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Hebraistik – Hermeneutik – Homiletik

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Herausgegeben von
Christoph Bultmann und Lutz Danneberg

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Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the time of Solomon Glassius (1593–1656)

Lutheran Hebrew scholarship in the era of Orthodoxy has suffered the same kind of scholarly neglect as theology from this period.¹ A few Hebraists such as Wilhelm Schickard or Wolfgang Ratke have been the subjects of monographs or collections of articles,² while others receive mention in university histories or books related to Jewish-Christian relations in early modern Germany.³ Only within the past decade have scholars addressed this facet of Reformation-era Christian Hebraism. Johann Anselm Steiger examined the use that Johann Gerhard and Solomon Glassius made of post-biblical Jewish literature, while Kenneth G. Appold has stressed the pivotal role that Hebrew and other Semitic languages would play in the development of theological discourse in Wittenberg beginning in the early 1630s.⁴ In my study of Lutheran Hebraism I will present a broader view of the phenomenon, based above all upon the Hebrew book trade within Lutheran Germany.

Peter N. Miller identified centers of Hebrew scholarship as possessing a »critical mass of erudition« that consisted of four factors: scholars who were well-versed in oriental languages, library resources, specialized printing

- 1 Johann Anselm Steiger: *The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy*. In: Magne Saebø with Michael Fishbane and Jean Louis Ska S.J. (eds.): *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Göttingen 2008, pp. 691–757, here 697–699.
- 2 Friedrich Seck (ed.): *Wilhelm Schickard 1592–1635: Astronom, Geograph, Orientalist, Erfinder der Rechenmaschine*. Tübingen 1978, and Uwe Kordes: *Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius, 1571–1635): Gesellschaft, Religiosität und Gelehrsamkeit im frühen 17. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg 1999.
- 3 Most importantly, see Martin Friedrich: *Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung. Die Stellung der deutschen evangelischen Theologie zum Judentum im 17. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen 1988, and Jutta Braden: *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie, 1590–1710*. Hamburg 2001.
- 4 Steiger: *Development of the Reformation Legacy* (fn. 1), pp. 725–732, summarizing part of his earlier article *Die Rezeption der Rabbinischen Tradition im Luthertum (Johann Gerhard, Salomo Glassius u. a.) und im Theologiestudium des 17. Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Edition des universitären Studienplanes von Glassius und einer Bibliographie der von ihm konzipierten Studentenbibliothek*. *Chloe* 33 (2000), pp. 191–252. Kenneth G. Appold: *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung. Das theologische Disputationswesen an der Universität Wittenberg zwischen 1570 und 1710*. Tübingen 2004, pp. 99–101, *passim*.

facilities, and well-disposed patrons to support such scholarship.⁵ Lutheran Germany possessed all of these resources to some degree, and Lutheran Hebraists were active in publishing their work even during the darkest days of the Thirty Years War. To assess the extent of Lutheran Hebrew erudition I will consider first Lutheran universities and their role in Hebrew education, then the Hebrew book trade as measured both by the Leipzig book fair catalogues from 1601–1660 and by the Hebraica libraries of Lutheran scholars and institutions, and finally the Lutheran interest in Hebrew scholarship as attested by the Christian Hebrew books published by Lutheran authors in Glassius' time.⁶

Hebrew had become an established part of the curriculum in Lutheran universities by the early seventeenth century. When it hired Johannes Boeschenstein in 1518, the University of Wittenberg established a precedent that would be copied by nearly all other Lutheran universities. Sooner or later all of them offered instruction in biblical Hebrew to their students.

UNIVERSITY ⁷	YEAR HEBREW INSTRUCTION BEGAN
Wittenberg	1518
Leipzig	1519
Tübingen	1521
Strasbourg	1525
Marburg	1527 (founded 1527)
Königsberg	1546 (founded 1544)
Rostock	1553
Jena	1557 (founded 1557)
Erfurt	1566
Helmstedt	1578 (founded 1575)
Altdorf	1578

5 Peter N. Miller: *Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century*. In: Herbert Jaumann (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus/ The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*. Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 59–85, here 85.

6 By »Christian Hebrew book«, I mean books that contain a substantial amount of Hebrew type and were intended by their authors to provide intellectual access to other Hebrew texts. I have placed these strictures upon the phrase in order to identify the intellectual mediators of Jewish knowledge and texts, and to avoid inclusion of books containing typographical ornaments such as the inclusion of a few Hebrew letters, a Hebrew alphabet or few words and phrases.

7 Altdorf and Strasbourg were founded as city academies and would only become universities later, Strasbourg in 1621, Altdorf in 1622, though each offered Hebrew instruction in their pre-university days.

UNIVERSITY	YEAR HEBREW INSTRUCTION BEGAN
Greifswald	1605
Giessen	1607 (founded 1607)
Rinteln	1622 (founded 1620)

Creating teaching posts for Hebraists at Lutheran universities was of course only the first step towards educating students in Hebrew. Suitable candidates had to be found at regular intervals to fill these positions. During Glassius' lifetime seventy-one different men taught Hebrew at Lutheran universities. Twenty of these men, including Glassius, taught Hebrew for five years or less. Nineteen others taught from six to ten years, while thirty-two professors taught more than ten years. Six professors, Paul Slevoight, at the University of Jena, (30), Stephan Gorlov at Königsberg (31), Valentin Schindler at Wittenberg and Helmstedt (32), Modestinus Weidmann at Erfurt (35), Laurentius Fabricius at Wittenberg (36), and Andreas Sennert at Wittenberg (51) taught for over thirty years. The long service of capable Lutheran Hebraists, for Fabricius, Schindler, Sennert, and Slevoight at least were gifted scholars, set a high standard of Hebrew learning within centers of Lutheran scholarship throughout this period, above all at Wittenberg.⁸

The availability of Hebrew instructors for Lutheran universities is only one measure of the vitality of a commitment to Hebrew learning. Authorship of Hebrew related books is an even more tangible index. Between 1600 and 1660, eighty-seven different Lutheran Hebraica authors were active at various stages of their careers. Forty-four of these authors (50.6%) were associated with universities, a third of them (29) taught Hebrew at a Lutheran university, while 13 others were university professors in other disciplines, and two were university students. Of the remaining authors, twenty-one were pastors (24.1%), seventeen were Latin school teachers (19.5%), and the other five authors included two Jewish converts, a lawyer, a physician and a scholarly secretary (5.7%).

These Lutheran Hebraica authors, and indeed Hebrew professors, were themselves largely products of Lutheran university education. A comparison of the pattern of university attendance of Lutheran Hebrew authors and of Hebrew professors (29 of whom also authored Hebraica books) reveals a hierarchy of reputation and perhaps expertise in matters Hebrew:

8 Appold stressed Wittenberg's central role in introducing a strong Hebrew philological element to Lutheran Orthodox theology through the work of Martin Trost, Jacob Weller, and above all Andreas Sennert between 1630 and 1660. Appold: *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung* (fn. 5), pp. 99–105.

HEBREW AUTHORS ⁹		HEBREW PROFESSORS ¹⁰	
Wittenberg	30	Wittenberg	22
Leipzig	22	Jena	13
Jena	15	Leipzig	13
Rostock	11	Königsberg	11
Altdorf	7	Helmstedt	8
Königsberg	6	Rostock	8
Giessen	5	Altdorf	7
Tübingen	5	Strasbourg	7
Greifswald	4	Erfurt	5
Strasbourg	4	Giessen	5
Helmstedt	3	Greifswald	4
Basel	2	Marburg	4
Leiden	2	Frankfurt/O	3
Marburg	2	Tübingen	3
Frankfurt/O	1	Basel	2
Rinteln	1	Heidelberg	2
		Copenhagen	1
		Leiden	1

These figures of where Lutheran Hebraists were educated are striking in that they not only emphasize the primacy of Wittenberg as a center for Hebrew study, but also the Lutheran universities in the old Lutheran heartland. In both lists Jena and Leipzig are among the most frequently attended universities, following in varying orders by Rostock, Altdorf and Königsberg.

The universities in southern Germany, Giessen, Strasbourg, and Tübingen, all played a lesser role in the development of Lutheran Hebraism. South German Hebraists, however, had more intensive contacts with Reformed Hebrew scholars, above all the elder and younger Buxtorf in Basel. Christoph Helwig, Wilhelm Schickard, and Friedrich Blanckenburg were

9 These figures represent the university attendance of 78 authors. I have not been able to find where six of these authors were educated, and a further three were Jewish converts. Twenty-six of those who studied at universities did so at more than one. Andreas Sennert attended five of them.

10 These figures represent the university attendance of 63 future Hebrew professors. I have been unable to find where seven of these professors were educated, and one was a Jewish convert. Thirty-four of these Hebrew professors attended more than one university.

correspondents or acquaintances of one or both Buxtorfs.¹¹ After 1650, a number of Lutherans studied Hebrew with the younger Buxtorf in Basel, including both Esdras Edzardi of Hamburg and Johann Philipp Spener.¹² The relative absence of personal, direct contact between Lutheran Hebraists with Reformed (or indeed Catholic) Hebraists did not indicate a lack of interest in their work. Lutheran scholars remained in touch with Hebrew scholarship outside of their tradition through reading their books, made available to them through the vibrant German Hebrew book trade.

While universities were the most important centers of Hebrew scholarship, several prominent German aristocrats supported Hebrew-related projects during the early to mid-seventeenth century. Count Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen was confessionally Reformed, not Lutheran, but he briefly made Köthen a center of oriental scholarship with the help of Lutheran Hebraists Wolfgang Ratke, Christoph Helwig, and Martin Trost. Ratke was most interested in language instruction, and asserted that he had invented a revolutionary new method of teaching Hebrew. He required his students, including Johannes Buxtorf the elder, to sign a pledge not to reveal any of his methods before he taught them.¹³ He had the opportunity to put his theories into practice by teaching in the Köthen school. Helwig's posthumously published *Sprachkünstler* (1619) shows the influence of Ratke's methods.¹⁴ More important for the development of Lutheran Hebrew scholarship, however, were the Köthen Syriac imprints. Martin Trost was the chief editor of the Syriac New Testament and two smaller Syriac printing imprints produced at Köthen, working at the printing firm funded by Count Ludwig.¹⁵ The count also supported the work of two Jewish converts, Christian Gerson and Christian Paul, who were to translate Jewish books from Hebrew into German.¹⁶

Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxe-Gotha also had an interest in pedagogical reform. He was a patron of Andreas Reyher, whom he hired to direct

11 Stephen G. Burnett: *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden 1996, pp. 259–267.

12 Johannes Wallmann: Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus. Tübingen 1970, pp. 92–96, 124 n. 3, and Braden: *Hamburger Judenpolitik* (fn. 3), p. 310.

13 Kordes: Wolfgang Ratke (fn. 2), pp. 71–72.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 369–370. VD17 14:023031D.

15 Klaus Conermann: Die fürstliche Offizin zu Köthen. Druckerei, Verlagswesen und Buchhandel im Dienste des Ratichianismus und der Fruchtbierenden Gesellschaft (1618–1644/50). In: *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24/1 (1997), pp. 121–178. Syriac New Testament: VD17 39:127647H NT (1621); 1:053144Y (1622); *Divi Johannis Apostoli et Evangelistae Epistola Catholica prima Syriacae, adjuncto e regione caractere Hebraeo & versione Latina* (1621, reprinted 1632); VD17 7:666176N; *S[ancti] Marci Evangelistae Evangelium Syriacae Literaris & punctis hebraicis, apposita e regione versione Latina* (1622), VD17 23:240122H.

16 Conermann: *Die fürstliche Offizin*, pp. 156–157, note 97. Verzeichnüss der hebräischen sachen so durch Christian Paulen verdolmetschet und nit verdolmetschet, Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt – Abteilung Dessau, Abt. Köthen C18 Nr 55, fols. 273r–274r.

the Gotha Gymnasium in 1641.¹⁷ Reyher's teaching interests also included Hebrew pedagogy, and he not only wrote several Hebrew grammars of his own, intended for school use, but also arranged for their printing in the newly opened Gotha press.¹⁸ Duke Ernst would also hire Solomon Glassius to serve as church superintendent of Gotha from 1640 until his death.¹⁹

Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel was known throughout Europe for the size and diversity of his library, but his interest in Hebrew-related subjects was limited and only became publicly known during the last decade of his life. The duke had long wished to revise the Luther Bible translation, and twice used his authority as one of the regents of the University of Helmstedt to hire Hebrew scholars with the understanding that they would work on this translation. Both Johannes Baldovius (1639–42) and Johannes Saubert the Younger (1660) worked on Duke August's translation.²⁰ This project ended with the death of its patron in 1666.

Lutheran Germany possessed then a critical mass of Hebrew scholars who were able to read biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, an infrastructure of university positions, and several important patrons who were willing to support Hebrew scholarship, even to the extent of paying the costs of its publication. The other two preconditions for Hebrew scholarship, active Hebrew presses and well-stocked libraries, we will consider in connection with the Hebrew book trade in Lutheran Germany.

2. The German Hebrew Book Trade, 1601–1660²¹

Lutheran Hebrew scholars relied upon the book trade both to supply their own needs and to market the books that they were able to produce. Like the Hebrew printers of Basel, Leiden and other centers of Reformed Hebrew printing, Lutheran Hebrew printers had to rely upon customer demand rather than aristocratic patronage to produce their wares. Over 90% of the

17 Annette Gerlach, et al.: *Magister Andreas Reyher (1601–1673): Handschriften und Drucke*. Gotha 1992, pp. 24–25.

18 *Ibid.*, 28–29. Some of his Hebrew grammar books include VD17 39:144339U, 12:129120Y, 39:146769U, 39:146765P.

19 Steiger: *Rezeption der Rabbinischen Tradition* (fn. 4), p. 218.

20 Wolf-Dieter Otte: *Duke August and his Revision of the Holy Bible*. In: Oswald Schönberg (ed.): *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*. Wolfenbüttel 1998, pp. 147–164, here 154–155. On the careers of Baldovius and Saubert, see Sabine Ahrens: *Die Lehrkräfte der Universität Helmstedt (1576–1810)*. Helmstedt 2004, pp. 14–15, 201.

21 The printing statistics here reflect all Christian Hebraica books printed in Lutheran German cities, whether or not they were written or edited by Lutheran scholars.

Christian Hebraica (267 of 292 imprints) produced in German Lutheran territories appeared in affordable quarto, octavo or duodecimo sizes, rather than the more costly folio format. By 1660 Hebrew presses were active in 33 different cities within Lutheran Germany, but over 70% of the production of Hebrew books took place in the top seven, nearly all of them university towns.²²

MORE THAN 10 HEBREW IMPRINTS:

Wittenberg	80
Leipzig	35
Jena	22
Nürnberg	21
Hamburg	15
Frankfurt/Main	14
Rostock	14

FIVE TO TEN HEBREW IMPRINTS:

Giessen	10
Tübingen	10
Köthen	7
Strasbourg	7
Altdorf	5
Gotha	5

LESS THAN FIVE HEBREW IMPRINTS:

Erfurt	4
Frankfurt/Oder	3
Goslar	3
Greifswald	3
Königsberg	3
Scheuslingen	3
Ansbach	2
Arnstadt	2

22 In my overall statistics I am including books written by Lutheran authors that were printed in non Lutheran cities including Prague (2) and Hanau (2) as well as one book which listed no place of publication on its title page.

Berlin	2
Breslau	2
Gera	2
Halle	2
Lübeck	2
Marburg	2
Stettin	2
Altenburg	1
Coburg	1
Dresden	1
Freiberg/Saxony	1
Helmstedt	1

Since both Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig were cities whose official confession was Lutheranism, Lutheran printers were well placed to use the book fair catalogues to promote their wares. Together, these catalogues comprised the most complete listing of books in print or forthcoming anywhere in Europe, making them useful both to printers of Hebrew and to customers seeking Hebrew books. The Leipzig book fair catalogues, which have been fully preserved from 1594 through 1660 and beyond, attest to the strong demand for Christian Hebraica books within Lutheran Germany.²³ Between 1601 and 1660, 945 Christian Hebrew and Syriac books were printed throughout Europe, and 440 of these appeared in the Leipzig Book Fair catalogues, 46.5% of total production. Some regions of Europe were far better represented than others. Of the Hebraica books produced in German-speaking Europe, 88% were listed (361 of 410). Imprints produced in German Lutheran cities were well represented in the Leipzig catalogues at 61.9% of the total (171 of 276). The proportion of Dutch Hebraica was 57.2% (95 of 166) and for Geneva Hebraica 56.5% (26 of 46). Only one in four Hebraica books produced in France (24.5% or 26 of 106 books) and less still for the Spanish Netherlands (9% or 1 of 11 books) were listed in the catalogues. Other regions or countries such as Italy (4 of 59 imprints or 6.8%) and England (4 of 118 imprints or 3.3%) fared still worse.

23 Friedrich Kapp: *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels bis in das siebzehnten Jahrhundert*. Leipzig 1886; reprint: Leipzig 1970, pp. 489–491. I was able to consult the catalogues on microfiche in the series *Kataloge der Buchmessen, Michaelismesse 1594 – Michaelismesse 1699*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1986, at the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Library of the Freie Universität Berlin, and at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

The Leipzig book fair catalogues performed well in advertising monumental Hebrew books such as Hebrew or Polyglot Bibles and books written in other Semitic languages such as Syriac. Of the 72 such books that were produced between 1601 and 1660, almost two thirds of them (46 or 63.8%) were advertised in the Leipzig book fair catalogues. Of the twenty-six books that did not appear, twelve of them were printed in Rome. Roman printers sent almost none of their books to the Frankfurt/Main or Leipzig book fairs after 1600. Between 1601 and 1660, a mere 40 Latin and 5 Italian books printed in Rome were advertised in the Frankfurt and Leipzig catalogues, a small fraction of what was produced there.²⁴ A further three books were printed by the Bishop of Lodève, Jean Plantavit de la Pause in Lodève itself, a town in southern France where no other Hebraica books were produced either before or afterward.²⁵ While the absence of the Rome imprints would have been a serious gap in coverage because almost all of them (11 of 12) were Syriac imprints, the Leipzig book fair and its catalogues offered a significant, if not exhaustive reporting of new Hebrew-related scholarship. Between the years 1601 and 1660, when significant breakthrough works of scholarship such as the Paris Polyglot Bible appeared, the Leipzig book fair Catalogues routinely reported their appearance and availability.

The books advertised in the Leipzig book fair catalogues found ready customers among Lutheran Hebraists and book buyers for university libraries. Surviving library inventories, both published and unpublished, attest to the interest of both in building Hebraica collections.

LIBRARY OWNER	CHRISTIAN HEBRAICA	JEWISH	TOTAL
Siegel, Georg (1598)	19	31	50 ²⁶
Pappus, Johannes (1610)	199	27	226 ²⁷

24 Gustav Schwetschke: *Codex Nundinarius Germaniae Literatae Bisecularis*. *Mess-Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels*. Niewkoop 1963, pp. 41, 44, 52, 68, 60 (sic, pagination incorrect), 62, 68, 72, 79, 83–85, 98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 113, representing 1603, 1605, 1609, 1612–14, 1617, 1619, 1625, 1628–30, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1655. No Rome imprints at all were listed between 1631 and 1642 or after 1655.

25 Printer Arnauld Colomiez spent nearly his entire career printing in Toulouse, but between 1640–45 he set up shop in Lodève to print five books, three of them by Jean Plantavit de la Pause. Then he returned to Toulouse where he remained in business until his death in 1666. Louis Desgraves: *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle*, Tom 9: Agde, Aramon, Béziers, Carcassonne, Castelnau-dary, Lodève, Mende, Montpellier, Narbonne, Nîmes, Perpignan, Pézenas, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*, no. 97. Baden-Baden 1983, pp. 65–66. Lodève imprints nos. 7–8 are repeated listings for nos. 4–5, and number 6 is printed (with consecutive pagination) as a part of no. 4.

26 Erlangen UB Sig. Ms 2436, 81r–90r. Siegel's library contained 917 volumes, some of them containing more than one title.

27 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Joannis Pappi Theologi P. M. Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek Ms 42 Aug. 20.*

LIBRARY OWNER	CHRISTIAN HEBRAICA	JEWISH	TOTAL
Ratke, Wolfgang (1620)	98	22	120 ²⁸
Blankenburg, Friedrich (1624)	55	6	61 ²⁹
Müller, Johannes (1644)	15	34	49 ³⁰
Schnell, Sebald (1651)	38	4	43 ³¹
Dorsche, Johann Georg (1659)	148	10	159 ³²
Gerhard, Johann Ernst (1668)	98	1	99 ³³
Sennert, Andreas (1678)	109	7	116 ³⁴
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES			
Giessen (1631)	10	1	13 ³⁵
Jena (1635)	111	14	126 ³⁶
Altdorf (1651)	91	39	130 ³⁷
Wittenberg (1678)	148	11	159 ³⁸

While none of these libraries except Altdorf had a significant Judaica collection, even a cursory examination shows that many of them contained Jewish books. The most common kind of Jewish book owned both by indi-

- 28 Gotha FLB Ms Chart B 1026a, pp. 95–101 contains the books in Hebrew, Syriac, and 7 Arabic books. At the time of the inventory, Ratke's library contained 1092 titles in 910 volumes. See Uwe Kordes and John Walmsley: *Eine verschollene Gelehrtenbibliothek. Zum Buchbesitz Wolfgang Ratkes um 1620*. In: *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 20 (1995), pp. 133–171.
- 29 Friedrich Blankenburg: *Grammatica Linguae Sanctae per Quaestiones et Responsiones plana & facili Methodo*. Strasbourg 1625, A7r–A8v. Blankenburg used these authors/books to compose his grammar: »Nomina Auctorum quibus usi sumus«.
- 30 Johannes Müller: *Judaismus oder Judenthum*. Hamburg 1644, fols.)00(3v-)000(, 1r, Ccc-cccc 3r- Dddddd1v (VD17 3:609885T). Müller claimed to have consulted these books, not that he owned all of them. He also used at least three Jewish polemical manuscripts.
- 31 Erlangen UB Sig. Ms 2436, fols. 190r–193v.
- 32 Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin Acta Acad VIIIc [Dorsche]. This total includes one Jewish manuscript work.
- 33 Johann Anselm Steiger and Alexander Bitzel (eds.): *Bibliotheca Gerhardina: Rekonstruktion der Gelehrten- und Leihbibliothek Johann Gerhards (1582–1637) und seines Sohnes Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668)*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 2002.
- 34 Andreas Sennert (ed.): *Bibliothecae Academiae Wittebergensis Publicae*. Wittenberg 1678, 38–46. These books are only what he gave to the library. He probably owned other books as well.
- 35 Giessen UB, Sig. Ms. 30, pp. 69–171. This total includes two Jewish manuscripts.
- 36 Jena UB Sig. Ms Prov Q 15, 5. This total includes one Hebrew Bible manuscript.
- 37 I have reconstructed Altdorf UB's holdings by citing the 1625 catalogue of books in Hebrew and other Semitic languages (Erlangen UB Ms 2437, pp. 323–325) together with the bequest of Schnell.
- 38 Sennert: *Bibliothecae Academiae* (fn. 32).

viduals and university libraries were linguistic helps. These included David Kimhi's Hebrew grammar and dictionary, owned by Blankenburg, Müller, Pappus, Ratke, and Siegel, and by the university libraries of Altdorf, Jena and Wittenberg. *Sefer Aruk*, the standard Talmudic lexicon, was owned by Müller and Siegel, as well as by Altdorf and Jena. Elias Levita's books in translation were widely available in these libraries, but so was his untranslated *Sefer Meturgeman*, owned by Siegel and Pappus, and by Altdorf and Jena. Siegel, Pappus and Müller had complete Talmuds, as did the Altdorf and Jena university libraries. Müller, Pappus, Schickard,³⁹ Schnell, Sennert and Siegel owned rabbinical Bibles, as did all four of the university libraries. Jewish prayer books were also a common element in these libraries: Dorsche, Pappus, Ratke, and Siegel all owned copies, as did Altdorf's library.

Many of these libraries also contained anti-Christian polemical books as well. Isaac Abravanel's commentary on Daniel (*Sefer Ma'anyane ha-Yeshuah*) was frequently used by Jews in Hamburg to refute Christian claims, according to Johannes Müller, and both he and Sennert owned copies of the work. Lutheran scholars beginning with Luther himself were also aware of the contents of *Sefer Nizzabon Vetus*, since Sebastian Münster had substantial portions of it in his *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–35 and 1546), his Hebrew version of the Gospel of Matthew (1537, 1557, 1582), and his polemical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian (1529, 1539).⁴⁰ Dorsche and the University libraries of Wittenberg and Jena owned copies of the Münster Bible, and both Sennert and Ratke owned copies of the Gospel of Matthew translation. The Jena university library held a copy of the polemical dialogue.

Curiously, Duke August of Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel had only a modest Hebrew collection, although in most other respects his library was larger than any other in Europe at the time of his death. Only after Johannes Saubert the younger began to work on the German Bible translation did Duke August begin to acquire significant numbers of Jewish books. Of the 400 or so Hebrew books recorded by Philipp Ehrenberg in his bibliography of Hebrew books held by the Herzog August Bibliothek in 1850, only 27 titles bear call numbers indicating that they were acquired by Duke August

39 Walter W. Müller: Hebräische und chaldäische Studien. In: Wilhelm Schickard 1592–1635 (fn. 2), pp. 49–108, here 106.

40 VD16 B2881, B2882 (Bible), B4898, B4899, B4900 (Matthew), M6720 (1539 only). The first printing of Münster's disputation *Vikkuah Christiani Hominis cum Iudaeo pertinaciter prodigiosis suis opinionibus & scripturae violentis interpretationibus addicto*, *Colloquium* (Basel, 1529) [Tübingen UB Sig. Ci VII 15a]. On Münster's use of *Sefer Nizzabon*, see Stephen G. Burnett: Dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in Sebastian Münster's *Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews* (1529/39). In: *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 91 (2000), pp. 168–190.

himself.⁴¹ In 1665, Duke August ordered the purchase of a Lublin printing of the Talmud from Jacob Pedanke of Hamburg, a work that is apparently no longer a part of the collection.⁴² Most of the library's Hebraica collection was acquired by Duke August's immediate successors and by the University of Helmstedt library, which too would later be incorporated into the Herzog August Bibliothek.

The size of the Hebrew collections owned by individual scholars is especially striking. Until well into the eighteenth century scholars were forced to purchase the books that they needed and could not rely on university libraries to support their studies. The libraries of university professors were often the most valuable part of their estates.⁴³ Yet to purchase high priced Hebrew books could involve considerable sacrifice. When Johannes Buxtorf the elder purchased a Talmud set, it cost him more than twice his annual salary as a professor of Hebrew at Basel to do so.⁴⁴

3. Lutheran Uses of Hebrew⁴⁵

Lutheran Hebraists were not content to adorn their shelves with Hebrew books, whether written by Christians or Jews. They made extensive use of these works in both university teaching and in publishing. The three most important uses that Lutheran Hebraists made of their skill involved the study of Hebrew and other Semitic languages, the Hebrew Bible and

41 Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, Ms Cod. Guelf. BA I 497, available online: diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=mss/ba-i-497&image=00007. Ehrenberg Nos. 18, 21 (2 copies), 22, 50, 52, 95–110 (Lublin Talmud), 113, 114 (2 copies), 123, 128, 141–142, 153, 158, 161, 166, 167, 170, 177, 181, 183, 189, and a further three books without numbers. The Hebraica collection of the Herzog August Bibliothek deserves a more detailed study. Provisionally see Naomi Feuchtwanger: *Sie werden lernen von deinen Worten: Kostbare hebräische Bücher in der Herzog August Bibliothek*. Wolfenbüttel 1988, and Silke Schaeper's discussion of the collection at www.hab.de/forschung/projekte/hebraica.htm.

42 Kurt Wilhelm: *The Duke and the Talmud*. In: *Kiryat Sefer* 12 (1936), pp. 494–497 (Hebrew). Ehrenberg Nos. 95–110.

43 See Paul Raabe: *Bibliotheken und gelehrtes Buchwesen: Bemerkungen über die Büchersammlungen der Gelehrten im 17. Jahrhundert*. In: Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (eds.): *Res Publica Litteraria: Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*. Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 643–661, here 650–651, and Gerhard Streich: *Die Büchersammlungen Göttinger Professoren im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: Paul Raabe (ed.): *Öffentliche und Private Bibliotheken im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Raritätenkammern, Forschungsinstrumente oder Bildungsstätten?* Bremen and Wolfenbüttel 1977, pp. 241–299, here 258.

44 Burnett: *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (fn. 11), pp. 47–48.

45 The statistics for books written or edited by Lutheran scholars who were active during Glasius' lifetime reflects what they wrote throughout their careers, not only what they wrote between 1601 and 1660. I have not included reprints of earlier Lutheran authors including the many editions of Luther's Small Catechism with Hebrew translation.

biblical interpretation, and books related to Judaism, especially anti-Jewish polemics. Lutheran books related to biblical Hebrew and cognate Semitic languages represented over 63.8% of all Hebraica books produced in Lutheran lands (183/287). The vast majority of these books were Hebrew grammars (128) and dictionaries (35). Lutheran scholars also produced a number of handbooks on more specialized topics such as Hebrew poetry and prose, Hebrew accents and of course Solomon Glassius' monumental *Philologia Sacra*. Lutheran authors also wrote essays on more technical subjects such as Hebrew etymology, poetic meter, and Semitic languages in general.

The overwhelming number of Hebrew grammars and dictionaries produced in Lutheran lands is not surprising since the scholars most likely to purchase Hebrew books were beginning students of Hebrew, as was true elsewhere in Europe. Lutheran Hebrew educators aspired to offer their students not only basic Hebrew instruction, but also instruction in other Semitic languages. Biblical Aramaic instruction probably began among Lutherans when Hebrew instruction did since Matthaeus Goldhahn's early Hebrew grammar *Compendium Hebraeae Grammatices* (1523) contained a brief sketch of the language.⁴⁶ More formally, Jena began advertising Aramaic instruction in its twice-annual published course listings as early as 1601, followed by Wittenberg only in 1632.⁴⁷ Jena also offered the first formal course in Syriac in 1614. Altdorf was the first Lutheran university to offer an Arabic class in 1624, followed in 1632 by Wittenberg.⁴⁸ To support instruction in this new subject, Lutheran authors composed six Syriac grammars, beginning with Christoph Crinesius' *Gymnasium Syriacum* (Wittenberg, 1611), and five Semitic language grammars containing information on Arabic, including Andreas Sennert's *Introductio Brevis ad linguam Arabicam* (Wittenberg, 1650), printed with Hebrew type instead of Arabic characters.⁴⁹ While Lutheran Hebraists were not pioneers in the field of comparative Semitics, they were enthusiastic consumers of such works.

The number of Lutheran Hebrew grammars and dictionaries intended for the use of younger students is also striking. At least four German-

46 VD16 G 2550.

47 »Malachiae Prophetæ explicatione progredietur: Nec non Grammatica praecepta ...«. Rector Academiae Ienensis, M. Petrus Piscator, Hebraearum Literarum Professor Publicus. L. S.: Antisthenem, Philosophum, Tanta Discendi Cupiditate flagrasse ... P. P. Ienae 11. Calendas Aprilis, anni ... 1601 (Jena 1601), Jena UB Sig. 2 Hist. lit. VI,9(28). Prorector et Consilium Academiae Wittebergensis Publ. Civibus Academicis (1632), downloaded from VD17: 547: 637630N. The University of Altdorf hired Julius Conrad Otto to serve as a professor for Hebrew, Syriac, and Aramaic in 1603. Wolfgang Mährle: *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)*. Stuttgart, 2000, p. 267.

48 Mährle: *Academia Norica*, p. 271. Wittenberg: Prorector et Consilium Academiae Wittebergensis Publ. Civibus Academicis (1632), downloaded from VD17: 547: 637630N.

49 Crinesius: VD17 1:071333T, Sennert: VD17 3:022090F.

language Hebrew grammars were printed between 1601 and 1660, written by Elias Hutter (1603), Paul Josephus (1613), Christoph Helwig (1619), and Wilhelm Schickard (1629, 1630, 1633).⁵⁰ These grammars could only have been intended for school use since university instruction was invariably in Latin. Moreover, both Hutter and Wolfgang Ratke were committed to teaching students Hebrew using the German language as a part of their pedagogical systems. Apart from these German language Hebrew books, some grammars and dictionaries were intended for the use of gymnasium students, including Sebastian Meier's *Compendium lexicī hebraei* (1644) and Meno Hanneken's *Tabulae Synopticae Grammaticae* (1660), which were both printed for use in the Lübeck gymnasium.⁵¹ Andreas Reyher's *Prima legendi Hebraice Rudimenta* (1641) was intended for use in the Gotha gymnasium.⁵²

Although the primary reason for Hebrew instruction was to make it possible for students to study the Old Testament in its original language, Hebrew instruction also made possible more public and ornamental uses of the language within Lutheran universities. Many Lutheran scholars believed that Hebrew was in fact the »mother of all languages«, following in a tradition that went back at least to Saint Augustine.⁵³ Since it was the oldest of all languages and a biblical language, mastery of Hebrew made it possible for some scholars to make their mark among their peers through composing Hebrew poetry and orations to demonstrate their skills and to ornament public occasions and ceremonies. Duke August of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel received several Hebrew poems honoring him over the course of his long life.⁵⁴ Hartmut Bobzin has described a large collection of Hebrew broadsides held by the Erlangen University Library dating from this period that includes occasional poems written in honor of students receiving their degrees, marriages, and deaths.⁵⁵ One remarkable broadsheet honored

50 Elias Hutter: *S. Linguae Cubus Hebraico Germanicus*. Hamburg 1603; Paul Josephus: *Teutsche Dikduk oder Grammatica das ist richtige unnd kurtze Erklerung der hebreischen spraach* (1613) VD17 39:147791G; Christoph Helwig: *Hebraeische Sprachkunst: deutsch beschrieben* (1619) VD17 14:023035K; Wilhelm Schickard: *Der Hebraische Trichter / Die Sprache leicht Einzugiesen* (1629, 1630, 1633): VD17 23:293103G, 12:199656P, 23:280796E.

51 Sebastian Meier: *Compendium lexicī hebraei a Wilhelmo Schickhardo olim editum, nunc vero in usum Scholae Lubecensis seorsim excusum*. Rostock 1644; Meno Hanneken: *Grammatica Hebraea Cum Tabulis Synopticis*. 1660. VD17 12: 128956C.

52 VD17 39:144339U.

53 Augustine: *City of God*, Bk. XVI, Chap. 11. Steiger: *Development of the Reformation Legacy* (fn. 1), p. 726.

54 Monika Hueck: *Gelegenheitsgedichte auf Herzog August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg und seine Familie* (1579–1666). *Repertorien zur Erforschung der fruhen Neuzeit*. Vol. 4. Wolfenbüttel 1982, pp. 90 (#170), 100 (#202), 180 (#428), 198 (#477).

55 Hartmut Bobzin: *Philologendichtung: Seltene Einblattdrucke aus der ehemaligen Universitätsbibliothek Altdorf*. *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 24 (1996), pp. 134–147, partially describing Erlangen UB Sig. 2o Ltg II, 100b.

the memory of Sophia, the widow of Saxon Elector Christian I, with poems composed by Bartholomaeus Beck in Hebrew, Syriac, and Aramaic.⁵⁶ In 1617, on the occasion of the Reformation anniversary in Wittenberg, Joachim Reichard even composed and published an Arabic poem in praise of Luther.⁵⁷ Several Lutheran Hebraists expressed their condolences to the younger Buxtorf at his father's death in the form of Hebrew poetry.⁵⁸ Hebrew epigrams, composed to grace the introductions of colleagues and friends, were also not unknown in the Lutheran world. Hieronymus Avianus' *Clavis Poeseos Sacrae* (1628) contains no fewer than seven Hebrew poems written in his honor by Wilhelm Schickard, Daniel Schwenter, Christoph Crinesius, Johann Zechendorff, Bartholomaeus Mayer, and his brother Wilhelm.⁵⁹

Lutheran Hebraists also at times wrote Hebrew prose compositions. Daniel Schwenter went so far as to assert, rather optimistically, that writing letters in Hebrew was an attainment expected not only of Hebrew students but also from Hebrew professors. He himself corresponded in Hebrew with Johann Meelführer, a Hebraist who was the last titular abbot of Heilbronn.⁶⁰ Johann Heinrich Dauber once delivered a Hebrew oration in Marburg on the value of Hebrew learning, a speech that no doubt pained those less learned than himself to hear.⁶¹ Dauber's display of Hebrew learning, while perhaps extreme even in its own time, represents a characteristic feature of early modern university life. Public occasions were ornamented by displays of learning in the form of oratory or poetry, and Hebrew expert could demonstrate his expertise by supplying such works in Hebrew or other Semitic languages.

Lutheran Hebraists also printed eighty six books related to the Hebrew Bible (77 titles; 30%). During these years three complete Hebrew Bibles were printed in Lutheran Germany, as well as two polyglot Bibles, one edited by Elias Hutter (Hamburg, 1603) and the other by Martin Geier in Leipzig (1657).⁶² Elias Hutter's enormous Polyglot Bible project, containing

56 Ibid., pp. 144–145.

57 Ibid., pp. 146–147. Bobzin wryly commented, »Obwohl der arabische Text eine Reihe von Barbarismen aufweist, stellt er doch eine für seine Zeit bemerkenswerte Leistung dar«.

58 Burnett: From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies (fn. 11), pp. 32–33, 151 n. 81.

59 VD17 12:127503W. Bobzin: Philologendichtung, p. 136. Schwenter, Zechendorf, and Wilhelm Avianus also included poems in Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic.

60 Ibid., p. 136. On Christian Hebraist correspondence in Hebrew, see Burnett: From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies (fn. 11), pp. 136–145.

61 Johann Heinrich Dauber: Oratio Hebraico Rabbinnica De Utilitate et Necessitate Linguae Hebraicae et ejus Studio recte Instituendo. Marburg 1630. [Hannover: Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek].

62 Opus quadripartitum Sacrae Scripturae: Continens s. biblia, sive libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti, omnes quadruplici lingua, Ebraica, Graeca, Latina et Germanica. Hamburg 1603, VD17 3:008361E; Biblia Universa. Et Hebraica quidem: cum Latina interpretatione Xantis

only Genesis through Judges, deserves special mention since it included not only the Old Testament texts in Hebrew and Greek, but also Slovenian, Polish and other languages.⁶³ In addition, three New Testaments were printed, one a polyglot, also edited by Elias Hutter (1603), and two printings of the Syriac New Testament, edited by Martin Trost in Köthen (1621, 1622).⁶⁴ There were eighteen printings of single biblical books (including five in Syriac), eighteen anthologies of biblical texts, and a further twelve with philological commentary. Three different biblical concordances appeared in four volumes, and a further ten essays on subjects related to the biblical text, including four on the contentious issue of the age and authenticity of the vowel points.⁶⁵ These imprints of course include only a few of the Hebrew Bibles used by Lutheran Hebraists since such works were readily available in Leipzig and elsewhere in Lutheran Germany.

Lutheran Hebraists in Glassius' day were enthusiastic users of Jewish rabbinical Bibles, taking full advantage of Buxtorf's expurgated and somewhat expanded version, printed in 1618–1619.⁶⁶ They followed in the footsteps of Luther and his »Sanhedrin« of biblical experts who consulted both the first and second editions of the Bomberg Rabbinical Bible when they revised Luther's German translation.⁶⁷ There was nothing especially controversial about using the Hebrew Bible text, the Targums or even the Masorah from Rabbinical Bibles for biblical study, but the Jewish biblical commentaries of Rashi, David Kimhi, and Abraham Ibn Ezra were another matter. Even Johannes Buxtorf, a vigorous proponent of their use,

Pagnini Lucensis: Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispal. Et Quorundam aliorum collato studio ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissime expensa. Leipzig 1657, VD17 3:006804G.

63 Lore Sporhan-Krempel and Theodor Wohnhaas: Elias Hutter in Nürnberg und seine Biblia in etlichen Sprachen. In: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 27 (1986), pp. 157–162.

64 *Novum Testamentum Harmonicum*, Ebraice, Graece, Latine & Germanice. Nürnberg 1603, VD17 39:129757D; *Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace*. Köthen 1621, VD17 39:127647H; VD17 1:053144Y (1622).

65 Nicolaus Oelschlegel: *Tractatus brevis et perspicuus de punctis vocalibus Hebraeorum an videlicet ejusdem sint antiquitatis cum 22 literis sive consonantibus* (1614), VD17 3:013889N; idem: *Discursus de Punctis Hebraeorum An Vide Licet Sint Eiusdem antiquitatis cum consonantibus sive literis & ad scripturae hebraicae in codice Veteris Testamenti essentiam ac integritatem pertineant in quo Potissimum Argumenta Matthiae Flacij Illyrici affirmativam statuents, nec non Roberti Bellarmini Iesuitae [phluaria] examinantur & refutatur* (1616) VD17 1:057957P; Matthaeus Hafenreffer: *Revelator Punctorum vigilantissimus. Hoc Est, Praeceptiones, Nova Methodo Ac Via Punctandi Rationem & artificium, in Hebraea Lingua explicant* (1613), VD17 23:282672Q; Idem: *Revelator punctorum hebr. vigilantissimus h. e. praepositiones nova methodo ac via punctandi rationem et artificium in hebr. ling. explicant* (1618), VD17 12:128461U.

66 Burnett: *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (fn. 11), pp. 171–195.

67 Stephen G. Burnett: *Reassessing the Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship*. In: Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (eds.): *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia 2004, pp. 181–204, here 194.

asserted that they contained interpretations that were »perverse and false«.⁶⁸ Towards the end of Glassius' career Lutheran universities began to advertise the availability of instruction in »rabbinic« Hebrew. Samuel Bohl was the first to do so at the University of Rostock in his series of disputations on the Book of Malachi produced in his »Collegium Rabbinicum« during 1637.⁶⁹ By 1648, Hackspan offered private instruction in rabbinic Hebrew at Altdorf, and the next year Frischmuth did so at Jena.⁷⁰

Lutheran Hebraists during the early seventeenth century, like their Reformed counterparts, became much more sophisticated users of both the Hebrew language, of comparative Semitics, and of Jewish commentaries. This sophistication is reflected at a theoretical level in the advice given to theology students by both Johann Gerhard and his student Solomon Glassius regarding Hebrew books and learning.⁷¹ Gerhard asserted that knowledge of Aramaic and Syriac was necessary in order to read the Targums, to understand the Aramaic expressions of the New Testament, and to become acquainted with the Bible commentaries of the Rabbis.⁷² Gerhard's own mature Old Testament scholarship reflects his commitment to Hebrew education, above all in his *Commentarius super Genesin* (1637) that was in press at the time of his death. When approaching the interpretive crux of the meaning of »Shiloh« in Genesis 49: 11, Gerhard argued on the basis of Rabbi Kahana's comment, the Targum translation, and the »confessio veterum Rabbīnorum« that it was evident that the term could only refer to the messiah.⁷³ Not all Lutheran theologians felt that such expertise in Jewish exegetical literature was really necessary. Steiger noted that Lucas Osiander the Elder believed that it was »a waste of time and lamp oil to read rabbinical writings and that knowledge of biblical Hebrew was sufficient«.⁷⁴

Lutheran Hebraists also were concerned about the controversy over the age and canonicity of the Hebrew vowel points. While the polemical battle over the vowel points took place primarily between the elder and younger Buxtorf and Louis Cappel, together with a host of lesser-known supporters

68 Burnett: From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies (fn. 11), p. 187.

69 VD17 1:058782P.

70 Series Lectionum et Aliorum Academicorum Exercitiorum Tam Publicorum, Quam Privatorum. Altdorf, [1648], Erlangen UB Sig. 4 Litg II, 100d, and Rector Academiae Jenensis Gothofredus Cundisius ... Magnam temporis. Jena, 1649, VD 17: 23:275478K.

71 Johann Anselm Steiger has conveniently made this information available in his important article Die Rezeption der Rabbinischen Tradition im Luthertum (fn. 4), pp. 197–203, 218–232, 243–252.

72 Steiger: Development of the Reformation Legacy (fn. 1), p. 728.

73 Ibid., p. 730.

74 Ibid., p. 729. Similarly, A. Waleus, professor of Theology at Leiden, asserted in 1620 that a moderate knowledge of Hebrew was enough for a theologian. Peter T. Van Rooden: Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden. Trans. J. C. Grayson. Leiden 1989, p. 55.

in France, the Netherlands, and England, the issue concerned Lutheran Hebraists as well. The age of the vowel points mattered to them because it had become a standard Catholic argument against the authority of the Bible since without the points the Hebrew Bible was far less clear (perspicuous) than Protestants had asserted.⁷⁵ Consequently most Lutheran Hebraists sided with the Buxtorfs. In 1625, Laurentius Fabricius wrote to the elder Buxtorf, urging him to write a refutation of Cappel's position.⁷⁶ Lutheran concern over the vowel points controversy is best traced, however, in Lutheran university course listings and disputations. In Jena, Solomon Glassius lectured on textual difficulties in 1623, asserting that the purity of the Hebrew Bible text was vindicated.⁷⁷ A number of disputations held in Wittenberg between 1629–33, including Wilhelm Leyser, *Disputatio publica, imprimis Becani rationes, an Lutheri Dei verbum habeant* (1629), Jacob Weller's *De maxime necessaria quaestione an puncta Hebraea literis coeua* (1631–32), and Martin Trost's *De mutatione punctorum Ebraeorum generali fundamenta quatuor explicata* (1633) reflect Lutheran concern over the issue.⁷⁸ The titles of these disputations also reflect the broader concern of Lutherans that Hebrew philology should serve as a weapon in their polemical arsenal against Catholic polemicists such as James Huntley and Martin Becanus.

A final small but significant area of published study within Lutheran Christian Hebraism concerned Judaism (18 imprints, 6.3%). The most important of these books were Lutheran polemical works against Jews and Judaism. While Lutheran encounters with Jewish scholars and texts have been overshadowed by those that took place in the early modern Netherlands and Italy, Lutheran Hebraists lived in close proximity to Jewish scholars in the Nuremberg area and above all in Hamburg. Theodor Hackspan of Altdorf actually stole a manuscript copy of Lipman Muhlhausen's *Sefer Nizkazon* from a rabbi he knew in Schnaittach, and had several of his students

75 Appold: *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung* (fn. 5), pp. 100–101.

76 Laurentius Fabricius to Johannes Buxtorf, Wittenberg, 24 August 1625. See Burnett: *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies* (fn. 11), p. 237 and n. 167.

77 »Salomon Glassius explicationem difficiliorum; & vindicationem Controversorum Codicis Hebraea oraculorum aggredietur ...«. Rector Academiae Jenensis Johannes Gerhardus S.S. Theologiae Doctor, & ceteri Professores L. S. P.: Si Operae precium facere velimus in literarum studiis, ut velle debemus omnes, & ... esse nos, & ... oportet ...; P. P. die 5. Octobr. A. O. R. 1623. [Jena], 1623. Jena UB, Sig. 2 Hist. lit. VI,11(83).

78 Appold: *Orthodoxie als Konsensbildung* (fn. 5), p. 100 and n. 59. Wilhelm Leyser: *Disputatio Publica, in qua imprimis Becani rationes, an Lutheri Dei verbum habeant* (1629), VD17 12:173674D; Jacob Weller: *Disputatio Kataskeuasikē De maxime necessaria quaestione An puncta Hebraea literis coeua* (1631), VD17 12:179870L, and idem: *Disputatio Secunda De maxime necessaria quaestione An Puncta Hebraea literis coeua, Quae est anaoecyasieon Prima* (1631), VD17 14:062267P; Martin Trost: *De mutatione punctorum Ebraeorum generali fundamenta quatuor explicata* (1633) VD17 547:657013W.

hurriedly copy it so that he could study it.⁷⁹ Johannes Müller, a Lutheran minister in Hamburg, on many occasions discussed Judaism with Jews. He confided to Johannes Buxtorf the younger,

The rabbis of the Spanish synagogues here, R. Abraham de Fonseca and R. David Cohen de Lara, have very often spoken with me about the Christian religion and urged against me, when I spoke of the abolition of sacrifices, the authority of a Jew who is called Isaac Abarbanel. They boast of him excessively, and say that in his commentary on Daniel he has an answer to all the Christian arguments separately.

Müller went on to ask Buxtorf whether he would send a copy of Buxtorf's unpublished Latin translation of the work so that he could refute his opponents there.⁸⁰

Müller was also deeply disturbed by several polemical books in manuscript that were circulating among Hamburg Jews, most notably Isaac Troki's *Hizq Emunah*.⁸¹ While the theological example of later Luther explains a part of the polemical tone that Lutheran Hebraists such as Müller took toward Jews and Judaism, encounters with living Jewish scholars and their arguments also played a role.

The most important of these Lutheran polemics were publications of Jewish books that had been written against Christianity. Wilhelm Schickard owned a polemical manuscript, *Sefer Ahitub we Zalman*, which he published under the title *Triumphator Vapulans* in 1623. He was given the manuscript by Lucas Osiander, who inherited it from his grandfather Andreas.⁸² In 1644, Theodor Hackspan published Lipman Muehlhausen's *Nizzahon*, together with a Latin refutation. His student Sebald Schnell held four disputations on excerpts from the book.⁸³ Schickard and Hackspan surprisingly had no trouble from the authorities printing »Jewish blasphemies« and apparently

79 Hartmut Bobzin: Der Altdorfer Gelehrte Johann Christoph Wagenseil und seine Bibliothek. In: Peter Schaefer and I. Wandrey (eds.): *Reuchlin und seine Erben*. Stuttgart 2005, pp. 77–95, here 81.

80 Johannes Müller to Johannes Buxtorf the younger, Hamburg, 12 October 1641. See Van Rooden: *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies* (fn. 71), p. 170 (van Rooden's translation).

81 Braden: *Hamburger Judenpolitik* (fn. 3), p. 189.

82 *Nissahon bli nasah sive Triumphator Vapulans. Hoc est Refutatio Blasphemi et Maledictissimi cuiusdam libri Hebraica, ultra trecentos annos inter Judaeos elam habiti, nunc in apicem producti*. Tübingen 1623, A2r [Göttingen SUB 8 Rabb 342/5]. While Schickard used other Jewish polemical books to prepare his printing of this book, notably Buxtorf's manuscript copy of *Sefer Nizzahon*, the text he printed was *Ahitub we-Zalman*. I compared parts of *Nissahon*, 10 (where the transcription begins) with Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. Cod Adler 1663, 1r to confirm this. On Schickard's use of *Nizzahon*, see William Horbury: *The Basle Nizzahon*. In: *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1983), pp. 497–514.

83 VD17 23:275648A, VD17 23:275650W (both 1643), VD17 23:275652M, VD17 23:275654B (both 1645).

had no qualms of conscience either.⁸⁴ Both the younger Buxtorf in Basel and Constantin L'Empereur in Leiden translated Jewish polemical manuscripts into Latin and considered printing them, but never did so, in part out of fear of what other uses besides anti-Jewish polemics they might be put to by skeptical Christians.⁸⁵ A generation later Wagenseil would publish his famous two volume anthology of Jewish polemical books, *Tela Ignea Satanae* (1681) in Nuremberg, similarly untroubled by the authorities.⁸⁶

Lutheran authors also published six polemical works against Jews and Judaism. Two of these works were written by Jewish converts, Julius Conrad Otto's *De Gali Razia* (1605, 1613), and Johann Salomon's *Triginta septem Demonstrationes* (1660).⁸⁷ The other three were apologetically oriented works, whose aim was not to convert Jews so much as to put Christians on their guard concerning the potential dangers of Jews and their beliefs. They were Michael Havemann's *Theognosia antiquissima, mosaica, prophetica, rabbinica, concisè ac nervose ostendens* (1651), Theodor Hackspan's *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (1660), and, most importantly, Johannes Müller's *Judaismus oder Judenthum* (Hamburg, 1644). *Judaismus* was a massive 1490 page book in quarto, which contained nearly the entire arsenal of anti-Jewish argumentation used by Christian Hebraists in his day.⁸⁸ Following an 86 page introduction, Müller devoted pages 87–1384 to what he termed »differences in questions of faith«, especially differences in the way that Christians and Jews interpreted some passages in the Hebrew Bible. Müller spent two hundred pages discussing four messianic passages: Genesis 49, Haggai 2, Daniel 9, and Micah 5 (182–420). Müller devoted the final section of the book to issues related to Jewish residence in a Christian society. For example, Müller strongly opposed magisterial toleration of private Jewish worship, since it was not only a theological error but also blasphemous. Any Christian in a position of authority who tolerated Jewish worship would have to answer for it on the Day of Judgment, asserted Müller.⁸⁹ He also strongly opposed Christian patients consulting with Jewish physicians.⁹⁰ Apart from Müller's promi-

84 On the potential political sensitivity of allowing »Jewish blasphemy« to appear in print, see Stephen G. Burnett: Hebrew Censorship in Hanau: A Mirror of Jewish-Christian Coexistence in Seventeenth Century Germany. In: Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson (eds.): *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*. New York 1994, pp. 199–222; available online: digitalcommons.unl.edu/classicsfacpub/46.

85 Van Rooden: *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies* (fn. 71), pp. 171–173.

86 VD17 12:113135P.

87 Friedrich: *Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung* (fn. 3), pp. 42, 93, n. 46.

88 VD17 3:609885T.

89 Braden: *Hamburger Judenpolitik* (fn. 3), p. 192.

90 Gerhard Müller: *Der Judenarzt im Urteil lutherisch-orthodoxer Theologen 1642–1644*. In: H. J. Greschat and H. Jungraithmayr (eds.): *Wort und Religion: Kalima na dini: Studien zu Missionswissenschaft, Religionswissenschaft, Afrikanistik*. Ernst Dammann zum 65. Geburtstag. Stuttgart 1969, pp. 370–376.

nence as a leading pastor in Hamburg (from 1648–1672 he was the Senior Pastor of the Hamburg church), his familiarity with and use of the works of other Christian Hebraists and Jewish converts, and his ability to read Jewish books for himself and to use their contents in his arguments made *Judaismus* one of the important anti-Jewish polemical books written during the seventeenth century.⁹¹ The new knowledge of Judaism that emerged through the works of Christian Hebraists did not necessarily make Christians more tolerant of Judaism, only better informed about it.

The final ten Lutheran works related to Judaism are a mixed lot. Four of them were collections and translations of Jewish texts composed by Jacob Ebert, and reprinted by his son Theodor, including two printings of Hai Gaon, *Institutio intellectus cum elegantia. Carmina moralia Ebraea* (1593, 1628).⁹² Johann Stephan Rittangel, one-time professor of Hebrew at Königsberg, translated both the Passover Haggadah (1644) and *Sefer Yetsirah* (Amsterdam, 1642), a fundamental text for study of the Kabbalah. Georg Gentius translated both Solomon ibn Verga's History of the Jews (Amsterdam, 1651) and Moses Maimonides' *Canones ethici* (Amsterdam, 1640) into Latin.⁹³ The final two works were Martin Geier's *De Ebraeorum luctu lugentiumque ritibus* (1656)⁹⁴ and the anonymous *Theologiae Talmudicae Specimen* (Altdorf, 1660).⁹⁵ Both of these final works reflect an interest in Jewish antiquarianism, a wish to learn more about the culture both of ancient Israel and second Temple Judaism, that motivated non-Lutheran Christian Hebraists to study the literature of Judaism as well.

In the days of Solomon Glassius Christian Hebrew scholarship flourished in Lutheran Germany. Despite the Thirty Years War, Hebraist writers continued to publish and for most of the war the Leipzig book fair continued to function, supplying both German and foreign Hebraist books to customers. German Hebrew scholarship was founded upon a strong institutional base of university professorships of Hebrew, who in turn taught successive generations of pastors the rudiments of Hebrew and thereby created a market for Hebraist books. Lutheran Germany was not an innovative center of Hebrew scholarship in Glassius' day; the most important advances in Hebrew Semitic scholarship took place in Basel, Paris, the Dutch

91 Friedrich: Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung (fn. 3), p. 80.

92 Hai Gaon: Musar haskel Bimlitzah. Institutio Intellectus cum Elegantia. Carmina moralia Ebraea R. Chaij, in Latinum conversa, & in politioris iuventutis usum edita, trans. Jacob Ebert. Frankfurt/Oder: Eichhorn, 1593. (Basel UB Sig.FA VIII 13 /3). See also VD17 75:705001B (1627), 14:626878C (1628), and 23:244189T (1630).

93 Aaron L. Katchen, Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis. Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides Mishneh Torah. Cambridge, Mass., 1984, pp. 247–254.

94 VD17 1:051409T.

95 VD17 3:609688E.

Republic, and increasingly in England.⁹⁶ Only a few Lutheran Hebraists such as Glassius, Hackspan, Müller, and Schickard became well known outside of Lutheran Germany through their books. Lutheran Hebraists were, however, avid consumers and popularizers of Hebrew scholarship produced elsewhere in Europe. The number of Lutheran Hebraist authors, nearly half of the total, who were unaffiliated with universities is quite striking. Hebrew learning was too important to Lutherans to be restricted to a small circle of experts. Unlike the Hebrew presses of Basel, Amsterdam and Leiden, which were dependent upon exports to make a profit, the Hebrew presses of Germany could depend upon a strong regional customer base throughout this period. Together with the Reformed Christian Hebraists they diligently helped to create what van Rooden termed the »technical apparatus« of philological knowledge by which »the Bible was investigated with more and more highly developed tools and questions in which the scriptures gradually came ... to be treated as an ordinary text«.⁹⁷ This commitment to philological learning, especially studying Semitic languages related to Hebrew, grew out of the Lutheran Orthodox ideals of biblical study. Only later, over the course of the next century, would the two ideals part company.⁹⁸

Appendix: Lutheran Christian Hebraists, 1601–1660

1. Hebraica Authors

Avianus, Hieronymus	Student
Baldovius, Johann	Professor of Hebrew
Balduin, Friedrich	University Professor
Bangert, Heinrich	Latin School Teacher
Beck, Bartholomaeus	Latin School Teacher

96 Stephen G. Burnett: *Later Christian Hebraists*. In: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, Vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (fn. 1), pp. 785–801.

97 Van Rooden: *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies* (fn. 71), p. 10.

98 Anna-Ruth Loewenbrueck: *Johann David Michaelis' Verdienst um die philologisch-historische Bibelkritik*. In: Henning Graf Reventlow, Walter Sparr and John Woodbridge (eds.): *Historische Kritik und biblischer Kanon in der Deutschen Aufklärung*, Wiesbaden 1988, pp. 157–170.

Beringer, Michael	Professor of Hebrew
Blankenburg, Friedrich	Professor of Hebrew
Bockwitz, Balthasar	Latin School Teacher
Bohemus [Boehme], Johann	Latin School Teacher
Bohl, Samuel	Professor of Theology
Botsack, Johann	Pastor
Crinesius, Christoph	University Professor
Dilherr, Johannes Michael	University Professor/Pastor
Doeling, Johannes	Pastor
Ebert, Jacob	Professor of Hebrew
Faber, Georg	Latin School Teacher
Fabricius, Laurentius	Professor of Hebrew
Fessel, Daniel	Pastor
Gallus, Philipp [Hahn]	Pastor
Geier, Martin	Professor of Hebrew
Gentius, Georg [Gentze]	Scholarly Secretary
Gerhard, Johann Ernst	Professor of Hebrew
Gerschow, Jakob	Professor of Hebrew
Gesius, Gottfried	Pastor
Gibelius, Abraham	Pastor
Glass, Salomon	Professor of Hebrew
Grabow, Peter	Professor of Hebrew
Graser, Konrad	Latin School Teacher
Hackspan, Theodor	Professor of Hebrew
Hafenreffer, Matthaeus	Professor of Theology
Hanneken, Meno	Professor of Hebrew
Hartmann, Philipp	Pastor
Hasen, Joachim	Pastor
Havemann, Michael	Pastor
Helvigijs, Andreas	University Professor
Helwig, Christoph	Professor of Hebrew

Helwig, Martin	Professor of Hebrew
Hutter, M. Elias	Professor of Hebrew
Josephus, Paul	Jewish Convert
Kilius, Georg [Keil]	Pastor
Kircher, Conrad	Pastor
Kirsten, Peter	Physician
Ledebuhrius, Caspar	Student
Marci, Matthaeus	Pastor
Martini, Lucas	Pastor
Mayer, Bartholomaeus	Latin School Teacher
Meelfuehrer, Johannes	Latin School Teacher
Megiser, Heinrich	Latin School Teacher
Mueller, Johannes	Pastor
Mylius, Andreas	Professor of Hebrew
Natus, Fabricius	Pastor
Oelschlegel, Nicolaus	Latin School Teacher
Oheim, Johann Philipp	Pastor
Osiander, Lucas the elder	Professor of Theology
Otto, Julius Conrad	Professor of Hebrew
Petri, Friedrich	Pastor
Pistorius, Theophil	University Professor
Rachelius, Joachim	Pastor
Radicius, Georg [Radike]	University Professor
Reuden, Ambrosius	Professor of Hebrew
Reyher[us], Andreas	Latin School Teacher
Rittangel, Johann Stephan	Professor of Hebrew
Roessel, Paul	University Professor
Rosberg, Benedict	Pastor
Rump, Heinrich	Professor of Hebrew/Latin School Teacher
Salomon, Johann	Jewish Convert
Saubert, Johann the Younger	Professor of Hebrew

Scheibler, Christoph	Latin School Teacher
Scheraeus, Bartholomaeus	Pastor
Schickard, Wilhelm	Professor of Hebrew
Schindler, Valentin	Professor of Hebrew
Schneegass, Elias	Lawyer
Schroeter, Sebastian	Professor of Hebrew
Schwenter, Daniel	Professor of Hebrew
Seidel, Caspar	Pastor
Seifart, Tobias	Latin School Teacher
Sennert, Andreas	Professor of Hebrew
Sorgerus, Jacobus	Latin School Teacher
Spindler, Johann	Latin School Teacher
Trost, Martin	Professor of Hebrew
Vulpus, Henricus	Latin School Teacher
Walper [Gualtperius], Otto	Professor of Hebrew
Walther, Michael	University Professor
Zechendorff, Johannes	Latin School Teacher

2. Professors of Hebrew, 1601–1660

Baldovius, Johann	Wittenberg, 1634; Leipzig, 1638–39; Helmstedt, 1639–42
Bauer, Andreas	Leipzig, 1633–37
Beringer, Michael	Tübingen, 1599–1618
Blankenburg, Friedrich	Strasbourg, 1615–25
Boccius [Bock], Samuel	Erfurt, 1650–1655
Bohl, Samuel	Rostock, 1638–1639
Botsack, Johannes	Wittenberg, 1625–1631
Christiani, David	Giessen, 1646
Elsner, Bartholomaeus	Erfurt, 1633–?
Ernesti, Hieronymus	Königsberg, 1641–44

Fabricius, Laurentius	Wittenberg, 1593–+1629
Frischmuth, Johann	Jena, 1649–1652; 1655–after 1660
Geier, Martin	Leipzig, 1639–1658
Gerdes, Johann	Greifswald, 1655–?
Gerschow, Jacob	Greifswald, 1628–1650
Gisenius, Johannes	Giessen, 1617–1619
Glass, Salomo	Jena, 1621–1625
Gorlov[ius], Stephan	Königsberg, 1647–78?
Grabow, Peter	Greifswald, 1605–1612
Graul, Jacobus	Leipzig, 1618–1633
Gros, Benedictus	Strasbourg, 1625–1647
Hackspan, Theodor	Altdorf, 1636–1654
Hanneken, Meno	Marburg, 1627–1646, Giessen, 1627–1643
Hasse [Hassaeus], Markus	Rostock, 1593–1620
Hein, Stephen	Rostock, 1621–1643
Helwig, Christoph	Giessen, 1605–1617
Helwig, Martin	Giessen 1620–1623
Heinecke, Heinrich	Rinteln, 1622–1626
Hilpert, Johannes	Helmstedt, 1652–1666?
Maskow, Nicolaus	Greifswald, 1659–1668
Mentzer, Balthasar,	Rinteln, 1646–1651, Giessen, 1651–52
Misler, Johann Nicolaus	Giessen, 1652–1671
Molitor, Christoph	Altdorf, 1660–1674
Mylius, Andreas	Königsberg, 1641
Mylius, Georg	Königsberg, 1598–1614
Myslenta, Cölestin	Königsberg, 1619–1626
Neubauer, Christian	Erfurt, 1657
Otto, Julius Conrad	Altdorf, 1603–1607, Edinburgh, 1642
Piscator, Peter	Jena, 1597–1611
Pouchenius, Levin	Königsberg, 1626–1635
Radike, Georg	Königsberg, 1614–1620

Raith, Balthasar	Tübingen, 1657–1680
Rittangel, Johann Stephan	Königsberg, c. 1650
Salicetus, Tobias	Helmstedt, 1605–1625
Saubert, Johann	Helmstedt, 1660–1673, Altdorf, 1673–?
Scheid, Balthasar	Strasbourg, 1649–1670
Scherzer, Johann Adam	Leipzig, 1658–1667
Schickhard, Wilhelm	Tübingen, 1619–1631
Schindler, Valentin	Wittenberg, 1571–1592, Helmstedt, 1593–1604
Schrader, Christoph	Helmstedt, 1636–39?
Schroeter, Sebastian	Erfurt, 1643–1650+
Schwallenberg, Henricus	Leipzig, 1593–1618
Schwenter, Daniel	Altdorf, 1607–1636
Sennert, Andreas	Wittenberg, 1638–1689
Slevoight, Paul	Jena, 1625–1654/5
Speccer [Specker], Tobias	Strasbourg, 1594–1615
Stampelius, Georg	Frankfurt/O, 1600–1613
Starkloff, Heinrich	Erfurt, 1625–1637
Stadius, Johannes Hier.	Greifswald, 1650–1656
Stenger, Nicholas	Erfurt c.1655–1661
Steuber, Johannes	Marburg, 1625–1643, Giessen, 1620–1627
Stisser, Ernst	Helmstedt, 1628–1636
Titius, Gerhard	Helmstedt, 1646–1650
Trost, Martin	Rostock, 1625, Helmstedt 1625–26, Wittenberg 1628–36
Varenius, Augustus	Rostock, 1643–1663
Vogt, Albert	Greifswald, 1660–1667?
Walther, Balthasar	Jena, 1612–1621
Weidmann, Modestinus	Erfurt, 1590–1625
Weller, Jacob von Molsdorff	Wittenberg, 1636–1639
Wudrian, Valentin	Greifswald, 1611
Zapfens [Zapf], Nicolaus	Erfurt, 1637–1643