Spinoza applied *analogia* in Hebrew grammar.

In English, we have verbal inflections as to drive-drove-driven, to write-wrote-written, but this last verb has an archaic past and past participle with the form writ. Since to drive is of the same class as to write Spinoza, had he known English, would allow to drive-driv-driv. And, of course, we are allowed to say: to dive-dove-diven and div-div. However, since we also have to dive-dived-dived the forms writed and drived are correct too. Since the intensive of to drive is to dribble we can use the intensive verbs to writtle and to dibble too 8.

Spinoza does, indeed, reconstruct analogous verbal forms based on *hapax legomena* or rare verbal forms. He does not doubt that his reconstructions had been existent; only, they are not found in the Scriptures, no wonder, since the Bible represents a small portion of Hebrew as it actually was spoken.

In Hebrew, there is a passive reflexive voice of the verb אָפָּאָר, påqad, 'to visit'. It has the form אָפָּאָר, hotpaqqad, 'to make oneself to be visited' or 'to be mustered' (Numbers 1: 47, 2: 33, 26: 62 and 1 Kings 20: 27). Spinoza states about this verb:

Verbum igitur אָפָּאָם, quatenus significat se ipsum visitare, Passivum habere nequit; at quatenus significat quòd aliquis se visitantem constituit, Passivum habet אָפָּאָם, quod uti diximus, significat præbere se visitandum, vel efficere, ut videretur, ut Num. 2 v. penult. [!] אַרְהַפָּאָבוּי לא הַחַפָּאָבוּ Levitæ non præbuerunt se numerandos inter filios Israëlis.

(Spinoza, 1677, CG: 78).

canons (kanónes ($\kappa \acute{a}\nu\acute{o}\nu \epsilon \in [!]$)), on which later paradigms were modelled. The best known is the complete set of all the theoretically available forms of the verb $t\acute{v}ptein$ ($\tau\acute{v}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$), to hit, of which, however, in classical Greek only a limited number were actually in use».

⁸ The verb to dibble exists. According to the OED, it means "To make a hole in (the soil) with or as with a dibble; to sow or plant by this means" I do not know whether it is etymologically related to to dive.

The verb hitpaqqed, then, cannot have a passive voice when it signifies to visit oneself but when it signifies someone has appointed himself as a visitor, it has the passive voice hotpaqqad, which, as we have said, signifies to make oneself to be visited or to make that one is visited, as in Numbers 2, the next to the last verse And the Levites did not let themselves to be numbered among the children of Israel.

A second passive of the reflexive verb pattern nitering, hitering paqqed is also possible. Spinoza had earlier concluded that the general characteristic of the passive voice is the prefixed $n\hat{u}n$. He is of the opinion that it is allowed to use that characteristic in all instances where a passive has to be expressed:

(Spinoza, 1677, CG: 78-79).

Finally, it is allowed to use a $n\hat{u}n$ -it is namely the characteristic of the passive of the simple as well as of the intensive verb instead of the $h\hat{e}$ with compensation of the taw by a $dag\hat{e}s$ as in Deuteronomy 21: 8 $w^enikkapper\ lahem\ haddam$, 'and the blood shall give itself to them to be forgiven', instead of $w^enitkapper$. And, therefore, I am convinced that the letter $n\hat{u}n$ is the universal characteristic of the passive, but that it is mostly omitted for the reason given in chapter 17. Consequently, the formulas of this infinitive are: hotpaqqad, hutpaqqed or huppaqqed, nitpaqqed or nippaqqed.

Contemporary Amsterdam Sefardic grammarians are of the opinion that these forms are hybrid. Let us see what Mosse Rephael d'Aguilar (after 1615-1679) said about them:

O preterito se aponta הַחָפַּקָּד ou הַחְפָּקָּד. Achasse esta conjugação misturada com a conjugação ede ambas se forma hum

verbo, como הָּפְעֵּל e o me∫mo com a conjugação הָפְּעֵל como em הָּפְעַל.

(D'Aguilar, 1659/60: 19).

The past is vocalized hitpaqqad or hitpaqqed. This conjugation is also found mixed with the conjugation nif al and from both is formed one verb, such as ništawwah ['he is equivalent to ...', Proverbs 27: 15]; and similarly with the conjugation huf al as in hotpaqqedû.

I am under the impression that Spinoza's contemporaries saw the verb pattern *nitpa'al* as a rare formation, may be not as an irregularity, for the language of creation cannot be irregular. Spinoza considers this verb pattern to be completely regular, i.e., *analogous*, and, indeed, it occurs frequently in Mediaeval and Modern Hebrew. Consequently, it is obvious that Spinoza's grammatical theory is predictive.

Now I will give some examples of Spinoza's treatment of nominal inflection. In English, there is an archaic plural of cow, to wit, kine, therefore, Spinoza would allow vine as the plural of vow. Moreover, since Spinoza considers particles as nouns, they can be pluralized, which intensifies the meaning of the singular, he would have sanctioned a plural of now, to wit, nine, were it not that the meaning of now opposes pluralization. Let us see how Spinoza applied analogia to Hebrew nominal forms.

In Latin, a noun functioning as a subject which governs a genitive does not change. In Hebrew however, it is the governing noun that suffers morphological change. Spinoza gives the following example:

Res vel absolutè significantur, vel ad alias relatæ, ut clarius, & expressiùs indicentur; ex.gr. mundus est magnus Mundus in statu absoluto significatur, at mundus Dei est magnus, tum mundus est in statu relativo, quo efficaciùs exprimitur, vel clariùs indicatur, atque hic Status Regiminis vocatur. Quomodò autem soleat exprimi, ordine jam dicam, & primò quomodò in singulari numero.

Nomina, quæ in ה præcedente vel gholem de∫inunt, mutant ה in ה, & in _ patagh. Nam הְפִילָה habet in ∫tatu regiminis הְפִילָה, & ∫ignificat precationem alicujus.

(Spinoza, 1677, CG: 25-26).

Things are signified either absolutely, or in relation to other things, in order that they are clearer or more expressly referred to, e.g., in the world is great 'world' is signified in absolute state, but in God's world is great, then 'world' is in a relative state, whereby it is more effectively expressed, or clearer referred to; and this is called 'state of government'. In what way, then, it is usually expressed, I shall tell in good order, and, first, in the singular.

Words that end in a $h\hat{e}$ vith preceding $qame\hat{s}$ or holem, change the $h\hat{e}$ in a taw and the $qame\hat{s}$ in a patah. For $t^ef\hat{i}l\mathring{a}h$ has in the state of government $t^ef\hat{i}lat^9$, and it signifies 'the prayer of someone'.

From the paradigms Spinoza gives on the following pages, it is seen that feminine nouns that end in $-o[c]e\underline{t}$ do not have a different form in government ¹⁰. Sometimes, according to Spinoza, this form is found in nouns which end in -u[c]ah:

& אַשְּמוּרְהּ אַשְּמּוּרָה habet ubique in Scripturâ pro Statu Regiminis הַלְּאוּבָה אָשְׁמוֹרָת habent הַלְּעוּבָת [sic], & הַלְּאוּבָה ideoque dico unicuique licere pro אַשְּמוּרָת ∫cribere הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת הַלְאוּבַת וֹנִינְאוּנוֹן itamet∫i neutrum in Scripturâ reperiatur.

(Spinoza, 1677, CG: 27).

and 'ašmûråh ['night-watch'] has everywhere in the Scripture as state of government 'ašmôret, and tal'ûbah ['drought'?] and ta'alûmåh ['something hidden'] have tal'ûbat and ta'alûmat, and, therefore, I say that everybody is allowed to write 'ašmurat instead of 'ašmôret, and tal'ôbet instead of tal'ûbat, although none of these two are found in the Scripture.

A fact is that אַשְּמוֹרֶה occurs also in absolute state, to wit, Judges 7: 19. Furthermore, אַשְּמוּרָה is a hapax legomenon (Psalm 19: 40). It might be that it is not found in government and that is the only correct form. To which I add that not all Jewish grammarians would agree. The forms חַלְאוּבָה and חַלְאוּבָה do not occur in the Scriptures either; the word is only found in

⁹ N.B. This transcription reflects scriptio plena.

¹⁰ The signe [c] stans for consonant.

the plural הַלְּאִרבוֹת in *Hosea* 13: 5, and הַּשְלוּמָה is not found. One might doubt whether these reconstructions are correct since מְּשְׁמוּרֶה and הַּלְּאוּבָה are different nominal formations, so, Spinoza's application of *analogia* might be incorrect.

There are, however, instances of strange forms for which Spinoza cannot find an analogical explanation. Such an instance is an instance is a terminal (Ezekiel 8: 16). The beginning has the prefix of the active participle of the reflexive verb but it has the suffix of the second person plural masculine of the 'past'. The Portuguese-Jewish grammarians of Spinoza's age explain this form in this yein:

Achasse o Preterito de tres differentes modos, asaber, Vizitou, vizitava, avia vizitado. O Prim°. se chama בּלְחֵי נשׁלִם perfeito, O Seg°. בַּלְחֵי נשׁלִם Inperfeito, o Ter°. בבר נשׁלִם plus quam, ou mais que Perfeito. Exemplo בְּלְחִי עֹנִין Vizitou, הְשָׁה Vizitava, שָּמִוּ Avia Vizitado. Achasse, o Imperfeito muitas vezes expreso com o Verbo הְיָה כְּשׁוֹם, הַיָּה שׁוֹם, הַנָּה מְבִין הַנִּה מַבִּין הַנָּה מַבִּין, פּבְּר אַת הַיָּה מַבִּין, פּבְּר אַת הַיָּה בּעִר בּיִּה שׁוֹם, רְבִּיה שׁוֹם, Peleijava: E para expressar o mais que Perfeito se achaô dous tempos em hua palavra, como משחחותם Vos avieis encordavado como se disse encordarua e משחחותם e disse encordarua.

(Leaô Templo, 1702/3, cap. 6, § 5: 20).

The past is found in three different ways, to wit, 'he has visited, he visited, he had visited'. The first is called *nišlam*, 'perfect', the second *bilti nišlam*, 'imperfect', the third *k'bar nišlam*, 'pluperfect' or 'more than perfect'. E.g., *påqad 'ôwanek*, 'he has visited [your iniquity]', *påqad 'et šåråh*, 'he visited [the vine-terrace]', *påqåd 'et `ammô*, 'he had visited [his people]'. The imperfect is often found expressed by the verb *håyåh* ['he was'] like *håyåh šômer*, 'he was guarding', *håyåh mebîn*, 'he was considering', *håyåh nilhåm*, 'he was fighting'; and to express the more-than-perfect there are found two tenses in one word, like in *mištaḥawîtem*, 'you had prostrated yourself', as if one says *mištaḥawîtem* ['prostrating oneself'] and *hištaḥawêtem* ['you have prostrated yourself'].

In Humpty-Dumptian English grammar one may use, no doubt, *he walkings* as a legitimate alternative for *he is walking*. Spinoza, however, would have held it for a scribal error, due to the hasty pen (1677 *CG*: 109).

There are other instances where Spinoza does not see a scribal error but where he shows himself a real Humpty-Dumptian. I quote from the chapter on the deponent verbs, quadriliteral verbs and of the composition of verbs, moods and tenses:

(Spinoza, CG, 1677: 108).

Rests that, closing what concerns the conjugation of verbs, I add a little on composites ¹¹. Composite verbs are called those which are compounded of two verbs of different conjugations or of two of the same stem or those which are compounded of a noun, a participle and a verb; furthermore, among these there are usually other verbs reckoned which express simultaneously two moods or two tenses, e.g., two composites of the fifth and the sixth conjugations are found, namely, $h\hat{o}\tilde{s}^e\underline{b}\hat{o}t\hat{i}$ [Zec. 10: 6] which is composed of $y\hat{a}\tilde{s}a\underline{b}$, 'to sit', and $\hat{s}\hat{o}\underline{b}$, 'to go back', otherwise, it should have been either $h\hat{o}\tilde{s}a\underline{b}t\hat{i}$ from $y\hat{a}\tilde{s}a\underline{b}$ or $h^a\tilde{s}i\underline{b}\hat{o}t\hat{i}$ from $\hat{s}a\hat{b}\hat{i}$; the other is $h\hat{e}ti\underline{b}\hat{o}t\hat{i}$ which is composed of $y\hat{a}t\underline{e}\underline{b}$ and $t\hat{o}\underline{b}$, 'to be good'; otherwise, it should have been either $hayta\underline{b}t\hat{a}$ from $y\hat{a}t\underline{e}\underline{b}$ or $h^at\hat{i}\underline{b}\hat{o}t\hat{a}$ from $t\hat{o}\underline{b}$. The first expresses at the same time two senses, and it seems that the prophet

¹¹ The term is rare, but appropriate; cf. the *OED*, 2nd edition, and in particular the second quote: «3. *Gram*. A compound word or term. *rare*. 1708-15 Kersey, *Composite*, a Term in Grammar; as A Composite, or Compounded Word. 1887 Earle *Philol. Eng. Tongue* §397 These [adjectives] are Composites; they have been formed by the combination of two words».

wished to indicate both ¹²; the second, however, taken in whatever way, expresses the same thing; and therefore, I do not doubt that we are allowed to coin other composite verbs of the fifth and sixth conjugations.

According to Spinoza, the form in is a 'portmanteau': «there are two meanings packed up into one word» (Carroll s.a.: 127). Consequently, in Spinoza's view, Lewis Carroll's 'Jabberwocky' is written in harmony with English linguistic usage. Besides, many Hebrew grammarians would have been of the same opinion.

* * *

Spinoza uses the terms *analogia* and *analogus* frequently in his grammar. Moreover, it is known from the description of his estate that he was in possession of Vossius's *De Arte Grammatica Libri VII* (te Winkel, 1916: 16, n. 50) ¹³.

Spinoza, however, applied analogia not as Vossius did. I am convinced that Vossius would not have permitted several of Spinoza's reconstructions. Spinoza's analogia-concept seems to be more in line with the analogia-concept of Jacobus Perizonius (1651-1715) and that of the eighteenth-century grammarians of the Schola Hemsterhusiana, to wit, «the creative quality of the human mind by which it produces the means of expressing thoughts» (Gerretzen, 1940: 131; Feitsma, 1997: 27).

3. SCHULTENS AND ANALOGIA

Schultens maintained that the study of Hebrew grammar could be improved by using *analogia* as a guiding principle,

¹² The translator of the King James version is of the same opinion; the verse is thus translated: «And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph, and I will bring them again to place them» (my emphasis), at which I note that הששלות is a causative.

¹³ The reference by Willem van der Hove is *Vossius de arte Grammatica*. Therefore, I suppose that Spinoza was in possession of the first edition.

for 'analogia is the life-breath of language' (quum tamen Analogia sit anima Linguæ, Schultens 1756: ** v°). When one studies the existing grammars of Hebrew, it is easily concluded that the language has many imperfections. This has puzzled Schultens for a long time, as he stated in the 'Præfatio' to his Institutiones:

Enimvero a longo jam perceperam, in eoque per quotidianam palæstram magis magisque confirmabar, non Linguæ esse Imperfectionem, & fluxa principia, quæ tantam Anomaliarum vim nobis peperissent, sed vitium penes Rabbinos residere, ex eorum nimis angusta, & defecta, institutione, malum emanasse. Hi nempe Grammaticas suas non confecerunt ad Veteris Linguæ amplitudinem, & late susam ditionem, red ad reliquias Biblicas, quæ ne vicesimam quidem, ut parcissime dicam, ejusdem partem continent.

(Schultens, 1756: **2 r°).

Indeed, I had since long noticed, and became by my daily struggle more and more convinced of the fact that there is no *imperfection of language* and that there are no *inconstant principles*, which generate such a great number of *anomalies*, but that this defect lies in the *Rabbis* and this evil comes forth from their too narrow minded and defective instruction. These, namely, have not composed their *grammars* with respect to the copiousness and the widely extended power of *the Old Language*, but only with respect to the *Biblical remnants*, which do not even contain-to state it cautiously-5 percent of it.

It is not difficult to recognize the opinion of Spinoza that there are 'several that have written a grammar of the Scripture, but none that has written a grammar of the Hebrew language' (Nam, ut uno verbo dicam, plures sunt, qui Scripturæ; at nullus, qui linguæ Hebrææ Grammaticam scripsit, 1677, CG: 24).

The reason for the publication of the *Institutiones* was for Schultens to eliminate all anomalies that former grammarians had thought to exist in Hebrew:

Hos jam, aliosque, defectus, non Jane Linguæ, sed Grammaticæ, ut inspiciendos præbent hæ Institutiones, ita iisdem levandis, farciendisve, viam naturalem, ac simplicem, aperire

conantur. Præsertim autem *Anomalias* eliminare, atque ad puram, sinceramque, *Analogiam*, revocare omnia connisi sumus. Aliquid effectum, sperare ausim [l. ausimus or ausi?]. Multo tamen plura, & graviora, conficienda restant.

(Schultens, 1756: **3
$$v^{\circ}$$
- [**4] r°).

As these *Institutions* offer to examine these and other *defects* not truly of *language* but of *grammar*, so they will try to lay open the natural and simple way to take them away or to amend them. In particular, however, we have struggled to eliminate the *anomalies* and to bring all things back under the pure and true *analogy*. We have dared to hope that it has some result. Yet, far more and graver problems remain to be solved.

Although Schultens does not see many anomalies in Hebrew, he nevertheless admits that anomaly in language exists:

Analogia in omnibus linguis prior & antiquior. Venit deinde Anomalia, non quæ turbaret Linguam, sed in multis promptiorem redderet, ac juvaret.

(Schultens, 1756: 103).

Analogia is first and oldest in all languages. Then comes Anomaly, not to disturb the language, but to make it easier and to be of help in many respects.

Schultens tried to show that most so-called anomalies are in fact regularities and in this his grammar resembles Spinoza's *Compendium*. This resemblance appears to be no coincidence: Schultens refers frequently to Spinoza in his *Institutiones* and when he criticizes Spinoza it concerns details only. Study of both grammars reveals that both scholars are congenial in their efforts to eliminate all anomalies of Hebrew and both are now and then going a little too far in their application of *analogia*. Schultens, however, went much farther than Spinoza, e.g., the latter concluded only to eight verb patterns, be it that several patterns could have more than one form while Schultens was of the opinion that there were eighteen different verb patterns. He is aware of the fact that he has considerably more than other Hebrew grammarians:

Ex auctis verbi speciebus, & formis, Anomaliæ, quas induxerant Grammatici, maximam partem tolluntur: nec valde firmum, ne verisimile quidem, quod tradi solet, nonnunquam vel diversas conjugationes, vel diversa tempora, in una dictione confundi.

(Schultens, 1756: 307).

On account of the *verbal subcategories* and *forms* added, the *anomalies* which the *grammarians* had introduced are annulled: and it is not very certain, or even probable, as it is commonly told, that *ever* either *different conjugations*, or *dfferent tenses* are *combined in one word*.

Schultens was thus able to see regularity in what Spinoza called 'an error of the hasty pen', to wit, the word particle:

In hi∫ce nihil de Præterito admixtum, tam parum quam in בּיְחַחַהַּשְׁהַ adorantes vos, Ezech. 8: 16. quod contractum ex בּיִחָהָּשְׁהַ. Indocte Spin. p. 109. vocat vitium fe∫tinantis calami. E∫t flos lecti∬imus.

(Schultens, 1756: 309).

In these forms [sc. just mentioned] nothing of the past is mixed in, just as little as in mištaḥawîtem, 'they adoring', Ezekiel 8: 16, which is a contraction of mištaḥawîm 'attem. Spinoza calls it without learning 'an error of the hasty pen'. It is a most excellent flower!

to which he adds that this contraction also happens in Syriac, a fact that Spinoza probably had overlooked, or it might be that it did not occur in Spinoza's Syriac New Testament (te Winkel, 1916: 3, n° 2). For Schultens, the s in he walkings would not have been a personal suffix but walkings is a contraction of walking and is. He would have called it 'a most excellent flower of speech'.

Furthermore, Schultens was able to explain several strange hapax legomena, e.g., לְּדְרִיוֹשׁ, which is commonly accepted as a mistake for לְּדְרִיוֹשׁ, Ezra 10: 16, by infixation. He criticizes Spinoza for calling it a monstrosity (Schultens, 1756: 448; cf. Spinoza, 1677, CG: 63). Schultens is able to make nearly all anomalies regular by comparison of Hebrew with the other Semitic langua-

ges, of which he knew more than Spinoza did. The latter made only and seldom use of Aramaic.

Besides the explicit references to Spinoza's works, there are many implicit ones. For instance, Spinoza qualifies the consonant as *principium soni*, 'the beginning of the sound' (1677, CG: 1), the sound itself being the syllable since in Hebrew there are no syllables which consist in a vowel only ¹⁴. Schultens gives as a definition of the letter:

Nempe *Litera* nihil aliud est quam signum, quo indicatur motus Organicus oris, vel in Gutture, vel in Labiis, vel in Palato; vel in Lingua fortius mota; vel in Dentibus. Is motus non tam principium soni vocalis, quam ejusdem vehiculum, sine quo distincte ex ore exire nequit.

(Schultens, 1756: 2).

The *letter*, namely, is nothing else than a sign by which the *organic movement of the mouth* is indicated, situated in the *throat*, on the *lips*, on the *tongue* with fairly strong movement on the *teeth*. This *movement* is not so much the beginning of the *vowel-sound* but rather its vehicle without which it cannot distinctly exit the mouth.

An other instance where he might refer to Spinoza is when he discusses the tenses, and in particular, when he states that there is no present in Hebrew. Spinoza phrases it thus:

Actiones ad nulla alia tempora referre Jolent Hebræi, quam ad Præteritum, & Futurum. Cujus rei ratio videtur effe, quòd temporis non nifl duas has partes agnoverint, & quòd tempus praefens, veluti punctum, hoc eft, veluti præteriti finem; & futuri initium confideraverint; tempus, inquam, cum lineâ comparaffe videtur, cujus nimirum puncta tamquam extremum unius, & principium alterius partis confiderantur.

(Spinoza, 1677, CG: 57).

¹⁴ There is reason to assume that for the Hebrew grammarians of the Judeo-Arabic tradition the minimal phonological unit is not a phoneme but a 'syllabeme', to coin a new term.

The Hebrews usually refer actions to no other times than to the Past and the Future. And the reason seems to be that they acknowledged none than these two parts of time, and, that they considered the Present time as a point, that is, as the end of the past and the beginning of the future; as to time, I say, they seem to have compared it with a line of which they, no doubt, considered the points as the end of the one part and the beginning of the other.

Although there are other grammarians who were of the same opinion, such as Abulwalîd Marwân ibn Ghanâḥ (begin 11th cent.), Abraham de Balmes (cc. 1440-1523; see Klijnsmit, 1992: 164 and 1998: 56-57) and Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564-1629), Spinoza is the only one I know of who compared time with a line in geometry. Schultens discusses the absence of the present as follows:

Minus rite Cl. Alt. ponit quinque tempora, præteritum, participium, infinitivum, imperativum, & futurum. Natura tantum tria admittit, præteritum, præsens, futurum: quin si subtilius inquiras, præsens tempus proprie dare non potest, quum momentorum sucessio illa rapidissima ex futuro mox præteritum efficiat, ita ut in præsenti puncto nihil stare queat. Sapienter ergo antiquissima orbis Lingua præteritum tantum, & futurum, in verbis agnoscit.

Schultens, 1756: 257).

Less correctly, the renowned Jacob Alting [1618-1679] assumes five tenses, the preterite, the participle, the infinitive, the imperative and the future. Nature only allows three: the preterite, the present and the future, but if one examines the matter more exactly: a present time cannot truly exist, because that most rapid succession of moments makes from a future immediately a past, so that nothing can stand in the point of the present. Consequently, the oldest language of the earth wisely acknowledges in verbs only a preterite and a future ¹⁵.

15 The ultimate source of this opinion is probably Aristotle's *Physics* (IV, x: 218a): «Το μέν γάρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, το δε μέλλει καὶ οὕπω ἔστιν έκ δε τούτων καὶ ὁ ἄπειρος καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ λαμβανόμενος χρόνος σύγκειται. τὸ δ" έκ μὴ ὄντων συγκείμενον ἀδύνατον ἄν εἶναι δόξειε μετέχειν οὐσίας», i.e., «Some of it is past and no longer exists, and the rest is future and does not yet exist; and time, whether limitless or any given length of time we take, is entirely made up of no-longer and not-yet; and how can we conceive of that which is composed of non-existents sharing in existence in any way?» (Wicksteed & Comford 1963: 372-373).

This, too, is *analogia* for there exists regularity in nature; *analogia* is by no means a linguistic phenomenon solely.

4. Concluding remarks

I have shown that Vossius adopted Varro's analogia —concept and reintroduced it in seventeenth—, century linguistics. Soon after Vossius, analogia was applied in European Hebrew grammar. The first grammarian of Hebrew who professed to apply analogia is Christian Ravius, but, in fact, he did not. Besides, as it is obvious from the title-page, he claimed to apply Comenius's didactics (Ravius 1646: Title page). However, although some Hebrew grammarians refer to Vossius, their method remained largely Ramist. This holds for Ravius as well.

The first grammarian of Hebrew who applied analogia rigourously was Spinoza. Although he must have been familiar with mišqal, the traditional analogia of the Jewish grammarians, it is likely that he was inspired by Vossius; he possessed several of the latter's grammars. Spinoza made use of analogia in particular in his reconstructions of Hebrew, thus supplying word–forms lacking in Biblical Hebrew. In some respects, he might have gone a little too far.

Schultens went even further than Spinoza, whose works he had read. Although he admits that there is anomaly in language, he nearly denies that it exists in Hebrew as it becomes clear from his *Institutiones*. Spinoza and Schultens made the Hebrew words «do a lot of work», so, like Humpty Dumpty, they must have paid them extra (Carroll s.a: 125).

The history of linguistics is too complicated to call Spinoza a predecessor of the Dutch School of Classical Linguistics but that he had had something to do with it, is likely. In the history of Hebrew grammar Spinoza's *Compendium* and the Dutch school of the Oriental languages, which is undoubtedly Hemsterhusian, had an impact which is still felt in our days: many Hebraists still make use of Wilhelm Gesenius's *Hebräische Grammatik*, in which, even in the version «völlig umgearbeitet von E[mil] Kautsch» (28. Auflage 1909; reprinted in 1985), the original *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der*

hebraischen Sprache [...] (1817) is easily recognized although all references to Spinoza and Schultens of the 1817 grammar have disappeared in the modem edition.

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RESUMEN

Este artículo expone la recuperación del concepto griego de *analogia* por Vossius dentro del estudio de la gramática hebrea, así como su uso y aplicación hasta el siglo XVIII a través de las obras de Spinoza y Schultens.

ABSTRACT

This paper sets out the recovery of a Greek concept, *analogia*, by Vossius in the study of Hebrew grammar, as well as the use and application of that term up to the 18th century through the works of Spinoza and Schultens.