

*The Cultural  
Study of  
Yiddish in  
Early Modern  
Europe*

JEROLD C. FRAKES



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## Preface

The present volume is a contribution to the project wittily described by Frank Manuel some two decades ago as that of “modern scavengers” who “pick the bones” of the works of Christian Hebraists that comprise a corner “in the cemetery of baroque learning.”<sup>1</sup> The study of this vast, pan-European corpus of texts has indeed continued over the course of the past several centuries and has become rather more systematic in recent decades. The corpus is not monolithic, however, and while many of its intricate complexities have been recognized and elucidated,<sup>2</sup> at least one major aspect of Christian Humanism’s scholarly occupation, preoccupation, and sometime obsession with Jewish culture has gone almost completely unstudied: the recurring Humanistic interest in Yiddish. Perhaps it is not surprising, considering the ideological warfare waged against the Yiddish language by, among others, several generations of German-Jewish practitioners of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and by successive waves of diasporic and Israeli Zionism, that the fields of Renaissance studies, Hebrew studies, and Humanist studies, whose objects of study are constructed as fundamentally elitist, would necessarily pass over the attention paid to Yiddish by Humanism. While Yiddish was of course never a primary focus of the Humanist project, a great many Humanists did devote attention to the language, and indeed a dozen and a half treatises on Yiddish were published by scholars whose lives and work are identifiably Humanist.<sup>3</sup> As will become clear in the following pages, these treatises are by no means marginal to the Humanist project as a whole, nor to the ultimate underlying motive for the Humanist study of Jewish culture, which was everywhere and always inevitably and causally connected with Christian eschatological hopes concerning the conversion of the Jews and conceptions of the Second Coming directly consequent thereon. As the list of scholars whose works are included in the present volume indicates, Humanist Yiddishists were among the most important representatives of Christian scholarship of the age; among them: Sebastian Münster, Paulus Fagius, Johann Buxtorf, and Johann Christoph Wagenseil. Barely hidden behind the scene of these scholars’ work are other key figures of Humanism—who did not themselves publish primers of Yiddish—such as Johannes Reuchlin and indeed the giant among Ashkenazic Jewish scholars who worked with and among Christian Humanists, Elijah b. Asher ha-Levi, usually called Elye Bokher in Yiddish and Elia(s) Levita in Latin (and English).<sup>4</sup> Finally, in addition to the significance of this work on Yiddish as it relates to the larger Humanist project, there remains the importance of these treatises, chapters, brief surveys, and text anthologies of Yiddish for the linguistic history of the Yiddish language itself, for these are the earliest studies of and descriptions of

that language and its literature. While they are naturally subject to all the limitations of the scholarship of the period, they provide the first scholarly descriptions of the language.

It is in fact only in the field of the history of Yiddish that there has been any recent scholarly attention to the Humanist study of Yiddish.<sup>5</sup> The present volume seeks to contribute to rectifying this situation by focusing analytical attention directly on these early studies of Yiddish, supplemented by editions of the original texts and English translations of those texts. This volume has developed over the course of the last two decades of my work on early Yiddish. There are many to thank, including fellowship agencies, librarians and archivists, and professional colleagues. The Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung inadvertently supported this project in 1997–8 when I enjoyed a year under the sponsorship of Professor Dr. Peter Schäfer at the Institut für Judaistik at the Freie Universität Berlin, engaged on the research for a different project, but also making use of the location and facilities to complete much archival work required for this project. In 2001–2, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Skirball Foundation (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies), and the Zumberge Research and Innovation Fund (University of Southern California) generously supported further archival research for the project. I am very happy to acknowledge the generous aid of librarians and archivists: Richard Judd and Doris Nicholson (Oriental Reading Room in the Bodleian Library, Oxford); Benjamin Richler (Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem), Thomas Streffing-Hellhake (Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin), Godfrey Waller, (Cambridge University Library, Cambridge), and P. Werner (Staatsbibliothek, Berlin). I tender my thanks, as well, to a number of colleagues who have provided encouragement, information, and constructive criticism at various points during the gestation of the project: Jean Baumgarten (CNRS, Paris), Jeremy Dauber (Columbia University), Edward Fram (University of Be'er Sheva), Dovid Katz (Vilniaus Universitetas), Dov-Ber Kerler (Indiana University), Paul Mendes-Flohr (University of Chicago and Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Joseph Sherman (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies), Hermann Suess. My thanks for aid on technical issues on this project, too, to Michael S. Bergman (Omega Microfilms). Marco Petrolino (University of Southern California) expertly excised a number of imprecisions from early drafts of the translations, and Lawrence Green and William Thalmann (University of Southern California) provided much needed aid in decoding abbreviations.

## Notes

1. Frank E. Manuel, "Israel and the Enlightenment," *Daedalus* 111 (1982), 33–52, here p. 33.
2. As Allison P. Coudert notes, "No single thread runs through the works of Christian Hebraists. Their responses to Jews and Judaism were as varied as their own religious and cultural backgrounds, perspectives, and even professions"; see: "Five Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists," in Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds. "Introduction," *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 286.

3. As the eighteenth century proceeded, Humanism as such receded and missionary activists took over the fledgling field of Yiddish studies and began publishing their own introductions to Yiddish. The two tendencies obviously shared not just a transitional period but also important ideological perspectives.
4. While Levita did not publish anything like a primer of Yiddish, his various lexicographical works consistently take Yiddish data into account.
5. See especially בער באַראַכאַוו, "די ביבליאָטעק פֿונ'ם ייִדישן פֿילאָלאָג: פֿירונדערט יאָר ייִדישע שפראַכפֿאַרשונג", דער פּונקט: יאָהרבוך פֿאַר דער געשיכטע פֿון דער ייִדישער ליטעראַטור און שפראַך, פֿאַר פֿאַלקלאַר, קריטיק און ביבליאָגראַפֿיע 1 (1913), שפ. 1–66; נאַכדרוק אין שפראַך-פֿאַרשונג און 136–76, 1966, פרץ, ירושלים: Jean Baumgarten, "L'Étude de la langue yiddish chez quelques auteurs chrétiens (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)," *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: confronti e relazioni*, ed. Mirko Tavoni (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1996); Jean Baumgarten, "L'Étude de la langue yiddish à la Renaissance (XVIe et XVIIe siècle)," in Astrid Starck, ed. *Westjiddisch: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit/Le Yiddish occidental: Actes du Colloque de Mulhouse* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1994), pp. 99–112; Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1–37; Dovid Katz, "On Yiddish, in Yiddish and for Yiddish: 500 Years of Yiddish Scholarship," pp. 23–36 in Mark H. Gelber, ed. *Identity and Ethos: A Festschrift for Sol Liptzin on the Occasion of his 85th Birthday* (New York/Bern/Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986). Cf. the observation by Dovid Katz: "For roughly five hundred years, Yiddish has attracted far more than sober scholarly interest and popular study. It has persistently drawn an almost obsessive angle-oriented and ax-grinding scrutiny from highly diverse groups of investigators, each of which was driven by its own peculiar ulterior motives. Indeed, an account of the history of literature on Yiddish will have to delve deeply into the sociolinguistic phenomena of love and hate of the language, both of which have been (and continue to be) rather intense. To the modern Yiddish linguist, virtually everything written about the language is of value at least as 'corpus,' that is to say, as a primary source providing data for analysis that might not otherwise be available, even from contemporary Yiddish documents *per se*. Still, the gist of much of the earlier literature on Yiddish often strikes modern Yiddish scholars as quaint or embarrassing. To the historian of Yiddish literature, however, these sources represent an important and understudied chapter in the history of that literature" (ibid., p. 23).



## Part 1

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# Christian Humanism and the Jews

The cultural significance of the Humanist treatises on Yiddish may be grasped only in the larger context of the Humanistic study of Judaism and its languages, for which it is necessary to look back especially to the history of the Christian study of Hebrew prior to the Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> While there was sporadic theoretical (and occasionally even practical) interest in Hebrew on the part of Christians during the millennium before 1500 C.E., there were very few Christians who gained anything that might be recognized as actual practical competence in the language. In this respect one must also note that such a competence would always have been directly tied to reading the Bible for the sake of an enhanced Christian interpretation of Scripture and not, for instance, of understanding any aspect of historical or contemporaneous Jewish culture for its own sake and thus perhaps in improving relations between the Christian and Jewish communities. Even in this very circumscribed field of endeavor, however, as Jerome Friedman observes about the periods prior to the Humanist era: “Other than Nicholas [of Lyra] and Jerome before him, it is difficult to point to a single Christian who made a lasting contribution to Christian scholarship predicated upon a knowledge and use of Hebrew.”<sup>2</sup> In the period of early Humanism, the picture was, as Frank Manuel points out, not much better: still relatively few Christian scholars had any competent knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic. Course curricula—then, as now—are misleading and “academic history overflows with unfulfilled requirements” (Manuel 11).<sup>3</sup> In the case of both medieval and early modern Christian interest in Judaism, additionally, as Ora Limor and Israel Jacob Yuval point out, there is a striking similarity between medieval anti-Jewish polemical literature and the early modern Hebraist attitude: while the former focused on religious dispute, the latter was more often moved by scholarly curiosity, but both were compelled to know something of Jewish culture in order better to refute the Jew as constructed opponent.<sup>4</sup> In recent years historians have nonetheless begun to challenge the conventional view that Christian-Jewish relations deteriorated over the course of the late medieval and early modern periods, as Jews were exiled from more and more territories. As Allison Coudert and Jeffrey Shoulson observe, the scholars “argue that the Renaissance marks

a positive change in the relation between Christian and Jews inasmuch as Humanism and the quest for the *prisca theologia* led not only to a greater appreciation of Hebrew texts but also to the ecumenical belief that all traditions shared part of one primeval truth, which began with Judaism.”<sup>5</sup>

Scholarship on Hebrew during the Renaissance was pioneered first and foremost by Elia Levita (1469–1549), the Ashkenazic Jew born and educated near Nuremberg, who spent most of his adult life in Italy, and by the Italian Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1462–94). Though the work of both—one Jewish, the other Christian—was marked by the medieval traditions out of which they grew, there were also important innovations in their work; in the case of Levita, for instance, that hallmark of Humanist scholarship—the insistence on a philologically (*not necessarily theologically*) informed and motivated textual criticism.<sup>6</sup> The next wave of scholars to contribute to the development of the field became, in the course of their own lives, directly involved in the revolutionary change in the organization of Christendom that was to become the Reformation: the Germans Johannes Reuchlin and Sebastian Münster (who was also one of Levita’s collaborators on a number of scholarly projects). The continuation of that impulse defined the northern European interest in Hebrew during the Baroque period, whether on the side of the reformers or of the champions of the Catholic Church: by the Basel University dynasty of the Buxtorfs, by Richard Simon and Augustin Calmet in France, John Selden and John Lightfoot in England, Giulio Bartolucci in Italy, Constantijn L’Empereur van Oppijk and Johannes Cocejus in the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup>

On the side of the reformers or proto-reformers, the Hebrew interests were threefold: first, the fabled Protestant call to return *ad fontes* ‘to the sources’ of the Scriptures—to the Greek text of the New Testament, but even more fundamentally, it was thought, to the so-called *hebraica ueritas* ‘Hebrew truth’ of the Jewish Scriptures, as the language of Moses and even, as some at that time supposed, of Jesus of Nazareth and the Apostles. Such a method necessarily presupposes first the establishment of an authentic and reliable text, which (with due credit also given to the ancillary work in the developing scholarly field of diplomatics) in turn transformed the whole of scholarship in all text-based fields by means of the foundation of the methodologies of philology and textual criticism as it is still more or less practiced by that subfield of literary scholarship that deals with textual issues. The first step in this direction was possible, however, only on the basis of an adequate knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, so that they could be both accurately understood in their cultural contexts and then—as became one of the dominant elements of reformist practice—effectively translated into the various European vernaculars in order to render them accessible to common believers. The Western European knowledge of Greek, only sporadically more than meager during the length and breadth of the Latin Middle Ages,<sup>8</sup> had already progressed far by the period in question, especially as a result of the forced *translatio studii* that was consequent on Mehmet II’s conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which finally put an end to the fiction of Byzantine political independence and populated academies in several Italian cities with exiled Greek scholars who brought with them not just their linguistic acumen but also Greek books in numbers never before seen in most cities of Catholic Europe. In order to enable the same access to the Hebrew Scriptures, Christian scholars would have

needed only to turn to the scholars and books of the Jewish communities that had existed in their midst for centuries and there find scholars able to aid them in their studies. Beyond those very rare Christian scholars who had sought out Jewish tutors during the previous centuries, in the Humanist period for the first time, Christian recourse to Jewish scholars and books rode a wave of rising interest.

Due to the specifically Protestant demands for the return *ad fontes*, this field of scholarship was not surprisingly long dominated by Protestants. The Catholic interest in Hebrew studies was initially at least far less broad and deep, and most often focused not on Scripture as such (since, from the Catholic point of view, there was no need to replace the Latin *Vulgata* that had already served as Catholic Europe's Bible for more than a millennium),<sup>9</sup> but rather on, from the Christian point of view, esoterica, especially Cabbalah.<sup>10</sup> Both Catholics and Protestants, the latter with far greater enthusiasm, incorporated their interests in Hebrew studies in a broader sense into an ongoing missionary effort to convert Jews to Christianity. In any case, the enthusiasm on the part of Christian scholars for what was, from their point of view, the timeless and theologically defined *hebraica ueritas* was always tempered by the fact that access to that Truth was necessarily only to be had by means of relations with their Jewish contemporaries, whom they, almost without exception, despised, even if they did occasionally maintain working relations with individual Jewish scholars, tutors, typesetters, or proofreaders.

The Humanist period thus witnessed a veritable explosion of serious, scholarly interest in Hebrew on the part of Christians, for as Frank Manuel points out, "From 1480 to the early part of the eighteenth century, a few thousand Europeans," including both clergy and university faculty, were occupied with Hebraic studies.<sup>11</sup> Rarely is it noted in studies of the Christian Hebraists, however, that despite the fact that they authored hundreds of grammars of Hebrew and treatises on various aspects of historical Jewish culture, a relatively small number of them ever gained what could be legitimately called a practical competence in the language. Coming to their study of Hebrew armed with extensive knowledge of Latin and Greek, especially built through life-long, daily reading, recitation, and study of the Vulgate Bible and Latin biblical commentary, these scholars encountered the Hebrew Bible as a text that was already in some sense intimately familiar to them, composed in a literary language severely restricted in vocabulary and (compared, on the one hand, for instance, with Ciceronian Latin or, on the other hand, with Talmudic Aramaic) of a syntactic simplicity that made it almost immediately, if superficially, accessible. Whether in the sixteenth or the twenty-first century, the fledgling adult student of biblical Hebrew may rather quickly take legitimate pride in the fact that she/he can struggle through the riveting narratives of Genesis in the original language, with their restricted and generally repetitive vocabulary and simple syntax. But the same student is, however, all but helpless with most passages from the prophetic books, and when confronted with most texts from the Psalms is utterly clueless. In general Christian Hebraists gained some basic facility with biblical Hebrew, which was, after all, their goal, but relatively few progressed beyond this elementary knowledge to an ability to read Hebrew texts that were not already so imminently accessible via the massive Latin translation and commentary tradition that constituted a millennium-and-a-half of Christian scholarship. Beyond the relatively familiar territory of the Bible and into the vast sea of postbiblical and

extra-biblical Hebrew (and Aramaic) literature, most Humanists did not venture, for those texts were and remained beyond their competence and generally, it is to be noted, also beyond their field of interest. Their focus on biblical study was manifested in a variety of ways, not least in the hundreds of grammars of Hebrew that were published during the period—it seemed almost as if no self-respecting Christian Hebraist was credentialed until he had published one.<sup>12</sup> Here, too, however, a qualification is in order, for most such treatises were brief, superficial, and—from the ungenerous perspective of modern academic and legalistic sensibilities—in large part plagiarized. No opprobrium attached to such practices, however, and in general such publication served the imminently practical and mundane purpose of providing one's students with an accessible primer of Hebrew. One sees in most such grammars the same order of presentation, the same examples, and indeed the same errors copied again and again, from one treatise to another and from one generation to the next. Any modern perusal of the texts published by Christian Hebraists ironically almost guarantees a diminution in one's appreciation for the knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the vast majority even of those who published extensively on the language.

Humanist interest in Hebrew is to be understood in the context of the Renaissance renewal of interest in and study of Greek and Latin, and this triple interest led to the development of the concept of that most revered of scholars, the *trium linguarum peritus* 'master of the three languages.'<sup>13</sup> The interest in Hebrew—and the praxis that accompanied that interest—differed radically, however, from the Renaissance and Humanistic interest in Greek and Latin, for there was never any rivalry or competition with, or contempt felt by the moderns for the ancient Greeks and Romans, such that their study of the ancients was colored by negative moral judgment.<sup>14</sup> Thus, despite the obvious religious differences that were of course at all moments manifestly present for early modern scholars, the condemnation of the ancients for idolatry and immorality was neither the focus nor even the undercurrent of Humanist attention. The study of Hebrew, on the other hand, was rarely if ever free of the constant hum of anti-Judaism. As Frank Manuel notes, the point of Christian Hebrew studies was "to strengthen Christianity and become better Christians." In contrast with the interest in Greek and Roman studies generally for their own sake,

by contrast, in the heyday of Christian Hebraism there was little interest in acquiring a knowledge of ancient or rabbinic Judaism for its own sake, as the Renaissance scholar Politian might have investigated a classical author. Before the nineteenth century, objective historical study of Judaism rarely existed in Christendom.<sup>15</sup>

This attitude was manifested in the ever-present ulterior motive of Hebrew studies—to gain a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and thus of Jewish texts such that one could more easily counter and refute Jewish theological 'error' and thus eventually convert the Jews to Christianity. This overt missionizing purpose of much of Hebrew study, and its underlying presence in all other studies, sets the study of this ancient language apart from that of Greek and Latin, neither of which was ever imagined as a vehicle of conversion or a specific tool of theological combat with non-Christians—although the field of their study did of course provide the battleground for sectarian Christian skirmishes over the course of many centuries. Thus the character of the

Christian study of Hebrew that had been marked by an essential cultural bigotry from its very beginnings did—with *very* few individual exceptions—not change during the Humanist period. Heiko Oberman notes, for instance, that “[i]t is time that we recoup the element of truth in the ‘glorious’ view of the Renaissance as the key period for the pursuit of the dignity of man and religious toleration,” and concludes that one aspect of this truth is that the more the scholars of the period knew of Hebrew and historical Judaism, the stronger grew the anti-Semitism practiced against contemporary Jews.<sup>16</sup> As Friedman notes, however, anti-Semitism was simply an accepted fact among Christians of the period, and thus while *our* condemnation of such scholars as Luther and Erasmus for their anti-Semitism may well seem facile, it nonetheless may still function to aid in ascertaining how their bigotry was an obstacle to *their* gaining an understanding of Judaism.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, however, as Burnett points out, by means of their studies, Christian Hebraists also created a body of knowledge *about* Jews without regard for the effects of this knowledge *on* Jews, and as Michel Foucault and especially Edward Said, building on Foucault’s work, have made clear, the control of such knowledge and the wielding of the resultant discourse is always a matter of the exercise of political power.<sup>18</sup> As Burnett notes, Christians had thus “appropriated Jewish literature from its rightful custodians, an exercise in what R. Po-Chia Hsia called ‘the dialectic of Christian power.’”<sup>19</sup>

Despite promising beginnings, at the dawn of the sixteenth century there was little in the way of effective Hebrew study among Christians in Europe. The next half-century would nonetheless constitute the critical juncture in the transformation from Renaissance to Reformation, and it was during this brief period that Hebrew studies became widespread—and, for some Christians, much more effective. By mid-century most universities in Italy, Germany, and France offered basic instruction in Hebrew, and in a few of the Protestant seminaries and universities of Germany, as well as in Paris and Padua, it was possible to study Hebrew at a more advanced level. Only in Strasbourg and Basel, however, was the effective study of advanced, rabbinical Hebrew possible. One could by that period also study on one’s own by means of the myriad grammars for every level from beginning to advanced, lexica, and scholarly editions of the Bible and Talmud with Latin translations.<sup>20</sup> Thus it was then possible for motivated Christians to study Hebrew without the collaboration of Jews. What had begun in the late fifteenth century as the eccentric hobby of a few clerics like Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (tutored in Rome for thirteen years by Elia Levita) and Johannes Reuchlin had in the course of a century become a fully-fledged scholarly discipline.<sup>21</sup>

## Part 2

---

### Humanism and Yiddish

While Yiddish already appears in texts beginning as early as Rashi's commentaries on the Bible and Talmud,<sup>1</sup> there is very little specifically linguistic information about actual idiomatic Yiddish language usage to be gleaned from those or similar glosses and glossaries in the ensuing centuries, for such texts always function to elucidate the glossed Hebrew or Aramaic text rather than as Yiddish texts that stand on their own. As Jean Baumgarten points out, the first treatments of Yiddish appeared at the same time that interest was developing in other European vernaculars and those other vernaculars were beginning to be recognized as having the potential to become languages of culture alongside the classical languages.<sup>2</sup> This development ran parallel to the development of the printing industry, which distributed books to a far broader audience than had ever before had access to texts.<sup>3</sup>

In the ubiquitous grammars of Hebrew that appeared as a consequence of the spread of the Humanistic interest in Hebrew, chapters on Yiddish also occasionally appeared; less frequently such tracts were published as separate titles. Interestingly—and ultimately not so surprisingly—such treatises on Yiddish appeared only in German-speaking lands. In any case, the scholarly interest in Yiddish and the consequent nascent grammatical tradition depended directly on the Humanistic interest in Hebrew studies specifically as it developed in the German-speaking lands, especially as a result of the cultural impulses of the Reformation and its insistence on the need for access to the sacred texts by common believers, which led to the printing and distribution of books in the vernacular. It is thus interesting, significant, and not in the least surprising that the year that Martin Luther published his translation of the Bible was also the year of the first printed book substantially in Yiddish, Rabbi Anshel's מרכבת המשנה / *Mirkeves ha-Mishno* ("The second chariot," Cracow 1534).<sup>4</sup> While the treatises on Yiddish might sometimes seem to the Hebraist almost novelty items tagged onto the end of lengthy Hebrew grammatical compendia, they clearly served a much more practical and serious purpose in the scholarly community. Because of the specific nature of the Ashkenazic scribal practice and textual tradition, competence in reading the Ashkenazic semicursive script (*mash[k]et*) in which Yiddish was written

simultaneously gave Christians access to Jewish manuscripts and printed books of glossaries and commentaries that would enable them better to understand the Scriptures. In addition, the descriptions of Yiddish also betray the ultimate purpose behind the Humanists' study of Hebrew often more directly even than the Hebrew grammatical treatments: a knowledge of Yiddish could provide Christian proselytizers with a missionary language by means of which they could, it was supposed, convert the Jews. That the Humanists (and their more overtly missionizing successors in the eighteenth century) were grossly mistaken in this regard is now easier for us to see in hindsight than it was for them at the time.

These early treatments of Yiddish not surprisingly parallel most other Humanist descriptions of other nonclassical languages and are not what could be called linguistic in any modern sense: they present a structured treatment of the alphabet, minimal information about the phonetic nature of vowels and consonants, and generally a few further details concerning 'deviations' from German usage.<sup>5</sup> That is, they are not by any means systematic codifications of phonology, syntax, morphology, and semantics. Nor—anachronistic terminology aside—are they intended to be such. At best they are conceived as minimalist guides to learning the function of the Hebrew alphabet in representing what is always imagined not as an independent Yiddish language or even necessarily as a separate Jewish *dialect* of German but rather simply as a 'corrupted' Jewish style in or version of German. Occasionally there is also some attention devoted to detailing types of distinctions between Yiddish and German such that the student can comprehend written texts. In any case, however, the rudimentary knowledge of Yiddish that can be acquired by means of such descriptions is never viewed as an end in itself, that is, never as an object of study that might make possible the development of the 'art of fine speaking' that was already the goal of contemporary treatments of German, for instance, as a developing language of culture, since, after all, Yiddish was always viewed by German speakers as no more than a deviant form of German. The formal treatment had as its goal simply a minimal codification of that deviation such that it could be comprehended by the (German-speaking) student. In addition to the basic orthographical rules, short texts were often added for reading practice, although they were in very few cases actual Yiddish texts. Most often these texts comprise biblical translations—that old familiar crutch of the Christian Hebraist—in fact often enough from the New Testament! As will be seen in the texts edited in the present volume, these practice texts were with some frequency simply German texts (most often Luther's translation of the Bible) that had been transcribed into the Hebrew alphabet by the Christian author according to principles that in fact betray a disturbing lack of experience with—often one must acknowledge, a complete ignorance of—both the language and cultural practices of his Jewish neighbors.

In addition, although it may now seem somewhat naive, it often seems that the Humanist scholar imagined Yiddish as a pedagogically beneficial intermediate step between the Christian university student's (competent, if not always native) knowledge of German and his goal of competence in Hebrew. Somehow, the student was imagined to make progress toward competence in Hebrew by reading such Jewish 'German'.<sup>6</sup> Beyond their sharing an alphabet and a sizable common vocabulary (via Semitic loan words in Yiddish), Yiddish and Hebrew are of course linguistically quite distinct. Unfortunately for the Hebrew-via-Yiddish scheme, the alphabet functions

rather differently in Hebrew and Yiddish, and the shared vocabulary is also pronounced quite differently and often has quite different meanings and usage in the two languages. In terms of pedagogical effectiveness, the Hebrew-via-Yiddish component of the university curriculum could only have been a failure. If the goal was in fact to learn Hebrew, then, to be blunt, studying Hebrew would certainly have been a more effective method than studying Yiddish.

Thus, while these treatises were inadequate to the task of teaching Yiddish to their contemporary readers, they provide us with detailed and often unique data about Christian perceptions of Jews and Jewish culture, specifically about Yiddish (and sometimes Hebrew) language use, and about the state of the linguistic development of Yiddish. The mode of presentation as already described makes clear that there can be little in the way of 'transparent' data in these texts. It can do no harm to point out to twenty-first century readers that such texts, like any and all texts, must be construed and interpreted before they yield their meanings. Let a single example suffice: when one of the Humanists, for instance, claims, that Jews ignorantly mispronounce the German verb *erzehlen* [modern German orthography *erzählen*] 'narrate' as *derzehlen* [i.e., Yiddish *dertseyln*], it has in fact nothing to do with either German or corrupt pronunciation, but rather with a piece of direct evidence of the existence of a particular Yiddish (and distinctly non-German) word at a specific point in time.

Having characterized the Humanist interest in Jewish culture in general and in the Yiddish language in particular, let us now turn to a more focused analysis of the individual scholars and their work in the field of Jewish studies and Yiddish. The reader will notice that the treatment of the earlier scholars is in general more comprehensive than those who follow later, since the pioneers established the means and method, while their students and students' students often merely followed in their footsteps.



## Part 3

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# Humanist Scholarship and the Study of Yiddish

Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1533) was—with the help of Jewish tutors in both Vienna and Rome—one of the first modern scholars to learn Hebrew well enough to be known as a ‘master of the three languages.’<sup>7</sup> In the course of his career he wrote or edited fourteen titles in the field of Hebraica. His *De rudimentis hebraicis libri III* (‘The Rudiments of Hebrew,’ Pforzheim 1506), organized on the model of Priscian’s Latin grammar, was not the earliest Hebrew grammar published by Christian scholarship, but it included both a grammar and a dictionary (based on David Kimḥi’s מכלול / *Mikhlol* ‘Perfection/Splendour’).<sup>8</sup> Before it was replaced by better works (such as Pagninus’ translation of Kimḥi, Lyons 1526), its use was widespread: it was, for instance, owned and used by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli, and Martin Bucer. Reuchlin also published an early example of a kind of text that was to become an essential aid to fledgling Christian Hebraists: a text selection from the Hebrew Bible accompanied by commentary: *In septem psalmos poenitentiales interpretatio* (‘Commentary on Seven Penitential Psalms,’ Tübingen 1512). His knowledge otherwise sustained his reputation, as did the principled stand that he took against the Cologne Dominicans who, in support of Johann Joseph Pfefferkorn, a Jewish convert who polemicized in favor of the confiscation and destruction of all Hebrew texts.<sup>9</sup> Reuchlin spoke in a hearing before Emperor Maximilian and inadvertently proved clearly the social limitations of Humanist ideology: he argued that Hebrew texts should not be banned since they were useful for Christian theology and general education. The so-called *uiri clari* ‘eminent men’ took Reuchlin’s side, but the case ended in an ideologically and practically unsatisfying tangle, with the papally appointed commissioners deciding in Reuchlin’s favor, the pope rejecting their decision, and Reuchlin being charged with the court costs that according to some accounts seem to have reduced him to penury for the remainder of his life.

A peculiar idea appears in Reuchlin’s defense of Hebrew: due to the widespread and continuing expulsions of Jews from countries, principalities, cities, and towns

across the face of much of Europe, there were fewer Jews in western and central Europe in 1500 than there had been at any point in the previous millennium. Reuchlin saw as a realistic possibility that Jews might be systematically deported from the entire continent and 'disappear from our midst,' taking with them all functional knowledge of Hebrew. For this reason, he suggested, it was necessary to learn Hebrew while there was still time, and disseminate that knowledge to other Christians.

With specific reference to the Humanist study of Yiddish, Reuchlin is particularly important because of his student, Johannes Böschenstein (Böschenstain), who published the first extant account of Yiddish. Böschenstein was born in Eßlingen in 1472, the son of a fisherman from Stein am Rhein.<sup>10</sup> His prominent place in the history of Hebrew studies is not due to the quality and influence of his publications as such, but rather—like Reuchlin—to his awakening an interest in Hebrew studies in the German-speaking lands, which he, too, set up according to the established system of Latin grammar. Still in his hometown, he began to study Hebrew with the Jewish scholar, Moses Möllin from Weißenburg, and later taught Hebrew there himself. Thereafter he continued his Hebrew studies with Reuchlin and in 1494 became a priest. He seems to have led the life of a wanderer, finding peace nowhere. From 1505 he was a teacher of Hebrew in Ingolstadt; in 1513 he was in Augsburg. In the eight-year period between 1514 and 1521, he lived in no fewer than nine different cities: Augsburg, Ingolstadt, Donauwörth, Eichach, Regensburg, Munich, Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Augsburg again, and Heidelberg. Weinreich suggests that he was probably in Regensburg before going on to Wittenberg, as an entry in a Hebrew Psalter manuscript indicates: "I, Johann Böschenstein, bought this Psalter in 1517 in Tübingen . . . Moses Auerbach and the entire community of Regensburg showed me great favor."<sup>11</sup> Philipp Melanchthon relates that in 1518 Boeschenstein affixed to the door of an inn in Regensburg a proclamation on which was written: "I, Johann Boeschenstein . . . will teach, for a modest sum of money, anyone who wishes, to write and read Hebrew-German in six days. He who so desires should present himself at this inn."<sup>12</sup> In the same year he was invited by Melanchthon to be Professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg. While both the invitation and the position bestowed great honor on him, he did not stay there long, although he did publish the *Hebraicae grammaticae institutiones* ('Grammatical Principles of Hebrew,' Wittenberg 1519) there. Since there was no Hebrew font in Wittenberg, however, the Hebrew words had to be written in by hand. In this book Reuchlin's work was still his model. After his return to Augsburg, he edited Moses Kimḥi's *Rudimenta Hebraica* ('Hebrew Primer,' Augsburg 1520). In 1521 he was in Heidelberg, where neither the salary nor the tutorials with private students enabled him manage financially (the Heidelberg faculties paid Böschenstein only twenty-five *Goldgulden* per year). Hence his stay was brief. In 1522 he left Heidelberg and moved on to Antwerp, then to Zurich. In 1525 he had a lengthier stay in Nuremberg, but there, too, finances were a problem. He died in Nördlingen in 1540 in great poverty. Among the students whom he taught in the course of his nomadic life were Caspar Amman, Johann Eck, and Ulrich Zwingli.

In Böschenstein's biography there surfaces an important indicator of the Christian attitude toward Hebraists of this earliest period of Humanist interest in Jewish culture. It long remained the case that anyone interested in Hebrew was suspected of being a

secret Jew or at least a convert from Judaism, which at that time could well ruin a Christian's career and life. Böschenstein was one of those who was recurrently so suspected for much of his adult life. His having studied with a Jew and his intimate knowledge of Hebrew in a time when such expertise was all but unheard among Christians led many scholars (including Wolf, Jöcher, Steinschneider, and Perles) to view him as Jewish or a convert from Judaism; Martin Luther called him an apostate, and the *Dunkelmänner* classed him as a fellow traveler along with Reuchlin. Böschenstein countered the accusation in a separate pamphlet: "Wider etlich, die von jm sagen, Er seye von Jüdischem stammen, und nit von gebornen Christen herkommen" ['In Response to Some, Who Say of Him that He Is of Jewish Origin and Not Born of Christian Parents']. He says that the accusation does not dishonor him, but that he must think of the effect on his children.<sup>13</sup> He notes that his parents in Eßlingen were good Christians and that his two brothers were at the time of his writing still fisherman in Stein am Rhein. Weinreich (*Geschichte* 45) nonetheless opines that Böschenstein may well protest too much, and that his defense of himself as a Christian is not altogether persuasive. He also notes that Sebastian Münster calls Böschenstein a *baptizatus Judaeus*, which one might, however, simply understand as the rudeness of a scholarly competitor, who was not slow to express his lack of respect for Böschenstein's work as a teacher.<sup>14</sup> Philipp Melanchthon, who favored Böschenstein, also took sides on the issue. In his *Narrationes jucundae et utiles ex pralectionibus* ('Pleasant and Useful Stories from Lectures'), he comments:

Thirty years ago we had a professor of Hebrew here who said: "What should I do? I could live somewhere else where I would have it better." I asked what place he had in mind. He answered: "I could live freely in Regensburg among the Jews. Once for the sake of my health I took a morning stroll through their temple. An elderly woman came up to me, gave me a *batzen* [silver coin] and requested that I read a mass for her, and a second and third, as well. I could thus earn six *batzen* a week."<sup>15</sup>

Weinreich notes that there is something unusual about Melanchthon's comment on this "stroll in the temple" and the "mass" that the Jewish woman is said to have requested; he suggests that they might be explained as *Tempel* = *shulhoyf* 'synagogue courtyard' and *Messe* = recitation of Psalms.<sup>16</sup> Melanchthon neither mentions Böschenstein specifically by name here, nor is he precisely accurate in remembering that it was in fact thirty-one years previously (1518–19) that Böschenstein was in Wittenberg; but Böschenstein must have in fact been the *hebraice ligue* (sic) *interpres* ('Hebrew translator'; according to the *Album Academiae Wittebergensis*) mentioned. In any case, Weinreich astutely points out that while a secret Jew might conceivably have convinced his Christian colleagues of his Christianity, it would have been much more difficult for a Christian masquerading as a Jew to deceive a Jewish community that had a much greater stake in recognizing such identity, and the Regensburg community would certainly not have allowed a Christian, whether formerly Jewish or not, to recite Psalms in the manner noted. Thus Weinreich suggests for Böschenstein a kind of double existence.<sup>17</sup> It was not just the Christians who harried him in this regard, however. In the preface to his Hebrew Grammar of 1518, he remarks: "Oodio Judaicis eram quod literas publicarem

hactenus vulgo Christiano ignotas” [‘I was hated by the Jews because I published texts unknown to the ordinary Christian up to that point’].<sup>18</sup>

Among his numerous publications were *Elementale introductorium in hebreas litteras teutonice et hebraice legendas* (‘Elementary Introduction to Reading German and Hebrew in Hebrew Letters,’ Augsburg 1514); *Hebraicae grammaticae institutiones* (‘Grammatical Principles of Hebrew,’ Wittenberg 1518); a Latin translation of Moses Kimḥi’s מהלך, entitled *Rudimenta hebraica* (‘Hebrew Primer,’ Augsburg 1520); German translations of Jewish prayers, תפילות העברים / *Tefilot ha-ivrim* (‘Hebrew Prayers,’ 1525) and the ברכת המזון / *Birkat ha-mazon* (‘Grace after Meals,’ 1530). He also published several German translations from the Hebrew Bible, as well as other types of books that had nothing to do with humanistic studies, such as sermons and hymns, and also, in order to enhance his meager income, books such as the first German primer of basic arithmetic for children, which was based on the principle of independent thinking (*Rechenbiechlin*, ‘Arithmetic Booklet,’ Nuremberg 1514).

Böschenstein became a member of the Reformation without ever quite finding his proper intellectual place in that movement or in the university system that was to support it. His own scholarship is of little value now, and, as Sebastian Münster recognized, was of little value even in his own time, but, as Max Weinreich notes (*Geschichte*, p. 44), his focus and intent were scholarly, and he did the best he could with what little he had, especially under the conditions of his nomadic existence.

It is Böschenstein’s activity in the Christian scholarly community that is of interest in the present investigation, for his pamphlet on Yiddish was intended strictly for a Christian audience. In 1514 he arrived in Augsburg and published a small quarto book of three quaternions: *Elementale introductorium in hebreas litteras teutonice et hebraice legendas* (‘Elementary Introduction to Reading German and Hebrew in Hebrew Letters’). The pamphlet comprises several brief chapters. The majority of the six-page chapter relevant here concerns Hebrew, while only the notes on the alphabet are occasionally relevant to Yiddish. This is the only publication in which he offers any information about Yiddish. The booklet’s preface comprises a (Latin) letter to Reuchlin in which the author mentions that he is hated by both the Christians and the Jews and claims to have been put in jail in his hometown due to false accusations. Further, he thanks his Hebrew teacher, Moses Möllin of Weissenburg. In further mentioning a number of his own Hebrew students and their desire (and that of Reuchlin, to whom the booklet is dedicated) that he compose such a booklet, Böschenstein touches on a common theme especially in Hebrew primers written by Christians during the period, for as already mentioned, most such booklets were cobbled together for the sake of the practical needs of the given author’s students. Following these remarks in the preface, there follow several Latin poems and a biblical quotation with Latin translation. These brief texts fill the first five pages of the booklet, after which the *Introductorium* proper begins.<sup>19</sup>

Anyone expecting a systematic introduction to Yiddish—even within the confines of Humanistic conceptions of grammar and language codification—will be vastly disappointed in Böschenstein’s brief presentation, which consists of little more than a table of alphabetical equivalents of the semicursive Hebrew and the Roman alphabets and a few orthographical notes, most of them incomplete, imprecise, or simply inaccurate. The chart of Roman-Hebrew alphabetical equivalents already demonstrates a

number of the problems involved in such thumbnail sketches of a language. He posits, for instance the equivalences  $\text{ױ} = /f/$ ,  $\text{ױ} = /s/$ , and  $\text{ױ} = /sch/$ .<sup>20</sup> If we understand  $/f/$  simply as an allograph of  $/s/$ , then the problems are manifold even in such a simple case. The voiced sibilant  $[z]$  represented in Yiddish by  $\text{ױ}$  is indeed often represented in German by  $/s/$ .<sup>21</sup> The voiceless counterpart  $[s]$  can be represented in Yiddish by  $\text{ױ}$ , but such is not the case in any unqualified sense, because in principle, although not consistently in practice, this graph is used in early Yiddish only in words from the Semitic component (which Böschenstein duly notes). Böschenstein gives the equivalent of  $\text{ױ}$  as  $/s/$ , however, which is the same graph that he uses for  $\text{ױ}$   $[z]$ , which is only rarely an accurate description of early Yiddish usage. In other words, he offers no possibility of representing  $[s]$  in Yiddish,<sup>22</sup> which he could have clearly distinguished phonetically from  $/s/$  by using  $/ß/$ . The most common representation of  $[s]$  in early Yiddish is in fact  $\text{ױ}$ , which only rarely in such texts carries the punctuation that conventionally distinguishes  $\text{ױ}$   $[s]$  from  $\text{ױ}$   $[š]$  in fully pointed Hebrew texts. In Yiddish texts of the period  $\text{ױ}$  then serves to represent both  $[s]$  and  $[š]$ , the latter of which Böschenstein does account for as  $\text{ױ} = /sch/$ , which is then corroborated later in the specification of  $\text{ױ} = /sp/$  and  $\text{ױ} = /st/$ .<sup>23</sup>

Otherwise with respect to consonants, in noting that  $\text{ױ}$ ,  $\text{ױ}$ ,  $\text{ױ}$  are used only for Hebrew-Aramaic, he indirectly acknowledges the Yiddish orthographical convention of retaining the traditional spelling of Semitic-component words. Due to the complexities of the usage of  $/k/$ ,  $/c/$ , and  $/q/$  in German, his identification of them as equivalents of  $\text{ױ}$  masks as many problems as it clarifies. In his identification of  $\text{ױ}$  as the representation of  $/ff/$ , he already hints at the absence of double consonants in Yiddish orthography,<sup>24</sup> which he states explicitly later, only immediately to undermine his point with the inaccurate claim that doubled consonants are indicated by the use of *dagesh* in Yiddish. Here one notes a case of slippage: it seems that he has allowed his knowledge of Hebrew to spill over into his description of Yiddish. There are further problems with his cryptic remarks concerning the usage of  $\text{ױ}$ ,  $\text{ױ}$ , and  $\text{ױ}$  to represent  $[f]/[v]$ . He claims that  $\text{ױ}$  represents  $[v]$  generally,  $\text{ױ}$  represents word-initial  $/v/$ , and  $\text{ױ}$  represents  $/ff/ = [f]$ . As Weinreich (*Geschichte* 49) notes, however,  $\text{ױ}$  and  $\text{ױ}$  are often interchanged in early Yiddish without any distinction of sound, while in cotermporal German,  $/f/$  and  $/ff/$  were hopelessly confused. That Böschenstein's remarks are no less confused should then perhaps be no surprise.

The table of vowel correspondences is quite incomplete and inadequate. It accounts for  $[i]$ ,  $[au]/[eu]$ , and  $[ai]$  in initial position (but not elsewhere) and  $[o]$  and  $[u]$  in both initial and noninitial position;  $\text{ױ}$  is identified without qualification as  $[ei]$  (without clearly distinguishing it from  $[ai]$ ), which does not accurately reflect the usage in initial position, which requires a preceding  $\text{ױ}$ . While he clearly understood the principle that word-initial vowels were necessarily preceded by  $\text{ױ}$ , he does not state the principle but rather simply lists several—but not all—instances of it (he omits  $\text{ױ}$  and  $\text{ױ}$ ), which then would logically seem evidence against the existence of the principle. It is claimed that the Hebrew alphabet has no  $/o/$ , although the table provides three alternative graphs to represent the sound.<sup>25</sup> Böschenstein's comments on the environmentally conditioned omission of the vowel graphs  $/a/$  and  $/e/$  are accurate: between word-initial consonants that cannot form syllables without a vowel (e.g.,  $\text{ױ}$ ,  $\text{ױ}$ ),  $[a]$  is to be understood: *martin*; before word-final liquids ( $/l/$ ,  $/m/$ ,  $/n/$ ,  $/r/$ ;

e.g., פֿטער), [e] is to be understood: *pater*.<sup>26</sup> He recognizes that ן is used as both vowel and consonant, but does not note the use of ן as /v/. The more complex representation of vowels in early Yiddish was much more accurately accounted for in later scholarly treatments.

With this very brief exposition Böschenstein considers his duty complete and suggests that no more than diligence and moderate effort will suffice for his reader both to read and write German (“our spoken language”) and Latin (!) in the Hebrew alphabet. Thereafter follows his account of the use of *litterae maiusculae*, that is, the Hebrew square script, followed by nine notes on its usage. Interestingly, just as his comments on the Ashkenazic semicursive script concern the Yiddish language, his comments on square script concern the Hebrew language. General practice at the time did indeed distinguish the languages by means of this distinction in the font/script used. His comments on Hebrew are included in the text edition in the present volume only because his last comment in the section also notes the existence of the final consonants, ץ ף ן ם ך, which are also used in Yiddish, although Böschenstein does not note this usage. In fact he does not identify in his comments which letters are generally used for Hebrew and not Yiddish. Indeed it is only in the text’s title that he identifies Yiddish and Hebrew as his topics, which is mentioned nowhere in the charts or accompanying remarks. The distinction in the script used to write the two languages seems the marker of the distinction in language itself.

When one considers the cultural context in which Böschenstein’s observations on Yiddish were made, and the conditions under which he compiled them, then their fragmentary nature, imprecision, and inaccuracy may seem somewhat less troubling: he was after all the first person—Jew or Gentile—to attempt such a description, so there were no texts with which he could compare his own observations, and—to identify the operative mode of ‘serial’ grammar composition in the period—none from which he could copy. Thus, unlike his successors, who never shied away from dependence on earlier publications or even from outright plagiarism, Böschenstein’s observations seem to have been original for the simple reason that he could not have copied from anyone else. He was not only the first to try to abstract linguistic (primarily orthographical) principles based on his own experience with the language, but also the first to give any evidence that such a concern was worth the attention. Böschenstein was able to abstract such principles because the extant body of texts in the early sixteenth century already demonstrated an orthographical proto-standard,<sup>27</sup> which is all the more significant in terms of the history of Yiddish orthography because the standardizing effects of the printing industry had as yet had no influence on the Yiddish orthographical tradition: at this point, Böschenstein was still dealing with a literary tradition transmitted exclusively via manuscripts; it is not until 1534 that the first (predominantly) Yiddish book is printed. In any case, the *relative* consistency of sixteenth-century Yiddish orthography is clear to any reader who, for instance, compares it with contemporary German or English texts, where orthography seems in a state of wild confusion.

While Böschenstein’s remarks are in some cases less faulty than are those of many of his proto-Yiddishist successors among Christian Hebraists, in the final analysis, there are nonetheless very meager results here. There is little substantive content in the treatment that indicates significant interest in Yiddish on Böschenstein’s part and

no clear indication of any actual knowledge of the language beyond that which a moderately observant German-speaker with a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet might have. As a result, Weinreich concludes that Böschenstein's importance in the history of Yiddish studies is due only to his having been the first to treat the subject in a published work, which tempts us to value even the meager results more highly than we otherwise might do (*Geschichte*, p. 51).

Sebastian Münster [Munsterus] was born probably on 20 January 1489 in Nieder-Ingelheim and died on 26 May 1552 in Basel.<sup>28</sup> He studied privately in preparation for the university before entering the Franciscan school in Heidelberg. By 1505 he was studying at the university in Heidelberg (he may also have studied briefly in Louvain and Freiburg), and he joined the Franciscan Order at about the same time. By 1509 he continued his studies in the Franciscan monastery in Ruffach, where Konrad Pellikan (1478–1556) was his first famous teacher of Hebrew and Greek (and also of mathematics and cosmography). In 1512 he became a priest, and by 1514 he was at the university in Tübingen, where he became acquainted with Johannes Reuchlin and Philipp Melancthon and studied with Johann Stöffler (mathematics and astronomy). His first verified publication was a Hebrew grammar *Epitome hebraicae grammaticae* ('Epitome of Hebrew grammar') (Basel: Froben, 1520). Soon thereafter, while in Basel, he published the *Grammatica hebraica Eliae Levitae* ('Hebrew Grammar of Elia Levita') and the *Dictionarium hebraicum* ('Hebrew Dictionary,' both 1523). In 1524 he went to Heidelberg as a teacher of Hebrew, mathematics, and geography, probably on the orders of the Franciscans, since he personally found the conservative atmosphere of Heidelberg unattractive. When he left Heidelberg in 1528, he returned to Basel as Pellikan's successor as professor of Hebrew. Although he was no enthusiastic participant in the theological controversies of the time, he did support Martin Luther's observation that Vulgate Bible was error-ridden, and when he took the university position in Basel, he left the Franciscan Order and joined the Reformation. This period was quite chaotic at the university in Basel: many students and teachers had left the city, and the university was closed from 1529 to 1532. Münster thereafter remained in Basel for the rest of his life and made Basel into a center of Hebrew studies. In the period 1542–4 he was professor of theology, and in 1547–8, rector.

When one considers Sebastian Münster's importance for the history of early Yiddish studies, it is first necessary to note that he was a prolific scholar who wrote, edited, or translated more than seventy-five books between 1527 and 1552, more than half of which concerned Semitic languages, among them, the prominent works: the *Epitome*, noted above; *Institutiones grammaticae in hebraeam linguam* ('Grammatical Instructions in the Hebrew Language,' Basel 1524); an edition and Latin translation of Elia Levita's ספר הדקדוק / *Sefer ha-dikduk* ('Book of Grammar,' Basel 1525); דקדוק ארמי דלישן ארמי *Dikduk de-lishan arami* / *Chaldaica grammatica* ('Aramaic Grammar,' Basel 1527; the first grammar of Aramaic by a Christian); an edition of Moses of Coucy's list of the 613 commandments, Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil's ספר מיצוות קטן / *Sefer mizvot katan* ('Small Book of Commandments,' Basel 1533); an edition and Latin translation of Maimonides' ההגיון / *Ha-higaon* ('Logic,' Basel 1527); a translation of Abraham b. David's epitome of the יוסיפון / *Jossipon* (1529); a Latin translation of Moses Kimḥi's ספר דקדוק / *Sefer dikduk* ('Grammar Book,' Basel 1531); *Hebraicae*

*Grammaticae praecipua illa pars* ('Hebrew Grammar, Part One,' Basel 1536); an edition of the Hebrew Bible (*Hebraica biblia*, 2 vols., Basel 1534–5) with a new parallel translation into Latin (the first Protestant translation of the Hebrew Bible into Latin) and commentary based to a significant degree on Münster's knowledge of the Jewish commentary tradition;<sup>29</sup> an edition in Hebrew with accompanying Latin translation of טוביה (*Tobit*, Basel 1542); a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew תורת המשיח *Torat ha-mashiakh* / *Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Basel 1537); it was the first translation of any part of the New Testament into Hebrew. His use of Jewish polemical literature in his Hebrew edition of Matthew outraged Guillaume Postel who attacked Münster in his *De orbis terrae concordia* ('On the Harmony of the Planet').

Münster was also a cosmographer, mathematician, and cartographer: he annotated the Latin version of Abraham ben Ḥiyya's astronomical and geographical work, ספר צורת הארץ / *Sefer Zurat ha-arez* ('On the Form of the Earth,' Basel 1546), preceded two years earlier by his most famous work, the *Cosmographia* ('Cosmography,' Basel 1544), based on both personal data collected during his travels and the works of others. Approximately half of the work is about German-speaking lands. His descriptions of the world outside of the area he knew personally were often based on the fantastical and outdated descriptions that had been conventional in such descriptions of 'exotic' lands since the biographies of Alexander the Great; he held to the Ptolemaic system his entire life and refused to call the Americas by that name. The book included many excellent and lavish illustrations, although many of the maps are all but useless since they are based not on scientific measurement or observation, but rather on literary description. Münster deliberately wrote and published the book in German in order both to increase the book's sales and to disseminate this kind of encyclopedic knowledge to a broader audience.

While his works on Hebrew and Yiddish display the massive accumulation of detail for its own sake and horrendously disorganized arrangement of materials characteristic of learned publishing of the period, Münster's *Cosmographia* is perhaps the most extreme example of this 'method' among his publications. While, as noted above, caution is necessary in evaluations of the actual Semitic language competence of the broad range of Christian Humanists, Frank Rosenthal's suggestion that the functional extent of Münster's knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic needs reevaluation to determine whether he knew much about postbiblical Halakhah and legal literature (which did not become prominent in Christian Hebraica studies until Buxtorf's work) seems both ungenerous and inaccurate, since Münster's publications amply demonstrate his ongoing work with postbiblical Jewish traditions.<sup>30</sup> In any case, Münster's work provided Christian Hebraists with a veritable library of texts, commentaries, and grammatical and lexical aids to guide them through the Jewish textual traditions.

As was the case with Christian Humanists in general, Münster was also motivated in his studies of Hebraica not just by humanistic but also polemical and missionary principles, as is demonstrated quite specifically in his Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew (1537), noted above, and most especially by his משיח *Messias Christianorum et Judæorum* ('The Messiah of the Christians and the Jews'), a missionary dialogue between a Christian and a Jew, written in both Latin and Hebrew,



so that Jews could conceivably also read it. Here he rails openly against the ‘errors and deceptions’ of the Jews. The book gained an audience (among Christians) and was reissued with a starkly anti-Jewish introduction (Basel 1539).

In his masterful study of the early tradition of Yiddish studies, Max Weinreich notes Eleazar Schulman’s claim that Münster included a chapter specifically dealing with Yiddish in his *Opus grammaticum consummatum ex variis Elianis libris concinnatum* (‘Grammatical Work Gathered from Various Books of Elia’),<sup>31</sup> noting further that Ber Borochov refuted that claim in his historical bibliography of Yiddish studies;<sup>32</sup> he finally points out that Münster did not write such a chapter, and moreover claims that there is nothing about Yiddish in Münster’s works beyond the scattered words introduced here and there by *Judaei dicunt* ‘Jews say’ or *germanice* ‘in German’ (i.e., Yiddish). He provides seven examples gleaned from Münster’s *Dictionarium hebraicum* (‘Hebrew Dictionary,’ Basel 1523).<sup>33</sup> There are in addition a few Yiddish words included in Münster’s *ערוך ארוך / Dictionarium chaldaicum* (‘Aramaic Dictionary,’ Basel 1527), which consists of excerpts from the *ערוך*, compiled by Rabbi Nathan ben Jehiel and completed in Rome in 1101. Manuscripts of this very practical work were common in European Jewish communities. Münster mistakenly imagined that the manuscript that he used (now Munich Staatsbibliothek, cod. hebr. 420) was the original of the text, and since it included Yiddish glosses, he thought the author was a German Jew. In fact this manuscript was a fourteenth-century copy into which the scribe had inserted some Yiddish glosses. Münster notes how difficult it is to determine the origin and meaning of some of these ‘German’ words. Weinreich notes that based on the way that Münster incorporates Yiddish into his works, it seems likely that he actually had some facility with the language (*Geschichte* 70), and thus it is in the end all the more disappointing that Münster “uns gewiß so viel hätte sagen können und doch so wenig gesagt hat” [‘certainly would have been able to tell us much, but in fact told us so little,’ 73]. Since Weinreich’s dissertation was completed in 1923, it has become clear that Münster did devote some few lines specifically to Yiddish in another of his works, the *מלכות הדקדוק / Melekheth ha-dikduk / Institutiones grammaticae in hebraeam linguam* (‘Grammatical Instructions in the Hebrew Language,’ Basel 1524). The relevant section, “Institutio brevis, quomodo uernacula quæque lingua Hebraicis characteribus scribi possit,” is edited in this volume.<sup>34</sup> While the text comprises slightly more than a page of text and consists only of a description of the details of how the Hebrew alphabet is used to write Yiddish, along with twenty Hebrew words translated into Latin and Yiddish, it nonetheless expands vastly on the information provided by Böschenstein.

While not arranged in tabular fashion and without the actual use of Hebrew letters (but only their Latin names), Münster’s description provides little more than single-letter Hebrew equivalents for the Roman alphabet. Many of the more complex issues hinted at even in Böschenstein’s abbreviated presentation are here oversimplified and obscured, especially with respect to the representation of Yiddish vowels: א = *a*, ו or װ = *o / u*, י = *i*, ײ = *y*<sup>35</sup> / *ei*, ײ = *e*. Among the diphthongs only ײ is included, and except for the positionally conditioned possibility of the omission of [e] and [a] (well illustrated by the examples מורגן and מכון), no further details on the complexities of the differential representation of vowels are included. The complexities of the representation of /f/ and /v/ are reduced to װ = /f/ and (presumably) ױ = /v/. With

respect to the various sibilants, there is little clarity in Münster's presentation. Since he provides no examples to illustrate the distinction between what he terms 'thick' and 'thin' *s*, it is unclear what these designations might mean to Münster in the tangled grapho-phonemic web of *s/z/š* of sixteenth-century German. While the Latin term *tenuis* when applied to consonants conventionally signifies voiceless consonants—as opposed to *media* 'voiced'—here it is opposed to *grossus*, which suggests the more common, extra-linguistic opposition 'thin' versus 'thick.' The *tenuis* consonant specified here is also problematically *ʔ*, which conventionally represents a voiced consonant in Yiddish. Furthermore, when Münster identifies the letters ת, ס, ה as not used in German[ic-component] words, and then notes the exceptional status of ס, his cryptic introduction of examples is both interesting and misleading, for two reasons. First, he illustrates this use of ס in German words via a list of seven Latin words that logically can have nothing to do with the issue. It is of course their *unlisted* German equivalents that are relevant (and which have been supplied, for the sake of clarity, in the English translation in this volume); Münster simply assumes that his readers will automatically understand the German lurking behind the Latin. And, second, one must posit these underlying forms as German and not Yiddish, for in the case of several of the words, cotemporal Yiddish texts practically never used ס, but rather שׂ to represent the /s/ that Münster must have had in mind.

Added to his brief comments on alphabetical equivalents are twenty Hebrew words with their Yiddish and Latin translations. They seem to have been chosen as much to illustrate Hebrew usage as Yiddish, including, for instance, various verb forms (perfective and imperfective, *qal*, *hofal*, *hitpa'el*, *lamed he*, *waw consecutivum*), noun gender, and suffixed nominal possessives. With respect to his translations one must note that the Latin translations are not always exact (*dominatus es* דְּרִיבְתָּ), while the Yiddish translations make no attempt to represent Yiddish specifically as opposed to German usage (e.g., אָוונט). But one must also concede that practically no other Christian Hebraists (or, for that matter, Christian Yiddishists) have been concerned with this issue up until very recently. In any case, Münster's Yiddish translations certainly fall within the range of acceptable early Yiddish orthography and grammatical usage.

After Münster's description of Yiddish orthography, there was an interval of almost two decades before the subject was again taken up, this time by a Jewish author in a book composed for a Jewish audience: the anonymous Yiddish book of ethics (מוסר / *musar*) entitled ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous* ('Book of Measures/Steps,' Isny 1542; EYT 43). The text derives from the movement of Hassidei Ashkenaz and as such has nothing ostensibly to do with Humanism or the Humanist project. Since it was published by the Christian Hebraist, Paulus Fagius, during the brief period of his operation—in collaboration with Elia Levita—of a Hebrew press in the southern German town of Isny, however, this brief text is clearly associated not merely obliquely with the Humanist project. Fagius knew the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous* and clearly made use of it in the two brief descriptions of Yiddish orthography that he published in the years following the appearance of the Yiddish book. If for no other reason, however, the text is relevant to the analysis here because it provides a corpus of material that can stand in comparison to that compiled by contemporary Christians. While it now seems likely that this Yiddish text is a translation of the

anonymous Hebrew text, *ספר ארחות צדיקים* / *Seyfer orhot zadikim*, ('Book on the Holy Modes of Life') written in fourteenth-century Germany, published in Prague in 1581, and reprinted twenty-five times over the course of the next four centuries, there has been some controversy over which text is the original of the other. The Yiddish text has variously been attributed to Elia Levita, Paulus Fagius, Paulus Aemilius, and Yom Tov Lipmann of Mühlhausen, chief rabbi of Bohemia, philosopher, and cabbalist. Only the last ascription seems now worthy of attention, but even it is very poorly founded.<sup>36</sup> The work is dedicated to a certain "Dame Morada, doctor of the free art of medicine, resident of Günzburg" [ורויא מוראדא דוקטרין דער ורייאן קונשט דער ארצנייא וואנהאפטג], צו גוינשפורג, fol. 99r]. The text is divided into sections that generally focus alternately on a single cardinal virtue or vice: pride, humility, contempt, insolence, love, hate, compassion, cruelty, joy, sadness, calm, anger, reason, jealousy, enthusiasm, idleness, nobility, avarice, memory, forgetfulness, silence, lying, truth, hypocrisy, slander, and repentance, and Torah. The book exerted an enormous influence on the development of Jewish ethical literature over the course of several centuries.

Following the index to the treatise's topics, the Yiddish text's last two pages deal with the rules of writing and reading Yiddish, introduced as "גון בלגט ווייטר וויא מן זול לערנן טוייטש לייאן" ["Here Follows How One Can Learn to Read Yiddish"], which more so than the brief treatments by Böschenstein and Münster constitutes the first attempt to describe the linguistic system of the Yiddish language. It is also the first systematic description of Yiddish orthography.<sup>37</sup> It is immediately clear that the author knew Yiddish well—the text is after all written in Yiddish—and had an unusually nuanced understanding of the *principles* (and not just *praxis*) of the Yiddish writing system and viewed it as a system for the representation of the Yiddish language conceived as such and not merely as a system of equivalents for the Roman alphabet in its representation of German. Vowels are thus identified by means of the names of Hebrew vowel points, that is, ם is thus said to signify *hireq* and *serē*, rather than, as one finds in the Humanists' typically Germano-centric descriptions, that /i/ and /e/ are represented by ם. While quite brief, this description accounts for a great many of the complexities of the system: the multiple significations of the vowel graphs are listed. The simple vowels are represented as follows: ם = *hireq* and *serē*, א = *qameṣ* and *pataḥ*, ו = *melopum* and *holem*, ץ = *segol*. Postvocalic, word-final silent א is noted (דיא).

The representation of some Yiddish vowels, whether simple vowels or diphthongs, requires two or more signs, whether of vowel graphs or a combination of vowel graphs and vowel pointings, as ם קויגן, or ם preceded by *serē* (in the examples provided in the text, however, e.g., the words מיר and זיר, the *serē* is omitted), or in the representation of the diphthongs [ai] and [ei] by םײ. In this latter case, the text does not identify the phonetic quality of the diphthong by means of description (the author cannot here simply name a Hebrew vowel point as he does elsewhere), but rather illustrates it through the examples דריי, צוויי, איין.<sup>38</sup> The attempt at a phonetic description of the Yiddish diphthong [ou] that becomes Modern Yiddish [oi] (New High German [au]) is ultimately quite effective, although the author is obviously struggling with a vocabulary not meant to describe the object of his analysis: the phones "semi-*pataḥ*?" [o] and "semi-*melopum*" [u] are represented, respectively by the graphs ו and ם, as seen in the examples ורויא, גינויא, and בווי; the corresponding sound in German is represented by Gentiles by means of /au/, as in *baw*, *gnaw*, *fraw*.<sup>39</sup> This same conception

of ‘semi-vowel’ is employed in the description of the rounded back vowel [œ] inherited from German /ö/. This vowel in Yiddish eventually lost its rounding and backness and became [e] in modern Yiddish (e.g., New High German *mögen* versus Modern Yiddish מעגן [megn]). While it is likely that this phonetic development had already begun in Yiddish by the mid-sixteenth century, the orthographical system still distinguishes this vowel from [e], as documented in this text also: as what is designated “semi-*qameṣ*” + “semi-*šere*,” as in מויגן or בריזן. The author then indicates that the equivalent graph employed by Gentiles (i.e., in German texts) is /o/ with a superscript /e/ = ö (i.e., = ö),<sup>40</sup> for example, in *bösen, mögen*. Whether the combination וי was to be interpreted as “semi-*pataḥ*” + “semi-*melopum*” or “semi-*qameṣ*” + “semi-*šere*” is not indicated in the orthography itself, but rather, as the author notes, remains a matter of the individual reader’s discretion. The final item in the description concerns the alleged representation of such “semi-vowels” in the work of some writers by means of *ḥatuf qameṣ*, such that in the word הויר they “point with a *ḥatuf qameṣ* under the *he*.” The author condemns this usage for the eminently practical reason that there is no common agreement about how to pronounce *ḥatuf* vowels (he notes the Italian mockery of the pronunciation of German Jews). One should note that such usage of *ḥatuf* vowels is exceedingly rare in early Yiddish texts.<sup>41</sup>

The analysis found in the ספר מודות / *Seyfer midous* obviously goes beyond a mere description of the orthographical system to include important information about phonology, as well. Interestingly, however, it focuses exclusively on the vocalic system and makes not a single comment concerning consonants. While one might well conclude that an understanding of the functioning of the rather complex vocalic system is more essential than a description of the rather straightforward consonantal system in Yiddish, there are indeed complications in the consonants, as well, and their omission here compromises the description’s effectiveness in actually teaching one ‘how to learn to read Yiddish.’ One must keep in mind, however, the context: the text is written in Yiddish. So its ostensible goal—to teach its reader to read Yiddish—is already practically to be understood as ironic. Clearly the intended audience comprises Hebrew-literate Yiddish speakers, for whom the use of consonants in Yiddish will be generally straightforward, while vowel usage can be quite opaque. In any case, however, the description of the vowels is also not by any means complete, nor does it even include all the information found, for instance, in Böschenstein, who at least indicates that word-initial vowels require a preposed א. Perhaps the Jewish author, writing in Yiddish, simply assumed that his audience would not need such information made explicit, since the same orthographical rule obtains in the writing of Hebrew and Aramaic, with which any reader of his text would presumably be familiar at least at an elementary level. The underlying assumption is of course that the audience of this ethical treatise to which the brief text on Yiddish was appended was almost exclusively Jewish and predominantly already Hebrew-literate. The author’s struggle to find linguistic vocabulary adequate to the task that he has set for himself is quite interesting to observe. Although Weinreich finds the phraseology *unbeholfen* ‘clumsy’ (*Geschichte*, p. 85), there is one underlying programmatic distinction between the descriptive mode employed by this text, as opposed to those of the Christian Humanists: in place of the description of Yiddish as if deviant German and the elision of phonetic (and other) distinctions between the languages, this author describes

Yiddish phonetics by means of the vocabulary and 'linguistic' terminology of the Jewish tradition of Hebrew language study. While it is necessary to recognize that German and Yiddish are far more closely related than Hebrew and Yiddish, it is precisely that linguistic proximity that enables the less than rigorous analyst to allow 'slippage' in his linguistic description. The description of Yiddish diphthongs in terms of combinations of Hebrew vocalic graphs rather than German diphthongs provides a far clearer understanding of the actual phonetic realization of the *Yiddish* sound, particularly since the German-speaking Humanists rarely imagined the existence an actual, significant, and describable distinction at all. As a momentary glimpse of the potential for different modes of description, the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous* offers a great deal. As a full-fledged linguistic description of mid-sixteenth-century Yiddish, it is ultimately not much more satisfactory than the texts written by the author's Christian contemporaries.

The fact that the book was published by Paulus Fagius in his short-lived but quite productive Hebrew printing operation in Isny must lead us back to Fagius and his own dabbling in the description of the Yiddish language. While not of the scholarly stature of Sebastian Münster, Fagius was an indefatigably dedicated Humanist, whose Hebrew grammar appeared in Constance in 1543. Remarkably, both Münster and Fagius were students and collaborators of one of the great lights of Hebrew studies during the Humanistic period, Elia Levita, whose work was as important to Christian Hebraists as it was within the Jewish community, where its revolutionary aspects nonetheless rendered it at least problematic if not borderline heretical.<sup>42</sup> Fagius's own work in Isny can be appreciated only in the context of his collaboration with Levita. Fagius invited him to come from Venice to work with him as editor, typesetter, and proofreader in Isny, where Levita then also printed many of his own works, including several of his grammatical and lexicographical works, in addition to his Yiddish epic, בנבא דאנטווא / *Bovo d'Antona* (written in Padua in 1507, published in Isny in 1541; EYT 33). While, as noted above, the author of the few sentences concerning Yiddish orthography in the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous* has not been identified, it has been speculated that Levita might have been responsible for this linguistic description appended to the text. In any case, as Max Weinreich points out, one can understand the further development of Yiddish studies only through an engagement with Elia Levita's wide-ranging work (*Geschichte*, p. 52). Beginning in the 1530s and continuing for several decades, serious Hebrew studies in Germany consisted of little more than the study, reprinting, translating, and adapting of Levita's works. He was born in 1469 near Nuremberg and died in 1549 in Venice. He was a gifted Hebrew grammarian, teacher, and editor/annotator of Jewish books for, among others, the Bomberg press in Venice. Although he remained a devout Jew throughout his life, Levita had a tremendous impact on Christian Hebrew scholarship, playing an instrumental role in the solid foundation and development of Christian Hebrew scholarship, both by tutoring Christian pupils such as Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo in Rome and by writing Hebrew grammar books and lexica in Hebrew that were easily adapted to Christian use. The first of Levita's books to be translated into Latin, in this case by Sebastian Münster, was ספר הדיקדוק / *Sefer ha-dikduk* / *Grammatica Hebraica Absolutissima, Eliae Levitae Germani, nuper per Sebastianum Munsterum iuxta Hebraismum Latinitate donata* ... ('The Most Complete Hebrew Grammar, of Elia Levita, along with

Hebraisms, Recently Translated into Latin by Sebastian Münster,' Basel: Froben, 1525). Münster, Paulus Fagius, and Johannes Campensis edited and translated a number of Levita's other works, printing them in Basel, Paris, Isny, Cracow, and Louvain. At least twenty-six more printings of Levita's books, either in Latin or as bilingual texts with both the Hebrew original and Latin translation, were published between 1525 and 1610, quite apart from the numerous printings of his works in Hebrew alone, intended for Jewish readers. Among his other works are the Hebrew grammatical handbook ספר הבחור / *Seyfer ha-bahur* ('Book of the Young Man,'<sup>43</sup> Rome, 1518); the seminal investigation into the origin and development of the masoretic tradition that made a lasting contribution to the development of textual criticism in biblical studies: מסורת המסורת / *Massoret ha-massoret* ('The Tradition of Traditions,' Venice, 1538); the first systematic lexicon of the Aramaic translations of the Bible, מתורגמן / *Meturgeman* ('Interpreter,' Isny, 1541). In his ספר התשבי / *Seyfer ha-tishbi* ('Book of Tishbi,' Isny 1541; EYT 42) he compiled an alphabetically arranged glossary of terms from rabbinical Hebrew that includes with some frequency Yiddish (and Romance) glosses. In addition, he compiled and published as a thematically arranged quadrilingual (Yiddish, Hebrew, Latin, and German) booklet of glosses, שמות דברים / *Shemot devarim/Shmous dvorim* ('The Names of Things,' Isny, 1542; EYT 44). From the perspective of Yiddish studies, Levita's scholarly career was anything but subordinate to Hebrew studies: his satirical poems "די שריפה בון וונידיג" ('The Great Fire of Venice,' c. 1510; EYT 34) and "המקדיל בין קודש לחול" ('Hamavdil Song,' c. 1514; EYT 35) operate within the great traditions of both Hebrew and Renaissance Italian poetic satire.<sup>44</sup> His most famous work was, however, his adaptation of the widely known romance בכא דאנטווא / *Bovo d'Antona* (Bovo d'Antona) from Tuscan dialect into Yiddish, which remained one of the most beloved Yiddish tales for two centuries.<sup>45</sup> He made Jewish literary and cultural traditions more accessible to Jews, but also especially to the then developing Christian scholarship on Jewish textual traditions, in particular, the Bible, Talmud, and Cabbalah. His translation of the Psalms into Yiddish (Venice 1545; EYT 49) was not the first translation of the book, but broadened the effort to make this primary text of the Jewish tradition available to Jews unable to read Hebrew.

Ironically—if we leave the question open concerning Levita's authorship of the description of Yiddish found in the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous*—this key figure in the history of both Hebrew and Yiddish studies published no description of Yiddish in the sense treated in the present volume. In the same sense that Reuchlin is important to Yiddish studies via his student Böschenstein, however, Levita played a key role through his collaborator, Paulus Fagius.<sup>46</sup> Fagius was born at Rheinzabern in the Palatinate in 1504, the son of a local teacher and town scribe. At age eleven he was enrolled in the Neckarschule in Heidelberg, where he changed his birth name, Büchelen or Büchlein to its Latin equivalent Faginus ('beech tree'), later adapted to Fagius, as was customary practice among Humanists. He entered the university in Heidelberg in 1521 and earned the masters degree the following year. Thereafter he moved on to Strasbourg, where he studied Hebrew with the renowned Humanist Wolfgang Capito. In 1527 at the age of twenty-three he became the director of the Latin school in Isny (Allgäu). There he married and settled down, but later returned to Strasbourg to study practical theology for two years, only to return to Isny as

pastor and teacher in the local school (where he also taught Hebrew). In 1541 the patronage of a wealthy citizen enabled him to open a Hebrew printing shop where he published a number of important works over the course of the next two years. His own Hebrew grammar, published in 1543, appeared, however, in Constance, indicating that his shop in Isny must have been closed by that time. In any case, he continued printing Hebrew books in Constance and Strasbourg, where he later went as pastor. In 1544 he became professor of Hebrew in Strasbourg. In 1546 he published the first part of his Latin translation of the *Targum Onkelos*. In the course of his career he carried on an extensive correspondence with a number of Humanists. As a supporter of the Reformation, he was forced to leave Strasbourg in 1549, whereupon he accepted a professorship in Cambridge. He died shortly after his arrival there on 13 November 1549.

In general one can measure Fagius's achievement in three areas: as teacher, pastor, and scholar of Hebrew and exegete of the Hebrew Bible. He published not merely the texts of Elia Levita on Hebrew and Aramaic scholarship, in addition to the *בבא מציעא / Bovo d'Antona*, but also his own works and the works of others that he edited. In addition to Levita's works, he published in Isny: Hebrew editions of ben Sira (1542) and Tobit with Latin commentary (1543), an exegetical treatise on the first four chapters of Genesis, *Exegesis sive expositio dictionum hebraicarum literalis in quatuor capitula Geneseos* ('Commentary or Literal and Simple Explanation of Hebrew Words in Four Chapters of Genesis,' Constance 1542), an elementary Hebrew grammar which he wrote himself (1543); later in Constance he added: David Kimhi's commentary on Psalms 1–10 (1544), and in Strasbourg he added a Latin translation of and commentary on several chapters of the *Targum Onkelos* (1546). As was customary, he also produced missionary tracts: *Liber fidei seu veritatis* ('Book of the Faith or Truth') and *Parvus tractatulus* ('Brief Tractate,' both 1542), in which he attempted to prove the truth of Christianity by means of references to Jewish texts.<sup>47</sup> He also began work on republishing Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymus's concordance *מאיר נהיב Me'ir nesiv* ('Shining Path'); after Fagius's death in England, Reuchlin completed and published the work (Basel 1556). Fagius also had an active role in Michael Adam's Yiddish translation of the Pentateuch (Constance 1544).<sup>48</sup>

In both his "De variis literarvm figuris sev notvlis" ('On Various Forms and Pointings of Letters') from *Compendiaria isagoge in linguam hebraeam* (*A Brief Introduction to the Hebrew Language*, Constance 1543) and "Svccincta ratio legendi hebræo-germanica" ('A Concise Method for Reading Hebrew-German') from *Prima quatuor capita Geneseos* (*The First Four Chapters of Genesis*, Constance 1543), he presents brief information about Yiddish orthography and pronunciation. In the former volume, Fagius's primer for students of Hebrew, he included the first four chapters of the Hebrew text of Genesis, a Latin commentary, and a Yiddish translation, which is practically identical with the Constance Pentateuch translation.<sup>49</sup> Here, as was recurringly the case among Christian Hebraists, Fagius published these excerpts from Genesis because many of his students neither possessed nor had access to a Hebrew text of the Bible. His appending the Yiddish translation had nothing to do with any desire on his part to teach his students Yiddish, but rather with that bizarre and recurring notion among German Humanists that the path of a German-speaking student to Hebrew could be made easier through the supposedly familiar territory of

'Judeo-German' in the unfamiliar Hebrew alphabet.<sup>50</sup> But since not everyone could read Yiddish, he added a brief introduction: "... Quo ista ratione simul quoque viam pararem ad Germanica Hebraica Biblia, quæ non sine certa causa, ut ex ejus operis præfatione patet, quoque evulgamus" ('... wherefore by this means I might at the same time also prepare the way to the Judeo-German Bible, which, not without a certain cause, as is revealed by the preface to the work, I am also publishing').

As Weinreich points out (*Geschichte*, p. 78), this *certa causa* is important, and is specified in Fagius's German foreword to the translation of the Pentateuch published in Constance in 1544, where the same words recur on the title page: "nit on sondere vrsach beschehen" ('which come about not without a certain cause').<sup>51</sup> This German-language foreword is rather surprising in content: Fagius opines that one would be astonished "daß durch mein fürdernus / dise Jüdisch Bibel an tag gebracht wird" ('by my patronage/encouragement this Jewish Bible has been published'), for there were already plenty of good Bibles without "man erst der Judē geiffer do mit sie das köstlich hailig Buch der Bibel beschmeißen / auch sauffen miesse" ('first having to drink the Jewish drivel which they cast onto the worthy, holy book'). Whoever might raise such objections "soll nun wissen / das söllichs nit on sondere bewegliche vrsach beschicht" ('should now know that such does not take place without a determinative cause'). First, he claims that since Jews always maintain that they alone possess the authentic Bible and thus lead Christians astray, Fagius had been requested to translate the Bible according to the 'Jewish mode,' so that it would be possible for Christians to see whose Bible was better. For Fagius there was no doubt, especially since as he claims, even rabbis do not read the Bible after childhood but rather devote themselves exclusively to the study of the Talmud. Further, Fagius claims, Jews reject all books not published according to the 'Jewish mode' and misinterpret all verses that prefigure the coming of Christ. Thus he claims that the Jews are no better than the most stubborn 'Papists.' Rather shockingly, this 1544 translation was printed in the Hebrew alphabet, but it was certainly not intended for a Jewish audience, nor obviously for a general Christian audience, but rather for Christian scholars. Fagius promises further similar publications and seeks the prayers of the readership so that he might accomplish this work. This Humanistic work is likewise missionary work at its most blatant, even if its potential audience is miniscule. As one might imagine, the printing costs of such a massive tome were exorbitant and could not have been covered by the tiny Christian scholarly audience addressed by the preface. Thus a second, Yiddish-language preface was also prepared, which included no hint of any such propagandistic purpose and does not even mention Fagius. As Max Weinreich indicates, this ploy was a simple business calculation (*Geschichte*, p. 80), for it was financially unfeasible to print such a text only for a few Christian scholars, so there was also a Yiddish preface addressed to Jewish readers, and thus there were two different 'editions' as it were, in which only the first quire—where one of the two forewords appeared—differed: according to the specific need and audience, the title page and foreword were either 'pious' Jewish or 'pious' Christian.

In his two brief treatments specifically of Yiddish, Fagius offers some advance over what had appeared before in Christian scholarship.<sup>52</sup> In fact, however, much of that progress was not Fagius's own accomplishment, but is rather to be attributed to the comments found in the *ויתן ספר / Seyfer midous*, which Fagius almost certainly had



before him on his desk while writing his own description. The connection may be even closer than the chronological and geographical proximity would suggest, for as Weinreich notes, the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous* and Levita's *שמות דברים* / *Shmouss dvorim* use the same type font as Fagius's book, and the same three-leaflet design decorates the title page of the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous* and Levita's *מתורגמן* / *Meturgeman* (also published by Fagius). While it is not altogether certain that Fagius also published the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous*, that conclusion seems likely.

Weinreich draws an interesting contrast between the incomplete and, as he views it, rather clumsy treatment of Yiddish orthography found in the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous*, whose author knew Yiddish as a native language, and the organized philological schema presented by Fagius, the missionizing bigot who quite likely knew very little about Yiddish, in his *Compendiaria isagoge in linguam hebream* ('An Brief Introduction to the Hebrew Language,' Constance 1543), where there are found four quarto pages under the title "De variis literarvm figuris sev notvlis" ('On Various Forms and Pointings of Letters'). Fagius notes the distinction between the square script, designated *כתיבה אשורית* (which he transcribes as *ksiwo asuris; scriptura Assyriaca* 'Assyrian script' or simply *ksiwo* 'script') and the *משש* (i.e., *mashet*) (*scriptura parva* 'small script'), the latter used, he notes, for familiar letters and commentaries. He is the first to use these specific designations in the tracts on Yiddish. He also gives two examples of the type fonts customarily employed for Yiddish texts. The presentation of the various fonts in use is followed by his listing of orthographical rules and finally by the Ten Commandments in German which Fagius has simply transcribed into the Hebrew alphabet, yielding a text so patently non-Yiddish that it is difficult to imagine that Fagius himself—if he had anything like the knowledge of Yiddish attributed to him by Weinreich—could fail to recognize its gross inadequacies. It is even more difficult to imagine how Weinreich could conclude, on the basis of Fagius's imprecise codification and inauthentic transcriptions of German into the Hebrew alphabet, that "Angesichts solcher Zeugnisse der Zeitgenossen ist es wirklich unerklärlich, wieso ernsthafte Männer die Behauptung aufstellen konnten, die deutschen Juden hätten im 16. Jahrhundert noch ein reines Deutsch gesprochen und erst später von den Zurückwanderern aus Polen die 'verdorbene Sprache' übernommen" ['In light of such contemporary evidence, it is quite inexplicable how serious men could claim that German Jews still spoke pure German in the sixteenth century and only later adopted the "corrupt language" of those who re-immigrated from Poland,' Weinreich, *Geschichte*, 88]. Quite on the contrary: on the basis of Fagius's misrepresentation of Yiddish, it would be quite possible to imagine the Jews spoke nothing but a 'corrupt German,' to use typical Humanist terms, or a dialect of German, to employ linguistically more legitimate terminology. The type of conclusive evidence that sixteenth-century Yiddish was distinct from German certainly exists in the period, but hardly in Fagius's Germanized transcriptions.

His presentation of the vowels is perhaps even less complete than was Böschenstein's. While he may hint at the necessity of initial א preceding word-initial vowels in the case of אור as one of the alternatives for /au/ and of או as one of the alternatives for /o/, he states no principle explicitly, and no illustration of it appears among the examples used to illustrate other vowels. He does not offer the possibility of או for /u/ (as did Münster) but only for /o/. Like the author of the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous*,

he recognizes ן as a representation of /œ/. He notes the omission of (vowel) letters in final syllables but does not specify which letters, as did Böschenstein; the examples provided, however (גזאגט, רר, דש, בַאטר), actually convey more information than did Böschenstein's. The common principle as stated by the Humanists concerning omitted vowel graphs is voiced: if the letter can be understood, then it is omitted. Final, silent א is noted as 'ornamental.' Fagius adds two diphthongs to the stock list, neither of which, however, is in fact legitimate: (1) יי = /ie/ and inadvertently provides the example לייאבא *lieb* 'pleasing,' another spelling that one would be hard pressed to find outside of Christian pseudo-Yiddish; (2) עיי = /eu/, without example and, in my experience, without any but accidental usage in actual Yiddish texts of the period. It is almost certainly Fagius's projection of German /eu/ onto Yiddish. In the example texts provided the correspondence is (correctly): Yiddish ן—German /eu/.

Fagius's treatment of consonants is generally not as problematic as is that of the vowels, although there is one quirky aspect that arises from a basic assumption about the language. He presents four separate charts of the various forms of the Hebrew alphabet and its correspondences to the Roman alphabet; in the first three instances, the Hebrew alphabet in three variant forms is presented as the basis, and Roman transcriptions are provided. The purpose of the fourth table is the opposite: to illustrate the representation of German in both the Roman alphabet and (as conceived by Fagius) the derivative Hebrew form. In the first three charts, the final consonants follow their nonfinal forms; in the final chart, the final forms are omitted.

He acknowledges that ן and ן are not used in German[ic component] words; like Böschenstein he recognizes the specifically Yiddish development of ן = /ch/ (unlike Münster, who misidentifies it as /k/). His comments on the /f/v/p/b/ complex is generally accurate, with one exception: while it certainly is the case that ן occasionally represents [f], that is certainly not its primary, much less its only consonantal usage, as seems the case from his presentation. Otherwise, he is the first to note the representation of [pf] as פפ. On the /s/z/š/ complex, his comments are accurate as far as they go, but he does not distinguish the phonetic values clearly: he recognizes that ז = [z], ש = [s] and [š], and ס = [s]; and even when he notes that /s/ = שסז, he is not wrong but simply quite imprecise about the conditions under which the three representations occur; he does not comment on the restricted use of ס in Germanic words.

In 1542 Fagius published an edition of the Hebrew text of the first four chapters of Genesis along with a verse-by-verse Latin translation, accompanied by a lengthy philological commentary in Latin: פירוש המלות על דרך הפשט לד' סימנים ספר בראשית / *Id est, exegesis sive expositio dictionum hebraicarum literalis et simplex, in quatuor capita Geneſeos, pro studioſis linguæ hebraicæ* ('that is, a commentary or literal and simple explanation of Hebrew words in four chapters of Genesis for the student of the Hebrew language'). In 1543 the edition of the Hebrew biblical text was reissued without the Latin translation but with a facing page Yiddish translation, and brief Latin commentary (*scholia*) on the Hebrew text, followed by the "Svccincta ratio legendi hebræo-germanica" ('A Concise Method for Reading Hebrew-German') that repeats some of the descriptive material on Yiddish in Fagius's *Compendiaria* (but with slight variations), followed by "Si quem delectat . . ." which included a brief essay in Yiddish that treats the Hebrew prepositional and morphological functions indicated by a number of individual letters. Fagius's treatment of Yiddish in "Svccincta ratio"

is even more abbreviated than in his early work, consisting only of the tables of alphabetical and vowel/diphthong correspondences, to which are appended three sentences concerning the conditional omission of vowel graphs and the abbreviation of 'אונט' (אונט) and 'אוד' (אוד), the latter in fact incorrectly. Unlike in the *Compendiaria*, where four alphabetical charts are included, here a single, German-oriented chart is made to suffice. It neither includes the five final consonants as in three of the four charts in the *Compendiaria*, nor does it omit them all, as in the fourth chart in the earlier tract, but rather includes ך and ן while omitting ך, ך, and ן). He adds the correspondences װ = /sch/ and פֿ = /pf/. In the vowel chart he corrects the error in *Compendiaria* עײ = /eu/ to אײ = /eu/, but then also eliminates ן = /au/, which is the primary representation found in actual Yiddish texts; he attempts to correct the imprecision of ן = /ai/ and /ei/ by substituting ן = /ei/ and א = /ai/, the latter, unfortunately, a new fabrication.

As already noted, Weinreich is full of (qualified) praise for Fagius: after having abstracted seven orthographical rules from the ספר מדות / *Seyfer midous* (*Geschichte*, p. 84), Weinreich lists ten further orthographical principles abstracted from Fagius's texts that he claims go beyond what is found in the ספר מדות / *Seyfer midous* and concludes that we have before us not "a Hebraist of the sixteenth century" but a modern Yiddish grammarian, and that it is not until Moritz Güdemann in the late nineteenth century that Fagius's equal in insight into Yiddish comes onto the scene.<sup>53</sup> It is quite difficult to comprehend how a scholar as careful and judicious as Weinreich could make such an inaccurate and even absurd claim, especially based on the paltry evidence present in Fagius's *Compendiaria*. Neither of Fagius's descriptions presents any advancement on the *method* of his predecessors—he still proceeds by means of describing letter-by-letter correspondences, always conceiving of the language as German that is merely 'disguised' by the Hebrew alphabet such that his readers require no more than a decoding guide. Even so, although he preserves the method and framework of his predecessors, he does not include all of the orthographical information found in their work and adds only three new orthographical principles, two of which are simply wrong; all of the remaining seven rules listed by Weinreich as Fagius's innovations had in fact already appeared in Böschenstein, Münster, or the ספר מדות / *Seyfer midous*, and of them, three are presented by Fagius in so confused a manner as to provide little useful guidance for the reader, while only four are correct (װ = /ch/ and three cases in which a vowel graph may be omitted). Thus of the five rules presented by Fagius that are blatantly wrong, only ן = /w/ is new; the others had all already been treated—generally more accurately—by Böschenstein, Münster, or the ספר מדות / *Seyfer midous*.<sup>54</sup>

Fagius was more important than Münster had been in the life of their mutual teacher, Elia Levita, and thus he is also often mentioned in Levita's works. In the foreword to ספר התשבי / *Seyfer ha-tishbi* (1541), for instance, it is noted how desperate Levita was when both the Bomberg printing house in Venice and the printer in Bologna to whom he then wished to turn for employment, ceased operation. Fagius informed him that he was opening a printing shop in Isny and invited him to help him print books pertinent to Hebrew studies. Levita moved to Isny and worked relentlessly with Fagius, who published everything that he finished and seems additionally to have functioned as Levita's assistant in the process. There is no wonder that

Levita—who seemed almost to have free rein in his publishing choices in Isny—is so full of praise for Fagius, even to the point of adapting for him the sentence originally used of Maimonides: “From Paulus [the Apostle] to Paulus [Fagius] there was none to compare with [this] Paulus.”<sup>55</sup> What we have here is a quirky set of historical circumstances in which a religious bigot who was at best a mediocre scholar enabled the publication of work of long-term significance by a brilliant scholar whose religion and culture he held in contempt, but which he hoped to turn to account for his own purposes. This symbiotic relationship—which can be termed nothing less than bizarre—thus made available through the medium of print a broad range of Levita’s work that, as he himself recognized and mentioned in the preface to his *בכא לאנטווא* / *Bovo d’Antona*, preserved it from oblivion. This series of publications guided Christian Hebrew studies for several generations and continued to have an impact for centuries.

Beyond the work of Levita and his circle, however, there were of course other kinds of texts relevant to Yiddish philology that were published by Jews and converts from Judaism during the period. Paul Helicz, a converted Jew, published a self-study manual of Yiddish that was intended primarily for merchants who conducted business with Yiddish-speaking Jews (although it probably had a popular audience, as well): *Elemental / oder lesebüchlen* (‘Primer, or Reader,’ Hundsfield 1543).<sup>56</sup> The book provides two sample texts: the *pater noster* and a letter of credit; each of the texts is written in the Hebrew alphabet, but, as the distinctly non-Yiddish orthography and the vocabulary inconceivable in Yiddish of any period indicate, the language is German, not Yiddish. Even so the book inadvertently, as it were—includes practical information, such as the names of the months of the Jewish calendar, the vocabulary of monetary terms, weights and measures, and the numerical equivalents of the Hebrew letters. Not all texts by (former) Jews were such distortions, of course.

Paul Helicz (הַעֲלִיץ, also Halic, Helic, Helicz, Helitz) belonged to a sixteenth-century family of printers from Cracow that included the brothers Samuel, Asher, Elyakim, all sons of Hayyim Helicz.<sup>57</sup> They established Poland’s first Jewish press in Cracow in about 1530. The family name indicates that some members of the family had at some time lived in the town of Halicz on the Dniester in eastern Galicia. Based on the printing font used and their customary design of the printed page, it seems likely that they learned the craft of printing in Prague,<sup>58</sup> which they left probably in 1527 when Gershon Kohen was made the sole Hebrew printer in Bohemia by royal decree. The earliest work of the family Helicz in Cracow was, according to Leopold Zunz, a pentateuch from 1530 (not extant and otherwise unknown), Jacob b. Asher’s *ארבעה טורים* / *Arba’a turim* (‘Four Rows’), and *יורה דעה* / *Yore de’a* (‘Teacher of Knowledge’), and a passover haggadah. The earliest surviving works are from 1534: *אסור והתיר* / *Issur ve-better* (‘Prohibition and Permission’) by Isaac b. Meir Dueren and the *מרכבת המשנה* / *Mirkevot ha-mishno* (‘The Second Chariot’). The family business was not prosperous, however, and Asher left the shop. In 1535 Samuel and Elyakim published David Cohen’s *אזהרת נשים* / *Azhoras nashim* (‘Warning for Women’) in Yiddish, then Elyakim published Asher b. Jehiel’s *ספר אורחות חיים* / *Seyfer Orhous hayim* (‘The Ways of Life’). Samuel spent 1536 in Oels (Silesia), where he and his brother-in-law printed a prayer book, *תפילות מכל השנה* / *Tfilous mi-kol ha-shana* (‘Prayers for the Whole Year’), but his books and equipment were destroyed by fire, after which he returned to Cracow. In 1537 either financial problems or ecclesiastical

pressure prompted the brothers to convert to Christianity. Elyakim took the name Johannes, and Samuel and Asher took the names Andreas and Paul (it is unclear which brother took which name). The Jewish community was understandably outraged and refused even to pay its outstanding debts to the printers. The brothers pled their case to King Sigismund I, who decreed on 28 March 1537 that Poland's Jews had to buy their books only from the Helicz brothers, and no one else might print or sell Hebrew books in Poland or import them to Poland. The Helicz brothers nonetheless remained under Jewish excommunication, and thus business did not improve. A new decree was issued on 31 December 1539 by the terms of which the Jews of Cracow and Posen had to buy the entire stock of the Heliczes' books: 3350 printed volumes at a total price of 1600 florins. The two Jewish communities could not afford the price and succeeded in having Lemberg (Lvov) included in the decree. The entire stock of books was paid for over the course of three years; the books were delivered and immediately destroyed: the Jewish community had no interest in the tainted books. The printing business of the brothers Helicz went out of existence. In 1540 Johannes Helicz began printing Polish and Latin theological works. Paul Helicz, who had become a Catholic missionary among the Jews of Poland, received the fonts from the printing press of the family's business, with which he published a Hebrew-alphabet transcription of Martin Luther's version of the New Testament in Cracow (1540–1); this was the first German book printed with Hebrew letters in Poland. While he was working on that volume in Cracow, Paul Helicz converted to Lutheranism and as a result was forced to leave Cracow, moving to Hund[e]sfeld (near Breslau), where he printed his *Elemental oder lesebüchlen* in 1543, whose purpose was to render Yiddish texts accessible to German speakers.<sup>59</sup> Lukasz Halicz, a printer in Posen (1578–93) was apparently his son. Samuel returned to Judaism, worked in Breslau as a bookbinder, moved to Constantinople (1550) where he returned to Hebrew book printing, publishing the Scriptures (Constantinople 1551–2, in the colophon to which he explicitly repents his conversion to Christianity), Judith (1552–3), and Isaac Dueren's *אסור ודורי / Issur ve-better*, retitled *שערי דורא / Sha'arei dura* ('Gates of the Village/Pearl/Dueren') (1553). By 1561–2 he was no longer alive, for a Ḥayyim b. Samuel Ashkenazi, probably his son, is identified as the printer of the second part of the responsa of Joseph ibn Lev.

While it is reasonable to think of the pious Jew, Elia Levita, for whom the non-religious principles of Humanism seem to have figured significantly in his work, as a member of that group, Paul Helicz, a Jewish convert to Christianity, was certainly not a Humanist, nor in fact a scholar in any sense of the term, and his book on Yiddish did not seek a scholarly audience, but rather—and this explicitly—a popular audience. Helicz existed along the margins of the scholarly world of his age, however, for he worked long and dutifully as a publisher during the Humanistic period, albeit generally attempting to supply the Jewish community with books necessary for its intellectual life more than the Christian scholarly community with books essential to its study of Judaism. The crossover potential of the publications by the brothers Helicz was not insignificant. It is nonetheless along the borders of the Humanistic concern with Jewish culture that Helicz's book existed.

While Helicz's *Elemental* is substantially longer than any of the earlier tracts, the space devoted to a description of Yiddish orthography is hardly greater, so that

one cannot look to Helicz to provide that comprehensive description of Yiddish that Weinreich falsely attributed to Fagius.<sup>60</sup> Helicz immediately makes explicit the principle that had remained unstated but determinative in other Christian descriptions of Yiddish from the period:

Jin diſer dewtſchen ſchrift / get es gemeinlich zu / wie bey vns inn vnſerer dewtſchen ſchrift · Dorumb bedarffs wenig Beſchreibens / oder vnſerweyſns / zur ler / Wie mans leſen ſol lernen · Denn der vor vnſere dewtſche ſchrift leſen kan / der liſt leichtlich diſo Jüdiſche deutſche ſchrift auch · wen er nur / die buchſtaben kennen lernet · vnd weiſſ welchs Jre vocal ſein / So hot er das meiſte gelernt

[In this German script things are generally done as they are in our German script. For this reason there is little need of a description or instruction to learn how one must learn to read it. For anyone who can already read our German script, can also easily read this Jewish-German script, if he only learns the alphabet and knows what the vowels are. Thus he has already learned most of it.]

He indicates that Yiddish is written from right-to-left, which also indicates that his audience is not expected already to be familiar with Hebrew. He is the first in the history of Yiddish studies to provide an alphabetical table that includes both the letters themselves and their names, spelled generally according to typical Yiddish (not scholarly Christian) pronunciation: *bes, ches, tes, kof, kuf* (*dales* seems ‘hypercorrect’).

Concerning consonants, in his alphabetical table, he omits a correspondence for ת, ח, כ, thus indirectly indicating that they are not used in Yiddish. He accurately distinguishes between כ = /b/ and ך = /v/ on the one hand, and פ = /p/ and ף = /ff/ on the other. In the examples provided to illustrate the use of *rafe* to distinguish stops from fricatives, however, the use of ך as /v/ is confused, since in two of the three examples, the consonant represented by ך is /f/ (which certainly has more to do with variant phonetic realizations of /f/ in German than with Yiddish pronunciation). His comments on the use of ך as a consonant generally account for the rather inconsistent usage found in early Yiddish texts, and he is the first to mention the use of ך as a phonetic buffer (the so-called *shtumer alef* of modern orthographical controversy) between initial ך and vocalic ך: ך וואונדער ‘wonder.’ He clearly distinguishes between ת, ח, כ, (not used in Yiddish) and ך = /ch/, ק = /k/, and ט = /t/. His presentation of the sibilants is, as already conventional in the genre, quite oversimplified and does not account for actual usage: ך = /s/, ך = /ss/, ך = /sch/; much later in the text after issues of orthography are no longer the focus, he suddenly adds that ך also represents /s/.

His presentation of the vowels is likewise quite oversimplified and unlikely to make it easy for German speakers to learn to read Yiddish. In the alphabetical table, both ך and ך are inaccurately designated as representations of /u/, while in the vowel chart they are correctly distinguished. In both the alphabetical table and later in his comments on the sound of the letters, he indicates ך = /a/, while in the vowel chart itself ך = /o/, while /a/ is omitted. Thereafter he makes the bizarre claim that /a/ is lacking in this orthography and must simply be supplied by the reader in those cases where a consonant is not followed by a vowel. The examples provided to illustrate other principles often bear out this usage in his orthography, but in the example texts

at the end of the tract, there are several exceptions. In the vowel chart he includes ן = /ü/, which is then also included as a diphthong, along with ן = /w/. And there-with he concludes his explication of vowels until much later in the text, long after the topic of orthography has been abandoned, where he acknowledges that ן = /a/ and ן = /o/, which, he claims, the reader would recognize through practical experience.

He then proceeds to a very clear description of the traditional Jewish usage of the letters of the alphabet as numerals. His description of the Jewish method of reckoning the year is less extensive but adequate. He also provides a table of the names of the Jewish months of the year with a Roman transcription of their names, the Latin names of the months of the civil calendar roughly equivalent to the Jewish months, and a fourth line that consists of an interesting combination of traditional Germanic and Germanized Latin names of the months. He notes that the Jewish months are all of equal length and explains how the necessary adjustment of the lunar to the solar calendar takes place via a periodically intercalated month.

The example texts appended to the tract to provide the reader 'exercise' texts for the sake of practice in reading Judeo-German are typical for Christian tracts on Yiddish: the Lord's Prayer and a letter of financial obligation. The former can logically not be a conventional Jewish text in any reasonable sense, and in fact it is not a Yiddish text at all, but rather merely Helicz's Hebrew alphabet transcription of Martin Luther's German version of the New Testament. The letter is no more authentically Yiddish. The final item in the tract is yet another alphabetical chart, this time of the square script and Sephardic semicursive (so-called Rashi script) fonts.

Helicz's tract comprises a bizarre collection of items. His description of Yiddish orthography contains fewer outright errors than had those of his Christian predecessors, and he does manage to add a few important details to the ongoing codification of the orthography. The modern reader might object that in this hodge-podge of various types of orthographical, numerical, and calendrical information it is difficult to discern anything systematic or worthy of the name of scholarship. One must realize, however, that this 'method' of disorganized accumulation of sometimes massive amounts of detail was perhaps the most characteristic scholarly trait of the age—even in the best Humanist scholarship. Ironically, it is in fact in this respect that Helicz shows perhaps the most affinity to the scholarship of the Humanistic period. In Helicz's case, as also in the case of the anonymous author of the *ספר מדות* / *Seyfer midous*, we are dealing with a native speaker of Yiddish who was intimately acquainted not just with the spoken but also the written language. Helicz differs from his predecessor, however, not just in the fact that he converted to Christianity and assumed the propagandistic mission with the typical zeal of the convert, even to the point of replacing Yiddish with transcribed German *as if* Yiddish to function as a linguistic tool of conversion. In this respect, too, Helicz resembles the Humanists along the margins of whose culture he lived for many years of his professional life.

Chronologically, the next text relevant to the proto-history of Yiddish linguistic study is Michael Adam's Yiddish translation of the Hebrew *יוסיפון* / *Yosifon* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1546; EYT 50), a historical narrative of selected epochs of Jewish history up to the fall of Masada, attributed by Rashi to Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian of the Hellenistic period—whence the title of the book—although

actually written in southern Italy during the tenth century.<sup>61</sup> The faithful and idiomatic nature of Adam's Yiddish translation was quite unusual in the context of sixteenth-century Yiddish translation methods.<sup>62</sup>

The lively narrative of the 1546 Yiddish יוסיפון / *Yosifon* was decorated with fifty woodcuts, making it also one of the most beautiful of early Yiddish printings. Appended to the book was a brief description of how to read and write Yiddish; the essential passages of the description were directly pirated from the relevant section of the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous* (Isny 1542) discussed earlier. Adam's text provides no information concerning Yiddish that was not already in the former text. The only substantive difference in the two texts is the omission in the latter of the information concerning the non-Jewish spelling of *baw*, *gnaw*, *fraw*, and the Jewish and non-Jewish representations of the vowel in בויון מויגן / *bösen mögen*. Otherwise the information is identical, and no further comment on the 1546 publication need be added here.

The overtly missionizing task apparent in the work of Paul Helicz is no less apparent in the work of Elias Schade (Schadäus), a pastor in Strasbourg, who, like Fagius forty years before him in the same city, led his professional life along the margins of scholarly Humanism as a devoted anti-Semitic missionary.<sup>63</sup> In 1589 he set up a Hebrew printing press and used the remnants of Fagius's equipment to print Martin Luther's version of the Gospels of Luke and John, the Acts of Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews in Hebrew-alphabet transcription.<sup>64</sup> Seventeen years before Johann Buxtorf's pioneering *Thesaurus*, Schade published his *Mysterium*, which includes a brief tract entitled "Ein gewisser Bericht von der deutsch-hebräischen Schrift, deren sich die Juden gebrauchen" ('A Reliable/Certain Report on the Germano-Hebrew Script, Which Is Employed by the Jews,' Strasbourg 1592). Schade demonstrates in general little advance on the state of codification of the Yiddish language. He shares the perspective of most of his German-speaking Humanist colleagues in imagining that a knowledge of Yiddish can be acquired by German speakers quite simply by learning no more than: (1) the alphabet, (2) the quality of the vowels and diphthongs, and (3) "etliche besondere Art und Eigenschaft, so die Juden in ihren Briefen, Verzeichnis und Dolmetschung gebrauchen" ('several peculiar manners and characteristics which the Jews use in their letters, registers and translations'). The fact that Hebrew-alphabet texts are written right-to-left is contorted by him into the notion that Jews write "hinter sich" ('backward,' or more precisely, 'behind themselves'). He presents alphabetical tables of both square script (identified as that used for biblical texts) and *masket* (semicursive; for commentaries, letters, and common texts of daily use), each table including the names of the letters, and the former also including the numerical values of the letters. Interestingly, Schade views in this doubling of the form of the alphabet a parallel to the Roman-alphabet distinction between upper and lower case; he thus seems unaware (if only momentarily) that there are more than two forms of the Hebrew alphabet in common use at the time. His claim, following his extremely brief indication that the alphabet is used to designate numbers, that the year 1592 is written as א תק צב = 1, 400+100, 90, 2 = 1592 is a kind of distortion that became characteristic of Christian missionizing texts: it assumes the Jewish reckoning of the year according to the dating of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth by Christian theology, while the Jewish year was of course traditionally reckoned from the creation of the cosmos according to the tenets of Jewish theology. No Jewish



text would ever bear the letters צב תק א as a designation of the year 1592 of the civil calendar, although such designations do occasionally appear in Hebrew alphabet texts written by converts to Christianity and in texts that were printed by and/or for Christians.

Schade provides a chart of both the square script and the *vaybertaytsh* fonts (including final forms) with the names of the letters and then adds the second type of alphabetical table which illustrates how the Hebrew alphabet is used to represent German (here, as in Fagius's work, the final forms are omitted).

His description of the representation of /b/p/f/v/ is the most accurate that had appeared up to that time. While actual usage was anything but consistent, Schade's description accounts for most tendencies, including the troublesome use of word-initial ך. His treatment of this group of consonants contrasts starkly with his seeming helplessness concerning the sibilants [s]/[z]/[ts]. Especially in his confused and confusing discussion of the representation of /s/ and /z/, Schade, like Fagius before him, demonstrates no clear comprehension of the usage in Yiddish, and furthermore cannot precisely describe what he does know, since he is proceeding from a faulty and unsystematic conception of the corresponding consonants in German. He understands that German /s/ = [z], as in his examples *sa, se, si, so, su*, corresponding to Yiddish זא, זע, זי, זו, זו, but then does not propose any possibility for German [s], and even precludes an identification of the distinctive phonetic feature of that sound by assigning "scharfes s" also to ז, although that is conventionally the German designation of the voiceless sibilant [s] as opposed to its voiced counterpart [z]. He goes on to claim that ז is "schier ein halb צ" ("practically a semi-*tsade* [ts]) an imprecise description at best, and demonstrating no clear understanding of the actual phonetic realization of either of the two starkly different consonants (the former, [z], a fricative; the latter, [ts], an affricate). He blunders in his claim that ז is doubled in medial position in order to represent German /ss/, as demonstrated in the examples—inconceivable in Yiddish—offered (וואזוער *Wasser* 'water,' מעזוער *Messer* 'knife'). Further doubt concerning his knowledge of actual Yiddish texts is found in his claim that ך "is the most frequent [*das häufigste*] /s/ that can be used everywhere," although, as had already been noted by his predecessors, ך appears most often in words of Semitic derivation. Schade acknowledges this usage in a contradictory tag: "although some Jews use it quite rarely, some not at all in German." In contrast to this "most frequent" /s/, he then claims that ן is the "most common" [*das gemeinste*] /s/, initially, medially, and finally, and even represents /ss/, with the example וואשר 'water.' That this generally accurate evaluation stands in direct contradiction to his earlier claim concerning double ן seems to have escaped Schade.

In a number of his claims, Schade seems intent on intervening creatively in the redesign of the orthographical system rather than simply describing it. He claims, for instance, that the type font form of the letter *shin* (ן) is conventionally used to designate /s/ while the cursive form of the same letter (approximately: *e*) designates /sch/ (i.e., [ʃ]). Although he claims the precedent of an unidentified Yiddish epistle written to Fagius in which such a distinction is found, this claim is utterly without basis in actual usage. In his comments on the distinctive usage of ן and ט, he again allows his imagination to overrule actual usage: while he accurately notes that ן and ט occur only in words of Semitic origin (here, as already noted above, he omits ך, which is

generally also assigned to this group), but then rather astonishingly suggests that ת be used to represent /th/, a digraph still in existence in cotermporal German, although its phonetic value was the same as that of /t/ (= [t]), but one that had already gained currency in Roman alphabet transcriptions of Hebrew-language texts. This all becomes superfluous, however, as soon as one recalls that Yiddish—not surprisingly—is unaffected by this strictly *Roman-alphabet* usage. Here, again, Schade manages to contradict himself by also including this information when he notes that he does not use ת = /th/ in this book since “Jews write only ט t, without using ה.” Here a practice that has plagued the Christian German study of Yiddish even up to the present makes its first appearance in the tradition: the scholar’s *Germanized* Roman transcription of the originally Yiddish document is conceptually transformed in the scholar’s mind into the quasi-originary textual basis such that the Hebrew alphabet document can then be classified as somehow inadequate. Thus ת = /th/, but Jews—apparently perversely—prefer to use “ט without using ה.”

In the second chapter on vowels and diphthongs, Schade rather ineffectively distinguishes between the methods of vowel representation in Hebrew and Yiddish: the former uses, in large part, vowel points (in so-called *plene* representation), the latter vowel graphemes, with a few uses of vowel points when further specification is required, e.g., מֵיִר ‘sea’ vs. מִיִר ‘to me.’ His claim that וּ = [o] and וּ = [u] describes a distinction that is extremely rare in early Yiddish texts; Schade’s positing of it here as the norm functions simply in his own imaginary system of Yiddish orthography, already noted. His distinction between “soft e” which resembles /ä/, which is represented by ע (ערבש *erbs*) and “hard and common e,” represented by י reflects a distinction observable in some German dialects (notably Schade’s own Upper German dialect) but not in early Yiddish orthography. The fleeting and short [e] that Fagius found in words such as ליאב ‘dear’ is posited by Schade also, although he acknowledges that it can also be omitted (ליב). He is the first to state the *principle* of word-initial prevocalic א (איר ‘you’). As had several of his predecessors, he notes the omission of /a/ and /e/ when they are “easily understood,” as in דס /ds/ instead of דאס *das*, דר /dr/ instead of דער *der*. His comments on the rare use of the vowel points ך and ך misrepresent their frequency (and generally also their placement).

In his severely incomplete treatment of diphthongs, Schade again offers clear evidence of his lack of experience with actual Yiddish texts. He claims, for instance, that אײ represents [ai], e.g., אײן *ain*, while word-initial עײ represents [ei], e.g., עײן *ein*, עײזן *eisen*. Neither of these spellings is found except in the pseudo-Yiddish fantasies included in the works of Christian Hebraists. He also notes an incidental exception to this rule, and thus—as is recurrently the case in his work—also manages to indicate what is in fact the actual early Yiddish use: “some people also commonly write” אײ in initial position, and ײ in medial and final position.

The third and final chapter of the text is of especial significance, for it is not restricted to orthographical information, but also relates to vocabulary, word formation, and pronunciation. Almost inadvertently it seems that Schade here documents how Yiddish (1) functions as a language like other languages by means of its own internal rules of pronunciation, semantic borrowing, word formation, and vocabulary; and (2) differs in each of these fundamental linguistic functions from the content of the linguistic practice of cotermporal German. In other words, Schade provides concrete

evidence that Yiddish is a language in its own right and that it thus is distinct from German. Thus we need to examine the individual items of this evidence more closely.

He notes, for instance, that there was no universally applicable orthographic standard in either Yiddish or German, so that both Jews and Christian Germans write more or less as they wish. In contrast to Johann Christof Wagenseil's *Jeremias* a century later about how Jews distort and even torture the German language, Schade displays a radically different attitude toward the Semitic component of Yiddish by remarking that one finds in Yiddish usage a parallel to German chancery usage: while the Germans borrow Latin and French words into German and adapt them to German morphology, such as "radiren, abkopiren, injuriren, protestiren, arestiren," Yiddish incorporates and adapts many Hebrew words. This ostensibly rather enlightened formulation then almost immediately falls victim to conventional bigotry, however, when he remarks that this use of Hebrew words is in part simply a matter of custom, deliberately employed in order to prevent Christians from understanding Jewish speech. Not surprisingly, he does not impute any such ulterior motive to German speakers in their use of Latinate vocabulary. Also, he observes that just as the German conjunction *und* often appears in print as *un̄*, so the equivalent Yiddish conjunction is written as און'. In fact, of course, the issue is more complicated, for while the Yiddish *orthographical* convention may well have to do with the German usage, the *phonetic* realization in the two cases was different—in German the word was (and is) pronounced [unt], while the Yiddish word is (and probably already at that time was) pronounced [un].

He notes the distinctive quality of the Yiddish vowels, such that German [a] corresponds to a Yiddish vowel pronounced almost as [o]. In addition to the Semitic component, he also indirectly acknowledges the existence of the Romance and Germanic components, although of course not designating them as such: *benschen* for *segnen* or *benedeyen* ('bless'), *leien* for *lesen* ('read'), *das dasige* for *dieses* ('this').<sup>65</sup> This last issue, the Germanic component in Yiddish, is one that has, over the course of the centuries, also been turned to propagandistic use by Germanizing opponents of Yiddish who claim that Yiddish is simply improper German. By contrast, Schade's comments on the formation of the diminutive in Yiddish indicates both its distinctive forms in contrast to German and its independence in terms of linguistic function, here in its independent rules of morphological formations.<sup>66</sup>

Since Schade almost certainly focuses in his analysis on the particular characteristics of the local Strasbourg usage directly known to him, then his noting the use of *-lich* as the diminutive form,<sup>67</sup> the pronunciation of *ŕ*, and the Yiddish use of *das dasige* (vs. German *dieses*) provides clear evidence again of the distinction between sixteenth-century Yiddish and the coterritorial German dialect.<sup>68</sup> The few sentences of Schade's third chapter seem innocuous enough, but as Weinreich notes (*Geschichte*, p. 100), they have a profound significance, for they suggest that the entire Germanizing school of Yiddish studies, especially among the proponents of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (e.g., Leopold Zunz, Moritz Steinschneider, Moritz Güdemann, and Max Grünbaum), and continuing up to their twenty-first century epigones, who attempt to usurp early Yiddish language and culture for German, are not taking into adequate account the documentary evidence that deflates their thesis already in the sixteenth century.

In coming to terms with the overall significance of Schade's work, one must juggle two practical considerations: the accuracy of his descriptions and its influence.

On the first issue, it is clear that despite both his ignorance of many aspects of sixteenth-century Yiddish usage and his tendency to fabricate prescriptive rules of his own liking that have nothing to do with actual Yiddish usage of his (or any other) period, Schade's tract is without question the most comprehensive description of the language up to his time. Weinreich claims that it is not until Buxtorf's work that Schade's description is surpassed, and Ber Borokhov goes farther still and claims that Schade surpasses Buxtorf in many respects.<sup>69</sup> On the second issue, however, Schade's significance fades, for his work (not just concerning Yiddish) remained all but unknown in the ensuing generations. By contrast, his younger contemporary, Johann Buxtorf became Europe's schoolmaster in Jewish studies for more than a century. This is even more clearly the case with respect to Yiddish than Hebrew (where there were by this time many other competent texts available). While many Christian scholars in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries devoted some attention to Yiddish, and some surpassed the accomplishments of Buxtorf on Yiddish (in literary history, sociology, etc.), they all, Johann Christof Wagenseil included, had Buxtorf to thank for whatever knowledge of Yiddish they had. While Schade may have indeed been a pathfinder, as Weinreich designates him, his path was a dead end, for actual scholarly progress was due to the work of Johann Buxtorf, whose sensibility and most important work, the *Thesaurus grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* (1609), are of a distinctly different, seventeenth-century character. Before dealing with Buxtorf's important contributions to the field, however, it is necessary to attend briefly to the work of two other German Humanists who published brief and derivative descriptions of Yiddish. On the cusp of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were several Jewish and non-Jewish scholars who devoted some attention to Yiddish and surpassed the meager accomplishments of the sixteenth century with respect to an adequate description of Yiddish, but even here no scholarly basis was established on which later work could build. There were various impulses for these studies: some as aids to Hebrew study that also included some information about the contemporary Ashkenazic vernacular; others in fact focused specifically on Yiddish. These latter works can be categorized depending on the purposes of the author: Yiddish handbooks and dictionaries for missionaries, anthologies for a German-reading audience; revelations of underworld argot; primers for Gentile merchants.

Thomas Blebel [Blebelius] (1539–96) was rector of the Jean-Paul Gymnasium (Hof, Upper Franconia) during the last years of his life 1591–6. In 1582 he published *De sphaera et primis astronomiae rudimentis libellus* ('Booklet on the Globe and the First Rudiments of Astronomy'), and in 1594 the *Compendium Hebraeae Linguae* ('Precis of the Hebrew Language'), both in Wittenberg, in the latter of which he included a brief section entitled "Isagoge brevissima exhibens rationem legendi et scribendi Hebræogermanicum, cuius usus hoc tempore frequens est" ('A Very Brief Introduction, Expounding the Principles of Reading and Writing Hebrew-German, Commonly in Use at the Present Time'). These principles for reading and writing Yiddish are woefully inadequate, despite the author's claims to the contrary ("tota ratio legendi & scribendi;" 'a complete method of reading and writing'). In several points he clearly demonstrates his missionizing purpose and thus also his lack of interest in the actual Yiddish usage of the time. As becomes clear in the 'Yiddish' section, Blebelius is about as helpless in conceiving of an actual Yiddish text as any of his Humanist

predecessors had been (for instance, in his use of ן in Yiddish texts, e.g., צײַטען). Neither the examples provided by Blebelius as illustrations of his principles nor his 'Yiddish' version of Psalms 1 (a Hebrew alphabet transcription of Martin Luther's German version from 1545) have anything to do with Yiddish. His purpose seems only to demonstrate how one can transcribe German into the Hebrew alphabet, not how German speakers can gain a reading knowledge of Yiddish. As already demonstrated in his alphabetical chart, his conception of his task is strictly German-oriented (e.g., in his note, that /y/ is not used in Hebrew-German).

As is often the case in sixteenth-century linguistic descriptions, there are areas of semantic imprecision. When he sets up the correspondence ן = /c/, for instance, one must imagine that /c/ = [k] and not [ts] as in the usage of some of his contemporaries. It is sometimes astonishing that trained scholars such as Blebel can in the space of only a very few sentences manage to contradict themselves multiple times. In the aggravating consonant complex /u/v/f/w/p/pf/b/, Blebel offers the following mass of imprecision: /p/ = פ and /pf/ = פפ are straightforward and correct; /f/ = פ ן also seems an adequate description, although one could have wished that initial ן were included here as well; but it appears later as /v/ = ן ן (although ן is in fact a consonant only in initial position). Here he must be thinking of initial German /v/ as in the prefix *ver-* that appears as an example in a number of Humanist tracts, in which case it would generally have been phonetically realized as [f], but he does not specify this case. Finally, he says that /ph/ = פ ן, which then throws the distinction between [f] and [pf] into confusion, since /ph/ is sometimes used as the equivalent of /pf/ in sixteenth-century texts, while for the Graecophone Humanist, it might well represent [f] (or perhaps aspirated [p<sup>h</sup>]). Added to the confusion is Blebel's claim that ןו = /w/ is a vowel. He recognizes that word-initial ןו is separated by a buffer graph from a following vowel ן, but then identifies that graph as either ם or ן (ןוּוּןוּ *wol* and ןוּןוּןוּ *wol* 'well'); in fact only ם is so employed; ן in this function is his invention. Without further comment he allows the cryptic correspondences ן = /sch/ /s/, ן ן = /ss/ /s/, and ן-צ = /tz/ /z/ to suffice for the representation of this complex of sibilants. He posits a dual value for both those consonants that have final forms and those that can carry *rafe*: he identifies ן ן ן ן as 'aspirated' with *rafe*, as opposed to ן ן ן ן which are designated *tenues* 'voiceless,' which designations are both imprecise and noncontrastive, and in the case of the voiced stop, ן, simple wrong; like Schade, Blebel also fabricates ן = /th/. He seems unable to leave well enough alone, for although he correctly acknowledges that there are no double consonants in Yiddish, he then goes on to concoct the nonexistent ןן /nn/ as the sole exception (ןןןן ןן *alle Menner* 'all men').

With respect to vowels, he recognizes that ן = /a/ and ן = /e/ can occur word initially, while /i/, /o/, /u/ in initial position must be preceded by a silent ן. Instead of acknowledging the occasional appearance of word-final, silent ן (ןןןן), he posits this usage as the rule, and must thus characterize the graph's absence in this position (ןן) as exceptional. His vowel chart—ן = a, ן = /e/, ן = /i/ (he later notes that initial ן or ן is a consonant),<sup>70</sup> ן = /o/, ן = /u/, ןו = w—is surprising only in that he posits ןו as a vowel (much as Helicz had proposed it as a diphthong) and follows the already established Christian fabrication of a principle distinction between ן = /u/ and ן = /o/. He later adds that each of the graphs ן ן has two vocalic values: ן = [a] and [o]; ן = [i] and [e]. He makes the interesting (but not consistently accurate) observation that

while vowels in final syllables, especially /e/, are often omitted in writing, they are nonetheless pronounced (דֵם לִיבֵן בְּרוּיֶדֶר *dem lieben bruder* 'to the dear brother'). His Hebrew alphabet representation of the four 'diphthongs' are more accurate than that of his predecessors (although the Roman alphabet 'equivalents' provided are in general Germanizing distortions): אוי /au/ (אויף) *auff* 'on'; וי /oe/ or /ü/ (וויני) *söne* 'sons' and קויני *küne* 'keen'); יי /ei/ (מייך) *mein* 'my'; ויי /eü/ (אויך) *euch* 'you'.

In the course of his chapter, and especially in the appended Hebrew alphabet transcription of Luther's version of Psalms 1, he represents a number of rather strikingly non-Yiddish words and forms as if Yiddish: e.g., פסאלם 'Psalm,' תרוזת *trost* 'comfort,' ייאקוב 'Jacob,' חוט שלאג *Tot schlag* 'homicide.' Traditional Jewish, and thus Yiddish, usage would of course be תפלה [tefila/tfile] for Psalm and יעקב [yaakov/yankev] for Jacob; the letter ת would not be used in either of the other two words. Although he acknowledges at one point that און 'and' is the common spelling, he continues to use אונד elsewhere in the text slightly more often than און.

To be reckoned in the same class as Blebel's tract is also the work by Johannes Meelführer, who was born on 25 December 1570 in Culmbach, the son of a metal worker. He enrolled in the gymnasium in Hof in 1586 and in 1592 entered the University of Wittenberg.<sup>71</sup> After the completion of his studies and with the encouragement of Aegidius Hunnius, whose sons were his private students, he began to hold lectures on theology, philosophy, and Hebrew. In 1599 he became adjunct to the philosophical faculty but in the end decided to refuse university employment and went instead to Culmbach for an ecclesiastical position. In 1602 he settled in Ansbach as a preacher, and in 1611 he became a teacher in Heilsbronn, where he remained until 1631 when during the Thirty Years War the imperial troops under the command of the Graf von Tilly (Johann Tserclaes) plundered and ultimately destroyed the monastery, whereupon Meelführer fled to Nuremberg. In 1634 he again became a preacher in Ansbach, then town pastor. He died in 1640. He was a prolific writer among whose works are: *Grammaticae hebraeae compendiosa institutio* ('Brief Principles of Hebrew Grammar,' Ansbach 1607), *Clavis linguae sacrae s. hebraeae* ('The Key to the Holy, That is Hebrew, Language,' Nuremberg 1598), *Synopsis Institutionum Hebraicarum* ('Outline of Hebrew Methods,' Nuremberg: Simon Halbmayr, s.d.), and several collections of sermons.

His "De Scriptura Judæorum" ('On the Script of the Jews') from *Compendiosa* is extremely brief and adds nothing to the information already in circulation at the time concerning Yiddish. The Hebrew grammar in which the section on Yiddish appeared was reprinted in Jena 1523, Nuremberg 1626, and Ansbach 1671; there was also a German translation by Paulus Joseph, a Jewish convert (Altdorf 1613), from which the section on Yiddish was omitted. This brief Latin introduction to Yiddish is typical for those of the period designed for Christians who are both speakers of German and students of Hebrew: it is an appendix to a Hebrew grammar, presupposes the reader's familiarity with contemporary German, and privileges German as the standard against which Yiddish is viewed as simply a deviation. His brief chapter includes more errors than customary even in these early Christian tracts, however: e.g., he proposes an equivalence of וי = /y/; he also notes that there are five final consonant forms without identifying them or providing examples of their forms; his chart of diphthongs seems almost a list of the errors of his predecessors;<sup>72</sup> he provides

no chart of the vowels beyond the single letter correspondences from the alphabetical table; while he recognizes *-lich* as a diminutive suffix, he does not note that it is plural only, and his example—קינדליך *Kindlich* (? ‘small children’)—is a puzzling form; the appended list of nine orthographical rules comprises a random selection of poorly digested comments culled from his predecessors. It seems very unlikely that anyone who relied on Meelführer for instruction in learning to read and write Yiddish could have successfully gained that facility. To illustrate the usage described in the text, the chapter on Yiddish is followed by a text “instead of examples,” as the author notes. Typically for such tracts, the illustrative text is drawn from Luther’s German version of the New Testament, simply transcribed into the Hebrew alphabet, which provides a clear notion of what the ultimate (albeit unacknowledged) aim of the author (and his readers) was with respect to a basic knowledge of Yiddish among Christian professors and students of theology: the evangelizing and conversion of the Jews.

When we turn from the pioneering efforts of the founders of the Humanist study of Jewish culture in general and Yiddish in particular—and from the dilettantish texts of their epigones—to the work of Johann[es] Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629),<sup>73</sup> however, we come to one of the most celebrated Christian scholars of the broad range of Jewish culture during the entire Humanistic period. Among his many fields of interest was also Yiddish. Born on 25 December 1564 in Camen in Westphalia, where his father was a preacher, he was himself the founder of a great dynasty of scholars. Relatively little is known of his childhood beyond the outline of his education. He attended the Latin school in Hamm (Westphalia), where he also had his first Hebrew instruction, after which he moved on to the Archigymnasium in Dortmund, where he was a student of Friedrich Beurhusius, the famous Ramist philosopher. He may also have studied at the University of Marburg (although he did not matriculate), before enrolling at the *Gymnasium illustre* at Herborn, where he studied theology with Caspar Olevanius (1536–87) and Hebrew with Johannes Piscator (1546–1625). He later studied in Heidelberg before moving on to Switzerland, where he studied in Basel with J.G. Hospinian (1515–75) and Zurich with H.B. Bullinger (1504–75) and became acquainted with the French Calvinist theologian, Theodore Beza (1519–1605) in Geneva and the Swiss Protestant, Johann Jakob Grynaeus (1540–1617) in Basel. Although he went to Basel for the sake of theological studies, he took his degree as *magister artium* (1590), and in 1591 he was appointed professor of Hebrew in Basel. In the course of the next four decades in Basel, he turned down offers from the universities in Saumur, Heidelberg, and Leiden, as well as the professorship of theology in Basel. Apparently his university lectures were in general not well attended, which left him a great deal of time for his own reading and writing. His publications on Hebrew were at a higher level than had earlier been the case among Christian Humanists and extended to the whole range of Jewish literature, including rabbinical works. Through those publications Buxtorf became justly recognized as one of the finest Hebrew scholars of his day. He collected an extensive personal library (324 items, now in the Basel Universitätsbibliothek) and carried on correspondence with both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars throughout central Europe and even as far away as Constantinople. Weinreich notes that even Jews called him *magister rabbinorum* and asked for and followed his advice (*Geschichte*, p. 105). At his death from plague in 1629, he was replaced as professor of Hebrew by his son, Johann II (who at his death

was in turn replaced by his own son). Buxtorf the Elder's death was deemed a loss for scholarship throughout Europe.

As a result of Buxtorf's work over the course of several decades at a stable academic position, which resulted in the publication of basic pedagogical, philological, and theological texts that replaced nearly every book published by his predecessors,<sup>74</sup> the Christian approach to Hebrew studies was utterly transformed during Buxtorf's own lifetime: in the sixteenth century, when Humanists such as Reuchlin, Pico della Mirandola, and Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo wanted to learn Hebrew, they had to seek Jewish tutors; by the seventeenth century Hebrew studies had been established as an academic discipline at the university, and it was additionally possible to gain an advanced knowledge of the language by means of self-study, for Buxtorf had laid the philological foundation of the discipline. As Burnett points out (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 33), Buxtorf's work had "enhanced the status of Hebrew language and literature within schools and universities in a way that no scholar had done since Sebastian Münster." His own mastery of rabbinical sources encouraged other Christians to make use of these sources.<sup>75</sup> Despite the confessional conflicts of the period, members of all Christian sects turned to the work of Buxtorf, and his books continued to be used even into the nineteenth century.

While a university position provided the academic community and research time that enabled scholarship, the salary of a university professor did not suffice to support a family. Thus Buxtorf was forced to seek income from other sources, which was one of the motivations for his extensive work in the Hebrew book trade. As Burnett notes, "[t]he manufacture and sale of Hebrew books was a licit but dubious activity in the eyes of local and imperial officials in early modern Germany" (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 36). Although the printing costs of Hebrew books were initially borne by Jewish sponsors in almost all cases, and there are frequent cases of Jewish employees of Christian printers, it was also deemed necessary for there to be Christian oversight of Hebrew book production—as censor and inspector of the printed book—in order to prevent the blasphemy that Christians imagined as an essential component of Jewish books.<sup>76</sup> Buxtorf thus earned supplemental income through his work as censor, editor, proofreader, and business representative for the Basel printers Conrad Waldkirch and Ludwig König. It was also in large part through his extensive contacts with potential Jewish clients that he established his own network of Jewish scholars in Germany, Poland, and Italy, which greatly aided him, as well, in mastering the rabbinical tradition.

He wrote and published the textbook of Hebrew that was expected of every Humanist, entitled *Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* ('Handbook of Hebrew and Aramaic,' Basel, 1602), but went far beyond that, as well, to publish *Praeceptiones grammaticae hebraicae* ('Lessons in Hebrew Grammar,' Basel 1605) which ran through sixteen editions; *Lexicon hebraicum et chaldaicum* ('Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon,' Basel 1607); *Thesaurus grammaticus linguae sanctae hebraeae* ('Grammar of the Holy Hebrew Tongue,' Basel 1609), which was reprinted six times during the seventeenth century, indicating its constant and continued use; a collection of more than 100 Hebrew letters from medieval Jewish scholars, *Institutio epistolaris hebraica* ('The Epistolary Principles of Hebrew,' Basel 1610); *De abbreviaturis hebraicis*



(‘On Hebrew Abbreviations,’ Basel 1613), a codification of Hebrew abbreviations; *Bibliotheca rabbinica* (‘Rabbinical Library,’ Basel 1613) which established a standard for the bibliographical description of Hebrew alphabet books, as well as providing a wealth of information concerning the availability of Jewish books at the beginning of the seventeenth century; *Biblia hebraica cum paraphrasi Chaldaica et commentariis rabbinorum* (‘Hebrew Bible, with Aramaic Paraphrase and Rabbinical Commentaries,’ 4 vols., 1618–19); both his *Concordantiae bibliorum hebraicae* (‘Concordances of the Hebrew Bible,’ Basel 1632), based on the work of Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymus, and *Lexicon chaldaicum talmudicum et rabbinicum* (‘Aramaic, Talmudic, and Rabbinical Lexicon,’ 1640), based on R. Nathan b. Jechiel’s *Aruch*, were posthumously completed by his son, Johann II.<sup>77</sup>

One of the most important of the works to which he devoted his energy was the production of an edition of the *Biblia hebraea* (1618–19), the Hebrew Bible and Targum with commentaries and the Massorah. To aid him in this massive task, he employed two Jewish scholars and secured permission for their residence in the city of Basel. An incident in connection with one of these Jewish employees characterizes both Buxtorf’s stature in the Jewish community and his own underlying motivation in his dealings with that community. In 1619 he was present at the circumcision of the son of Abraham Braunschweig, one of the Jews who worked closely with him as corrector. When the civil authorities found out about this occasion, the official reaction was swift and harsh: the Jews involved barely escaped immediate banishment; instead they were placed under house arrest and allowed to remain in the city only until their work on the Bible in press at Ludwig König’s print shop was complete; then they were banished. In addition, Braunschweig was fined 400 Reichsthaler, while König and Buxtorf (who, ironically, allegedly missionized during the circumcision ceremony for the conversion of the Jews in attendance<sup>78</sup>) were fined 100 Reichsthaler each (amounting to more than a year’s professorial salary). This incident indicates the level of familiarity that Buxtorf had with Jewish life and with Jews in his own acquaintance, interacting with them socially and in domestic settings. Under such circumstances it is only natural that he also become acquainted with the Jewish vernacular. Thus there obtained in Buxtorf’s relations with Jews an almost schizophrenic divide: although he seems to have maintained good relations with Jews of the community, many of whom frequented his house, at the same time he spared no opportunity to attack them savagely in print, as, for instance, in his *Juden Schul* (‘School/Synagogue of the Jews,’ Basel 1603). Although he knew much about Jewish practices, he had no historical scholarly detachment and was full of prejudice and hatred.

Perhaps his most influential work was in fact the *Juden Schul*, which went through many editions and was often known by the title of its expanded Latin version—*Synagoga judaica*.<sup>79</sup> The book also brought Buxtorf to the attention of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) who consequently became his patron. The *Juden Schul* is a massive narrative description of the daily life of a Jew of the period from birth to death, based on Jewish sources. It was one of the first serious attempts by a Christian scholar to portray traditional Judaism in a realistic way, explaining the laws governing Jewish life from cradle to grave, the Jewish religious calendar, using material from Simeon b. Judah Levi Ginzburg’s מנהגים *Minhogim* (‘Customs,’ Venice 1593) and

Joseph Karo's שלחן ערוך *Shulhan Arukh* ('The Set Table,' composed 1565) and works of popular devotion in Yiddish to back up his assertions.<sup>80</sup> His goal in writing the book, however, was not to commend Jews for their faithfulness to Jewish law, but rather to criticize them for their departures from biblical law and practice:

Es wird aber der Christliche Läser genugsam auß diesem allem vernommen unnd verstanden haben, daß der Jüdisch Glaub und ihre gantze Religion nicht auff Mosen, sondern auff eitel Lügen, falsche und ungegründte Satzungen und Fabeln ihrer Rabbinen und weitverführten Schrifftgelehrten gegründet sey.

[The Christian reader will have comprehended and understood well enough from all this that the Jewish faith and their whole religion is founded not on Moses but on nothing but lies, false and groundless rules, and fables of their rabbis and scholars who have been broadly misled.]

In trying to achieve his overall purpose, Buxtorf did not shy away from what had already become a common Christian ploy, most effectively exercised by the converts to Christianity, Johann Joseph Pfefferkorn (1469–post 1521) and Antonius Margarita [Margalita] (c.1490–?)<sup>81</sup> that is, by distorting evidence from Jewish sources in order to present an anti-Semitic portrayal of the Jews in a book published in the German vernacular that would thus reach a far broader audience than would a Latin treatise. While Pfefferkorn was disorganized and tendentious in his presentation of quasi-ethnographical information, Margarita's work was more cogently structured. Buxtorf went even farther in that direction, although as the work of a Baroque Humanist, it would be an exaggeration to say that his tract was systematic, although his *Juden Schul* did give definitive expression to this form of anti-Jewish polemic couched as if ethnography. The views of Margarita and Buxtorf were skewed by their theological and social agendas. Their works were conceived less as repositories of information for Christians about Jews, than as exposés of Jewish 'error.'<sup>82</sup> Buxtorf spares no epithets in describing Jewish failings; he calls them, for instance, "die Blinden und Unvernünfftig Juden" ('blind and irrational Jews,' *Juden Schul*, p. 511). He claims further that the Talmud—not Scripture—is the basis of the Jewish religion, which in Christian theological terms means that the religion has at best a human, not a divine, basis, although, since he claims that the devil is the "inspirer of the Talmud" (*Juden Schul*, pp. 80–1), Jewish religion is, in his view, ultimately diabolical.

While Buxtorf was no theologian, he employed the conceptual tools of theologians, and since he was not a convert, his distorted portrayal of the Jews was not as personal and vehement as Margarita's. Even so, because of the prestige that Buxtorf enjoyed and the influence of his books over the course of the next two centuries, the *Juden Schul* functioned as a reference source for later scholars, as a manual of Judaism that formed the basic source for Johann Jacob Schudt (1644–1722) and others, and as such it caused untold damage and suffering to Jews within the reach of Buxtorf's publications and their influence. The *Juden Schul* also became known to R. Leone Modena of Venice (1571–1648) who wrote his famous *Historia de' riti ebraici* ('History of the Jewish Rite,' Paris 1637) as a refutation of Buxtorf's negative portrayal of Jewish life.

Buxtorf's expertise and its general consequences must be understood in the larger context of the Humanist project. As Burnett points out:

Christian Hebraism in early modern Europe was a step-child of theology. Born of humanist ideals on the eve of the Reformation, it was nurtured and institutionally supported by both Protestants and Catholics throughout the Confessional age. Johannes Buxtorf wrote his books to enhance the role of Hebrew studies within Protestant schools and universities, but most of them continued to be used long after the great age of Christian Hebraism. (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 240)

Whatever the noble ideals at the base of Humanist scholarship—and they are not to be denied—religious bigotry and specifically anti-Semitism are never far from the surface. This fundamental fact seems often to have been shunted aside even in recent scholarship on the period. Thus Burnett hardly acknowledges the bigotry of Buxtorf's *Juden Schul* or Johann Andreas Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* ('Judaism Revealed,' 1700) and suggests that Buxtorf is ironic or sarcastic but not guilty of "conscious misrepresentation," even while acknowledging that "Buxtorf's portrayal of Jewish life was frequently distorted both by omissions in what he discussed and by his own theological biases. Nevertheless, *Juden Schul* represented an important new departure in the Christian study of Judaism, one which was based upon an independent reading of Jewish sources" (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 243). The portrait of Buxtorf as the consummate grammarian and lexicographer well lends itself to Dr. Johnson's adage, quoted by Burnett: "If, as Dr. Johnson said, a lexicographer is a harmless drudge, then Johannes Buxtorf was one of the great drudges of his time" (*ibid.*, p. 120). Rather clearly, however, Buxtorf, drudge that he may have been, was certainly not harmless to the Jews of his own time and later periods who suffered from the bigotry expressed and disseminated by his works such that it became naturalized as a fundamental aspect of the academic training of generation after generation of Christian schoolboys who grew up to become academic, ecclesiastical, and political leaders in whose power tens of thousands of Jews lived out their lives.

One of Buxtorf's most important works is also the one that concerns the study of Yiddish, the *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae* (1609), which includes an appendix entitled "Lectionis Hebraeo-Germanicae Ufus et exercitatio" ('The Practice and Exercise of Reading Hebrew-German'). Burnett points out that "Buxtorf's introduction to Yiddish was intended primarily for German Christians who wished to read the language" (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 119). In addition to the description of the language, Buxtorf here provides what amounts to an extensive anthology of early Yiddish literature—the first example of the genre ever to exist in print:<sup>83</sup> a brief bibliography of contemporary Yiddish texts, and several excerpts from Yiddish texts—Psalms 23, a model letter, excerpts from the Yiddish translation of Solomon ibn Judah Verga's שבת ירושה / *Sheyvet Yehuda* ('Scepter/Tribe of Judah,' Cracow 1591; EYT 71), excerpts from the Talmud (Sabbath 153 and Berakhot 31).<sup>84</sup> Even here, however, the seemingly innocuous drudgery of the anthologist is anything but innocent, for even in his selection from Verga's work, which is in general a survey of the historically recurring persecution of the Jews, Buxtorf deftly manages to defame Jews, for what he chooses to include is the account of David 'Eldavid' (Alroy), a messianic

pretender.<sup>85</sup> Nor were the Yiddish texts included because Buxtorf viewed them as intrinsically valuable. He in fact says that he includes them in case someone might be amused by them (“si erunt fortè, qui istorum lectione delectentur”, ‘if there might be some who would enjoy reading them’). Certainly Buxtorf did not value a knowledge of Yiddish in itself for his students. As he announces in the preface to the book, “Rationem ... usumque scripturæ Hebræo-Germanicæ, manifeste ostendo, non tantum ob libros Germanica lingua inter Judæos scriptos ... pertracto” [‘I examine the method and use of Hebrew-German script not merely—as I will clearly demonstrate—for the sake of books written among the Jews in the German language’]; and at the beginning of the section concerning Yiddish, he repeats: “. . . characteres ejus scripturæ accurate nosse, non solum ad Germanica legenda prodest . . .” [‘knowing the letter-forms of this script well is advantageous not just for reading German’ (i.e., Yiddish)]. His attention is focused only on the *Hebrew* language, on which he lavishes praise as the language spoken by God, the angels and the prophets, the language which God spoke with Adam and Eve and thus the most worthy language for humans to learn. Yiddish, on the other hand, was intended—by the great Buxtorf also—merely as a means to ease the learning of Hebrew, a notion already encountered among his lesser predecessors. He notes in the *Juden Schul* (Chapter 3) that many Hebrew words are mixed into Yiddish; thus a knowledge of Yiddish will serve to enhance a student’s knowledge of Hebrew. In the *Thesaurus* he notes: “. . . quamplurimi . . . Hebræo-Germanici libri apud ipsos reperiuntur, qui si ex Hebræis translati sint, interpretis et commentatoris loco nobis esse possunt, ubi meliore interpretatione aut Lexico destituimur” [‘There are many other Hebrew-German books found among the Jews which, if translated from Hebrew, could function for us in place of a translator and commentator, when we lack a better translator or dictionary’]. It seems more important to him, however, that a knowledge of the Yiddish script be spread, which he notes twice as the reason for his inclusion of the chapter on Yiddish. In the epistolary dedication he notes that older Hebrew manuscripts use practically the same script as Yiddish. In the “Lectio” he comments that Hebrew manuscripts are written not only in square script, but also in the Yiddish script, which practically no Christian can read; thus a knowledge of this script is necessary in order to have direct access to the broad range of Jewish texts. He also mentions ‘many books translated into Yiddish’ (“plurimi libri in Germanicam linguam conversi”), but views them as valuable only insofar as they provide translations of the sacred texts so that the student can do without a dictionary and a translator. Thus his chapter on Yiddish is not intended to teach Yiddish for its own sake, nor even to be an exhaustive codification of the language, but rather simply to function as instrumental in the practical task of teaching Hebrew.

The bibliography of Yiddish books provides no titles unknown to modern scholarship. Even so, the listing is important for indicating what books were actually available to Christian scholars at the time and perhaps also for shedding light on what books would have been of interest: Yiddish versions of the Pentateuch with the *haftarot*, Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs (all including Rashi’s commentary), Exodus, Joshua, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Psalms; the prayerbook, the holiday prayerbook, a book of customs, *selichot*, the *ברכות המזון* / *Birkat ha-mazon* (‘Grace at Table’), *לקח טוב* / *Lekah tov* (‘Good Doctrine,’ Venice 1587), *ספר של רבי אנשל* / *Sefer shel rabi anshel* (‘Book of Rabbi Anshel,’ Cracow 1534),

ברוך מעשה / *Mayse bukh* ('Mayse Book,' Basel 1602), ברנט שפיגל / *Brant shpigl* ('Burning Mirror,' Cracow 1596), אורחות חיים / *Orhous hayim* ('Guests of Life,' Prague 1622), פרויאן בויכלייך / *Froyen bikhlayn* ('Women's Booklet,' Cracow 1577), שבט יהודה / *Sheyvet Yehuda* ('Scepter/Tribe of Judah'), סבוב רבי פתחיה / *Sibuv rabi petahya* ('Itinerary of R. Petahya,' Prague 1595), ספר היראה / *Sefer ha-yira* ('Book of the Fear of God,' Zurich 1546), ספר חיי עולם / *Sefer haye olam* ('Book of the Life of the World,' Freiburg 1583), סוד הנשמה / *Sod ha-neshama* ('Secret of the Soul,' Basel 1609), מעשה דוד בימי פרס / *Mayse dovid bime pras* ('Story of David in Persian Times,' יוסיפון / *Yosifon* ('Yosifon,' Zurich 1546). The list focuses primarily on books of piety, whether biblical or ethical teachings, and excludes books with anything approaching a secular appeal (such as, for instance, a romance like the *בבא דאנטווא* / *Bovo d'Antona*). Buxtorf's brief characterizations of the contents of the books indicates some measure of familiarity with them.

In his condescendingly negative condemnation of the corruption of the German language by Jews in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, as opposed to the language of the German Jews, Buxtorf inadvertently indicates the existence of distinctive dialectal differences between early seventeenth-century Western and Eastern Yiddish. Since he views these distinctions as 'corruptions,' however, he does not see fit to provide examples. He accurately observes the tendency in translations, especially of the Bible, toward such a literal rendering that the original Hebrew obscures the Yiddish idiom.<sup>86</sup>

While Buxtorf is most definitely a man of his time and makes most of the same assumptions concerning Yiddish that his predecessors had done (e.g., that Yiddish is simply a slightly modified German that can be made almost immediately accessible to Hebrew-reading German speakers), he demonstrates a somewhat better sense of systematic thinking than did many of his predecessors and contemporaries. Thus before his alphabetical table—generally offered in other such tracts without prior comment—he adds two notes that are quite important for the sake of the initial orientation of his Hebrew-reading and German-speaking audience: first, that the Hebrew alphabet used to write German is identical with the one used to write Hebrew, although some of the letters are used only for Hebrew words interspersed into German (later specified as ן and ן); and second, that the phonetic value of some of the letters depends on their environment.

Buxtorf's treatment of what Max Weinreich has identified as the component-based, fusion nature of Yiddish is worth focused analysis here, for although he contributes little if anything that is new to the understanding by Christian Hebraists of this phenomenon, he does bring together a number of strands of their musings on it.<sup>87</sup> Thus, while he deems it a corruption (*sic corruptum*),<sup>88</sup> he acknowledges what post-Weinreichian linguistic analysis terms the fusion nature of Yiddish in its various components: as Schade had done before him, Buxtorf also notes that the borrowing of Hebrew (the Semitic component) into Yiddish and the formation of hybrid compounds parallels the borrowing of Latin words such as *disputieren* 'dispute' into German; further, there are Germanic words and phrases such as *das dassig* and *enck* in Yiddish that are not used in German (Germanic component); and there are also such words as *beltzel*, *benschen* from the Romance component.<sup>89</sup> Since Buxtorf, like his predecessors, is working on the basis of texts that at the time are still

composed in the literary dialect based primarily on Western Yiddish, and perhaps also draws on some acquaintance with Western Yiddish as spoken in Germany, there is no attention to the Slavic component of Yiddish that had already developed extensively in the Eastern Yiddish dialects of the time; most likely he had had little experience of Eastern Yiddish.

Buxtorf imagined the incorporation of Hebrew into Yiddish as intentional on the part of Jews. Already in the *Synagoga Judaica*, he mentions that Jews use Hebrew words in Yiddish, and offers the two reasons commonly suggested by Christians: so that their children would thus learn Hebrew, and non-Jews would not understand Jewish speech. In the *Thesaurus*, only the first motive is mentioned. Buxtorf's examples of the variety of modes by means of which Hebrew entered Yiddish are quite relevant: Hebrew nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are changed only in their pronunciation and inserted into the Yiddish grammatical context.<sup>90</sup> With respect to word formation on the basis of the Semitic component, Buxtorf offers more examples but otherwise differs little from Schade's presentation (chapter II 8). He identifies one mode of such usage as the use of a Hebrew participle with a German verb ('Sey mir *mochel*' מוֹחֵל 'be pardoning to me, or pardon me.'). In fact one of the common productive constructions in the Yiddish use of the Semitic component that yields scores of common idiomatic verbal expressions and hundreds more in literary usage. Direct verb formation from Semitic words by means of simple incorporation of the root into Yiddish morphological structures was also common and productive. Buxtorf provides examples such as *badken* (from Hebrew בִּדַּק *badak* 'examine'); *schächten* (from Hebrew שָׁחַט *shahat* 'slaughter'), etc.<sup>91</sup>

As a prelude to his discussion of the specifics of Yiddish orthography, Buxtorf notes that there is inconsistency in usage: "Et omnino orthographiæ in vocalibus et diphthongis exprimendis, non usque adeo accurata constansque lex est" ["The orthographical rules as manifest in vowels and diphthongs are not so consistently meticulous"]; but he immediately adds: "Quæ tamen a linguæ perito facile percipi possit" ['but can be easily understood by someone who knows the language well']. Shortly thereafter, at the close of the section on phonetics, he voices for the second time his trust in the powers of observation of his students: "Similia quæ ad lectionem et scriptionem pertinent, linguæ germanicæ gnarus, facile per se animadverteret" ['The person who has a knowledge of the German language can easily observe for himself other things that pertain to the reading and writing (of Yiddish)']. As Weinreich notes (*Geschichte*, p. 108), Buxtorf scarcely deviates from Fagius and Schade concerning phonetics and orthography.

In his discussion of consonants, he not only acknowledges that there are five graphemes with final allographs, but presents those forms and (innovatively) notes that although ך and ף lack the *rafe* that signals 'aspiration' in their nonfinal forms, they are nonetheless fricatives. He notes that there are no doubled consonants. His description of the bilabial consonants is generally accurate: ך = /b/; ך̄ = /v/ or /f/; ן = vocalic /u/, consonantal /v/, when doubled = /w/; when consonantal before [o], ן is inserted between them (וואָרדן); פ = /p/; פ̄ = /ph/ /pf/. Only the final identification is inaccurate. With respect to sibilants, his description is adequate: ז = [z]; ס = [s] 'harsh'; ש = /s/ and /ʃ/. He does not acknowledge that ס is rare in non-Semitic words, nor offer any comment on the differentiation of the two possible realizations of ש, but

no explicit inaccuracies occur here. His description of  $\bar{\nu}/\bar{\kappa}$  succinctly and accurately describes actual usage.

In his description of the vowels, he adds no new details: he identifies four vowels:  $\bar{\nu}$  = /u/ and /o/,  $\bar{\iota}$  = /i/<sup>92</sup> and /e/,  $\bar{\epsilon}$  = /e/, and  $\bar{\alpha}$  = /a/ and /o/.<sup>93</sup> He notes that in addition to its function as a vowel,  $\bar{\alpha}$  precedes and thus functions as the indicator of word-initial diphthongs (אויבר *uber* [*sic*] ‘over’) and word-initial  $\bar{\iota}$  (איר *ir* ‘you’) and  $\bar{\nu}$  (אונטר *unter* ‘under’) when they function as vowels; silent  $\bar{\alpha}$  also follows word-final  $\bar{\iota}$  (בייא *bei* ‘by, at’).<sup>94</sup> He notes that medial /a/ is often omitted, as is interconsonantal /e/ in final syllables (טרגן *tragen* ‘carry’), although it may also be represented by  $\bar{\iota}$  or  $\bar{\epsilon}$  (גיאצזעס *gezatzes* ‘law’).

Concerning diphthongs, Buxtorf is more precise than either Fagius or Schade (chapter II 6 and 8) had been. He identifies three diphthongs:  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$  = /ei/,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  = /eu/, /ew/, /ü/, and /ö/,  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  = /au/ and /aw/.<sup>95</sup> Buxtorf is, however, not satisfied with mere facts, but also attempts to provide an explanation. He follows the explanation found in the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midows* of the diphthong  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$ , that is, that the first  $\bar{\iota}$  represents /e/, while the second represents /i/. His comment on /eu/ is cryptically obscure, but drawing on the explanation of  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$  obviously attempts to account for the lack of  $\bar{\iota}$  = /e/ correspondence in the Hebrew-alphabet representation of the first letter. His attempt to explain why /eu/ cannot be represented following the same procedure (which would yield  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ ) goes awry. He claims that such a combination represents a ‘divided syllable’ as in גיואלן *gefallen* ‘fallen’. As Weinreich points out (*Geschichte*, p. 108), however, this explanation misses the point entirely, for even if one were to accept the reversal of  $\bar{\iota}$  and  $\bar{\nu}$ , there are cases in which  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  represents not a diphthong, but consonant + vowel (e.g., ויל [fil] ‘much’), as is also the case with  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$ , which can represent consonant + diphthong (e.g., וינד [faïnd] ‘enemy’). In his prohibition of the representation of /eu/ by  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}$ , /ö/ by  $\bar{\epsilon}$  and /ü/ by  $\bar{\iota}$ , he is already engaging in what became a common trait of German Yiddishists—denying the characteristics of Yiddish that distinguish it from German, for here it is clearly the case that he quite accurately—and inadvertently—describes the unrounded quality of the Yiddish vocalic reflexes of German rounded vowels (e.g., German *teuer* vs. Yiddish טײער [tayer], German *schön* vs. Yiddish שײן [sheyn], German *Bücher* vs. Yiddish ביכער [bikher]). In other words, he provides clear evidence for one of the most characteristic of distinctions between the vowels of modern Yiddish and modern German. He thus documents the fact that such unrounding had already taken place or was at least in process in Yiddish at the time.<sup>96</sup> Buxtorf’s inadvertent evidence here is significant, but unfortunately he does not provide any indication of its geographical range.

Buxtorf describes a number of features using the Greek grammatical terminology common among Humanists. Interestingly, however, in each of these cases, Buxtorf has been misled by his assumption of contemporaneous German as the basis of Yiddish and guarantor of legitimate usage. The Yiddish conjunction און is falsely analyzed as German *und* with apocope of /d/ (“Resectam literam virgula adiecta indicat”, ‘the added stroke indicates the excised letter’). The Yiddish verbal prefix דר- is falsely analyzed as a combination of the German prefix *er-* preceded by a prothetic /d/: דרצילן ‘narrate.’ Buxtorf posits the words אלו (*alf*) and אלוו (*also*) as the correct form of the Yiddish words אז and אזוו which he proposes have been altered by syncope. The first person plural personal pronoun מיר, which was (and is) also in common

usage in numerous German dialects, is viewed as a change by means of enallage from German *wir*.<sup>97</sup>

In contrast to so many of the sample texts provided by his predecessors, Buxtorf's are quite authentic Jewish texts: the version of Psalms 23 is *not* simply a Hebrew alphabet transcription of Luther's version of the Bible as had become common in the tracts by Christian Hebraists, but rather an authentic Yiddish translation (quite similar to Elia Levita's translation, published in Venice 1545; EYT 49). The model letter is also composed in authentic Yiddish, even including the opening and closing formulae and the abundance of abbreviated Hebrew inclusions. In addition, Buxtorf included two passages from Solomon ibn Judah Verga's *שבת יהודה / Sheyvet Yehuda* ('The Scepter of Judah'); two excerpts from the Talmudic tractates, Sabbath, and Berakhot, in both the original Aramaic and Yiddish translation, with added explanatory notes on the Hebrew terms used in the Yiddish text.

Buxtorf's presentation provides a wealth of information that documents just how independent Yiddish had become from German by the beginning of the seventeenth century. As Weinreich points out, Buxtorf also provides some evidence regarding the development of modern dialects. He notes that the second person plural oblique pronoun *enck* is used in Poland, which was still the case in some Polish Yiddish dialects on the eve of World War II (*Geschichte*, p. 113). As noted above, he also inadvertently points out the distinction between eastern and western dialects of Yiddish when he refers to the poor German (i.e., eastern Yiddish) used by Jews from Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. Perhaps most importantly for our understanding of the Yiddish of his time, he hints that the literary dialect of Yiddish differed noticeably from the spoken language, since literary usage was heavily influenced by older Yiddish written usage and also especially by the *German* literary language: "Quicunque tamen nunc paulo accuratius edocti sunt, elegantioribus et clarioribus versionibus student, ac ad linguæ Germanicæ proprietatem se accomodant" ['Nonetheless, anyone who is somewhat more thoroughly informed strives toward a clearer and more elegant version and adapts to the properties of the German language']. Buxtorf's presentation of Yiddish became the standard and model of all other seventeenth-century presentations by Christians.

As had been the case more than a century earlier, however, in the work of Elia Levita, there was in the mid-seventeenth century another enormously perceptive Jewish contributor to the codification of early Yiddish in Nosn Note Hannover. He offered no description of the language as such, but rather, in his *ספר שפה כרוכה / Sefer Sofu beruro* ('Book of Pure Speech,' Prague 1660; EYT 107), a quadrilingual dictionary (Hebrew-Yiddish-Italian-Latin), in which all words are written with the Hebrew alphabet and pointed.<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, Hannover breaks with the scribal and printing tradition by taking pains to represent Yiddish as it was actually spoken.<sup>99</sup> Thus while Christian scholars who knew Yiddish only from Christian books continued for centuries to think that Yiddish was just corrupt German, this dictionary provides specific evidence for the independence of Yiddish from German.

In the wake of Buxtorf's work, the next Christian Humanist to turn his attention briefly to Yiddish was Andreas Sennert (1606–89), who was born in Wittenberg, the son of a professor of medicine.<sup>100</sup> He studied Oriental studies and theology in Wittenberg, Jena, Leipzig, and Strasbourg, became a Protestant theologian and



librarian, and in 1638 was appointed professor in Strasbourg. He broke with Protestant orthodoxy by recognizing what Elia Levita had proven a century earlier, that the masoretic vocalization of the Scriptures was post-biblical. Insofar as it is not an anachronism to designate it with the term, he carried out comparative linguistic research in the Semitic languages in a series of publications: *Hypotyposis harmonica linguarum orientalium chaldaica, syrica, et arabica cum matre hebraea* ('Harmonious outline of the Oriental Languages, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, along with Mother Hebrew,' Wittenberg 1653), *Arabismus i.e. praecepta Arabicae linguae in harmonia ad Ebraea . . . conscripta* ('Arabism, That Is, the Principles of the Arabic Language Plotted in Harmony with Those of Hebrew,' Wittenberg 1658), and *Rabbinismus hoc est praecepta Targumico-Talmudico-Rabbinica in harmonia ad Ebraea . . . conscripta* ('Rabbinism, That Is, the Targumic-Talmudic-Rabbinical Principles Plotted in Harmony with those of Hebrew,' Wittenberg 1666).<sup>101</sup> He wrote a theological reaction to the Thirty Years War as an ecclesiastical program of reform: *Christianus non Christianus* ('Christian, Not Christian,' Wittenberg 1648). He became the librarian of the Wittenberg University library and wrote a comprehensive analytical description of the library and its contents. In *Rabbinismus*, there is a brief appendix, "De scriptura ebraico-germanica, etc." (pp. 63–5), relevant to the present analysis. Here Sennert includes an alphabetical table, a chart of vowel and diphthong correspondences in Yiddish, and seven annotations. The entirety is directly derived from Buxtorf, as the last sentence of Sennert's text more or less acknowledges.<sup>102</sup> We need devote not further attention to the text.

Sennert is followed in the tradition of Christian Humanist publications on Yiddish by August[us] Pfeiffer, who was born on 27 October 1640 in Lauenberg, the son of a ducal customs officer.<sup>103</sup> He was a pupil in the Johanneum in Hamburg and then a student in Wittenberg, where he became *magister* already in his first year (1659) and gave private lessons on oriental languages. He received a stipend from the Elector so that he could devote himself to the study of that subject without distraction. His professional life is marked by an itinerant tendency no less striking than it was in Böschenstein's career. In 1665 he became professor of oriental languages, but in 1671 took a position as pastor in Medzibor, and in 1673 moved to Stroppen as pastor, and then in 1675 to Meißen in the same capacity. Thereafter he completed a doctorate in theology with the financial support of the Elector. In 1681 he became Archdeacon in the Thomaskirche in Leipzig and professor of theology at Leipzig University. In 1689 he took a position as superintendent of Lübeck churches and died there in the following year. In his long career he published more than fifty titles, many of them polemics in the religious controversies of the time. More important were his scholarly works, *Exercitationes biblicae* ('Biblical Exercises'), *Dubia vexata* ('Vexed Doubts'), *Introductio in orientem* ('Introduction to the Orient'), *Critica sacra* ('Biblical Textual Criticism'), *Thesaurus hermeneuticus* ('Interpretive Dictionary'), and *Descriptio rituum antiquorum gentis Ebraeae* ('Description of the Ancient Rites of the Hebrew People'). A complete edition of his scholarly works appeared in Utrecht in 1704.

In the collective volume, *Critica Sacra*, Pfeiffer includes a passage on Yiddish as "Sectio I. De lectione ebræo-germanica" ('On reading Hebrew-German') of the "Manuductio facilis ad lectionem Talmudico-Rabbinicam" ('Easy Guide to the Reading of Talmudic and Rabbinical texts') of Chapter 15 "De Talmude" ('On the Talmud') of

the third treatise, “De compendiaria ratione legendi Scripta Rabbinico-Talmudica” (‘A Brief Method for Reading Rabbinical-Talmudic Script’). With the exception of a single statement, Pfeiffer provides no evidence that he knew anything about Yiddish beyond what he derived from his acknowledged source in Buxtorf’s *Thesaurus*.<sup>104</sup> “Cæterum non scribunt Judæi secundum orthographicam ἀκριβείαν, sed secundum sonum et genium cujusque dialecti præsertim superioris germaniæ” [‘Otherwise the Jews do not write according to a precise orthography, but according to the sound and spirit of the individual dialect, especially from upper Germany’]. Here he seems to betray some sense that Yiddish dialects are represented differentially. While Weinreich remarks that this is the only sentence concerning Yiddish from Pfeiffer’s *Critica sacra* that deserves to be preserved (*Geschichte*, p. 114n), its significance is ultimately minimal, since Pfeiffer provides no illustrative examples, and otherwise there is precious little actual evidence from early Yiddish texts that spoken dialects were in fact differentially represented in textual orthography. While one might be tempted to view Pfeiffer’s claim that Yiddish ך is ‘incorrectly’ employed to represent /ü/, as is ך for /eu/, and ך for /ö/, as independent evidence for the actual pronunciation of Yiddish that distinguished it from the conventionally assumed standard of pronunciation of nondialectal German, it was almost certainly just copied from Buxtorf.<sup>105</sup>

Caspar Kümmer was born in 1644 in Fladungen and died on 23 January 1706 in Aschaffenburg. He was a Jesuit, and in the years 1683–9 he served as professor of mathematics and Hebrew language in Würzburg, where he received the degree *Dr. theol.* in 1689. Beginning in 1698 he also taught biblical studies in Würzburg and Mainz. His *Schola hebraica* (‘Hebrew School’) is a rarity from the seventeenth-century Catholic realms.<sup>106</sup> The book was printed in 1688 in Würzburg by Jobus Hertz and published in Nuremberg by the heirs of Wolfgang Endter. Of the book’s 318 pages, only the third appendix concerns Yiddish: “De Lectione Hebraeo-Germanica. § I. De usu Alphabeti in hujusmodi Lectione; § II. De quibusdam Hebraeorum Abbreviaturis (‘On Reading Hebrew-German: § I. On the Use of the Alphabet in This Kind of Reading; II. On Some Hebrew Abbreviations,’ pp. 308–16). The first section comprises a brief instructional text in twelve paragraphs, while the second consists of several lists of common Hebrew abbreviations and phrases used particularly in letters.

There are a few striking features. It seems that Kümmer rejects the misguided notion of some of his predecessors that Yiddish might aid German speakers in learning Hebrew, for he remarks that he deliberately placed the appendix on Yiddish at the end of his treatment of Hebrew, in order to prevent his readers from attempting to learn Yiddish before having learned to read Hebrew well. To attempt the reverse would result only in confusion. Elsewhere, he clearly enunciates a simple principle that had nonetheless eluded many of his predecessors: Yiddish has no double consonants: *Gevatter* גיוואַטער ‘godfather’; he suggests that *dagesh* is simply understood. He also explains the correspondence between the Jewish and Christian reckoning of the year and the mode of conversion of one to the other rather clearly. Otherwise there is little of value for students of Yiddish beyond what they could find elsewhere.

Heinrich A. Ammersbach was born in Halberstadt in 1632, studied in Jena, and after his education returned to live and work as preacher in Halberstadt, where he remained until his death in 1691.<sup>107</sup> He was an “excentrischer Eiferer” (‘excentric zealot’)

and published the polemic *Neuer Abgott, alter Teufel, oder fliegender Brief, nach welchem heutiges Tages wie vor Zeiten bey dem jüdischen Volke all Diebe und Meineidige losgesprochen worden, darauf die rohe Weltkind ganz frei und ohne Scheu in Sünden beharren* ('New Idol, Old Devil, or Flyer, according to which Nowadays, just as Formerly, All Thieves and Perjurers among the Jewish People Are Absolved, whereupon the Crude Worldling Freely and Shamelessly Persists in Sin,' Halberstadt 1663) and other fiery tracts. He stood under the patronage of the Elector of Brandenburg. In his brief and derivative tract—"Anweisung / Wie man die Rabbinischen Teutischen Bücher und Brieffe, wie auch die *Contracte*, Hand-Schriften und Wechsel-Zettul der heutigen Jüden, ohne Puncten recht lesen und verstehen soll" from his *Neues ABC Buch* ("Instructions on How to Read Correctly and Understand Unpointed Rabbinical German Books and Letters, as well as Contracts, Manuscripts, and Bills of Exchange of Contemporary Jews," from *New ABC Book*, Magdeburg 1689)—he refers to the works on Yiddish by Buxtorf, Sennert, and Pfeiffer, and observes that since those books are only for scholars, he has made his own epitome.<sup>108</sup> He offers not a single observation on the language that was not taken from his predecessors and is otherwise not worthy of note.

With the possible exception of Buxtorf, the most important scholar of Yiddish in the long history of Christian interest in the language was Johann Christoph Wagenseil, who was born 26 November 1633 in Nuremberg, the son of a well-to-do merchant, and died 9 October 1705 in Altdorf.<sup>109</sup> In his infancy, his family moved to Stockholm, where he started his education; thereafter he was in school in Greifswald and Rostock, only to return in 1646 to Nuremberg. At age sixteen he was already at the university in Altdorf, where he studied for six years (1649–55). Then during the years 1654–61 he was employed as Hofmeister in the family of Austrian aristocrats and traveled thereafter as the companion of Graf Ferdinand Ernst von Thud through France, Holland, England, Italy, Spain, and North Africa, making lasting contacts everywhere along the way. He was quite adept at gaining sponsors and friends. Wagenseil made strategic use of these extended periods of travel to make the acquaintance of scholars throughout Europe, which stood him in good stead for the rest of his life. In the course of his extensive travels, he systematically sought out not just Christian but also Jewish scholars and learned from them, which had the end result that he knew and remained in epistolary contact with the major Christian and Jewish scholars throughout the continent. An ancillary result of his seeking out Jewish scholars during his travels was a recognition on his part of just how widespread was the use of Yiddish among Ashkenazic communities, which then aroused his intellectual curiosity regarding Yiddish texts and, not surprisingly for a Christian Hebraist, also made him aware of just how effective Yiddish could be as a missionizing tool. In 1665 he received a pension for three years from the French king and studied at the university in Orleans from which he earned a *doctor juris* degree. In 1667 he returned home from his travels and was appointed professor of civil law and history in Altdorf. He became a member of the town council in Nuremberg, demonstrating an involvement in city government that he maintained throughout his life. In 1674 his professorial appointment moved to oriental languages at the same university, and he published the 1300-page edition and Latin translation of and commentary on the Talmudic treatise, *Sota*, and the aggadic anthology drawn from the Talmud, *Eyn Yaakov* (*Sota, id est liber*

*Mischnicus de uxore adulterii suspecta, una cum libro En Jacob, excerptis Gemarae, versione latina et commentario perpetuo*; 'Sota, That Is, the Mishnaic Book on a Woman Suspected of Adultery, together with the Book *Eyn Yaakov*, with Excerpts from the Gemara, a Latin Translation and Continuous Commentary'). In 1676 he became the tutor of two princes for whom he wrote *Von Erziehung eines jungen Prinzen* ('On the Education of a Young Prince,' Leipzig 1705). In 1691, as further witness to his profile as humanist polyhistor, he invented an apparatus to save a victim of drowning and presented a personal report concerning it to Emperor Leopold. In 1693 he declined a professorial appointment in Leipzig, and in 1697 he moved his university appointment in Altdorf to the faculty of law, became professor of canon law, and published his massive collection on Nuremberg history and *Meistersinger: De civitate Noribergensi Commentati* ('Commentary on the City of Nuremberg,' Altdorf 1697), which included the *Buch von der Meistersinger Holdseligen Kunst* ('Book of the Supernally Beautiful Art of the *Meistersingers*'). He was twice dean and twice rector of the university and died at the age of seventy-two, well respected by his townspeople and the scholarly world. Most of his publications focus on Jewish studies, although in general his scholarship in the fields of law and oriental studies were of only ephemeral value, while his only lasting contribution to scholarship was the mass of source material collected for his work on the history of Nuremberg and *Meistersinger*.

Wagenseil was not a theologian but rather a typical polyhistor of the Humanist period: professor of history, law, and philology, in all of which fields he published comprehensive studies. As was the case with most of his scholarly contemporaries, Wagenseil lacked a systematic mentality. One finds in his work mounds of data seemingly compiled without scientific method or discernible focused purpose and utterly lacking any sense of proportion or style. The ruling principle seems always that the more quotations one can accumulate—and the longer they are—the better. For instance, in his *Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreib-Art* ('Manual of the Jewish-German Manner of Speaking and Writing,' Königsberg 1699), a book ostensibly devoted to the subject of Yiddish, he adds many lengthy sections that have nothing to do with the topic; for example, he includes the entire eighty-page Talmudic tractate on leprosy, not because it is relevant to Yiddish, but just to demonstrate the accomplishments of Jewish medicine.<sup>110</sup> Most of his books are in fact such collective volumes with wildly disparate contents that are generally not mentioned on the title pages. Whenever he wishes to add a vaguely pertinent example, no matter how long or tangential to his topic, he merely remarks "illam afferre nihil prohibet" ['nothing prohibits the inclusion of this'] and carries on. In the *Sota*, he simply adds an entire story from the *מעשׂה־בִּרְךְ מַיִסֶּה־בִּרְךְ* *Mayse-bukh* (1602); in another instance, he adds all of Rebecca Tiktiner's *מְנַקֵּה רֵבֶקָה / Meynekes Rivka* 'The Nursemaid of Rebecca' [EYT 93] since "nec nos ad clepsydras cogimur" ['for we are not held to a stop-watch']. However much this kind of intellectual sloppiness may aggravate twenty-first century sensibilities, one cannot help but recognize and appreciate Wagenseil's astonishing mastery of Jewish cultural traditions.

Wagenseil's attitude toward and treatment of Jews is complicated, and consequently scholarly views of Wagenseil in this regard are quite varied. Johann Jakob Schudt, author of the remarkably garrulous and massive *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, for instance, thinks he is far too positive toward the Jews.<sup>111</sup> Friedrich Christian Benedict

Avé-Lallemant, author of the no less garrulous and massive *Das deutsche Gaunertum*, calls his *Denunciatio Christiana* “ein merkwürdiges Zeugnis blinder ascetischer Verirrung” (‘a remarkable attestation of blindly ascetic aberration’).<sup>112</sup> Even among more recent scholars who should know better, there have been apologists for Wagenseil’s blatant anti-Semitism. Borokhov calls Wagenseil a פריינדענקער (‘freethinker’) and a אוהב ישראל (‘philo-Semite’) and attempts to free him from the charge of anti-Semitism by claiming that Wagenseil feared the support by the Prussian king, Friedrich I, of Eisenmenger’s calumnies of the Jews and thus felt compelled at the age of seventy to express himself in print more harshly about Jews than he actually felt, which earned him an undeserved reputation as an anti-Semite.<sup>113</sup> Borokhov acknowledges that Wagenseil makes blatantly anti-Semitic remarks in the preface to the *Belehrung*, but claims that since they are found only at the beginning and end of the preface, their purpose must have been to mislead the censors, who apparently would have not been expected to read the entire preface. He then grounds his evaluation of Wagenseil’s attitude to the Jews on a single passage:

[I]n solcher Dialecto, sind sehr viel Historien-Bücher gedruckt / welche sowol wahre als erdichtete Geschichte enthalten / und haben bevorab die letztern / eine sonderbare Anmuth / allermassen dann die Juden zu allen Zeiten / in Apologis, Gleichnissen / Rätzeln / und Lehrreichen Fabeln / vor andere Nationen Meister gewesen / wie nit nur aus der Gemara, sondern auch heiliger Schriff selbst genugsam zu ersehen. Können also die Sorgen schwere Gedancken und Traurigkeiten / mit nichts besser / als denen Jüdischen Teutschen Bücher / vertrieben werden / und haben sie das gute an sich / daß sie kein böses Geschwätz / so gute Sitten verderbet / sondern mehrenteils / lauter / wie zum Lust dienende / also auch zur Tugend und Erbarkeit anweisende Sachen enthalten / die einem so wol eingehen / daß man deren nit leicht vergessen kan; welches mit anderer Völcker Erzehlungen und Mythologiis nit so beschaffen. (fol. H1)

[There are many books of history published in this dialect that include both true and invented stories, the latter of which especially have a particular grace, for the Jews have in all periods been the masters of other nations with respect to tales, parables, riddles, and didactic fables, as is sufficiently clear not just from the Gemara but also from the Holy Scriptures themselves. Thus one can drive away one’s cares, heavy thoughts, and sadness by no better means than Judeo-German books, and they have the advantage that they contain no evil prattle that corrupts good conduct, but rather things that delight and also instruct in virtue and honesty which one absorbs so well that one cannot easily forget them, which is not the case with the stories and myths of other peoples.]

This is thin evidence indeed, when placed against the remainder of the preface to this work, the work itself, and the remainder of Wagenseil’s career, which argue consistently and compellingly against this distortion of a minor detail. His seventeenth-century, missionizing disciples recognized his deep-seated anti-Semitic principles, as did Avé-Lallemant, and the more recent scholars Lazar Saineanu and Elias Shulman.

Weinreich rejects Borokhov’s interpretation as no less inaccurate than the claims by others that Wagenseil hated Jews: “In Wirklichkeit begegnen wir in Wagenseil einem der wenigen Gelehrten seiner Zeit, die dem Judentum ohne sonderliche Vorurteile gegenüberstanden” [‘In actuality we meet in Wagenseil one of the few scholars of his time who face Judaism without eccentric prejudices’]; and: “[d]aß man

einen Mann mit derartigen Ansichten . . . den blinden Judenhasses bezichtigt hat, ist ein merkwürdiges Mißverständnis" [that a man with such views has been accused of a blind hatred of Jews is a remarkable misunderstanding,' Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 125]. He opts for a less extreme view, but one that ultimately also absolves Wagenseil of the charge of anti-Semitism. Most recently Peter Blastenbrei has attempted to salvage Wagenseil's reputation both as a scholar and as a philo-Semite, while pretending that Wagenseil's poor reputation on both counts is due to scholarly inattention, rather than justified low valuation.<sup>114</sup> Initially Blastenbrei's *apologia* seems simply naive, when, for example, he explicitly claims that the mere interest in Yiddish demonstrated by Wagenseil in his *Belehrung* is in itself philo-Semitic (in *Jiddistik Mitteilungen*, p. 12). He adduces the fact that Wagenseil cites Hebrew, Arabic, French, Yiddish, Spanish, Syriac, and Greek in his works as an indicator of scholarly acumen (p. 8) rather than of a typical seventeenth-century mode of scholarship via the accumulation of masses of data. In his profuse praise of the significance of the *Belehrung* for Yiddish studies of Wagenseil's time and later periods (ibid., p. 12), he overlooks the fact that the majority of Wagenseil's observations concerning Yiddish were simply copied from Buxtorf. The book's primary concrete effect on eighteenth-century society was to incite rabid anti-Semitic missionaries to harry Jewish communities throughout Central Europe. And with respect to this topic, we must finally acknowledge that Blastenbrei's failed project is not a matter of naiveté but rather of calculated ideological propaganda. He, for instance, pretends that Wagenseil's translation of Talmudic tractates had some (unspecified) positive and benevolent purpose (ibid., p. 9), although in fact Wagenseil himself made his purpose quite explicit: it is to make Christians aware of the 'errors' of the Jews so that they can be refuted and converted. While Wagenseil defended the Talmud as a legitimate religious document, consistently and systematically refuted the blood libel, and repudiated anti-Semitic violence, all laudable in themselves, he also consistently believed in, argued for, and exerted influence on his contemporaries to convert the Jews and thus annihilate all forms of Jewish cultural identity. There is rarely anything about Wagenseil's work on Jewish studies that is without precisely this ideological and bigoted motivation. Perhaps the most macabre and chilling aspect of Blastenbrei's thesis is his insistence that one of the motivations for Wagenseil's contemporary Christians to learn Yiddish—so that Christians could examine Jewish prayer books to ensure that they were free of blasphemy—functioned as a "Baustein zur Vertrauensbildung" ('building block in the construction of trust') between the Jewish and Christian communities of the time (p. 13)! He concludes his campaign of disinformation and propaganda by calling the *Belehrung* an expression of Wagenseil's "philologischer Philosemitismus" ('Philological Philo-Semitism,' p. 13).

In 1705 Wagenseil published his *Benachrichtigung wegen einiger die gemeine Jüdischheit betreffenden wichtigen Sachen* ('Notification concerning Several Important Things Pertaining to Judaism') in Leipzig, in which he takes the part of the persecuted Jews and categorically rejects even the possibility of the legitimacy of the primary and recurring Christian accusation against Jews, the blood libel (Chapter 2). He also argues that the most common motive for Christian resentment of the Jews—that they engage in usury—is illegitimate, since it is not due to any innate Jewish evil, but rather to social conditions imposed on Jews: if church and state were not to live in such luxury, taxes would be lower and usury would not be needed. He does not,

however, acknowledge the legal strictures that made usury one of the few means—in many localities, the only means—for Jews to earn a living. And one must realize that Wagenseil's good will had, as customary for the favor of Christian scholars, a catch: as Hans Joachim Schoeps points out,<sup>115</sup> in Wagenseil's *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israels* (Leipzig 1705, p. 108), the argument in favor of granting more rights to Jews was quite specifically for the purpose of conversion, for as long as they are harrassed, conversion is difficult.

Even in the *Denunciatio Christiana oder Christliche Ankündigung an alle hohe Potentaten wegen der Lästerungen / womit die Juden unsern Heyland Jesum Christum sonder auffhören freywillig schmähén* ('Christian Denunciation, or Christian Announcement to All High Potentates concerning the Sacrilege with which the Jews Freely and Continuously Vilify Our Savior, Jesus Christ,' Altdorf 1703), he speaks out against the persecution of Jews, while simultaneously—as the book's title more than suggests—pointing an accusing finger at them:

Die Ertödung / und Verjagungen / sind keine bequeme Mittel / die Jüdischen Verschmähungen unsers Heylandes zu hemmen. Die Juden werden hierdurch (wie es auch sonst mit dem Zwang und Gewalt her zu gehen pfeget) nur desto böshafftiger und ärger . . . Woraus dann zugleich folget, daß man ihnen auch den Gebrauch des Mosaischen Gesetzes ohngekrenckt lassen müsse.<sup>116</sup>

[Killing and persecution are not convenient means of discouraging Jewish vilification of our Savior. By this means the Jews simply become more malicious and evil (as it is otherwise also the case with force and violence) . . . From which it also follows that they are to be permitted their use of the Mosaic Law without restriction.]

He rejects out of hand Johann Joseph Pfefferkorn's suggestion that the way to convert the Jews is by burning all their writings except the Hebrew Bible. Wagenseil further claims (Chapter 6) that the Talmud is a very important work and distinguishes himself from other Christians who condemned the work by observing:

hierinn ist kein Böses noch ungereimtes zu finden / wird auch des Herrn Christi mit keinem Wort darinn gedacht / geschweige daß er solte gelästert werden. Solcher Gestalt ist der Talmud ein herrliches gutes Buch / und gehet nach der H. Schrift fast allen andern Büchern für.

[There is nothing evil or inconsistent in it. Our Lord Christ is also not mentioned there at all, much less that there is blasphemy against him there. In fact the Talmud is a splendidly good book and, after the Holy Scriptures, is to be preferred to almost all other books.]

This observation does not prevent his advancing the contradictory claim that the Gemara contains "freylich viel gotteslästerliche / abergläubische / zaubrische und schädliche Sachen" ('indeed many blasphemous, superstitious, magical, and detrimental things'). Furthermore, and for two clear reasons, Wagenseil rejects the widespread suggestion of the time that Jews be banished from all of Europe. First, he notes the age-old grudging Christian justification for the existence of the Jews: that they serve the purpose of being witnesses to the life and death of Christ (*Die Hoffnung der*

*Erlösung Israels*, Chapter 6). Second, he claims that wholesale banishment is not feasible, since it is

nicht zu ersinnen / wie alle Christliche Obrigkeiten sich die Juden auszutreiben mit einander einhelliglich vereinigen können / dann die schaffen an vielen Orten grossen Nutzen / und würden sich schon Könige / Fürsten / und mächtige Herren finden / die sich ihrer annehmen.

[inconceivable how all Christian authorities could band together unanimously to drive out the Jews, for in many places they are very useful and would find kings, princes and powerful lords who would support them.]

Even so, as already noted and as should have by now become clear, Wagenseil's expressed attitude and practice was complicated. Apologists for Wagenseil have, for instance, often overlooked his life-long, singleminded devotion to the mission of converting the Jews.<sup>117</sup> He condemned the Church for not pursuing the conversion of the Jews more vigorously.<sup>118</sup> In the course of his professorship in Altdorf, he published a series of writings on Judaism with a clear missionary intent. Like Schade before him, Wagenseil railed against the *תולדות ישו* *Toldot yeshu* 'Life of Yeshu' (a Jewish-composed and adamantly uncomplimentary pseudo-biography of Jesus) as blasphemy, but Wagenseil went even further and compiled a massive tome that anthologizes Jewish blasphemies: *Tela ignea satanae, hoc est arcani, et horribiles Judaeorum aduersus Christum Deum et christianam religionem libri* ('The Fiery Spear of Satan, That Is, the Secret and Horrifying Books of the Jews against Christ, God and the Christian Religion,' Altdorf 1681), which comprised a collection of anti-Christian works written by Jews (with Latin translations) intended by Wagenseil to be used by Christians in their debates with Jews. Wagenseil claims in the lengthy preface that the collection, which is dedicated to Christ himself, is intended to remind Christians of their duty to convert the Jews. Since few Christians had historically converted to Judaism, Wagenseil notes, the content of such treatises presented no danger to the Christian community, but would rather function as an incentive to missionary action against Jews. This hardly constitutes evidence for Borokhov's thesis that Wagenseil engaged in just enough anti-Semitism to placate the Prussian king. Not surprisingly the actual function of the text was as a source for anti-Semitic propaganda. It is hard to imagine that with his broad practical experience of the varieties of cultural life across the face of Europe Wagenseil could have been unaware that such a book would have had any other purpose and fate. Later, in his *Denunciatio christiana*, Wagenseil appealed to Christian rulers to prevent Jewish blasphemy and to convert Jews, although still opposing forced conversion. As already noted, in his *Benachrichtigungen wegen einiger die gemeine Jüdischheit betreffenden Sachen* (Leipzig 1705) this conflicted position again becomes clear, for the book includes both a missionary tractate and a refutation of the blood libel. Wagenseil also insists that some means be found "damit die Juden von ihren Gottslästerungen und dermaleins abstehen / und ihr böses Maul halten mögen" ('so that the Jews might desist from their blasphemy and the like and shut their evil mouths'). So he proposes that all Jewish men over the age of thirteen be forced to swear an oath not to blaspheme against Jesus, Mary, the Christian sacraments, and ceremonies. Explicitly in order that the allegedly "sneaky" Jews not devise a means



to distort the oath such that it be invalid, Wagenseil himself composed and printed the oath to be used. At the same time, however, he insisted that no violence be used against Jews in order to convert them. Thus, although he dedicated himself to the conversion of the Jews, devised methods of ensuring that they not offend in word or deed against Christian-defined principles of blasphemy, and published a variety of kinds of texts both blatantly anti-Semitic and providing ammunition for even more violently anti-Semitic projects, he also argued against some few other anti-Semitic practices and consistently argued against anti-Jewish violence. It is hard to imagine either a more conflicted position or why Max Weinreich, who otherwise never shied away from identifying and condemning anti-Semitism wherever it was found in the world, including among Christian Hebraists and Yiddishists, defends Wagenseil so vociferously (*Geschichte*, pp. 124–35). While one might well acknowledge that Wagenseil was ‘ahead of his time’ in making a few concessions to a somewhat less violently anti-Semitic view of Jewish life in Europe than was the norm among his contemporaries, his very conception of his own life and professional work was—from any objective point of view—fundamentally and uncompromisingly anti-Semitic, since the purpose of his study of and teaching about Judaism is always for the sake of the conversion of all Jews everywhere to Christianity and thus the systematic eradication of the religion and culture of Judaism worldwide. His only concession is in suggesting a reduction of the physical pain of that conversion, while simultaneously working tirelessly as an agitator, supplying propagandistic ammunition to anti-Semites and promoting the constant policing of the behavior of both individual Jews and entire communities until such time as they do convert. It is necessary to see Wagenseil’s occupation with Jews and Jewish studies always as it functions in such larger cultural contexts.

Wagenseil’s primary interest in Yiddish was as a means of better understanding Judaism in all its forms, ultimately in order more effectively to convert the Jews.<sup>119</sup> He was involved with Yiddish in one way or another for much of his life, while enthusiastically collecting, studying, and printing Yiddish books. In the *Sota*, written at the age of forty-one, he demonstrates his intimate knowledge of the language by means of some ninety Yiddish quotations, gleaned from the works of Rebecca Titktiner, the *צאײַנה וואַײַנה* / *Tsene-Rene*, the Yiddish biblical paraphrase by Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi of Janov (Hanau 1622; EYT 98), the *יודישער טײַיאק* / *Yidisher teryak* (‘Jewish Antidote,’ Hanau 1615), the *ספר לב טוב* / *Seyfer Lev Tov* (‘Book of the Good Heart’) by Isaac b. Eliakim of Posen (Prague 1620; EYT 97), and books of customs (*minhogim*), and suggests consulting the *ספר ברנט שפיגל* / *Seyfer Brant-shpigl* (‘The Burning Mirror’) by Moses Henochs [Yerushalmi] Altschuler (Cracow 1596; EYT 76). His opinion about Yiddish was there already clearly formulated: “Capimur . . . mire illa dictionis implicitate, qua Judæi utuntur, cum in vernacula nostra scribunt: est enim jucunda pariter et arguta” [‘We are struck by the astonishing confusion of the language which the Jews use when they write in our vernacular, for it is both agreeable and expressive/garrulous’]. In 1681 in *Tela Ignea Satanae* he adduces some Yiddish quotations and transcriptions of a few rabbinical sermons. In most of his other works there is at least an occasional comment about Yiddish.

But with Wagenseil one need not comb through his works and glean the occasional comment, as was necessary with some earlier Humanists such as Münster, for

Wagenseil published a 400-page octavo volume almost exclusively dedicated to Yiddish: *Johann Christof Wagenseils Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreib-art. Durch welche / Alle so des wahren Teutschen Lesens kundig / für sich selbstn / innerhalb wenig Stunden / zu sothaner Wissenschaft gelangen können. In einem weitläufigen Fürtrag wird klärllich erwiesen / daß solche Erfahrungheit / denen hohen und niedern Obrigkeiten / wie auch deren Rathgeben / und andern Rechtsgelehrten / denen Theologis, Medicis, Handels-Leuten / und insgemein Jedermann / nutzlich / auch fast nothwendig sey* ('Johann Christof Wagenseil's Manual of the Jewish-German Manner of Speaking and Writing, by means of which All Those Who Are Literate in True German Can Independently in the Course of a Few Hours Attain to Such a Knowledge; it Is Clearly Demonstrated in an Ample Preface that Such an Ability Is Useful, indeed Practically to Be Required, of Both Higher and Lower Authorities, as well as Advisors and Other Legal Scholars, Theologians, Doctors, Merchants and Generally Everyone Else,' Königsberg: Paul Friedrich Rohde, 1699; further editions in 1715 and 1737 in Frankfurt am Main). It was published in Königsberg in order to avoid censorship, although it was physically printed in Altdorf and Sulzbach.<sup>120</sup>

Wagenseil's brief treatment, "Bericht wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen" ('Report on How to Read Jewish-German'), included in the *Belehrung*, reveals as much about his own motivations and prejudices with respect to Yiddish as it does about the language itself. In addition to his comments on the language, the book also provides an extensive Hebrew alphabet anthology of early Yiddish literature, from both the manuscript tradition and the early printing industry, comprising a collection of various types of texts assembled without a great deal of attention to order or even to the titles of the works. Even so, the anthology has still not lost its value, particularly when compared with the scholarly atrocities of Germanizing transcriptions perpetrated over the course of the ensuing centuries, that masquerade as text collections. He includes the Yiddish translation of the Hebrew 'אדיר הוא' / 'אדיר גוט' / 'אלמעכטיגר גוט' ('Mighty Is He,' EYT 25); the passover songs, 'אחד מי יודע' / 'איינש דאז ווייז איך' ('One I Know'), 'חד גדיא' / 'איינ ציקליין' ('Song of the Kid,' EYT 26) the 'מגילת ווינן' [דברי השירה הזאת] ('The Song of Vints Hans') by Elhanan b. Abraham Hellen (Amsterdam 1648; EYT 100), the Arthurian romance, 'איינ שיין מעשה פון קיניג ארטיש הוף' ('A Fine Tale of King Arthur's Court') by Joseph b. Alexander Witzhausen (Amsterdam 1671; EYT 111); excerpts from both 'ספר לב טוב' ('Book of the Good Heart') by Isaac b. Eliakim of Posen (Prague 1620; EYT 97) and the 'איינ שוין מעשה-בוך' ('A Fine Book of Tales [*Mayse-bukh*],' Basel 1602; EYT 89), and a Yiddish version of the musar book, 'הלכות דרך ארץ רבה' / *Halakhot derekh eres rabbah*, the Mishnaic 'מסכת נגעים' / *Masekhet nega'im* and extracts from the Mishnaic 'יבמות' / *Yebamot*.

While it seems very likely that Wagenseil's knowledge of Yiddish was extensive, the grammatical notes on the language in his *Belehrung* (1699) demonstrate little in the way of independent observations. Instead, both his few comments there, as well as those of his eighteenth-century students and imitators, are copied directly from Buxtorf.<sup>121</sup> Even while we might marvel at the extent of his knowledge of Yiddish and its literary range at the end of the seventeenth century, the twenty-first century reader must bear in mind that Wagenseil's ultimate purpose is never disguised. In his lengthy preface, he narrates the settlement of Jews in German territories and provides

information about Jewish languages in general and the use of Yiddish in particular:

Denen hohen und Niederen Obrigkeiten / Richtern / wie auch denen Consiliariis, und Rathgebern / wohin auch die Gerichts-Assessores, Advocaten und Syndici zu ziehen / wird die Erfahrungheit des Jüdisch-Teutschen Dialecti wol zu statten kommen / wann Jüdische Testament / Miet-Kauff und Verkauff-Brief / Revers, Obligationen / und andere Instrumenta oder Scripturen den gemeinen Gebrauch nach in Teutscher Sprach mit Hebräischen Buchstaben geschrieben / für sie gebracht werden / um selbsten deren Innhalt und Verstand zu ersehen / und ihre Urtheil / Bescheide / Bedencken / Klag- und Gegenklag zu verabfassen.

[Experience with the Jewish-German dialect will stand in good stead both higher and lower authorities, as also counselors and advisors, among whom court assessors, attorneys and magistrates are also to be reckoned, when Jewish wills, rental and sales contracts, indemnities, debenture bonds and other financial instruments and documents, written according to common practice in the German language with Hebrew letters, are brought before them, so that they can themselves have insight into the contents and meaning and thus make their judgments, decisions, objections, suits and countersuits.]

He observes that both Christians and German Jews have much to learn from Yiddish texts: Christians could gain much useful theological information, not just for their own benefit, but also to be used against the Jews in missionary work. In addition, Christian doctors could learn from Yiddish medical texts, and merchants could learn much that would be to their advantage in their business dealings with Jews. The German Jews could also take the language use in Yiddish books as a negative example of *German* language use, against which to measure their own use of German, resulting in the improvement of their own German language skills. By a bizarre leap of logic, Wagenseil then concludes that the Jews will then learn German and, thus being able to read Christian texts, convert.

Whatever Wagenseil's knowledge of the spoken language, his remarks on Yiddish in the *Belehrung* focus on Yiddish texts, the language of which he conceives as a German dialect to which both Germans Jews and Christians can have easy access. Thus only five of his twenty-three points have to do with pronunciation and vocabulary, while the majority of the remainder have to do strictly with orthography, that is, as was the case with most German Humanists who commented on Yiddish—how to write German with the Hebrew alphabet. As already noted, his presentation of Yiddish orthography is almost entirely plagiarized from Buxtorf and thus only a few comments need be added here. In some senses Wagenseil's presentation in fact constitutes a regression. He does distinguish the three commonly used printing fonts: square script, Sephardic semicursive (so-called Rashi script), and *mashet*, and provides illustrations of each. There are otherwise enough errors, imprecision and sloppiness in his presentation that one might doubt his knowledge of Yiddish, were there not ample evidence elsewhere that he knew the language well.

In his alphabetical table he claims that both  $\aleph$  and  $\varepsilon = /a/$ ; later in the comments on vowels he distinguishes  $\aleph = /a/$  from  $\varepsilon = /e/$  and adds that  $\aleph$  can also represent  $/o/$ . But when he comes to explaining the function of silent initial  $\aleph$ , he does not demonstrate that he has quite grasped the principle: he claims that word-initial  $\aleph$  before 1

represents either /o/ or /u/. Furthermore, in the alphabetical table, he identifies ך and ך only as consonants; later in his comments on vowels he notes that ך = /o/ and /u/, ך = /i/. Although he is correct in drawing a distinction in both phonetic value and graphemic representation between the vowels of the initial syllables in מענשן and גינומן, the phonetic distinction is obviously not one of the difference between ‘long’ and ‘short’ /e/, as he maintains. His presentation of diphthongs is accurate as far it goes. He does fail to mention that the unrounding of vowels has taken place, while Buxtorf (chapter III, 1, rule 3) at least notes the *fehlerhaft* (‘erroneous’) nature of Yiddish ך (e) for ך (ö), ך (i) for ך (ü), ך (ei) for ך (eu), which clearly document precisely that unrounding of vowels that is characteristic of modern Yiddish. Wagenseil blithely recommends the older orthography, even though unrounding is already all but exceptionless in the texts he actually cites. His comments on the sibilants regresses to a pre-Buxtorfian state: ך = /s/, ך = /s/, ך = /s/, and /sch/. Although he omits ך, ך, ך from his alphabetical table, he does add a comment on them and their phonetic values later. He perceptively notes the Jewish pronunciation of ך as [s] under certain conditions.

In general Wagenseil’s ability to abstract grammatical principles is also inferior to Buxtorf’s: for instance, in his formulation of the correspondence of ך-ך / *er-* verbal prefixes, where his explanation seems altogether incompetent: “Wann ein langes Wort mit einem E anfähet/ setzen die Juden gemeinlich ein ך /d/ voran” [‘When a long word begins with /e/, the Jews commonly place a ך in front of it’]. He does nonetheless add a welcome comment here: “Jedoch wird in denen neuern Büchern / öftters dieses ך ausgelassen / und das E mit einem ך bemercket. Als: ארמיאן ermeien. ארפריאן erfreuen” [In the newer books, however, this ך is often omitted and *e* is represented by ך, as in ארמיאן ‘disport,’ ארפריאן ‘delight’]. He also notes the phenomenon already reported by Buxtorf—and so often ignored by Germanizing Yiddishists of his and other periods—that Yiddish writers in *more recent books* accommodate their orthography to German; the implication being that their spoken language differed more appreciably from German than did their orthography. In Wagenseil’s list of hybrid German-Hebrew compounds, he adduces a number of Buxtorf’s examples and also includes: “Auf gleiche Weise / nennen sie ein kleines Kind / Moses benahmt / *Moschele* / und weilen dieser Nahm unter denen Juden sehr gemein / glauben die unberichteten Christen / welche dafür *Mauschel* aussprechen / ein jeder Jud heisse *Mauschel* / oder / daß *Mauschel* / und ein Jud ein Ding sey” [‘In the same way, they call a small child named Moses *Moschele*, and since this name is very common among the Jews, uninformed Christians, who pronounce this as *Mauschel*, believe that every Jew is named *Mauschel* or that *Mauschel* and *Jew* are the same thing’]. As Weinreich notes (*Geschichte*, p. 133), this is one of the earliest examples of the use of the word ‘*Mauschel*.’<sup>122</sup> The example also demonstrates that the transition from [o] to [au] (which was eventually to result in Modern Yiddish [oy]) had already been completed by the end of the seventeenth century.

Wagenseil’s lexical comments likewise consist in large part of material copied directly from Buxtorf. In his list of Yiddish words that correspond to words in German dialects, however, he also adds to that stock: *meidlich* (‘maiden’), *verflözzen* (‘flood’), *ermeien* (‘delight’); also included are the standard words derived from the Romance component: *benschen* [< Latin *benedicere*] (‘bless’), *leien* [< Latin *legere*]

(‘read’), but then also the new addition *breyen* [< French *prier*] (‘invite’). He also includes the common modern Yiddish word *Greis* (‘mistake’).

Wagenseil’s grammatical and lexical observations on Yiddish are thus meager indeed, and his theoretical knowledge is not the equal of either Schade’s or Buxtorf’s. For instance, in both the *Sota* and the preface to the *Belehrung* he notes the use in Yiddish of ‘corrupt’ words (derived from Hebrew or German), without grasping the principle that had already enabled both Schade and Buxtorf to cite similar practices in other languages, including the German borrowings from Latin. The oft-quoted passage from the preface to the *Belehrung*, in which he characterizes Yiddish through its atrocious misspelling, may strike twenty-first century readers as particularly amusing, expressed as it is through the medium of Wagenseil’s late seventeenth century—and thus by definition distinctly non-standard New High German—orthography (with its *bisshero*, *nemlichen*, *Fest-Täge*, *gemeiniglich*, etc.), which demonstrates just how precarious such pronouncements can be. A brief passage will suffice to illustrate the issue:

Mit keiner Sprach sind die Juden jemals / so / wie man zu reden pflegt / lästerlich / als mit unserer Teutschen umbgangen / dann sie haben solcher einen gantz frembden Thon und Laut gegeben / die guten teutschen Wörter gestümmelt / geradbrecht / verkehret / neue uns unbekante erdacht / wie auch unzählich viel Hebreische Wörter und Red-Arten in das Teutsche gemischet / daß solcher gestalt / wer sie Teutsch reden höret / nit anderst glaubt als sie reden pur lauter Hebreisch / indem fast kein einiges Wort verständlich fürkommet.

[The Jews have treated no other language so, as it were, blasphemously, as they have our German, for they have given it an alien accent and sound, mutilated, distorted and twisted good German words, invented new ones unknown to us, and also mixed untold numbers of Hebrew words and phrases into German, such that whoever hears them speak German can only believe that they are speaking nothing but pure Hebrew, since hardly a single comprehensible word occurs.]

Despite his misrecognition of the demonstrable distinctions between the German and Yiddish *languages* of the period (some of which appear inadvertently even in his own work), Wagenseil nonetheless recognized that Yiddish *literature* differed in numerous ways from contemporary German literature: Yiddish makes use of metrical schemas and poetic forms not known in German, for instance. He even makes a point of praising the context and style of Yiddish literature, as noted above.

Unlike his quickly fading reputation in Jewish studies in general, Wagenseil’s influence on Christian scholars’ treatment specifically of Yiddish was profound during his lifetime and continued long after his death. As was the case with his only other influential work—on Nuremberg history—the lasting value of the *Belehrung* consisted more in the overwhelming quantity of its textual material than in the quality of its analysis. Three editions of the large, expensive book were printed relatively quickly, so it is clear that it was widely read. As Weinreich notes, if Wagenseil had any long-term influence on Christian Hebraic studies, it was less as a scholar than as a model and guide for new missionary activity (*Geschichte*, p. 135), a role that he certainly would have embraced. For while Wagenseil himself wrote no missionary tracts

in Yiddish, his—to us rather obvious—recognition and explicit acknowledgment that Latin and Hebrew were not useful for missionary work among the common Jewish populace, and his consistent missionary purpose in all of his works paved the way for the eighteenth-century use of Yiddish by his disciples and epigones; he was revered by them as their mentor and model.

It is in fact in the work of Wagenseil that we witness the passage of the oblique scholarly and specifically Humanist interest in Yiddish—which had always been only a by-product of the theologically motivated study of Hebrew—into the realm of unabashedly missionizing work. While his disciples were perhaps no more devoted to converting the Jews than Wagenseil had been, they simply had fewer scholarly interests so that their missionizing zeal dominates their profiles. None of them added anything to the stock of knowledge concerning Yiddish, but rather they simply, and rather inattentively, copied what Wagenseil had copied from Buxtorf, so that in the process they added a great number of errors to his description of Yiddish. Among them were Christian Moller, who published a Yiddish translation of the New Testament (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1700); Caspar Calvör, who published the “Anleitung, wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen” (‘Introduction to Reading Judeo-German’), in his *Gloria Christi* (‘The Glory of Christ,’ Leipzig 1710); and Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdischen Merckwürdigkeiten* (‘Jewish Oddities,’ 4 vols., Frankfurt am Main 1714–17). There follows the overt missionizing of the Institutum judaicum in Halle and the work of Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694–1760) and Wilhelm Christian Justus Chrysander (1718–88), who, while devoted to the purpose of missionizing, also finally managed to progress beyond Buxtorf in their understanding and description of Yiddish and provide modern scholarship with profoundly important linguistic data.<sup>123</sup>

Interestingly, a half-century after Wagenseil’s *Belehrung* and after much missionary activity in Yiddish, there appeared in Franz Haselbauer, who wrote in Latin for a Christian scholarly audience, one final exponent of the Humanist impulse toward an occupation with Yiddish. Haselbauer was born in Frauenburg in Bohemia (7 September 1677) and died in Prague (23 September 1756).<sup>124</sup> He entered the order of the Jesuits on 20 October 1696 and taught at the Prague *Hochschule* for thirty years, twenty of them as Professor of Hebrew; he also worked as censor and proofreader of Hebrew books. Most of his life was spent in the Clementinum in Prague. He published a number of books: (1) *Gründlicher Bericht von dem Christenthume* (‘Thorough Report on Christianity’), 2 parts (Prague 1719–22), for Jewish children, in Yiddish; (2) *Der hohe Adel im geistlichen Ordenstand* (‘The High Aristocracy in Holy Orders,’ Prague 1727); (3) *Kurzer Inhalt des christlichen Gesetzes in 100 Unterweisungen* (‘Brief Contents of Christian Doctrine in 100 Lessons,’ Prague 1730), also for Jewish children, in Yiddish; (4) *Christliche Kirchengebeter [sic]* (‘Christian Prayer,’ Prague 1731); (5) *Fundamenta grammatica duarum praecipuarum linguarum orientalium, sc. hebraicae et chaldaicae cum appendice de idiotismo germanico Judaeorum* (‘Basic Grammar of the Two Most Particular Oriental Languages, That Is, Hebrew and Aramaic, with an Appendix on the Germanic Idiom of the Jews,’ Prague 1742; rpt. 1753); (6) *Lexicon Hebraico-Chaldaicum una cum capitibus dictionum seu abbreviaturis in libris et scriptis Judaeorum passim occurrentibus* (‘Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon, together with Chapters on Words and Abbreviations That Occur Ubiquitously

in Books and Handwriting of the Jews,' Prague 1743); the lexicon was dedicated to the Empress Maria Theresia; (7) *Die vier Evangelien des neuen Testaments, vor Zeiten hebraeisch und lateinisch von Joh. Bapt. Jona in Rom anno 1668 ausgegeben, auf's neue in beyden und zugegebener deutschen Sprache* ('The Four Gospels of the New Testament, Formerly Published in Hebrew and Latin by Joh. Bapt. Jona in 1668 in Rome, Now Newly Published in Both Languages with the Addition of German,' Prague 1746). The *Fundamenta grammatica* and *Lexicon Hebraico-Chaldaicum* are his most important works. His *Fundamenta grammatica* combines the impulses of the early Humanist interest in Hebrew and Aramaic with the more blatantly anti-Semitic eighteenth-century 'exposés' of Yiddish as one of the 'secrets of the Jews.'<sup>125</sup>

While Haselbauer says nothing in his cryptic and imprecise remarks that is not copied directly from his predecessors, the brevity of his treatment is such that—if one ignores the negative and condescending *attitude*—its *content* might seem to modern eyes almost a polemical argument for the existence of Yiddish as a language in its own right, distinct from German: its vocabulary includes both (1) a significant number of Hebrew loan words of two types: borrowed as whole words, or borrowed and then morphologically integrated into the Germanic target language, and (2) Germanic words that are not used in German; (3) the language is pronounced so differently from German that it cannot be understood by German speakers; (4) the Semitic-component words are also pronounced in a manner distinct from the pronunciation of Hebrew by Christian Hebraists. But in fact all such observations serve not to identify Yiddish as a distinct language in its own right, but rather to condemn the 'barbaric' nature of the aberrant form of German. In Haselbauer's Latin treatment of Yiddish there is nothing more than the hollow shell of a Humanist interest in Yiddish.

It was to be more than a century before anything like *scholarly* attention was once again focused on Yiddish. In the meantime, however, it was not just the attention by missionaries that was trained on the language. Other books published by Christians addressed a variety of audiences quite different from those of the Humanists' grammatical treatises. The *Vol-eingerichtete Buchdruckerey* ('The Fully Equipped Publishing House,' Nuremberg 1733), for instance, which was a manual for multilingual typesetters and printers, includes a chapter on Yiddish. Wolf Ehrenfried von Reitzenstein's *Der vollkommene Pferde-kenner* ('The Complete Horse Expert,' Uffenheim 1764 and 1780), a manual for horse traders, includes the vocabulary that was specific to Jewish practitioners of the trade.<sup>126</sup> In specifically anti-Semitic tracts one also finds scattered information concerning Yiddish as a key to unveiling the imagined 'secrets of the Jews.' Among the many examples of this kind of text, let us mention only the *Jüdischer Sprachmeister* ('Jewish Language Master,' 1714) by J.W., a manual that takes the form of a dialogue between *Joune* (Jonah) and his master *Rebbe Jtzick* (Isaac); Christoph Gustav Christian's *Jüdischer Dolmetscher* ('Jewish Translator,' 1735); Philog Lottus [J.P. Lütke], *Kurtze und gründliche Anweisung zur Teutsch-Jüdischen Sprache* ('Brief and Thorough Instruction in the German-Jewish Language,' Freiburg 1733); and Bibliophilus, *Jüdischer Sprach-meister oder Hebräisch-Teutsches Wörterbuch* ('Jewish Language Master or Hebrew-German Dictionary,' Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig 1742).<sup>127</sup> Finally, there was a 'criminological' subgenre among publications dealing with Yiddish during the period: some imagined that Yiddish derived from the

argot of the criminal underworld in German cities, called *Rotwelsch*, and thus once again, Yiddish as ‘secret language of the Jews’ appears as a leitmotif.<sup>128</sup> Already Martin Luther, in his (*Von der falschen Betler buebery* ‘On the Roguery of False Beggars,’ Wittenberg 1528), associated the language of the slums with Jewish language usage, a contention that derived from the *Liber vagatorum* (‘Book of Ramblers,’ Pforzheim 1510). This latter book includes a vocabulary in which a number of Yiddish derivatives figure.<sup>129</sup> Most of these books, written in large part by police officers, are, not surprisingly, quite anti-Semitic. The most famous is Friedrich Christian Benedict Avé-Lallement’s four-volume *Das deutsche Gaunertum* (‘German Crooks’), which, despite its skewed focus and mountains of disinformation, actually includes some useful facts concerning Yiddish: Avé-Lallement was the first to suggest that Yiddish originated among Jewish exiles from France in the Rhineland during the ninth–tenth century.<sup>130</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, with the rise of the scholarly study of the history of Judaism by the new ‘school’ of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the focus and purpose of the study of Yiddish again changes, although the Humanist, missionary, and criminological heritage were key components in the rabidly anti-Yiddishist view of Yiddish characteristic of that movement. All these post-Humanist texts and approaches obviously are beyond the bounds of the present volume.

## Editorial Notes

1. In the original documents here edited, spelling, capitalization, and indeed all of the orthographical idiosyncrasies of the originals have been retained (except that modern fonts are used and abbreviations silently expanded), in order to avoid inadvertently editing out important information conveyed even by such seemingly trivial information. The preservation of the original orthography (and morphology) of these documents is simply part of editing them as documents in their own right; the need for modernization and ‘accessibility’ is served by the translation into contemporary English.
2. Roman alphabet transcriptions here printed are those that occur in the original texts.
3. Very occasionally a particularly cryptic passage in the original text is clarified by a comment added in square brackets to the translation.
4. In the English translations of Yiddish and quasi-Yiddish translations of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures that often function as practice reading texts appended to the treatises edited here, the phraseology of the Revised Standard Version has been adapted to account for the idiom of the Yiddish translation; thus otherwise familiar passages may sometimes seem slightly skewed. This will especially be the case when the ‘Yiddish’ text is simply a Humanist’s transcription into the Hebrew alphabet of Martin Luther’s German version of the Bible.
5. The names of the letters and vowel points of the Hebrew alphabet are variously designated and spelled in the Latin and German texts here edited. Those forms are preserved in the *editions* precisely as they appear in the original texts. In the English *translation*, however, the names are spelled as they generally appear in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971) [where, alas, spelling, especially when it pertains to Yiddish, is also inconsistent]. Occasionally this practice masks interesting information, for example, when



Helicz indicates the Yiddish pronunciation of the letters *bes*, *dales*, *chess*, etc. An occasional glance at the original text on the left-hand page will be valuable even for readers otherwise dependent on the translation.

6. The Yiddish texts written by Jews—for example, from the ספר מידות / *Seyfer midous*, and the texts by Michael Adam and the convert Paul Helicz—are included here even though they are not strictly *Humanist* in origin, function, or broadly defined audience, because they did in some sense grow out of and then refertilize the intellectual milieu that Humanism provided.
7. Words used in the original texts as linguistic examples are here provided with simple— and single—English glosses (e.g., מיר ‘we’ and not ‘we, to me’); there is no attempt to provide anything like a comprehensive definition.
8. The cursive form of װ, that is, *v* is used not everywhere that it is found in the original texts, but only where the text makes a point of commenting on that form itself.
9. A variety of fonts is found in the original texts: in Hebrew: square script, Sephardic semi-cursive (so-called Rashi script), *mashet*, and in Roman: standard antiqua, italics, Gothic. While there is no need to fetishize such usage in modern editions, each of the Hebrew fonts does in fact have a specific field of function in the Jewish manuscript and printing traditions, just as the various Roman fonts have specific (although generally less rigidly defined) functions. In the editions of the original texts printed in the present volume, unless otherwise indicated for individual texts, the typography of the editions is as follows:

Hebrew: standard = *mashet*  
bold = square script

Roman: standard = standard  
bold = Gothic font  
italics = italics

10. The graphic presentation of linguistic data in the original texts is reproduced in the editions here as exactly as possible, which means that the fundamental distinctions observed in modern linguistic analysis between, for instance, graphemic and phonemic transcription, is never found. Thus, for instance, Andreas Sennert’s comment:

2. Vau et Jod (ױ et ױ) consonantes v et j etiam notant. Ut ױױ viel.

is rendered in the English translation as:

2. *waw* and *yod* (ױ and ױ) also represent the consonants *v* and *j*, as in: ױױ *viel* ‘much.’

The English translation thus indicates via italics that the two consonants here named are cited as linguistic data. Although it is obviously often the case that the original texts intend an *e* or *au* to be understood on the one hand specifically as an identification of the phonetic value of a graph, or on the other hand as an identification of the specific Roman alphabet graphic representation of a Hebrew alphabet graph, that distinction is not marked in the original text by any unequivocal indicator. The English translation then also preserves that ambiguity. Only rarely is phonetic transcription provided in the translation and then only for the sake of clarification of a specific point; those transcriptions are enclosed in square brackets, according to the standard usage in modern linguistic analysis.

11. The original texts often provide translations of Hebrew and Yiddish words and phrases; the English translation provides a translation of the Latin or German expression of the authors, *not* translations of the Hebrew or Yiddish. The point here is to provide a translation of the Humanist text—whatever its accuracy or lack thereof.

## Notes

## Part 1 Christian Humanism and the Jews

1. On the Christian study of Hebrew before the period of the Renaissance, see Wilhelm Bacher, *Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Trier: Sigmund Mayer, 1892); Matthias Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1973); William Horbury, ed. *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), pp. 207–67. On the direct cultural prelude to the period and figures treated in the present study, see Bernhard Walde, *Christliche Hebräisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, VI/2–3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1916) [editions of the relevant Latin texts with contextualization].
2. Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), p. 14. Friedman also makes the rather imprecise (and not further supported) claim that between 500 and 1500 C.E. no more than “a few dozen Christians” could read any Hebrew at all and only a “quarter of that number” could use Hebrew in any constructive sense.
3. On the study of Hebrew by Christians in the early modern period, the scholarship is vast. An excellent older bibliography on Christian Hebraica during the Renaissance and Reformation is found in Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 13 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 389–463 and vol. 14, pp. 301–32. For initial orientation, see Raphael A. Loewe, “Hebraists, Christian,” *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem/New York, 1971–72), VIII, coll. 9–71, which includes a list of several hundred Christian Hebraists with brief bibliographical references; G.H. Box, “Hebrew Studies in the Reformation Period and After: Their Place and Influence,” in Edwyn R. Bevan and Charles Singer, eds. *The Legacy of Israel* (rpt. 1965; Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), pp. 315–75 (on Erasmus, Rico, Reuchlin, Cabbalah, Levita, the influence of printing by Bomberg and Froben; Zwingli, Calvin, the Buxtorfs, French and English Hebraists, and the transition to modern scholarship); Frank Rosenthal, “The Rise of Christian Hebraism in the Sixteenth Century,” *Historia Judaica* 7 (1945), 167–91; James Parkes, “Early Christian Hebraists,” *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 4 (1959), 51–8 and 6 (1962), 11–28 (a translation and analysis of Joh. Gerhard Meuschen’s *Praefatio lectori benevolo* to his *Novum testamentum ex talmude et antiquitatibus hebraeorum illustratum* [Leipzig 1736], where he lists and gives brief information about scores of Hebraists); Leon Roth, “Hebraists and Non-Hebraists of the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6 (1961), 204–21 (a refreshingly revisionist analysis especially of the knowledge of Hebrew on the part of English scholars, poets, and other writers of the period).
4. Ora Limor and Israel Jacob Yuval, “Skepticism and Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Doubters in *Sefer ha-Nizzahon*,” p. 159 in Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds. *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
5. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, “Introduction,” in *Hebraica Veritas?* p. 5.
6. Cf., for instance, Levita’s rejection of traditional claims that the masoretic tradition was Mosaic or even ancient, based on clear historical and textual evidence unencumbered by issues of religious faith; in his *מסורת המסורה* (Venice 1538); scholarly edition: *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita*, ed. Christian D. Ginsburg (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867).

7. See Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: eine Bibliographie mit 22 Abbildungen* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964); Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996); Stephen G. Burnett, “Five Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists,” pp. 286–308 in *Hebraica Veritas?* Jerome Friedman, “Sebastian Münster, the Jewish Mission, and Protestant Antisemitism,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 70 (1979), 238–59; Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony* (cf. fn 2, above); Matt Goldish, *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishing, 1998); Nicolaus C. Heutger, “Johannes Buxtorf in Basel: Hebraist und Vater der Judenmission,” *Judaica* 24 (1968), 69–81; Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel, Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981); Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); Jason P. Rosenblatt, “John Selden's *De Jure Naturali . . . Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* and Religious Toleration,” pp. 102–25 in *Hebraica Veritas?*
8. See especially Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern: Francke, 1980), revised and expanded edition, translated with a preface by Jerold C. Frakes: *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa* (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1988).
9. The Council of Trent (1545–63) reaffirmed the *Vulgata* as the infallibly correct text of the Bible.
10. Jerome Friedman points out the peculiar notion that circulated among Catholics during the early Reformation period, that Protestantism with its deep interest in Judaism and its languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, was simply a new form of Judaism (*The Most Ancient Testimony*, p. 3).
11. Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 4. In his *Bibliotheca latino-hebraica* (1694), the Cistercian monk, Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati, listed some 1300 Christian authors who had written on Jewish topics.
12. Manuel points out, “writing one was the brevet of a Christian Hebraist” (*The Broken Staff*, p. 59).
13. On the phenomenon of the *trium linguarum peritus*, see Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, pp. 18–26; Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland vom Ende des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau: Schletter, 1870), p. 2.
14. Cf. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, p. 6. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson's claim that in the early modern period “Christians for the first time put the study of Hebrew on an equal footing with the study of Latin and Greek” may slightly displace this very important nuance; in the “Introduction” to *Hebraica Veritas?* p. xi.
15. Manuel, *The Broken Staff*, p. 4.
16. Heiko A. Oberman, “Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination against the Jews: The *Veritas Hebraica* as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation,” pp. 19–34 in Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn, eds. *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss, = Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, 18 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), pp. 19 and 34.
17. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, p. 6.
18. Among his many publications relevant to this topic, see Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Galimard, 1969). Edward Said's work recurrently returns to this topic, even when it is not the primary focus; see especially, his *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978).
19. Burnett, “Ethnographies of Jews,” p. 224.

20. For example, Daniel Bomberg's מִקְרָאוֹת גְּדוּלוֹת / *Mikraot Gedolot* was based on a collation of numerous biblical manuscripts in order to present the best text possible at the time (i.e., not just a printing of any available manuscript), along with a complete Targum and a full array of the most important rabbinical commentaries and glosses (four volumes, Venice 1517–18). In 1523 he published the complete Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds.
21. The claims of this and the preceding paragraph only seem to be contradictory: while over the course of a century the scholarly tools necessary for advanced study of Hebrew and indeed almost the whole of the Jewish textual tradition were developed and published, a tiny minority of Christian scholars made use of them beyond the most elementary level.

## Part 2 Humanism and Yiddish

1. See Arsène Darmesteter, "Les Gloses françaises de Raschi dans la Bible," *Revue des Études Juives* 53 (1907), 161–93; 54 (1907), 1–34 and 205–35; 55 (1908), 72–83; 56 (1908), 70–98; reprinted as *Les Gloses françaises de Raschi dans la Bible* (Paris: A. Durlacher, 1909); Arsène Darmesteter and D.S. Blondheim, *Les Gloses françaises dans les commentaires talmudiques de Raschi*, vol. 1: *Texte des Gloses* (Paris: Champion, 1929); vol. 2: *Études lexicographiques* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937); Erika Timm, "Zur Frage der Echtheit von Raschis jiddischen Glossen," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 107 (1985), 45–81; Jerold C. Frakes, *Early Yiddish Texts, 1100–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), text no. 1 [hereafter reference to EYT and by text number].
2. Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 1–10.
3. See, especially, Anders Ahlquist, "Les Premières Grammaires des vernaculaires européens," in Sylvain Auroux, ed. *Histoire des idées linguistiques*, II: *Le développement de la grammaire occidentale* (Liège: P. Mardaga, 1992), pp. 107–14; Mirko Tavoni, "La linguistica rinascimentale," in Giulio C. Lepschy, ed. *Storia della linguistica*, vol. 2 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 169–312; Louis Kukenheim, *Contributions à l'histoire de la grammaire italienne, espagnole et française à la Renaissance* (Amsterdam: N.v. Noordhollandische uitgevers maatschappij, 1932); G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: Trends in Vernacular Grammar*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985–8); W. Keith Percival, "The Grammatical Tradition and the Rise of the Vernaculars," in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. 13: *Historiography of Linguistics*, 2 vols., ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 231–75; Percival, "Renaissance Linguistics: The Old and New," in *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics in Honor of R.H. Robins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 56–68.
4. Cf. EYT 40. See Jean Baumgarten, "L'Étude de la langue yiddich à la Renaissance," 99–112; François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Duno, 1963; rpt. Milan: Arché, 1985). On the relations between the Reformation and the emergence of the vernacular as a language of culture and a vehicle for the transmission of religious traditions, see Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel, eds. *Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible*, Bible de tous les temps 5 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), and Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe*, II: 244–318.
5. On the Humanist description of other vernaculars, see G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, vol. III, pp. 244–318; Heinrich Weber, "Die Ausbildung der deutschen Grammatik (einschließlich der niederländischen)," *Histoire, épistémologie, language* 9/1 (1987), 111–31; Erika Ising, *Die Anfänge der volkssprachlichen Grammatik in Deutschland und Böhmen. Dargestellt am Einfluß der Schrift des Aelius Donatus 'De octo partibus orationis ars minor'* Teil I: *Quellen* (Berlin: Akademie, 1966).
6. In the earliest period there are few signs that the authors overtly conceived of their treatises as potentially instrumental in missionizing projects.

## Part 3 Humanist Scholarship and the Study of Yiddish

7. On Reuchlin, see Thomas Willi, "Christliche Hebraisten der Renaissance und Reformation," *Judaica* 30 (1974), 78–85, 100–25, here 103–18; Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 23–40; M. Kayserling, "Les Hébraisants Chrétiens du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *REJ* 20 (1890), 261–8; A. Spanier, "Christliche Hebraisten," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Eschkol, 1931), vol. 7, coll. 1083–92, here col. 1085. As Burnett points out, only a few of the Christian Hebraists of the early German Reformation were tutored by Jews. Reuchlin studied with Jacob Loans, the emperor's physician, and with Obadiah Sforno, when he lived in Rome (Burnett, "Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict,'" 184).
8. On Reuchlin's grammar, see Hermann Greive, "Die hebräische Grammatik Johannes Reuchlins, *De rudimentis hebraicis*," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 90 (1978), 395–409, here 397–8. Reuchlin's grammar has been reprinted: Hildesheim/New York: G. Olms, 1974.
9. The affair became an international cause célèbre that, according to the astute analysis by Erika Rummel, was formulated by participants in three successive polemical constructs over the course of time; Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johannes Reuchlin: Social and Religious Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). In the earlier stages of the controversy, many humanists wrote to Reuchlin, expressing their support. He published a selection of those letters in 1514 as *Clarorum virorum epistolae* ('Letters of Eminent Men'). The following year that collection's counterpart, as it were, the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* ('Letters of Obscure Men'), appeared, purportedly a collection of letters addressed to and in support of Ortwin Gratius, one of the Cologne theologians who opposed Reuchlin. The letters and their outlandishly named authors were, however, the fictional inventions of two humanist supporters of Reuchlin's, Crotus Rubeanus and Ulrich von Hutten. The letters are constructed—or better, concocted—as fawning fan mail, written in appallingly bad Latin by uneducated, immoral, willfully stupid boors whose conception of intellectual life consists at best in quibbling. Cf. the edition by Francis Griffin Stokes, *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1925).
10. On Böschenstein, see Chaim M. Rabin, "Johann Boeschenstein," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971), II, 1168–9; Otto Kluge, "Die Hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 3 (1931), 180–2; Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 41–55; *Neue deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955), 407; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 3 (1876), 184–6. In the manuscript, Munich Staatsbibliothek, cod. hebr. 72, which was copied from a printed book (David ibn Yahya, לשון למודים / *Leshon limmudim* 'Academic Language,' Constantinople 1506), there is a note: "Ego Johann Boeschenstein (יוחנן בישנשטיין) scripsi hunc librum ... Anno 1517" ['I Johann Böschenstein wrote the book ... in the year 1517']. At the end of the manuscript it is noted in German (in the Hebrew alphabet) that Boeschenstein copied the text in Donauwörth, followed by: "Johannes Böschenstein priester vonn Esslingen seines alters Im sechsundvierzigstens Jars" ['Johannes Böschenstein, priest of Eßlingen, in his forty-sixth year']; cf. Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Palm, 1895), 47–8.
11. [I, Johannes Böschenstein, bought this Psalter in Tübingen for a quarter *zahav* (gold coin) in the year 1517]. Next to that remark is written in the same hand: "משה אירבאך טובו רבו" [Moses Auerbach and the entire Regensburg community were very kind to me]; see Steinschneider, *Catalogus ... Monacensis*, p. 220, cod. hebr. 400 (ms. fol. 1v); cf. also Max Weinreich, *Geschichte der jiddischen Sprachforschung*,

- ed. Jerold C. Frakes (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), p. 46. The remarks are interesting for their mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish, and for the notation of the year in Hebrew numerals but according to the Christian reckoning.
12. See Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien* (Munich: T. Ackermann, 1884), pp. 27–30; Max Weinreich, *Shtaplen* (Berlin: Wostok, 1923), p. 63; Moshe N. Rosenfeld, *Der jüdische Buchdruck in Augsburg in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (London: Private Printing, 1985), pp. 6 and 21–33.
  13. “Aber ich muss dennoch meinen nachkommen zu gut disen argkwon umbstossen” [‘but I must nonetheless for the sake of my children refute this accusation’]. The texts are cited from Weinreich, *Geschichte der jiddischen Sprachforschung*, 44–5.
  14. “. . . quidam baptizati Judaei, qui privatim sed sine fructu docuerunt sacram linguam; . . . qui levato aere a discipulis nihil docuit” [‘certain baptized Jews, who taught the sacred language as private teachers but fruitlessly; . . . who for a slight fee from his students taught nothing’]; cf. Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 50.
  15. Translated from the passage cited by Weinreich, *Geschichte*, 45, who cites from Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 52, who cites from Schelhorn, *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur* (1763), II, 737.
  16. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, 46. Since it is not surprising that Böschenstein would have employed Christian terminology in communication with Melancthon, Weinreich expresses his incomprehension why Steinschneider (*Catalogus . . . Monacensis*, 220) claims that Perles’s interpretation (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramäischen Studien*, S. 27) is “zu gewagt” [‘too daring’].
  17. Weinreich rejects Perles’s claim (*Beiträge*, p. 27) that there is an indication in Munich cod. hebr. 400 of Böschenstein’s conversion, which he suggests is due to a misunderstanding, since, according to Steinschneider, the note is “von etwas verschiedener Hand” [‘in a slightly different hand’] and in general seem contradictory or at least inconsistent in content (Steinschneider, *ibid.*).
  18. Cited from Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, p. 53n.
  19. In a practical sense, the analyses of individual Humanists’ texts that follow here function as commentaries on those texts, and thus while they draw linguistic data and examples from the texts as necessary, they are intended to be read parallel to the texts themselves. The reader is thus directed to the texts and translations below, for a comprehensive sense of the order and method of each scholar.
  20. A distinction between phonetic and graphemic representation is made in the analysis here, insofar as that distinction can be anachronistically extrapolated from the texts analyzed: Roman letters in square brackets denote phonetic transcription; those in slanted brackets denote graphemic representation. Unless otherwise designated, Hebrew letters are always direct citations from the texts under analysis, where they may function phonetically, graphematically, or both. Where it is not possible reasonably to determine whether a given Roman alphabet letter in the text is phonetic or graphemic, it is rendered here in italics. Roman alphabet words quoted from the texts are italicized; it should be assumed that any Hebrew alphabet words that appear are quoted from the texts.
  21. In German /s/ is unvoiced in final position, for example, *das* and is thus phonetically indistinguishable from *daß*; in early Yiddish the semantic equivalents ן7 / ן7 are undifferentiated and seem both also to have a voiceless final consonant.
  22. Weinreich is thus confused when he suggests that Böschenstein offers no graph to represent [s] in non-Semitic component Yiddish, as an alternative to ן = [s] for Semitic component Yiddish (49).
  23. Here one might imagine that Böschenstein acknowledges the representation of /s/ by ן, but obviously not of [s] by ן, lacking a conceptual distinction between the phoneme and grapheme.

24. The use of double *waw* is an exceptional case, since it conventionally represents a single consonant /v/.
25. Here, then, he does offer some indication of his understanding of the distinction between a grapheme and phoneme. Weinreich suggests that Böschenstein denies the existence of /o/ because he notes that both ם and ן represent /o/ and also other vowels (e.g., [a] and [u], respectively), that he claims that Jews have no /o/, that is, no single graph that represents /o/ exclusively, in their alphabet (*Geschichte*, 49).
26. Weinreich's claim (*Geschichte*, 50) that Böschenstein's rules are equally applicable to modern Yiddish is inaccurate: neither of his observations concerning vowel graphs omitted between juxtaposed consonants is observable in modern Yiddish, where those vowels are consistently represented in the various orthographical systems used; Weinreich may well have in mind the phonetic absence or reduction of the vowels, however.
27. As Weinreich expresses it, "eine feste jiddische orthographische Überlieferung" ['a stable Yiddish orthographical tradition'; *Geschichte*, 51].
28. On Münster's biography, see Kluge, "Die Hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland," 188–93; Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 74–88; Claus Priesner, "Sebastian Münster," in *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1997), XVIII, 539–41; Ludwig Geiger, "Sebastian Münster," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1886; rpt. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), pp. 30–3; Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in bibliotheca bodleiana* (Berlin: Friedlaender, 1852–60), no. 2012–13; Godfrey Edmond Silverman, "Sebastian Münster," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), XII, 505–6; and the brief but comprehensive biographical sketch of Münster in Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: eine Bibliographie mit 22 Abbildungen* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964), 9–15.
29. Both this work and the *Hebrew* translation of the Gospel of Matthew, noted below, were dedicated to Henry VIII of England. Münster's use of texts from the Jewish tradition as sources of equal or superior value to the Septuagint and Vulgate on textual cruces earned him the enmity of some Christians, while others claimed that his use of Jewish sources imbued his translation with *hebraica ueritas*.
30. Frank Rosenthal, "The Rise of Christian Hebraism in the Sixteenth Century," *Historia Judaica* 7 (1945), 190.
31. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 70, referring to E. Schulman, "עמקי שפה", *השולח*, (Berlin 1898), 37–46, 106–12, 221–9.
32. בער באַראַכאַוו, "די ביבליאָטעק", *נומער 2*.
33. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 70–1.
34. In the book's table of contents, this chapter is identified as "De lingua uernacula Hebraica scribenda characteribus" ['On the vernacular language written in Hebrew letters']; the chapter itself carries the titled as noted above.
35. While one might occasionally find an example of ן = /y/ in early Yiddish texts, it is hardly a common usage and certainly not to be imagined as an orthographic principle.
36. Weinreich briefly characterizes previous scholars' suggestions of potential authors of the work (*Geschichte*, p. 83).
37. See Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 81–8; Baumgarten, *Introduction*, pp. 216–21; Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, vol. 3: *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hölder, 1888; rpt. Amsterdam: Philo, 1966), 280–97.
38. As Weinreich points out (p. 84), these examples elide the distinction between the older <ei> and <i> phonemes, which coalesced in German but remained separate in Yiddish (e.g., modern Yiddish צװײ [tsvei] vs. דרײַ [drai]).
39. The graphic nonequivalence of /u/ and /w/ need not concern us here.

40. The 'two dots' of the unmlauted letters /ö/, /ü/, /ä/ derive from the cursive form of the superscripted *Fraktur* (often called 'Deutsch' or 'Gothic') letter /e/.
41. Even in those rare cases where *hatuf* vowels are actually pointing in Hebrew or Semitic component words used in early Yiddish texts, the vowel pointing is most often simplified to /,./.
42. On Levita, see Gerard E. Weil, *Elia Lévíta, humaniste et massorète, 1469–1549* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963); Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 51–67; Kluge, "Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland," pp. 183–6; Ludwig Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, 55–88.
43. *Bahur* 'young man' refers as well to Levita himself, who was often known as אליה בחור Elyahu Bakhur / Elye Bokher.
44. On the first poem, see: קבץ על יד, "השיר על השריפה בוונציה לאליהו בחור", חלק ב [1966], 368–343; [סדרה חדשה], 6 [16], חלק ב [1966], 368–343; on the second, see: "אליהו הלוי'ם", נחום שטיף, "נייע מאטעריאלן צו אליהו הלוי'ם ל'ד' המבדיל", צייטשריפט, 1 (1926), 158–150; "המבדיל-ליד", שריפטן, 1 (קיטעו 1928), 179–148.
45. אליה בחור, פאָעטישע שאַפּונגען אין ייִדיש, אַרױסגעגעבען פֿון יודאָ א. אַפֿע (ניו-יאָרק: יודאָ א. אַפֿע, 1949 facsimile of Isny 1541 ed.).
46. On Fagius, see Moritz Steinschneider, *Christliche Hebraisten. Nachrichten über mehr als 400 Gelehrte, welche über nachbiblisches Hebräisch geschrieben haben* (1896–1901; rpt. Hildesheim: Dr. H.A. Gestenberg, 1973), p. 178; Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in bibliotheca bodleiana*, no. 977, 3080; Ludwig Geiger, "Paulus Fagius," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1877), VI, 533–4; Kluge, "Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland," pp. 186–8; Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, pp. 65–74; *Neue deutsche Biographie* (1959), IV, 744; Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca hebræa*, 4 vols. (Hamburg: Christian Liebrecht, 1715–33), II, 594; Max Grünbaum, *Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kunde der hebräischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1882; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), 555–6; [staff] "Paulus Fagius," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VI, 1136–7; Willi, "Christliche Hebraisten," pp. 118–25; 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* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 111–2; cf. also Baumgarten's brief characterization of the Humanistic and missionary tracts (*Introduction*, pp. 7–13). Friedman attempts to characterize Fagius as 'the Christian Pharisee' (*The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 99–118).
47. In connection with Fagius's activities, Max Weinreich comments: "Wenn man ja aufmerksam hinschaut, so findet man—bis auf einzelne Ausnahmen—bei jedem christlichen Hebraisten bis auf unsere Tage eine Neigung zur Missionstätigkeit unter den Juden" ('When one looks closely, one notices that with few exceptions, Christian Hebraists even up to our own time tend toward missionizing among the Jews'; *Geschichte*, p. 75).
48. Ber Borochov notes that there is a hypothesis that Fagius was a Jewish convert to Christianity and is possibly the same person as Michael Adam who translated *Jossipon* into Yiddish (Constance 1546) and added a page to the translation on how to read Yiddish (3 "ביבליאָטעק"), edited in the present volume.
49. There he also claims that he is publishing a translation of the Bible. Wolf already notes the connection in 1733: "Ita igitur statuo, Michaellem Adamum, Ex-Judæum, potiores interpretis partes in hoc opere sustinuisse, Fagium vero tum recognovisse interpretationem, tum, ut in lucem prodire posset, curasse" ('Thus I affirm that Michael Adam, a convert from Judaism, carried out the great part of the translation of this work, while sometimes I recognize Fagius as translator, sometimes as editor who brought about publication,' *Bibliotheca hebræa* IV, 193).



50. Cf. Fagius's remark: "... adjecta simul, consilio ac impulsu quorundam, Germanice Judæorum interpretatione, quo hinc non tam Germanicam Judæorum legendi rationem, quam Hebraismos Sanctæ linguæ facilius planiusque cognoscerent, atque perciperent" ("... at the same time a Judeo-German translation has been added on the advice and suggestion of certain people, not so much for the sake of a knowledge of how to read Judeo-German, but rather so that they might more easily and clearly become acquainted with and grasp the Hebraisms of the Holy Language"; cited by Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 77).
51. This preface is here cited from Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 78–9.
52. Weinreich's evaluation seems somewhat overly generous: "Was Fagius über die jiddische Schreibweise sagt, zeugt von einem feinen Empfinden für ihr Wesen und ihre Grundlagen und bedeutet einen gewaltigen Fortschritt gegenüber seinen Vorgängern" ("What Fagius says about Yiddish orthography demonstrates a nuanced sense for its character and basic principles and represents a significant advance over his predecessors," *Geschichte*, p. 81).
53. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 86–8; he refers to Güdemann's systematic and comprehensive formulation of these rules in *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, III, 289–91.
54. Despite Weinreich's claim to the contrary (p. 87), Fagius makes no mention of פ as appearing only in words of Semitic origin.
55. Cited by Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 73.
56. The original title is *Elemental / oder lesebüchlein / Doraus meniglich / mit gutem grund underwissen wirt · wie man deutſche büchlein / Miſſiuen oder Sendbriue / Schuldbrüue / ſo mit ebreiſchen / ader Jüdiſchen buchſtaben geſchriben werden · Auch die Zul / Jar / Monad / vnd anders zu gehörig · leſen vnd verſten ſol · Itz neulich an tag gegeben*. See Majer Balaban, "Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Druckereien in Polen," *Soncino Blätter* 3 (1929), 9; חנא שמרוק, 'רשימה ביבליוגראפיה של דפוסי פולין בידיש עד גזירות ת"ח ות"ט', *קרית ספר* 52 (1977), # 7; שטיף, נחום. "פויל העליטשעס 'עלעמענטאל אָדער לעזעביכלען' (הונדספעלד, 1543) (צו דער געשיכטע פון יידיש-שטודיום אין 16 יאָרהונדערט", *פילאָלאָגישע שריפטן* [ייִוואָ, ווילנע] 3 (1929), 515–524; אברהם מאיר הברמן, *פרקים בתולדות המדפסים העבריים*, ועניני ספרים (ירושלים: מאס, 1978), 142; אברהם מאיר הברמן, "המדפסים בני חיים הל"ך" *קרית ספר*, 33 (1958–1957), 509–520; Moshe N. Rosenfeld, "The Origins of Yiddish Printing," in Dovid Katz, ed. *Origins of the Yiddish Language* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), pp. 111 and 122. A facsimile edition was published in 1929 by the Verein jüdisches Museum in Breslau (ed. Max Silberberg), from the copy found in the municipal library of that city.
57. Charles Wengrov, "Halicz," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), VII 1189–91.
58. The decorative borders of their opening pages had certainly been brought from Prague.
59. Charles Wengrov mistakenly claims that the *Elemental* is an instruction book in Hebrew for Gentiles!
60. Neither Borokhov nor Weinreich seems to have known Helicz's work.
61. Cf.: "מיכאַעל אַדאַמס דרין יידישע ביכער", *שריפטן פֿון ייִדישן וויסנשאַפֿטלעכן אינסטיטוט* [פֿילאָלאָגישע סעריע], 2 (ווילנע: קלעצקין, 1928), שפ. 135–168; מאַקס וויינרײַך, "צו ג. שטיף, מיכאַעל אַדאַמס דרין יידישע ביכער", *שריפטן פֿון ייִדישן וויסנשאַפֿטלעכן אינסטיטוט* [פֿילאָלאָגישע סעריע], 2 (ווילנע: קלעצקין, 1928), שפ. 511–515.
62. Adam was probably also the translator of the Pentateuch, Haftarat, and Megillot that appeared in Constance 1544, as well as the Yiddish translation of Jonah b. Abraham Gerondi's thirteenth-century Hebrew *ספר היראה* / *Sefer ha-yira* (Fano 1505); the Yiddish translation was published in Zurich in 1546.
63. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, 96–103; Katz, "On Yiddish, in Yiddish, for Yiddish," p. 26 calls him an "archmissionary."
64. Weinreich aptly notes that such kinds of transcriptions are generally useless for linguistic purposes. Weinreich unfortunately had no access to the original text of Schade's work and

- thus was forced to make use of Horning's error-ridden and modernized edition: W. Horning, ed. *Judenmissionstractate des M. Elias Schädäus*, Schriften des Institutum Judaicum in Leipzig, Nr. 33/34 (Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung W. Faber, 1892), pp. 58–65.
65. The key issue in this last example is that while the words themselves derive ultimately from German, they do not correspond to cotemporal German usage; thus it constitutes *Germanic component* but not German usage. A recent Germanistic perspective on the German versus Yiddish usage is found in Erika Timm, *Historische jiddische Semantik: Die Bibelübersetzungssprache als Faktor der Auseinanderentwicklung des jiddischen und des deutschen Wortschatzes* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2005), 116–20.
  66. Schade's final statement in the text again undermines much of our confidence in his knowledge of and experience with Jewish texts: he apparently imagines that the biblical book of Job has a significant Arabic vocabulary.
  67. He does not note that it functions thus only in the plural.
  68. In this last case, it is interesting that Weinreich (*Geschichte*, p. 101) finds it relevant to note the existence of *das dasige* in Middle High German, which seems a skewed view of the significance of the feature here: that it was used in German in the Middle Ages is only of importance for a diachronic analysis of German (and perhaps also of Yiddish), while for the synchronic distinction of sixteenth-century Yiddish and German it would only be significant to determine whether the word was in use in cotemporal German or had become an exclusively Yiddish feature.
  69. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 101; 66, "ביבליאָטעק", באַראָכאַוו.
  70. Although his rule concerning ״ as consonant is nonsensical, as his contrived examples indicate: "יאר״ jar יאָקוב Jacob . . . יעשׁוּס Jesus."
  71. J. Franck, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 21 (1885; Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), 170–1; Hermann Süß, "Eine unbekannte jiddische Sprachlehre von Johannes Meelführer, Ansbach 1607," *Nachrichten für den jüdischen Bürger Fürths* [Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Fürth] (September 1882/Elul 5742), 35–8.
  72. Hermann Süß suggests that Meelführer may well have simply copied his information concerning Yiddish from Schade (Süß, "Eine unbekannte jiddische Sprachlehre," p. 37).
  73. "Johann Buxtorf," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1876; Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), III, 668–73 and 673–6; Zvi Avner, "Johannes Buxtorf," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), IV, 1543; Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 105–14; Rooden, *Theology*, pp. 116–18; Nicolaus C. Heutger, "Johannes Buxtorf in Basel: Hebraist und Vater der Judenmission," *Judaica* 24 (1968), 69–81; M. Kayserling, "Les Hébraisants Chrétiens du XVIIe siècle," *Revue des Études Juives* 20 (1890), 261–8. The family name seems originally to have been Bockstrop or Boxtrop.
  74. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, p. 3. R. Jacob Roman was allegedly so impressed by Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca rabbinica* that he considered translating it into Hebrew for the use of Jews; cf. Joseph Priejs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drücke 1492–1866* (Olten: Urs Graf, 1952), 371.
  75. The general Protestant rejection of postbiblical traditions, that is, especially the patristic tradition, predisposed them to rejecting the postbiblical Jewish canon as well, especially the Talmud. The Catholic response to the Protestant opposition to the patristic tradition also predisposed Catholics to a less severe attitude toward the Talmud. These tendencies are, however, not absolutes, as is clear from the case of Buxtorf. See Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, "Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century," in Coudert and Shoulson, *Hebraica Veritas?* p. 131.
  76. On censorship during the period, see especially Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, "Censorship, Editing and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity," pp. 125–55 and Paul Grendler, "Printing

- and Censorship,” in Charles B. Schmitt, ed. *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 25–53. Raz-Krakotzkin observes that the attention of the Christian authorities to the contents of Hebrew books had little to do with a concern for Jewish belief and everything to do with their concern for the growing Christian readership of those books. This process reveals that the traditional Jewish canon was being incorporated into the sphere of Christian intellectual discourse (pp. 126–7). Most censors in the earliest period of institutionalized Christian censorship of Jewish books were Jewish converts; only later did a sizable number of Christians join the ranks of censors (p. 135).
77. See Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, pp. 21–3 on Buxtorf the Younger. The latter book continued to be the primary reference work on the subject for generations of Christian scholars, despite its unreliability.
  78. The Christian scholars and publishers who worked with Jewish editors and typesetters notoriously missionized for their conversion; see Amon Raz-Krakotzkin, “Censorship, Editing and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity,” p. 136, who also refers to a similar allegation against the Venetian printer, Daniel Bomberg.
  79. The Latin translation was published in Hanau in 1604 (repr. 1614 and 1624). As Frank Manuel comments, “There is something absurd in the spectacle of the Buxtorfs of Basel, whose Hebraic and Aramaic studies won them world renown, incorporating into their commentaries on the Talmud and the Midrash derisive caricatures of the very works they were interpreting for Christian readers” (*The Broken Staff*, pp. 9–10).
  80. Burnett claims (*From Christian Hebraism*, p. 68) that Buxtorf’s “portrayal of Judaism grew out of a relatively unsophisticated understanding of Jewish beliefs and practices. Yiddish books of piety were intended to edify women and under-educated Jewish men and to teach them the rudiments of Jewish observance. They did not contain instructions for refined halakhic practice or, during Buxtorf’s day, much esoteric teaching.” Burnett’s view is, however, itself rather a distorted view, since it accepts the longstanding myth of Yiddish literature as women’s literature at face value, and misconceives the *Shulhan Arukh*, which is after all the fundamental summation of halakhic law that is still standard today.
  81. Among the works of Pfefferkorn, who was used by the Cologne Dominicans as a tool against the Jews: *Der Judenspiegel* [*Speculum Adhortationis Judaicae ad Christum*] (‘Mirror of the Jews,’ Nuremberg, 1507); *Die Judenbeicht* [*Libellus de Judaica Confessione sive Sabbate Afflictionis cum Figuris*] (‘Confession of the Jews,’ Cologne, 1508) *Das Osterbuch* [*Narratio de Ratione Pascha Celebrandi Inter Judaeos Recepta*] (‘The Easter Book,’ Cologne and Augsburg, 1509); *Der Judenfeind* [*Hostis Judaeorum*] (‘Enemy of the Jews,’ Cologne and Augsburg 1509); *In Lob und Ehren dem Kaiser Maximilian* [*In Laudem et Honorem Illustrissimi Imperatoris Maximiliani*] (‘In praise of Emperor Maximilian,’ Cologne, 1510). Margarita is the author of *Der Gantz Jüdisch Glaub* (‘The entire Jewish creed,’ Augsburg 1530).
  82. See Burnett, *Distorted Mirrors*, pp. 275–85.
  83. Many manuscript miscellanies had been collected over the centuries, beginning with the earliest extant Yiddish manuscript collection of texts, Cambridge, University Library, T.S. 10K22 from the late fourteenth century.
  84. Burnett provides a complete list of the Yiddish texts that appeared in the *Thesaurus grammaticus* (*From Christian Hebraism*, pp. 269–71).
  85. In the second edition of the work, Buxtorf included a letter of Maimonides that describes a Yemenite messianic pretender (see Burnett, *ibid.*, pp. 119–20).
  86. On Yiddish biblical translation, see especially: Nechama Leibowitz, “Die Übersetzungstechnik der jüdisch-deutschen Bibelübersetzungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts dargestellt an den Psalmen,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 55 (1931),

- 377–463; rpt. 1971 [Diss. Marburg, 1931]; *אן אויספֿאַרשונג וועגן חומש טייטש: שלמה נאָבל, חומש טייטש: אָן אויספֿאַרשונג וועגן* (1943) (נייריאָרק: ייוואָ, 1943); Shlomo Noble, “Sacred and Secular in the Language of the Yiddish Bible Translation,” *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 1 (1946), 274–82; Jean Baumgarten, “Les Traductions de la Bible en yidich (XVIe–XVIIe siècles) et la *Zeenah ureenah* (Bâle 1622) de Yaakov ben Ishaq Achkenazi de Janow,” *Revue des Études Juives* 144 (1985), pp. 305–10; Marion Aptroot, “Bible Translation as Cultural Reform: The Amsterdam Yiddish Bibles 1678–1679” (Diss. Oxford, 1989); on the German component in biblical translation, see Timm, *Historische jiddische Semantik*.
87. With the exception of someone like Elia Levita, there is no evidence that the Jewish community actively constructed Yiddish as a fusion language with Hebrew as one of its components. Likewise, since at the time during which Yiddish developed there was essentially no Ashkenazic linguistic study of Hebrew per se, it is inconceivable that the community could have conceived of such a strategy. With respect to the last notion, one must note that ongoing Christian anti-Semitism had more to do with the Christian construct of Yiddish as a ‘secret language’ than did the Hebrew component of the language.
  88. Weinreich makes the overly generous suggestion that Buxtorf’s use of *corrumpere* expresses no condescension toward Yiddish but reveals rather only the Humanist in Buxtorf who opposes any such *Verhunjung* (‘adulteration’) of words from the classical languages (*Geschichte*, p. 111).
  89. Here, too, Buxtorf is once again misled by an unacknowledged insistence on the exclusive relevance of the developing standard in contemporary German, such that he can say “quædam loquendi formæ, a communi Germanice loquendi usu remotæ” [‘they also have some exceptional forms of speech that are alien to the common mode of German speech’], even though most of these words (*das dassig, naiert, perlich, fingerlich, ein nauff ein rab*) do in fact appear in various German dialects of Buxtorf’s time, while others, such as *judschen, leyen, benschen, oren, beltzel*, do not.
  90. The examples are here presented in the form offered by Buxtorf, that is, German + Christian Hebraist Hebrew; Weinreich additionally ‘translates’ into modern Yiddish pronunciation (*Geschichte*, pp. 108–12).
  91. Weinreich suggests that Buxtorf’s use of alliterating examples (e.g., *baganwenen un bagazlen*) indicates his intimate knowledge of actual Yiddish language use (*Geschichte*, p. 112).
  92. He notes that ך also functions as a consonant.
  93. He notes that /o/ is sometimes also represented by או.
  94. A feature that appears in some earlier descriptions—silent final ך following a consonant—is absent from Buxtorf’s description, perhaps because by the end of the sixteenth century it was no longer a common orthographic feature.
  95. The use of ן for /au/ had been overlooked by Schade. Buxtorf also promises to return to /au/ and provide further information, but does not do so.
  96. As Weinreich points out (*Geschichte*, p. 109), the conservative nature of printing traditions generally mask the transitional periods of such changes, which are often not explicitly indicated until long after they have already been complete. One might here also recall the inconsistent orthographical representation of the rounding of back vowels (*Umlaut*) in early Middle High German, even long after the phonetic change had been completed.
  97. Weinreich notes that this identification as strictly Yiddish of characteristics that are shared by Yiddish and German dialects is a common phenomenon in such presentations (*Geschichte*, p. 109).
  98. Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 114–21; “די עלטערע יידישע לעקסיקאָגראַפֿיע, 1 (כּר: האַרואַוד, 1990), 232–161. מקורות און מעטאָדן, “אַקספֿאַרדער יידיש 1 (כּר: האַרואַוד, 1990), 232–161.

99. Faced with the quandary of defining words from the Semitic component that are generally quite specific in reference and without exact synonym in Yiddish (e.g., שבת), he often seeks a Germanic definition beyond idiomatic usage in the realm of what in more recent prescriptive Yiddish lexicography has been termed *dayshtmerish*.
100. *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*, ed. Walther Killy (Munich: Saur, 1998), IX, 289; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1892; Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), XXXIV, 34.
101. This volume contains, as was common at the time, a number of different works under different titles. This text bears the title noted above on the title page, but *Rabbinismi, hoc est Grammaticæ Rabbinicæ* on the first page of the text.
102. This dependence seems also to be demonstrated in Sennert's confused inclusion of *christen* 'christen' as if a Yiddish word: Buxtorf had adduced it as a Christian usage parallel to the Jewish coinage *judschen* 'circumcise.'
103. Cf. Steinschneider, *Christliche Hebraisten*, p. 315; Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in bibliotheca bodleiana*, 2098; Schimmelpfennig, "August Pfeiffer," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1887; rpt. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), XXV, 631–2.
104. He makes one explicit mistake in extrapolating the phonetic representations from Buxtorf: ווא = /au/ or /aw/.
105. As was the similar remark by Heinrich Ammersbach in 1689; see below.
106. Kümmer's grammar was noted by Wolf IV, 292, but has drawn little attention.
107. "Heinrich Ammersbach," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1875; rpt. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), I, 403–4.
108. This book includes a number of sections: unpaginated preface, then the first four chapters of Genesis in Hebrew, with parallel German translation (32 pp.); then beginning with a new pagination (1–48), the alphabets of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German (Gothic font); the numerical systems (Roman, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew); instruction in reading Rabbinical books and letters (i.e., Yiddish: pp. 29–40); the ten commandments in Hebrew (with parallel Romanization), Greek (with parallel Romanization), Latin, and German.
109. Steinschneider, *Christliche Hebraisten*, p. 401 (and addendum, p. 122); Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum hebraeorum in bibliotheca bodleiana*, pp. lxxv and 189; *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie*, ed. Walther Killy (Munich: Saur, 1999), X, 276; Edward Schröder, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1896; rpt. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1967–71), XL, 481–3; Rooden, *Theology*, pp. 171–2; Judah M. Rosenthal, "Johann Christoph Wagenseil," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), XVI, 239–40.
110. "Unter anderen Jüdischen Büchern wird dargestellt מסכת נגעים oder das Talmudische Buch von dem Aussatz. Was es nemlich mit dem Aussatz der Menschen, der Kleider und der Häuser ehemalen in dem Jüdischen Land für eine Bewantnus gehabt. Zur Zugabe wird ein Bedencken beygefüget, wodurch die viel und lang höchst strittig gewesene Frage: Ob die Heil. Schrifft einem Mann erlaube zwey Schwestern nacheinander zu heyrathen?" ('Among other Jewish books is the Talmudic book concerning leprosy, *Tractate Nega'im*. What is in fact the case formerly concerning leprosy with respect to humans, clothing, and housing in the Jewish land. As a supplement a consideration is appended concerning the much- and long-debated question about whether the Scriptures allow a man to marry two sisters sequentially').
111. Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: W.C. Miltzen und S.T. Hocker, 1714–17; rpt. Berlin 1922), IV, second *continuatio*, p. 362.

112. Friedrich Christian Benedict Avé-Lallemant, *Das deutsche Gaunertum in seiner social-politischen, literarischen und linguistischen Ausbildung zu seinem heutigen Bestande*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1858–62), III, 218.
113. 7–6, "ביבליאָטעק", בּאַרָכאָר.
114. Peter Blastenbrei, "Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705): Barockgelehrter, Philosemit und wissenschaftlicher Entdecker des Jiddischen," *Jiddistik Mitteilungen* 27 (2002), 8–13; more recently see also Peter Blastenbrei, *Johann Christoph Wagenseil und seine Stellung zum Judentum* (Erlangen: Fischer, 2004).
115. Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Philosemitismus im Barock: Religions- und Geistesgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1952), 67.
116. Citations of this text are from Weinreich, *Geschichte*, p. 125.
117. Cf. Dickmann's claim that Wagenseil was an "enlightened pietist"; F. Dickmann, "Judenmissionsprogramm Johann Christoph Wagenseils," *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 16 (1974), 75–92, here p. 90.
118. Cf. Wagenseil, *Hoffnung der Erlösung Israels*; see also Nils Roemer, "Colliding Visions: Jewish Messianism and German Scholarship in the Eighteenth Century," in Coudert and Shoulson, eds. *Hebraica Veritas?* p. 271.
119. In the 1705 edition of his *Benachrichtigung*, for instance, Wagenseil added as an appendix a Yiddish translation of the Psalms, his title for which is *Mose Rabbi Stentdels nach jüdisch-Teutscher Red-Art vorlängst in Reimen gebrachte Psalmen Davids / welche dem ihnen nahen Untergang / aus wichtigen und in der Vorrede enthaltenen Ursachen entrisen Johann Christof Wagenseil / D.* ("The recent Judeo-German rhymed translation of the Psalms of David by R. Moses Stendel, which were rescued from their imminent destruction for important reasons detailed in the preface, by Doctor [?] Johann Christof Wagenseil"). While he disparaged the style of the translations as "abgeschmackt / grob und ungeschick" ("vulgar, coarse and clumsy"), he finds the text tactically useful for Christians, so that they better understand the Jewish conception of the Psalms, so that they can more easily engage Jews in debates about issues of belief, more easily convince them of their errors, and, as always, convert them to Christianity.
120. The work focuses on Yiddish on pp. 81–334. Cf. J. Weissberg, "Johann Christof Wagenseils Bericht 'Wie das jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen?'" *Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache* 25 (1969), 154–68.
121. Weinreich claims that after Buxtorf, it was not until Chrysander, who published two pieces on "Judenteutsch" in 1750 that anything substantially innovative was published on Yiddish (*Geschichte*, p. 114).
122. Cf. also Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 24th ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), p. 303b, with an example from the year 1696.
123. On the development of this movement, see Weinreich, *Geschichte*, pp. 135–44; Katz, "On Yiddish," p. 26; the relevant texts by Callenberg and Chrysander are reprinted in Hans Peter Althaus, ed. *Johann Heinrich Callenberg und Wilhelm Christian Just Chrysander, Schriften zur jiddischen Sprache* (Marburg: Elwert, 1966).
124. Constant von Wurzbach, "Franz Haselbauer," in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, 60 vols. (1856–91), vol. 8 (Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1862), pp. 23–4; Werner, "Franz Haselbauer," in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1879; rpt. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1967–71), X, 730–1; N.K., "Franz Haselbauer," in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861), XXIII, 510.
125. See Katz, "On Yiddish," p. 27.
126. See Karl Habersaat, "Materialien zur Geschichte der jiddischen Grammatik," *Orbis*, 11/1 (1962), 352–68; and Habersaat, "Zur Geschichte der jiddischen Grammatik: Eine

- bibliographische Studie," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 84 (1965), 427. During the 1950s in the Swiss villages of Endingen and Lengnau, Florence Guggenheim-Grünberg found quite similar varieties of Yiddish spoken by horse traders; see "The Horse Dealer's Language of the Swiss Jews in Endingen and Lengnau," in Uriel Weinreich, ed. *Field of Yiddish 1* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1954), pp. 48–62; and Guggenheim-Grünberg, *Jiddisch auf alemannischem Sprachgebiet: 56 Karten zur Sprach- und Sachgeographie* (Zurich: Juris, 1973), pp. 10–11.
127. See 12–7, "ביבליאָטעק", באַראַכאָוו, Katz, "On Yiddish," p. 27, and the bibliographies in the works cited by Borochof and Habersaat; Alexandre Derczansky, "Les rapports du yidich occidental et de la littérature yidich ancienne," in Astrid Starck, ed. *Westjiddisch: Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit/Le Yiddish occidental: Actes du Colloque de Mulhouse* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1994), pp. 78–83.
128. On the term *Rotwelsch*, see Baumgarten, *Introduction*, p. 19n59: it is "derived from *roth* ('beggar') and *welsch* ('incomprehensible language') and designates the language of thieves. The word *Kauderwelsch* ('jargon/lingo/gobbledygook') also exists in German. This expression was sometimes used in the nineteenth century to designate Yiddish." Cf. Joseph Maria Wagner, "Rotwelsche Studien," *Archiv für die Studien der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 18 (1863), 197–246.
129. The book was most likely copied, organized and edited by Matthias Hütlin (d. c.1524); Martin Luther was the editor of the 1528 edition. See Moshe N. Rosenfeld, "Early Yiddish in Non-Jewish Books," in *Dialects of the Yiddish Language: Papers from the Second Annual Oxford Winter Symposium in Yiddish Language and Literature, 14–16 Dec. 1986; Winter Studies in Yiddish*, 2 (Oxford: Pergamon, 1988), 99–103; Baumgarten, *Introduction*, p. 19; and Katz, "On Yiddish," 28.
130. On the subject of criminological publications, see 13–12, "די ביבליאָטעק", באַראַכאָוו, and Habersaat, "Materialien zur Geschichte der jiddischen Grammatik," and "Zur Geschichte der jiddischen Grammatik." On the complex issue of the geographical origin of Yiddish, see the suggestion by Max Weinreich that a Rhineland origin was worthy of study, which then rather surprisingly became scholarly orthodoxy without much further study; see מאַקס וויינרײַך, געשיכטע פֿון דער ייִדישער שפּראַך: באַגריפֿן, פֿאַקטן, מעטאָדן (ניו-יאָרק: יוואָ, 1973), 353–334, 1. More recent work points to the likelihood of Yiddish's origins in the Danube valley. See especially the collection of essays in Dovid Katz, ed. *Origins of the Yiddish Language*.

## Part IV

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Texts / Translations



Johannes Böschenstein,  
*Elementale Introductorium in hebreas litteras  
 teutonice et hebraice legendas*  
 (1514)

*Source:* Augsburg 1514; extant: Cambridge, University Library Td.51.126 (3)

th ſch r k z z f p e s n m l ch i t h ſ v h d g b a  
 ת ש ק ר צ ז פ ע ס נ ן ל מ ם ל כ ך י ח ט ז ה ו ד ה ג ב א

אִי pro i<sup>1</sup> in principio tenens vim vocalis

אוֹ v in principio tenens vim vocalis

אוי pro au vel eu

איי pro ai in principio

יי pro ei

ו pro v consona in principio sed alias semper vocalis

אוֹ אִו pro o quia iudei carent littera o in alphabeto

ח ט ת Hec tria elementa non scribuntur nisi in lingua sancta

בַּ pro f leni

פֿ pro ff duplici

שׂפּ pro sp

שׂטּ pro st

ק { k  
 c  
 q //

¶ Item quando in principio ponuntur due consonantes que syllabi cari sine vocali non possunt / potest inter eas intellegi vocalis a vt מַרְטִין valet martin

Item Si in fine dictione ponitur vna liquidarum l m n r / tunc littera e omitti potest vt פֶּטֶר id est pater

Demptis monasyllabis vt מַעַל In illis enim monasyllabis et primis syllabis e omitti non solet sed littera a

¶ Nota hebrei nullam duplicant literam in scribendo sed loco huius ponunt qui dicitur dageſch in ventre littere vt מִילֶךְ vbi punctus duplicat et fortificat literam l / ita intellige in alijs similibus

<sup>1</sup> pro i] A pro

Johannes Böschstein,  
*Elementary Introduction to Reading German and  
 Hebrew in Hebrew Letters*

th fch r k z z f p e s n m l ch i t h f v h d g b a  
 ת ש ק ר ז צ פ פ ס ע נ מ ל כ ח ט י כ ד ה ו ז ה ב ג ד א

אִי for vocalic *i* at the beginning of a word

אֹו vocalic *v* at the beginning of words

אֹוי for *au* or *eu*

אִיִ for *ai* at the beginning of words

יִי for *ei*

וּ for consonantal *v* at the beginning of words, but otherwise always a vowel

אֹוּ אֹוּ for *o*, because the Jews lack the letter *o* in the alphabet

ת ח ט these three letters are used only in the Holy Language

בּ for voiced *f*

פּ for double *ff*

שפּ for *sp*

שטּ for *st*

ק { *k*  
*c*  
*q* //

¶ When there are two consonants at the beginning of a word which cannot form syllables without a vowel, the vowel *a* is to be understood between them, as in מרטין, pronounced *martin*.

If one of the liquids *l m n r* occurs at the end of a word, then the letter *e* can be omitted, as in פטר, that is *pater*.

In isolated syllables such as מעל, in monosyllabic words and initial syllables, the letter *e* is not customarily omitted, while *a* is.

Note that Jews do not use double letters in writing, but instead they place what is called a *dagesh* inside the letter, as in מילך such that the dot doubles and strengthens the letter *l*; it is also to be understood in this way in other letters.

Ex isto alphabeti ordine succincto regulisque breuiffimis lector Jucundiffime ex propria tua industria / et modico labore / Noſtram vulgarem et latinam linguam Hebraicis literis legere et ſcribere poteris /

Nunc ad litteras maiuſculas //

th ſch r k z z f p e s n m l ch i t h ſ v h d g b a  
ת ש ר ק צ ז פ ע ס נ מ ל כ ח י ט י ז ה ו ד ג ב א

- ב Jſtud elementum cum raphe hoc eſt linea iacente in capite valet f Sed cum puncto in ventre valet b
- כ Hec littera cum raphe valet ch Sed cum puncto in ventre qui dicitur dageſch valet k
- מ Jſte punctus in medio huius littere fortificat vel geminat
- נ Punctus duplicat litteram et ſepiſſimo vertit terminationem prime persone pluralis numeri in tertiam ſingularem cum littera vof melopum
- ס Duplicat litteram
- פ cum raphe valet ff Sed cum dageſch valet p
- ש cum puncto in dextro latere valet ſch Sed in ſiniſtro valet ſſ
- ת cum raphe valet ſſ Sed cum dageſch th

Quinque ſunt littere finales infine tantum ſcribuntur que ך ם ן ף ץ

From this concise list of the letters and the briefest of rules, dear reader, you will be able by your own dilligence and with only moderate effort to read and write both our spoken language and Latin in Hebrew letters.

Now, to the majuscule letters:<sup>1</sup>

th fch r k z z f p e s n m l ch i t h f v h d g b a  
ת ש ק ר צ פ ע ס נ מ ל כ י ח ז ה ו ד ג ב א

- כ With a *rafe* (that is a horizontal line above the letter), this letter signifies *f*. With a dot inside the letter, however, it signifies *b*.
- כ With a *rafe*, this letter signifies *ch*. With a dot (which is called a *dagesh*) inside it, it signifies *k*.
- מ This dot in the middle of the letter strengthens and doubles it.
- נ The dot doubles the letter and most often changes the ending of the first person plural into the third person singular, with the letter *waw melopum*.
- ס Doubles the letter.
- פ With *rafe* it signifies *ff*; but with *dagesh* it signifies *p*.
- ש With a dot on the right side, it signifies *sch*, but with a dot on the left side, it signifies *ss*.
- ת With a *rafe* it signifies *ss*; but with a *dagesh*, it signifies *th*.

There are five final letters that are written only at the end of words: ץ ף ן ם ך

<sup>1</sup> 'majuscule' = square font.

## Sebastian Münster

“Institutio brevis, quomodo uernacula quæque  
lingua Hebraicis characteribus scribi possit”

from מְלֵאכֶת הַדִּיקְדוּק *Institutiones grammaticæ  
in hebræam linguam*  
(1524)

*Source:* Basel: Johann Froben, 1524 (unpaginated; begins on gathering q5); extant: Oxford, Bodleian Vet. D. 1. f. 147.

Hebræi nostrates quando scribere quippiam uolunt in uernacula lingua, nullis omnino utuntur ad literas apiculis siue punctis, nisi raro, idque solum in proprijs nominibus. ut פִּילִיפּוּשׁ Philippus. קְרִישְׁטוּשׁ Christus. Alioqui pro a utuntur Aleph, pro b Beth, pro c Caph uel Kuph, pro d Daleth, pro e Ain, pro f Beth raphato, pro g Gimel, pro h He, pro i iod, pro k Kuph, pro l Lamed, pro m utroque mem, aperto et clauso, pro n utroque nun, pro o Aleph uau, quandoque uau tantum. pro // p Phe, pro q Kuph, pro r Res, pro s grosso Schin, pro s tenuiore Zain, pro t Thet, pro u Aleph uau, uel uau tantum, sicut pro o, pro x Kuph schin, pro y uel ei dipthongo duplici iod, pro z Zade. Itaque iftæ literæ, Heth, Samech, et Tau, non ueniunt Germanis in usum, quum linguam suam Hebraicis scribunt characteribus: tam et si Samech non omnino carere possunt in quibusdam uocabulis, ut sunt, acetum, melius, cultellus, aqua, castrum, platea, et huiusmodi alia multa, in quorum uulgari expressione, nos superiores Germani subtili et acuto utimur sibilo. Plerunque etiam omittunt in dictione uocales a et e, quippe quando ex alijs syllabis facile dictionis uox notari potest. ut mane מוֹרְגָן ubi e non scribitur: facere מַכֵּן ubi a et e omittuntur. etc.

Animaduerte sequentem tabulam. //

Saltabo	אֶתְפַּכֵּר	איך וויל שפרינגן
Pustula	בַּעֲבֵה	וייג בלוטרן
Habitatio	דִּירָה	וואנונג
Siccafti	הוֹבְשֵׁת	דו הושט גטרוקנט
Et fremuit	וַיְנַהֵם	אונד ער ברומט
Silex	קֶצֶץ	קיזיל שטיין
Oblinierunt	טוּחוּ	זי הון ורקלייבט
Cogitatio eius	יָצָרוּ	זיין גדאנקן
Proiecit	יָדָה	ער הוט גווארפֿן
Cantabit	יִשִּׁיר	ער ווירט זינגן
Amicitia	יְקִידוּת	וּרונטשאַפֿט
Combuffit	כָּה	ער הוט ורברנט
Camera	לְשִׁכָּה	קאמר
Rectificatus	מוֹשִׁיר	גרעכט וירטיגט
Illuminavit	נָגַה	ער הוט ערלויכט
Percuffus est	הִכָּה	ער אישט גשלאגן

Sebastian Münster  
 ‘A Brief Introduction to How the Vernacular  
 Language can be Written in Hebrew Characters,’  
 from *Grammatical Principles of the Hebrew Language*  
 (1524)

When the Jews of our country wish to write anything in the vernacular, they use no diacritical marks or points whatsoever on the letters, or only rarely, and that only in proper names, such as פִּילִיפּוּשׁ Philippus or קְרִישְׁטוּשׁ Christus. Otherwise, they use *alef* for *a*, *bet* for *b*, *kaf* or *kof* for *c*, *dalet* for *d*, *ayin* for *e*, *bet* with a *rafe* for *f*, *gimel* for *g*, *he* for *h*, *yod* for *i*, *kof* for *k*, *lamed* for *l*, both types of *mem* (open and closed) for *m*, both types of *nun* for *n*, *alef waw* and sometimes *waw* alone for *o*, *pe* for *p*, *kof* for *q*, *resh* for *r*, *shin* for thick *s*, *zayin* for thinner *s*, *tet* for *t*, *alef waw* or *waw* alone for *u*, just as for *o*, *kof shin* for *x*, double *yod* for *y* or the diphthong *ei*, *šade* for *z*. Thus the letters *het*, *samekh*, and *taw* are not used for Germanic words, for they write their own language with Hebrew characters, although *samekh* is not altogether avoided in such words as *sind* ‘are,’ *Essig* ‘vinegar,’ *besser* ‘better,’ *Messer* ‘knife,’ *Wasser* ‘water,’ *Schloß* ‘castle,’ and *Straße* ‘street,’<sup>1</sup> and in the common pronunciation of many other such words in which we southern Germans make use of a simple, sharp sibilant. Many even omit the vowels *a* and *e* in a word when the pronunciation of the word can be clearly understood from the other syllables, as in מוֹרְגֵן ‘morning,’ where the *e* is not written, or מַכֵּן ‘make,’ where the *a* and the *e* are omitted, etc.

Have a look at the following table:

I will jump <sup>2</sup>	אֶתְפַּרֵּךְ	איך וויל שפרינגן
blister, pimple	בַּעֲבָעָה	וויג בלוטרן
dwelling	דִּיבְרָה	וואנונג
you have dried	הוֹבֵשֶׁתָּ	דו הושט גטרוקנט
and he growled	וַיְגַהֵם	אונד ער ברומט
pebble, flint	קֶצֶץ	קיזיל שטיין
they have smeared	טֹחוּ	זי הון ורקלייבט
his thought	יָצָרוּ	זיין גדאנקן
he has thrown	יָדָה	ער הוט גווארפֿן
he will sing	יִשִּׁיר	ער ווירט זינגן
friendship	יְדִידוּת	רונטשאַפֿט
he has burned	כָּוָה	ער הוט ורברנט
chamber	לְשִׁכָּה	קאמר
reconciled, justified	מוֹשִׁיר	גרעכט וירטיגט
he has illuminated	נָגַה	ער הוט ערלויכט
he has been struck	הִכָּה	ער אישט גשלאגן

<sup>1</sup> On the use of the German words here, see the “Introduction,” above, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> One should note that the English renderings here are translations of Münster’s Latin renderings, which do not always correspond directly to the Hebrew; see the “Introduction,” p. 20.

Auxit	קָשָׁה	עַר הוּשׁ גְּמִירֵשׁ
Innodatus est	קָשׁוּר	אִישׁוּשׁ גְּקִנּוּפִפִּשׁ
Dominatus es	רְדוּתָּהּ	דוּ הוּשׁוּשׁ גִּיּוּלִישׁיגִּשׁ
Captiuai	שְׁבִיטִי	אִיךְ הוּן גְּבֵאֲנָגֵן

Hæc causa exempli sufficiant.

he has grown	פָּשָׁה	עַר הוּט גְּמִירַט
is knotted, entangled	קָשׁוּר	אִישׁוּט גְּקֻנּוּפֶפֶט
you are the ruler	רְדוּתָּךְ	דוּ הוּשׁוּט גְּיוּילֶטִיגֶט
I have captured	שָׁבִיתִי	אִיךְ הוּן גְּבֵאֲנָגֶן

These will suffice as examples.



"נון בַּלְגַּט ווייטער וויא מן זול לערנן טוייטש לייאן"  
 ספר מדות  
 (1542)

Source: Isny 1542, fol. 99r–100r; extant: Oxford, Bodleian Opp. 4° 955.

**גוט דעם אלמעכטיגער אליין דיא איר**

אלן ורויאן אונ' יונק ורויאן אן ביטן וויר אונזרן וליישיגן גרוז . אונ' צו וואר אויש דער ערברן אונ' צויכטיגן ורויאן . ורויא מוראדא דוקטריין דער ורייאן קונשט דער ארצנייא וואנהאפטטיג צו גוינשפורג . גוינשטיגי ורויא נאך דעם איך ור שטאנדן האב דש איר לושט אונ' ביגיר האבט צו דעם ספר מידות . זא האב איך מיך אונטר שטאנדן מיט דער הוילף גוטש יתברך דעש אלמעכטיגן אונ' האב עז אס טאג גיברוכט אונ' וויא וואל איך מיך זוילך דינג ניט אן נעמן זולט . זוא זעלווערט צו איינם מאן . דרום וויל איך אידן אונ' אוב גימעלטן גיבעטן האבן ורויאן אונ' יונק ורויאן אודר זוינשט וועלכר דער דא וואורד לייאן אין דיום ספר מידות אונ' וואורד ווש ואלש דינג וינדן אודר וואורד אים ניט וואל בון שטאט גין מיט דעם לייאן דש ער מירש ניט צום ערגשטן אויש ליג . דארום וויל אויך דיא מענגיל אן צאייגן גאר קורץ דארינן איינר אודר אייניא ווייש דרויש צו קומן : ערשטליכן איז צו ווישן דש איין יוד ברינגט איין חיריק אונ' איין צירי . אונ' איין אלף ברינגט איין קמץ אונ' איין פתח . אונ' איין ויו ברינגט איין מלאפום אונ' איין חולם . אונ' איין ע' ברינגט איין סגול . אונ' ווען צווייא יודן זיין זוא איז דיא לעטר דיא דאר בויר שטעט אל מול גיפוינטילט מיט איינם פתח אונ' דז יוד מיט איינם שבא אונ' דש אנדר יוד מאכט איין צייכן דש עש קיין חיריק איז גלייך אלש איין . צווייא . דרייא . אונ' דש בעלט גאר זעלטן . אונ' דש אלף זוא עז הינדן שטעט נאך איינם פוינטל זא טוט עז ניקש דען עש מאכט דער גישריפט איין צירונגא גלייך אלש (דיא) . נון איז דש ויו אונ' דז יוד דיא עיקרן פוינטיל דא איינר ניט קאן אויש קומן דען זיא ווערדן אין ויל פוינטיל גיברוכט . אלש איך מיט דער הוילף גו ית' אן צאייג וויל זא ער מיר צייט ור לייכט . נון זיין עטליך דיא פוינטלן איין ווארט ווען זיא עש ניט וואל קוינן שרייבן . דש גיב איך צו . אבר אליין אויף איין צירי . אודר איין שורק אודר זוינשט איין פונט דער וואל ביקאנט איז דיא מאג מן וואל פוינטלן . // גלייך אלש קוינן דא מאג מן וואל איין שורק פוינטלן . אונ' זיר אודר מיר איין צירי . אבר זוינשט דש ויו אונ' דש יוד זוא עש גיברוכט ווערט בור איין האלב פתח אונ' האלב מלאפום . אודר האלבא קמץ אונ' האלב צירי . וויא עש דען אופט גיבונדן ווערט . דש איז יוא ניט מויגליך צו פוינטלן . מן שרייבא דען איין פתח דש מאיינט איין אלף . אונ' איין מלאפום דש מאיינט איין ויו . אונ' ווילטו ווישן וויא עש גיברוכט ווערט האלב פתח אונ' האלב מלאפום . נעמליך ווען דז שרייבשט ורויא אודר גינויא אודר בויא דז איז אלש האלבא פתח אונ' האלב מלופום . דא ברויכן דיא גוים איין a אונ' איין u גלייך וויא דא *baw gnaw frau* . אונ' בור איין האלב קמץ אונ' בור איין האלבא צירי ווערן זיא גיברוכט גלייך אלש מויגן אודר בויון ברויכן דיא גוים איין o מיט איינם e דרויף דש ביצייכנט איין קמץ אונ' איין צירי גלייך וויא דא *bösen mögen* . אונ' ויל דיא דעם גלייך זיין . נון זיין אבר שרייבר דיא ברויכן בור דיא פוינטלן וואו זיא אזו האלבא קומן דא ברויכן זיא איין חטף קמץ גלייך אז ווען זיא שרייבן הויר זא פוינטלן זיא איין חטף קמץ אונטר דש הא . אונ' דש שיקט זיך יוא ניט דען מן וינט אונטר הונדרט ניט איין דער דש חטף קמץ לייאט וויא דער אנדר . אויך וינט מן זוילך פוינטיל ניט אין לשון הקדש וויא וואל דיא טויטישן לייאן דש חטף קמץ ניט וויא דש שלעכט קמץ . דש ור שפוטן דיא וועלשן דען זיא זיין ער ווארן אין דקדוק אונ' שפרעכן דש דש חטף קמץ אונ' דש שלעכט ווערט איינש אויש גישפראכן וויא דש אנדר . אליין דש דש חטף קמץ האיישט איין קליין פוינטיל אונ' דש שלעכט קמץ איין גרוש פוינטיל . דארום וואו איינר וינט איין ויו אונ' איין יוד בייא אנדר זוא מוש ערש נאך זיינע ור שטאנדא לייאן : דער אלמעכטיג בארמהערציג גוט יתברך דער ור לייך אונש זיין גינדן צום רעכטן ור שטאנדא אמן :

## Anonymous, 'Here Follows How One Can Learn to Read Yiddish,' from *The Book of Measures* (1542)

To God Almighty alone is the honor.

We offer our warmest greetings to all women, married and unmarried, and before all honorable and modest women, Dame Morada, doctor of the liberal art of medicine, who lives in Günzburg. Generous Lady, after I came to understand that you had desire for and interest in the *Book of Measures*, I submitted to your will, with the aid of Almighty God, blessed be He, and brought it forth into the light of day. And although I should not undertake such things, so one finds it written in the *Sayings of the Fathers*: "And in a place where there is no man, strive to be a man." That is: where no man is, so make yourself into a man. For that reason, I would like to ask Jews and the aforementioned married and unmarried women, or anyone else who would read in this *Book of Measures* and finds something inaccurate therein, or if it is not so easy for him to read it, that he does not blame me too much. For that reason, I would also like very briefly to point out the deficiencies, so that a reader, male or female, can deal with them. First, one must know that a *yod* can signify both *hireq* and *šere*. And an *alef* can signify both *gameš* and *pataḥ*. And a *waw* can signify both *melopum* and *holem*. And an *ayin* signifies *segol*. And when there are two *yods*, then the preceding letter is always pointed with a *pataḥ* and the [first] *yod* with a *schwa* and the second *yod* functions as a sign that the vowel is not *hireq*, as in the words דרין, צוויי, איון, צוויי, דרין. And that is lacking very rarely. And when an *alef* comes at the end of a word, after a vowel, it has no function beyond being an embellishment of the script, as in דיא. Now *waw* and *yod* are the essential vowels without which one cannot manage, for they are used in many vowels, as I will demonstrate, with the help of God, blessed be He, if he grants me the time. Now I freely acknowledge that some people point words, even though they do not know how to write. But even on a *šere* or a *shuruk* or some other obvious vowel, one can indeed add a vowel point. As in קוין, in which one can accurately point with a *shuruk*, and with a *šere* in זיר or מיר. Otherwise *waw* and *yod* are used as semi-*pataḥ* and semi-*melopum*, or semi-*gameš* and semi-*šere*, as is often found. That is indeed not possible to point, unless one writes a *pataḥ*, that is, an *alef*, and a *melopum*, that is, a *waw*. And if you wish to know how semi-*pataḥ* and semi-*melopum* are used: thus, when you write ורויא or גינויא or בוי. These are all semi-*pataḥ* and semi-*melopum*. The Gentiles use an *a* and a *u* here, as in *baw*, *gnaw*, *fraw*. And for semi-*gameš* and semi-*šere*, as in מוין or בוין, the Gentiles use an *ö* with an *e* above it.<sup>1</sup> That indicates a *gameš* and a *šere*, as in *bösen mögen*, and other such words. There are, however, writers, who use *ḥatuf gameš* for such semivowels, for instance when they write הויר, they point with a *ḥatuf gameš* under the *he*. And that is indeed improper, for among a hundred people one does not find two who read a *ḥatuf gameš* in the same way. Likewise, such pointing is not to be found in the Holy Language, although the Germans<sup>2</sup> do not pronounce the *ḥatuf gameš* the same as the common *gameš*. The Italians<sup>3</sup> mock this usage, for they are experienced in matters of grammar and speak such that the *ḥatuf gameš* and the common one are pronounced the same, the only difference being that the *ḥatuf gameš* is designated a short vowel, while the common *gameš* is designated a long vowel. Thus, when one finds a *waw* and a *yod* together, then he must read it according to his own understanding. May the Almighty God, blessed be He, grant us His mercy so that we understand correctly. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., *ö*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., Ashkenazim.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., Italian Jews.

Paulus Fagius,  
 “De variis literarvm figuris sev notvllis”  
 from *Compendiaria isagoge in linguam hebræam*  
 (1543)

Source: Constance 1543 (E1a–E3a); extant: Oxford, Bodleian 4° F.10.Th.Seld.

א בגד הוזה טי כך לממנון סעפף צץ קר ש ש ת

א בגד הוזה טי כך לממנון סעפף צץ קר ש ש ת<sup>1</sup>

His literarum figuris etiamnum hodie utuntur Iudæi, quibus et sacra Biblia exarata sunt. Harum inuentorem statuunt Ezra scribam, qui eas Iudæis ex Babylonia reuerfis primum tradidisse fertur : ut ita et scriptura à Samaritanis qui iam terram ipsorum in habitare ceperant, fecernerentur. Seruauit tamen priorem antiquarum literarum uirtutem, tantum figuras illarum immutauit. Id quod et Divus Hieronimus in fine commentariorum suorum super psalmos testatur. Et hanc scripturam Iudei scripturam Afsyriacam nominant, quod eam Ezra secum ex Babylonia attulerit. Aliquando breuitatis causa קתיקה nuncupant. Habent porro et aliam quam קתיקה קטנה id est, scripturam paruam, et uulgato nomine משט uocant. Nos currentem appellamus. Hac ferè utuntur in commentarijs, et in conscribendis familiaribus Epistolis, ea est quæ modo sequitur.

א בגד הוזה טי כך לממנון סעפף צץ קר ש ש ת

Qua uero Germani Iudæi utuntur cum germanica hebraicis typis seu characteribus scribunt, ea sic est figurata. //

א בגד הוזה טי כך לממנון סעפף צץ קר ש ש ת

Hicce uero literarum notulis in scribendis germanicis adhuc modum utuntur. Aleph pro a uocali. Beth pro b, sine tamen Raphe uirgula, cum ea uero pro f. Gimel pro g. Daleth pro d. He pro h. Vaf pro u uocali, & etiam pro f consonante, maxime in principio dictionis, & geminatum vaf pro vv ut וויר vvir וואש vvas &c. Zain pro f lene. Cheth non utuntur in germanismo. Teth pro t. Iod pro i uocali, & aliquando etiam pro e, Et tunc non raro præcedentem literam cum puncto Zere signare solent, ut רידן reden &c. Caph cum uirgula Raphe pro ch. Lamed pro l. Mem pro m. Nun pro n. Samech pro s acuto. Ain pro e uocali. Pe pro p, & cum Raphe pro f, & geminatum pe pro pf, hoc modo. פפאף pfaff. Zade pro z. Koph pro k. Res pro r. Schin pro s & sch. Taph in germanismo non utuntur. //

<sup>1</sup> Both of these alphabets are square script, one larger than the other.

Paulus Fagius,  
 ‘On Various Forms and Pointings of Letters,’  
 from *A Brief Introduction to the Hebrew Language*  
 (1543)

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת

Even up to the present, Jews use these letters, with which the Holy Bible is also written. They maintain that Ezra the scribe was their inventor, who, it is said, taught them to the Jews when they first returned from the Babylonian Captivity, so that thus the Scriptures themselves set them apart from the Samaritans, who were already resident in the land. He nonetheless preserved the earlier senses of the ancient letters; their shape alone did he change, as St. Jerome bears witness at the end of his commentaries on the Psalms. The Jews designate this script *כְּתִיבָה אֲשׁוּרִית* ‘Assyrian script,’ because Ezra brought it back from Babylonia. Sometimes for the sake of brevity they call it *כְּתִיבָה* ‘script.’ In addition, they have another script, *כְּתִיבָה קְטָנָה*, that is, the ‘small script,’ which is commonly called *מִשֵּׁט* ‘mashet’; we call it ‘cursive.’ They generally use this script in commentaries and in writing informal letters. It follows directly hereafter:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת

But what the German Jews use when they write German in a Hebrew font or character set has the following form:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת

But they make use of these forms of the letters in writing German according to the following mode: *Alef* for vocalic *a*. *Bet* without a *rafe* for *b*, with a *rafe* for *f*. *Gimel* for *g*. *Dalet* for *d*. *He* for *h*. *Waw* for vocalic *u* and even for consonantal *f*; especially at the beginning of a word, and double *waw* for *vv*, as in *וויר* *vvir* ‘we’, *וואַס* *vvass* ‘what’, etc. *Zayin* for voiced *s*. *Het* is not used in Germanic. *Tet* for *t*. *Yod* for vocalic *i* and sometimes even for *e*. And they are accustomed not infrequently to provide the preceding letter with a *şere*, as in *רִידן* *reden* ‘speak,’ etc. *Kaf* with *rafe* for *ch*. *Lamed* for *l*. *Mem* for *m*. *Nun* for *n*. *Samekh* for a sharp *s*. *Ayin* for vocalic *e*. *Pe* for *p*; *pe* with *rafe* for *f*; double *pe* for *pf*, as in *פּפּאַר* *pfaff* ‘pastor.’ *Şade* for *z*. *Kof* for *k*. *Resh* for *r*. *Shin* for *s* and *sch*. *Taw* is not used in Germanic.

## ALPHABETVM HEBRAEO-GERMANICVM

צ ק ש ו ו ט שז ר קו פ א ו נ מ ל ק י ה ג ב פו ע ד צ ב א  
 A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x z

Quinque uocales	{	א	a
		ע	e
		י	i
		או	o
		ו	u
Diphthongi	{	אוי	} au
		וי	
		עוי	eu
		יי	ei et ai
		יא	ie
	וי	œ	

Nota quod in ultima dictionis syllaba in uocalem desinente, rarissimè uocalem sed tantum consonantem ponunt, ut באטר vatter non באטער, מוטר mutter non מוטער, שרייבן schreyben non שרייבען, עשן essen non עשען &c. quod idem sæpe fit in monosyllabis, ut דש das pro דאש, דר der pro דער et cetera. Item aliquando à // principio dictionis, ut גזאגט gsagt pro גיזאגט gesagt, גרעט gret pro גירעט. Et nonnunquam in medio dictionis, ut אידערמאן iederman pro אידערמאן, אנדרש anders pro אנדערש, הינדערשט hinderst pro הינדערשט, in summa, ubi facile est intelligere uocalem, ferè ea elidi solet. In fine quoque dictionum non raro Aleph uocalem non necessitatis sed ornatus causa ponere solunt, ut לובא lob, ליאבא lieb. Paucula hæc de ratione legendi et scribendi Hebræogermanica annotare libuit. Cuius rei ut et exercitium aliquod habeas, uisum est uerba decalogi huc adijcere.

## Hebraeo-German Alphabet

צ ק ש ו ו ט ש ז ר ק ו פ א ו נ מ ל ק י ה ג בֹּ ע ד צ ב א  
 A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v v x z

five vowels	{	א	a
		ע	e
		י	i
		א ו	o
		ו	u
diphthongs	{	אוי	au
		וי	
	{	עוי	eu
		יי	ei and ai
		יא	ie
{	וי	œ	

Note that if the final syllable of a word includes a vowel, they rarely write the vowel, but only the consonant, as in בָּאָטֶר *vatter* 'father' not בֵּאָטֶר *mutter* 'mother' not מוֹטֶער, שרײַבֶּען *schreyben* 'write' not שרײַבֶּען, עשֶׂן *essen* 'eat' not עשֶׂען, etc. This same practice is often followed in monosyllables, as in דַּשׁ *das* 'the' for דַּאשׁ, דֶּר *der* 'the' for דֶּער, etc. The same is sometimes true at the beginning of words, as in גֶּזַאָגֶט *gsagt* 'said' for גֶּזַאָגֶט *gesagt*, גֶּרֶעט *gret* 'spoken' for גֶּרֶעט. And sometimes in the middle of words, as in אִידֶרמָן *iederman* for אִידֶרמָן, אַנֶדֶרשׁ *anderss* for אַנֶדֶרשׁ, הִנֶדֶרשׁט *hinderst* for הִנֶדֶרשׁט. In summary then, where it is easy to distinguish the vowel, generally it is omitted. At the end of words they frequently place the vowel *alef* not because it is needed, but for the sake of embellishment, as in לֹבָא *lob* 'praise,' לִיֶּאבָא *lieb* 'pleasing.' It suffices then to note these few things on the principles of reading and writing Hebrew-German. In order that you might have some practice in the matter, it seemed appropriate to add the words of the Ten Commandments in this place.

אונ' גוט רידט אלי דיזי ווארט : איך בין דער הער דיין גוט דער דיך אויש איגיפטן לאנד אויש דעם דיאנשט האויש גיפירט האב : דו זולט קיין אנדרי גוטר נעבן מיר האבן : דו זולט דיר קיין בילדנוש נוך אירגנט אין גלייכנוש מאכן וועדער דעש דאש אובן אים הימל נוך דעש דש אונטן אוף ערדן אודר דעש דש אים וואשר אונטר דער ערדן אישט : בעט זי ניט אן אונ' דיני אינן ניט דאן איך דר הער דיין גוט בין איין אייבריגר גוט דר דו האיימשוטט דר בעטר מיסעטאט אן דען קינדרן ביש אין דש דריט אונ' בירד גליד די מיך האשן : אונ' טו בארמהערציקייט אן בילן טאויעטן די מיך ליבא האבן אונ' מייני גבוט האלטן : דו זולט דען נאמן דעש הערן דיינש גוטש ניט מיס ברויכן דען דר הער ווירט דען ניט און גישטראפט לאשן דר זיינן נאמן מיס בראויכט : גידענק דעש שאבטש טאג דש דו אין האייליגשט : שעכש טאג זולטו ארבייטן // אונ' אלי דייני ווערק טון : אבר אם זיבענדן טאג אישט דער שבת דעש הערן דיינש גוטש דא זולטו קיין ווערק טון נוך דיין זון נוך דיין טוכטר נוך דיין קנעכט נוך דיין מאגט נוך דיין ויך נוך דיין פֿרעמדלינגר דער אין דיינן טורן אישט : דען שעכש טאג האט דר הער הימל אונ' ערדן גימאכט אונ' דש מיר אונ' אלש וואש דרינן אישט אונ' רועט אם זיבנדן טאג דארום שעגנט דר הער דען שבת טאג אונ' האייליגט אין : דו זולט דיין באטר אונ' דיין מוטר אירן אוף דש דו לאנג לעבשט אים לאנד דש דיר דר הער דיין גוט גיבט : דו זולט ניכט טוידן : דו זולט ניכט עברעכן : דו זולט ניט שטעלן : דו זולט קיין ואלש צוויגניש רידן ווידר דיינן נעכשטן : לאש דיך ניט גלושטן דיינש נעכשטן הויש : לאש דיך ניט גילושטן דיינש נעכשטן ווייבש נוך זיינש קנעכטש נוך זיינר מאגט נוך זיינש אוכשן נוך זיינש איזלש נוך אלש דש דיין נעכשטר האט :

*QVæ hactenus tradidi ad lectionem pertinent, eam tibi sic commendo, non ut fit nimis superstitiosa, sed ut fit simplex, apta et conueniens. Nequaquam enim laudo eos, qui non curant quocunque modo hebræa sonent, quasi non et sancta lingua natiuam, iustam, decentem ac concinnam suam habeat prolationem, cui te uelim operam dare, quisquis es sanctæ linguę amator. Quod enim in alijs prophanis linguis non facile ferimus, multo minus in sancta lingua ferendum esse censeo. Vt non referam etiam hęc quantum gratiæ // ac leporis habeant hebræa si rite ea pronuncies. Vt igitur post adeptam legendi hebræa peritiam, et intelligendi rationem habeas, quæ modo sequuntur ipsum te docebunt.*

And God says all these words: "I am the Lord your God who led you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of servitude. You should have no other gods besides me. You should not make for yourself any image or any likeness either of that which is above in heaven or of that which is below on earth or that which is in the water under the earth. Do not worship them and do not serve them, for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous god who avenges the misdeeds of the fathers on the children into the third and fourth generation who hate me, and practice mercy toward the many thousands who love me and keep my commandments. You should not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not allow him to go unpunished who misuses his name. Remember the sabbath day so that you sanctify it. You should work six days and do all of your work. But on the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord your God; then you should do no work, nor should your son, your daughter, your male servant, your female servant, your animals, your foreign guest who is within your gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and the sea and everything that is in it and rested on the seventh day. Therefore God blessed the sabbath day and sanctified it. You should honor your father and mother so that you will live long in the land that the Lord your God gives to you. You should not kill. You should not commit adultery. You should not steal. You should not give false testimony against your neighbor. Do not allow yourself to lust after your neighbor's house. Do not allow yourself to lust after your neighbor's wife or his male servant or his female servant or his ox or his donkey or anything that your neighbor has."

What I reported thus far relates to reading, which thus I commend to you, not that it become blind dogma, but that it might be without artifice, fitting, and appropriate. For by no means do I praise those who care not by what mode Hebrew is pronounced, as if not even the holy language might have its natural, fitting, proper, and harmonious pronunciation, on which I would like any of you who is a lover of the holy language to work hard. For I am of the opinion that what we do not easily put up with in other common languages is all the less to be suffered in the Holy Language. For I might even here note how great is the pleasantness and charm that Hebrew sounds have if they are properly pronounced. After you have thus had some experience and achieved some skill in reading the Hebrew alphabet and understanding the principles, what comes thereafter will be easily learned.



Paulus Fagius

“Succincta ratio legendi hebræo-germanica”

from *Prima quatuor capita Geneseos Hebraice cum versione germanica è regione, hebraicis tamen characteribus exarata,*

*eaque iuxta usitatem Iudæorum interpretationem מלה במלה .i. ad uerbum translata, unà cum succinctis in fine adiectis*

*scholiis, pro studio fis linguæ Hebraicæ*

(1543)

Source: Constance 1543 (unfoliated); extant: Oxford, Bodleian 4° E.10.Th.Seld.

Alphabetum Hebræogermanicum

א ב צ ד ע ו פ ק ר ש ט ז ח ט ו ו ט ש ס ז ר ק ו פ א ו ו ן מ ל ק י ה ג פֿו ד צ ב א  
A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x z sch ch pf //

Quinque uocales	{	א	a
		ע	e
		י	i
		א ו	o
		ו	u
Diphthongi	{	אוי	au
		אויי	eu
		אי	ai
		יי	ei
		יא	ie
		וי	œ

Nota quod Iudæi cum germanica scribunt, sæpe uocales omittunt, et id frequentissime in calce dictionum, ut שרייבן schreiben pro שרייבען lesen pro לעזען. Aliquando etiam in principio & medio, ut בטר uatter pro באטער iederman pro אידערמאן etcetera. א Aleph et י Iod sæpe ornatus causa calci dictionum adijciunt, ut ליבא, לובא id est lob liebe. In dictionibus quas abbreviant, postremam literam apice supraposito signant, ut 'אונ', אוד' id est und, oder, pro אונט אודר, אודר etcetera. Si plura desyderas, uide Ifagogen meam in linguam Hebræam.

## Paulus Fagius

‘A Concise Method for Reading Hebrew-German,’  
 from *The First Four Chapters of Genesis in Hebrew with a  
 Translation in the German Dialect, Written in the Hebrew  
 Alphabet, according to the Customary Literal Interpretation  
 of the Jews, together with Concise Comments Added at the  
 end, for Students of the Hebrew Language*  
 (1543)

## Hebrew-German Alphabet

פֶּה כֹּ שֶׁ צֶ קֶשׁ וּוּ טֶ שְׁסוּר קוּ פֶּ אִוּוּ נֶ מֶ לֶ קִי הֶ גֶ פֶּבּוּ עֶ דֶ צֶ בֶ אֶ  
 A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v v x z sch ch pf //

five vowels	{	א	a
		עִ	e
		י	i
		וֹ אֹ	o
		וּ	u
diphthongs	{	אִוִּי	au
		אִוִּי	eu
		אִי	ai
		יִי	ei
		יֵא	ie
		יִי	œ

Note that when the Jews write German, they often omit vowels, and this most frequently at the end of words, as in שרײבן *schreiben* ‘write’ for שרײבען or לעזון *lesen* ‘read’ for לעזען. Sometimes even at the beginning and in the middle of words, as in בטר *uatter* ‘father’ for באטער or אידרמן *iederman* ‘everyman’ for אידערמאן, etc. א *alef* and י *yod* are often added at the end of words for the sake of ornamentation, as in לובא and ליבא, that is *lob* ‘praise’ and *liebe* ‘pleasing.’ In words that they abbreviate, they mark the final letter with a superscript point, as in אונ' and 'אוד, that is *und* ‘and’ and *oder* ‘or,’ for אונט and אודר, etc. If you would like more [examples], see my *Introduction to the Hebrew Language*.

Paul Helicz

*Elemental / oder lefebüchlen / Doraus meniglich / mit  
gutem grund vnderwisen wirt · wie man deütsche  
büchlen / Mißfiuen oder Sendbriue / Schuldbrüue / so  
mit ebreischen / ader Jüdischen buchstaben geschriben  
werden · Auch die Zvl / Jar / Monad / vnd anders  
zu gehörig · lesen vnd versten sol . Itz neülich  
an tag gegeben ·  
(1543)*

*Source:* Hundsfield 1543: extant: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek; Jerusalem, National and University Library.<sup>1</sup>

Jin diser dewtschen schrift / get es gemeinlich zu / wie bey vns inn vnserer dewtschen schrift · Dorumb<sup>2</sup> bedarfs wenig Beschreibens / oder vnterweisens / zur ler / Wie mans lesen sol lernen · Denn der vor vnserer dewtsche schrift lesen kan / der list leichtlich diso Jüdische deutsche schrift auch · wen er nur / die buchstaben kennen lernet · vnd weis welchs Ire vocal sein / So hot er das meiste gelernt · Dan gleicher weis wie man vnserer dewtsche Schrift buchstabt / vnd zu sammen füget · Also gets mit der iüdischen dewtschen schrift auch zu.

Allein wo sie sich wendet / vnd nit vergleicht mit der vnserer<sup>3</sup> / Wil ich anzeichnen ihren vnderscheid ·

Am<sup>4</sup> ersten merck die buchstaben zu kennen / vnd auch zu nennen · Vnd wiff das Ihre vers / oder zeilen / samt dem ganczen buch anfang ist / wo die vnseren ein End haben ·

Vnd wirt gelesen von der rechten / zur linken zu .

<sup>1</sup> The entire document is printed with a Gothic Roman font and a *masket* Hebrew font; because of that consistency, neither font is distinctively marked in the present edition. An overline is used extensively in the original to abbreviate, particularly, but not exclusively, nasals. All are expanded here. There also seem to be three separate superscript diacritics above vowels: superscript 'e' (conventionally the indicator of umlaut), a circle (conventionally over *u* often an indicator of /uo/, but sometimes also simply of /u/, adopted from handwriting conventions), and a dot. The marks are, however, not always clear in function, with presumed unlauded vowels marked sometimes with a dot or circle, and presumed nonunlauded vowels sometimes marked with a superscript 'e.' Due to the poor print quality, the three marks are also not always distinguishable. I have followed as close to a 'diplomatic' editorial practice here as is possible, based on the named problems with the text; thus one should not expect the diacritical markings to reflect those of, for instance, modern standard German.

<sup>2</sup> Dorumb ] H Doruñ; here expanded in conformity with other instances of the unabbreviated word in the text.

<sup>3</sup> vnserer ] H vnserer.

<sup>4</sup> In the right margin: Anfang / vnd ordnung zu lesen · 'Beginning and order of reading'

Paul Helicz

*Primer or reader, in which much is thoroughly taught about how German pamphlets, letters, circulars, and certificates of debt are written with the Hebrew (or Jewish) alphabet; in addition, how numbers, years, months, and other such things are to be read and understood. Now newly published.*  
(1543)

In this German script things are generally done as they are in our German script. For this reason there is little need of a description or instruction to learn how one must learn to read it. For anyone who can already read our German script, can also easily read this Jewish-German script, if he only learns the alphabet and knows what their vowels are. Thus he has already learned most of it. For in the same manner that one spells and combines letters in our German script, so too is it done in the Jewish-German script.

I will indicate its distinctions only in those ways that it differs and is not the same as in ours.

First of all, learn to recognize and name the letters of the alphabet, and know that their verses and lines, and in fact the book as a whole, begin where ours end.

And are read from right to left.

Das sein die namen der buchstaben :

ches	zaiin	vof	he	dales	gimel	bes	Aleff
ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
aiin	famich	nun	mem	lamed	kof	iud	tes
ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט
	· tof	fchin	refch	kuf	czadiq	pe	
	:	ת	ש	ר	ק	צ	פ

Also vil hot diſe ſchriftt buchſtaben . wie ſie do vör dir ſten genent mit Jren namen . //

Noch<sup>5</sup> ſein in diſer ſchriftt / fünff buchſtaben / die werdñ bey vñs genant finales / das iſt endbuchſtaben . dorumb / das ſie allein amm end deſſ worts (Wie das klein s im deutſchen) geſchriben werden / So doch die andern / ſo ihnen imm Laut gleich ſein / amm anfang vñd mittel des worts geſchriben werden / aber amm end nicht .

Vñd ſein diſe finales .

czadick ץ fe ף nun ן mem ם kof ך

Vñd Werden vnterſcheid halben (die finales die oben geſetzt) bey den iüden ſchlechte / die andern aber / ſo ihn im laut gleich ſein / krumme genant / wie du dieſe vnterſcheid hernoch vorzeichent ſichſt .

ſchlechte kof	krumme kof
ך	כ
geſchloſſene mem	offene mem <sup>6</sup>
ם	מ
Schlechte nun .	krumme nun .
ן	נ
fe	pe
ף	פ
Schlechte czadick	krumme zadick
ץ	צ

<sup>5</sup> In the left margin: Finales 'finals'

<sup>6</sup> In left margin: In geſchribenen Büchern / wirt die offene mem am meiſten alſo ם [*masket mem; ed.*] geſchriben . vñd auch di fchin wirt zu weilen alſo e geſchriben in einem zuk / vmb der behendikeit willen [<sup>6</sup>In manuscripts the open *mem* is generally thus ם [*masket mem; ed.*] and the *shin* is ſometimes alſo written e in a ſingle penſtroke, for the ſake of agility].

These are the names of the letters:

hes zayin waw he dalet gimel bet alef

ה ז ו ה ד ג ב א

ayin samekh nun mem lamed kaf yod tet

ע ס נ מ ל כ י ט

· taw shin resh kof şade pe

ת ש ר ק צ פ :

This script thus has as many letters as you have here before you with their names.

In this script there are also five letters that we designate *finales*, that is, final letters, because they are written only at the end of words (as the small *s* in German).<sup>1</sup> Thus the others, which are phonetically identical, are written at the beginning and in the middle of words, but not at the end.

These final letters are:

czadick ץ fe ף nun ן mem ם kaf ך

In order to distinguish them, these letters (the final letters noted above) are designated 'common' by the Jews; the others, which are phonetically identical, are called 'curved'; you can see the distinction in what is hereafter shown:

common kaf

ך

curved kaf

כ

closed mem

ם

open mem

מ

common nun .

ן

curved nun .

נ

fe

ף

pe

פ

common şade

ץ

curved şade

צ

<sup>1</sup> I.e. as opposed to the 'long's: *f* as commonly used in this and other Roman-alphabet texts of the period.

Laut vnd bedeutung der buchstaben .<sup>7</sup>

Vnd domit du nun klerlich die buchstaben / wie die inn Jrem laut gelesen werden / vorstest mügest . so merk / wie die hernoch mit den deutſchen buchstaben vorzeichent sein . Du magst auch leichtlich eins Jden krafft / aus seinem namen lernen / Wie sie den oben benent sein . // So du allein auff den anfang des Namens achtung host :

Als die alef / die thut wie vnſere a . Die bes / thut wie vnſere b . Die gimel / thut wie vnſere g / Die Dales thut wie vnſere d / Die he / thut h / Die vaf thut u . ſaiin / thut ſ . cheff / thut ch . teff / thut t . iud / thut i . kof / thut k . lamed / thut l . mem / thut m . nun / thut n . ſamich / thut ſ . aiin / thut e . pe / thut p . czadik / thut cz . kuf / thut k . refch / thut r . ſchin / thut ſch . tof / thut t . Wie do vor czeichnet ist .

ſch r k tz tz ff ff p e ſſ n n m m l ch ch u t ſ u h d g v b a  
א ב ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ כ ך ל מ ם נ ן ס ע פ ף צ ק ר ש ת

An ſtat des x . welches die Jüden nicht haben . brauchen ſie / קס / das ist ks :

Das ſein die vocales .<sup>8</sup>

e i o u ü  
ע י א ו ן

Hier noch folgenden / Diphthungi .<sup>9</sup>

װ . וי  
ױ . יי  
אוי . au . vnd eui  
װױ . ein w<sup>10</sup>

Kein a vokal hot diſe deutſche ſchrift / Sunder merk welchen buchſtab<sup>11</sup> kein vocal noch volget / der ſelb wirt a weis gelesen / Wie<sup>12</sup> du van leichtlich / hinden aus den vorgeſtelten brifen vernemen wiſt. //

Von der rafe .<sup>13</sup>

Ferner ſoltu merken / das ein virgula / oder ſtrichlen ist mit namen rafe . ſo es in deutſcher ſchrift / vber der dreien buchſtaben einem / Nemlich vber dem כ פ befunden wirt / muſtu den ſelben buchſtaben / weicher aufſprechen den fünft . als ב bedeut b . Mit der rafa aber / v conſonantem / oder ein lindes f . Alſo כ bedeut k . Mit der rafa / ch . die פ bedeut p . Mit der rafa aber / ff . Wie du ſölchs aus noch folgenden exempel / vorſten kanſt Allſo ist Das ליבער liber . hot aber die bes ein rafa / ſo thut es ליבער lifer / alſo

hafen haben gefurt geburt gefunden gebunden  
הבען הבען געבורט געבורט געבונדען געבונדען

<sup>7</sup> In the left margin is repeated a variation: bedeutung vnd laut der buchſtaben 'meaning and sound of the letters' [last word is set *bnchſtaben*].

<sup>8</sup> In the right margin: Vocales 'vowels'

<sup>9</sup> In the right margin: Diphthungi 'diphthongs'

<sup>10</sup> In the right margin: W

<sup>11</sup> buchſtab ] H bnchſtab.

<sup>12</sup> Wie ] H W e.

<sup>13</sup> In the left margin: rafirte buchſtaben 'letters with rafe'

## Sound and Meaning of the Letters

And so that you might clearly understand how the letters are to be read according to their pronunciation, note how they are hereafter listed with the German letters. You may also easily recognize the sound of each one from its name, as they are designated above, if you only attend to the beginning of the name:

Thus the *alef* has the significance of our *a*. The *bet* has the significance of our *b*. The *gimel* has the significance of our *g*. The *dalet* has the significance of our *d*. The *he* signifies *h*. The *waw* signifies *u*. *Zayin* signifies *s*. *Het* signifies *ch*. *Tet* signifies *t*. *Yod* signifies *i*. *Kaf* signifies *k*. *Lamed* signifies *l*. *Mem* signifies *m*. *Nun* signifies *n*. *Samekh* signifies *s*. *Ayin* signifies *e*. *Pe* signifies *p*. *Şade* signifies *cz*. *Kof* signifies *k*. *Resh* signifies *r*. *Shin* signifies *sch*. *Taw* signifies *t*. As is here listed:

fch r k tz tz ff ff p e ff n n m m l ch ch u t f u h d g v b a  
א ב ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ כ ך ל מ ם ן ס ע פ ף צ ץ ק ר ש ת

Instead of the *x*, which the Jews do not have, they use קס, that is *ks*.

These are the Vowels.

e i o u ü  
ע י א ו יי

Here follow the diphthongs:

ü . יי  
ei . יי  
au and eü . אוי  
w וו

This German script has no vowel *a*. Instead, note which letter is not followed by a vowel; that one is read with an *a*, as you will readily see in the letters appended below.

Concerning *rafe*.

Additionally, you should note that a *virgula* or small line is called *rafe*. When in the German script it appears above the three letters, that is כ, כּ, בּ, you must pronounce these letters more gently than usual. The בּ represents *b*; but with *rafe* it is the consonant *v* or a gentle *f*. Thus כּ represents *k*; with *rafe* it is *ch*. The פּ represents *p*; but with the *rafe* it is *ff*. You can understand this from the following examples: thus ליבער *liber* is 'dear,' but if the *bet* has a *rafe*, then it signifies ליבער *lifer* 'rather.'

harbor	have	led	birth	found	bound
hafen	haben	gefurt	geburt	gefunden	gebunden
הבען	הבען	געבורט	געבורט	געבונדען	געבונדען



Also sichstu auch an pe on rafa / also wirts gelesen treppen . טרעפען Mit der rafa  
aber ist es treffen טרעפען

kuper	ziffer	gehuppt	geloffen
קופער	ציפער	געהופט	געלאפען

Die kof aber / wirt im deutſchen nur mit rafa gebraucht / vnd on rafa / nümer nit .  
Vnd ſie alein wirt gebraucht zumm ch . vnd die ches garnit . Wie verzeichent iſt .

fachen	wacht	knecht	recht	horcht	vorcht
זכען	ווכט	קנעכט	רעכט	הארכט	וארכט

Vnd der gleichen . Summa ſo wis dich nur zu hüten / das du im deutſchen / kein  
ches / kein kof / auch kein tof / nit brauchſt . Sunder kof rafa nim an ſtel der ches /  
zur ch . Die kuf aber / nim zur k / vnd nit die kof . Die tes / nim zur t / vnd nit die  
tof . //

So<sup>14</sup> wis nun weiter / Das die bes rafa / vnd die vaf / werden beid gleich lind vnd  
ſanft / auff die zungen gefaſt / Wie die v conſonans oder ein lind f . Allein das iſt ir  
vnterſcheid Das die vaf nur vorrn / am anfang des worts / kan vnd mag vor f / oder  
v conſonantem gelesen werden / vnd ſunſt nitt . Dan wenn die vaf noch einem  
buchſtaben ſtet / mus ſie nur eins vocals ambt haben . ſo iſt der leſer deſte gewiſſer /  
vnd behend zum leſen / Darff ſich nitt lang vorſehenn / oder bedenken / op die vaf  
ein v vocal ſei / oder ob noch im ein ander vocal kumtt / vnd diſe erſte vaf f / gelesen  
ſolt werden . dorumb braucht man bes rafa . Auch am anfang des worts kan die vof  
nit allmol / vör v conſonantem . oder ein f / gelesen werden . Als<sup>15</sup> wenn ein u vocales  
dornach volgen ſol . wie in diſem wort furman . do muſtu nit / וורמן / fonder בורמן  
ſchreiben

Das iſt / das du an ſtat des erſten vof / ein bes rafa ſetzeſt : Dann zwei vof  
nacheinander / iſt in diſer ſchrift / ein deutſch w : als / willen / ווילען

Volget aber ein vof vocal / noch den zwen vofen / die do w anzeigen / ſo ſeczen  
ſie ein aleff zwüſchen vof vocales vnd den vofen w . als וואונדער wunder .

#### Die gemeine zal der Jüden .<sup>16</sup>

Mit diſer zal wirtt der ganczen biblien capitel geczelt / Auch inn allem ihrem thun /  
wirt diſe zal Amm meiſten gebraucht .

Die ordnung irer buchſtaben / das iſt Jre czal . Haben ſünſt keine figur / oder  
punkt / der do bedewtet Eins oder zwey / wider drey Noch fier et cetera / Als wir dan  
bei vns haben . 1 / 2 / 3 / 4 / et cetera . ſie aber zelen nur mitt buchſtabne / das iſt  
ire zal . (Aus genummen die zal / Die mit der // ebreiſchen ſchproch geredt wirt)  
Aber ſünſt in allen ihren dewtſchen notorften . Auch vil mol im Ebreiſchen (von  
wegen der kürcz) gebraucht wirt .

<sup>14</sup> In the right margin: von der bes rafa 'concerning *bet* with *rafe*'

<sup>15</sup> In the right margin: von der vof 'concerning *waw*'

<sup>16</sup> In the right margin: die zal der Jüden 'the Jewish numerals'

Thus if you see a *pe* without *rafe*, it is read as *treppen* טרעפּען 'stairs'; but with *rafe* it is *treffen* טרעפּען 'meet.'

copper	numeral	hopped	[have] run
kuper	ziffer	gehuppt	geloffen
קופער	ציפער	געהופט	געלאפּען

The *kaf* is used in German only with *rafe* and never without it, and it alone is used for *ch*, and *het* not at all, as is here illustrated:

things	guards	manservant	just	listens	fears
sachen	wacht	knecht	recht	horcht	vorcht
זאַכען	וואַכט	קנעכט	רעכט	האַרכט	וואַרכט

And so on. Thus the main thing is that you should pay attention to the fact that in German you do not use *het*, *kaf*, and *taw*. Rather use *kaf rafe* instead of *het* for *ch*; use *kof* and not *kaf* for *k*; use *tet* and not *taw* for *t*.

Note further that the *bet rafe* and the *waw* are both held softly and gently on the tongue as the consonant *v* or a gentle *f*. The only difference is that [consonantal] *waw* can occur only at the beginning of a word and can be pronounced either as *f* or consonantal *v*, and not otherwise. For when the *waw* occurs following a letter, it necessarily has vocalic value. Thus the reader can be quite certain and agile in reading, not needing to be on his guard or consider whether the *v* is a vowel or whether another vowel follows it and this first *waw* should be read as *f*. For that reason, one uses *bet rafe*. Even at the beginning of the word, the *waw* cannot always be read as consonantal *v* or *f*, as, for example, when a vocalic *u* follows, as in the word *furman*; there you may not write וורמן but rather בורמן.

That is, you write a *bet rafe* in place of the first *waw*. Then, in this script, two *waws*, one after the other, signify a German *w*, as in *willen* ווילען.

If a vocalic *waw* follows the two *waws* that signify *w*, then place an *alef* between the vocalic *waw* and the double *waw* that signifies *w*, as in וואונדער *wunder*.

#### The Common Numerals of the Jews.

The chapters of the whole Bible are numbered with these numerals; these numerals are the most commonly used in all of their dealings.

The numerals follow the order of their alphabet. Otherwise they have no figure or mark that signifies one or two or three or four, etc., as we have 1, 2, 3, 4, etc. They, however, count only with letters of the alphabet. Those are their numerals (except for the numerals used in spoken Hebrew). But otherwise for all of their German needs, and also often in Hebrew (for the sake of brevity), these are used.

Also solstu wiſſen wie ſie noch ordnung ihrer buchſtaben die ziffer vnd zal haben · Die aleff / iſt der erſte buchſtab / bedewtet eins · Die bes der ander buchſtab / bedewtet zwey · Die gimel der dritte / bedewtet drey · Die dales / der firde / bedewtet fier · Die he / der fünfte / bedewtet fünf · Die voff / der ſechſt / bedwtet ſechs · Die ſaiin / der ſibend / bedewtet ſiben · Die ches / der achte / bedewtet acht · Die tes / der newnde / bedewtet newne · Die iud / iſt der zehende buchſtab / bedewtet zehen · Wie hie verzeichnet ·

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א

Von der iud an zu fahen / welche zehen iſt bedeut ein Jder noch folgender buchſtab 10 · mer als der ander · Noch der ordnung her · Die Jud / iſt 10 / wie vor gefagt · Die kof iſt 20 · Die lamed 30 Die mem / 40 · die nun 50 · Die ſamich 60 · die aiin / 70 · Die pe / 80 · Die czadick / 90 · Die kuff / bedewtet · 100 · Wie verzeichnet iſt ·

100	90	80	70 <sup>17</sup>	60	50	40	30	20	10
ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י

Also get es auch zu fort hinaus / bis zum ende des Allef bes · kuf / reſch / ſchin / tof / thun ein iklichs vom hundert mehr den der ander · gleich wie vor von der Jud an (die do 10 bedewtet) Nun aber wirt vort ein idlicher buchſtab vom 10 · erhöht · Also hie auch / von der kuf an (die do // 100 bdewtet) Nun vort die überigen buchſtaben hernoch / Werden erhöht / ein Jekliches vom hundert mer / denn der ander · Die kuf thut 100 · wie vor gefagt / So thut die res / 200 · die ſchin 300 · Vnd die toff thut 400 · et cetera

· 400	· 300	· 200	· 100
ת	ש	ך	ק

Thus you should know how they have their numerals and numbers according to the order of their letters of the alphabet: *alef* is the first letter and signifies one; *bet* is the second letter and signifies two; *gimel* is the third and signifies three; *dalet* is the fourth and signifies four; *he* is the fifth and signifies five; *waw* is the sixth and signifies six; *zayin* is the seventh and signifies seven; *het* is the eighth and signifies eight; *tet* is the ninth and signifies nine; *yod* is the tenth letter and signifies ten. As is here illustrated:

10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
י	ט	ח	ז	ה	ד	ג	ב	א	

Beginning with the *yod*, which is ten, each successive letter signifies ten more than the previous one, according to their order. The *yod* is ten, as noted already; *kaf* is twenty; *lamed* is thirty; *mem* is forty; *nun* is fifty; *samekh* is sixty; *ayin* is seventy; *pe* is eighty; *sade* is ninety; *kof* signifies one hundred. As is here illustrated:

100	90	80	70	60	50	40	30	20	10
ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	י

Thus it continues until the end of the alphabet: *kof*, *resh*, *shin*, *taw* each signifies a hundred more than the previous one, just as was the case before with the *yod* (which here signifies 10). But now, each successive letter is worth ten more. Thus also here, beginning with *kof* (which here signifies 100). Thus it is with the remaining letters hereafter, each of which is worth successively 100 more than the previous one. The *kof* signifies 100, as noted already. Thus the *resh* signifies 200, the *shin* 300, and the *taw* 400, etc.

· 400	· 300	· 200	· 100
ת	ש	ר	ק

Alfo hostu nun das gancze Aleff bes aus gesehen / dorin ein yder buchstab / zur zal gebraucht wirt / do mitt man zelen kan so fil man wil . So wis nun / das es inn diser zal nit zue get / wie bey vns in vnserer ziffer / do die stell / vnd ort / die zal gar lengkt / vnd wendt . Dan man mus auff sehn welches vor / oder noch stet . vnd leit vil dran / wie du wol weift / Stet das 1 amm erften / so Jst es nur eins . Stets aber / noch einer andren ziffer / so bedewtt es 10 . Jtets aber / noch zweien zifferen / So bedewet es / 100 . Vnd also fort / y manchen grad weiter / also oft bedewtet<sup>18</sup> es zehen mol als vil mer . Aber in der Judischen zal / hot ein iczlicher buchstab seine sündliche zu geeigete zal . Es Jto der buchstab wo er Jte / so wirt er ein mol nit mer noch weniger thun / als das ander mol er ein mol . Die Allef / dewtet eins / Sie bleibet auch bey Jrem zu geaigentem ambt . Sie Jte vor / oder noch . Allfo auch die andren gar mit einander . Allein das wis / das sie gleich wie wir / auch die meiste summa am erften seczen . Vnd die kleineren hernoch . Am erften den größten buchstaben / der das meiste anzeiget / dornoch die kleineren . Des zum besser vntrricht / wil ich dir genucksam vor zelen Vnd vnserer zal drüber verzeichnen . doran du ap nemen kanst / Vnd zelen wie wen du wilt . dan sie haben vmerdar eine weis / Aus genummen wen sie . 15<sup>19</sup> schreiben / so nemen sie nit die Jud vnd die He . sonder nemen die tes / vnd die vof . die thün auch beid zusamman 15 . drümm daz mitt disem zweien buchstaben / Jud vnd he / Gott also // genennet wirt imm Ebereischen.<sup>20</sup> So wöllen sie keine zal also nennen oder heissen . Aber on dise czal 15 Hot es alles eine weis . Wie verzeichnet ist .

20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11
כ	יט	יח	יז	יז	טו	יד	יג	יב	יא
30 <sup>21</sup>	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21
ל	כט	כח	כז	כו	כה	כד	כג	כב	כא
40	39	38	37	36	35	34	33	32	31
מ	לט	לח	לו	לו	לה	לד	לג	לב	לא
50	49	48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41
נ	מט	מח	מז	מו	מה	מד	מג	מב	מא
60	59	58	57	56	55	54	53	52	51
ס	נט	נח	נז	נו	נה	נד	נג	נב	נא
70	69	68	67	66	65	64	63	62	61
ע	סט	סח	סז	סו	סה	סד	סג	סב	סא
80	79	78	77	76	75	74	73	72	71
פ	עט	עח	עז	עו	עה	עד	עג	עב	עא
90	89	88	87	86	85	84	83	82	81
צ	פט	פח	פז	פו	פה	פד	פג	פב	פא

<sup>18</sup> bedewtet ] H bewtet.

<sup>19</sup> 15 ] H 5

<sup>20</sup> In the left margin: הללו יה Halelu ia 'Hallelujah'

<sup>21</sup> 30 ] H 03.

The numerical use of the entire alphabet has thus now been presented to you, so that one can count as high as one wishes. Now you should also know that these numbers are not employed as are our numerals, whose value is determined by place value. Then one must pay attention to which one comes before or after the other, which causes a great deal of trouble, as you know. If the 1 is in the first place, then it signifies only one. If it comes after another numeral,<sup>2</sup> it signifies 10; if it comes after two other numerals, then it signifies 100. And so on, with each successive movement of [mathematical] place, the value increases by a multiple of ten. But with Jewish numerals, each letter has its particular numerical value. Wherever the letter stands, its value is no more nor less than at any other time—it counts only once. The *alef* signifies one; it retains this intrinsic value, whether it comes before or after [another numeral]. Thus it is also with all the other letters. But you should know that, just as we do, they also place the numeral with the largest value in the first position, and the smaller ones thereafter: in the first position, the largest letters, with the greatest numerical values, and thereafter the smaller ones. For the sake of better instruction, I will present a sufficient number of the numerals here along with our numerals above them, so that you can understand them and count whenever and however you wish. For they have only this single means [of counting], except when they write 15. For then they do not use *yod* and *he*, but rather *tet* and *waw*, which together also equal 15. That is because in Hebrew God is thus designated with the two letters *yod* and *he*. Thus they do not wish to have such a numeral. But except for the number 15,<sup>3</sup> there is only a single means [of counting]. As is here illustrated:

20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11
כ	יט	יח	יז	יו	טו	יד	יג	יב	יא
30 <sup>4</sup>	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21
ל	כט	כח	כז	כו	כה	כד	כג	כב	כא
40	39	38	37	36	35	34	33	32	31
מ	לט	לח	לז	לו	לה	לד	לג	לב	לא
50	49	48	47	46	45	44	43	42	41
נ	מט	מח	מז	מו	מה	מד	מג	מב	מא
60	59	58	57	56	55	54	53	52	51
ס	נט	נח	נז	נו	נה	נד	נג	נב	נא
70	69	68	67	66	65	64	63	62	61
ע	סט	סח	סז	סו	סה	סד	סג	סב	סא
80	79	78	77	76	75	74	73	72	71
פ	עט	עח	עז	עו	עה	עד	עג	עב	עא
90	89	88	87	86	85	84	83	82	81
צ	פט	פח	פז	פו	פה	פד	פג	פב	פא

<sup>2</sup> 'after' here has the sense of: having a greater place value.

<sup>3</sup> In fact, the number 16, which would be expressed yod-waw according to the standard alpha-numerical order, was then and still is also altered in pious usage to טז for the same reason as here detailed.

<sup>4</sup> 30 ] H 03.

100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 92 91  
 נא צב צג צד צה צו צז צח צט ק

Alfo vare fort / von hundred an vnd weiter / Gleich wie du dife weife bis her /  
 gefehen hof . Stele die kuf / (die do hundred an zeigt) am erften . Dornoch die  
 kleinere fumma . Wie vor zeichent ift .

110	109	108	107	106	105	104	103	102	101
קי	קט	קח	קז	קו	קה	קד	קג	קב	קא
120	119	118	117	116	115	114	113	112	111
קכ	קיט	קיח	קייז	קיו	קטו	קיד	קיג	קיב	קיא
130	129	128	127	126	125	124	123	122	121
קל	קכט	קכח	קכז	קכו	קכה	קכד	קכג	קכב	קכא
140	139	138	137	136	135	134	133	132	131
קם	קלט	קלח	קלז	קלו	קלה	קלד	קלג	קלב	קלא
150	149	148	147	146	145	144	143	142	141
קן	קמט	קמח	קמז	קמו	קמה	קמד	קמג	קמב	קמא

Vnd alfo fort / kanftu wol apnemen / vnd felbs wiffen zurechenen wie du wilt .  
 Allin das foltu wiffen / das bei in gemeineklich der brauch ift / difes nochfolgend /  
 mit volkummen ebreifchen wörtern zubefchreiben . Vnd<sup>22</sup> fein diefe worte /  
 Taufent / Hundert / Gülden . Grofchen / Heller / Halben . Wie vorzeichnet f tet .

Singulariter eleff / ift taufer אלף	Pluraliter ölofim ift taufer אלפים
Meo / ift hundred / מאה	Meos / ift hundred / מאות
Sohof / ift gülden . זהב	Söhufim / ift gülden / זהובים
godol / deutet grofchen גדול	godolim deutet grofchen גדולים
koton / deutet heller קטן	kötannim / deutet heller . קטנים
chaczi / ein halbes חצי //	

Merck nun / wen fie fchreiben מאות 100 . So ifts eben als wir feczen wölten / 6 hundred .  
 Alfo auch / wen fie fchreiben אלפים 700 . Eben als wir feczen wölten 400 . taufer  
 et cetera Gleicher weis . Wie wir auch inn vnfern deutſchen / den gülden floren /  
 befchreiben . et cetera . חצי chaczi / bedeuët Halb . es fteh warnoch es wölle / noch  
 Grofchen / Gülden / Hundert / Taufend / Elen / Gewicht . mos / oder andrem .

<sup>22</sup> Vnd ] H Vud.

100 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 92 91  
 ק צט צח צז צו צה צד צג צב צא

Then continue on from 100 just as you have seen up to this point. Place the *kof* (which signifies 100) in the first position, and thereafter the smaller numerals, as is here illustrated:

110	109	108	107	106	105	104	103	102	101
קי	קט	קח	קז	קו	קה	קד	קג	קב	קא
120	119	118	117	116	115	114	113	112	111
קכ	קיט	קיח	קיז	קיו	קטו	קיד	קיג	קיב	קיא
130	129	128	127	126	125	124	123	122	121
קל	קכט	קכח	קכז	קכו	קכה	קכד	קכג	קכב	קכא
140	139	138	137	136	135	134	133	132	131
קם	קלט	קלח	קלז	קלו	קלה	קלד	קלג	קלב	קלא
150	149	148	147	146	145	144	143	142	141
קן	קמט	קמח	קמז	קמו	קמה	קמד	קמג	קמב	קמא

And so on, in this same manner you can understand and count further on your own, as you wish. Only you should know that according to their common usage, they use strictly Hebrew words to correspond to these [numerals]. And these words are for “thousand,” “hundred,” “gulden,” “groschen,” “heller,” “half.” As is illustrated here:

Singular	Plural
<i>eleff</i> is thousand	<i>ölofim</i> is thousand
אלף	אלפים
<i>Meo</i> is hundred	<i>Meos</i> is hundred
מאה	מאות
<i>Sohof</i> is <i>gulden</i>	<i>Söhufim</i> is <i>gulden</i>
זהב	זהובים
<i>godol</i> signifies <i>groschen</i>	<i>godolim</i> signifies <i>groschen</i>
גדול	גדולים
<i>koton</i> signifies <i>heller</i>	<i>kotanim</i> signifies <i>heller</i>
קטן	קטנים
<i>chaczi</i> signifies ‘half’	
חצי	

Note that when they write 1 מאות, it is the same as if we were to write 6 hundred. Thus also when they write 7 אלפים, it is the same as if we were to write 4 thousand, etc. In the same way as we describe *gulden*, *florin*, etc. in German, חצי *chaczi* signifies ‘half,’ no matter where it is used—after *groschen*, *gulden*, ‘hundred,’ thousand,’ ‘ells,’ ‘weight,’ ‘measure,’ or anything else.



Auch<sup>23</sup> soltu wiſſen / belangnd die Jar zal / das die Jüden von beſchepfung der welt an / vnd nit von der geburt Chriſti an zelen / wie wir / ſonder auff heütigen tag / do wir zelen . 1543 . ſo zelen die Jüden von beſchaffung der welt . 5303 . Jdoch laſſen ſie gemeinlich in ſölcher Jar beſchreibung / die tauſend zal / aus / vnd ſchreiben nur die vbrigen hundert vnd kleine zal . Als in vorgeſetztem exempel . 5303 . ſeczen ſie םג das iſt .303 . So oft aber diſ geſchicht / ſeczen ſie darczu לֵפֶק / das iſt ſouil bei ihne / als wir pflegen zuſagen der minner oder der klinen zal

Das<sup>24</sup> ſein die namen der monat .

תמוז	סיון	אייר	ניסן
tamus .	Siuon .	Jyar .	Niſſan
Juſtus	Julius .	Maius .	Aprill .
Heümonat .	Brachmon .	mey .	
· מרחשון	תשרי	אלול	אב
marcheſchan .	Tiſchre .	Elul .	Af ,
Nouember .	October .	September .	Auguſtus .
Wintermon .	Weinmon .	Herbſtmon .	Augſtmon . \\\
אדר	שבט	טבת	כסליו
Odor .	Schfatt .	tefas .	kiflef .
Marcius .	Febriuarius .	Januarius .	December .
mercz .	Hornung <sup>25</sup> .	Jener .	Chriſtmon .

Niſſan (das iſt april) der iſt bei in der erſte monat / zur zal / auff das Jhar der ander / Sifan der drite monat<sup>26</sup> / genennet müſſen werden et cetera : Aber an tiſchre (das iſt der weinmon) heben ſie das Jar an zu zelen .

So wiſſ auch das dieſe monat aller mit ſamt iren tagen / von Jhnen aus geteilt werden / das ſie ſich mit dem ſcheinenden licht (vm ein tag on geuerdlich) vergleichen vnd verfügen : Vnd nicht wie wir / nach gleicher aus teilung des Jars / ſeczen . Derhalb / ſo ein Jor die zal der zwelff monat vbertrifft / heiſen ſie den dreizehenden monat / ואדר veodor . Wie wir / Emboliſmon .

So ſoltu auch wiſſen / das offte mols die ſchin vor ein ſ / gebraucht wirt . ob wol oben im alef beſ ſch / ftet . diſ wirſtu clerer ab nemen / ſo duſ nach dem deutſchen vrgleichet / Als wir ſchreiben / ſpille vor ſchpille / ſtad / vor ſchtat et cetera . Dergleichen werden etliche wörter / on vocaln fürezhalben geſetzt : Wie dan auch vns inn deutſcher ſchprach breüchlich iſt / Als gmein / ſaur / bdenkn / one vocal zu ſchreiben vnd zuleſen . Es wirt auch oft alef vor a / die vof vor ein o vocal geſetzt . vnd geleſen . diſ vnd anders mehr / wirt dich die vbung des leſens / ob ich auch ſchon alhie keine meldung douon gethon het / wol belernen . doch hab ichs vmb beſſers berichts willen / vnd aus treuen / dir nit gewiſt zuuerhalten . \\\

<sup>23</sup> In the left margin: Jar zal . 'number of the year'

<sup>24</sup> In the left margin: Namen der monat . 'names of the months'

<sup>25</sup> *Hornung* is an archaic German designation for February that dates back to the Middle Ages.

<sup>26</sup> monat ] H moat

You should also know, concerning the designation of the year, that the Jews count from the creation of the world and not from the birth of Christ, as we do. Thus, instead of 1543, as we count the present year, the Jews count from the creation of the world 5303. Generally, however, in such designations of the year, they omit the number of thousands and write the numerals only for the hundreds and smaller numbers. As in the preceding example, 5303, they write שג, that is, 303. When they do this, however, they also add לִפְּקָה<sup>5</sup> by which they mean the same as we do when we say 'the lesser' or 'the small number.'

These are the names of the months:

תמוז	סיון	אייר	ניסן
Tammuz .	Sivan .	Iyyar .	Nisan
June	July .	May .	April .
hay month .	fallow month .	May .	
· מרחשון	תשרי	אלול	אב
[Mar]heshvan .	Tishri .	Elul .	Av
November .	October .	September .	August .
Winter month .	Wine month .	Autumn month .	August month . \\\
אדר	שבט	טבת	כסליו
Adar .	Shevat .	Tevet .	Kislev .
March .	February .	January .	December .
March .	February .	January .	Christ month .

Nisan (that is, April) is the first month in the order; Iyyar is the second; Sivan is to be counted the third month, etc. It is with Tishri (that is the wine month), however, that they begin counting the year.

Know also that they divide these months altogether with their days so that they are appropriate and fit the shining light of the approximate length of a day, and not as we do, according to an equal division of the year. Thus, when a year exceeds the twelve months, they call the thirteenth month וְאָדָר *veodor*, just as we call it an intercalary month.

So you should also know that often a *shin* is used for *s*, although in the alphabet above it is *sch*. You will understand this more clearly, if you compare it with German: as we write *spille* for *schpille*, *stad* for *schtat*, etc. Likewise, some words are written without a vowel at the beginning, as is also common in our German language: as in *gmein*, *saur*, *bedenken*, without writing and reading a vowel. Often *alef* is written and read for *a*, *waw* for the vowel *o*. This and other such issues would become clear to you through practice in reading, even if I had made no mention of it here. But I have done so for the sake of providing a better report, and for the sake of fidelity in not deliberately withholding it from you.

<sup>5</sup> = לפקת קטן 'according to the abbreviated era.'

Also ist die angezeigt die Art un weise<sup>27</sup> der Jüdeschen dewtſchen schrift . Zur beſſerer / volkumner vndericht / wil ich dir diſe nochfolgenden figuren geſtellt haben . Vnd liſ alle ire ſchrift von der rechten zur linken<sup>28</sup> zu .

werde geheiliget · himel im biſt du der vnſer Vater<sup>29</sup>  
וטער אונזער דער דו ביסט אים הימעל · געהייליגעט ווערד

geſchech willen Dein · reich dein vns kum zu · namen dein  
דיין נמען · צו קום אונס דיין רייך · דיין ווילען געשעך

teglich Vnſer · erden der auff vnd himmel im alſo  
אלזו אים הימעל אונ' אויף דער ערדען · אונזער טעגליך

Als / ſchuld vnſer vns vergib Vnd · hewte vns gib brot  
בראט גיב אונס הויט · אונ' וערגיב אונס אונזרע שולד אלז

leit ein nit vnd · ſchuldigern vnſerren vergeben wir auch<sup>30</sup>  
אויך וויר וערגעבען אונזערען שולדיגערן · אונ' ניט איין לייט

· vbel vom vns erlös ſunder / verſuchung ein vns<sup>31</sup>  
אונס איין וערזוכונג · זונדער ערלאז אונס בום אויבל ·

: אמן amen .

freund<sup>32</sup> liber Günftiger vor zu diſt willigen Mein  
מיין וויליגען דינסט צו ואר · גוינסטיגער ליבער ורוינד ·

iczigen auf mir wölteſt dich an iſt bith mein  
מיין ביט איסט אן דיך · וואלעסט מיר אויף איציגען

vorzeichent zetl dieſem in die waren / etlich Jarmargt  
\\ יאר מרקט עטליך וורען · די אין דיזעם צעטל וארצייכענט

vmb alzeit widerumb ich wil Das / einkaufen ſein  
זיין · איין קויפֿען · דש וויל איך ווידער אום אלצייט אויס

<sup>27</sup> weise ] H wiefe.

<sup>28</sup> linken ] H liuken.

<sup>29</sup> In the left margin: Vater vnſer · 'our Father'

<sup>30</sup> auch ] H vuch.

<sup>31</sup> vns ] H ans.

<sup>32</sup> In the left margin: Send brif . 'circular'

Thus the method presented is the one for the Jewish-German script. For the sake of better and more comprehensive instruction, I would like to append the following texts. Read all their texts from right to left.

be hallowed , heaven in are you who our father  
werde geheiliget . himel im bist du der vnser Vater  
וטער אונזער דער דו ביסט אים הימעל . געהייליגעט ווערד

be done will your, kingdom your to us come, name your  
geschech willen Dein . reich dein vns kum zu . namen dein  
דיין נמען . צו קום אונס דיין רייך . דיין ווילען געשעך

daily our, earth the on and heaven in as  
teglich Vnser . erden der auff vnd himmel im also  
אלזו אים הימעל אונ' אויף דער ערדען . אונזער טעגליך

as debt our us forgive and, today us give bread  
Als / schuld vnser vns vergib Vnd . hewte vns gib brot  
בראט גיב אונס הויט . אונ' וערגיב אונס אונזרע שולד אלז

lead in not and, debtors our forgive we also  
leit ein nit vnd . schuldigern vnserren vergeben wir auch  
אויך וויר וערגעבען אונזערען שולדיגערן . אונ' ניט איין לייט

, evil from us deliver but temptation into us  
. vbel vom vns erlös funder / verfuchung ein vns  
אונס איין וערוזכונג . זונדער ערלאז אונס בום אויבל .

: amen .

friend dear auspicious before service willing my  
freund liber Günstiger vor zu dinft willigen Mein  
מיין וויליגען דינסט צו ואר . גוינסטיגער ליבער ורוינד .

current at to me should you wish you to is request my  
iczigen auf mir wöltest dich an ist bith mein  
מיין ביט איסט אן דיך . וואלעסט מיר אויף איציגען

listed slip this in that merchandise several fair  
vorzeichent zett diesem in die waren / etlich Jarmargt  
|| יאר מרקט עטליך וורען . די אין דיזעם צעטל וארצייכענט

to anytime again I will that buy are  
vmb alzeit widerumb ich wil Das / einkaufen fein  
זיין . איין קויפען . דש וויל איך ווידער אום אלצייט אוים

. befohlen gothe Domit / vordinen dich  
 דִּיךְ ווערדינען . דא מיט גוט בעבֿאלן :

meiner<sup>33</sup> diefer mit bekenne . N . vndengenanter Jch  
 איך אונדען געננטער . נ . בעקען מיט דיזער מיין

aufrichtiger . N . Erbarn dem ich Das . hantſchrift  
 הנט שריפט . דש איך דעם ערברן ' נ . אויף ריכטיגער

zu gülden<sup>34</sup> Den floren . 58 . bin / wurden ſchuldig ſchuld  
 שולד שולדיג וואורדען בין . נח . זהובים . דען . גוולדען צו

im vor ich die waren vor gerechent weis grofchen / 34  
 לד גדולים ווייס גערעכענט . ואר וורען די איך בון אים

ob floren . 58 . fólche im gelob Vnd hab empfangen  
 עמפפנגען הב . אונ' געלוב אים זאלכע . נח . זהובים . אוב

dank gutem zu vnd vólliglich wurden vnd zal berúrter  
 בערוירטער צאל אונ' וורדען . ואליקליך אונ' צו גוטעם דנק

Wo . negſtkúnfftig Johannis vf beizalen zu vorzug on  
 און וארצוג צו בעצלען אויף יאהנים נעגסט קוינפטיג . וואו

ich glob fo . würd feümig zalung fólcher mit aber ich  
 איך אבער מיט זאלכער צאלונג זוימיג וואורד ' זא גלוב איך

derhalben er fo ſcheden die alle ich das himit ime  
 אים היא מיט . דש איך אלע די שעדען . זא ער דער הלבען

mehrer Zu wil vnd fol entrichten würde nemen  
 נעמען וואוירד . ענטריכטען זול אונ' וויל . צו מירער

brif dieſen an figill gewónlich mein ich hab fícherheit  
 זיכערהייט . הב איך מיין געוואנליך זיגעל . אן דיזען בריף

des tag neuzenden den heut Gefchehen . gedrúkt  
 געדרוקט . געשעהען הויט דען נוינצעהענדען טג דעס

<sup>33</sup> In right margin: Schuldbrif . 'certificate of debt'

<sup>34</sup> gülden ] H güldeu



der minner zal · 303 · Jar Jm · tamus monats  
 מונאט תמוז · אים יאר שג · לפק ·

. wonhafftig stat . N . in schimon bar reuuen  
 ראובן בר שמעון אין . ג . שטט וואנהפטיג .

Dise figuren der buchstaben / welche fünft allein in der ebreischen sprach / werden  
 in der gemeinen hantschrift / an stat der fetzal gebraucht . Das vnderste aber ist die  
 hispanisch vnd welsche art zu schreiben.<sup>36</sup>

iud tes ches saiin vof he dales gimel bes Alef

י ט ח ז ו ה ד ג ב א

י ט ח ז ו ה ד ג ב א

refsch kuf zadik pe aiin samich nun mem lamed kof

ר ק צ פ ע ס נ מ ל כ

ר ק צ פ ע ס נ מ ל כ

zad<i>k · fe . . nun . mem . kof : ·tof schin

ץ ף ן ם ך . ת ש

ץ ף ן ם ך . ת ש

<sup>35</sup> בר H in margin: Bar / ist deutsch son · 'bar is German "son"

<sup>36</sup> The 'Hispanic' font = Sephardic semi-cursive, the so-called Rashi font; here italic.

the lesser number 303 year in the Tamuz month  
 der minner zal · 303 · Jar Jm · tamus monats  
 מוֹנָאט תַּמוּז · אִים יָאָר שַׁג · לַפֵּק ·

resident city Name in Simon bar Reuben  
 . wonhafftig stat . N . in schimon bar reuuen  
 רַאוּבֵן בַּר שַׁמְעוֹן אֵין . נ . שַׁטַּט וואַנהאַפֿטיג .

These forms of the letters, which are otherwise used only in the Hebrew language, are used in common manuscripts in place of capital letters. The last [row] represent the Hispanic and Italian forms of the letters.

yod	tet	het	zayin	waw	he	dalet	gimel	bet	alef
י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
resh	kof	şade	pe	ayin	samekh	nun	mem	lamed	kaf
ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ
ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ
şade	fe	nun	mem	kaf		taw	shin		
ץ	ף	ו	ם	ך		ת	ש		
ץ	ף	ו	ם	ך		ת	ש		



Michael Adam,  
 "וויא מן טוייטש לייאן אונ' שרייבן זול"  
 from His Translation of יוסיפון  
 (1546)

Source: Zurich 1546; extant: Oxford, Bodleian O.1.8.Art.Seld.; Opp. 4<sup>o</sup> 1402 [olim 1685].<sup>1</sup>

אונ' איצונדר וועלן וויר איין קליין ווינג רידן בון דעם וויא מן טוייטש לייאן אונ' שרייבן זול :

**עירשטליכן** זא איז צו וואושן דאז איין יוד ברינגט איין חיריק אונ' צירי . איין אלף ברינגט איין קמץ אונ' איין פתח . איין ויו ברינגט איין מלופום אונ' איין חולם . איין עין ברינגט איין סגול : אונ' ווען צווייא יודן בייא אינגדר זיין זא איז דיא לעטר דיא דאר בור שטיט אל מאל גיפונטילט מיט איינס פתח אונ' דש יוד מיט איינס שבא אונ' דש אנדר יוד מאכט איין צייכן דש עש קיין חיריק ניט איז גלייך אלז . איין . צווייא . דרייא . אונ' דש דאזיג בעלט גאר זעלטן . אונ' דש אלף זא עש הינדן שטיט נאך איינס פוינטל זא טוט עש ניכס דען נויארט עש מאכט דער גישריפט איין צירונג גלייך אלז . דיא . דיא . היא . וויא : נון איז דש ויו אונ' דש יוד דיא בור נעמליכשטן פונטל דא איינר ניט קאן אויש קומן דען זיא ווערדן אויף מענכלייא ווייז גיברויכט אלז איך דען מיט דער הילף גוטש ית אן צייגן וויל זא ער מיר צייט ור לייכט :

נון זיין עטליכי דיא פוינטלן איין ווארט ווען זיא עש ניט וואל קוינן שרייבן . דש גיב איך צו . אבר אליין אויף איין צירי אודר אויף איין שורק אודר זונשט אויף איין פונטן דער וואל ביקאנט איז דיא מאג מן וואל פוינטלן גלייך אלז . קוינן . דינן . דא מאג מן וואל איין שורק פונטלן . אונ' זיר . מיר . היר . מאג מן וואל איין צירי פוינטלן . אבר זונשט דש ויו אונ' דש יוד זא עש גיברויכט ווירט בור איין האלב פתח אונ' האלב מלופום אודר בור איין האלב קמץ אונ' האלב צירי וויא עש דען אופט גיבונדן ווירט דש איז יא ניט מויגליך דש מן עש מויג אלזו פונטלן מן שרייבא דען איין פתח דש מיינט איין אלף אודר איין מלופום דש מיינט איין ויו . אונ' ווילטו וואסן וויא עש גיברויכט ווירט האלב פתח אונ' האלב מלופום דעמליך ווען דו שרייבשט . ורויא . גנויא . בויא // דש איז אלש האלב פתח אונ' האלב מלופום אונ' זונשט אנדרי פיל דיא דענן גלייך זיין . נון זיין אבר שרייבר דיא ברויכן בור דיא פוינטלן וואו זיא אלזו האלב קומן דא ברויכן זיא איין חטף קמץ אלז ווען זיא שרייבן וועלן . הויאר . בוויאר זויאר . דא פוינטלן זיא איין חטף קמץ אונדר דש דיא אודר אונדר דש בית אודר אונדר דש זין אונ' דש דאזיג שיקט זיך יא גאר ניט דען מן בינד אונדר הונדרטן ניט איינן דער דש חטף קמץ לייאט וויא דער אנדר . אויך זא בינט מן זוליק פוינטל ניט אין לשון הקדש אונ' וויא וואל דיא טוייטשן דיא לייאן דש חטף קמץ ניט וויא דש שלעכט קמץ דש ור שפוטן דיא וועלשן דען זיא זיין דר בארן אונ' זיא זיין בקי אין דעם דקדוק אונ' זיא שפרעכן דאז דש חטף קמץ אונ' דש שלעכט קמץ דיא ווערן אלי בידי אויש גישפרוכן איינש וויא דש אנדר אליין דאז דש חטף קמץ היישט איין קליין פוינטיל אונ' דש שלעכט קמץ היישט איין גרוש פוינטיל . דארום וואו איינר וינט איין ויו אונ' איין יוד בייא אינגדר זא מוש ערש נאך זיינס ור שטאנדא לייאן : דער אלמעכטיג בארם הערציג גוט ית דער ור לייך אונש גינאד צו דעם רעכטן ור שטאנד . אמן :

**ברוך הנותן ליעף<sup>2</sup> כח  
 ולאין אונים עצמה ירבה**

<sup>1</sup> The edition was foliated by the printer, beginning with the text proper; thus all introductory matter (this prefatory note, the Hebrew הקדמה, and the table of contents) is unnumbered; the gathering mark of this prefatory note is LL1 2. In Bodleian O.1.8.Art.Seld, the note is found on the second actual leaf (r & v) of the book, immediately following the title page, while in Bodleian, Opp 4<sup>o</sup> 1402, all 'preliminary' matter is bound at the end of the volume.

<sup>2</sup> ליעת Z [ ליוף ] cf. Isaiah 40:29.

Michael Adam,  
 ‘How to Read and Write Yiddish,’  
 from His Translation of *Yosifon*  
 (1546)

And now let us speak a bit about how one should read and write Yiddish.

First, one must thus know that a *yod* signifies both *hireq* and *şere*. An *alef* signifies both *qameş* and *patah*. A *waw* signifies both *melopum* and *holem*. An *ayin* signifies *segol*. And when there are two *yods* together, then the preceding letter is always pointed with a *patah*, and the *yod* with a *schwa* and the second *yod* functions as a sign that the vowel is not *hireq*, as in the words אײן, צוויי, דריי. And that is lacking very rarely. And when an *alef* comes at the end of a word, after a vowel, it has no function beyond being an embellishment of the script, as in וויא, היא, דיא. Now *waw* and *yod* are the primary vowels without which one cannot manage, for they are used in a variety of manners, as I will then demonstrate, with the help of God, blessed be He, if he grants me the time.

Now I freely acknowledge that some people add vowel points in writing a word, even though they do not know how to write. But even on a *şere* or a *shuruk* or some other obvious vowel point, one can indeed add a vowel point. As in קײן or דײן, in which one can readily point with a *shuruk*, and זיר, מיר, היר one may readily point with a *şere*. Otherwise *waw* and *yod* are used as semi-*patah* and semi-*melopum*, or semi-*qameş* and semi-*şere*, as is often found. It is indeed not possible that one points it thus, unless one writes a *patah*, that is, an *alef*, or a *melopum*, that is, a *waw*.

And if you wish to know how semi-*patah* and semi-*melopum* are used: that is, when you write וויא גוויא בויה. These are all semi-*patah* and semi-*melopum*, and there are many more like them. There are, however, writers, who use *hatuf qameş* for such semivowels, for instance, when they write זײאר, בײאר, הײאר, then they point with a *hatuf qameş* under the *he*, or under the *bet*, or under the *zayin*. And that is indeed improper, for among a hundred people one does not find two who read a *hatuf qameş* in the same way. Likewise, such pointing is not to be found in the Holy Language, even though the Germans do not pronounce the *hatuf qameş* the same as the regular *qameş*. The Italians [*velsh*] mock this usage, for they are experienced, and they are learned in matters of grammar, and they speak such that the *hatuf qameş* and the common one are both pronounced the same, the only difference being that the *hatuf qameş* is designated a short vowel, while the common *qameş* is designated a long vowel. Thus, when one finds a *waw* and a *yod* together, then he must read it according to his own understanding. May the Almighty God, blessed be He, grant us mercy so that we understand correctly. Amen.

Blessed He who gives power to the faint,  
 and to him who has no might he increases strength.

Elias Schädäus  
 “Ein gewiſſer Bericht von der Teutſch Hebreiſchen  
 Schrift / deren ſich die Juden gebrauchen”  
 from *Mysterium*  
 (1592)

*Source:* Elias Schädäus [Schade], *MYSTERIUM, Das iſt / Geheimnis S. Pauli Röm. am 11. Von bekehrung der Juden / außgelegt vnd geprediget zu Straßburg im Münſter. Durch M. Eliam Schadeum Eccleſiaſtem vnd Profefſorem. Sampt andern gleiches Inhalts nutzlichen Materien. So dann auch einem gewiſſen Bericht / Von der Juden Teutſch-Hebreiſchen Schrift.* Straßburg 1592; unpaginated, the chapter on Yiddish begins with gathering J iij; extant: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Fl-3660 [Sammlung Tychsen].<sup>1</sup>

Ein gewiſſer Bericht von der Teutſch Hebreiſchen Schrift / deren ſich die Juden gebrauchen.

Wer der Juden Teutſch Hebreiſche ſchrift begehrt zulehren / Welches ohne ſondere müh in kurtzer zeit geſchehen kan / ſoll auff nachfolgende 3. ſtuck achtung geben.

Erſtlich auff das Alphabeth.

Darnach auff die Vocalen vnnd Diphthongen.

Zum dritten auff etliche ſondere art vnnd eigenſchafft / ſo die Juden in Jren Brieffen / verzeichnus vnd Dolmetſchung gebrauchen.

Das erſt Capittel vom Alphabeth.

Erſtlich ſoll man warnemmen / das die Juden hinder ſich wie vns bedunckt / ſchreiben vnd Leſen / nemlich von der rechten hand zu der lincken dem Hertzzen zu / nach dem Natürlichen lauff deß Himmels / Wenn ſich \ \ ein Menſch alſo ſtellt / das er ſeine rechte ſeite gegen dem Morgen wendet / vnd den Polum den Wagen deß Himmels oder Meer ſtern anſihet / daher der Hebreiſchen Bücher Titel oder anfang ſteheth / Wo der Griechiſchen Latinischen Teutſchen vnnd anderer mehrertheils Sprachen ende iſt / vnd widerumb. Demnach ſoll man wiſſen / das die Juden auch wie wir zweyerley Form deß Alphabeths haben / eine die ſie die Heilige nennen / vnnd mit unfern Verſal ſich etlicher maſſen vergleicht / damit ſie allein vnnd fürnemlich den Bibliſchen Text ſchreiben / die andere ſo ſie Maſket nennen / Wir aber die Current / die ſie in ihren Commentarien / Brieffen vnnd anderen gemeinen ſachen in täglichem gebrauch haben.

<sup>1</sup> The mark / is not a sign of line or page break, but a mark of punctuation (comma-like); page breaks in the original document are editorially indicated here by \ \ . In the original document the Roman alphabet text of the entire document is printed in a Gothic font, which (contrary to the usage elsewhere in the volume where multiple fonts need to be distinguished) is here represented by a normal Roman font.

Elias Schädäus  
'A Reliable/Certain Report on the German-Hebrew  
Script, Which Is Employed by the Jews,'  
from *Mysterium*  
(Strasbourg 1592)

Whoever wishes to learn to German-Hebrew script, which can be done in a short time without unusual effort, should pay attention to the following three items: first, the alphabet; then the vowels and diphthongs; third several special manners and characteristics which the Jews use in their letters, registers and translations.

The First Chapter, on the Alphabet

First, one should be aware that the Jews write and read backwards, as it seems to us, that is, from right to left, towards the heart according to the natural movement of the heavens. Thus if a person takes a position such that his right side is to the east and he looks toward the pole, the Great Bear (Wain) of the heavens, or the North Star, then the title and beginning of Hebrew books begin there, where Greek, Latin, German and many other languages end, and vice versa. Thereafter one should know that like us the Jews also have two forms of the alphabet: one that they designate Holy, which in many respects is like our capital letters, and which they use especially for writing the text of the Bible; the other, which they call *masket*, we term cursive, which they use in their commentaries, letters, and other common texts of daily use.

## Exempel der Ersten Formen.

Zain	Vaf	He	Daleth	Gimel	Beth	Aleph
ז 7	ו 6	ה 5	ד 4	ג 3	ב 2	א 1
Nun	Mem	Lamed	Caph	Jod	Teth	Chet
נ 50	מ 40	ל 30	כ 20	י 10	ט 9	ח 8
Schin	Res	Kuph	Zadj	Pe	Ain	Samech
ש 300	ר 200	ק 100	צ 90	פ 80	ע 70	ס 60
Nun final	Mem final	Caph final	Thaff :			
ן 700	ם 600	ך 500	: ת 400			
		Zadj final	Pe final			
		. ץ 900	ף 800 \\			

Die Ziffern zeigen nit allein die Ordnung deß Alphabeths / sondern auch jhre bedeutung in der zahl. Denn die Juden keine sondere ziffern haben / sondern / durch zusammen setzung der Buchstaben alle jhre zahl verrichten / davon weiterer bericht in der Hebreischen Grammatica zu finden.

Die jetzige Jahrzahl von Christi Geburt 1592 . wird also verzeichnet א ת ק צב

## Exempel der Current Form:

Zain	Vaf	He	Daleth	Gimel	Beth	Aleph
ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
Nun	Mem	Lamed	Caph	Jod	Teth	Het
נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח
Sin	Res	Kuph	Zade	Pe	Ain	Samech
ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס
Nun final	Mem final	Caph final	Thaf			
ן	ם	ך	: ת			
		Zadi final	Pe final			
		: ץ	ף			

Der Buchstaben seind in der zahl nur 22. Denn die 5. so zu letzt stehen seind nicht sondere Buchstaben / sondern gewisse Formen etlicher Buchstaben / die omb wolstands wille allein am ende deß worts gebraucht werden. \\

Wenn man nun die namen vnd gestalt der Buchstaben hat gelehret / so muß man denn auch warnemen, wie vnd welche mit den Teutschen vber einkommen / Welchs auß nachfolgendem Teutschen Alphabeth zuerkennen.

א	ב	ב	ד	ע	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ו	פ	ק	ר	ש	ז	ט	ו	ו	ק	ס	ו	י	צ	פ	פ	ש
A	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	ph	pff	sch	sch	sch	sch	sch

<sup>2</sup> [sch/w] S sch appears in the Hebrew line and w in the Roman line.

Example of the first forms:

zayin	waw	he	dalet	gimel	bet	alef
ז 7	ו 6	ה 5	ד 4	ג 3	ב 2	א 1
nun	mem	lamed	kaf	yod	tet	het
נ 50	מ 40	ל 30	כ 20	י 10	ט 9	ח 8
shin	resh	kof	şade	pe	ayin	samekh
ש 300	ר 200	ק 100	צ 90	פ 80	ע 70	ס 60
final nun	final mem	final kaf	taw :			
ן 700	ם 600	ך 500	: ת 400			
	final şade	final pe				
	. ץ 900	ף 800				

The numerals show not only the order of the alphabet, but also the numerical value of the letters. For the Jews have no separate numerals, but rather make use of combinations of letters for their numerals, about which one can find further information in Hebrew grammars.

Reckoned from the birth of Christ, the current year, 1592, is written א תק צב

Example of the Cursive form:

zayin	waw	he	dalet	gimel	bet	alef
ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	א
nun	mem	lamed	kaf	yod	tet	het
נ	מ	ל	כ	י	ט	ח
shin	resh	kof	şade	pe	ayin	samekh
ש	ר	ק	צ	פ	ע	ס
final nun	final mem	final kaf	taw			
ן	ם	ך	: ת			
	final şade	final pe				
	: ץ	ף				

The letters are only twenty-two in number, for the five final forms are not separate letters, but rather simply particular forms of several letters, which for reasons of felicity are used only at the end of words.

After one has learned the names and forms of the letters, then one must also learn which ones correspond to the German letters and how they do so, which is to be understood from the following German alphabet:

א	ב	צ	ד	ע	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ו	פ	ק	ר	ש	ז	ט	ו	ו	ק	ס	י	צ	פ	ש
A	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	ph	pff	fch.		

Erklärung etlicher Buchstaben eigenschafft  
sonderlich der Consonanten.

ב Das Beth ist ein b. wenn es aber ein vberzwerch strichlein hat also ב̄ / so ist es ein v confinans oder f.

ו vaf wens vorn am wort stehet ist auch ein f / vnd wird gebraucht nur für dem a e i als וַ וֵ וִ va ve vi / vnnnd vor dem l vnd r als וְלֵיִשׁ fleisch / וְר ver etc. Sonst wie hernach gemeldet soll werden ist es ein vocal.

י Jod vorn am wort ist ein i consonans / sonst ein vocal. פ peh ist ein p. wens aber ein vberzwerchs strichlein hat also פ̄ so ist es ein ph Gedopelt nemlich also פּפּ ist es ein pf als פּפּאָף pfaff. ף peh final ist gemeinlich ein f. Es ist \\ auch zu mercken / Das daß Hebreisch Alphabeth drey s hat / das ז Zain / ס Samech vnnnd ש Sin / Das ז zain ist ein scharff s schier ein halb z wird doch für ein s gebraucht ohne vnterscheid / doch am meisten für den vocalen / זֵ זֶ זֶ זֵ זִ זֵ זִ / sa se si so su. In der mitte deß worts gedoppelt für ein doppel ff als וַוַזְזֵר wasser / מַעַזְזֵר messer.

ס Samech ist ein schlecht s mag allenthalben gebraucht werden / wiewol es etliche Juden gar selten / etliche schier gar nicht im Teutschchen brauchen.

ש Sin ist das gemeinste s wird im anfang mitte vnd ende gebraucht / als שׂשׂשׂ stat / וַוַא was / שׂשׂשׂ das / wiewol es in der mitte nicht so gemein / vnd von etlichin Juden gemeinlich für ein doppel ff gebraucht wird / als וַוַאשׂר wasser.

Es wird auch gebraucht für d[z]<sup>3</sup> sch / als שׂשׂשׂ schatz / vnd pflegens etliche in der Current also zuschreiben e / welche Form ich in meinem werck durchauß allein für das sch / zum vnterscheid deß einfachen s gebraucht / vnd hinfort zugebrauchen beschloffen. Nicht allein vmb deß gemelten vnterscheid willen / sondern dz ichs in eines gelehrten Judenbrieff an den Herrn // Paulum Fagium seliger geschriben also befunden.

Die andere Buchstaben haben nichts sonders bedenklichs / on das für das c welchs doch im Teutschchen gar seltsam ist צ z gebraucht wird. Vnd für das q קו für das x קס ks.

Der 5. Final Buchstaben soll man nicht vergeffen / das man nicht schreibe אכ דעמ, דענ, אפ, דענ, קאצ, sondern also אך ach, דעם dem / דען den אף aff / קאץ katz.

Sonst seind noch zwen Buchstaben im Hebreischen Alphabet / nemlich ח cheth vnd ת thaf welche im Teutschchen gar nicht gebraucht werden / es sey denn in Hebreischen namen oder wörtern / die in derselben sprache solche erfordern / משיח Mesiach / סלה<sup>4</sup> Selah: mein rath were das man das ת für ein th brauchte / Welches ich zwar in meinem Werck nicht gethan / weil die Juden nur das gemeine ט t pflegen one das h zugebrauchen.

<sup>3</sup> [d[z] ] S there is a blank space following d.

<sup>4</sup> There is a problem here since Schade's examples illustrate only one of the letters in question, while one of his examples has nothing to do with the issue.

Explanation of the Characteristics of Individual Letters,  
Especially the Consonants

כ The *bet* is a *b*. When it has a *rafe* (בֿ), however, it is a consonantal *v* or *f*.  
ו *waw*. When it stands at the beginning of a word, it is also an *f*; and is used only before *a*, *e*, *i*, as in וַי, וַע, וַי, וַא, *va*, *ve*, *vi*, and before *l* and *r*, as in וְלֵיִשׁ *fleisch* 'meat' and וְר *ver*,<sup>1</sup> etc. Otherwise, it is a vowel, as will be treated hereafter.

י *yod* at the beginning of a word is consonantal *i*, otherwise it is a vowel.

פ *pe* is a *p*. When it has a *rafe* (פֿ), however, it is *ph*. When doubled (פּפּ), it is *pf*, as in פּפּאָר *pfaff* 'pastor.' ף *final pe* is in general *f*. One should also note that the Hebrew alphabet has three letters for *s*: ז *zayin*, ס *samekh*, and ש *sin*. The ז *zayin* is a sharp *s*, practically a semi-*z*, but is used without further qualification as *s*, but most often before the vowels זא זע זי זז, זי זז, זי זז, זי זז, זי זז, *sa*, *se*, *si*, *so*, *su*. In the middle of words where it represents *ss*, it is doubled, as in וואַזער *wasser* 'water' or מעזער *messer* 'knife.'

ס *samekh* is a common *s* that can be used anywhere, although some Jews use it rarely, while others never use it in German.

ש *sin* is the most common *s*, used at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end [of words], as in שטאָט *stat* 'city,' וואָס *was* 'what,' דאָס *das* 'the,' although it is not so common in the middle [of words], and is commonly used by some Jews for a double *ss*, as in וואַסער *wasser* 'water.'

It is also used for *sch*, as in שאַץ *schatz* 'treasure' and some make a practice of writing it as *e*, which form I have used and will continue to use in my work only for the *sch* to distinguish it from the simple *s*, not just because of the distinction noted, but also because I found it thus in a learned letter written to the blessed Mr. Paulus Fagius.

There is nothing particularly noteworthy concerning the other letters, except for the *c*, which is quite rare in German; צ *z* is used. And for *q* קו and for *x* קס *ks*.

One should not forget the five final letters, which one does not write, אב, דעם, דענ, אפ, קאץ, but rather thus: אב *akh* 'alas,' דעם *dem* 'the,' דען *den* 'the,' אפ *aff* 'ape,' קאץ *katz* 'cat.'

Otherwise there are two further letters in the Hebrew alphabet, namely ה *het* and ת *taw*, which are not used at all in German, except in Hebrew names or words that are required by this same language (German): משיח *Mesiach* 'messiah,' סלה *Selah* 'selah.' My advice would be that one use ת for *th*, which I have in fact not done in my own work, because the Jews generally use only the common ט *t* without the *h*.

<sup>1</sup> As a verbal prefix.



Das ander Capittel,  
Von Vocalen vnd Diphthongen

Hje ist zuwissen / das der Juden Buchstaben fast eitel consonanten sein / vnd daß sie an stat der vocalen etlich pun-\|cten brauchen / Aber im Teutsch Hebreischen entweder gar nicht / oder nur etliche vnnd gar selten / nemlich das Holem vnd Zere / wo der verstand deß worts dunckel oder zweiffelhafftig ist. Als אר Ehr / מיר Meer / sonst möchte man lesen אר ar / מיר mir.

Sonst wird für das a gebraucht א Aleph.

Für das e sonderlich das weiche / Welchs sich auff ein ä zeucht / wird gebraucht das ע ain / als ערבש Erbs / ערנד Ernd.

Für das harte vnnd gemeine e wird gebraucht das י Jod / als גי ge.

Für das i auch das י Jod / als מיר mir / דיר dir.

Für das o wird gebraucht das ו vaf.

Für das v vocal auch das vaf.

Hie soll man wissen / Das daß א auch für ein anklebend oder kurtz e gebraucht wird / in der mitte vnd end / in denen Teutschen wörtern / darin es im schreiben breuchlich / ob es schon im außsprechen nicht fast gemerckt wird als ליאב lieb / דיאב dieb / דיא die / זיא sie, וייא wie / in welchen worten es doch auch nach gelegenheit deß schreibens außgelassen kan werden<sup>5</sup> / als ליב lib / דיב dib / די di / זי fi / וי wi.

Demnach ist zuwissen / Das daß א dem i / \| o u wenn sie im anfang deß worts stehen allzeitvorgesetzt werde / anzuzeigen / das es vocalen seind vnd nicht consonanten / Als zum Exempel איר Jr / sonst were das י Jod ein consonant als יאר Jar. Also און oder vn / sonst hies es von.

Wo aber das י ein i oder e bedeutet vnnd dz ו ein o oder v / muß man auß der meinung des Texts oder der vor vnnd nachgehenden wort nemen / welcher zweiffel doch mit den puncten zubegegnen / so man unter das י Jod die zwey pünctlein setzt also י so ifts ein e / vnd so man<sup>6</sup> ein einigen puncten vber das vaf setzt / so ifts ein o / als מיר mir / מיר mer / און vn און on. dergleichen so man die zwen puncten vnter dz א setzt also א so ifts auch ein hart e / vnd so man einen puncten drüber setzt / so ifts ein o als א / welche vnterscheid wir inn vnserm werck mit fleiß gebraucht.

Jft auch zumercken / das die vocalen a vnnd e offft gar auß gelassen werden / wo sie leicht zu verstehen / als דש ds für דאש daß / ור vr für וער ver / דר dr für דער der / וטר vtr für ואטער vater.

Diphthongen werden also geschriben.

אי ai / als אין ain auff schwebisch. \|

עי ei im anfang deß worts / als עין ein / עיזען eisen / Etliche pflegens auch also zu schreiben איין ein / in der mitte aber vnd am end werden nur zwey יי Jod gebraucht / als מיינ Mein / דיין dein / זיין fein / וריי frei / מאנכרליי manchrlei.

וי ö als פוילקער völcker.

וי vi oder ü als מויגליך möglich.

<sup>5</sup> werden ] S wergen.

<sup>6</sup> man ] S mau.

The Second Chapter,  
on Vowels and Diphthongs

Here one should know that the Jewish alphabet comprises almost exclusively consonants and that instead of vowels, they use a number of diacritical points. In German-Hebrew, however, they make use either of none or only a few and then quite rarely, namely the *holem* and *šere*, where the interpretation of the word is unclear or ambiguous, as in אָר *Ehr* 'honor,' מִיר *Meer* 'sea'; otherwise one would read אַר *ar* 'eagle,' מִיר *mir* 'we.'

Otherwise for *a*, one uses א *aleph*.

For *e*, especially the soft variety that represents *ä*, one uses ע *ayin*, as in ערבש *Erbs* 'pea' or ערנד *Ernd* 'harvest.'

For the hard and common *e*, one uses י *yod*, as in גי *ge*.<sup>2</sup>

For *i*, one also uses י *yod*, as in מִיר *mir* 'we' or דִּיר *dir* 'you.'

For *o*, one uses ו *waw*.

For vocalic *u*, one also uses *waw*.

Here one should know that the א is also used for a slight or short *e* in the middle and at the end of those German words in which it is customary to write it, although it is almost imperceptible in pronunciation, as in לִיב *lieb* 'dear,' דִּיב *dieb* 'thief,' דִּיא *die* 'the,' זִיא *sie* 'she,' ווִיא *wie* 'how,' in which words it can sometimes also be omitted, as in לִיב *lib*, דִּיב *dib*, דִּי *di*, זִי *si*, ווי *wi*.

Thereafter one should know that an א always precedes an *i*, *o*, *u* when they come at the beginning of a word, in order to indicate that they are vowels and not consonants, as, for example in אִיר *Ir* 'you.' Otherwise the י *yod* would be a consonant, as in יֶאר *Jar* 'year.' Thus also with אֶון *on* 'without' or אַנד *and*; otherwise it would be *von*.

However, when the י signifies an *i* or *e*, and when the ו signifies *o* or *u*, then one must interpret based on the sense of the text or the preceding or following words. If there is doubt, then one uses pointing, such that when one places two dots under the י, as יִ, it is *e*, and when one places a single dot above the *waw*, it is *o*, as in מִיר *mir* 'we,' מֶר *mer* 'sea,' אֶון *un* 'and' אֶון *on* 'without.' Likewise when one places two dots under the א, as in אֶ, then it signifies hard *e*, and when one places one dot above it, then it signifies *o*, as in אֶ, to which distinction we strictly adhere in our work.

It is also to be noted that, where they are easily understood, the vowels *a* and *e* are often omitted altogether, as in דש *ds* for דאש *dass* 'that,' ור *vr* for וער *ver*, דר *dr* for דער *der* 'the,' וטר *vtr* for וואטער *vater* 'father.'

Diphthongs are written as follows:

אִי *ai*, as in אִין *ain* 'one' in Swabian.

עִי *ei* at the beginning of a word, as in עִין *ein* 'one' or עִזען *eisen* 'iron.' Some people commonly also write it as אִיין *ein* 'one.' In the middle and at the end of a word, however, only double *yod* יי is used, as in מֵיין *mein* 'my,' דֵיין *dein* 'your,' זֵיין *sein* 'his,' פֵּיין *frei* 'free,' מַאנכֶרלֵי *manchrlei* 'various.'

וִי *ö* as in פֵּוילקער *völcker* 'peoples.'

וִי *vi* or *ü* as in מוּיגלִיך *müglich* 'possible.'

<sup>2</sup> A verbal prefix.

## Das dritt Capittel.

Von etlichen sondern Eigenschafftten / so die Juden gebrauchen.

ERstlich pflegen sie dz wort (Gott) zum vnterscheid deß gut mit einm strichlein zuzeichnen also גוֹט / welches in meinem Werck auß gelaßfen / weil das ו allenthalben wo es ein o bedeut den puncten holem hat also וּ

2. Pflegen sie das wort (vnd) dieweil es oft kompt zustümlen / vnd das außgelaßfen ך mit einem strichlein vber dem Nun also ךּ zu zeichen אונ׳ für אונד wie auch die Teutschen sonderlich im Druck (vñ) für vnd gebrauchen.

3. Pflegen sie vnter jhr Teutsch etliche Hebreische wörtlein so jhnen gemein / mit vnter zumengen / wie in den Teutschen Cantzleyen mit dem Lateinischen oder Frantzösischen worten geschiehet / als Radiren / Abcopiren / \ Jniuriren / Protestiren / Arrestiren et cetera. Welches die Juden zum theil auß gewonheit zum theil das es die Christen nicht verstehen sollen / thun / als האשטו לחם hast du lechem / das ist brot / דר גוי der goi / das ist Heid.

עש אישט ביי דעם Jch wil euch deß ein vergelter sein וואס גיאנבט Es ist bey dem Adonai dz ist Herr oder Gott war אדוני וואר was gegangft / das ist gestolen.

4. Jft zuwissen / das sie fast alleßampt auff Nürnbergisch oder Fränkische art die Vocalen grob auß sprechen sonderlich das a / fast wie ein o.

5. Haben sie etliche sondere wörter / als benschchen für Segnen oder Benedeyen / leien für lesen das dasige für dieses / et cetera.

6. Pflegen sie die Diminutiua die wörter so in gemeiner Teutschen sprach sich auff die syllab (lein) enden / auff ein lich zuschreiben vnnd auß zusprechen / als Kindlich / Meidlich / Büchlich / für Kindlein / Meidlein / Büchlein / et cetera.

7. Zum sibenden ist zu wissen / das wie vnter vns Teutschen / also auch die Juden fast ein jeder seine art zuschreiben hat / vnnd einer \ besser denn der andere schrift machet / vnd das sie als der Grammatica vnd Orthographi vnerfahren / etwa einen Buchstaben für den andern setzen / als ein d für ein t / k für ein g / et cetera wie gemeine Leyen jhr Teutsch schreiben.

So denn nun einem eine Jüdische Handchrift fürkeme die er begert zulesen / so muß er für allen dingen der Buchstaben warnemen wie dieselbe formirt das er nicht ein b für ein p u<sup>7</sup> für ein v et cetera ansehe / demnach die Syllaben oder wort anfahe zusammen zusetzen / Wenn er einzele Buchstaben findet mit oder ohne strichlein / so soll er wissen das es zalbuchstaben sein / oder sonst abgekürtzte vnd jhnen bekante wort. Findet er frembde wort so nit Teutsch sein / sol er wissen / das es Hebreisch oder Chaldische sein / vnnd die Müntz oder die Hauptfach davon er schreibet / bedeutet / welche man entweder in einem Lexico suchen oder von einem gelehrten erfragen muß.

<sup>7</sup> u] S n.

The Third Chapter,  
on Several Particular Features That the Jews Use

First of all they generally distinguish the word *Gott* 'God' from the word *gut* 'good' by means of a small stroke, thus: גוט, which is omitted in my work, because the ו is here always printed with a *holem* (ו) when it represents *o*.

2. They generally mutilate the word *vnd* 'and,' because it is so common, and replace the omitted ו with a small stroke above the *nun*, as in נ' in order to write אונ' for אונד, just as the Germans in particular in print use *vñ* for *vnd*.

3. They generally mix some Hebrew words that are in common use among them into their German, as also happens in German chanceries with Latin and French words, such as *Radiren* 'erase,' *Abcopiren* 'copy,' *Iniuiren* 'injure,' *Prostetiren* 'protest,' *Arestiren* 'arrest,' etc. The Jews do this in part out of habit and in part so that Christians cannot understand, as in *האשטו לחם hast du lechem* 'do you have bread?' or גוי דר *der goi*, that is, 'the heathen.'<sup>3</sup>

זיין *Ich wil euch deß ein vergelter sein* 'In this I will be your avenger/despoiler' or ארר *Es ist bey dem Adonai dz ist Herr oder Gott war* 'It is true, by Adonai,' that is 'Lord or God' or גאנאבט *hastu was gegangft das ist gestolen* 'have you *geganvet*,' that is 'stolen something?'

4. One should know that almost all of them pronounce vowels in a coarse manner as in Nuremberg or Franconian dialect, especially the *a* almost as *o*.

5. They have several special words, such as *benschen* for *Segnen* or *Benedeyen* 'bless,' *leien* for *lesen* 'read,' *das dasige* for *dieses* 'this,' etc.

6. For diminutives, which in the ordinary German language end in the syllable *-lein*, they both write and pronounce the suffix *-lich* as in *Kindlich* 'little children,' *Meidlich* 'little girls,' *Büchlich* 'little books,' for *Kindlein*, *Meidlein*, *Büchlein*, etc.

7. The seventh item to know is that, as among us Germans, practically each individual Jew has his own method of writing, and one [thinks he] writes the script better than the other, and since they are inexperienced with grammar and orthography, they write one letter in place of another, as for instance *d* for *t*, *k* for *g*, etc., just as an ordinary layperson writes German.

Thus if one were to come across a Jewish manuscript that he wished to read, then he must first of all pay attention to the formation of the letters, so that he not mistake *b* for *p*, or *u* for *v*, etc. Thereafter he should begin to put together syllables and words. Should he come across individual letters with or without small strokes, he should know that they are numerals or otherwise abbreviated words familiar to the Jews. If he finds foreign words that are not German, then he should recognize that they are Hebrew or Aramaic and constitute the essence of what is written, which one must seek in a lexicon or find out from a scholar.

<sup>3</sup> Schade's translation is of course at least imprecise, if not altogether inaccurate: *goy* has had a number of significations over the millennia of its use in Jewish languages. While it can connote 'heathen' as opposed to Jewish, it more generally meant simply 'Gentile,' as it still does in modern Yiddish, as opposed to *Ivrit*, where it has taken on a pejorative connotation such that it is often frowned upon in polite conversation.

<sup>4</sup> משללם ] sense unclear without context; Schade's translation with *vergelter sein* suggests that he may understand the word as related to the root שלם and not שלל; my dual translation suggests the opposing possibilities.

Das sey zur anleitung gnug / wie man sich in der Juden Hebreisch Teutsch richten soll / darzu ferner die vbung von nöthen. Wer nun diesen bericht durchlesen / vnd darauff ein Capittel zwey oder drey in den v. getruckten Büchern für sich nimpt / vnd das Teutsche Te-\stamen<sup>8</sup> darneben helt / der wird in kurtzer zeit ohne mühe vnd arbeit solchs begreifen.

Was sonst die Juden für ein weise im Dolmetzchen gebrauchen nemlich ein wort nach dem andern zusetzen / findet man in etlichen Teutsch getruckten Büchern / So ich vermerck das solche mein Arbeit angemem / wolt ich das Buch Job mit dieser schrift lassen auß gehen / von wort zu wort verteutschet durch den Hochgelehrten vnd erfahrenen R. Eliah Levi / vnd durch den Ehrwürdigen Herrn Paulum Fagium auß seinem Munde mit eigner hand excipiert / nicht so fast vmb der Juden Dolmetzung willen / als von wegen viler ort vnd wörter die schwer darin zu verstehen / vmb der Arabischen vnd andern frembden wort vnd auch der halb Poetischen art willen / Daher es auch je vnd je für der schweresten bücher eins ist gehalten worden.

ENDE. \

<sup>8</sup> \stamen ] S catchword stament\

This suffices as an introduction, how one should orient oneself in the Hebrew-German of Jews; in addition to that, practice is necessary. Whoever has now read through this account and proceeds to take up two or three chapters of the printed Pentateuch and holds the German Bible next to it, will in short order and without great effort understand.

How the Jews otherwise translate, namely word-for-word, is found in a number of books printed in German. If I should find my work well received, I would publish the book of Job in this script—translated word-for-word by the learned and experienced Rabbi Elia Levita and taken down directly from his lips by the venerable Paulus Fagius—not so much for the sake of Jewish translation as for the many passages and words in the text that are difficult to understand, for the sake of Arabic and other foreign words and for the sake of the text's poetic form. Because that book has also always been held to be one of the most difficult books.

The End

Thomas Blebelius, “Isagoge brevissima exhibens  
rationem legendi et scribendi Hebræogermanicum  
cuius usus hoc tempore frequens est,”  
from *Compendium Hebrææ Lingvæ*  
(1594)

*Source:* Thomas Blebelius, *Compendium Hebrææ Lingvæ ex Grammatica Blebelii Quanta heri potuit brevitate & perspicuitate collectum, et ad puerilem institutionem omnino accommodatum*. VVitebergæ, ex officina Cratoniana, MDXCIII; extant: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, C1c-1826.1.

*Alphabetum Hebræogermanicum.*

a	א
b	ב
c	כ
ch	כׇך
d	ד
e	ע
f	פ
pf	פפ
g	ג
h	ה
Vocalis i	י
Conson: i	יײ
k	ק
l	ל
m	מ - מׇם
n	נ - נׇן
o	ו
p	פ
ph	פׇף
q	ק
r	ר
fs s	ז
fch s	ש
th	ת
t	ט
Vocalis u	ו
Consona u	וׇו
w	וו
Raro x	קס קש
y non est in usu	
tz z	ץ - צ

Thomas Blebelius,  
 ‘Very Brief Introduction, Expounding the Principles  
 of Reading and Writing Hebrew-German the use of  
 which is common at present,’ from *Precis of the  
 Hebrew Language from the Grammar of Blebel,  
 How Many Things of the Lord Can Be Brought Together  
 Briefly and Clearly and Altogether Accomodated to the  
 Instruction of the Youth*  
 (1594)

Hebrew-German Alphabet:

a	א
b	ב
c	כ
ch	ך
d	ד
e	ע
f	פ
pf	פּ
g	ג
h	ה
<i>Vocalic i</i>	י
<i>Consonantal: i</i>	יײ
k	ק
l	ל
m	מ - ם
n	נ - ן
o	ו
p	פ
ph	פּ - ף
q	ק
r	ר
ss s	ס ז
sch s	שׁ
th	תױ
t	ט
<i>Vocalic u</i>	ו
<i>Consonantal u</i>	וױ
w	וו
<i>Rare x</i>	קס קשׁ
<i>y is not used</i>	
tz z	צ - ץ



*Regula.*

Hi Characteres literarum scribuntur et leguntur quoque à dextra versus finiftram, ficut apud Hebræos. //

*Quomodo dividuntur Literæ?*

In Vocales et Confonantes.

*Quot sunt vocales?*

{	א		a
	ע		e
	י	valet	i
	ו		o
	ו		u
	וו		w

*Quae est ratio vocalium?*

Exacta vocalium ratio his regulis continetur.

## I. REGVLA.

Duæ vocales א et ע a & e, dictiones inchoant et finiunt, ut דא אבר aber דא עבן eben דא ערבע erbe.

## II. REGVLA.

Tres vocales י ו ו et i o et u ab initio dictionis præponunt sibi א absonam, ficut in fine quoque eandem postponunt, ut דא אים Jm, דא אין in, דא אונד und דא אודר oder דא דיא die דא דא du. //

In principio	{	א	i	א	} In fine.
		א	o	א	
		א	u	א	

## EXCEPTIO.

Interdum tamen in fine negligitur א absona, ut : דא צו zu / דא דו do et du.

## III. REGVLA.

Vocalis ו ו w dictionem quidem inchoat, sed sequente alia confimili videlicet ו (id est, o vel u) simplici interponit א vel י absonam et epentheticam. ut : דא וואל wol et דא וויל wol. דא וואונשן et דא ווונשן wunfchen.

## III. REGVLA.

י in fine, ficut et in medio legitur interdum pro e, ut : דא הערי Herre, דא רידן reden. Quemadmodum א pro ו ut : דא דא do, דא סא pro סא so.

## V: REGVLA.

Vocalis in ultima dictionis syllaba plerunque sub intelligenda omittitur, ut : דא גרושן דא דן גרושן den grossen Herren, quod peculiare est e vocali. //

Rules:

These letters are also written and read from right to left, just as in Hebrew.

How are the letters distributed?

Into vowels and consonants.

How many vowels are there?

Six	{	א	a
		ע	e
		י	is pronounced as i
		ו	o
		וּ	u
		וו	w

What is the system of vowels?

The exact system of the vowels is encompassed by the following rules.

Rule 1.

Two vowels, א *a* and ע *e*, begin and end words, as in אבר *aber* 'but,' דא *da* 'there,' עבן *eben* 'even, level,' ערבע *erbe* 'inheritance.'

Rule 2.

At the beginning of words, three vowels—י וּ ו *i, o* and *u*—are preceded by a silent א; this same silent vowel also occurs at the end of words, as in אים *Im* 'in the,' אין *in* 'in,' אונד *und* 'and,' אודר *oder* 'or,' דיא *die* 'the,' דוא *do* 'there,' דוא *du* 'you.'

At the beginning of words	{	אִ	i	אֵ	} At the end of words	
		אֹ	o	אֻ		
		אֹ	u	אֻ		

Exception:

Occasionally, however, the silent א at the end of the word is lacking, as in צו *zu* 'to,' דו *do* 'there' and דו *du* 'you.'

Rule 3.

The vowel וּ *w* occurs at the beginning of words, but when other similar letters follow immediately, such as ו (that is *o* or *u*) a silent and epenthetic א or י is interposed, as in וואל *wol* and ווייל *wol* 'well,' וואונשן and וויונשן *wunschen* 'wish.'

Rule 4.

Sometimes at the end, just as in the middle, of words, י is read as ע *e*, as in הערי *Herre* 'sir,' רידן *reden* 'speak.' The same is true of א for ו, as in דא for דו *do* 'there,' סא for סו *so* 'thus.'

Rule 5.

In the final syllable of a word, vowels that are automatically understood from context are commonly omitted, as in גרושן הערן דן *den grossen Herren* 'the grand gentlemen'; this is especially the case with the vowel *e*.

## EX VOCALIBVS

*fiunt Diphthongi.*

*Quot sunt Diphthongi?*

4.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{אוי} \text{ au ut : אויף} \text{ auff.} \\ \text{וי} \text{ oe, ü, סויני} \text{ söne, קויני} \text{ küne.} \\ \text{יי} \text{ ei מייך} \text{ mein, דיין} \text{ dein.} \\ \text{ויי} \text{ eü אויך} \text{ euch, קרויך} \text{ kreuch.} \end{array} \right.$

*Quæ est ratio Diphthongorum?*

Eadem ferè quæ vocalium ex quibus fiunt : Nam à principio dictionis ante *se*, sicut in fine dictionis post *se* א absonam requirunt literam, ut :

<sup>1</sup>וייכך אויף איינר ווייכך /

אויף דריי נויא גבוייא drei neü Gebeü.

in fine.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{lll} \text{ויא} & \text{au} & \text{אוי} \\ \text{ייא} & \text{ei} & \text{איי} \\ \text{וייא} & \text{eü} & \text{אויי} \end{array} \right\}$  à principio .

## DE CONSONANTIBVS

*Quæ sunt Consonantes?*

Sunt reliquæ literæ præter Vocales. Harum aliæ duplicem figuram : Aliæ vero duplicem potestatem seu sonum habent. //

*Quæ sunt duplicis Figure?*

Quinque, quæ à principio et in medio usitata et communi forma ; In fine vero protracta specie scribuntur, et tunc Finales dicuntur, vt

Finales  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ך} \text{ ch} \\ \text{ם} \text{ m} \\ \text{ן} \text{ n} \\ \text{ף} \text{ ph} \\ \text{ץ} \text{ tz} \end{array} \right.$  communi forma  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כ} \text{ c.} \\ \text{מ} \text{ m} \\ \text{נ} \text{ n} \\ \text{פ} \text{ p} \\ \text{צ} \text{ z} \end{array} \right.$

*Quæ sunt potestatis duplicis?*

Quatuor ת פ כ ב b c p t. quæ in capite gestantes lineam, quæ Raphe dicitur intendunt valorem et cum aspiratione proferuntur ut בּ bh vel f potius, et v. consonans. ךּ valet ch םּ ph vel ףּ th.

Raphata  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{בּ} \text{ f et v conf :} \\ \text{כּ} \text{ ch} \\ \text{פּ} \text{ ph. f.} \\ \text{תּ} \text{ th.} \end{array} \right.$  Tenues  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ב} \text{ b.} \\ \text{כ} \text{ c.} \\ \text{פ} \text{ p.} \\ \text{ת} \text{ t.} \end{array} \right.$

<sup>1</sup> וייכך ] the word lacks the essential initial *alef* that marks a word beginning with a vowel. Although there are some few examples of usage in the earliest period of the writing of Yiddish (cf. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Vollers 1099 [thirteenth century] with near contemporary Yiddish glosses [cf., for instance, fol. 128rv]), Blebelius' spelling is more than merely unusual at this period.

Diphthongs are formed from vowels.

How many diphthongs are there?

4.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{אוי } au, \text{ as in אױף } auff \text{ 'on'} \\ \text{ױ } oe, \ddot{u}, \text{ as in סױני } s\ddot{o}ne \text{ 'sons' and קױני } k\ddot{u}ne \text{ 'keen'} \\ \text{ײ } ei, \text{ as in מײן } mein \text{ 'my' and דײן } dein \text{ 'your'} \\ \text{ױי } e\ddot{u} \text{ as in אױיך } euch \text{ 'you' and קרױיך } kreuch \text{ 'creep'} \end{array} \right.$

What is nature of the diphthongs?

It is almost the same as the vowels from which they are composed: for the silent letter א must precede them at the beginning of words, just as it must follow them at the end of words, as in

אױפֿ אײנר אױבן *auff einer Eüchen* 'on an oak'  
 דרײַ נױא גבױיא *drei neü Gebeü* 'three new buildings'

At the end of words  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ױא } au \text{ אױ} \\ \text{ײא } ei \text{ אײ} \\ \text{ױיא } e\ddot{u} \text{ אױי} \end{array} \right\}$  At the beginning of words

On Consonants

What are consonants?

They are all the letters except the vowels. Some of them have two forms, while others have two distinct qualities or sounds.

Which ones have two forms?

Five, which at the beginning and in the middle of words have a commonly used form, while at the end of words they are written with a lengthened form, which are then called finals:

Finals  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ך } ch \\ \text{ם } m \\ \text{ן } n \\ \text{ף } ph \\ \text{ץ } tz \end{array} \right.$  common forms  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כ } c \\ \text{מ } m \\ \text{נ } n \\ \text{פ } p \\ \text{צ } z \end{array} \right.$

Which ones have two qualities?

Four, כּ פּ כּץ בּ חּ פּץ *b, c, p, t*, which have a line above them, called *rafe* (which indicates the strength of the sound), and are pronounced with aspiration, as כּ *bh* or rather *f* or consonantal *v*; כּ signifies *ch*; פּ is *ph* or *f*; חּ is *th*.

with *rafe*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כּ } f \text{ and consonantal } v \\ \text{כּ } ch \\ \text{פּ } ph \text{ or } f \\ \text{חּ } th \end{array} \right.$  stops  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{כ } b \\ \text{כ } c \\ \text{פ } p \\ \text{ח } t \end{array} \right.$

בֹּן von גארטן garthen פֿרוכטן fruchten. *Absque linea* tenues sunt, vt פסאלם // Pſalm בוך buch כרייצים creuzes תרוזת troft.

*Habent præterea duplicem potestatem* ו' et 1.

Nam ו' ab initio seu principio dictionis non vocalem vel diphthongum constituit sed ו' consonantem et plerunque gemino יי scribitur vt ייאר jar ייאקוב Jacob, rarius simpliciter ו' vt יעשוש Jefus.

II.

ו' Verò V consonantem à principio constituit, vt וער ver ואטר vater. Alias sunt vocales vel diphthongi, vt : דיר dir דיין dein דורך durch דו do.

*Quæ sunt observanda in Consonantibus?*

I.

Nulla fit syllaba absque vocali seu diphthongo, ideò infine duæ consonantes semper potestate sibi includunt vocalem, maximè verò cum Semivocalis sequitur דם ליבן ברוידר dem lieben bruder. //

II. REGVLA.

Consonantes ejusdem figuræ et potestatis non geminantur præter nn ננ, ut : אללי מענניר alle Menner. גרושי הערן grofſſe Herren.

III.

Dictiones compositæ plerunque dirimuntur et separatim scribuntur, ut : תוט שלאג : Tot schlag גוט לוב געשאנג Lob gesang גוט לוס Gotlos.

III.

Nomen divinum גוט Got plerunque cum tono scribitur, absque tono valet gut.

V.

Dictio אונד vnd, plerunque abbreviatur hoc modo 'אונ' vnd.

APPENDIX.

In his paucissimis Præceptis et Regulis consistit tota ratio legendi et scribendi Hebræo-germanicum idioma, quo etiam Iudæi hoc tempore utuntur, ut ipsorum non tantum manu scripti, sed etiam in hoc genere editi Libri satis testantur. //

EXEMPLA PETANTUR

*ex Psalmis, his literarum Characteribus descriptis.*

דער ערשטי פסאלם

I.

ווייל דעם דער ניכט וואנדעלט אים ראם<sup>2</sup> דער גוט לוזין נוך טריט אויף דעם וועג דער סוינדן  
נוך סיצט דא דיא שפויטר זיצן :

II.

סונדערן האט לושט צום געזעץ דעס הערן אונ'<sup>3</sup> רעדיט בון סיינם געזיץ טאג אונד נאכט :

<sup>2</sup> ראם [ Luther *Rat*; while the Yiddish translation of Hebrew עצה would conventionally be ראט 'counsel,' ראם may not be a mistake, for it could also be construed in an appropriate sense of 'plan,' 'consideration,' 'company of.'

<sup>3</sup> אונ' ] W apostrophe is subscript.

בון *von* 'from,' גארטן *garthen* 'garden,' פרוכטן *fruchten* 'fruits.' Without a line, they are stopped consonants, as in פסאלם *Psalm*, בוך *buch* 'book,' כרייצים *creuzes* 'crosses,' תרוזת *trost* 'comfort.'

In addition, י and ו have two qualities.

For at the beginning of words י is neither a vowel nor a diphthong, but a consonant, and sometimes double יי is written, as in ייאר *jar* 'year,' ייאקוב *Jacob*, more infrequently as a single י, as in יעשוס *Jesus*.

## II.

But at the beginning of words, ו *v* is a consonant, as in וער *ver*, ואטר *vater* 'father.' Otherwise they [sc. י and ו] are vowels or diphthongs, as in דיר *dir* 'to you,' דיין *dein* 'your,' דורך *durch* 'through,' דו *do* 'there.'

What things are to be noted about consonants?

### I.

There are no syllables without a vowel or a diphthong, so that two consonants at the end of a word always imply a vowel between them; this is especially the case when it is a matter of a reduced vowel: דם ליבן ברוידר *dem lieben bruder* 'to the dear brother.'

### II. Rule

Consonants of the same form and quality are not doubled, except for ננ *nn*, as in אלײַ מענניר *alle Menner* 'all men,' גרושי הערן *grosse Herren* 'grand gentlemen.'

### III.

Compound words are generally divided and written separately, as in תוט שלאג *Tot schlag* 'homicide,' לוב געשאנג *Lob gesang* 'paean,' גוט לוס *Gotlos* 'godless.'

### III.

The name of God גוט *Got* 'god' is generally written with a diacritical mark; without the diacritical mark it signifies גוט *gut* 'good.'

### V.

The word אונד *und* 'and' is generally abbreviated in this manner: אונײַ *und*.

## Appendix

These very few principles and rules constitute a complete method of reading and writing the Hebraeo-German dialect as currently used by the Jews, as not only their handwritten documents, but also their published books of this kind demonstrate.

Examples drawn from the Psalms with the letter forms as here described:

The first Psalm:

1. Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the godless, nor goes on the path of sins, nor sits in the seat of scoffers;
2. But his delight is in the law of the LORD, and concerning his law he speaks day and night.

## III.

דער איזט וויא איין באוים געפפלאנצט אן דען וואשיר בויכן דער סיני פֿרוכט ברינגט צו  
סיינר צייט<sup>4</sup> אונ' זייני בלעטר ור וועלקן ניכט אונד וואס ער מאכט דאז גערט וואול :

## III.

אבר זו סינד דיא גוט לוזן ניכט סונדערן וויא שפרייא דיא דער ווינד זר<sup>5</sup> שטרייהעט : //

## V.

דארים בלייבן דיא גוט לוישין ניכט אים געריכט נוך דיא סוינדער אין דער געמיין דער  
גערעכתיך :

## VI.

דען דער הער קענניט דען וועג דער געריכטיין אבר דער גוט לוזין וועג זרגעהיט :

געביט<sup>6</sup> :

בעהויט אונז הער פֿויר באלשיר לער דאז ארם ור פֿוירטי בולק בעקער : ערהאלט אונז  
שטעטיס בייא דיינים ווירט סו ווערדן וויר סעליק היא אונ' דורט :

## II.

דער אנדר פשאלם :

## I.

ווארום טובן דיא היידין אונד דיא לויט רידן זו ור געבליך :

## II.

דיא קויניגי אים לאנד ליינין סיך אוף // אונד דיא הערן ראט שלאגין מית איין אנדער  
ווידער דען הערן אונ' סינין געזאלבטן :

## III.

לאשט אונז צר ריישין אירי באנד אונד בון אונז ווערפין אירי סיל :

## IV.

אבער דער<sup>7</sup> אים הימעל וויונעט לאכט איר אונ' דער הער שפוטעט איר :

## V.

ער ווירד אייניזט מיט אינין רעדן אין זיינים צורן : אונ' אין זיינין גרים ווירד ער  
סייא ער שרעקיך :

## VI.

אבר איך האבי מיינן קויניג איין געסאזט אוף מיינין הייליגן בערג ציון<sup>8</sup> :

ציון W ] ציית<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> זר ] As has already become clear, German-speakers of the period had a great deal of difficulty describing their own language's various sibilants. The use of *z* here instead of the expected *z* may bear witness to that problem; or it may simply be Blebel's faulty transcription of the Luther text.

<sup>6</sup> This prayer and the one following the second Psalm are not part of these Psalms texts but are rather supplemental texts added by Blebel.

רער W ] דער<sup>7</sup>.

עיון W ] ציון<sup>8</sup>.

3. He is like a tree planted by streams of water, that yields its fruit in its season, and its leaf does not wither. In all that he does, he prospers.
4. The godless are not so, but are like chaff which the wind drives away.
5. Therefore the godless do not remain in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous;
6. for the LORD knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the godless will perish.

Prayer: Protect us, LORD from false doctrine; convert your poor, seduced people; keep us always in your word; thus we will be blessed both here and there.

The second Psalm:

1. Why do the heathen rage, and the peoples speak in vain?
2. The kings of the earth prop themselves up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the LORD and his anointed,
3. "Let us burst their bonds asunder, and cast their cords from us."
4. But he who lives in the heavens laughs at them; the LORD has them in derision.
5. Then he will speak to them in his wrath, and terrify them in his fury,
6. "But I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill."



## VII.

איך וויל בֶּוֹן איינר זולכֶין ווייסי פרעדיגן דאז דער הער צו מיר גיזאגט האט דוא ביזט  
 מיין סוף הייתי האב איך דיך געצייגט : //

## VIII.

היישי בֶּוֹן מיר סוף וויל איך דיר דיא היידען צו ערבי געבן אונ' דער וועלט ענדי צום  
 אייגן תומב :

## IX.

דוא זולט סייא מיט איינים אייזערן צעפטער צו שלאגין : ווייא טויפפין סולטו  
 זיא צר שמיישין :

## X.

שוא לאזט אויך גוא ווייסין איר קויניגִי אונד לאזט אויך ציכתיגן איר ריכתר אויף ערדן :

## XI.

דיינט דעם הערן מיט פֶּורכט אונ' פֶּרויעט אויך מיט ציתען<sup>9</sup> :

## XII.

קוישיט דען סוף דאז ער ניכט צוירני אונד איר אומב קומיט אוף דעם וועגִי דען זיין  
 צורן ווירד באלט אן ברעננין אבר וויזל אלין . דייא אויף אין טרויען : //

געביט :

אז גוטן סוף הער ייעשוו כריסט דוא אונסיר קויניג אונ' פריזטר ביזט ווידר דעס טוייפלז  
 מזרד אונד נייד סטע סטעתז בייא אונז צי אליר צייט :

א מ ע ן :

FINIS .

<sup>9</sup> omitted ?? = ציתערן; Luther *Zittern*. ] ציתען

7. I will preach of such a decree, that the LORD said to me, "You are my son, today I have begotten you.
8. Ask of me, and I will make the heathens your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession.
9. You shall break them with a scepter of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel."
10. Now therefore, O kings, be wise; be warned, O judges of the earth.
11. Serve the LORD with fear, with trembling rejoice,
12. Kiss the son lest he be angry, and you perish in the way; for his wrath is quickly kindled. But blessed are all who take refuge in him.

Prayer:

Oh, God's son, Lord Jesus Christ, you are our king and priest; against the devil's violence and envy be with us constantly at all times.

Amen.

End

Johannes Meelführer  
 “De Scriptura Judæorum, qua utuntur,  
 cùm in Epistolis, tùm in Commentariis,  
 pro lingua Germanica exprimenda,”  
 from *Grammaticæ Hebrææ compendiosa institutio*  
 (1607)

*Source:* Onotzbachi Excudebat Paulus Bohemus [Ansbach] 1607, pp. 262–267; extant: Cambridge University Library K\*.6.45 (G); 2nd ed.: Jena: Johannes Weidner, 1623; extant: Oxford, Bodleian 8° M 146 (2) Th.

*JVDÆI nostræ ætatis (quorum maxima pars nihil minus, quàm Hebræam linguam callet) in suis Libris et Commentarijs Germanicam linguam Hebræis literis designant, quoad figuram quidem (eamque tumultuariè deproperatam) non semper uniusmodi, quoad valorem verò per Analogiam ad Germanicam, hoc modo comparatis. //*

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	ph	pf	sch	
א	ב	צ	ד	ע	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ו	פ	ק	ר	ש	ס	ז	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו

*Quinque finalibus finalem figuram tribuunt, sicut in Scriptura Hebræa. ה ת et ת non usurpantur, nisi in Hebræis dictionibus ac terminis subinde interspersis.*

*Diphthongos sic repræsentant:*

au	ai	ei	ei	ei	ô	ü
אָ	אֵי	עֵי	יֵי	יֵי	אֵי	יֵי

*Quamvis igitur parùm sibi invicem constent, præsertim in diversis locis dissidentes, tamen hæc generalia notas se juvabit.*

1. *Vaf et Jod initiales, sunt consonantes, et valent V et I, reducuntur au-//tem ad vocales per præpositam literam א. ut: אֵין ihn / אֵון ohn.*
2. *Vbi in Germanicis post vocalem i, litera quasi ὕψωνος scribi solet die pro di Iudæi ad literam Jod assumunt א, ut: אֵין die / אֵין wie.*
3. *Ajin valet e mollius, quasi æ, sed pro e duriori (quale exempli gratia est in omnibus augmentis initialibus et finalibus, geben) adhibent Iod ut: אֵין גֵוואלט / gewalt / לעבֵיט lebet.*
4. *Nonnunquam Aleph et Iod cum præmisso vel substrato Zere efficiunt e forte et durable, ut: אֵין מֵירען / mehren / מֵיר / mehr.*
5. *Quod si vocalis a et e, faciliè ex consonantium sono, earumque mutua correspondentia, patet, omittitur, ut: אֵין האבן haben.*
6. *Per Apocopen dicunt, אֵין אֵון und. //*
7. *Multa admiscunt vocabula Hebræica, ceu terminos tritè notos, que vocabula paulatim usu sunt addiscenda: et faciliè dignoscuntur ex literis ad Germanicæ vocis conformationem inconcinnis, que vel ex Lexicis antiquioribus inquirenda, vel à doctis Judæis addiscenda sunt.*

Johannes Meelführer  
 ‘On the Script of the Jews which is used in letters,  
 as well as commentaries, in order to  
 represent the German language.’  
 from *Brief Principles of Hebrew Grammar*  
 (1607)

The Jews of our time, the majority of whom are well versed only in the Hebrew language, write the German language with Hebrew letters in their books and commentaries, which, insofar as the letters are not always of the same form (improvised here in haste) and insofar as their values are analogous to German equivalents, correspond in the following manner:

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	x	y	z	ph	pf	sch	
א	ב	צ	ד	ע	ו	ג	ה	י	ק	ל	מ	נ	ו	פ	ו	ק	ר	ש	ט	ו	ו	ט	ז	צ	וי	קס	ש

They allocate final forms to five letters, as is also the case in writing Hebrew. The letters ך and ך are not used except in the Hebrew words and terms that are frequently interspersed.

They represent diphthongs thus:

<i>au</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>ü</i>
אָו	אֵי	עֵי	יֵי	אֵי	יֵי	יֵי

Therefore, no matter how inconsistent they are, especially disagreeing from one locale to another, nonetheless, it will help to note these general rules:

1. Initial *waw* and *yod* are consonants and signify *v* and *i*, but are returned to a vocalic state by the preposed letter א, as in אין *ihn* ‘him,’ און *ohn* ‘without.’
2. In the position after vocalic *i*, where Germans are accustomed to write, as it were, a silent letter, as in *die* for *di*, Jews add א to the letter *yod*, as in דיא *die* ‘the,’ וויא *wie* ‘how.’
3. *Ayin* represents a weaker *e*, like *ä*; but for a harsher *e* (of such a kind, for example, as in all prefixes and suffixes [of the root word] *geben*), they add *yod*, as in גיוואלט *gewalt* ‘violence,’ לעבֿיט *lebet* ‘lives.’
4. Sometimes *alef* and *yod* with a preposed or substrate *şere* represent a strong and lengthened *e*, as in מעֿירען *mehren* ‘increase,’ מעֿיר *mehr* ‘more.’
5. Now if the vowels *a* and *e* are quite evident, based on the sound of the consonants and their reciprocal relations, they are omitted, as in האבֿן *haben* ‘have.’
6. Due to apocope they say אונֿ for אונד *und* ‘and.’
7. They mix in many Hebrew words and commonly used phrases, which one should gradually learn to use; and they are easily recognized from the letters inappropriate for writing German words. They are to be learned by looking in older dictionaries or from learned Jews.

8. *Diminutiva neque misnica formatione Kindigen / neque Francica Kindilein / sed peculiari et ferè barbara ratione designant, in lich / ut: קינדליך Kindilich.*  
 9. *Aspirationem literarum Begadkephat, per lineolam supernè in stratam notant, ut: ברעכין brechen.*

*Cætera attentus Lector facilè in ipsa lectione dijudicat, quando videlicet Francorum more vocales pleniores exhibent, quibusdam etiam phrasibus durioribus et inusitatoribus utuntur, aut (præsertim rudiores) literam pro litera ponunt. //*

Exempli loco fit Textus.

*Johan. 4. vers. 47. etc.*

des Königscher ein war es Und  
 אונ' עש וואר עין קויניגשר דעש

Capernaum zu Kranck lag Sohn  
 זון לאג קראנק צו כפרנחום

kam Jefus das höret diser  
 דיזער הויריט דאס ישוס קאם

und Galileam in Judæa auß  
 אוס יודיא אין גאליליאן אונ'

bath und ihm zu hin gieng  
 גינג הין צו אים אונ' באט

und käme hinab Er das ihn  
 אין דאש ער הינאב קעמי אונ'

war Er denn Sohn feinem hülfße  
 הוילפי זיינים זון דען ער וואר

sprach Jefus und kranck Todt  
 טוד קראנק אונ' ישוס שפרך

8. Diminutives are represented neither by the Meissner form *Kindigen* nor the Franconian form *Kindilein* but by the peculiar and almost barbaric means, in *-lich*, as in קינדליך *Kindilich* 'little child.'<sup>1</sup>
9. They mark the aspiration of the *begadkefat* letters by means of a superstrate line, as in ברעכין *brechen* 'break.'

The attentive reader will perceive other things in the process of reading, when namely in the manner of the Franconians, vowels are fuller, and they use certain harsher and less common expressions or (especially the less sophisticated) substitute one letter for another.

A Text instead of examples (John 4:47–8)

whose official an was there and  
 des Königscher ein war es Und  
 דעש קויניגשר עין עש וואר עש אונ'

Capernaum in ill lay son  
 Capernaum zu Kranck lag Sohn  
 זון לאג קראנק צו כפרנחום

came Jesus that heard this one  
 kam Jefus das höret difer  
 דיזער הויריט דאס ישוס קאם

and Galilee to Judea from  
 und Galileam in Judæa auß  
 אום יודיא אין גאליליאן אונ'

begged and him to went  
 bath und ihm zu hin gieng  
 גינג הין צו אים אונ' באט

and come down he that him  
 und käme hinab Er das ihn  
 אין דאש ער הינאב קעמי אונ'

was he for son his help  
 war Er denn Sohn feinem hülffe  
 הוילפי זיינים זון דען ער וואר

spoke Jesus and ill deathly  
 sprach Jefus und kranck Todt  
 טוד קראנק אונ' ישוס שפרך

<sup>1</sup> Actually, of course, Yiddish diminutives in *-lich* are plural: 'little children.'

Zeichen nicht ihr wenn ihm zu  
// צו<sup>1</sup> אים ווין איר ניכט צייכין //

glaubet so sehet Wunder und  
אונ' וואונדר זעהיט זו גלאוביט

etc. nicht ihr  
איר ניכט

<sup>1</sup> זו אים ניוו איד A ] צו אים ווין איר

signs not you when him to  
 Zeichen nicht ihr wenn ihm zu  
 // צו אים ווין איר ניכט צייכין //

believe so see wonders and  
 glaubet so sehet Wunder und  
 אונ' וואונדר זעהיט זו גלאוביט

etc. not you

etc. nicht ihr

איר ניכט



Johann Buxtorf  
 “Lectionis Hebræo-Germanicæ Ufus  
 et exercitatio,” from  
*Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctæ Hebrææ*  
 (1609)

*Source:* Basel 1609, extant: Oxford, Bodleian Ms [!] Marshall Or. 88, pp. 648–71.

Regia vox est **נְדִיבֵי נְדִיבוֹת יַעֲזֵץ** *Liberalis liberalia consulit*, Jes 32.8. Et avarorum divitiæ, ut sol post occasum, neminem mortalium non oblectant tantum, sed et egenis nocent. Verum utique et illud apud eundem prophetam: **אָוָרִי כְּלֵי כְּלֵי רָעִים** *Avari instrumenta et artes male sunt*. Ne itaque, dum in absolutiore linguæ Hebraicæ tractatione versamur, parca manus aliquid concludat, quod usus linguæ vult recludi et eminere: illud adhuc restat, ut usum modumque, legendi ac scribendi Hebræogermanica breviter ostendamus. Neque certè et hæc res suo fructu caret. Etenim characteres ejus scripturæ accuratè nosse, non solum ad Germanica legenda prodest, sed et ad Hebræa ipsa manuscripta. Testantur id Bibliothecæ principum, et vel una maximè Illustrissimi Electoris Palatini, aliarumque Academiæ inter Christianos, in quibus aliqua manuscriptorum Hebraicorum copia est: testari poterunt id singuli, qui manuscriptos libros Hebraicos habent. Hi non tantum quadrato biblico, sed et Germanico characterè exarati sunt. At quotusquisque inter nostros reperitur, qui eos vel legat vel intelligat? In talibus autem, quin multa arcana contineantur, quæ historiam Hebraicam mirificè illustrarent, si à peritis legeren//tur, nihil est dubitandum. Sic Judæi in literis quotidianis familiaribus et quibuslibet scriptis suis, communiter hodie eodem characterè utuntur. Ista legere nemo poterit nisi hujus scribendi rationis peritus. Testis sit pulvis, qui tales libros ubertim operit.

At Germanicam linguam characteribus Hebraicis describere, hodiè est usitatissimum. Sic inter se non tantum vulgaria quæque Germanicè scribunt, sed et plurimos libros in Germanicam linguam conversos habent, et in dies plures convertunt. Horum aliquot declarandi usus causâ apponam, si erunt fortè, qui istorum lectione delectentur. Sequentes ad meas manus devenerunt:

Quinque libri Mosis cum *Haphtaroth* sive Lectionibus propheticis item cum Ruth, Esther, Threnis, Ecclesiaste et Cantico Canticorum, Germanicè à Judæis versi, additis etiam Glossis Rabbi Salomonis Germanicis.

Libri Exodi, Jehosua, Jeremiæ, Ezechielis, Danielis, Cantici Canticorum paraphrasticè redditi.

Psalterium Davidis Hebræo Germanicum, cum Commentariis brevibus Kabhvenaki.

**תפלה מכל השנה** Liber precum annuarum, Hebraicè et Germanicè.

Johann Buxtorf  
 ‘The Practice and Exercise of Reading  
 Hebrew-German,’ from  
*Grammar of the Holy Hebrew Tongue*  
 (1609)

The word of the king is “he who is noble devises noble things” [Isaiah 32:8]. And the wealth of the greedy, as the sun after sunset, not only delights no mortal, but also harms the destitute. But certainly this, too, is found in the same book of the prophet: “The knaveries of the knave are evil” [Isaiah 32:7]. Thus lest, while we are focussing on a more complete treatment of the Hebrew language, the stingy hand conceals something that the use of language would wish to make accessible and evident: up to now, this has remained to be dealt with, that we briefly show the practice and manner of reading and writing Hebrew-German. Nor certainly will this thing be without benefit. For an accurate knowledge of the characters that they use for writing is advantageous not only for reading German, but also for Hebrew manuscripts themselves. The libraries of princes bear witness to this, for example, the library of the most illustrious Elector of the Palatinate in particular, and also of other Christian academies, in which there is some abundance of Hebrew manuscripts; individuals who have Hebrew books in manuscript can also give evidence of this. They are written not only in the biblical square script but also in Germanic characters.<sup>1</sup> But how many among us are there who can either read or understand them. In such writings indeed there are contained many esoteric things that would without doubt cast especial light on Hebrew history, if read by experts. Thus the Jews in their daily writing, both personal and of any other kind, commonly make use of these same characters today. No one can read them unless he is experienced in this method of writing. Proof of this claim is the very dust that copiously covers such books.

But now it is very beneficial to describe the German language written in Hebrew characters. Thus they not only write among themselves in this German common to them all, but they also have many books that have been translated into German, and they are day by day translating more. I will append several of them in order to demonstrate the method, if perhaps there should be anyone who would be amused by reading them. The following have come into my hands:

The five books of Moses with the *haftarot*, that is, readings from the prophets, and also Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, all translated into German by Jews, with the addition of the German glosses by Rabbi Solomon.<sup>2</sup> Paraphrases of the books of Exodus, Joshua, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, the Song of Songs.

The Davidic Psalter in Hebrew-German, with brief commentaries by Kabvenaki. תפלה מכל השנה. Prayerbook for the whole year, in Hebrew and German.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., in semicursive.

<sup>2</sup> Rabbi Solomon b. Isaac [Rashi] (1040–1105).

**מנהגים** Minhagim, id est, Conſuetudines, Liber rituum et ordinis precum quotidianarum et feſtorum anni.

**מחזור** Machſor, Germanicè. Liber precum eſt, quibus in tribus anni feſtis ſolemnibus utuntur.

**סליחות** Selichoth, vel Selichos, juxta Judæorum pronunciationem, Germanicè. Liber precum eſt. // Hi duo libri in ſermone Hebræo difficilimi ſunt, et à paucis Judæis intelliguntur. Ideo in Polonia Germanicè redditi ſunt.

**ברכות המזון** Benedictiones menſæ, Hebraicæ et Germanicæ: preces et Gratiarum actiones ſunt, quæ ad menſam dicuntur. Haſ Judæi corruptè vocant **Benſchen** / à Benedicendo. Sic quoque dicunt **Oren** / id eſt, Orare.

**בוב לקח טוב** id eſt, Doctrina bona. Eſt Dictionarium biblicum, explicans voces univerſorum Bibliorum Germanicè, adjectis paſſim Gloſſis Hebraicis ad loca obſcuriora. Explicatio ſit ſecundum ordinem librorum biblicorum.

**ספר של רבי אנשל** id eſt, Liber Rabbi Anſchel: continet quoque explicationem Germanicam vocum biblicarum, ſed priori multo eſt brevior et ſuccinctior.

**מעשה בוך**, **Maaſe Buch** / id eſt, **Gefchicht Buch** / continet historias varias et jucundas, ex variis Judæorum libris depromptas, majori tamen parte ex ipſo Talmud.

**ברנט שפיגל** id eſt, **Brantſpiegel**. Liber eſt Ethicus, continens varia præcepta benè vivendi, hortans ad pietatem et omnis generis virtutes colendas, et vitia fugienda.

**אורה חיים** id eſt, Semita vitæ. Liber ejuſdem argumenti, ſed brevis et ſuccinctus eſt, apud Judæos magis laudatus in ſcripto, quam obſervatus opere.

**פרויאן בויכלייך** id eſt, **Frawen Büchlein**. Liber de præceptis et ritibus omnibus mulierum Judaicarum. Non enim ritibus Moſaicis ut viri, ſubjiciuntur: Accendendis candelis ſabbathinis deſtinatæ // ſunt, quo opere tantum præſtant quantum viri tota Lege Moſaica ſervanda. Ad ablutiones etiam obligantur poſt impuritatem ordinariam vel partus: tum ad officia culinaria, et imprimis ad nendum, juxta illud priſcorum, **אין חכמה לאשה אלא בפלך**, id eſt, *Non eſt ſapientia mulieri niſi in colo*, Joma cap. 6. pag. 66, ad Exod. 35.25.

**שבט יהודה** Schebhet Jehuda five Tribus Jehudæ. Liber eſt historicus, continens varias tribulationes Judæorum in variis exiliis, diſputationes cum Chriſtianiſ habitas in Hiſpania et Italia, ac omnino multa arcana et rara, ſed pleraque raræ fidei.

**סבוב רבי פתחיה** id eſt, Circuitus Rabbi Petachja. Itinerarium quoddam eſt, quo deſcribit quid in circuitu totius mundi Rabbi iſte viderit. Sed fide non eſt comparandus cum Itinerario Rabbi Benjamin.

**ספר היראד**. Liber de Timore Dei, cujus author Rabbi Jona Gerundenſis.

**ספר חיי עולם** Liber vitæ ſeculi: continet præcepta benè vivendi.

**סוד הנשמה** Secretum animæ. Liber eſt deſcribens ſtatum animæ poſt hanc vitam, tam in inferno quàm paradifo, cum luculenter fabuloſa iſtorum locorum deſcriptione.

**מעשה דוד בימי פרס** Hiſtoria Davidis temporibus Perſarum. Complectitur triplicem hiſtoriam: una eſt de quodam Rabbi Baſtenai: altera de decem tribubus ultra fluvium Sanbatjon habitantibus: tertia de rege Alcozar.

מנהגים, *Minhagim*, that is, Customs, a book of religious ceremonies and the order of daily prayers and holidays of the year.

מחזור, *Mahzour*, in German. This is a book of prayers that are used on the three solemn holidays of the year.

סליחות, or *Selikhot* or *Selichos*, according to the Jewish pronunciation, in German. This is a book of prayers. These two books in the Hebrew language are quite difficult and are understood by few Jews. In Poland, therefore, they were translated in German.

ברכות המזון, 'Grace at table,' Hebrew and German: these are prayers and blessings performed at the table. The Jews have corrupted the word and call it *benshn* 'bless' from *benedicens*. They also say *oren* 'pray,' that is, *orare*.

לקח טוב, that is, 'Good doctrine.' This is a biblical dictionary that explains words of the entire Bible in German, occasionally adding Hebrew glosses on obscure passages. The explanations are in the order of the biblical books.

ספר של רבי אנשל, that is, 'The Book of Rabbi Anshel'; it also contains German explanations of biblical words, but much more briefly and succinctly than the aforementioned book.

מעשה בוך, *Maase bukh*, that is, 'Story book'; it contains numerous, pleasant stories drawn from numerous Jewish books, most of them, however, from the Talmud itself.

ברנט שפיגל, *Brantspiegel* 'burning mirror'. This is a book of ethical instruction, containing various rules for living properly and urging piety and the cultivation of all types of virtues and the avoidance of vices.

אורה חיים, that is, 'The Path of Life.' A book on the same subject, but brief and succinct, among Jews praised more in print than observed in action.

פרויאן בויכליין, *Frawen Büchlein* 'Women's book.' A book of rules and all ritual practices of Jewish women. For they are not subject to the Mosaic rites, as are men. They are obligated to light sabbath candles, by which act they demonstrate that they are as responsible as are the men for keeping the whole Mosaic law. They are also obligated to ritual bathing after their regular periods of impurity and the impurity of giving birth; then to cooking tasks, and especially to spinning, according to this saying of the ancients: 'women have no wisdom except at the spindle' (Yoma, chapter 6, page 66, on Exodus 35:25).

שבט יהודה, *Sheyvet Yehudo*, or 'The Tribe of Judah.' This is a book of history, containing numerous miseries visited upon the Jews in numerous periods of exile, disputations with Christians conducted in Spain and Italy, and in general many mysterious and rare things, but most of them of little credibility.

סבוב רבי פתחיה, that is, 'The Course of Rabbi Petakhiah.' A certain travelogue in which is described what this Rabbi saw during a trip through the whole world. But in terms of credibility it is not to be compared with the travelogue of Rabbi Benjamin.

ספר היראה, 'Book of the Fear of God,' whose author is Rabbi Jonah of Gerondi.

ספר חיי עולם, 'Book of the Life of the World'; contains rules for living properly.

סוד הנשמה, 'Secret of the Spirit.' This is a book describing the state of the soul after this life, both in Hell and in Heaven, with a beautifully fabulous description of these places.

מעשה דוד בימי פרס, 'Story of David in the Persian period.' It includes a threefold story: one is about a certain Rabbi Bastenai; the second is about the ten tribes that live beyond the Sambatyon river; the third is about King Alcozar.

Vidi quoque apud Judæos, Josephum Hebræogermanicum, multo plura continentem, quam in nostro Græco vel Latino reperitur. Excusus est ali-// quando Tiguri à Fronfchovero. Sic quam plurimi alii Hebræo-Germanici libri apud ipsos reperiuntur, qui si ex Hebræis translati sint, interpretis et commentatoris loco nobis esse possunt, ubi meliore interpretatione aut Lexico destituimur.

Sciendum præterea, ut in omnibus aliis linguis, ita hîc quoque versiones pravas fieri. Judæi in Moravia, Bohemia et Polonia viventes, multa transferunt Germanicè, sed pessimè. Melius multo, qui ortu et educatione Germani sunt. Hoc tamen in commune omnibus est vitii, quod quæ ex Hebræo transferunt, nimium κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν vertant. Adeo Hebraismi tenaces sunt, ut Germanismum obscurent: adeo in externa ac literali dictione servanda superstitionè hærent, ut sensum quandoque nullum, quandoque obscurum, quandoque insipidum relinquunt. Quo quisque indoctior, tanto est in hoc supersticiosior. Quicumque tamen nunc paulo accuratius edocti sunt, elegantioribus et clarioribus versionibus student, ac ad linguæ Germanicæ proprietatem se accommodant. Orthographiæ in vocalibus et diphthongis exprimendis, non usque adeo accurata constansque lex est, quæ tamen à linguæ perito facillè percipi possit.

#### DE LITERIS

Literæ scripturæ Germanicæ sunt totidem, quot Hebraicæ, etsi non omnibus ad vocabula Germanica utantur, sed quibusdam ad Hebraica tantum, quæ Germanicis inferuntur. Figura plerarumque non nihil immutata est, et ad celeritatem scriptionis accommodata. Potestas quarundam alia atque alia, ut ex sequentibus videre est. //

<i>Figura.</i>	<i>Potestas.</i>	
א	א	nunc vocalis index, nunc ut spiritus lenis vocalibus quibusdam adhibetur. <sup>1</sup>
ב	ב	b Cum transversa virgula supernè, est consona v, vel f.
ג	ג	g
ד	ד	d
ה	ה	h
ו	ו	u vocalis, et v consona. Geminatum continuò valet w Germanicum. <sup>2</sup> Hoc si antè o ponendum sit, tum interponitur Aleph ut spiritus tenuis.
ז	ז	f lene, ut Hebraicè.
ח	ח	nullum habet usum in Germanicis.
ט	ט	t quodcunque, tam tenue quàm aspiratum.
י	י	consona et vocalis est.
כ	כ	Cum transversa virgula est ch: alterius in Hebraicis vocibus tantummodò usus est.
ל	ל	l
מ	מ	m
נ	נ	n
ס	ס	f durius et fortius, ut in haß/vaß/hafsen.

<sup>1</sup> Buxtorf does not specify the vocalic value of א via a Roman-alphabet equivalent, as is also the case for ן and ם, below.

<sup>2</sup> Germanicum ] B Germanicum.

I have also seen among the Jews a Hebrew-German translation of Josephus that contains much more than is found in our Greek and Latin versions, printed at some point by [Christoph] Froschauer in Zurich. There are many other Hebrew-German books found among the Jews which, if translated from Hebrew, could function for us in place of a translator and commentator, when we lack a better translator or dictionary.

One should also know that, as in all other languages, here, too, corrupt versions have developed. Jews living in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland have translated much into German, but most poorly. It is done much better by those who live and are educated in Germany. This deficiency, however, is common to them all, that what they translate from Hebrew is rendered too literally. The Hebraisms are so tenacious that they mask the German idiom. They blindly hold so closely to preserving the extraneous and literal word that one is left now with nonsense, now obscurity, now an unpalatable sense. The more ignorant a person is, the more blindly literal in this regard. Nonetheless, anyone who is somewhat more thoroughly informed strives toward a clearer and more elegant version and adapts to the properties of the German language. The orthographical rules as manifest in vowels and diphthongs are not so consistently meticulous, but can be easily understood by someone who knows the language well.

#### On the Letters

The number of letters used to write German is the same as for Hebrew, although not all of them are used to write German words, but some are used only for Hebrew words that are interspersed among the German words. The forms of most of them are not modified in any way and are adjusted to the speed of writing. The value of some letters varies, depending on circumstances, as is indicated in the following:

<i>Form</i>	<i>Value</i>
א	א in some cases it is a vowel; in others, with certain vowels, it functions as a <i>spiritus lenis</i> .
ב	ב <i>b</i> with a horizontal line above, it is the consonant <i>v</i> or <i>f</i> .
ג	ג <i>g</i>
ד	ד <i>d</i>
ה	ה <i>h</i>
ו	ו <i>u</i> as a vowel, and <i>v</i> as a consonant; doubled, it represents German <i>w</i> . If it is to be placed before <i>o</i> , then an <i>alef</i> is interposed, as if a <i>spiritus tenuis</i> .
ז	ז <i>s</i> voiced, as in Hebrew.
ח	ח is not used in German words.
ט	ט <i>t</i> of every type, both voiceless and aspirated.
י	י both consonantal and vocalic.
ך	ך with a horizontal line, it is <i>ch</i> ; otherwise it is used only in Hebrew words.
ל	ל <i>l</i>
מ	מ <i>m</i>
נ	נ <i>n</i>
ס	ס <i>s</i> harsher and stronger, as in <i>haß</i> 'hate' / <i>vaß</i> 'cask' / <i>hassen</i> 'hate.'

ע	ע	pro vocali e usurpatur.
פ	פ	Cum transversa virgula est <b>ph.pf</b> : alterum est simplex <b>p</b> . Geminatur in fortioribus illis locutionibus Germanorum, <b>pferd / tropffen / stapfflen</b> et similibus.
צ	צ	<b>tz. z.</b>
ק	ק	<b>k. ck.</b> addito Vau, usurpatur ut <b>q</b> .
ר	ר	<b>r //</b>
ש	ש	<b>fch.</b> et quandoque ut Sin Hebraicum, valet simplex <b>f</b> .
ת	ת	Hujus usus in Germanicis nullus est, sed in Hebraicis in idioma Germanicum insertis, tantum usurpatur. Pro <b>t</b> enim semper adhibetur Teth, ut antè dictum.

*Literæ finales.*

ך ם ן ף ץ  
ך ם ן ף ץ

Ex his Caph et Pe aspirationis notâ in fine carent, sunt tamen in nihilominus aspiratæ.

Consona nulla in media voce geminatur, ut Germani solent in **fallen/gewinnen** et similibus, qualem usum in Hebræa lingua præstat Dagesch forte. Hic unica litera sufficit, cujus geminationem intelligit linguæ peritus ex usu vocabuli.

*De Vocalibus.*

Vocalium figuras tantum quatuor habent:

u/o.	i/e.	e.	a.
ו	י	ע	א

Aleph etiam sæpè vocalis **o** index est, et quandoque Aleph et Vau pro **o** conjunguntur.

*De Diphthongis.*

Diphthongorum figuræ tres sunt:

ei.	eu vel ew: ü/ö/	au vel aw.
ײ	ױ	װ

Hic in **ei** prius ײ est quasi index vocalis **e/** et alterum ײ vocalis **i/** unde diphthongus existit. Diphthongus **eu** vel **ew/** postularet propriè ײ tanquam **vo-//calis e** indicem, præcedere ut apud Germanos, sed usus scribendi sic obtinuit, immò postulavit necessitas, ut videbitur. De װ pro **au** vel **aw/** mox dicetur plenius. Præsumendum est, quando pro **eu** usurpant ױ, et pro **ö** ײ, et pro **ü** solum ײ. Hæ enim duæ sic usurpatæ, vocalibus describendis inserviunt, ut antè ostensum.

ע	ע	used for the vowel <i>e</i> .
פּ	פ	with a horizontal line, it is <i>ph/pf</i> ; otherwise it is a simply <i>p</i> . It is doubled in more forceful German words, such as <i>pferd</i> 'horse,' <i>tropffen</i> 'drip,' <i>stapfflen</i> 'steps' and similar words.
צ	צ	<i>tz, z</i> .
ק	ק	<i>k, ck</i> ; with the addition of <i>waw</i> , it also represents <i>q</i> .
ר	ר	<i>r</i> .
ש	ש	<i>sch</i> , and sometimes as Hebrew <i>sin</i> , which signifies a simple <i>s</i> .
ת	ת	this letter is not used in German words, but only in Hebrew words interspersed into the German dialect; as noted above, <i>t</i> is always represented by <i>teth</i> .

*Final letters*

ץ ף ן ם ך  
ץ ף ן ם ך

*Kaf* and *pe* lack the sign of aspiration at the end of words; they are nonetheless aspirated.<sup>3</sup>

No consonant is doubled in the middle of a word, as the Germans are accustomed to doing in *fallen* 'fall,' *gewinnen* 'win,' and similar words, which function is fulfilled in Hebrew by *dagesh forte*. Here a single letter suffices, and someone experienced in the language understands its doubling from the use of the word.

On Vowels

There are only four vowel letters:

<i>u/o</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
ו	י	ע	א

*Alef* is often also the sign for *o*, and sometimes *alef* and *waw* are joined for *o*.

On Diphthongs

There are three forms of diphthongs:

<i>ei</i>	<i>eu/ew</i> and <i>ü/ö</i>	<i>au</i> or <i>aw</i>
ײ	ײ	ײ

In *ei*, the first ײ functions as a sign of the vowel *e*, and the second ײ of the vowel *i*, hence the diphthong arises. It would seem that the diphthong *eu/ew* would require its own ײ, as a sign of the vowel *e*, to come first as is the case in German, but the practice of writing has been established, indeed necessity has demanded it, as will be seen. Concerning ײ for *au/law*, more will said soon. It is incorrect when ײ is used for *eu, ü* for *ö*, and ײ alone for *ü*. For these two letters serve to represent vowels, as demonstrated above.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., fricatives.



*De Syllaba, et modo legendi.*

Syllaba à quavis confona inchoatur, à dextra finiftram verſus.

Syllaba à vocali ם et ן incipiens, præmittit ſibi ſpiritum tenuem Aleph: ut,

**gefallen Gotts nach leben allen ihnen unter ihr Ob**

אוב איר אונטר אינן אלן לעבן נאך גוטש גיבאלן

Sic et quæ à diphthongis incipit: ut,

**in haben leid und rew fünd ewre uber solt Ihr**

איר זולט אויבר אוירי זוינד רוייא אונד לייד האבן אין

**niderlaſſen und menſchen der und Gotts augen den**

דען אויגן גוטש אונד דער מענשן ' אונד נידרלאשן

**auffgeblaſen des hoffertigkeit die und höhe ewre**

אויירי הויהי אונד דיא הופרטיקייט דעש אויפגבלאזן

**hertzen**

הערצן .

Adjicitur et fini, cum vox in vocalem ם i aut diphthongum exit: ut,

**gaß der auff oder haus im dich Frewe**

פֿרוייא דיך אים הויש אודר אויף דר גש

**laß nit fey gefchefften deinen Bei**

בייא דיינן גישעפֿטן זייא ניט לאש

//

**unterweißen dich ſie wie**

וויא זיא דיך אונטרווייזן

**hochweißen und klugen die**

דיא קלוגן אונד הוך ווייזן

Vocula אונד communiſſimè et ferè ſemper per Apocopam ſcribitur, quam virgula adjecta indicat, hoc modo, אונ'.

## On the Syllable and the Method of Reading

A syllable begins with any given consonant, proceeding from right to left.

A syllable beginning with the vowels ם and ן is preceded by a *spiritus tenuis alef*, as in:

*favor God's by live all them among you If*  
*gefallen Gott's nach leben allen ihnen unter ihr Ob*  
 אוב איר אונטר אינן אלן לעבן נאך גוטש גיבאלן

Thus it is also in syllables beginning with a diphthong, as in:

*in have sorrow and remorse sin your on account of should you*  
*in haben leid und rew sünd ewre uber solt Ihr*  
 איר זולט אויבר אוירי זוינד רוייא אונד לייד האבן אין

*lower and people of the and God's eyes the*  
*niderlassen und menschen der und Gott's augen den*  
 דען אויגן גוטש אונד דער מענשן ' אונד נידרלאשן

*pompous of the pride the and elevation your*  
*auffgeblasen des hoffertigkeit die und höhe ewre*  
 אוירי הויהי אונד דיא הופרטיקייט דעש אויפגבלאזן

*heart*  
*hertzen*  
 הערצן ·

It [an *alef*] is also added at the end of a word that ends in the vowel ם *i*, as in:

*street the on or house in the yourself rejoice*  
*gaß der auff oder haus im dich Frewe*  
 פרוייא דיך אים הויש אודר אויף דר גש

*abandon not them affairs your in*  
*laß nit sey geschefften deinen Bei*  
 בייא דיינן גישעפטן זייא ניט לאש

*direct you they as*  
*unterweisen dich sie wie*  
 וויא זיא דיך אונטרוויין

*shrewd and clever the*  
*hochweisen und klugen die*  
 דיא קלוגן אונד הוך וויין

The word 'and' most commonly and almost always is written in apocopated form, indicated by an added mark, in this manner: 'אונ·

Dixi diphthongum **ui** eu scribi antecedente **u**, necessitatis causâ, cum tamen ratio postularet præcedere **u** tanquam vocalis e indicem. Quando enim scribitur **ui**, tum divisa innuitur syllaba, ut **u** valeat vocalem e/ et **i** consonam, ut in his:

**befohlen gevatter/ gefallen**

גיואלן ' גיואטר ' ביוואולן

Vocalis a in media voce non semper exprimitur, et vocalis e inter duas consonas ultimas vocis raro usurpatur, quandoque per **u** quandoque per **i** indicatur, et si melius fit omitti, cum vocali i potius illic inferviat: ut,

**tragen wil er wen man der ist felich und gut**

גוט אונ' זיליק איז דר מן ווען ער וויל טרגן

**tagen jungen feinen in gefatzes des Joch das**

דאז יאך דעש גיזאציש אין זיינן יונגן טגן .

**sparen nit dich soltu geschefft dein jn**

אין דיין גישעפט זולטו דך ניט שפרן '

**fahren wider glück gut ein wurd dir ob**

אוב דיר וואוירד איין גוט גלויק ווידר ורן .

Geminum **ui** ante **o** vel **u** per **i** expressum, non usurpatur, nisi mediante **u**: ut,

**gewuchert haben wurd wunfch seinem nach welcher**

ווילכר נאך זיינם וואונש וואורד האבן גיוואוכרט

//

**vil geit fein durch wochen alle und / gewonnen und**

אונ' גיוואונן ' אונ' אלי וואוכן דורך זיין גייט ויל

**fein end zu wirt dem / gespunnen und gehapelt**

גיהספלט אונ' גשפונן . דעם ווירט צו ענד זיין

**zerinnen gut und hab wohnung**

וואונג האב אונ' גוט צירינגן .

Alia quæ ad lectionem et scriptionem pertinent, linguæ Germanicæ gnarus, faciliè per se animadvertet.

As I stated above, the diphthong וי *eu* should of necessity be written with the ם in the first position, since indeed reason demands a preceding ם as a sign of the vowel *e*.<sup>4</sup> For when וי is written, then a divided syllable is indicated, so that ם signifies the vowel *e* and ו a consonant, as in these words:

*ordered godfather fell*  
*befohlen gevatter/ gefallen*  
 גיואלן' גיואטר' ביוואלן

The vowel *a* in the middle of a word is not always expressed, and the vowel *e* between the two final consonants of a word is rarely used; sometimes it is indicated by *u* or ם; although it were better omitted, it may be represented instead by the vowel *i*:

*to carry wishes he when man the is blessed and good*  
*tragen wil er wen man der ist selich und gut*  
 גוט אונ' זיליק איז דר מן ווען ער וויל טרגן

*days young his in law of the yoke the*  
*tagen jungen seinen in gesetzes des Joch das*  
 דאז יאך דעש גיזאציש אין זיינן יונגן טגן .

*spare not yourself you should affairs your in*  
*sparen nit dich soltu geschefft dein jn*  
 אין דיין גישעפט זולטו דיך ניט שפרן'

*happen luck good a would to you if*  
*fahren wider glück gut ein wurd dir ob*  
 אוב דיר וואוירד איין גוט גלויק ווידר ורן .

Double וו before *o* or *u* expressed by ו is not used except with an interposed &, as in:

*profited have would wish his according to whoever*  
*gewuchert haben wurd wunsch seinem nach welcher*  
 ווילכר נאך זיינם וואונש וואורד האבן גיוואכרט

//

*much avarice his through weeks all and won and*  
*vil geit sein durch wochen alle und / gewonnen und*  
 אונ' גיוואונן' אונ' אלי וואוכן דורך זיין גייט ויל

*his end at will from him , drudged and labored*  
*sein end zu wirt dem / gespunnen und gehaspelt*  
 גיהספלט אונ' גשפונן . דעם ווירט צו ענד זיין

*melt away goods and chattels home*  
*zerinnen gut und hab wohnung*  
 וואונונג האב אונ' גוט צירינגן .

The person who has a knowledge of the German language can easily observe for himself other things that pertain to the reading and writing [of Hebrew-German].

<sup>4</sup> Buxtorf's cryptic style here obscures the sense. One must add, for the sake of clarity, something like: "But such is not the case."

Porrò Germanicus sermo nunquam illis purus est, sed frequentissimè tam in scribendo quàm loquendo, Hebraica vocabula immiscet. Et sic quidem ab ineunte prima ætate pueros suos loqui instituunt ut paulatim Hebraicis assuescant. Sic dicunt, **Sihe wie ein Mius Kind ist das / מאוס wüft: Das fleisch ist nicht Cascher / פשר** recta et licita: es ist paful, פסול profanum, vitiatum, adeoque illicitum. **Wen man Tfilla thut / soll man sein hertz mecaffen feyn leschem schamajim, תפלה** precatio, מקבול intendens, Dirigens; לשם שמים Ad Deum. **Einem levaja thun / hoc est, Deducere in viam, לוויה** Deductio. Sic Participiis Hebraicis familiarissimè cum Verbo substantivo utuntur: ut **Sey mir mochel, מוחל** condonans esto, condona mihi: **Ich wil dir mode seyn / מודה** Confitens ero, confitebor tibi: **Deme brieffe bin ich mecabbel gewesen / מקביל** accipiens fui, accipi: **Du solt ihn mecabbed feyn / מקביל** Honorans eris, Honorabis illum.

Verba Hebræa corrumpunt, et flectunt in formam Germanicam, ut Germani Latina, **Difputieren / Studieren / Conferieren**: Sic illi, **Er hats geganf-// fet / id est, גנב** Furatus est: **Man begaßlet und beganffet ihn / id est, beraubet und bestilet ihn.** Der Bore chafme dich zum guten Jahr / id est, Creator obfignet te ad annum bonum, quæ salutatio usitata est apud eos in principio novi anni. בורא Creator, קתם obfignavit, unde Thau aspiratum ut f pronunciant: Sic **Badken / à בדיק** Quæsitiv: **Schächten / à שחט** Mactavit: **Gaßlen / à גזל** Rapuit, Prædatus est: **Außmecken / à מחה** Delevit, vel **מחה** Erasit: **Darschen / id est, concionari, concione interpretari, à דרש** et inde **Ein drasche / דרשה** concio, **Ein draschle / brevis concio, quales pueri ipforum decem vel duodecim annorum solent quandoque in convivijis solenioribus, ut circumcissionis vel aliis, ex præceptorum institutione habere, non pietatis sed hilaritatis causâ: Sachren / Negotiari, Mercari, à סחר : Taphsen / id est, Fangen/Gefangen nemmen/ à תפס** Prehendere. Rarius Nomina sic corrumpunt, quomodo observavi eos loquentes, **das ist ein affuskeit / id est, Stettigkeit/ ab עזיות** pertinacia, obstinacia.

Habent et peculiare quosdam loquendi formas, à communi Germanicè loquendi usu remotas, **das dafig / pro dasselbig : die dasigen / pro dieselbigen: Judschen / id est, Circumcidere, per circumcissionis fædus judaismo initiare, quomodo Christiani in quibusdam Germaniæ partibus dicunt Christen / pro Baptizare, per baptismum Christianismo initiare. Ein Beltzel / Puella. Enck pro Euch / quod Poloniæ Judæis familiare: Newert / pro Nur / solùm, tantùm: Ein Per[l]ich / pro Perlin / margarita: Ein fingerlich / pro Fingerlein / id est, annulus: Leyen pro Lesen / Legere: Benschen / pro Benedeyen / Benedicere: Oren // Orare: Derzehlen / pro erzehlen / et sic ferè semper hoc augmentum addita literâ d efferunt, et quæ sunt similia.**

Furthermore, German among them is never pure, but very often intermingles Hebrew words in both the written and spoken language. And thus even from the beginning at the earliest period of life, they teach their boys to speak so that they gradually become accustomed to Hebrew. Thus they say, 'Look at what a *nius* child that is' מאוס 'vile.' 'The meat is not *cascher*' כָּשֶׁר 'proper and permitted.' 'It is *pasul*' פָּסוּל 'unclean, defective,' 'altogether forbidden.' 'When one makes the *Tfilla*, one should *mecaffen* one's heart *leschem schamajim*' תְּפִלָּה 'prayer,' מְכַנֵּן 'pay attention to, direct toward,' לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם 'to God.'<sup>5</sup> 'Do for someone *levaja*' לְוִיָּה 'the act of escorting.' Thus they quite commonly use Hebrew participles with an independent verb, as in: 'Be *mochel* to me' מוֹחֵל 'be pardoning to me, or pardon me.' 'I wish to be *mode* to you' מוֹדָה 'I will [be] admit[ting] to you.' 'I have been *mecabbel* that letter' מְקַבֵּל 'I was receiving, I have received.' 'You should be *mecabbed* him' מְכַבֵּד 'you will be honoring him, you will honor him.'

They corrupt the Hebrew words, and turn them into German forms; as the Germans do with Latin words such as *Disputieren* 'dispute,' *Studieren* 'study,' *Conferieren* 'confer,' so they also do: 'He has *geganffet* it,' that is גָּנַב 'he has stolen'; 'One has *begaslet* and *beganffet* him,' that is, 'robbed and stolen from him.' 'May the *Bore chasme* you for a good year,' that is, 'may the Creator seal/certify you for a good year,' which is a greeting they use at the beginning of the new year; בּוֹרֵא 'Creator,' תָּמַם 'mark, sign, seal,' where spirantized *taw* is pronounced as *s*. Thus *badken* from בָּדַק 'he has sought, inquired,' *schächten* from שָׁחַט 'he has slain,' *gaslen* from גָּזַל 'he has seized, taken as plunder,' *aufmecken* from מָחָה 'he has destroyed' or מָחַק 'he has erased, deleted,' *darschen*, that is 'to hold a public speech, sermonize' from דָּרַשׁ and thence 'a public speech, sermon' דְּרָשָׁה; *ein draschle* 'a brief speech, sermon,' such as those that boys of ten or twelve years of age are accustomed to deliver in their ceremonial meals together, such as for circumcisions and the like, according to the instruction of their teachers/laws, for the sake of gaiety and not piety. *Sachren* 'do business, trade' from סָחַר, *taphsen*, that is, 'catch, capture' from תָּפַס 'seize.' Less frequently they corrupt nouns in this manner, as I have observed them saying, 'that is an *assuskeit*' 'stubbornness' from עִוָּת 'persistence, stubbornness.'

They also have some exceptional forms of speech that are alien to the common mode of German speech: *das dasig* 'the same one' for *dasselbig*; *die dasigen* 'the same ones' for *dieselbigen*; *judschen*, that is, circumcise or initiate as a Jew by means of the covenant of circumcision, just as Christians in some parts of Germany say *christen* for baptize or initiate as a Christian by means of baptism. *Ein beltzel* 'a girl,' *enck* for *euch* 'you,' which is common among the Jews of Poland; *newert* for *nur* 'only,' *ein perlich* for *Perlin* 'pearl,' *ein fingerlich* for *Fingerlein*, that is, 'ring,' *leyen* for *lesen* 'read,' *benschen* for *benedeyen* 'bless,' *oren* for *onare* 'pray,' *derzehlen* for *erzehlen* 'tell, narrate'; and thus almost always they pronounce this prefix with the added letter *d*; and there are other similar examples.

<sup>5</sup> In order to illustrate the syntax of these examples of the periphrastic verb in Yiddish, the English translation mirrors that structure, at the cost of idiomatic English.

## PSALMUS XXIII

Ex versione Germanica Judæorum.

- 1 איין גיזאנג צו דוד . גַט איז מיין הירט איך ווערד ניט גיברעכֶן :  
 2 אין וואונגניג דיש גראז מַכט ער מיך הויארן אויף וואסרן דר רואנג בִּירט ער מיך :  
 3 ער דרקוויקט מיין זיל ער בִּירט מיך אין דען שטייגן דער גירעכטיגקייט אום זיינש נאמן ווילן :  
 4 אַך ווען איך גיא אים טאל דעש שאטן דיש טוטש בִּירכט איך מיך ניט בויזיש . דען דו בישט מיט מיר . דיין  
 רוט אונ' דיין שטאב דיא טרוישטן מיך :  
 5 דו ווירשט אנריכטן בִּור מיר איין טיש ' גיגן מיינן פֿיינדן . דו האשט בִּיישט גימאַכט מיט אויל מיין הויבט .  
 מיין בעכר איז ואל :  
 6 אליין גַט אונ' גינאד זולן מיר נך יאגן אלי טג מיינש לעבן . אונ' איך וויל רואן אים הויז גאַטש לאנגי צייט :

*Formula epistolæ familiaris et modi scribendi inter judæos ufitati.*

**מפני אישון לילה קצרת לך המלה ' רק חדוה וגילה לאהובי ש' ב וחותני היקר והנעלה כמ' ר יעקוב**  
**שי' ע"ש צלעתך בתי היקרה מרת פלונית שתי' ע"ש כל בני ביתך שי' .**  
 ר"ד ליבר יעקוב וויש דאז איך ערשט היום אויף דיא לילה בין בון שפיאר קומן אונ' האב גיהוירט דו זיישט  
 ניט // אויף דער בריילפֿט צו ווארמז גיוועזן . זיין מיר דרשרוקן אוב דו ה'ו ניט וואל אויף בישט ' ע"ז האבן  
 מיר ניט קוינן אונטרלושן אונ' שיקן דיר דיין **שליח מיוחד** דו וועלשט אונז כ"ד באריכות מודיע זיין . איך  
 האב אימרדר **בדיעה** גיהט אויך איין מול צו קומן **לראות בשלום כולכם** זו האב איך **לע"ע מעט מעות** עז  
 נישט מיך אבר גרוש **חידוש** אן כמ"ר **מנחם** דאש ער איצונד מער דען איין **שנה** מיר ניט גישריבן האט אונ' מיר  
 אויף מיינ שרייבן גאר ניט **משיב** גיוועזן איז ' מיך דונקט ווען איך בון זולט זעהן **שורה** או **שורותיים** **מגלילת**  
**ידו הנקייה** זאלט מיר גלייך זיין **כראות פני אלהים** . ווייטר עז איז מיר אנגיציגט מיין אונקל יעקוב זייא  
**נפטר בע"ה** לאז מיך ווישן וויא עז אום זיין קינדר שטיט . **עוד** ליבר ורוינד יעקוב שרייבט מיר **על ידי מוקדם**  
 וויא לאנג איר נוך הבט **בדיעה** צו האניו צו בלייבן אודר אין וועלכֶם **אופן** איר אלדא זייט עז הט מיר איינר  
 גיזאגט איר הט אל וואוכֶן ד' **כתרים** צו גיווינן אונ' דיא קאשט . אלזא קוינט איר אייך וואל **מחיתה** זיין . ליבר  
 אונקל לאזט ניט אונ' שרייבט מיר כ"ד ווידר וויא עז מיט אונזרן **קרובים** שטיט ווען איך נור איינן הויר נענן  
 מיין איך איך הויר איין **מלאך מן השמים** . ווייש אויך דיז מולט קיין **חידושים** מער צו שרייבן ואל **תשיבני**  
**ריקם** זאת הפעם ויי ישמרך **מכל זעם כה חפץ באמרי נועם אהובך ש' ב הקטון נפתלי בר משה זץ' ל נכתב**  
**יום ו' ח' ניסן פה הולצן בשנה את"רת לפ"ק'**

*Poft scripta.*

יעקר שכחתי נא אהובי בלשון בקשה וועלט מיר איין עקזימפלאר בון איירם נוייאן ספר הראויף שיקן על ידי  
 שליח הזה הנאמן לשולחיו איך וויל עז מיט דאנק ביצאלן אי"ה ושולם שנית .  
 //

*Inscriptio.*

לעיר המהוללה וראנקפֿורט  
 ליד אהובי ש' ב וחותני האלוף והיקר והמשכיל בכל דרכיו ישכיל כמ"ר יעקוב שי' וכל אשר לו ש' ר'

## Psalms 23

## From the German Version of the Jews

1. A Psalm attributed to David. God is my shepherd, I shall not want;
2. He makes me lie down for a sojourn on grass. He leads me beside still waters;
3. He restores my soul. He leads me in paths of righteousness for his name's sake.
4. Even when I walk in the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.
5. Thou wilt prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; thou anointest my head with oil, my cup is full.
6. Nothing but goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I shall rest in the house of God for a long time.

## The Form of a Personal Letter and the Mode of Writing Used among Jews

Because of the darkness of night, I will write briefly; wishing only joy and happiness to my dear one, my kinsman, my father-in-law [! = son-in-law], his honor our teacher Rabbi Jacob, may he live, with regards to your wife, my dear daughter Mrs. X, may she live, with regards to all the members of your household, may they live.

First of all, dear Jacob, you should know that it was not until this evening that I returned from Speyer and heard that you were not at the wedding in Worms. We are quite worried about whether you are, God forbid, not well. For that reason we could not but send you this special messenger [so that] you will tell us the whole story in detail. I have continually had in mind that I should sometime also come to see how all of you are doing. But at present I have little money. I am, however, quite surprised that the honorable Rabbi Menahem has now not written to me for more than a year and has not even responded when I have written. It seems to me that if I should see a line or two of his clear writing it would be as if I were to see the face of God. Further, it was reported to me that my uncle Jacob has, on account of our many sins, passed away. Let me know how things stand with his children. In addition, dear friend Jacob, write me by the next messenger concerning how long you have in mind to stay in Hanau and what your state of affairs is there. Someone told me that you can make four crowns per week there and that you can thus make a living there. Dear uncle, don't neglect to write me everything about how our relatives are doing. If I only hear one named, I think I'm hearing an angel from heaven. I know at present of no other news that I can write. Do not reject my plea on this occasion! May God protect you from all evil. Thus is the wish with words of love of your kinsman, the unworthy Naphtali b. Moses of blessed, saintly memory. Written Friday, the eighth of Nisan, here in Holtzen, in the year 609 according to the abbreviated count.

Postscript:

PS. Please, dear one, it is difficult to say it: would you send a copy of your new book up to me with this trusty messenger. I will gladly pay for the cost of sending it, God willing. And peace to you a second time.

Address:

To the lauded city of Frankfurt; to my dear relative, first-ranking son-in-law, dear and enlightened, may he be enlightened in all his paths, his honor Rabbi Jacob, may he live, to whom may there be much health.



*Interpretatio abbreviaturarum et vocum quarundam Hebraicarum  
præcedenti Epistolæ insertarum.*

ש"ב	Abbreviatura est, pro <b>שְׂאֵר בְּשָׂרֵי</b> Propinquus carnis meæ.
כמ"ר	Id est, <b>קְבוּד מַעֲלֵת רַבִּי</b> Gloria excellentiæ Rabbi.
ש'י	Id est, <b>שְׂיִחְיִיה</b> Qui vivat.
ע"ש	Id est, <b>עִם שְׁלוֹם</b> Cum salute.
מרת	Domina.
פלונית	Plonith, fictum nomen, quod per N. significare solemus.
שתי'	Id est, <b>שְׂתִיחְיִיה</b> Quæ vivat.
ר"ד	Id est, <b>רֵאשִׁית דְּבָר</b> Principio rei, primùm.
ח"ו	Id est, <b>חַס וְשְׁלוֹם</b> Parce, et pax fit, id est, quod absfit.
ע"ז	Id est, <b>עַל זֹאת</b> Propter hoc, propterea.
שליח מיוחד	Nuncium, tabellarium proprium.
כ"ד	Id est, <b>כָּל דְּבָר</b> Rem omnem, totum negotium.
קדעה	In animo, in mente. //
לע"ע	Id est, <b>לְעֵת עַתָּה</b> Ad tempus nunc, hoc tempore.
מעט מעות	Parum pecuniarum, paucos nummos.
חדוש	Novum, mirum me habet.
שורה	Linea, <b>שְׁוֹרֹתִים</b> Lineæ duæ.
מגלילת ידו	A circumvolutione manus ejus, id est, literis, scriptura.
נקטר	Mortuus, dimissus è vivis.
בע"ה	Id est, <b>בְּעוֹנֵה הַרְבֵּה</b> Propter multam iniquitatem. Sic loqui solent, cum ob peccatorum culpam aliquid mali accidit.
על ידי מוקדם	Per manum prioris, per primum tabellarium.
אופן	Forma, status rerum.
ד' קתרים	Quatuor coronatos.
חדושים	Nova, res novæ.
זב"ל	Id est, <b>זְכָר צְדִיק לְבְרָכָה</b> Memoria justi fit in benedictione.
אחרת	Vox symbolica anni præsentis 609. <sup>3</sup>
לפ"ק	Id est, <b>לְפָרֵט קָטוֹן</b> Ad supputationem minorem, omisso scil. millenario.
אי"ה	Id est, <b>אִם יַעֲזוֹר הָאֵל</b> Si juverit Deus, vel <b>יִרְצֶה</b> Voluerit: pro <b>הַשֵּׁם הָאֵל</b> Judæi dicunt <b>הַשֵּׁם</b> .
ש"ר	Id est, <b>שְׁלוֹם רַב</b> Pax, salus multa. //

<sup>3</sup> 609 ] Thus Buxtorf demonstrates the limitations of his familiarity with Jewish custom and Yiddish writing, for a Jew writing in Yiddish would designate the year 1609 CE as "369" [שטט"ן or some equivalent] according to the Jewish reckoning; Buxtorf's אחרת = 609 in a Jewish text would be the equivalent of the year 1849 CE.

Explanation of abbreviations and certain Hebrew words  
inserted into the preceding letter:

ש"ב	this is an abbreviation for שְׁאָר בְּשָׂרֵי 'blood relation.'
כמ"ר	that is, כְּבוֹד מְעַלְת רַב, 'Your Honor, Rabbi.'
שי'	that is שְׂיִחָה 'may he live [and prosper].'
ע"ש	that is עִם שְׁלוֹם 'with health.'
מרת	'Lady, Madam, Mrs.'
פלוני	<i>plonith</i> , the name of a hypothetical person, which we customarily indicate by 'N.' [= <i>nomen</i> 'name']. שתי
שתי	that is, שְׂתִיחָה 'may she live [and prosper].'
ר"ד	that is, רֵאשִׁית דְּבָר, 'at the beginning, first of all.'
ח"ו	that is, חַס וְשְׁלוֹם 'forbear and may there be peace,' that is 'God forbid.'
ע"ז	that is, עַל זֹאת 'because of this, consequently.'
שליח מיוחד	'envoy, special messenger.'
כ"ד	that is, כָּל דְּבָר, 'the whole thing, the entire matter.'
בדעה	'in mind.'
לע"ע	that is, לְעַת עַתָּה 'at present, at this time.'
מעט מעות	'little money, few coins.'
חדוש	'novelty, it surprises me.'
שורה	'line'; שְׁוֵרֹתִים 'two lines.'
מגלילת ידו	'from the turning over of one's own hand, that is, of a letter, of a piece of writing.'
נפטר	'dead, released from life.'
בע"ה	that is, בְּעוֹנֵה הַרְבֵּה 'because of many sins.' They customarily say this when something bad happens because they are guilty of sins.
על ידי מוקדם	'by earlier hand, by the first messenger.'
אופן	'form, state of affairs.'
ד' בתרים	'four crowns.'
חדושים	'new things, novelties.'
זצ"ל	that is, זָכַר צְדִיק לְבְרָכָה 'may the memory of the just be for a blessing.'
אתרת	'a word symbolizing the present year 609.'
לפ"ק	that is, לְפָרֵט קָטוֹן, 'according to the smaller count,' that is, omitting the thousands
ה"ה	that is, הֲעֵזֶר הָאֵל, אִם 'if God should help,' or יִרְצֶה 'should wish'; for הָאֵל 'God' Jews say הַשֵּׁם 'the [holy] name.'
ש"ר	that is, שְׁלוֹם רַב 'much peace/health.'

Quo ritu Princeps Israelis in Babylonia olim fuerit electus  
et inauguratus ex libro **שבת יהודה** excerptum.

אין דער צייט דא ישראל האבן ביגערט איין **נשיא** אויבר זיך אויף צורייכטן . וועלכֿן מן גיחישן האט איין **נשיא** אונ' **ראש הגולה** . זא האבן זיך ורזאמלט אלי **ראשי ישיבות** אונ' **ראשי נדיבי העם** אונ' **קנים** אונ' **שופטים** דיא אים גנצן **מלכות** גיוועזן זיינד אונ' זיינד קומן גען **בבל** אונ' האבן זיך דא איין גרוש הויז **מיתד** גיוועזן . וועלכֿז מיט שוינן טאפעציריא פֿון זיידן גיוועבט צוגיריכט ווארדן איז ' אונ' האבן אלן **ראשי ישיבות** שטוילי גישטעלט אונ' אלן **חכמים** אונ' **זקנים** ' אויך איין שוינן שטול דאר אויף דער **נשיא** הט זולן זיצן ' נוך צווען שטויל איינן צו דר רעכטן זייטן אונ' איינן צו דר לינקן זייטן . נעמליך בױר דען **ראש ישיבת סורא** אונ' בױר דען **ראש ישיבת פומבדיתא** . ווען ער נון דער וועלט . אלדא איז אויף גישטנדן דר **ראש סורא** אונ' האט דעם **נשיא דברי מוסר** גיזאגט דאש ער זיין הערץ ניט זול דר העבן אויבר זייני ברוידי . דען מן גיבט אים איין דינשט אונ' ניט איין גיוואלט אז דר **פסוק** שפריכט הוייט ווירשטן איין קנעכט ווערדן דען ואלקש . אן דעם זעלבן טאג זיין זיא אין דז **בית הכנסת** גנגן . דאהין זיינד אויך דיא **ראשי ישיבות** קומן אונ' האבן דיא האנד אויף אין גילעגט אונ' האבן מיט טרומיטן אונ' **שופרות** גיבלאזן אונ' האבן גיבענשט אונ' גיזאגט מיט הוהר שטים אונזר הער דר **נשיא** זול לעבן צו איוויגן צייטן . ער<sup>4</sup> זול אונז דר העבט זיין צום הויפט דר גיאכטפריקייט צום הויפט דר ורטרייבונג **ישראל** . // אונ' בילייטטן אין אין זיין הויז מיט טרומיטן אונ' גליקוויגשונג . ער זאלש **נוהג** זיין מיט רעכטפריקייט אונ' גירעכטיקייט אונ' גיריכט אונ' מיט גוטר ורנונעפֿט דאר מיט שיידן זיא פֿון אים . דען זעלבן טאג שיקן זיא אים גרוש גישענק פֿון זילבר אונ' גולד איין איקליכר נאך זיינס ורמויגן . דאר נאך בירייט דער<sup>5</sup> **נשיא** אין **סעודה** צו צום **שבת** דען דא **אשן** מ[ן] אים דיא **ראשי ישיבות** אונ' דיא **זקנים** פֿון דער שטאט אונ' דיא הויכשטן דעש **מלכות** דיא דא גיפֿונדן ווארדן . אם **ערב שבת** בויט מן אים אין דעם **בית הכנסת** איין **מגדל** אונ' דעקטן דאש מיט זיידן אונ' טאפעציריא . אם **שבת** צו מורגן גינגן אלי **ראשי ישיבות** אונ' **ראשי** דען ואלקש אונ' בילייטן אין ביז אין דאש **בית הכנסת** דא גינג ער פֿור אין אלן הער . דען עז איז דער סיטן בייא דן **שרים** אונ' **מלכים** אין דען זעלבן **מלכות** דאש זיא פֿור אירם ואלק הער גיהן . ווען דר **נשיא** גיט דא איז זיין **פנים** ור דעקט מיט איינס זיידן טוך דאש מן אים דאז **פנים** ניט זיכט . ווען זיא נאהי בייא דעם **בית הכנסת** זיין זא היבט דער חזן אן צו זינגן **ברוך שאמר וכו'** אונ' דיא **ראשי ישיבות** ענטווארטן **ברוך שאמר וכו'** אונ' זאגן אנדרי **תפלות** מער אים נייגון ביז מן דיא **ספר תורה** אויז דעם היכל נעמן זול . אלז דען ברענגן זיא דען **נשיא** אלר אויברשט אויף דען **מגדל** אונ' זיין **פנים** איז ור דעקט . דאר נאך דער **ראש ישיבת סורא** אונ' נאך אים **ראש ישיבת פומבדיתא** אונ' זעצן דען **נשיא** אויף קוישטליכֿן צוגיריכטן שטול אונ' נעמן דיא **ספר תורה** אויז דעם היכל אונ' ברענגן זיא אויף דען **מגדל** זא לייאט ער פֿון ערשטן אונ' נאך אים דיא **ראשי ישיבות** . ווען דאז לעזן אויז איז דא פֿנגט דער **נשיא** אן דאש ואלק צור גירעכטיקייט // אונ' פֿרומיקייט צו ור מאגן אונ' גיבט דר נך דר לויבניש דעם **ראש ישיבת סורא** צו דרשן אונ' צו פרעדיגן צום גנצן ואלק . דאר נאך איז אידרמן אויף גישטנדן אונ' דעם **נשיא** דען זעגן גוטש גיוואוינשט אונ' בױר אין גיבעטן . אלז דען איז דער **נשיא** אויף גישטנדן אויף זיין פֿויס אונ' אויך זיין גיבעט צו גוט גיטאן אונ' ערשטליך גיבעטן דאז דיא **ראשי ישיבות** זולן גלויקליך זיין אין לערנן דיא **תורה** . דרנאך בױר אלי שטענד דען ואלקש גיבעטן אונ' בױר איין איקליכֿש לאנד דאש עז גוט וועל בשרימן פֿון **חרב** אונ' **דבר** אונ' פֿון אלם בויזן . נאך דעם גיבעט האבן דאש גנצי ואלק אין ווידר היים צו זיינס הויז בילייטט מיט גרושן פֿריידן .

עז B ] ער 4

דעד B ] ער 5

In What Manner the Prince of Israel Was Formerly Elected and Consecrated,  
Excerpted from *Sheyvet Yehudo*

At the time when Israel wanted a chieftain to rule over it, whom one called a *nasi* and *rosh hagolah* 'exilarch,' all the heads of yeshivahs, nobles of the people, elders, and judges from the entire kingdom assembled and came to Babylon and appropriated for themselves a great house that was decorated with beautiful tapestries of woven silk. And for all heads of yeshivahs there were chairs arranged, and also for the sages and elders. There was also a beautiful chair on which the *nasi* was to sit. Finally, there were two more chairs, one on the right side and one on the left side [of the *nasi*], namely for the head of the yeshivah in Sura and for the head of the yeshivah in Pumbadita. Whenever he wished it, then the head of Sura stood up and spoke words of moral instruction to the *nasi* so that he did not exalt his own heart over his brothers. For he was given a position of duty and not of force, as is written in Scripture, 'Today you become a servant of the people.' On that same day they went into the synagogue. The heads of yeshivah also came to that place and laid their hands on him and blew trumpets and shofars and recited blessings and said with loud voices, 'May our lord, the *nasi*, live forever! May he be raised up to the height of honor and to the head of the exile of Israel. And they accompanied him to his house with trumpets and best wishes that he should conduct himself with justice and equity and right and with good reason. With that they part from him. The same day they send him large gifts of silver and gold, each according to his means. Thereafter, the *nasi* prepares a banquet on the sabbath, for the heads of yeshivah, the elders of the city, and the dignitaries of the kingdom present there ate with him. On sabbath eve a dais [*migdal*] was built for him in the synagogue and covered with silk and tapestries. On sabbath morning all the heads of yeshivahs and leaders of the people came and accompanied him to the synagogue; he walked ahead of them all. For it is customary among princes and kings in that same kingdom that they walk ahead of their people. When the *nasi* walks, his face is covered with a silk cloth so that one cannot see his face. When they approach the synagogue, the cantor begins to sing *barukh she-omar* etc., and the heads of yeshivahs respond *barukh she-omar*, etc. and recite other prayers with their melodies until the Torah scroll is to be taken out of the ark. At that point they lead the *nasi* to the top of the dais while his face is covered, and thereafter the head of the yeshivah in Sura, and after him the head of the yeshivah in Pumbadita. And they seat the *nasi* on the precious chair prepared for him and take the Torah scroll from the ark and bring it to the dais. Then he reads first, and after him the heads of the yeshivahs. When the reading has been completed, then the *nasi* begins to exhort the people to justice and piety, and thereafter he grants permission to the head of the yeshivah in Sura to preach a sermon to the entire people. Thereafter everyone stood up and wished God's blessing on the *nasi* and prayed for him. At that point the *nasi* stood up on his feet and made his own prayer to God, first praying that the heads of yeshivahs rejoice in studying Torah, thereafter for all classes of the people and for each individual country that God protect it from sword and pestilence and from all evil. After the prayer the entire people with great rejoicing accompanied him back home to his house.

Quo ritu Princeps Iſraelis Regem Babyloniae olim acceſſerit:  
ex eodem libro.

אין צייטן ווען דער נשיא האט וועלן גיהן צו רידן מיט דעם מלך בבל זו שיקט ער פֿון ערשטן צום מלך און ניםט דר לויבניש . דא זאגט דער מלך ער זול קומן און' שיקט אים איין קוטשר וואגן זיינש מרשאלקש ' דאש ער דא מיט וויל כבוד געבן דעם זאמן דוד . דען אל דיא נשיאים זיין פֿון זאמן דוד גיוועזן ' אבר דר נשיא איז אויף דעם וואגן ניט גיפארן בֿון וועגן כבוד מלכות נייארט ער איז פֿור אים גיבארן און' ער איז נאך גיפולגט גינגן אין איינס זיידן קלייד און' פֿופציג מאנן זיין בֿור אים הער גילאפֿן און' אל דער זרע ישראל דער אין גיזעהן האט דיא זיין שולדיג גיוועזן אין צו בלייטן ' ווען ער נון אן חצר המלך קומן אן]ז זא זיין אים דיא דינער דעש קויניגש ענטגיגן גנגן און' // זיין בֿור אים הער גילאפֿן ביז נאהנט צום מלך . דיא קנעכט אבר דעו נשיא זיין צו נעהשט בֿור אים גילאפֿן מיט איינן בווייטל בֿול גאלד און' האבן עז גיווארפֿן בֿור דעם נשיא . דא דער נשיא צום מלך קומן . האט ער זיך גיבוקט . אלז דען האט ער זיך אויף איין פֿוס גישטעלט וויא דער מנהג דעו מלכות איז גיוועזן דמיט אן צו צייגן זיין אונטר טעניקייט און' שטיט אלזו וויא איין קנעכט . דא גיבווייט דער מלך זיינן דינרן . דאש זיא דען נשיא אויף איין שטול זולן ועצן נאהנט צו זינר לינקן זייטן . דער מלך שווייגט איין ווייל שטיל זיין כבוד דא מיט צו ביווייזן אלז דען ווענדט ער זיך מיט זיינס פֿנים צום נשיא און' גרוישט אין . זא ענטוורת דער נשיא דאנקט אים און' וואוינשט אים ווידר דען פֿריד . און' שטיט דא מיט אויף זיין פֿיס און' טוט זיין ביגערן מיט גראשר חכמה און' גיט ווידר דרפֿון .

Rabbi Eleefaris sententia,

Uno die ante mortem agenda est pænitentia, *quomodo intelligenda,*  
*ex Talmudico Tractatu de Sabbatho, cap. 24. pag. 153, excerpta et*  
*Hebraicè ac Germanicè propofita.*<sup>6</sup>

רבי אליעזר אומר . שוב יום אחד לפני מיתתך . שאלו תלמידיו רבי אליעזר . וכי אדם יודע איזהו יום ימות אמר לו וכל שכן היום שמא ימות למחר ונמצא כל ימיו בתשובה ואף שלומה אמר בחכמתו (קוהלת ט') בכל עת יהיו בגדיך לבנים ושמן על ראשך אל יחסר אמר רבן יוחנן בן זכאי משל לאדם שזימן את עבדיו לסעודה ולא קבע להם זמן . פיקחין שבהן קישטו את עצמם וישבו על פתח בית המלך . אמרו כלום חסר לבית המלך . טיפשיין שבהן הלכו למלאכתם // אמרו כלום יש סעודה בלא טורח בפתאום ביקש המלך את עבדיו . פיקחין שבהן נכנסו לפניו כשהן מקושטין והטיפשיין נכנסו לפניו כשהן מלוכלכין . שמח המלך לקראת פיקחין ' וכעס לקראת טיפשיין ' אמר הללו שקישטו את עצמם לסעודה ישבו ויאכלו וישאו הללו שלא קישטו עצמם לסעודה יעמדו ויראו חתנו של רבי מאיר משום רבי מאיר אמר . אף הן נראין כמשמשיין אלא אלו ואלו יושבין הללו אוכלין והללו רעבין הללו שותין והללו צמאים שנאמר (ישעיה סה') כה אמר האל ' הנה עבדי יאכלו ואתם תרעבו הנה עבדי ישאו ואתם תצמאו הנה עבדי ירונו מטוב לב ואתם תצעקו מכאב לב .

<sup>6</sup> Buxtorf's text differs in several details from editions of the Talmud.

In What Manner the Prince of Israel Approached the King of Babylon,  
from the Same Book

At the times when the *nasi* wanted to go and speak with the king of Babylon, he first sends to the king to receive permission. The king says that he should come and sends him a carriage of his Master of Horse, in order thus to honor the seed of David, for all of the *nesiim* were descendents of David. But, for the sake of the honor of the kingdom, the *nasi* did not ride in the carriage. Instead, the carriage drove in front of him, while he walked behind it in a silk robe, and fifty men ran in front of him, and all the seed of Israel who saw him were obligated to accompany him. When he arrived in the courtyard of the king, the servants of the king came to meet him and ran in front of him until they drew near the king. But the servants of the *nasi* ran immediately in front of him with a bag full of gold and scattered it before the *nasi*. When the *nasi* approached the king, he bowed; then he stood on one foot, as was the custom of the kingdom in order to demonstrate his subservience. So he stands there like a servant. Then the king orders his servants to seat the *nasi* on a chair near his left side. The king remains silent for a while in order to demonstrate his respect; then he turns his face to the *nasi* and greets him. The *nasi* then responds, thanks him, and again wishes him peace. And then he stands up on his feet, presents his request with great wisdom and departs again.

The Opinion of Rabbi Eliezer

One day before death penance is to be done, as is to be understood from the Talmudic tractate Sabbath, chapter 24, page 153, the proposition excerpted in both Hebrew and German

Hebrew version:

R. Eliezer said 'Repent one day before your death.' His disciples asked him: 'Does one then know on what day he will die?' He replied: 'Then all the more reason that he repent today, lest he die tomorrow, and thus his whole life is spent in repentance.' And Solomon also said in his wisdom: 'Let your garments be always white; let not oil be lacking on your head' [Ecclesiastes 9:8]. R. Johanan b. Zakkai said: This may be compared to a man who summoned his servants to a banquet without appointing a time. The wise ones adorned themselves and sat at the door of the palace, for they said: 'Is anything lacking in a royal palace?' The fools went about their work, saying: 'Can there be a banquet without preparations?' Suddenly the king requested his servants: the wise went in before him adorned, while the fools went in before him soiled. The king rejoiced at the wise but was angry with the fools. He ordered: 'Let them who adorned themselves for the banquet sit, eat, and drink. But let them who did not adorn themselves for the banquet stand and watch.' R. Meir's son-in-law said in R. Meir's name: 'Behold they also seem to be in attendance. But both sit, the former eating, and the latter hungering; the former drinking, and the latter thirsting, for it is said: 'Therefore thus says the Lord GOD: "Behold, my servants shall eat, but you shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but you shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall sing for gladness of heart, but you shall cry out for pain of heart."' [Isaiah 65:13-14]

## Verfio Germanica.

**רבי** אליעזר זאגט טוא **תשובה** איין טאג ב'ור דיינם טוט . דא פראגטן זיין **תלמידים רבי אליעזר** וויא ווייט דען איינר אויף וועלכן טאג ער שטארבן ווערט ' דא זאגט **רבי אליעזר** ווידר **מכל שכן** זול איינר הוייט **תשובה** טון אוב ער וילייכט מורגן מויכט שטערבן דא מיט ווירט ער גיבונדן דאז ער אל זיין טאג אין **תשובה** לעבט . אונ' **שלמה המלך** האט גיזאגט אין זיינר ווישהייט אל צייט זולן דייני קליידר ווייט זיין אונ' קיין אויל ווירט אויף דיינם הויפט מאנגלן (דאמיט מיינט ער דיא **תשובה** אונ' ג'טש פ'ורכטיג לעבן דאש זא אין ג'וט צום טוט ב'ורדרט ער אלז באלד ברייט זייא .) דראויף שפריכט **רבי יוחנן בן זכאי** דש איז איין גלייכניש צו איינם קויניג דער לאדט זייני קנעכט צו איינר גרושן **סעודה** אונ' בשטימט אינן אבר ניט איין גיווישי צייט . דיא קלוגן אונטר אינן דיא צירן זיך זעלברט (מיט הויפשן קליידרן) אונ' זעצן זיך גלייך ב'ור דיא טויר דעז קויניגש פאלשט אונ' גידענקן עז גיברישט נישט אין דעז קויניגש הויז (דיא מאלצייט // ווערט גיוויש גימאכט זיין וויר וועלן גירוישט זיין דאמיט וויר ער שיינן ב'ור דעם קויניג ווען ער אונזר בירו'פט) דיא נארן אונטר אינן גיהן ווידר צו אירר ארבייט אונ' גידענקן מאן קאן קיין קויניגליך מאלצייט און ארבייט זו גישוונדן צו רוישטן . דא שיקט דער קויניג אורפליציג (נאך זיינן קנעכטן זיא זולן צום עשן קומן דיא **סעודה** זייא ברייט .) דיא קלוגן (דיא זיך גירוישט האבן ) גיהן גלייך הניין צום קויניג דיא ווייל זיא שוין גיצירט זיין מיט הויפשן קליידרן . דיא נארן גיהן ב'ון איר ארבייט גישטראקש מיט אירן וואוישטן קליידרן הנאיין ב'ור דען קויניג צום עשן ' דא פרייט זיך דער קויניג אויבר דיא קלוגן (קנעכט דיא זיך גלייך גירוישט האבן צו זיינר מאלצייט ) אונ' דר צירנט זיך אויף דיא נארן (דיא זיך ניט גירוישט האבן צו זוינר **סעודה**) אונ' שפריכט דיא קלוגן זא זיך גירוישט אונ' גיצירט האבן אויף מיינ מאלצייט דיא זולן זיך צום טיש זעצן אונ' עשן אונ' טרינקן אונ' זולן פרויליך זיין . אבר די זעלביגן זא זיך ניט גירוישט האבן צו מיינר **סעודה** דיא זולן שטעהן אונ' צו זעהן אונ' ניט עשן אודר טרינקן ' ווייטער הט זיין טוכטר מאן דעז **רבי מאיר** גיזאגט ב'ון וועגן זייניש שויעהירש **רבי מאיר** אויך דיא זעלביגן זולן זיין אלז גילאדן אונ' זיא אלזוא וואל אז יעני צום טיש זיצן אבר יעני זולן עשן אונ' דיזי זולן הונגערן יעני זולן טרינקן אונ' דיזי זולן דוירשטן וויא דר פרו'פ'יט ריידט (**ישעיה סה**) אלזו שפריכט דער הער זיך מייני קנעכט ווערדן עשן אונ' איר ווערדן הונגער ליידן זיך מייני קנעכט ווערדן טרינקן אבר איר ווערדן דוירשטן זיך מייני קנעכט ווערדן יאויכצן מיט פרויליכ'ם הערצן אבר איר ווערדן שרייאן וועגן גרוש הערצן לייד . //

Sermo textus Talmudici legibus fermonis Hebræi convenit, paucis vocibus exceptis, quas explicabo, ne quis in iis hæreat.

**מיתה** Ante mortem tuam. **מורי** Mori, unde Nomen Rabbini ufifatam **לקני מיתה** Mors. **ה** propter Affixum ex communi consuetudine mutatur in **ת**.

**שכן** Quanto magis ergo, **Quin** ergo, nempe hodie agis pænitentiam, cùm homo diem mortis suæ ignoret, et ita quisque dies tibi erit proximus ante mortem, ut tota vita fit continua refipifcentiæ meditatio.

**שמה** Fortafis.

**שזימן** Qui invitavit, vocavit, **י** est index vocalis Chirek, ut supra in Instructione declaratum. Sic in aliquot aliis in hoc textu.

## German version:

R. Eliezer said: 'Repent one day before your death.' His disciples asked him: 'R. Eliezer, How does one know on what day he will die?' Then R. Eliezer replied: 'Then all the more reason that he repent today, lest he perhaps die tomorrow, and thus it will be judged that he lived all his days in repentance.' And King Solomon said in his wisdom: 'Your garments should always be white, and there should be lack of oil on your head' [Ecclesiastes 9:8]. With that he meant repentance and a God-fearing life, so that when God requires his death, he is immediately prepared. In response R. Johanan b. Zakkai said: This may be compared to a king who summoned his servants to a banquet but did not set a certain time. The wise ones among them adorned themselves with fine clothing and sat down in front of the gate of the king's palace and reflect: 'Is anything lacking in the royal palace? The banquet will certainly be made in the palace; it is expected that we will appear before the king when he calls us.' The fools among them returned to their work and reflect: 'One cannot prepare a royal banquet so quickly without work.' Suddenly the king summoned his servants to come to eat; the banquet was ready. The wise who had prepared themselves, immediately enter and approach the king, since they are already adorned with fine clothing. The fools come directly from their work with their soiled clothing and go into the king's presence to eat. The king rejoiced at the wise servants who had immediately prepared themselves for his banquet, and he was angry with the fools, who had not prepared themselves for his banquet. And he says: 'The wise ones, who prepared and adorned themselves for my banquet, they should sit down at the table and eat and drink, and they should rejoice. But those who did not prepare themselves for my banquet, they should stand and watch and not eat or drink.' In addition, R. Meir's son-in-law said in R. Meir's name: 'These should also only seem to be in attendance.' And the former as well as the latter are to sit at the table, but the former are to eat and the latter are to remain hungry, the former are to drink, and the latter to remain thirsty, as the prophet says: 'Therefore thus says the Lord GOD: "Behold, my servants shall eat, but you shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but you shall be thirsty; behold, my servants shall rejoice with joyous hearts, but you shall cry out for great pain of heart."' [Isaiah 65:13–14]

The language of the Talmudic text conforms to the rules of the Hebrew language, with the exception of a few words, which I shall explain, lest anyone have difficulty with them.

לְפָנֵי מִיתָתְךָ	'before your death.' מות 'to die,' whence the common rabbinical name, מִיתָה 'death.' Because of the affix, ה, is changed by common usage into ת.
וְכָל שְׂכָן	'all the more so, therefore,' to be sure you will do penance today, since man knows not the day of his death, so that each day will be for you the last day before death, so that one's whole life might be a continual exercise in self-reformation.
שָׁמָּה	'perhaps'
שׁוֹמֵן	'who has invited, called'; the ם is a sign of the vowel <i>hireq</i> , as indicated above in the instructions; thus also in a number of other words in this text.



פְּקֻחִין Prudentes, quafi Apertos dicas, quibus mentis oculi aperti sunt, vide Exo.4.11.

קָשְׁטוּ Ornarunt, ex Pihel, quod infertum י' indicat. Verbum est in ufu Veterum frequentatum, apud quos in Proverbio communi fuit, קָשְׁטוּ עֵצְמֶךָ וְאַחֲרַיְכֶם כָּשֵׁט אֶת כָּשֵׁט אֶת אֶחָרִים Id est, *Orna (primò) te ipsum, deinde ornato alios*, ut legitur in Talmud, Tractatu Bava Metzia, cap.9.pag.107. et in Bava bafra cap.3.pag.60. et in Sanhedrin cap 2. in initio Gemaræ. Senfus ejus fuit; Orna teipsum priùs virtutibus, quàm arguas vitia alterius. Natum ex illo prophetæ Sophoniæ, וְקוּשׁוּ הַתְּקוּשׁוּשׁוּ וְקוּשׁוּ *Scrutamini vos, et scrutamini*, cap.1.1, id est, primum in vos ipfos inquirete, deinde in alios. Gloffator Talmudicus: *Prius colligito stipulam ex oculo tuo, deinde stramen ex oculo alterius*. In eundem fenfum dicunt etiam, וְיִקְיָךְ עֵינֶיךָ טוֹל קֶרֶם מִבְּיַד עֵינֶיךָ *Tolle festucam ex oculo tuo: cui oppositum alterum, // טוֹל קֶרֶם מִבְּיַד עֵינֶיךָ Tolle trabem ex oculo tuo*, ut legitur in Erachin cap. 3. pag.16. Hinc pater unde sermo Christi in novo Testamento, de festuca et trabe in oculo, fit petitus.

נִלְוִים Nunquid?

טִפְשִׁין Stulti, אִשְׁפֵּשׁ Stultescere, unde illud, חַכְמִים כָּל עוֹד שֶׁהֵם מְזַקְיָנִים חֲכָמָתָם מִתְרַבֵּה, וְעַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כָּל עוֹד שֶׁהֵם מְזַקְיָנִים מִטִּפְשִׁין id est, *Sapientes quo magis senescunt, tanto magis sapientia eorum augetur: idiotæ autem quo magis senescunt, eo magis stultescunt.*

נִקְנְסוּ Ingrediebantur: נִקְנַס in Niphal, Ingredi, Introire, quafi dicas, se colligere intrà, à קָנַס.

מְלוֹדְקֵיךָ Sordidi, fordidi et inquinatis vestibus induti, estque Participium passivum Pyhal, à לְקַלְךָ Inquinavit, לְקַלְךָ Sordities.

אֵלֶּה Ifti, Iftæ, idem quod אֵלֶּה.

Reliqua ex superiore Instructione nostra facilè patent.

*Alia parabola convivii de divite et paupere, ex Tractatu Berachos, cap.5.pag.31.*

מִשַׁל לְמֶלֶךְ בָּשָׂר וְדָם שֶׁעָשָׂה סְעוּדָה גְדוֹלָה וְזִימָן כָּל בְּנֵי עִירוֹ בָּא עִנִּי אֶחָד וְעָמַד עַל הַפֶּתַח אָמַר לָהֶם תָּנוּ לִי פְרוּסָה אַחַת וְלֹא הִשְׁגִּיחוּ עֲלָיו דַּחַק וְנִכְנַס אֶצְל הַמֶּלֶךְ אָמַר לוֹ אֲדוּנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִכָּל סְעוּדָה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ קִשָּׁה בְּעֵינֶיךָ לִיתֵן לִי פְרוּסָה אַחַת :

- פִּקְחִין 'clever ones,' as if one were to say 'those who are opened,' to whom the eyes of the mind are open; see Exodus 4:11.
- קָשְׁטוּ 'they adorn,' in the *piel* form of the verb, as indicated by the inserted י. It is a verb frequently used by the ancients, among whom it was of common use in proverbs: קָשְׁטוּ עֵצְמְךָ וְאַחַר כֵּן קָשְׁטוּ אֶת אֲחֵרִים, that is, 'adorn first yourself, then adorn others,' as is found in the Talmud, tractate Bava Mešia, chapter 9, page 107, and in tractate Bava Batra, chapter 3, page 60, and in tractate Sanhedrin, chapter 2, at the beginning of the Gemara. Its meaning was: adorn yourself with virtues before asserting the vices of your fellow man, drawn from this verse of the prophetic book of Wisdom: הִתְקַוְּשׁוּ וְקוּשׁוּ 'examine yourself, and examine' (chapter 1:1), that is, investigate first yourself, then others. The Talmudic glossator says: 'first take the stalk from your eye, then the straw from the eye of the other person.' In this same sense, they say: טוֹל קֶסֶם מִבֵּין עֵינֶיךָ 'take the straw from your eye,' against which another proverb is set: טוֹל קוֹרֶה מִבֵּין עֵינֶיךָ 'take the beam from your eye,' as is found in tractate Erachin, chapter 3, page 16. This is the source where the words of Christ in the New Testament, concerning the straw and beam in the eye, are to be sought.
- כְּלוֹם 'there is not, is there . . .?'
- טִפְשִׁין 'fools,' אֲטַפֵּשׁ 'to become foolish,' whence this: חֲכָמִים כָּל עוֹד שָׁהֵם מִזְקִינִים וְעַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כָּל עוֹד שָׁהֵם מִזְקִינִים מִטְּפָשִׁים חֲכָמָתָם מִתְּרַבָּה, ועמי הארץ כל עוד שהם מזקינים מטפשים חכמתם מתרבה, that is, 'the older the wise become, the greater their wisdom becomes; the older that ordinary people become, however, the more foolish they become.'
- נִכְנָסוּ 'to go in'; נִכְנָס in the *nif'al* form of the verb 'to go in, to enter,' as if to say, 'to come to oneself in an inner sense,' from כָּנַס.
- מְלוּכְלָכִין 'filthy, dressed in filthy and dirty clothing'; it is the passive participle of the *pu'al* form of the verb, from לְכַלַּךְ 'he has befouled,' לְכַלֹּךְ 'filth.'
- הֵלֵלוּ 'these,' the same as אֵלֶּה.

The rest is easily understandable, based on our instructions above.

Another Example, of a Feast with a Rich Man and a Poor Man,  
from Tractate Berakhot, Chapter 5, Page 31.

A parable that can be compared to a king of flesh and blood who prepared a great banquet and invited all the sons of the city. A poor man came and stood at the door. He said to them, 'Give me a piece of bread.' But they paid no attention to him. He forced his way in to the king. He said to him, 'My lord, O King, in this entire banquet which you have prepared, is it such a hard thing in your sight to give me a single piece of bread?'

## Verfio Germanica.

אייך גלייכניש צו איינם קויניג דער נור ולייש אונ' בלוט איז דער מאכט איין קוישטליך מאלצייט // אונ' לאד הארצו ויל לוייט זיינר שטאט דא קם אויך איין ארמר אונ' שטנד<sup>7</sup> בור דער טויר דעש קויניגש שפראך צו אינן גיבט מיר אויך איין שטויקליין אבר זיא האטן זיינר קיין אכטונג ' ער דרינגט הנאיין צום קויניג אונ' שפריכט הער קויניג בון דיינר גאנצן מאלצייט דיא דו גימאכט האשט איז שווערליך אין דיינן אויגן מיר איין קליין שטויקלי<sup>8</sup> ברוט צו געבן וכו' .

Ex hoc modo loquendi Christus ufurpavit parabolam de divite Epulone et paupere Lazaro.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

<sup>7</sup> שונד ] B שטנד

<sup>8</sup> שויקלי ] B שטויקלי

## German version:

A parable about a king who is only flesh and blood who prepares a splendid meal and invited many people of his city. A poor man also came and stood before the king's gate and said to them, 'Give me a little piece, too.' But they paid no attention to him. He forces his way in to the king and says: 'Lord King, from your whole meal that you have prepared is it difficult in your eyes to give me a little piece of bread?' etc.

Based on this mode of speaking, Christ makes use of the parable of the wealthy banqueter and the poor Lazarus.

To God alone the glory

Andreas Sennert,  
 “De scriptura ebraico-germanica,”  
 from *Rabbinismus. hoc est præcepta  
 Targumico-talmudico-rabbinica . . .*, in *Ebraismus,  
 Chaldaismus, Syriasmus, Arabismus . . .*  
 (1666)

*Source*: Wittenberg: Typis Fincelianis, 1666, pp. 63–65; extant: Cambridge, University Library, Hhh.648; Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Clb–303.1.

Appendix: De Scriptura Ebræo-Germanica, etc.

Scribunt Germanica Judæi recentiores germani hodie Ebræis sive Rabbinicis literis quoque. De quo scribendi modo, cùm plurima ejus generis extant Scripta Ebræo-germanica, paucis adhuc aliquid dicendum est. Ita verò ille se habet, ut sequitur fere.

Literæ.

A.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.	p.	q.	r.	f.	t.	u.	w.	x.	y.	z.	ch.	ph.	sch.		
א.	ב.	ג.	ד.	ה.	ו.	ז.	ח.	ט.	י.	יא.	יב.	יג.	יד.	טו.	טז.	יז.	יח.	יט.	כ.	כא.	כב.	כג.	כד.	כה.	כו.	כז.	כח.	כט.

Vocales in specie:

a.	e.	i.	o.	u.
א.	ע/י.	י.	ו.	ו.

Diphthongi communiore.

au vel aw.	ei.	eu. vel ew.	ö ü.
או/וי.	יי.	וי/ויי.	וי. יי.

//

*Annotationes.*

1. א etiam spiritus tanquam lenis, Vocalibus et Diphthongis ab initio vocis, imò in medio quoque, præmittitur : in fine postponitur. Ut: אִיך Ich / אֹהר Ohr / אונד und / אײן / ein / אײבֶר über / וואך Woche / וואונש Wuntſch / וואכֶרן wuchern / דיא die / וויא wie / בײא bey etc. Rarè א Vocalis o nota quoque est. Ut: יאך Joch.

2. Vau et Jod (י et ו) consonantes v et j etiam notant. Ut ויִל viel.

3. טוּט et ת in germanica scriptura Ufus nullus est : nisi Ebræa cùm interferuntur. V. paulò post ann. ult.

4. Consona rarè in medio gemina hîc scribitur : sed una sufficit. Ut : אַלי alle / גײאטֶר / Gevatter / צײרײן zerrinnen.

5. Vocalis aliquando planè, sed malè, omittitur. Ut : האבֶן haben / טראגֶן tragen.

Andreas Sennert,  
 'On Hebrew-German Script,'  
*Rabbinism, That Is, Targumic-Talmudic-Rabbinical  
 Principles, . . . in Hebraism, Chaldaism,  
 Syriacism, Arabism . . .*  
 (1666)

Appendix: On Writing Hebrew-German, etc.

Modern Jews in Germany now write German with Hebrew or also Rabbinical letters. On this mode of writing, since many Hebrew-German scripts of this kind exist, something still needs to be briefly said. Indeed, it works approximately as follows.

Letters

*A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u w x y z ch ph sch*  
 א ב כ ד ע ו פ ק ר ש ט ז ח טו וו קס צ יי כ ך ש

The Vowel Characters

*a e i o u*  
 א ו י ע יו

The More Common Diphthongs

*au or aw ei eu or ew ö ü*  
 וי/אוי יי ויי/אוי וי וי

Notes:

1. א is preposed, as if a *spiritus lenis*, to vowels and diphthongs, both word initially and medially; word finally it is postposed, as in איך *Ich* 'I,' אור *Ohr* 'ear,' אונד *und* 'and,' אין *ein* 'one,' אויבר *über* 'over,' וואך *Woche* 'week,' וואונש *Wunsch* 'wish,' וואכערן *wuchern* 'practice usury,' דיא *die* 'the,' וויא *wie* 'how,' ביא *bey* 'at, by,' etc. Rarely א also represents the vowel *o*, as in: יאך *Joch* 'yoke.'

2. *waw* and *yod* (ו and י) also represent the consonants *v* and *j*, as in ויל *viel* 'much.'

3. ח and ה are, however, not used in writing German, except in interposed Hebrew words. [see below, the final note].

4. Word medially, doubled consonants are rare here; one suffices: אלי *alle* 'all,' גיזאטר *Gevatter* 'godfather,' צירינגן *zerrinnen* 'melt away.'

5. Sometimes vowels—both obvious and obscure—are omitted, as in האבן *haben* 'have,' טרגן *tragen* 'carry'

6. Prosthesis, Syncopa, Apocope, Enallage etc. locum non rarò hìc item habent. Adeoque non semper aut æqvè servatur ἀκρίβεια in toto hoc scriptionis genere quantum literas, vocales aut diphthongos, etc. Testetur experientia. Ut: Prosthesis : דרזעילן *derzehlen* pro *erzehlen* / דרקוויקן pro *erquücken*. Syncopa : אזי pro *als* / אזו pro *also*. Apocope : איז pro *ist* / 'אונד pro *und* (adjecta sub finem virgulá) Enallage : ביואלן pro *befohlen*. מיר pro *wier* / etc.

7. Ebrææ dictiones (proprio hæ exaratæ cha-//racteres suo) vel quasi, imò Latinæ, aliæ plurimæ hinc et inde immiscentur. Ut : *Wenn man* Tilla (תפילה) *precatio* *that, soll man sein* Hertz *mecavven* (מכונן) *dirigens, intendens* *seyh lassen* / *leschem* *schamajim* (שממים) *hoc est ad DEUM.*) *Deine Brieffe bin ich* *mecabbel gewesen* / etc. Sic dicunt scribuntque : *Darschen* â דרש id est *concionari, interpretari, schachrè* / vel *sachrè* / â סחר negotiari, mercari, *ganfen* / â גנב *furatus est: sic : benschen* / â benedicendo, *oren* / ab orare, etc. Habent deniqve et peculiare quasdem germanicè, sed malè, loqvendi formulas. Ut: *Jüdschen* / *Christen* / id est *circumcidere, baptisare, breylefft* / id est *nuptiæ, perlich* pro *perlein* / *dassig* pro *dasselbe* / etc. Qualia, cum aliis, usus dabit quotidianus. V et consule præ cæteris Clarissimum Buxtorfum sub finem thesauri iii, p. 325 seqq.

6. Prosthesis, syncope, apocope, enallage, etc. Not rarely do such things have their place here. Moreover, not always is precision uniformly maintained in this kind of writing with respect to the number of letters, vowels, or diphthongs, etc., as experience testifies. For example, prosthesis: דרצילן *derzehlen* 'tell, narrate' for *erzehlen*, דרקוויקן for *erquicken* 'refresh'; syncope: אז for אלו *als* 'as,' אזו for אלוז *also* 'thus'; apocope: איז for איזט *ist* 'is,' אונ' for אונד *und* 'and' (with an added mark at the end of the word); enallage: ביואלן for ביפאולן *befohlen* 'ordered,' מיר for וויר *wier* 'we,' etc.

7. Many other words from Hebrew (written according to its [the Hebrew language's] proper form) are intermingled here and there, in the same way that Latin words [are mixed into German]. For example: 'When one does *Tfilla* (תפלה 'prayer'), one should let his heart be *mecavven* (מְכוּוֵן 'focused') on *leschem schamajim* (לְשֵׁם שְׁמַיִם) 'that is, on God'. 'I have *mecabbel* ['received'] your letters,' etc. Thus they speak and write. *Darschen* from דָּרַשׁ, that is 'hold a public speech, explain,' *schachre* or *sachre* from סָחַר 'do business, trade,' *ganfen* from גָּנַב 'he has stolen'; and thus: *benschen* from *benedicendo* 'bless,' *oren* from *orare* 'pray,' etc. Finally, they also have some peculiar and improper turns of speech in German, such as, *jüdschen*, *christen*, that is, 'circumcise, baptize'; *breylefft*, that is, 'wedding'; *perlich* for *perlein* 'pearl'; *dassig* for *dasselbe* 'the same [thing],' etc. Such characteristics, among others, are a matter of common usage. [See and consult first of all the most illustrious Buxtorf, toward the end of the *Thesaurus*, iii, p. 325 ff.]



August Pfeiffer  
 “De lectione ebræo-germanica,”  
 from *Critica Sacra de Sacri Codicis Partitione,*  
*Editionibus variis, Lingvis Originalibus et illibatâ*  
*Puritate fontium, . . .*  
 (1680)

*Source:* Dresden: impensis Mart. Gabriel. Hübneri excudebat Vidua Bergeniana, 1680; extant: Oxford, Bodleian, Mar. 258.

§. I.

EXTant nonnulli libri à Judæis lingvâ // vernaculâ, interque alia nosstrâ conscripti, quos prælibare paululum et sic quodammodo genio Rabbिनico advescere non abs re erit. Recensum quendam hujusmodi librorum habes apud Buxtorfium *in calce Thef. Gramm. p. 660. f.* ubi etiam satis expeditam hujusmodi Scripta legendi viam monstravit. Breviùs tamen expediri res omnis posse videtur per duplex Alphabetum. Unum *analyticum* pro *lectione* Scriptorum Ebræo-Germanicorum; alterum *syntheticum* pro *scriptione*, si quis cum Judæis per hujusmodi modum scribendi conversari velit. Figuras sive ductus literarum ipsis peculiare exhibet schema P. adjunctum.

LITERÆ RABBINICÆ<sup>1</sup>

I.	II. <sup>2</sup>	III.	IV. <sup>3</sup>
א	א	א	א
ב	ב	ב	ב
ג	ג	ג	ג
ד	ד	ד	ד
ה	ה	ה	ה
ו	ו	ו	ו
ז	ז	ז	ז
ח	ח	ח	ח
ט	ט	ט	ט
י	י	י	י
כ	כ	כ	כ
ל	ל	ל	ל
מ	מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ	נ

<sup>1</sup> An unnumbered page is inserted between pp. 518–19 on which this alphabetical chart appears. Columns I–IV. appear at the left of the page, while the rubrics “Finales,” “Contractæ,” and “Ebræo-Germanicæ Raphatæ” are turned 90 degrees so that one must rotate the book to the right in order to read them. The typefonts used here serve only to represent the distinctiveness of the forms found in the text not their actual shapes.

<sup>2</sup> Two alternate forms appear for א ל ז.

<sup>3</sup> This column actually comprises two columns, demonstrating two varieties of handwritten forms, the one on the right is generally more typical of handwritten forms.

August Pfeiffer  
 ‘On Reading Hebrew-German,’  
 from *Biblical Textual Criticism, on the Division  
 into Sections of the Holy Book, Various Editions,  
 the Original Languages, and Undiminished  
 Purity of the Sources*  
 (1680)

## I.

There exists a number of books by Jews written in a vernacular language, among others in our own [vernacular], from which it will not be irrelevant to take small sips and thus in a certain sense to become acquainted with rabbinical inspiration. You find something of an overview of such books at the end of Buxtorf's *Thesaurus grammaticus*, pp. 660 f., where he also shows efficiently the unimpeded path toward reading such texts. It seems, however, that the entire task can be most briefly accomplished by means of two alphabets: one analytical, for reading Hebrew-German texts, the other synthetic, for writing them, should anyone wish to correspond with Jews by means of this kind of writing. The accompanying table P. shows the shapes or forms of the letters peculiar to them.

## Rabbinical Letters

I.	II.	III.	IV.
א	א	א	א
ב	ב	ב	ב
ג	ג	ג	ג
ד	ד	ד	ד
ה	ה	ה	ה
ו	ו	ו	ו
ז	ז	ז	ז
ח	ח	ח	ח
ט	ט	ט	ט
י	י	י	י
כ	כ	כ	כ
ל	ל	ל	ל
מ	מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ	נ

ס	ס	ס	ס
ע	ע	ע	ע
פ	פ	פ	פ
צ	צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש	ש
ת	ת	ת	ת

## FINALES

ך	ך	ך	ך
ם	ם	ם	ם
ן	ן	ן	ן
ף	ף	ף	ף
ץ	ץ	ץ	ץ

CONTRACTÆ<sup>4</sup>

אל pro אל

דה pro דה

דה pro דה

## EBRÆO-GERMANICÆ RAPHATÆ

בַּ *fv* vel *v*כַּ *ch*פַּ *f* פֶּ *ef*

I. Character Merúbba scilicet Quadratús Biblicus.

II. Character Masket scilicet Rotundus Rabbinicus.

III.<sup>5</sup> Character Ebræo-Germanicús in impreßisIV.<sup>6</sup> Character corrúptior in Manúscriptis

## SCHEMA ALPHABETICUM PRO LECTIONE.

א a rariús o. e.g. האט hat / אקשן Ochsen / יאך Joch.

אױ o et u ab initio vocis et post ױ consonam vitandæ confuſionis cauſæ e.g. אױרן Ohren / אױבן oben / װאכר Wucher.

אױ au vel aw ut: פֿראױן Frauen.

אױי ö / ü et au / item eu ab initio vocis e.g. אױל Oehl / אױבל übel / אױגן Augen / אױך auch / אױרױ eure. //

אױי eu / ab initio vocis אױיירן euern.

אױי i ab initio vocis אױר ihr.

אױי ei ab initio, ut: אױן ein.

ב b.

בַּ cum linea *raphe* est f / vel v / fed rariús ut: בֿױרט führt.

ג g.

<sup>4</sup> The left column comprises handwritten ligature forms.<sup>5</sup> III. ] D IV.<sup>6</sup> IV. ] D V.

ס	ס	ס	ס
ע	ע	ע	ע
פ	פ	פ	פ
צ	צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש	ש
ת	ת	ת	ת

## Finals

ך	ך	ך	ך
ם	ם	ם	ם
ן	ן	ן	ן
ף	ף	ף	ף
ץ	ץ	ץ	ץ

## Ligatures

אל for אל

דה for דה

דה for דה

Hebrew-German forms with *rafe*בַּ for *v*כַּ for *ch*פַּ for *f*   פַּ for *ef*

I. Square or biblical letters.

II. *Masket* or round Rabbinical letters.

III. Hebrew-German print font.

IV. Corrupted handwritten letters.

## Table of the Alphabet for reading:

א	<i>a</i> , more rarely <i>o</i> ; e.g. האט <i>bat</i> 'has,' אקשן <i>Ochsen</i> 'oxen,' יאך <i>Joch</i> 'yoke.'
או	<i>o</i> and <i>u</i> at the beginning of a word and after consonantal ו, in order to avoid confusion; e.g. אורן <i>Ohren</i> 'ears,' אובן <i>oben</i> 'above,' וואוכר <i>Wucher</i> 'usury.'
אוו	<i>au</i> or <i>aw</i> , as in פראוויין <i>Frauen</i> 'women.'
אוי	<i>ö</i> , <i>ü</i> , and <i>au</i> , as well as <i>eu</i> at the beginning of a word; e.g. אויל <i>Oebl</i> 'oil,' אויבל <i>übel</i> 'evil,' אויגן <i>Augen</i> 'eyes,' אויך <i>auch</i> 'also,' אוירי <i>eure</i> 'your.'
אויי	<i>eu</i> at the beginning of a word; אויירן <i>euern</i> 'your.'
אי	<i>i</i> at the beginning of a word; איר <i>ibr</i> 'her.'
איי	<i>ei</i> at the beginning of a word, as in איין <i>ein</i> 'one.'
ב	<i>b</i> .
בַּ	with a <i>rafe</i> , it is <i>f</i> or, rarely, <i>v</i> , as in בירט <i>führt</i> 'leads.'
ג	<i>g</i> .

ד	d.
ה	h.
ו	o et u. item Vau consona, rarò etiam f. e.g. הוּךְ hoch / אלוּז also / דוּ du / יונג / Jung / גיוטר / Gevatter / ביוואולך / befohlen.
וא	u vel uh præsertim in fine vocis, e.g. רואן ruhen / קוא Kuh.
וו	w. e.g. וואונג Wohnung / וואונש Wunsch.
וי	ö / ü / au in medio : e.g. טרוישטן tröfsten / זוינדי Sünde / לויפן lauffen.
ויא	üh vel au five aue in fine e.g. פרויא früh / גרויא grau.
ויי	äu in medio e.g. הוייזר Häuser.
וייא	eu vel eue in fine e.g. טרוייא treu / רוייא reue / פרוייא freue.
ז	s lene quodcunque præsertim ante vel post vocalem vel inter duas e.g. זולט solt / וויזן wiffen / דאז das et cetera.
ח	nonnisi in Ebraicis vocibus adhibetur. //
ט	T / Th / dt / tt / e.g. טוט todt / ראט Rath.
י	i. et Jod item e præsertim in fine purum, ut et ab initiò in syllabis be et ge / è pravo pronunciandi more etiam ü. e.g. יאר Jahr / מיר mir / הוייה Höhe / לאנגי lange / גיוואונן gewonnen.
יא	ie et eh in fine ut : וייא wie / גייא geh.
יי	ei in medio, et pravè eu e.g. לייד Leid.
ייא	ey in fine et eie in medio ut : בייא bey / זייא sey / פרייא frey / שפייאר Speyer.
כ	fine Raphe in vocibus solùm Ebraicis usurpatur.
כ	Cum linea Raphe ch / at in finali ך Raphe negligitur. e.g. הוּךְ hoch.
ל	l.
מ	m.
נ	n.
ס	f durum seu ß / præsertim in fine ut : האסן haßfen / גיהאספלט gehaßpelt / ואס vaß.
ע	e et pravè ö e.g. מענשן Menschen / אבגעטר Abgötter.
פ	fine Raphe p.
פ	cum linea Raphe ph / vel f e.g. אופגיבלאזן Ufgeblasen. //
פפ <sup>7</sup>	pf (altero פ raphato) ut : אופפער Opfer / סאקפפייפער Sackfeiffer.
צ	z / tz.
ק	k / ck.
קוו	qv / ut : קוואל Qvaal.
ר	r.
ש	fch / item ß et durum in fine et ante p et t imò et quodcunque e.g. גישאפן geschaffen / גש gaß / נידרלאשן niederlassen / הויש Hauß / גישפונן gesponnen / גישטראפט geftrafft.
ת	in solis vocibus Ebraicis occurrit.

- ד *d.*
- ה *h.*
- ו *o* and *u*, as well as consonantal *wau*; rarely also *f*; e.g. הוּךְ *hoch* 'high,' אַלזוּ *also* 'thus,' דוּ *du* 'you,' יונג *Jung* 'young,' גיִוַטֶר *Gevatter* 'godfather,' ביִוואלן *befohlen* 'ordered.'
- וא *u* or *uh*, especially at the end of a word; e.g. רוֹאן *ruhen* 'rest,' קוֹא *Kuh* 'cow.'
- וו *w*; e.g.: וואוּנונג *Wohnung* 'dwelling,' וואונש *Wunsch* 'wish.'
- וי *ö, ü, au* in the middle of a word; e.g. טרויִשטן *trösten* 'console,' זוּינדי *Sünde* 'sin,' לויִפֶן *lauffen* 'run.'
- וּיא *üh, au*, or *aue* at the end of a word; e.g. פֿרוּיא *früh* 'early,' גרוּיא *grau* 'grey.'
- וּי *äu* in the middle of a word; e.g. הוּיזר *Häuser* 'houses.'
- וּיֵיא *eu* or *eue* at the end of a word; e.g. טרוּיֵיא *treu* 'loyal,' רויֵיא *reue* 'repentance,' פֿרוּיֵיא *freue* 'rejoice!'
- ז any voiced *s*, especially before or after a vowel, or between two vowels; e.g. זולט *solt* 'should,' וויזן *wissen* 'know,' דאז *das* 'the,' etc.
- ח used only in Hebrew words.
- ט *t, th, dt, tt*; e.g. טוט *tot* 'death,' ראט *Rath* 'counsel.'
- י *i* and *yod*, as well as *e*, especially as a simple, short vowel at the end of a word, and also at the beginning of a word in the syllables *be* and *ge*; incorrectly a manner of pronunciation as *ü*; e.g. יאר *Jahr* 'year,' מיר *mir* 'we,' הוּיֵיא *Höhe* 'height,' לאנגי *lange* 'long,' גיוואונן *gewonnen* 'won.'
- יֵיא *ie* and *eh* at the end of a word, as in וּיֵיא *wie* 'how,' גיֵיא *geh* 'go!'
- יֵי *ei* in the middle of a word, and incorrectly for *eu*; e.g. לייֵד *Leid* 'sorrow.'
- יֵיא *ey* at the end of a word, and *eie* in the middle of a word, as in: בייֵיא *bey* 'at,' זייֵיא *sey* 'they,' פֿריֵיא *frey* 'free,' שפייֵאר *Speyer*.
- כ is used without *rafe* only in Hebrew words.
- כּ with *rafe ch*, but at the end of a word the *rafe* is omitted: e.g. הוּךְ *hoch* 'high.'
- ל *l.*
- מ *m.*
- נ *n.*
- ס harsh [voiceless] *s* or *ß*, especially at the end of a word, as in: האסן *hassen* 'hate,' גיהאספלט *gehaßpelt* 'drudged,' ואס *vaß* 'cask.'
- ע *e*, and incorrectly for *ö*; e.g. מענשן *Menschen* 'humans,' אבגעטער *Abgötter* 'idols.'
- פ without *rafe p*.
- פּ with *rafe ph* or *f*; e.g. אוֹפֿגֿיבלאזן *Ufgeblasen* 'puffed up.'
- פֿפּ *pf* (the second פּ with *rafe*), as in אוֹפֿפֿר *Opfer* 'sacrifice,' סאקפֿייֿפֿר *Sackpfeiffer* 'bagpiper.'
- צ *z, tz.*
- ק *k, ck.*
- קוּ *qv*, as in קוואל *Qvaal* 'anguish.'
- ר *r.*
- ש *sch*, as well as harsh *ß* at the end of a word and before *p* and *t*, and indeed anywhere else; e.g. גישאפֿן *geschaffen* 'created,' גש *gass* 'street,' נידרלאשן *niederlassen* 'let down,' הויש *Hauß* 'house,' גישפונן *gesponnen* 'spun,' גישטראפֿט *gestraft* 'punished.'
- ת occurs only in Hebrew words.

## §. 2.

Varietas illa vocalium et diphthongorum inde est, quod Vau et Jod sustineant partes consonarum simul et vocalium, quare א (cujus ceu consonæ, in scripturâ Ebraicâ aliàs usus non est, nisi quod pro vocali a vel o adhibeatur) vitandæ confuſioni servit.

## §. 3.

Ad conversationem cum Judæis per literas, item conscribenas syngraphas vel literas contractuum et cetera faciet sequens alphabetum, unde facillimo negotio patebit, quâ ratione quamlibet Germanicam literam exprimere soleant Judæi, quos non affectus est Dilherrus in *Atrio suo*. Nam quæ illic p. 127. lite-// ris Ebræo-Germanicis exprimere conatus est, nullus Judæorum ita exarâſſet :

## SCHEMA ALPHABETICUM PRO SCRIPTIONE EBRÆO-GERMANICA.

A	א, rarò ו (quod corruptæ dialecto potiùs tribuendum) quandoque (præcipuè rapidum five ante duas consonas) negligitur e.g. Graß גראז, unterlassen אונטרלושן, wiederfahren ויידרוורן, gaß גש, tragen מַכַּט , טראַגן.
Au	ab initio אױ , in medio ױ , in fine ױא e.g. Augen אױגן , gebraucht גיברױכט , grau גרױא גרױא.
Aw	פֿראױן ut : Frawen פֿראױן.
B	ב.
C	in purè Germanicis ante k negligitur in peregrinis per ק exprimitur e.g. Christen קרישטן , Nacken נאַקן.
Ch	כ cum raphe , at in fine sine eodem ut : Machen מאַכן , hoch הױך.
D	ד.
E	ע ordinariè : in fine purum et aliàs interdum י : impurum five eh יא : quandoque , præsertim in rapidis // syllabis terminativis en / er / es / et / ut et inchoativis be et ge et rariùs alibi planè negligitur e.g. Erst ערשט gegen גיגן , alle אלי , geh גיא , Gebrechen גיברעכען , welcher װעלכער , gesponnen גשפונען , gutes גוטש גוטש.
Ey/ei	ab initio אײ , in medio ײ , in fine ײא ut : Eyter אױטר Eitelkeit אױטלקײט , allerley אַלרליי.
Eye	שפייאר e.g. Schleyer שלייער , Speyer שפייאר.
Eu/ew	ab initio אױי et אױ , in medio ױי , in fine ױיא ut : Eure אױירי , erfrewen גיטרוייא דרפֿרויין , getrew גיטרוייא גיטרוייא.
F	פֿ cum raphe , rariùs per פֿ raphatum vel ו , in fine ף sine raphe e.g. gefangen גיפֿנגען , gefahren גיפֿארען , geführt גיפֿירט גיפֿירט .

## 2.

This diversity of vowels and diphthongs derives thence that, since *waw* and *yod* function as both consonants and vowels, as a result א (like the consonant, which in Hebrew has no other use, except that here it is used for *a* and *o*) serves to avoid confusion.

## 3.

Let anyone who carries on epistolary correspondence with Jews, as well as for contractual agreements and letters of contract and other things, use the following alphabet, by which means business dealings will be quite easy, for it is by this method that Jews customarily express any and all German letters. Dilherr did not follow them in his *Atrium*. Because what he there (p. 127) tries to express in Hebrew-German letters, no Jew would thus write:

## Table of the Alphabet for Writing Hebrew-German

<i>A</i>	א, rarely ו (which is rather to be attributed to a corrupt dialect), sometimes omitted (especially when quite short, or before two consonants); e.g. <i>Graß</i> גראז 'grass,' <i>unterlassen</i> אונטרלושן 'omit,' <i>wiederfahren</i> ווידררוון 'befall,' <i>gaß</i> גש 'street,' <i>tragen</i> טרגן 'carry,' <i>macht</i> מַכְט 'power.'
<i>Au</i>	at the beginning of a word אַוי, in the middle of a word וַי, at the end of a word ויא; e.g. <i>Augen</i> אויגן 'eyes,' <i>gebraucht</i> גיברויכט 'used,' <i>grau</i> גרויא 'grey.'
<i>Aw</i>	און, as in <i>Frauen</i> פֿראוויין 'women.'
<i>B</i>	ב.
<i>C</i>	in purely German words before <i>k</i> , it is omitted; in foreign words, it is expressed by ק; e.g. <i>Christen</i> קרישטן 'Christians,' <i>Nacken</i> נאקן 'nape of the neck.'
<i>Ch</i>	כ with <i>rafe</i> , but at the end of words without <i>rafe</i> , as in <i>Machen</i> מאַכן 'make,' <i>hoch</i> הוך 'high.'
<i>D</i>	ד.
<i>E</i>	ordinarily ע: at the end of a word as a simple, short vowel, and sometimes in other cases י: also (not as a simple, short vowel) eh יא: sometimes, especially in short, final syllables, <i>en, er, es, et</i> , and also in the initial syllables <i>be</i> and <i>ge</i> , and less frequently elsewhere, it is omitted entirely; e.g. <i>Erst</i> ערשט 'first,' <i>gegen</i> גיגן 'against,' <i>alle</i> אלי 'all,' <i>geh</i> גיא 'go!' <i>Gebrechen</i> גיברעכען 'to have a problem with,' <i>welcher</i> וועלכער 'which,' <i>gesponnen</i> גשפונן 'spun,' <i>gutes</i> גוטש 'good.'
<i>Eylei</i>	at the beginning of a word אַיי; in the middle of a word ויי; at the end of a word ויא; as in: <i>Eyter</i> אויטר 'pus,' <i>Eitelkeit</i> אויטלקייט 'vanity,' <i>allerley</i> אלרליי 'of all kinds.'
<i>Eye</i>	ייא; e.g. <i>Schleyer</i> שלייער 'veil,' <i>Speyer</i> שפייער 'Speyer' [city].
<i>Eulew</i>	at the beginning of a word אַווי and אוי; in the middle of a word ווי; at the end of a word ויא; as in: <i>Eure</i> אויירי 'your,' <i>erfrewen</i> דרפֿרוויין 'delight,' <i>getrew</i> גיטרוייא 'loyal.'
<i>F</i>	פ with <i>rafe</i> , rarely כ with <i>rafe</i> or ו; at the end of a word פ without <i>rafe</i> ; e.g. <i>gefangen</i> גיפֿנגן 'caught, captured,' <i>gefahren</i> גיוארן 'driven,' <i>geführt</i> גיבֿירט 'led.'



G	ג.
H	ה : ubi verò in Germanismo non sonat, hîc planè negligitur. e.g. Rath und That ראש אונד טאטש .
J	litera f. consona י : vocalis ab initio אי , in medio י , in fine יא ut : Jahr יאר , Jch איך , Bier ביר , Sie זיא .
K	ק.
L	ל.
M	מ , in fine ם. //
N	נ , in fine ן.
O	ab initio et post ו huius modi א vel או , in medio ו vel א , in fine ו vel א , impurum וא , ut : Ochsen אקשן , Ohren אורן , wohl וואל , froh פרוא ,
Oe	ab initio אוי , in medio וי et pravè ע , in fine si detur ויא : ut Oehl אויל , hören הוירן , Götter געטר , Spötter שפוטר .
P	פ.
Pf	פפ alterò פ raphatô : in fine פה vel ף e.g. Tropfen טרופפן , Kopf קוף .
Ph	פ raphatum in fine ף .
Qu/Qw	קוו ut : Quaal קוואל , erquickt דרקוויקט .
R	ר
S	lene et simplex fermè ז et quandoque ש ; fortè et duplex ש , rariùs ס e.g. das דאז , sich זיך , selich זיליך , weisen וויזן , hassen האסן , lassen לאשן .
Sch	ש ut : Geschäft גישעפט .
T/Th	ט.
Tz	צ.
U	ab initio et post ו consonam אוי , in medio ו , in fine purum ו , impurum וא , e.g. und אונ' , kurtz קורץ , du דו , ruhen רואן .
ü	ab initio אוי , in medio וי , pravè י , // in fine ויא , ut : wünschén וואויגשן , betrüben ביטרויבן , früh פרויא .
V	ו.
W	וו.
X	קש vel קס , ut : vexiren ועקשירן .
Y	ut i simplex.
Z	צ.

<i>G</i>	ג.
<i>H</i>	ה: when is it silent in German, it is omitted; e.g. <i>Rath und That</i> ראט אונד טאט 'word and deed.'
<i>J</i>	as a consonant י; as a vowel: at the beginning of the word יא; in the middle of the word י; at the end of a word יא; as in: <i>Jahr</i> יאר 'year,' <i>Jch</i> איך 'I,' <i>Bier</i> ביר 'beer,' <i>Sie</i> זיא 'she.'
<i>K</i>	ק.
<i>L</i>	ל.
<i>M</i>	מ; at the end of a word ם.
<i>N</i>	נ; at the end of a word ן.
<i>O</i>	at the beginning of a word and after ן of this type [consonantal]: א or או; in the middle of a word ן or א; at the end of a word ן or א, or long vowel וא; as in: <i>Ochsen</i> אקשן 'oxen,' <i>Ohren</i> אורן 'ears,' <i>wohl</i> וואל 'well,' <i>froh</i> פרוא 'happy.'
<i>Oe</i>	at the beginning of a word אוי; in the middle of a word וי; and incorrectly ע; insofar as it occurs at the end of a word ויא; as in: <i>Oehl</i> אויל 'oil,' <i>hören</i> הורן 'hear,' <i>Götter</i> געטר 'gods,' <i>Spötter</i> שפויטר 'scoffer.'
<i>P</i>	פ.
<i>Pf</i>	פפ, the second פ with <i>rafe</i> ; at the end of a word פף or פ; e.g. <i>Tropfen</i> טרופפן 'drop,' <i>Kopf</i> קוף 'head.'
<i>Ph</i>	פ with <i>rafe</i> ; at the end of a word פ.
<i>Qu/Quw</i>	קוו; as in <i>Quaal</i> קוואל 'pain, anguish,' <i>erquickt</i> דרקוויקט 'refreshed.'
<i>R</i>	ר
<i>S</i>	as a single voiced consonant, generally ז, and sometimes ש; as a double voiceless consonant, ש, less frequently ס; e.g.: <i>das</i> דאז 'the,' <i>sich</i> זיך [reflexive pronoun], <i>selich</i> זיליך 'blessed,' <i>weisen</i> וויזן 'show,' <i>hassen</i> האסן 'hate,' <i>lassen</i> לאשן 'leave.'
<i>Sch</i>	ש, as in: <i>Geschäft</i> גישעפט 'business.'
<i>T/Th</i>	ט.
<i>Tz</i>	צ.
<i>U</i>	at the beginning of a word and after consonantal ן, אוי; in the middle of a word ן; short, at the end of a word, ן; long, at the end of a word או; e.g. <i>und</i> אונ' 'and,' <i>kurtz</i> קורץ 'short,' <i>du</i> דו 'you,' <i>ruhen</i> רואן 'rest.'
<i>ü</i>	at the beginning of a word אוי; in the middle of a word וי, incorrectly י; at the end of a word ויא; as in: <i>wünschen</i> וואוינשן 'wish,' <i>betrüben</i> ביטרויבן 'grieve,' <i>früh</i> פרויא 'early.'
<i>V</i>	ו.
<i>W</i>	וו.
<i>X</i>	קס or קש; as in: <i>vexiren</i> ועקשירן 'vex.'
<i>Y</i>	as single י.
<i>Z</i>	צ.

## §. 4.

Coeterùm non scribunt Judæi secundum orthographicam ἀκριβειαν, sed secundum sonum et genium cujusque dialecti præsertim superioris Germaniæ, inde est, quod pro syllabâ inchoativâ er scribunt דר, ut: pro *erzählen* דרצעלן, *erschrecken* / דרשרעקן: porrò pro *wir* מיר, pro *also* אזו, pro *geht* גייט et cetera qualia dabit usus.

## §. 5.

Voces Ebraicas infarciunt orationi vernaculæ tùm integras tùm ad analogiam Germanicam deflexas, ut גזלן *gasseln rapere*, גנבן *ganffen furari*, בדיקן *badken quærere*, ירשן *jarfschen hæreditare*, שחטן *schächten / schlachten* / אויזמעקן *ausmecken delere* à מחק, דרשן *darfschen / concionari*, סחרן *sachren mercari*, שמדן *schmaden*<sup>8</sup> *deficere abfallen* / תפסן *taphfsen / greiffen* et cetera. //

## §. 6.

Litera nulla geminatur, sed gemina, ubi opus est, concipitur ut גיפּלן *gefallen* / גינּומן *genommen* / גיּוּוּאונן *gewonnen* et cetera.

<sup>8</sup> *schmaden* } D *schamden*.

## 4.

Otherwise the Jews do not write according to a precise orthography, but according to the sound and spirit of the individual dialect, especially from upper Germany. That is the reason for their writing *דר* for the initial syllable *er*, as in for *erzeblen* *דרצעלן* 'narrate,' *erschrecken* *דרשרעקן* 'terrify'; and in turn for *wir* *מיר* 'we,' for *also* *אזו* 'thus,' for *geht* *גייט* 'goes,' and their practice provides other such examples.

## 5.

They insert Hebrew words into their vernacular speech both as whole words and on the analogy of German inflections, as in *גזלן* *gasseln* 'seize,' *גנבן* *ganffen* 'rob,' *בדקן* *badken* 'inquire,' *ירשן* *jarschen* 'inherit,' *שחטן* *schächten, schlachten* 'slaughter,' *אויזמעקן* *ausmecken* 'erase' from *מחק* *darschen* 'make a public speech,' *סחרן* *sachren* 'do business, trade,' *שמדן* *schmaden abfallen* 'apostatize,' *תפסן* *taphsen greiffen* 'touch,' etc.

## 6.

No letters are doubled, but where there is a need for a doubled consonant, it is understood, as in *גיפלאן* *gefallen* 'be pleasing,' *גינומן* *genommen* 'taken,' *גיוואונן* *gewonnen* 'won,' etc.

C[aspar] Küm̄met,  
 “De Lectione Hebræo-Germanica,”  
 from *Schola Hebraica, In qua Per duas Grammaticæ Partes,  
 Lexicon Radicum, et aliquot Appendices, breviter et nervosè,  
 quamquam fieri potuit aptissimâ methodo, docetur,  
 Quidquid ad perdiscendam linguam Sacram de fiderari  
 poteft, conscripta a R. P. Casparo Küm̄met è Societate  
 Jesu . . . Herbipli, Excudit Jobus Hertz. Prostat apud  
 Wolf. Mauritium Endterum Bibliop[olam].  
 Noriberg. Anno M. DC. LXXXVIII.  
 (1688)*

*Source:* Nuremberg: Wolfgang Endter Erben (publisher) / Würzburg: Jobus Hertz 1688 (printer).

### APPENDIX III.

De Lectione Hebræo-Germanica.

§. I. De usu Alphabeti in hujusmodi Lectione.

#### I.

Literas Germanicas sic repræsentant:

A	—	א
B	—	ב
C	—	צ sed rarum est.
D	—	ד
E	—	ע pro eodem e sæpe ponitur Jod.
F	—	פ, פ, ו
G	—	ג
H	—	ה
I	—	י
K	—	ק
L	—	ל
M	—	מ
N	—	נ
O	—	ו
P	—	פ
Q	—	ק
R	—	ר
S	—	ז
fs	—	ס feré.

C[aspar] Kümmet  
 ‘On Reading Hebrew-German,’  
 from *Hebrew School, in which by Means of Two  
 Grammatical Sections, a Lexicon of Roots, and Several  
 Appendices, Whatever Might be Desired for Thoroughly  
 Learning the Holy Language Is Taught Briefly and  
 Laboriously, Albeit by the Most Apt Method, Written by  
 R.P. Caspar Kümmet of the Society of Jesus, Würzburg,  
 Printed by Jobus Hertz, Published by Wolf[gang] Mauritius  
 Endter, Book Dealer, Nuremberg, 1688.*  
 (1688)

## APPENDIX III.

On Reading Hebrew-German.

§. I. *On the Function of the Alphabet in This Kind of Text.*

## I.

1. They represent German letters thus:

A	—	א
B	—	ב
C	—	צ but it is rare.
D	—	ד
E	—	ע <i>yod</i> is often used for this same <i>e</i> .
F	—	פ, פ, ו
G	—	ג
H	—	ה
I	—	י
K	—	ק
L	—	ל
M	—	מ
N	—	נ
O	—	ו
P	—	פ
Q	—	ק
R	—	ר
S	—	ז
ſs	—	ס generally.

T	—	ט
U	—	ו
W	—	וו
X	—	קס
Z	—	צ //

2. Diphthongi sunt יי ei,  
 וי ö, ü, au.  
 eu.

3. Notandum circa hæc, literas פ et ב quando raphe, id est virgulâ defuper incumbente notatæ sunt, esse aspiratas, et sumi pro f vel v (quam vim etiam habet vau) si verò hujusmodi raphe non habent, censentur esse cum Dages. Ita scribes vocem **Opfer** אופפר. Atque hujusmodi raphe olim scribebatur, supra literas פגדככת<sup>1</sup> quando non habebant Dages, etiam in vocibus hebraicis; cuius tamen usus jam non nisi in germanicis restat.

4. Si vox à Vocali vel Diphthongo incipiat, præmittitur א, et in fine adjicitur, si definat in eas. Quamvis Jod et Vau sæpe Vocales in fine sint. Ita scribes **Rew und Leyd** רייא אונד לייד.

5. E, quando inter duas Consonantes facit ultimam vocis syllabam, omittitur. Ità scribes: **befehlen** ביועלן.

6. Nulla Consonans in medio duplicatur, quia Dages subintelligitur. Scribes itaque **Gevatter** גיואטר.

7. Quando littera W per duplex Vau designata litteræ o, aut u præponenda est, inter eandem W et Vocalem istam ponitur א; atque ita **Wochen** scribes וואוכן.

8. Supponendum est, scriptionem // hanc utpote à Judæis parùm plerumque peritis inventam valde imperfectam esse, neque omnibus planè eandem. Unde leges **un** pro **und** / **aso** pro **also** / **verlöfen** pro **erlöfen** / et cetera. Eandem ob causam, quia aliud planè est idioma Hebræum atque Europæum, neccesse est, et nimis patet, inspuriam methodum detorqueri literarum Hebræarum usum, si ad linguas Europæas significandas adhibeantur. Hinc nolim omnino hanc appendicem inspicere ab eo, qui hebraicè bene legere nondum affuevit: si quis enim Hebræo-germanicè priùs discere vellet, quàm hebraicè legere, is insigniter se defraudaret: quia confusionem sibi tantummodo, et nullam pareret hebraicè legendi peritiam. Quæ causa fuit, ut ad extremum hanc appendicem rejicerem.

9. Solent etiam Judæi dum hebræo-germanicè scribunt, terminos hebræos admiscere. e.g. **מאוס wüft / קָשֶׁר recht / מוֹחֵל / מקבל** accipiens, e.g. **זייא מיר מוחל**, i.e. **sey mir moché, sive verzeihe mir**.

10. Similiter verba hebraica germanizant. Ità enim dicunt, **ganfen** pro furari: **schächten** mactare, **gasfen** rapere, **facheren** negotiari, **darfschen** concionari significat.

<sup>1</sup> בגדכפת ] Kümmer has altered the conventional order of the letters, פגדככת.

T	—	ט
U	—	ו
W	—	וו
X	—	קס
Z	—	צ //

2. The diphthongs are: יי *ei*

וי *ö, ü, au*

ויי *eu.*

3. It is to be noted concerning this that the letters פ and ב, when they are written with *rafe*, that is a horizontal superscript line, they are aspirated and used as *f* and *v* (which is the value of *waw*); if, however, they have no such *rafe*, they are to be judged to have *dagesh*. Thus one writes the word *Opfer* אופֿפֿר 'sacrifice.' While this form of *rafe* was formerly written also in Hebrew words above the letters פגדכב when they had no *dagesh*, now this particular usage is nonetheless only found in German words.

4. If a word begins with a vowel or diphthong, it is preceded by א, which is also added at the end of words that end in a vowel or diphthong, although *yod* and *waw* are often final vowels. Thus one writes: *Rew und Leyd* לייִד רייא אונד לייִד 'remorse and sorrow.'

5. When an *e* occurs between two consonants and forms the final syllable of a word, it is omitted. Thus one writes: *befehlen* בייִעלן 'command.'

6. No consonant in the middle of a word is doubled, because *dagesh* is understood. Thus one writes *Gevatter* גיוִאטֿר 'godfather.'

7. When the letter *w* written with double *waw* precedes the letter *o* or *u*, א is placed between the *w* and the vowel; and thus one writes *Wochen* וואִאכן 'weeks.'

8. Furthermore, one finds this writing, that is, by Jews who are generally quite inexperienced, to be quite imperfect and not altogether consistently [written] by all of them. For which reason one finds *un* for *und*, *aso* for *also*, *verlösen* for *erlösen*, etc. For this same reason, since the Hebrew and European languages are quite different, an unorthodox method is quite obviously necessary to alter the use of the Hebrew letters, if they are to be employed to express European languages. Thus I would not by any means wish that this appendix be consulted by anyone who has not yet become accustomed to reading Hebrew easily: if anyone were to wish to learn to read Hebrew-German before Hebrew, he is clearly deceiving himself: for he would cause himself nothing but confusion and he would not gain any knowledge of reading Hebrew. This is the reason that I postponed this appendix until the very end.

9. When they write Hebrew-German, the Jews are also accustomed to mix in Hebrew words: for example מייִוס *wüst* 'ugly,' רִיִּשֿ *recht* 'proper,' מוִחֿל 'forgiving,' מִקִּבֿל 'receiving,' for example מוִחֿל מייִר מוִחֿל, that is *sey mir mochél*, or *verzeihe mir* 'pardon me.'

10. Similarly, they Germanize Hebrew words. Thus they say *ganfen* for 'steal'; *schächten* 'slaughter,' *gaslen* 'rob,' *sacheren* 'do business,' *darschen* 'preach.'



11. Addamus exemplum hujusmodi lectionis. Sic igitur scribes Pater noster:

ואשר אונזר דער דוא ביז אים הימל // גהייליגט ווערד דיין נאם צוקום אונז דיין רייך דיין  
ווייל גישע וויא אים הימל אזו אויך אויף ערדן

Vater unser / der du bist im Himmel / geheiligt werde dein Namh / zukomme  
uns dein Reich / dein Will gefchee wie im Himmel / also auch auf Erden.

12. Qui Judæorum scriptiones, cum literâ currente scribere solent, expeditè intelligere desiderat, neesse habet, aliquorum authographa legere, cum alii aliter easdem literas forment, ut facilè est existimare. Sicut etiam alia huc spectantia tali usu facilè discet: ego, cum nolim his immorari, sequentem paragraphum magis neecessarium, quia ejus usus etiam in purè hebraicis esse solet, adjungo.

§. II. De quibusdam Hebræorum Abbreviaturis.

1. Epistolas inchoare solent à salutationibus et titulis mirè officiosis hujusmodi et ità decuratis, ut sequitur.

אהו *legendum est* אהובי Amicus meus, dilectus meus.

אדו *leg.* אדוני Dominus meus.

ב"ב *leg.* בשרי שאר Confanguineus meus, quod est propinquus carnis meæ.

חיי *leg.* חיים fit pax, vita, prosperitas. //

ש"ע *leg.* עם שלום cum pace, prosperitate.

ר"ש *leg.* שלום רב Pax multa.

ר"ו *leg.* ואליו שלום רב Super illum fit pax multa.

ר"א *leg.* ואל מעלתו שלום רב ad excellentiam ejus pax multa.

ר"א *leg.* ואליו שלום רב et extendo in eum pacem multam.

ש"כ *leg.* ואליו שלום רב et extendo in eum sicut fluvium pacem.

ש"ל *leg.* שיהיה לזמנים טובים qui vivat dies bonos.

ש"י *leg.* ישמרהו צורו וגואלו Custodiat eum rupes (Deus) ejus, et redemptor ejus.

ש"י *leg.* שיהיה Qui vivat.

ל"ז *leg.* זכר צדיק לברכה Memoria justi in benedictione.

ר"כ *leg.* כבוד מעלת רבי gloria excellentiæ Rabbi, five gloriosus et excellens Doctor.

ר"ה *leg.* כבוד מורנו הרב רבנו gloria Doctoris nostri Domini Magistri nostri.  
Titulus priore dignior.

י"ג *leg.* יגונו Titulus est ignoti, cujus Nomen ne-//scimus. pro quo latini ponunt NN.

11. Let us add an example of such a text. Thus one writes the Lord's Prayer in this manner:

ואטר אונזר דער דוא ביז אים הימל // גהייליגט ווערד דיין נאם צוקום אונז דיין רייך דיין וויל גישע  
וויא אים הימל אזו אויך אויף ערדן

Vatter unfer / der du bist im Himmel / geheiligt werde dein Nahm / zukomme uns dein Reich / dein Will gefshee wie im Himmel / also auch auf Erden.

'Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven.'

12. Whoever wishes to understand the writing of Jews fluently, as they are accustomed to write in cursive, must read the handwriting of several of them, for some form the same letters in different ways, as can easily be believed. Thus also other things pertinent to this topic might be easily learned by such a practice: since I do not wish to linger on such topics, I add the following, more urgent, paragraph, because its application is generally in purely Hebrew words.

### §. II. On Certain Hebrew Abbreviations

1. They are accustomed to begin letters with salutations and honorific titles that are extraordinarily courteous and stilted, as follows:

אהו is to be read as אָהוּבִי 'my friend, my dear one.'

אדו is to be read as אָדוֹנִי 'my lord.'

בש" is to be read as בְּשָׂרִי 'my blood relative,' that is, 'relative of my flesh.'

חיה is to be read as חַיִּים 'let there be peace, life, prosperity.'

ש"ע is to be read as עִם שְׁלוֹם 'with peace, prosperity.'

ר"ש" is to be read as רַב שְׁלוֹם 'much peace.'

ר"ו"א is to be read as רַב וְאֵלָיו שְׁלוֹם 'on him may there be much peace.'

ר"אמ"ר is to be read as רַב וְאֵל מַעְלָתוֹ שְׁלוֹם 'much peace to his excellency.'

ר"ו"א"ר is to be read as רַב וְאֵטָה אֵלָיו שְׁלוֹם 'and I extend to him much peace.'

ש"כנש is to be read as שְׁכַנְהוּ אֵלָיו כְּנַהַר שְׁלוֹם 'I extend to him peace like unto a river.'

ש"ל"ט is to be read as שְׂיִחְיֶה לְיָמִים טוֹבִים 'may he live good days.'

ו"צ"ו is to be read as וְשָׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ גּוֹאֲלוֹ 'May the Rock (God), his redeemer, care for him.'

ש"י" is to be read as שְׂיִחְיֶה 'may he live [and prosper].'

ל"צ"ז is to be read as לְבָרְכָהּ זְכָר צְדִיק לְבָרְכָהּ ' [may the] the memory of the righteous [be] for a blessing.'

ר"מ"ר is to be read as רַבּוֹד מַעְלָת רַבִּי 'the honorable, his excellency, the Rabbi, or rather the glorious and excellent sage.'

ר"ה"ר is to be read as רַבּוֹד מוֹרְנוּ הַרְבֵּי רַבְּנֵנוּ 'the honorable one, our sage, the Rabbi, our master; a more honorable title than the former.'

פּוֹלְנִי the title of a stranger, whose name is unknown; in Latin one writes *NN* [*nomen nominandum*] 'the name is still to be identified.'

2. Epistolam claudunt simili ferè salutatione seu valedictione, nominis deinde subscriptione, tum adjectione loci, de quo Epistola veniat, demum tempus, quomissa fit, annotant. Circa quæ

מה קוהלת קדשה *legendum est* מה ק"ק Hic in Synagoga sancta.

י"ז *leg.* יום die. Porrò diem primò ponunt, deinde mensẽm, postea annum: quæ interdum solis Numeris exhibent; Et tunc prior Numerus diem, secundus mensẽm, tertius annum significat. Exprimunt etiam diem septimanæ nominatâ parascha, quæ est sectio legis per tria פ in bibliis exprimi solitâ. Pro annis nota.

ק"ל *leg.* לקרט קטור ad supputationem minorem. Solent enim omittere millenarios, qui sunt 5000. ab orbe condito numerati: reliquos autem puta centenarios denariosque et cetera. partem minorem vocant scribuntque.

ז"י *leg.* תמ"ז significat minore numero 447, ut patet ex add.2.ad n.2.C.I. Quod si huic, vel alteri minori numero // Chronologico addideris 240, fient anni à nato Christo in eisdem minoribus numeris: sic enim ex 447. et 240. fient 687, qui est numerus minor hoc anno currens.

3. Exteriùs epistolæ superscribunt locum ad quem, deinde nomen ejus, cui inscribitur, tertio interdictum, ne quis resignet, denique locum ad quem. Interdictum autem sanxit R. Gersom, Gallus, quem Lumen captivitatis vocant, sub triplici excommunicatione Hebræis usitatâ. Harum prima dicitur גדוי, quæ est separatio ad 4. cubitos ab omni hominum congressu, sacro, profano, domestico, ab usu uxoris, à cibo potuque cum aliis fumendo, durans 30. diebus qui tamen terminus prolongari aut decurtari potest. Si quis in hac moriatur, feretro ejus injicitur lapis in signum, quod fuerit lapidatione dignus; nec sepelitur in cœmeterio, nec lugetur. Altera species est תרם, quæ fit in facie Ecclesiæ, cum extinctione candelarum, et diris ex lege Mosaica depromptis promulgata, qua reus à cœtu sacro excluditur. De hac Jo. 9. Tertia est שמתא qua reus divinæ maledictioni reliquitur, Syriacè dicta maranatha, de qua 1. Cor. 16. Unde superscribunt

רג בת"ר *quod legendum* גרשום בת"ר //

הגמה *leg.* בת"ר רבנו גרשום מאור הגולה. <sup>2</sup>בת"ר Sub interdicto Rabbini nostri Gersom luminis captivitatis.

דג בת"ר *leg.* גרשום בת"ר ubi Dalet est nota Genitivi Chaldaico more.

ל"ח *leg.* חרם לזרים. <sup>3</sup>חרם Et interdictum fit alienis.

ש"ח *leg.* חרם שמתא בת"ר

<sup>2</sup> בת"ר ] N בת"ר.

<sup>3</sup> לזרים ] N לזרים.

2. They end a letter with a similar salutation or valediction, followed by the signature, then by the addition of the place from which the letter is coming; finally they note the time when it was sent; pertaining to which:

פ"ה קוה"ל קדושה is to be read as פ"ה קוה"ל קדושה 'here in the holy synagogue.'

י"ד is to be read as יום *die* 'on the day.' Furthermore, they place the day first, then the month, thereafter the year; they sometimes express it by the number of the year; and then the first number signifies the day, the second the month, the third the year. They express the day of the week by means of the *parasha*, which is the section of the law that is marked in the Bible by three פ; note before the year.

לפ"ק is to be read as לפ"ק קטון 'according to the lesser reckoning.' For they are accustomed to omitting the thousands (i.e., 5,000), reckoned from the creation of the world; the remaining numbers, however, that is, the hundreds, tens, etc., they call the lesser part and write them.

תמ"ז signifies the lesser number 447 as is clear from addendum 2, to no. 2, chapter 1. If one adds 240 to this or any other of the lesser chronological numbers, then they become the number of years since Christ's birth in these same lesser numbers: for thus  $447 + 240 = 687$ , which is the lesser number of the current year.

3. On the outside of the letter they write in the upper position the place to which the letter is to be delivered, then the name of the person to whom it is written, third, the prohibition lest anyone break the seal, and finally the place to which the letter is to be delivered. The prohibition is endorsed by Rabbi Gershom of France, whom they call 'the light of exile,' by the triple excommunication practiced by the Jews, the first of which is called *nidui*, which is a separation of four cubits from all contact with people, whether sacred, profane, domestic, contact with a women, from consuming food and drink with others, lasting thirty days, which term can nevertheless be extended or curtailed. Should anyone die during this state, a stone is placed on the person's bier, signifying that he is worthy of being stoned; and he is neither buried in the cemetery nor mourned. The second type is called *herem*, which takes place in the presence of the church, with the extinguishing of the candles and by public proclamation accompanied by dire extracts from the Mosaic Law, by which means the accused is excluded from the holy congregation (on this, see Jo. 9). The third type is *sham[a]ta*, by which means the accused is abandoned to a divine curse; the Syriac word is *maranatha*, concerning which see I. Corinthians 16[:22]. Whence they comment:

בח"ר רבנו גרשום 'by the ban of Rabbi Gershom'

בח"ר רבנו גרשום מאור הגולה 'by the ban of our Rabbi Gershom, Light of the Exile.'

בח"ר is to be read as בח"ר where the *dalet* is the indicator of the genitive according to Aramaic usage.

וה"ל is to be read as ויה"ל 'And let the ban be on the strangers.'

בנ"ח is to be read as בנ"ח 'by *nidui*, *herem*, and *sham[a]ta*'

1 נ"ח N בח"ר

כייז ופפ"כייז *leg.* ופפ"כייז *Et panis ejus fit bucella Samaritanorum (hodie Christianorum) et vinum ejus fit vinum libaminis. Alludunt ad cœnam Eucharisticam, de qua fumere summè infaustum et execrandum perfidè credunt.*  
 גיז *legendum* ופ"ג *Et rumpens sepem mordeat illum coluber.*  
 ריז *leg.* וזב"ר *qui aperit sine licentia mea, transfodiat eum gladius.*  
 זב"ר *leg.* וזב"ר *qui pertulerit ad manus ejus, veniat super eum benedictio.*  
 זב"ר *leg.* זב"ר *Hinc NN.*  
 זב"ר *leg.* זב"ר *ex pago.*

4. Multa alia abbreviatè scribunt, verbi gratia.

ז *legendum est* על־זאת *propter hoc. //*  
 ד *leg.* על־דבר *quod attinet, super verbum, transitio.*  
 ד *leg.* כל־דבר *tota res.*  
 ע *leg.* לעת עתה *pro nunc, ad tempus nunc.*  
 א"ה *leg.* אם ירצה השם *Si voluerit Deus, quasi Nomen Dei.*  
 ה"ה *leg.* רבי *התקום רבי.*  
 כ *leg.* למ"כ *למעלת קבוד תפארתך.*  
 א"ע *leg.* א"ע *quamvis.*  
 ה *leg.* בע"ה *propter multam iniquitatem.*  
 ר"ד *leg.* רשית דבר *in principio rei, primùm.*  
 ה"ו *leg.* חס ושלום *parce et pax fit, absit.*  
 מ"ש *leg.* מה־שמעלתך כתב *quod Excellentia tua scribit.*  
 וכו' *leg.* וכלם *et cætera.*  
 כ"ה *leg.* כה חומר *ità defiderat.*

Hæc annotasse sufficiat, reliqua dabit usus. Ego hanc Appendicem et Scholam claudio

Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.

יין ופתו פת פותיים יינו יין נסך is to be read as 'And may his bread be the morsels of the Samaritans (today: the Christians), and his wine be the wine of libation.

They allude here to the eucharist, concerning which they perfidiously believe it is most unhallowed and cursed to consume.'

ופורק גדר ישכנו נחש ופ' גין is to be read as 'And breaking the fence, the snake bites him.'

והב' ריח is to be read as 'may a sword pierce anyone who opens it without my permission.'

והמ' לתעב is to be read as 'may there be a blessing on him who delivers it to his [the addressee's] hand.'

מ'פה פלוני is to be read as 'from here, [fill in the name].'

מ'כ is to be read as 'from the village/district.'

4. They write many other abbreviations, for example:

ע"זא is to be read as 'because of this.'

ע"ד is to be read as 'which pertains to, on the word, transition.'

כ"ד is to be read as 'the whole thing.'

לע"ע is to be read as 'for the moment, at the present time.'

א"א is to be read as 'אם ירצה השם' 'If [the name, that is, of] God wishes.'

ה"ח is to be read as 'החכם רבי' ['the sage rabbi']

למ"כ is to be read as 'למעלת כבוד תפארתך' ['to his excellency, the honorable, your glory'].

א"ע"א is to be read as 'אף על פי' 'however much.'

ב"ע"ה is to be read as 'בגונה רבה' 'because of great sin.'

ר"ד is to be read as 'רשית דבר' 'at the beginning of the matter, first of all.'

ה"ו is to be read as 'חס ושלום' 'forebear and let there be peace, [God] forbid.'

מ"שמכ is to be read as 'מה שמעלתך כתב' 'that which your Excellency writes.'

וכו is to be read as 'וקלם' 'etc.'

כ"ח is to be read as 'כה חומר' 'thus it is desired.'

It suffices to have noted these things; practical use will provide the rest. I thus conclude this appendix and method.

To the Greater Glory of God.

Henricus [Heinrich] Ammersbach,  
 “Anweisung / Wie man die Rabbiniſchen Teutſchen  
 Bücher und Brieffe / wie auch die *Contracte*, Hand-  
 Schrifften und Wechſel-Zettul der heutigen Jüden /  
 ohne Puncten recht leſen und verſtehen ſoll,” from  
*Neues ABC Buch / daraus ein junger Knab Die vier  
 nöthigſten Haupt-Sprachen / Ebreiſch / Griechiſch /  
 Lateiniſch und Teutſch Mit ſonderbahrem Vortheil auf  
 gewiſſe Weiſe lernen kan: Wobey auch inſonderheit  
 angehängt Eine nützliche Anweiſung zu den Rabbiniſch-  
 Teutſchen Büchern und Briefen / die ſelben ohne Puncten zu  
 leſen / Der Jugend / wie auch andern Liebhabern guter  
 Künſte und Sprachen zum Nutzen*  
 (1689)

*Source:* Magdeburg 1689; extant: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Ca-527;  
 2nd edition, Magdeburg 1702; extant: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,  
 4 Polygl. 4.<sup>1</sup>

DJefes zu erlernen / hat man ſonſt zwar ſchon Anweiſung gnug in etlichen  
*Grammaticis*, als inſonderheit in *Buxtorfi Theſaur. Grammat. pagin. 663. et ſeqq.*  
*item in A. Sennerti Rabbiniſmo, pagin. 2. et 63. Docti Auguſt Pfeifferi Critic. Sacr. pag.*  
*517 et ſeqq.* Weil aber ſolche Bücher ſonderlich nur den Gelehrten dienen / auch  
 nicht in eines jeden Händen ſind; Als hab ich aus ſolchen allen dieſes zum kurtzen  
 Auszug verfertigt.

1. Iſt nöthig / daß man recht wiſſe / wie die Rabbiniſchen Buchſtaben von den  
 Gemeinen eigentlich zu erkennen und zu unterſcheiden / darzu dienet folgendes  
 Abc / eins gegen das ander zu halten. \\\

Gemein Ebreiſch. <sup>2</sup>	Rabbiniſch.
א	א
ב	ב
ג	ג
ד	ד
ה	ה
ו	ו

<sup>1</sup> The entire text is in Gothic, with some cited words in Roman; Gothic here is unmarked, Roman is in italics.

<sup>2</sup> The table consists of a square script font (‘common’) and a Rashi font (rabbinic).

Henricus [Heinrich] Ammersbach,  
 ‘Instruction in How to Read Correctly and Understand  
 Unpointed Rabbinical German Books and Letters, as  
 well as Contracts, Manuscripts, and Bills of Exchange  
 of Contemporary Jews,’ from *New ABC Book, from  
 which a Young Boy Can, with Special Benefit and Certain  
 Method, Learn the Four Necessary Major Languages,  
 Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German; to which Are in  
 Addition Appended Useful Instructions on How to Read  
 Unpointed Rabbinic-German Books and Letters. For the  
 Benefit of Young People and also Other Lovers of  
 Fine Arts and Languages*  
 (1689)

In order to learn these things, there are of course already enough instructions in a number of grammar books, in particular in Buxtorf’s *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (pp. 663 ff.) and A. Sennert’s *Rabbinismo* (pp. 2 and 63), the learned August Pfeiffer’s *Critica Sacra* (pp. 517 ff). But since such books serve the needs especially only of scholars and are not in everyone’s possession, I have prepared this [instruction] by making a brief epitome of all of them.

1. It is necessary that one know well how the rabbinical letters are specifically to be recognized and distinguished from the common forms. The following ABC serves the purpose of comparing the one to the other.

Common Hebrew	Rabbinic
א	א
ב	ב
ג	ג
ד	ד
ה	ה
ו	ו



ז	ז
ח	ח
ט	ט
י	י
כ	כ
ך	ך
ל	ל
מ	מ
ם	ם
נ	נ
ן	ן
ס	ס
ע	ע
פ	פ
ף	ף
צ	צ
ץ	ץ
ק	ק
ר	ר
ש	ש
ת	ת \\

2. Ist nöthig / das Ebreisch und Rabbinische Alphabeth zu betrachten / wie es Teutsch muß gelesen oder ausgesprochen werden / nach folgendem Täftelein:

- א** wird gelesen wie a / als **האט** hat. Bißweilen wie O / als / **יאך** Joch. Oder wird gar nicht gelesen / sondern nur entweder im Anfang des Worts den (*Vocalibus*) Laut-Buchstaben vorgefetzt / als / **איך** ich/ Oder wird in der Mitte des Worts gebraucht / Verwirrung zu verhüten / und eins von dem andern zu unterscheiden / wenn das *W* mit dem *O* oder *U* zusammen kömmt; als **וואכן** Wachen / **ווארד** wurd. Oder am Ende des Worts / als **דוא** du.
- אוו** Wird gelesen wie au oder aw / als **פראוויין** Frauen oder Frawen.
- אוי** wird gelesen wie ö/ü/au/eu oder ew / als **אוייל** Oel / **אויבל** übel / **אויך** auch / **אוירי** eure oder ewre.
- אויי** wird gelesen wie eu oder ew / als **אויירן** euren oder ewren.
- ב** wird gelesen wie b / als **בארט** Bart. Mit dem Strichlein *Raphe* aber / wie *f*, oder auch (doch felten) wie v / als **פֿורכט** / **בֿון** von.
- ג** wie G / als / **גוט** gut.
- ד** wie D / als / **דוא** du. \\
- ה** wie H / als / **הוך** Hoch.
- ו** wie o / u / v / oder *f*; als / **קורן** Korn / **בלוט** Blut / **ואטר** Vater / **וארב** Farb.
- וו** wie w / als / **וואונש** Wunfch.
- ווא** wie u oder uh / sonderlich am Ende des Worts / als **רואן** ruhen / **קוא** Kuh.
- וי** wie ö / ü/ au oder aw / in der Mitte des Worts / als / **קוישטליך** köstlich / **זויד** Süd / **קויפֿן** kauffen.

ז	ז
ח	ח
ט	ט
י	י
כ	כ
ך	ך
ל	ל
מ	מ
ם	ם
נ	נ
ו	ו
ס	ס
ע	ע
פ	פ
ף	ף
צ	צ
ץ	ץ
ק	ק
ר	ר
ש	ש
ת	ת

2. With respect to how German is to be read and pronounced, it is necessary to consider the Hebrew and rabbinical alphabets according to the following table:

- א is read as *a*, as in האט *hat* 'has,' sometimes as *o*, as in יאך *Joch* 'yoke'; or it is not read at all, but rather either at the beginning of the word it is placed before the vowels, as in איך *ich* 'I'; or in the middle of the word it is used to avoid confusion and to distinguish one from the other, when *w* is juxtaposed with *o* or *u*, as in וואכן *Wachen* 'be awake,' ווארד *wurd* 'became'; or at the end of a word, as in דוא *du* 'you.'
- אוו is read as *au* or *aw*, as in פֿראווינ *Frauen* or *Frawen* 'women.'
- אוי is read as *ö*, *ü*, *au*, *eu*, or *ew*, as in אויל *Oel* 'oil,' אויבל *übel* 'evil,' אויך *auch* 'also,' אירי *eure* or *ewre* 'your.'
- אויי is read as *eu* or *ew*, as in אוירין *euren* or *ewren* 'your.'
- ב is read as *b*, as in בארט *Bart*; with *rafe*, however, as *f*, or also (but rarely) as *v*, as in פֿורכט 'fear,' פֿון *von* 'from.'
- ג as *g*, as in גוט *gut* 'good'
- ד as *d*, as in דוא *du* 'you.'
- ה as *h*, as in הוך *Hoch* 'high.'
- ו as *o*, *u*, *v*, or *f*, as in קורן *Korn* 'grain,' בלוט *Blut* 'blood,' ואטר *Vater* 'father,' וארב *Farb* 'color.'
- וו as *w*, as in וואונש *Wunsch* 'wish.'
- וּא as *u* or *uh*, especially at the end of a word, as in רואן *ruhen* 'rest,' קוא *Kuh* 'cow.'
- וי as *ö*, *ü*, *au*, or *aw* in the middle of a word, as in קוישטליך *köstlich* 'sumptuous,' זויד *Süd* 'south,' קויפֿן *kauffen* 'buy.'

- וּיָא wie üh / au oder aue / am Ende des Worts / als פְּרוּיָא früh / גְּרוּיָא grau.
- וּיִי wie äu in der Mitte des Worts / als לוּיִיזִי Läufe.
- וּיִיָא wie eu oder eue am Ende des Worts / als טְרוּיָא Treu / רְוּיָא Reue.
- זֵי wie ein gelind s / fürnemlich vor oder nach den (*Vocalibus*) Laut-Buchstaben / oder wens zwifchen zween fteht / als זולט solt / דאז das / האזן Hafen.
- זֵי wird im Teutfchen nicht gebrauchet / es sey denn / daß das Wort selbst Ebreifch ift.
- טֵי wie t / th / td / tt / als גוט gut / נוט Noth / טוט Todt.
- יֵי wie ein (*Vocalis*) felblautend oder Laut-Buchftab i / und wie ein (*Consonans*) mitftimmend *Jod*, oder wie ein e, fürnemlich am Ende des Worts / wie auch im Anfang in den Syllaben be / ge / ja / bißweilen auch gar [aber \\\ unrecht] wie ein ü / als דור dir / יוך Joch / העמדי Hemde / גילובט gelobet.
- יֵיָא wie ie und eh am Ende / als זיא Sie / שטיא fteht.
- יֵיִי Wie ei in der Mitte / oder [aber unrecht] wie eu / als לייד Leid.
- יֵיָאָא Wie ey am Ende / und eie in der Mitte / als בייא bey / גידייאן gedeien.
- כֵי Bloß ohn *Raphe*, wie K, wird nur allein in Ebreifchen Wörtern gebrauchet.
- כֵיָא Mit dem Strichlein *Raphe* / wie ch / im Anfang oder mitten im Wort. Am Ende aber wird das *Raphe* weggelaffen / als הוך hoch.
- לֵי wie l / als לאס laß.
- מֵי wie m / als מיר mir.
- נֵי wie n / als ניכט nicht.
- סֵי wie ein hart s oder doppelt *sf*, fonderlich am Ende / als פראסן praßen / האס Haß.
- עֵי Wie e, und bißweilen (aber unrecht) wie ö / als מענש Mensch.
- פֵי Ohn *Raphe*, wie P / als פרינץ Printz.
- פֵיָא Mit dem Strichlein *Raphe*, wie ph / f oder v / als פארן Pharan / לאויפן lauffen. Am Ende bleibt das *Raphe* weg / als אויף auf.
- צֵי wie Z oder tz / als צו zu. \\\
- קֵי wie k / ck / als סאק Sack. Mit einem oder doppelten *vav*, wie *qv*, als קוואל Qvaal.
- רֵי wie r / als רוט roth.
- שֵי wie sch / item wie ein starck s / wie ס / fonderlich wens vor p und t ftehet / als שפין Spinn / שטראף Straff.
- תֵי wird im Teutfchen nicht gebrauchet / es sey denn / daß das Wort selbst Ebreifch ift / wie oben von ז dergleichen gefagt.
3. Jft nöthig / nach der Ordnung des Teutfchen Alphabets zu lernen / wie alle und jede Teutsche Buchftaben im Abc / Hebreifch und Rabbiniſch zu ſchreiben. Als
- A wird mit einem א gefchrieben. Bißweilen mit einem ו / fo aber mehr aus Jrrthum und Mißbrauch / als aus gutem Grund und Recht gefchiht. Bißweilen wirds auch / fonderlich / wens vor 2. (*Consonanten*) Mitftimmenden Buchftaben fteht / gar ausgelaffen / als דאס<sup>3</sup> das / אונטרלושן unterlaſſen / ווידרוון widerfahren.
- Ä ae ע Als גיפעס Geväß oder Gevaeß.

<sup>3</sup> דאס Obviously Ammersbach does not here omit the א.

- ויא as *üh, au, or aue* at the end of a word, as in פֶּרוּיא *früh* 'early,' גְּרוּיא *grau* 'grey.'
- ויי as *äu* in the middle of a word, as in לוּיִיזי *Läuse* 'lice.'
- וייא as *eu or eue* at the end of a word, as in טְרוּיִיא *Treu* 'loyalty,' רְוּיִיא *Reue* 'remorse.'
- ז as a mild *s*, particularly before or after a vowel, or between two vowels, as in זולט *solt* 'should,' דאז *das* 'the,' האזן *Hasen* 'hare.'
- ח is not used in German, except if the word itself is Hebrew.
- ט as *t, th, td, tt*, as in גוט *gut* 'good,' נוט *Noth* 'hardship,' טוט *Todt* 'death.'
- י as a vowel *i*, and as a consonant *yod*, or as *e*, particularly at the end of a word, as well as at the beginning in the syllables *be, ge, ja*; sometimes also indeed (but incorrectly) as *ü*, as in דייר *dir* 'for you,' יוך *Joch* 'yoke,' העמדי *Hemde* 'shirt,' גילובט *gilobet* 'praised.'
- יא as *ie and eh* at the end of a word, as in זיא *Sie* 'she,' שטיא *steh* 'stand!'
- יײ as *ei* in the middle of a word or (but incorrectly) as *eu*, as in לייד *Leid* 'suffering.'
- יײא as *ey* at the end and *eie* in the middle of words, as in בייא *bey* 'by,' גידייאן *gedeien* 'thrive.'
- כ unadorned, without *rafe*, as *k*, is only used in Hebrew words.
- כ׳ with *rafe*, as *ch*, at the beginning or in the middle of a word; at the end, however, the *rafe* is omitted, as in הוך *hoch* 'high.'
- ל as *l*, as in לאס *laß* 'leave.'
- מ as *m*, as in מיר *mir* 'we.'
- נ as *n*, as in ניכט *nicht* 'not.'
- ס as a hard [voiceless] *s* or double *ss*, especially at the end of a word, as in פראסן *praßen* 'splurge,' האס *Haß* 'hate.'
- ע as *e*, and sometimes (but incorrectly) as *ö*, as in מענש *Mensch* 'human being.'
- פ without *rafe* as *p*, as in פרינץ *Printz* 'prince.'
- פ׳ with *rafe*, as *ph, f, or v*, as in פֶּארן *Pharan* 'Paran,' לאויפן *lauffen* 'run'; at the end of a word, the *rafe* is omitted, as in אויף *auf* 'on.'
- צ as *z* or *tz*, as in צו *zu* 'to.'
- ק as *k* or *ck*, as in סאק *Sack* 'sack'; mit a single or double *waw*, as *qu*, as in קוואל *Quaal* 'torture.'
- ר as *r*, as in רוט *roth* 'red.'
- ש as *sch*, also as a strong [voiceless] *s*, as ס, especially before *p* and *t*, as in שפין *Spinn* 'spider,' שטראף *Straff* 'taut.'
- ת is not used in German, except if the word itself is Hebrew, as was said above similarly concerning ח.

3. It is necessary to learn how to write each and every German letter of the ABC in Hebrew and rabbinical letters, according to the order of the German alphabet. As

- a* is represented by as א; sometimes by ו, but more as a result of error and misuse than of good reason and justice; sometimes (particularly before two consonants) it is omitted, as in דאס *das* 'the,' אונטערלושן *unterlassen* 'omit,' ווידערון *widerfahren* 'befall.'
- ä* *ae* ע, as in גיפֶעס *Geväß* or *Gevaesß* 'container.'

- Au **אוי** Jm Anfang des Worts: **יי** Jn der Mitte: **ויא** Am Ende. Als / **אויגן** Augen / **גיברויכן** gebrauchen / **גרויא** grau. \\\
- Aw **פראוויין** / **אוו** Frauen.
- B **ב** als **ביס** bis oder biß.
- C wenns in gantz-Teutfchen Wörtern vorm K steht / so wirts im Ebreifchen nicht absonderlich beschriben / sondern nur ausgelassen / als / **נאקן** Nacken. Sonft aber / wenns im Teutfchen wie k ausgesprochen wird / schreib mans mit **ק** als / **קרין** Cron / **קרישט** Christ.
- Ch **כ** mit dem Strichlein *Raphe*, als / **ראכן** Rachen. Am Ende / ohn *Raphe*, als / **טאך** Tach.
- D **ד** als / **דיר** dir.
- E **ע** bißweilen auch **י** / sonderlich wenns am Ende bloß steht / als **גיגן** gegen / **אלי** alle. Wenns aber nicht bloß steht / sondern etwa ein H bey sich hat / **יא** / als / **גיא** geh. Sonft wirts bißweilen auch gar ausgelassen / sonderlich im Anfang des Worts in den Syllaben be / ge / item am Ende in den Syllaben / die sich auff en / er / es / et / endigen. Als / **גגעבן** gegeben / **גוטש** gutes.
- Ei und Ey **איי** im Anfang des Worts: **יי** Jn der Mitte: **ייא** Am Ende. Als / **אייטלקייט** Eitelkeit / **אייטר** Eyter / **אלרלייא** allerley.
- Eye **ייא** als / **שלייאר** Schleyer. \\\
- Eu / Ew **אוי** und **אויי** Jm Anfang des Worts : **ויי** Jn der Mitte: **וייא** Am Ende. Als / **אויירי** eure / **ערפרויין** erfreuen / **גיטרויia** getreu.
- F **פ** mit dem Strichlein *Raphe*, bißweilen auch **ב** oder **ו**, am Ende aber ohn *Raphe*, **ף**. Als **גיפאנגן** gefangen / **גיוארן** gefahren / **גיבוירט** geführt / **אויף** auff.
- G **ג** Als **גאש** Gaß.
- H **ה** als **האנד** Hand. Wo es aber im Teutfchen nicht recht ausgesprochen wird / da wirts im Ebreifchen gar ausgelassen / als **טאט** Täht oder That.
- J **י** als ein [*Consonans*] Mitstimmend Buchstab. Als ein [*Vocalis*] selblautend Buchstab aber / **אי** im Anfang des Worts / **י** in der Mitte und am Ende . Als / **יאר** Jahr / **איך** ich / **זימרי** Simri.
- Je wenns als ein [*Diphthongus*] doppelt *vocalis* gelesen wird / **י** in der Mitte des Worts / **יא** am Ende. Als / **דינן** dienen / **וויא** wie.
- K **ק** als / **קינד** Kind.
- L **ל** als / **לאנד** Land.
- M **מ** am Ende **ם**. als **מיינם** meinem.
- N **נ** am Ende **ן**. als / **נאמן** Namen.
- O wenns am Anfang des Worts steht / wirts \\\ **או** item **עו** bißweilen auch bloß **א** geschriben / als **אורט** Ort / **עובד** Obed / **אקסן** Ochsen. Jn der Mitte / wenn ein einfach oder doppelt *vav* vorher geht / hat das **ו** so ein o bedeutet / bißweilen ein **א** vor sich / als **וואכן** Wochen / **ביוואלן** befohlen: Bißweilen wird **ו** ausgelassen / und nur **א** geschriben / als / **וואל** wol. Am Ende bißweilen bloß **ו** oder **א** / bißweilen auch **וא** / sonderlich wenn im Teutfchen H dabey steht / als / **פרוא** froh.
- Oe / ö **אוי** Jm Anfang des Worts ; Jn der Mitte **וי** [oder auch bißweilen **ע** / aber unrecht] am Ende **ויא** / als / **אוייל** Oel / **הויירן** hören / **פלויא** Flöh.

- au* אױ at the beginning of a word, ױ in the middle, ױא at the end, as in אױגן *Augen* 'eyes,' גיברױכן *gebrauchen* 'use,' גרױא *grau* 'grey.'
- aw* פֿראױן *Frauen* 'women.'
- b* ב, as in ביס *bis* or ביפֿ *bisf* 'until.'
- c* when it appears in pure German words before *k*, it is not individually represented in Hebrew, but rather omitted, as in נאקן *Nacken* 'nape of the neck'; otherwise, however, when it is pronounced in German as *k*, it is represented by ק, as in קרון *Cron* 'crown,' קרישט *Christ* 'Christian.'
- ch* כ with *rafe*, as ראכן *Rachen* 'throat'; at the end of a word, without *rafe*, as in טאך *Tach* 'roof.'
- d* ד, as in דיר *dir* 'to you.'
- e* ע, sometimes also ם, particularly when it appears as the final letter of a word, as in גיגן *gegen* 'against,' אללי *alle* 'all'; when it is not the final letter, but for instance appears with *h*, then it is יא, as in גיא *geh* 'go'; otherwise it is sometimes even omitted, particularly at the beginning of a word in the syllables *be-* and *ge-*, and likewise at the end of words, in syllables ending in *-en*, *-er*, *-es*, *-et*, as in גגעבן *gegeben* 'given,' גוטש *gutes* 'good.'
- ei* and *ey* אײ at the beginning of a word, ײ in the middle, ײא at the end, as in אײטלקײט *eitelkeit* 'vanity,' אײטר *eyter* 'pus,' אײלרײא *allerley* 'sundry.'
- eye* יא, as in שלייר *Schleyer* 'veil.'
- eu, ew* אײ and אױ at the beginning of a word, ױי in the middle, ױיא at the end, as in אױר *eure* 'your,' ערפּרױן *erfreuen* 'delight,' גיטרױיא *getreu* 'loyal.'
- f* פ with *rafe*, sometimes also ב or ן; at the end of a word, however, without *rafe*, פּ, as in גיפּאנגן *gefangen* 'captured,' גיארן *gefahren* 'driven,' גיבירט *geföhret* 'led,' אױף *auff* 'on.'
- g* ג, as in גאש *Gaß* 'street.'
- h* ה, as in האנד *Hand* 'hand'; where it is, however, not actually pronounced in German, it is altogether omitted in Hebrew, as in טאט *Tahr* or *That* 'deed.'
- j* ך as a consonant; as a vowel, however, א at the beginning of a word, ך in the middle and at the end, as in יאר *Jahr* 'year,' אײך *ich* 'I,' זימרי *Simri* 'Zimri.'
- je* when it is read as a double vowel (diphthong): ך in the middle of a word, יא at the end, as in דינן *diene* 'serve,' ױיא *wie* 'how.'
- k* ק, as in קינד *Kind* 'child.'
- l* ל, as in לאנד *Land* 'country.'
- m* מ, at the end of a word ם, as in מײנעם *meinem* 'my.'
- n* נ, at the end of a word ן, as in נאמן *Namen* 'names.'
- o* when it appears at the beginning of a word, it is represented by אױ or עױ, or sometimes also simply א, as in אױרט *Ort* 'place,' אױבד *Obed* 'Obed,' אױסן *Ochsen* 'oxen'; in the middle of a word, when a single or double *waw* precedes it, the ן that represents *o* is sometimes preceded by א, as in ױאכן *Wochen* 'weeks,' בױאלן *beföhlen* 'ordered'; sometimes ן is omitted and only א is written, as in ױאל *wol* 'well'; at the end of a word, sometimes simply ן or א, sometimes also ױא, especially when there is also an accompanying *h* in German, as in פֿרױא *froh* 'happy.'
- oe, ö* אױ at the beginning of a word; ױי in the middle (or also sometimes ע, but incorrectly); ױא at the end, as in אױל *Oel* 'oil,' הױרן *hören* 'hear,' פֿלױא *Flöh* 'fleas.'

- P פ als פרייס Preiß.
- Pf oder Pff פפ im anfang oder mitten im Worte / mit dem einem *Raphe*. Am Ende aber פף oder ף beides ohne *Raphe*, als עופפר Opfer / פפורטן Pforten / טוף Topff.
- Ph פ mit dem *Raphe*. Am Ende ohne *Raphe*, als פרופעט Prophet.
- Q Qv Qw קוו als / קוועלן quellen.
- R ר als / רעכט recht.
- S ז Wenns gelind auszusprechen / als / האז Haas. Wenns aber starck und wie doppelt lau-\\tet / wirds bißweilen ש / bißweilen ס geschrieben / als / האס Haß / פראשן praffen.
- Sch ש als / שלאגן schlagen.
- T th tt ט als / גוט GOtt.
- Tz צ als / טרוצן trotzen. Am Ende ץ als / שויך Schutz.
- U או Jm Anfang des Worts / und nach dem ו als einem [*Consonant*] Mitstimmenden Buchstaben. In der Mitte aber und am Ende ו. Bißweilen mit beygefügtm א sonderlich wenn im Teutschen ein h dabey steht / als אונד (oder 'אונ') Und / גוט / דו / רוין ruhen.
- Ü אוי Jm Anfang des Worts / oder wenns nach einem w steht; Sonst in der Mitte וי (Auch י bißweilen / aber unrecht) am Ende ייא. Als / אויפיג üppig / וואירדן Würden / גלויק Glück / פרויט früh.
- V ו wenns ein [*Consonans*] Mitstimmend Buchstab ist / als / ואטר Vater.
- W וו als / ווינטר Winter.
- X קס oder קש als אקסט Axt.
- Y Wie oben ein gemein *Vocal*. oder selblautend i.
- Z צ als / זורן Zorn. \\

NB. Hiebey ist ferner zu mercken / wenn im Teutschen ein doppelt Buchstab kommt / daß derselbe im Ebreischen nur einfach geschrieben wird / als / אלי alle / גיואטר Gvatter. Die selblautenden Buchstaben a und e werden offte ausgelassen / als / האבן habn / טראגן tragn / גגעבן gegeben. Bißweilen wird auch ein *Consonans* oder Mitstimmend Buchstab ausgelassen / als in folgenden Worten / 'אונ' [mit einem Strichlein] Und / אז als / אזו also / איז ist. Bißweilen wird ein Buchstab für den andern gesetzt / als מיר mir für wir / דרצילן derzehlen für erzehlen / דרקוויקן derquicken für erquicken. Bißweilen wird ein Ebreisch Wort im Teutschen gantz behalten / oder zum Theil<sup>4</sup> nach Teutscher Art ausgesprochen. Als / Siehe wie ein *nius* [wüft] Kind ist das? Teschufa [Busse] thun. Wenn man *tephilla* (Gebet) thut / muß man sein Hertz *mecaffen* (auffmerckend) seyn lassen. Ganffen ist so viel als stehlen / von *ganaf*. Schachern oder Sachern ist so viel als handeln / von *Sachar*. Schachten ist so viel als schlachten / von *Schachath*. Gasseln ist so viel als Rauben / von *gasal*. Und so fort / davon in obangeführten Büchern *Buxtorf*. *Sennert*. *Schickard*. *Pfeiffer*. mit mehrn zu lesen; Da auch bey dem *Buxtorf*. sonder-\\lich zu sehen / wie die Jüden oft gar unbekante und fremde Wörter gebrauchen / als daß Sie sagen / Euck für euch / Beltzel für Mägdlein / Neuert für Nur / Leyen für Lesen / Perlich für Perlein / Benfchen für Benedeyen / Fingerlich für Fingerlein / Breylefft für Hochzeit / et cetera et cetera.

<sup>4</sup> Theil ] M Teihl.

- p* פ, as in פרייס *Preis* 'price.'
- pf* or *ppf* פפ at the beginning and in the middle of a word, with one *rafe*; at the end, however, פף or פף, both without *rafe*, as in עופפער *Opffer* 'sacrifice,' פפורטן *Pforten* 'gates,' טוף *Topff* 'pot.'
- ph* פ with *rafe*; at the end without *rafe*, as in פרופעט *Prophet* 'prophet.'
- q, qu, qw* קוו, as in קוועלן *quellen* 'sources.'
- r* ר, as in רעכט *recht* 'justice.'
- s* ז when it is pronounced mildly [voiced], as in האז *Haas* 'hare'; when it is, however, pronounced strongly [voiceless] and as if doubled, it is sometimes represented by ש and sometimes by ס, as in האס *Haß* 'hate,' פראשן *prassen* 'splurge.'
- sch* ש, as in שלאגן *schlagen* 'beat.'
- t, th, tt* ט, as in גוט *Gott* 'god.'
- tz* צ, as in טרוצן *trotzen* 'affront'; at the end of a word ץ, as in שוץ *Schutz* 'protection.'
- u* או at the beginning of a word, and after consonantal ו; in the middle, however, and at the end of a word, ו; sometimes with added א, especially when there is *h* in German, as in אונד (or אונ' *Und* 'and,' גוט *gut* 'good,' דו *du* 'du,' רואן *ruhen* 'rest.'
- ü* אוי at the beginning of a word or when it appears after *w*; otherwise in the middle of a word וי (also sometimes י, but incorrectly), at the end of a word ייא, as in אויפגי *üppig* 'lush,' וואירדן *Würden* 'would,' גלויק *Glück* 'luck,' פרויא *früh* 'early.'
- v* ו when it is a consonant, as in ואטר *Vater* 'father.'
- w* וו, as in ווינטר *Winter* 'winter.'
- x* קס or קש, as in אקסט *Axt* 'axe.'
- y* as above, a common vowel *i*.
- z* צ, as in זורן *Zorn* 'rage.'

Note well: In this connection one should also note that when there is a double letter in German, it is written as a single letter in Hebrew, as in אלי *alle* 'all,' גיואטר *Gevatter* 'godfather.' The vowels *a* and *e* are often omitted, as in האבן *haben* 'have,' טראגן *tragen* 'carry,' גגעבן *gegeben* 'given.' Sometimes a consonant is also omitted, as in the following words: אונ' (with a small mark) *Und* 'and,' אז *als* 'as,' אזו *also* 'thus,' איז *ist* 'is.' Sometimes one letter is used in place of another, as in מיר *mir* for *wir* 'we,' דרצלן *derzehlen* for *erzehlen* 'narrate,' דרקוויקן *derquicken* for *erquicken* 'refresh.' Sometimes a Hebrew word is altogether retained or in part pronounced according to the German manner, as 'Look, what a *mius* [vile] child is that?'; 'Do *teschufa* [penance]'; 'When one makes the *Tfilla* [prayer], one should let one's heart be *mecaffen* [focused].' *Ganffen* means 'steal,' from *ganaf*; *schachern* or *sachern* means 'to do business,' from *sachar*; *schachten* means 'slaughter,' from *schachath*; *gasseln* means 'rob,' from *gasal*. And so on; one can read further in the aforementioned books by Buxtorf, Sennert, Schickard, and Pfeiffer. Also in Buxtorf one should particularly note how the Jews often use unfamiliar and foreign words, as for instance when they say *euck* for *euch* 'you,' *Beltzel* for *Mägdlein* 'girl,' *Neuert* for *Nur* 'only,' *Leyen* for *Lesen* 'read,' *Perlich* for *Perlein* 'little pearl,' *Benschen* for *Benedeyen* 'bless,' *Fingerlich* for *Fingerlein* 'ring,' *Breylefft* for *Hochzeit*, etc., etc.



Johann Christof Wagenseil,  
 “Bericht wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen”  
 from *Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen*  
*Red- und Schreib-Art*  
 (1699)

*Source:* Königsberg 1699, pp. 81–90; extant: Oxford, Bodleian Opp. Add. 4° II. 135; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, 4 OR–II 42 (1).

Bericht wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche zu lesen.

Es folget nun die Anleitung / wie das Jüdisch-Teutsche solle gelesen werden / welche / hoffentlich / so klar und deutlich verabfasset / daß sie jedermann leicht ohne einen mündlichen Belehrer begreifen kan; und ist also nur vonnöthen / daß nachdem sie erlernt worden / man sich je zuweilen nur Spiel-weis im lesen übe. Wobey nit zu verhelen / daß wann man gleich das gedruckte Jüdisch-Teutsche lesen kan / doch das so mit der Hand geschrieben wird / noch eine Schwierigkeit mache / gleich wie unfere Kinder / wann sie in gedruckten Büchern lesen können / doch darum solches nit alsobald in denen geschriebenen Brieffen zu leisten vermögen. Allein / ist man des gedruckten erfahren / so kommt man auch gar bald in den geschriebenen zu einer Fertigkeit / fintemalen die Buchstaben an sich selbstn einerley / und der Unterschied so blos im Schreiben aus dem Verziehen entstehet / bald zu erkennen. Dieweilen aber das Geschriebene zu lesen durch das Gedruckte nit gezeigt werden kan / ist demnach vonnöthen / daß hie verfahren werde / wie man es bey uns in Schulen machet / da man die Kinder absonderlich zu Lesung des geschriebenen anweist. Man muß nemlich sehen / wie man von denen Juden / in ihrem Teutsch geschriebene Sachen zur Hand bringe / und ihres mündlichen / oder anderer so deffen kündig / Unterrichts / wegen des Lesens sich ein wenig bediene. Kan ohne alle Mühe / und in gar schlechter Zeit geschehen / daß man sein Verlangen erreiche. //

I. Das Jüdisch-Teutsche / wird mit Hebreischen Buchstaben / von der rechten / gegen di lincke Hand / wie geschrieben / also auch gelesen.

II. Der Hebreischen Buchstaben werden XXII. gezehlet. Und solche sind entweder Gros / und *Quadrat*, denen Juden *כתיבה מרובעת* *Cstva merübbáas*, die viereckigte Schrift / wie auch / blosser dings / *כתיבה* das ist / die Schrift / genannt: Oder / sie sind klein / und *current*, welche Schrift / mit einem den Ursprung nach unbekanntem Nahmen *משקט* *Maschet* benahmset wird.

III. Die *Quadrat*-Buchstaben / haben folgende Gestalt / Ausredung / und Benennung.

Hebreische Buchstaben.	Deren Laut.	Deren Jüdische Benennung.	Gemeine Benennung der Christen.
א	A	<i>Alef.</i>	<i>Alef.</i>
ב	B.	<i>Beès.</i>	<i>Beth</i>
ג	G.	<i>Gimel.</i>	<i>Gimel.</i>

Johann Christof Wagenseil,  
 'Report on How to Read Jewish-German'  
 from *Manual of the Jewish-German Manner  
 of Speaking and Writing*  
 (1699)

Here follows the tutorial on how Judeo-German is to be read, which is, I hope, so clearly and lucidly written that everyone can understand it easily and without a teacher; the only necessity is that after it has been completed, one sometimes playfully practices reading. It is not to be concealed, however, that even though one can read printed Judeo-German, reading handwritten texts is still difficult, just as it is for our children, when they can read printed books but even so cannot right away perform as well with handwritten letters [epistles]. If one has experience in reading printed texts, however, then one can quickly gain facility with handwritten ones, for the [alphabetical] letters are essentially one and the same, and the distinctions (due only to the characteristics of handwriting) are quickly recognized. Since, however, it is not possible to demonstrate how to read handwritten texts via the medium of print, it is therefore necessary to proceed as in our schools, where one instructs the children individually in reading handwriting. One must thus look to how one might get texts from the Jews that are written in their form of German and then avail oneself somewhat of oral or other expert instruction in reading. It can come about without any trouble at all and in a very short time that one achieves one's goal.

I. Judeo-German is both written and read with Hebrew letters from right to left.

II. The Hebrew letters number twenty-two, and they are either large and *square*, which the Jews call מרובעת כתיבה *Cstva merübbáas* 'square script,' or also more simply כתיבה, that is, 'the script.' Or the letters are small and *cursive*, which script is designated by the etymologically obscure name משקיט *Mašchet* 'masket.'

III. The square script letters have the following forms, pronunciation, and names:

Hebrew letters	Their sound	Their Jewish name <sup>1</sup>	Common Christian name
א	<i>a</i>	<i>Alef</i>	<i>Alef</i>
ב	<i>b</i>	<i>Beës</i>	<i>Bet</i>
ג	<i>g</i>	<i>Gimel</i>	<i>Gimel</i>

<sup>1</sup> The form provided by Wagenseil is here preserved in the translation.

ד	D.	Dálet.	Dáleth.
ה	H.	Hè.	Hè.
ו	V.consonans.	Vóf.	Váv.
ז	S.	Sóin.	Sain.
ח	Ch.	Chès.	Chèt.
ט	T.	Thès.	Thet.
י	J.consonans	Jud.	Jod.
כ	K.ch.	krumme = Cóf.	Cáf.
ל	L.	Lámed.	Lámed.
מ	M.	offen = Mém.	Mèm.
נ	N.	krumme = Nun.	Nùn.
ס	S.	Sámech.	Sámech.
ע	A.	'Ain.	'Ain.
פ	P.ph.	krumme = Pé.	Pè. //
צ	Z	krumme = Zadik.	Záde.
ק	K.	Kúf.	Kúf.
ר	R.	Reêfch.	Rèfch.
ש	Sch.S.	Schîn.	Schîn.
ת	T.	Tóv.	Táv.

IV. Von diesen Buchstaben / haben folgende fünf: **צ נ מ כ פ** Welche durch das Wort *KeManPaZ* können in Gedächtnus behalten werden / so oft sie zu Ende des Worts stehen / etwas eine andere Gestalt; indem nemlich an denen Buchstaben **צ נ פ צ** das untere nach der Seiten krumme Strichlein / gerad hinabwärts gezogen / das **מ** aber ganz zugefchlossen wird: Auf diese Weise.

Benennung der Juden

- ך schlechte Cóf.
- ם geschlossen Mèm
- ן schlechte Nùn.
- ף Uffè.
- ץ schlechte Záddik.

Benennung der Christen.

- final-Cáf.
- final-Mèm.
- final-Nùn.
- final-Pe.
- final-Zade

V. Die Hebreische *Current*-Buchstaben / so ins gemein / von denen Christen / die Rabbinische Schrift genennet werden / sind so gestaltet:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

Die *Final*-Buchstaben sind:

ך ם ן ף ץ

Man muß sich sowohl die *Quadrat*- als *Current*-Buchstaben in etwas bekannt machen / weilen solche je zuweilen in denen Jüdisch-Teutschen Büchern sonderlich wann etwas aus Heiliger Schrift / oder aus dem Talmud angezogen wird / fürkommen. Jedoch ist nit nöthig sich um das Lesen zu bekümmern / angesehen man allezeit die teutsche Erklärung dabey findet ; Es sey dann daß ge= // meine Hebreische Red=Arten mit eingemischet werden / wegen deren Verstand / man in den *Lexicis*, oder bey denen so der Hebreischen Sprach kündig / oder auch bey denen Juden / wann solche verhanden / sich Rathf zu erholen.

ד	<i>d</i>	<i>Dálet</i>	<i>Dalet</i>
ה	<i>h</i>	<i>Hè</i>	<i>He</i>
ו	consonantal <i>v</i>	<i>Vóf</i>	<i>Waw</i>
ז	<i>s</i>	<i>Sóin</i>	<i>Zayin</i>
ח	<i>ch</i>	<i>Chès</i>	<i>Het</i>
ט	<i>t</i>	<i>Thès</i>	<i>Tet</i>
י	consonantal <i>j</i>	<i>Jud</i>	<i>Yod</i>
כ	<i>k, ch</i>	curved <i>Cóf</i>	<i>Kaf</i>
ל	<i>l</i>	<i>Lámed</i>	<i>Lamed</i>
מ	<i>m</i>	open <i>Mém</i>	<i>Mem</i>
נ	<i>n</i>	curved <i>Nun</i>	<i>Nun</i>
ס	<i>s</i>	<i>Sámech</i>	<i>Samekh</i>
ע	<i>a</i>	<i>Aïn</i>	<i>Ayin</i>
פ	<i>p, ph</i>	curved <i>Pé</i>	<i>Pe</i>
צ	<i>z</i>	curved <i>Zadik</i>	<i>Şade</i>
ק	<i>k</i>	<i>Kûf</i>	<i>Kof</i>
ר	<i>r</i>	<i>Reësch</i>	<i>Resh</i>
ש	<i>sch, s</i>	<i>Schîn</i>	<i>Shin</i>
ת	<i>t</i>	<i>Tóv</i>	<i>Taw</i>

IV. Of these letters, the following five **צ נ פ כ**, which can be remembered by means of the word *KeManPaZ*, whenever they occur at the end of a word, have a slightly different form, in that namely the lower stroke of these letters that curves horizontally is drawn directly downward; the **מ** is, however, fully closed, in the following manner:

Designation by Jews	Designation by Christians
ך common <i>Cóf</i>	final <i>Kaf</i>
ם closed <i>Mém</i>	final <i>Mem</i>
ן common <i>Nùn</i>	final <i>Nun</i>
ף <i>Uffè</i>	final <i>Pe</i>
ץ common <i>Záddik</i>	final <i>Şade</i>

V. The Hebrew *cursive* letters, which are commonly called the rabbinical script by Christians, have the following form:

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

The final letters are:

ך ם ן ף ץ

One must become acquainted both with the square letters and at least slightly also with the cursive letters, for they are at times used in those Judeo-German books, especially when something is taken from the Holy Scriptures or the Talmud. Nonetheless, it is not necessary to be concerned with reading it, since a German explanation is always added, an exception being when common Hebrew expressions are mixed in, for whose understanding dictionaries, someone who knows Hebrew, or even Jews, if any are available, are to be consulted.

VI. Die Hebreifche Buchftaben mit welchen eigentlich das Teutfche von denen Juden asugedruckt wird / kommen schier mit denen *Current*-Buchftaben überein / doch aber find fie in etwas von ihnen unterfchieden / auf diefe Weiße:<sup>1</sup>

<i>a s n m l</i>	<i>ch k i th ch s v h d g b a</i>
א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע	
<i>t sch r k z p f</i>	
פ צ ק ר ש ת	

Die *Final*-Buchftaben find:

ס ן ץ ף ף ך

VII. Zu merken / daß in denen Jüdifch=Teutfchen Büchern / die drey Buchftaben כ כ כ bißweilen oben mit einem Strichlein auf folgende Art כ כ כ bezeichet werden; welches Strichlein die Juden *Rofe* nennen; und daß man die bedeutete Buchftaben linder als fonften ausprechen müffe. Nemlichen:

Das *Beth ohne Strichlein* כ gilt fo viel als ein hartes *B*. Mit dem Strichlein כ wird es für ein *F* und *V*. gebrauchet.

Das *Caph ohne Strichlein* כ gilt fo viel als ein *K*. Mit dem Strichlein כ wird es für ein *ch*. gebraucht. Und das gefchiehet auch / fo oft es zuletzt eines Worts / ob schon ohne Strichlein / ftehet.

Das *Pé ohne Strichlein* כ gilt fo viel als ein hartes *P*. Mit dem Strichlein כ oder ohne daffelbe zu Ende des Worts / wird für ein *F* und *V*. gebraucht.

Den Unterfchied bemerken folgende Beyfpiel:

בז Bös.	האב Hab.	לוב Lob.	לעבן Leben.
בון von.	בירט führt.	בוירכטן fürchten	קראבט Krafft. //
כלב Kaleb.	כרמי Karmi.	כריסטען Kriften.	
רעכט Recht.	מאכט Macht.	זיך Sich.	

\* \* \* \* \*

שפוט Spot.	פולן Polen.	שפרוסן Sproffen.
פיל vil.	פאלק Volck.	שלאף Schlaf.

VIII. Das ת wird bißweilen in der Mitte / allezeit aber zu Ende der recht Hebreifchen Wörter von denen Juden wie ein *S*. gelesen. Als:

Die Juden lesen:		Die Christen lesen:	
כתר	<i>Kefer</i>	<i>Kéter</i>	eine Kron.
כותב	<i>Kósev</i>	<i>Kotév</i>	ein Schreiber.
בתולה	<i>Bsúla</i> .	<i>Betùla</i> .	eine Jungfrau.
ברית	<i>Bris</i>	<i>Berit</i>	ein Bund.
בית	<i>Bájis</i>	<i>Bájit</i>	ein Haus.
בת	<i>Bàs</i>	<i>Bàt</i>	eine Tochter.

<sup>1</sup> This *mashet* font differs slightly from the previous one printed by Wagenseil.

VI. The Hebrew letters with which German is actually expressed by Jews are practically the same as the cursive letters, but they differ slightly from them, in this way:

*a s n m l ch k i th ch s v h d g b a*  
א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע

*t sch r k z p.f*  
פ צ ק ר ש ת

The final letters are:

ס ן ץ ף ף ך

VII. It is to be noted that in Judeo-German books the three letters כ פ כּ are sometimes marked with a small superscript line in the following manner: כּ פּ כֿ; the Jews call this small line *rafe* [rafē], and thus one must pronounce the noted letters more gently than otherwise, namely:

The *bet* without *rafe* כ counts as a hard *b*; with *rafe* כּ it is used for *f* and *v*.

The *kaf* without *rafe* כ counts as *k*; with *rafe* כּ it is used for *ch*. And that is also the case whenever it occurs at the end of a word, even though there is no *rafe*.

The *pe* without *rafe* פ counts as hard *p*; with the *rafe* פּ, or at the end of a word without it, is used for *f* and *v*.

The distinction is illustrated in the following examples:

בוז evil.	האב have	לוב praise	לעבן life
בון from	בּוירט leads	בּוירכטן fear	קראכט strength
כלב Caleb.	כרמי Carmi.	כריסטען Christians	
רעכט justice	מאכט power	זיך [reflexive pronoun]	

\* \* \* \* \*

שפוט mockery	פולן Poland	שפרוטן sprouts
פיל much	פאלק folk	שלאף sleep

VIII. Sometimes in the middle of words and always at the end of actual Hebrew words, ת is read by the Jews as *s*, as in:

Jews read:		Christians read:	
כתר	<i>Keser</i>	<i>Kéter</i>	crown
כותב	<i>Kósev</i>	<i>Kotév</i>	scribe
בתולה	<i>Bsúla</i>	<i>Betùla</i>	maiden
ברית	<i>Bris</i>	<i>Berít</i>	covenant
בית	<i>Bájis</i>	<i>Bájit</i>	house
בת	<i>Bàs</i>	<i>Bàt</i>	daughter

Aber zu Anfang eines Worts / lesen auch die Juden gleich denen Christen das ת allezeit für T. Als:

תלמיד	Tálmid	Tálmid	ein Schreiber. <sup>2</sup>
רמת	Tómar	Tamar	ein Palmbaum.
תלוי	Tólui	Talúi	ein Gehenckter.

Jedoch hat man sich dieses nit anfechten zu lassen / fintemalen in den Jüdisch=Teutschén Schrifften / das ת fast gar nit gebraucht wird. Dann das T. so offte es fürkommt / wird mit einem ט bemercket; An statt des S. bedienen sich die Juden der Buchstaben ז ש ט ו. Wird ohngefähr ein Hebreisches Wort in welchen ein ת eingemischet / so hat es nichts zu bedeuten / man lese es wie man wolle.

IX. Die bißhero gezeigte Buchstaben sind lauter *Consonantes*. An statt der *Vocalium* gebrauchen die Juden in dem wahren Hebreischen gewisse Pünctlein / von welchen dieses Orts unnöthig ist zu handeln. In den Teutsch-Hebreischen Schrifften / werden die *Vocales* durch 5. *Consonantes* angezeigt / auf folgende Weise: //

א A.	אבר Aber.	אלו Als.	דארף darf.	לאם Lam.
ע E.	ער Er.	דעם dem.	דער der.	לעבן Leben.
י I.	דיך dich.	דיא die.	מיט mit.	ניט nit.
ו O.	דוך doch.	הופין Hoffen.	קום kom.	זול sol.
ו U.	דורך durch.	גוט gut.	קלוג klug.	צוכט Zucht.

X. Das א wird auch bißweilen für ein O gebraucht; und wann ein ו zu Anfang des Worts darauf folgt / kan es sowol U als O heißen. Der *Context*, wie auch das Wort selbst / geben in dergleichen Fällen leichtlich an Hand / wie man lesen müsse:

אודר Oder.	אוברשט Oberst.	אוקז Ochs.
אונד Und.	אורטייל Urtheil.	אונטירשט Unterst.

XI. Wann ein Wort von einem י *Jod*, so für den *Vocalem I.* gebraucht wird / anfähet / wird ein א vorher gesetzt. Als:

אין In.	איך Ich.	אימרדאר Immerdar.	אירטום Irrthum	איגעל Igel.
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XII. Die *Diphthongos* oder Doppel= *Vocales*, bemerken die Juden auf diese Weise:

וי ü. ö. eu. au.	ולויגל Flügel	זוינד Sünd.	לויט Leut.
	בוין Bösen.	שטרויכלן Stracheln	רויט Frau.
ויי eu. ew.	אוייר Euer.	הוייראטין Heurathen.	נאכטאוייל Nacht=Eul.
יי ei.	מיין Mein.	לייב Leib.	טייל Theil.
			אייזן Eisen.
			איביקייט Ewigkeit.

XIII. An statt des Teutschén W. gebrauchen die Juden ein doppeltes Vau; Dergestalten:

וואנד Wand.	שוועהר Schweher.	וויא Wie.	ווארם Warm.
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<sup>2</sup> ein Schreiber ] Wagenseil's translation (= 'scribe') is inaccurate for תלמיד 'student.'

But at the beginning of a word, the Jews also always read ת as *t*, just like the Christians, as in:

תלמיד	<i>Tálmid</i>	<i>Talmid</i>	scribe
תמר	<i>Tómar</i>	<i>Tamar</i>	palm tree
תלוי	<i>Tólúí</i>	<i>Talúí</i>	hanged man

One should not let this be troublesome, however, for ת is hardly used in Judeo-German texts. For whenever *t* occurs, it is represented by ט; in place of *s*, the Jews make use of the letters ז ש ט. If by chance a Hebrew word containing ת is mixed in, it is not important: one can read it however one wishes.

IX. The letters presented thus far are consonants only. In actual Hebrew texts, the Jews use certain points in place of vowels, with which it is not necessary to be concerned here. In Judeo-German texts the vowels are represented by five consonants in the following manner:

א	<i>a</i>	אבר but	אלז as	דארף may	לאם lamb
ע	<i>e</i>	ער he	דעם the	דער the	לעבן life
י	<i>i</i>	דיך you	דיא the	מיט with	ניט not
ו	<i>o</i>	דוך surely	הופין hope	קום come	זול should
ו	<i>u</i>	דורך through	גוט good	קלוג clever	צוט breeding

X. א is sometimes used for *o*; and when it precedes ו at the beginning of a word, it can signify either *u* or *o*. The context, as well as the word itself, make clear in such cases how it is to be read:

אודר or	אברשט uppermost	אוקז ox
אונד and	אורטייל judgment	אונטירשט lowest

XI. When a word begins with י *yod* that is used for the vowel *i*, א is preposed, as in:

אין in	איך I	אוימערדער forever	אירטום error	אייגעל hedgehog
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XII. Diphthongs or double vowels are represented by the Jews in the following manner:

יי	<i>ü, ö, eu, au</i>	וויגל wings	זינד sin	לויט people
		בויען evil ones	שטרויכלן stumble	וויא woman
יי	<i>eu, ew.</i>	אוייר your	הוייראטין wed	נאכטאווייל nightowl
יי	<i>ei.</i>	מיין my	לייב body	טייל part
			אייזן iron	אייביקייט eternity

XIII. In place of German *w*, the Jews use double *waw*, in the following manner:

וואנד wall	שווערר father-in-law	וויא how	ווארם warm
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Wann demnach das doppelte *Vau*, an statt des Teutſchen W. einem O. oder U. ſoll fürgeſetzt werden / damit nit 3. *Vau* gleich aufeinander folgen / wird nach den ן ein ם welches zwar im Leſen nichts gilt / eingefchoben. Als: //

שוואור Schwur. וואוכן Wochen. וואוכרן Wuchern. וואונדיר Wunder.  
וואונש Wunsch. וואונג Wohnung.

XIV. Wann ein langes Wort mit einem *E*. anfähet / ſetzten die Juden gemeinlich ein ך voran. Als:

דערſchrocken. דערבארמונג. דערלוזט. דערערבט. דערלאזין. דערזעהן.

Jedoch wird in denen neuern Büchern / öffter dieſe ך aufgelaſſen / und das *E*. mit einem ם bemercket. Als:

ארמייאן ermeien. ארפרייאן erfreuen.

XV. Wann nach dem Anfangs=Buchſtaben ein kurtzes *E*. folget / wird ſolches nit durch ein ם ſondern ein ף angezeigt. Als:

גיוועזן gewefen. גיהלטן gehalten. גיזאנג Gefang. גינומן genommen.

Hergegen das lange *E*. erfordert auch im Anfang ein ם. Als:

געלט Gelt. געשין geſſen. געבן geben. געמן ſchämen. מענשן Menſchen.

XVI. Wann ein kurtzes *E*. in der letzten Sylben eines Worts befindlich / wird es ebenmaſſig bißweilen durch ein ף *Jod*, mehrentheils aber gar nit angedeutet. Als:

נויצעין Nutzen. רייכר Reicher. גיזאלצין gefaltzen.  
האבן haben. קומן komen. גיזעגנט gefegnet.

XVII. Das Wort אונד *Und* wird faſt nie recht ausgeſchrieben / ſondern es fehlet allemal der letzte Buchſtaben / deſſen Abgang mit einem Strichlein angedeutet wird / auf dieſe Weiße: אונ׳

XVIII. Die Juden verdoppeln auſſer dem *Vau* ſonſt keinen andern *Conſonantem*. Und alſo was ſonſt im Teutſchen mit zweyen *Conſonantibus* geſchrieben wird / ſchreiben ſie nur mit einem einigen / auf folgende Weiße:

נידרלאשן für Niederlaſſen. הופרטיקייט für Hoffertigkeit. ציריין für zerrinnen.  
פאלין für Fallen. שאל für Schall. וואולין für wollen.

XIV. Die Juden ſchreiben die Wörter ihrer *corrupten* Ausrede nach. Setzen derowegen מיר *mir* / für wir. אזו *aſo* / für alſo. ניקש *nicks* / für nichts. לייען *leien* / für leſen. //

XX. Es iſt nit allezeit die *Orthographie* oder Rechtſchreibung von denen Juden zu erfordern / und ſchreibet ſonderlich der gemeine Mann ſehr falſch. Allermaſſen auch ſolches bey andern Völkern geſchiehet.

When thus *o* or *u* is to be placed after a double *waw* (in place of German *w*), a silent *א* is inserted after the *וּ*, so that three *waw* do not occur one after the other, as in:

שוואור	oath	וואַכֶּן	weeks	וואַכֶּרן	practice usury	וואַונדיר	miracle
		וואַונש	wish	וואַונג	dwelling		

XIV. When a long word begins with *e*, the Jews commonly place a *ד* in front of it, as in:

דערשראקן	shocked	דערבארמונג	mercy	דערלוזט	redeemed
דערערבט	inherited	דערלאזין	absolve	דערציילן	narrate

In the newer books, however, this *ד* is often omitted and *e* is represented by *א*, as in:

ארמייאן disport      ארפֿרייאן delight

XV. When short *e* follows the initial letter, it is represented not by *ע* but rather by *י*, as in:

גיוועזן	been	גיהלטן	held	גיזאנג	chant	גינומן	taken
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By contrast, even at the beginning of words, long *e* requires *ע*, as in:

געלט	money	געשין	eaten	געבן	give	שעמן	shame	מענשן	human beings
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XVI. When short *e* occurs in the final syllable, it is likewise sometimes represented by *י* *yod* but in most instances not represented at all, as in:

נויצעין	benefit	רייכיר	rich one	גיזאלצין	salted
האבן	have	קומן	come	גיזענגט	blessed

XVII. The word *אונד* *und* 'and' is almost never written out correctly, but rather the final letter is always omitted; its omission is marked by a small stroke, in this manner: אונ'.

XVIII. Except for the *waw*, the Jews double no other consonants. And otherwise whatever is written with a double consonant in German, they write with a single one, in the following manner:

נידרלאשן	'lower'	הופרטיקייט	'haughtiness'	צירינגן	'melt away'
פֿאלין	'fall'	שאל	'sound'	וואַולין	'wish'

XIV. The Jews write words according to their corrupt pronunciation. Therefore they print *מיר* *mir* for *wir* 'we,' *אזו* *aso* for *also* 'thus,' *ניקש* *nicks* for *nichts* 'nothing,' *לייען* *leien* for *lesen* 'read.'

XX. One cannot always expect correct spelling from the Jews, and the individual common man writes quite incorrectly, precisely as happens among other peoples.

XXI. Die Juden verkehren oft die Hebreische Wörter in Teutſche / und geben ihnen also eine frembde Geſtalt / daß demnach folcher Wörter Deutung / anderſt nit / alſ durch den Gebrauch im leſen / oder wann man die Juden reden horet / kan erlernt werden. Nemlich / ſie ſagen: **Schechten** / für **Schlachten**. **Sachern** / für **Handeln**. **Gaffeln** / für **Rauben**. **Ganffen** / für **Stehlen**. **Affjuſkeit** / für **Unverſchämigkeit**. **Umchaffern** für **Wiederholen**. **Seferchen** / für **Büchlein**. **Rebbitzin** / wird des Rabbiners Weib genennet. Auf gleiche Weiſe / nennen ſie ein kleines Kind / Moſes benahmt / **Mofchele** / und weilen dieſer Nahm unter denen Juden ſehr gemein / glauben die unberichteten Chriſten / welche dafür **Mauſchel** ausſprechen / ein jeder Jud heiſſe Mauſchel / oder / daß Mauſchel / und ein Jud ein Ding ſey.

XXII. Es haben die Juden auch eigne Teutſche Wörter / welche ſonſt / wenigſt dieſer Orthen / nit gebraucht werden / doch aber von dem *Dialecto* einiger Teutſchen Völcker herkommen. Sie heiſſen einen Ring / **Fingerlich**. Ein Perlein / **Perlich**. Die Hochzeit / **Brauloft**. Ein Mägdlein / **Meidlich**. Einen Fehler / **Greis**. Für euch / ſagen ſie **enck**. für euer / **encker**. für einladen / **breyen**. für leſen / **leien**. für Ergötzen / **Ermeien**. für Segnen / **Benſchen**. für überſchwemmen / **verflötzen**.

XIII. Man muß nothwendig mercken / daß die Zahlen bey den Juden durch die Buchſtaben angezeigt werden / dergeſtalt / daß die erſten IX. Buchſtaben / die einzele Zahlen / (*Monadicos numeros*.) die folgende IX. die Zehner / (*Denarios*) und die übrige IV. die Hundert (*Centenarios*) anzeigen. Auf dieſe Weiſe: //

א	1.	י	10.	ק	100.
ב	2.	כ	20.	ר	200.
ג	3.	ל	30.	ש	300.
ד	4.	מ	40.	ת	400.
ה	5.	נ	50.		
ו	6.	ס	60.		
ז	7.	ע	70.		
ח	8.	פ	80.		
ט	9.	צ	90.		

Die Zahlen ſo zwifchen denen bedeuteten ſich ereignen (*Numeri Intermedii*) werden durch die Zuſammenſetzung der Buchſtaben fürgeſtellt / ſo aber daß die größſere Zahl allezeit fürgehe / und auch eher ausgeredet werde / welches letztere bey uns Teutſchen nit geſchiehet / ob zwar jenes auch ſtatt findet. Als:

יב	12.	כא	21.	לה	35.
נה	55.	עח	78.	צט	99.

Für 15. ſetzen die Juden nit יה wie es zwar eigentlich der *exprefſion* nach ſeyn ſolte / ſondern טו das iſt 9. und 6. welches eben ſo viel machet. Dann יה *Jah* iſt ein Göttlicher Nahme / welchen ſie mit unheiligem Gebrauch nit verunehren wollen. //

XXI. The Jews often mix Hebrew words into German and give them such an alien form that the interpretation of such words cannot be learned except through experience in reading or when one hears Jews speaking. They say, for instance, *schechten* for *schlachten* 'slaughter,' *sachern* for *handeln* 'trade,' *gasseln* for *rauben* 'rob,' *ganffen* for *stehlen* 'steal,' *Assuskeit* for *Unverschämigkeit* 'impertinence,' *Umchassern* for *Wiederholen* 'repeat,' *Seferchen* for *Büchlein* 'booklet,' *Rebbitzin* is the designation for the rabbi's wife. In the same way, they call a small child named Moses *Moschele*, and since this name is very common among the Jews, uninformed Christians, who pronounce this as *Mauschel*, think that every Jew is named *Mauschel* or that *Mauschel* and *Jew* are the same thing.

XXII. The Jews also have their own German words, which are, otherwise at least here locally, not used, although they are derived from the dialects of several German peoples. They call *Ring* 'ring' *Fingerlich*, *Perlein* 'pearl' *Perlich*, *Hochzeit* 'wedding' *Brauloft*, *Mägdlein* 'maiden' *Meidlich*, *Fehler* 'mistake' *Greis*; for *euch* 'you' they say *enck*; for *euer* 'your' they say *encker*; for *einladen* 'invite' they say *breyen*; for *lesen* 'read' they say *leien*; for *ergötzen* 'delight' they say *ermeien*; for *segnen* 'bless' they say *benschen*; for *überschwemmen* 'flood' they say *verflötzen*.

XIII. One must necessarily note that among the Jews numerals are represented by the letters of the alphabet, such that the first nine letters designate the unit numerals, the following nine the tens, and the remaining letters the hundreds, in this manner:

א	1.	י	10.	ק	100.
ב	2.	כ	20.	ר	200.
ג	3.	ל	30.	ש	300.
ד	4.	מ	40.	ת	400.
ה	5.	נ	50.		
ו	6.	ס	60.		
ז	7.	ע	70.		
ח	8.	פ	80.		
ט	9.	צ	90.		

The intermediary numbers are composed of combinations of the letters, such that the larger numeral always precedes and also is said first; this latter practice is not the case among us Germans, although the former does take place, as in:

יב	12	כא	21	לה	35
נה	55	עה	78	צט	99

For 15 the Jews do not use יה as in fact should be the case according to the system, but rather טו, that is, 9 + 6, which yields the same sum, for יה *Jah* is a divine name that they do not wish to desecrate through profane use.

XXIV. Es wäre noch viel von der Juden Jahr=Rechnung / und Calender / von ihren Feft=Tägen / von Benennung der Bücher heiliger Schrift; von den *Parſchijos* und *Haftáros*, das iſt / von der Eintheilung der 5. Bücher *Mofis* in gewiſſe *Sectiones*, und von denen auf ſolche gerichteten *Pericopis* aus Propheten; Von dem Talmud / wie auch deſſen Büchern und Capiteln. Von Verkürzung der Wörter und Jüdiſchen *Siglis*, *Abbreviaturen* gennant / welche Sachen alle in den Jüdiſch=Teutiſchen Büchern und Brieffen je zuweilen fürkommen / zu erinnern. Allein / denen / welche der wahren Hebreiſchen Sprach nit kündig / würde dieſes zu Schwer ſeyn / und ſie nur irr machen: Die aber / ſo derſelben / wie auch der Lateiniſchen erfahren / können ſich ſonſten helffen / und in andern Büchern / deren Nahmen unter den Gelehrten gar bekannt ſind / Berichts erholen.

Der Nahme des HERR ſey gelobt!

XXIV. A great deal could still be remarked concerning the Jewish method of reckoning the year and the calendar of their holidays, their names for the books of the Holy Scriptures, the *Párschijos* and *Haftáros*, that is, the division of the five books of Moses into specific sections, and the divisions into pericopes arranged from the book of the prophets, the Talmud and its books and chapters, abbreviations of words and Jewish abbreviation marks, which things all occasionally occur in Judeo-German books and letters. But for those who do not know the true Hebrew language, this would be too difficult and just confuse them. On the other hand, those who are experienced in both Hebrew and Latin can find a solution by other means and get information in other books whose titles are quite familiar among scholars.

Praised be the name of the LORD!

Franz [Franciscus] Haselbauer,  
 “Appendix de idiotismo germanico-judæorum,”  
*Fundamenta Grammatica duarum præcipuarum  
 linguarum orientalium, scilicet: Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ,  
 cum appendice de idiotismo germanico Judæorum*  
 (Prague 1742)

*Source:* Prague: Typis Universit. Carolo-Ferd. in Coll. Soc. JESU, 1742, pp. 237–44; extant: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. as. 181 [later edition: Prague: Typis Universit. Carolo-Ferd. in Coll. Soc. JESU, 1753, pp. 237–44; extant Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Tolbiac), 8-X-10368.]

JUdæi hujates Germanicè loquendo, vel scribendo meros faciunt Barbarifmos, et Solœcifmos; quia non tantùm integras voces Hebraicas sermoni immifcent vernaculo, fed etiam earum plures more Germanorum inflectunt: inſuper multos adhibent terminos aliis nationibus planè ignotos, pronuntiántque omnes, et ſingulas voces quaſi ex gutture, corrupendo Vocales, præfertim *d* in *o*, et *o* in *ou* commutando: ad eum ferè modum, quo plebs ruſtica in pagis Germanicè loqui ſolet.

Finis hujus corruptelæ eſt, ut ea, de quibus loquuntur, Chriſtiani præſentes non intelligant; conſequenter liberiùs proſcindi, et decipi poſſint, ùt experientiâ habemus. Quod ipſum eſto motivum, Idiotiſmum Germanicum Judæorum intelligendi, qui per 5. §§. ſequentes breviter declarabitur. //

§.I. *De Alphabeto Germanico Judæorum.*

I. Literæ in idiomate Germanico quoad figuras ſunt *Currentibus* aſſimiles, et nunquam literæ quadratæ, ùt vocant, adhibentur, niſi in currentium defectu, prout à me in Libellis præcatorio, et inſtructorio pro Catechumenis eſt factum.

II. Alphabetum Germanicum exprimitur ſequentibus literis Hebraicis.

A	א	Aleph. ( <i>a</i> )
B	ב	Beth. ( <i>b</i> )
C	צ	Tſade.
ch	ך ך	Kaph ( <i>c</i> )
D	ד	Daleth.
E	ע	Ajin ( <i>d</i> )
F	ף ף	Pe ( <i>c</i> )
G	ג	Gimmel.
H	ה	He.
J	י	Jod ( <i>e</i> )
K	ק	Koph.
L	ל	Lamed.
M	מ ם	Mem.
N	נ ן	Nun.
O	ו	Vau ( <i>f</i> )
P	פ	Pe ( <i>b</i> )
Pf	פּפּ	Pe duplex.

Franz [Franciscus] Haselbauer ‘Appendix on the  
Germanic Vernacular of the Jews,’  
from *Grammatical Foundation of the Two Special Oriental  
Languages, That Is, Hebrew and Chaldean, with an  
Appendix on the German Vernacular of the Jews*  
(Prague 1742)

In speaking and writing German, contemporary Jews are guilty of absolute barbarisms and solecisms; for they not only mix entire Hebrew words into their speech, but inflect many of them according to the usage of the Germans, besides which they add many expressions utterly unknown to other people, and they pronounce everything, even simple sounds, as if out of their throats, corrupting vowels, changing especially *d* into *o*, and *o* into *ou*, in approximately the same way that country people in rural districts are accustomed to speak German.

The purpose of this corruption is so that Christians who are present may not understand what they are saying, which results in their being more easily castigated and deceived, as we have experienced. That is indeed the motive for understanding the German vernacular of the Jews, which will be briefly revealed in the following five paragraphs.

I. On the German Alphabet of the Jews.

I. In terms of their forms, the letters used in the Germanic vernacular are similar to cursive, and they never use square script, as they call it, except in the absence of cursive letters, insofar as it is done in a petitioner’s document and by an instructor in the catechism.

II. The German Alphabet is Represented by the Following Hebrew Letters.

A	א	<i>alef (a)</i>
B	ב	<i>bet (b)</i>
C	צ	<i>šade</i>
Ch	ך ך̇	<i>kaf (c)</i>
D	ד	<i>dalet.</i>
E	ע	<i>ayin (d)</i>
F	ף ף	<i>pe (c)</i>
G	ג	<i>gimel</i>
H	ה	<i>he</i>
J	י	<i>yod (e)</i>
K	ק	<i>kof</i>
L	ל	<i>lamed</i>
M	מ ך̇	<i>mem</i>
N	ן ך̇	<i>nun</i>
O	ו	<i>waw (f)</i>
P	פ	<i>pe (b)</i>
Pf	ף ף	<i>double pe</i>



Q	ק	Koph.
R	ר	Reſch.
S	ס	Samech, <i>vel</i> ש Sin. //
s	ז	Zain. ( <i>g</i> )
fch	ש	Schin.
T	ט	Thet.
U	ו	Vau. ( <i>h</i> )
V v	ו	Vau conſonans
W	וו	Vau duplex.
X / Y		( <i>i</i> )
Z	צ ז	Tſade.

(a)<sup>1</sup> a obſcurum, ùt in אבר *aber* : a clarum nullo caractere notatur, et tamen exprimitur, quod ex ſenſu colligendum, ùt טגן *Tagen*.

(b) finè tranſverſa virgula.

(c) cum tranſverſa virgula.

(d) eſt e longum.

(e) jam vocalis, jam conſonans eſt, et quidem jam vocalis j, jam e *breve* quod ex ſenſu colligendum.

(f) *Vau* quandonam o, quando u ſit, etiam ex ſenſu eſt colligendum.

(g) s molle, ùt z Bohemicum.

(h) Quandonam ſit o, quando u, ex ſenſu eſt colligendum.

(i) Hæ duæ literæ Germanicæ non ſunt apud Judæos in uſu.

Nota primerò Imò Dipthongi duæ ſunt in uſu: ם *ei*, vel *ai*, et ם *au*, ùt ם *ein*, ם *auch*.

Nota ſecundò. ם, ם, ſine virgula, et ם nunquam in Germanicis vocibus uſurpantur, ſed bene in Hebraicis, quæ illis intermiſcentur.

*Exercitium I.* ſcriptionis, ut characteres in Alphabeto poſiti ſæpiùs exarentur.

§. II. *De Lectione Germanica.*

HÆc Lectio eodem modo, ùt Hebraica fit à dextra ſiniſtram verſùs, et obſervantur potiſſimùm ſequentia:

Primerò Imò Vocales ו, et ם nunquam ponuntur in principio, vel fine vocis finè א, quod tunc non vocalis, ſed ſpiritus lenis eſt, ùt ם *ich*, ם *uns*, ם *du*.

Secundò: cùm duæ Conſonantes ſunt in fine vocis, inter quas aliàs Germanicè intercedit // e, exprimendum eſt e *breve*, ùt ם טאגן *Tagen* (id eſt *Tägen*) ם טראגן *tragen*; quamquam multis in locis ם e breve, et bene interſerant, ùt ם טאגן *Tagen*, ם טראגן *tragen*.

Tertiò nulla conſonans in media voce ſcribitur gemina, nec ulli imprimatur Dageſch ſed geminatio, ſi quæ occurrit, facilè à linguæ perito agnoſcitur, ùt ם ם *Himmel* גיפאלן *gefallen*.

Quartò. ם conſonantem w, quando ponitur ante Vocalem ו u, aut ו o, intercedit א tanquam ſpiritus lenis, ùt ם ם ם *wuchern*, ם ם ם *Wochen*.

<sup>1</sup> *a-i*] P these notes are printed in the original as footnotes, and thus *a-f* appear on p. 238, *g-i* on p. 239, corresponding to their placement in the text.

Q	ק	<i>kof</i>
R	ר	<i>resh</i>
S	ס	<i>samech</i> or <i>ש sin</i>
s	ז	<i>zayin (g)</i>
sch	ש	<i>shin</i>
T	ט	<i>tet</i>
U	ו	<i>waw (h)</i>
Vv	ו	consonantal <i>waw</i>
W	וו	double <i>waw</i>
X, Y		( <i>i</i> )
Z	צץ	<i>šade</i>

- (a) muted *a*, as in אבר *aber* 'but': clear *a* is not indicated by any letter, but it is nonetheless pronounced, which is to be deduced from the sense, as in טגין *Tagen* 'days.'
- (b) without *rafe*.
- (c) with *rafe*.
- (d) it is long *e*.
- (e) sometimes it is a vowel, sometimes a consonant, and indeed sometimes the vowel *y*, and sometimes short *e*, which is to be deduced from the sense.
- (f) *waw*; when it is *o*, and when *u*, is to be deduced from the sense.
- (g) smooth *s*, as in Bohemian *z*.
- (h) when it is *o*, and when *u*, is to be deduced from the sense.
- (i) these two German letters are not in use among Jews.

Note 1: there are two diphthongs in use: " *ei*, or *ai*, and וי *au*, as in איין *ein* 'one,' אריך *auch* 'also.'

Note 2: ח, כ without *rafe*, and ת are never used in German words, while they are indeed used in the Hebrew words that mixed into them.

Excercise I: Writing exercise—write the letters that form the alphabet very often.

## II. On Reading German.

This mode of reading is the same as in Hebrew, from right to left, and the following points are to be rigorously observed:

1. The vowels ו and י are never placed at the beginning or end of words without א, which is then not a vowel, but a smooth breathing [*spiritus lenis*], as in איך *ich* 'I,' אונז *uns* 'us,' דוא *du* 'you'.
2. When two consonants are at the end of a word, between which otherwise in German an *e* would be interposed, short *e* is to be pronounced, as in טאגן *Tagen* (that is *Tägen*) 'days,' טראגן *tragen* 'carry,' although in many places י represents short *e* and is duly inserted, as in טאגין *Tagen*, טראגין *tragen*.
3. No consonant is doubled in the middle of a word, and no *dagesh* is printed in any letter, but should a doubled consonant occur, it is easily recognized by one who knows the language, as in הימל *Himmel* 'heaven,' גיפאלן *gefallen* 'be pleased.'
4. When the consonant וו *w* occurs before the vowels ו *u* and ו *o*, א (*spiritus lenis* 'smooth breathing') is interposed, as in וואוכרין *wuchern* 'to practice usury,' וואוכן *Wochen* 'weeks.'

Quintò. ante verba, quæ à syllaba er incipiunt, ponitur ך finè e brevi, ùt דרלעזן *derlöfen*, דרצעילן *derzehlen*. id est *erlöfen / erzehlen*. Aliqui Judæi magis corruptè pro e legunt a clarum, ùt *darlöfen, darzehlen*.

Sextò. *Apocope* est in אונ' pro אונד *und* : *Syncope* in אזו *afo*, pro אלזו *also* : *Ennallage* in מיר *mir* pro וייר *wir*.

*Exercitium II.* affumatur Lectio Germanica aliquo manucente et animadvertantur, quæ modò dicta sunt.

§.III. *De vocibus Hebraicis, quæ integræ Germanicis immiscentur. II*

HEbræi nunquam purè loquuntur Germanicam, sed integras voces Hebraicas frequenter immiscent, et simul senfum faciunt obscurum, atque Germanis profus infoliturum, ùt מוחל מיר זייא *sey mir mochel (condonans) i.e. verzeyhe mir* : איך וויל דיר דיין בריף *ich will dir mode (confitens) feyn*, id est *ich will dirs bekennen*: דיין בריף *deinen brief hab ich mekabbel (accipiens) gewesen*, id est *deinen brief hab ich bekommen*. וואן מאן תפלה טוהיט זאל מאן זיין הערץ מכוון זיין לשם *wann man Tephillá (precationem) thuet / soll man sein hertz mechavven (intendens) feyn*. lefchem schammáim (*ad nomen celorum*, id est *ad Deum*) id est *wann man bethet / soll man sein hertz zu Gott wenden*.

*Exercitium III.* ut quis immixtos terminos Hebraicos, quos legit, intelligat, habeat ad manum Lexicon, et quid significant, inspiciat.

§. IV. *De vocibus Hebraicis Germanizatis.*

QUemadmodum Germani verba Latina inflectunt in formam Germanicam, verbi gratia *disputiren, studiren, referiren*, et cetera ità Judæi corrumpunt voces Hebraicas, eafdem germanizando, ùt ביגנבט אונ' *er wird begrafst, und beganfft, id est beraubet*, à גזל *predari, und bestohlen* à גנב *furari*.

Ordinariè in usu sunt sequentia : שחטין *schachten*, à שחט *mactavit*, אויזמעקן *ausmöken*, à מחק *erast*, דרשין *darfchen*, à דרש *concionatus est* איינה דרשה *eine drascha* à דרשה *concio*, דרשרלי *drascherle conciuuncula* (quam pueri 10. vel 12. annorum in solennitatibus verbi gratia circumcissionis solent habere) שחרן *fachern*, vulgò *schachern*, à סחר *negotiatu est*, שיקצרלי *schikferle puella* (Christiana per contemptum) à שקץ *abominatus fuit* et cetera et cetera.

*Exercitium IV.* continuetur lectio Germanica, et si occurrat vox germanizata, proponatur Instructori.

5. Words that begin with the syllable *er*, are preceded by ך without short *e*, as in דרלעזן *derlösen*, דרצעלן *derzehlen*, that is *erlösen* 'redeem,' *erzehlen* 'narrate.' Some Jews read even more corruptly clear *a* for *e*, as in *darlösen*, *darzehlen*.
6. There is apocope in אונ' for אונד *und* 'and'; syncope in אזו *aso* for אלזו *also* 'thus'; enallage in מיר *mir* for וויר *wir* 'we.'

Exercise II: Take a German text from any handbook and pay attention to how the words are pronounced.

III. On the Hebrew Words Interspersed as Whole Words among the German Words.

The Jews never speak pure German, but they frequently intermingle whole Hebrew words, and in the process render the sense obscure, and altogether unfamiliar to Germans, as in מוחל *sey mir mochel* ('pardonning'), that is, 'pardon me'; וויל דיר מודה זיין *ich will dir mode* ('confessing') *sey*, that is 'I want to tell/confess to you'; גיוועזין *deinen brief hab ich mekabel* ('receiving') *gewesen*, that is 'I have received your letter'; מכוון *wann man Tephillá* ('prayer') *thuet, soll man sein hertz* mechavven ('focussing') *sey* leschem schammáim ('to the name of the heavens,' that is, 'to God'), that is 'when one prays, one should turn his heart to God.'

Exercise III. So that a person can understand the interspersed Hebrew expressions that he reads, he should have at hand a lexicon, so that he can look up what they mean.

IV. On Germanized Hebrew Words.

Just as Germans inflect Latin words with German endings, for instance, *disputiren* 'argue,' *studiren* 'study,' *referiren* 'cross-reference, give a lecture,' etc., so the Jews corrupt Hebrew words by Germanizing them, as in ער ווירד ביגולט אונ' *he is begast* and *beganfft*, that is 'robbed' from גזל 'plunder,' and 'robbed' from גנב 'steal.'

The following words are in common usage: שחטין *schachten*, from שחט 'he slaughtered,' ארויזמעקן *ausmökén* 'erase,' from מחק 'he erased,' דרשין *darschen* 'give a public speech,' from דרש 'give a public speech,' איינה דרשה *eine drascha* from דרשה 'speech,' דרשרלי *drascherle* 'brief speech' (which boys of ten or twelve years of age are accustomed to hold at ceremonies, such as circumcisions), שחרן *sachern*, commonly *schachern*, from סחר 'do business, trade,' שיקצרלי *schikserle* 'girl' (in contempt for a Christian) from שקץ 'he abhorred,' etc., etc.

Excercise IV. Continue reading German, and if a Germanized word occurs, bring it to the attention of the instructor.

§.V. *De vocibus Germanicis, quæ solis Judæis sunt peculiare.*

UT Judæi etiam Germanicè loquendo sua arcana magis obscurant, et nobis ignota servant, non tantùm immiscet voces Hebraicas, tum puras, tum corruptas, ut §§. 3. et 4. dictum, sed etiam Germanicas quasdam habent sibi solis peculiare, ut דז דזיגי **das dasige**, pro **dasselbige** : יידשן **jüdschen**, circumcidere : פילצל **ein Piltzl**, puella, ענק **enck** pro **euch**: לאף **breylaff** pro **Hochzeit** : נייארט **neüert** / pro **sondern** : sic פֿינגרליך // **fingerlich** pro **Fingerlein** : פערליך **Perlich** pro **Perlein**, ליינן **leynen** pro **lesen**: ארן **orn** pro **betten**: (forfan à Latino *orare*) בענשן **benfchen** / pro **benedeyen** / **seegenen**: איינויף **einauf** pro **hinauf** : איינראב **einrab** pro **herab** / et cetera et cetera.

*Exercitium V.* sit simile præcedenti, et, si haberi potest Judæus, audiatur legens, et præter ea, quæ dicta sunt, etiam observetur pronuntiatio terminorum purè Hebraicorum; solent enim, ut suprà dixi, vocales ( , ) Kemets á obscurum ut *o*, ( .. ) Tferè *e* ut *ei*, Cholem (י) *o* ut *ou*, ת *th* sicut *f* pronuciare, ut פֿראשית **breifschis** pro **berefschith**, עולם **oulom** pro **olám** et cetera et cetera.

Exercitii Exemplum I. purè Germanicum esto Oratio Dominica.

Himmel den in bist du der unfer Vater

: פֿאטער אונזר דער דוא בישט אין דען הימל :

dein uns komme zu Nahmen dein werde geheiligt

גיהייליגט ווערדי דיין נאמן . צו קאמי אונז דיין

auch also Himmel im wie geschehe Will dein Reich

רייך . דיין וויל גישעהי וויא אים הימל אלזא אויך

heünt uns gieb Brod tägliches unfer Erden auff

אויף ערדן . אונזר טעגליכין ברוד גיב אונז היינט .

wir auch als Schuld unfere uns vergieb und

אונד פֿר גיב אונז אונזרי שולד אלז אויך וויר

uns führe und Schuldigern unfern vergeben

// פֿר געבין אונזרן שולדיגירן . אונד פֿיהרי אונז

den von uns erlöse sondern Verfuchung in nicht

ניכט אין פֿר זוכונג . זאנדרן ער לעזי אונז פֿון דען

Amen Ubel

איבל אמן .

## V. On German Words Peculiar to Jews Alone.

So that in speaking German, Jews can better hide their secrets and guard unknown things from us, not only do they intermingle Hebrew words (both pure and corrupt), as indicated above in paragraphs 3 and 4, but they also have certain Germanisms that are peculiar to them alone, such as *דז דזיגי דז* *das dasige* for *dasselbige* 'the same [thing],' *ברייא לאף* *jüdschen* 'circumcise,' *איינ פילצל* *ein Piltzl* 'girl,' *ענק* *enck* for *euch* 'you,' *פִינגרליך* *breyllauff* for *Hochzeit* 'wedding,' *נייארט* *neüert* for *sondern* 'but rather'; thus *פִינגרליך* *fingerlich* for *Fingerlein* 'ring,' *פערליך* *Perlich* for *Perlein* 'pearl,' *ליינן* *leynen* for *lesen* 'read,' *ארן* *orn* for *betten* 'pray' (perhaps from Latin *orare*), *בענשן* *benschen* for *benedeyen seegnen* 'bless,' *איינויף* *einlauf* for *hinauf* 'upward,' *איינראב* *einrab* for *herab* 'downward,' etc., etc.

Exercise V. Let this be similar to the preceding exercise, and, if a Jew can be had, listen to him reading, and beyond that which is said, also observe the pronunciation of purely Hebrew words; for they are accustomed, as noted above, to pronounce the vowels ( ) *qames á* darkly, as *o*, ( ) *šere e* as *ei*, *holem* (ו) *o* as *ou*, *t* as *s*, as in *בְּרֵאשִׁית* *breischis* for *bereschith* 'in the beginning,' *עולם* *oulom* for *olám* 'world,' etc., etc.

Let the Lord's Prayer be an example of Exercise I, purely German words:

*Heaven the in are you who our Father*

*Himmel den in bist du der unser Vater*

פֵאטער אונזער דער דוא בישט אין דען הימל :

*your to us come name your be hallowed*

*dein uns komme zu Nahmen dein werde geheiligt*

גייהיליגט ווערדי דיין נאמן . צו קאמי אונז דיין

*also so heaven in as let happen will your kingdom*

*auch also Himmel im wie geschehe Will dein Reich*

רייך . דיין וויל גישעהי וויא אים הימל אלזא אויך

*today us give bread daily our earth on*

*heüt uns gieb Brod tägliches unser Erden auff*

אויף ערדן . אונזער טעגליכז ברוד גיב אונז היינט .

*we also as debt our us forgive and*

*wir auch als Schuld unsere uns vergieb und*

אונז פֵר גיב אונז אונזרי שולד אלז אויך וויר

*us lead and debtors our forgive*

*uns führe und Schuldigern unsern vergeben*

// פֵר געבין אונזרן שולדיגירן . אונז פֵיהרי אונז

*the from us deliver but temptation into not*

*den von uns erlöse sondern Versuchung in nicht*

ניכט אין פֵר זוכונג . זאנדרן ער לעזי אונז פֵון דען

*amen evil*

*Amen Ubel*

איבל אמן .

Exercitii exemplum II . esto ex Judæorum Germanico חומש Chomesch, seu Pentatevcho פרישה Parafcha יתרו Jifro Exod. 20. v. 11<sup>2</sup>

daß Gemora (c) der in darfchen (b) chachomim (a) Die  
דיא חכמים דרשן אין דער גמרא דז

der daß gebenscht (e) Schabas (d) den hat Herr der Gott  
גאט דער הער האט דען שבת גבענשט דז דער

min (g) nefchoma (f) übrige ein Schabas an Mensch  
מענש אן שבת איין איבריגה נשמה מין

der wen drum un (i) hat Wochen der in as (h)  
אז אין דער וואכין האט אונ' דרום ווען דער

über brocho (k) mir machen da / gehet aus Schabas  
שבת אויז גיט דא מאכין מיר ברכה איבר

gangen aweck (m) is nefchoma ein weil der befomim (l)  
בשמים דער ווייל איין נשמה איז אוועק גנגין

(a) Das ist: die Weifen / oder Gelehrte. (b) legen aus. (c) Talmud. (d) Samstag.  
(e) gefeegnet. (f) Seel. (g) mehr. (h) als. (i) und. (k) den Seegen. (l) das Gewürtz.  
(m) hinweck.

Plura dabunt continuatæ exercitationes et, ut sæpe dixi, omnia clariora, tum in  
libris Hebraicis, tum Germanicis efficiet optimus Magister USUS.

FINIS.

<sup>2</sup> Actually a commentary on the biblical text.

Let the חומש *chomesch*, or Pentateuch, פרשה *parascha* 'weekly passage' יתרו *jisro*, Exodus 20:11, be an example of exercise II:

*that Gemara the in teach sages the*  
*daß Gemora (c) der in darschen (b) chachomim (a) Die*  
 דיא חכמים דרשן אין דער גמרא דז

*the so that blessed sabbath the has Lord the God*  
*der daß gebenscht (e) Schabas (d) den hat Herr der Gott*  
 גאט דער הער האט דען שבת גבענשט דז דער

*more soul extra an sabbath on human*  
*min (g) neschoma (f) übrige ein Schabas an Mensch*  
 מענש אן שבת איין איבריגה נשמה מין

*the when therefore and has week the in than*  
*der wen drum un (i) hat Wochen der in as (h)*  
 אז אין דער וואכין האט אונ' דרום ווען דער

*over blessing we make then ends sabbath*  
*über brocho (k) mir machen da / gehet aus Schabas*  
 שבת אויז גיט דא מאכין מיר ברכה איבר

*gone away is soul a because spices*  
*gangen aweck (m) is neschoma ein weil der besomim (l)*  
 בשמים דער ווייל איין נשמה איז אוועק גנגין

(a) that is: the wise ones, or scholars; (b) interpret; (c) Talmud; (d) Saturday; (e) blessed; (f) soul; (g) more; (h) as; (i) and; (k) the blessing; (l) the spice; (m) away.

Constant practice will do much, and, as I have often said, practice, the best teacher, will make everything clearer in both Hebrew and German books.

End.



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