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published in

Linguists and Their Diversions. A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on His 75th Birthday
1996

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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citation for published version (APA)

Noordegraaf, J. (1996). Dutch philologists and general linguistic theory. Anglo-Dutch relationships in the eighteenth century. In V. A. Law, & W. Hüllen (Eds.), *Linguists and Their Diversions. A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on His 75th Birthday* (pp. 211-243). (The Henry Sweet Society Studies in the History of Linguistics; No. 3). Nodus Publikationen.

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DUTCH PHILOLOGISTS AND GENERAL LINGUISTIC THEORY Anglo-Dutch relations in the eighteenth century¹

From: *Linguists and Their Diversions. A Festschrift for R.H. Robins on His 75th Birthday*. Ed. by Vivien A. Law & Werner Hüllen. Münster: Nodus Publikationen 1996, 211-243. ISBN 3-89323-453-5

1. Introduction

In the fourth volume (1787) of his celebrated *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799) came to speak of "the derivation in the Greek language", of which he had already given an account in an earlier volume of his work. As is well-known, Monboddo's theory of Greek derivations was set forth in the first dissertation appended to volume two of his work. In this dissertation of 1774, entitled "Of the formation of the Greek language", he suggested that the verbs - and consequently all the principal words of Greek - may be etymologically derived "from combination in duads of the ω with the five other vowels $\alpha, \epsilon, \iota, \omicron, \upsilon$, the ω always being last; so that $\alpha\omega, \epsilon\omega, \iota\omega, \omicron\omega, \upsilon\omega$, are the radical sounds from which the whole Greek language, various and copious as it is, may be deduced" (Monboddo 1774b: 193). If his account was "a just one", then one might conclude that the Greek language was certainly "a most wonderful system of art, derived from as few principles as I think is possible, only five duads of vowels" (Monboddo 1787: 54).

As it appears, Monboddo was all the more convinced that he was right, because - as he had discovered - "Hempsterhusius, the greatest Greek scholar of his time, and likewise learned in the Oriental languages, formed the same system, which he never published". Instead of quarrelling over the priority of the discovery of the system Monboddo dealt with this matter in a fairly laconical manner:

Now, I must say, that I think that it is much more probable that we are both in the right, than that we have both erred the same error. But, should the reader think otherwise, he must allow it to be a most curious literary anecdote, that two persons, entirely unknown to one another, should have coincided so perfectly, not in one particular thing, but in a whole system of science (Monboddo 1787: 54-55).

Monboddo had come across "the system of Hempsterhusius", i.e. the noted Dutch classical scholar Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766), when studying a book by "a scholar of his, one Lennep", who had published it "about five years after my work was published", i.e. in 1779. In a footnote Monboddo provided some information about van Lennep: "He is Professor of Eloquence and Greek in the University of Groningen; and his book is entitled, *Analogia Linguae Graecae*, printed at Utrecht, in 1779". From these data it can be concluded that

¹ With special thanks to Anthonia Feitsma, professor emeritus of Frisian at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, for her continuous commitment to the Hemsterhusian cause. Berry Dongelmans (Leiden), Ineke Sluiter (Amsterdam), Ton van Strien (Utrecht), Helmut Weiß (Regensburg) helped me most *collegialiter* to solve various problems I was faced with when writing this paper. Quotations in Dutch have been translated into English.

Monboddo's attention had been drawn to Johannes Daniel van Lennep's (1724-1771) *In Analogiam Linguae Graecae, cui Praemissa eiusdem Viri Docti Oratio de Linguarum Analogia*, an edition of which was published at "Ultrajecti ad Rhenum" in the year 1779. As it happens, the printing history of van Lennep's book is a somewhat complicated affair. I will address this question further on.

At the time, the similarity of both systems had not remained unnoticed. For instance, as early as 1781, when editing Richard Dawes's *Miscellanea Critica*, Thomas Burgess (1756-1837), the classical scholar from Oxford who was later to become bishop of Salisbury, referred to "Lennepii librum (...) nuper editum de Analogia linguae Graecae" and the latter's view that "omnia verba ex originibus profecta fuisse, quae binis vel tribus literis constarent (...). Quod vidit Hemsterhusius, idem reperit ex nostratibus vir honoratissimus, consultissimus, eruditissimus, Jacobus Burnett, Dominus de Monboddo: qui nuper de ea re sententiam suam exposuit", viz. in the second volume (1774) of his *Origin and Progress of Language* (Burgess 1781: xxxix-xl). With regard to van Lennep's observations, Burgess (1781: 371) remarked that the "Dictata Lennepiana" should be better known, as they deserved - "ut notiora fiant, cum digna sint". There must have been a mutual Anglo-Dutch appreciation, for in 1787, when Burgess travelled on the continent and met leading Grecists such as Ruhnkenius and Wytttenbach, he seems to have made a favourable impression on these Dutch scholars (Sandys 1908,II: 431; Clarke 1945: 82).

To be sure, Johannes Daniel van Lennep was not the only eighteenth-century Dutch classical scholar who was a disciple of the renowned Dutch Grecist, Tiberius Hemsterhuis. Thus, it has become common practice to speak of the 'Schola Hemsterhusiana', a term which was coined around 1790 by Everardus Scheidius (1742-1794), another Hemsterhusian. Feitsma (1994b, 1996) published extensively on the Schola, mainly with consideration of Frisian linguistic scholarship in the nineteenth century, and in a recent paper I discussed, albeit rather broadly, some general aspects of this school (Noordegraaf 1995). On this special occasion I should like, as a complement to that paper, to focus on some of the relationships that existed between the Schola Hemsterhusiana and the Anglo-Saxon world of learning. First, I will give some information on the most prominent members of the Schola and their publications. Secondly, I will put some Hemsterhusian and other works in the light of the British connection, discussing also some crucial aspects of the eighteenth-century scientific climate. Finally, attention will be paid to the relationship which is claimed to exist between the Schola and nineteenth-century comparative historical linguistics.

2. The Schola Hemsterhusiana and its linguistic writings

2.0. Preliminary remarks

The eighteenth-century Schola Hemsterhusiana, a group of Dutch classical scholars, gained its reputation by its etymological method of investigating language based on principles of reconstruction.² In the linguistic theory of the Schola, 'analogia' played an important role. The Swiss Daniel Wytttenbach (1746-1820), who held professorships in Amsterdam (1771-1799)

² For details see Dam 1935, Gerretzen 1940, Verburg 1952: 427-434. The orientation in Gerretzen's important study on the Schola, a Nijmegen doctoral dissertation, is primarily textual, 'philological' in the continental sense of the word.

and Leiden (1799-1816), saw analogy as an "invention of the gods", so he wrote to the German scholar August Matthiae³ - "Nam analogia, ut eam post Scaligerum et Salmasium informavit Hemsterhusius, est illa quidem quasi inventum deorum, plurimumque verborum et origini, et significationi, et formationi, lucis adfert" (cf. Otterspeer 1992: 213). As Feitsma (1996: 19) rightly argues, "the central concept in the linguistic theory of the Schola Hemsterhusiana is 'analogia'".⁴ This term is best translated by "regularity", however, it is important to note that its application in the Schola did not only include congruence in inflection of similar words, being raised to a "sprachbildendes Prinzip" (cf. Verburg 1952: 428) which was active in morphology, diachronic semantics and syntax. Thus, to Hemsterhuis it came to mean "the creative quality of the human mind by which it produces the means of expressing its thoughts" (Gerretzen 1940: 131).

The Schola's linguistic work can further be characterized by its emphasis on Greek etymology. It is this part of its work in particular that has been exposed to harsh criticism by later contemplators. Having given a concise summary of the main ideas of the Dutch school in his influential *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland*, Theodor Benfey (1809-1881), for instance, curtly concluded: "[...] es wäre Papierverderb, wenn wir diesen Unsinn weiter verfolgen wollten" (Benfey 1869: 258). And as late as 1884, August Friedrich Pott (1802-1887) remarked that the achievements of the "holländischen Schule [...] uns heute nur ein mitleidsvolles Lächeln entlocken" (Pott 1974: 248). Evidently trusting in Benfey's partisan account, Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) ventured to devote a footnote to the Schola Hemsterhusiana when taking to task Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) for his "purely speculative 'etymology'":

How widespread this naïve conception of the meaning and purpose of 'etymology' remained even among the philologists of the eighteenth century is shown, for example, by the reconstruction of the original language undertaken by Hemsterhuis and Ruhnken of the celebrated Dutch school of philologists (Cassirer 1973 [1923]: 149 n.55).

I think one should be somewhat sceptical of the philosopher's verdict. Had Benfey been acquainted with the contents of Hemsterhuis's sole theoretical essay in this field, his undated⁵ 'lectio publica' *De Originibus Linguae Graecae*, published in 1845, Cassirer's appreciation - and that of others - would have been different indeed (Dam 1935: 135).

2.1. *Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685-1766)*

As early as 1704, the gifted Hemsterhuis (cf. Sandys 1908,II: 447-453) was appointed Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre. The young scholar had not yet obtained an academic degree, so, in accordance with a long-standing practice, he was promoted "philosophiae doctor et artium liberalium magister [...] honoris

³ After leaving the University of Göttingen Matthiae (or Matthiesen, 1769-1835) had spent four years as a private tutor at Amsterdam (Sandys 1908,III: 75).

⁴ "It indicated regularity in inflection and congruence in similar forms: in short, 'analogia' refers to the conception of language as a regular system" (Feitsma 1996: 19).

⁵ Note, however, that according to the *series* Hemsterhuis discussed *Origines linguae graecae* for two hours a week throughout the years of his Leiden professorship (1740-1765). Cf. Hulshoff Pol 1953: 48.

gratia" by the University of Harderwijk on 26 January 1705 (Schutte 1980: 97). It is believed (Jongeneelen 1992: 203-204, de Bonth & Dibbets 1995: 115) that he participated in an early eighteenth-century 'Amsterdam linguistic circle', where discussions were held between, among others, the corn merchant Lambert ten Kate (1674-1731), who discovered the *Ablaut* long before Jacob Grimm, and ten Kate's teacher, Adriaan Verwer (1654-1717), the author of a Latin-written grammar of Dutch, *Idea linguae belgicae* (1707, 1783²).⁶ In 1717, Hemsterhuis left Amsterdam for the University of Franeker, where he had accepted the Greek chair. From 1740 to 1765 he was Professor of Greek at Leiden.⁷

Around 1703, Hemsterhuis, who was a student of theology at Leiden, was requested to finish an edition of Pollux's *Onomasticon*, and when doing so asked the advice of the distinguished English scholar Richard Bentley (1662-1742). Bentley's vigorous letters from 1705 and 1708 concerning questions of textual criticism, and in particular, the fact that according to the English "prince of critics" Hemsterhuis had not shown sufficient knowledge of metre, caused a brief but intense crisis. Johann Gottfried Herder (1978: 187-188) summarized this episode as follows:

Als Tiberius Hemsterhuis, dessen Namen Jeder mit Hochachtung nennet [...] in jüngeren Jahren sich seiner allgemein-geschätzten Ausgabe des *Julius Pollux* unterzog, und über das, was er als Probe leistete [...] viel Lob empfing, bekam er auch einen Brief von *Bentlei*, der ihn nicht nur lobte, sondern ihm auch eigne Verbesserungen mehrerer von Pollux angeführter Griechischer Komiker mittheilte. Hemsterhuis, sie mit seiner Arbeit vergleichend, fand diese so tief unter jenen, daß er, mißvergnugt mit sich selbst, das Studium griechischer Kritik ganz aufgeben im Begriff war, und Monate lang kein griechisches Buch berührte (cf. Sandys 1908,II: 449).

According to some scholars, Bentley's letters had a decisive influence on the young Hemsterhuis. Gerretzen (1940: 'stelling' 3), however, underplays the importance of the whole affair, curtly claiming that no direct influence can be shown at all. After all, to Hemsterhuis metrics has always remained a matter of minor importance.

Although it is true that Hemsterhuis, "vir dignissimus" (Herder), did not publish very much, his teachings played an important part in the revival of Greek learning in the Netherlands during the eighteenth century. Both Hemsterhuis and his student, Valckenaer, propounded and applied the principles of their etymological method in their lectures, but for fear of incorrect application by others, did not allow them to be printed. Hemsterhuis's only theoretical treatise to come down to us, the undated "Lectio publica De originibus Linguae Graecae", was

⁶ According to Gerretzen (1940: 148) Hemsterhuis was rather familiar with ten Kate's work. In the *Pars bibliothecae Hemsterhusianae sive Catalogus librorum [...] quos collegit & reliquit Franciscus Hemsterhuis* (The Hague 1791) one finds ten Kate's main work of 1723, the *Aenleiding tot de Kennisse van het Verhevene Deel der Nederduitsche Sprake* ('Introduction to the Elevated Portion of the Low German Language'), on p. 73. It is possible that this copy belonged to Franciscus's father. Tiberius's manuscripts and the other part of the library were donated to the Leiden University Library. Frans Hemsterhuis (1721-1790) was the famous philosopher who had a "mariage de amitié" with princess Adelheid Amalia Gallitzin.

⁷ Note that the portrait printed in Sandys (II: 448) does not represent Hemsterhuis (Gerretzen 1940: 78).

published by the Frisian scholar Joast Hiddes Halbertsma (1789-1869) in 1845. In the appendix containing his own commentary, Halbertsma told his readers that he had received the manuscript from an old Frisian theologian, who had excerpted it himself "ex ore Hemsterhusii". Note, however, that Halbertsma had simply bought the manuscript at an auction in 1828, as Feitsma (1994a) found out.⁸ A close analysis of this *Lectio* yields a clear insight into Hemsterhuis's concept of analogy, showing that Hemsterhuis was the first to introduce a methodical system to the etymology of the Greek language in its entirety (Gerretzen 1940: 372). It is striking to see that Hemsterhuis's *Lectio* has almost completely been overlooked in linguistic historiography. See, however, Dam 1935, and, more recently, Feitsma 1994b, 1996.

2.2. Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715-1785)

It was L. C. Valckenaer who became the leader of the Schola after Hemsterhuis's demise. Having studied in Franeker under Hemsterhuis, and in Leiden under the distinguished Hebrew scholar, Albert Schultens (1686-1750), Valckenaer was appointed *professor linguae Graecae* at Franeker, where he became Hemsterhuis's successor. When Hemsterhuis retired in 1765, Valckenaer moved over to hold the Leiden chair. His method of language research is best explained in his *Observationes academicae, quibus via munitur ad origines graecas investigandas, lexicorumque defectus resarciendos* (78 pages), a set of lecture notes from the year 1743, edited by Scheidius. Although this demonstration of the Hemsterhusian method appeared only in 1790, it can be established that even without a published version the *studiosi philologiae* were acquainted with this approach. It was through circulating lecture notes that the methods taught by Hemsterhuis and Valckenaer were known among students and interested scholars, quite some time before they went to print (cf. Noordegraaf 1995: 143; 1996).

Valckenaer's *Observationes academicae* were also included in his two-volume *Opuscula philologica, critica, oratoria* (Leipzig, 1808-09). In the "Praefatio", the editor of the *Opuscula* gave a rather curious comment on the 'observationes'. According to him, in the days when he wrote his "observations" Valckenaer was

adhuc iuvenis, ut non tam illud mirandum sit, commenta, quae protulit, non esse Valckenario viro digna, quam, fieri potuisse, ut quae revera sunt somnia febricantis, a plurimis iisque doctissimis hominibus oraculorum instar haberentur. Ipse provecior aetate numquam in talia relapsus est (cf. Valckenaer 1808:iv).

('Valckenaer was still a youngster, no wonder that the notes which he produced were not worthy of the man Valckenaer as they could have been and that which truly were the dreams of a fever-patient, were held as oracles by the majority and these most learned men. At a mature age, he never lapsed into such things')

⁸ Item 1012 at the auction of the *Bibliotheca Wassenberghiana* in 1828 was the "Lectio Publica Tib. Hemsterhusii de Originibus L. Graecae". The name of its buyer, J.H. Halbertsma, is written in the margin of one of the copies of the auction catalogue present at the Provincial Library of Friesland in Leeuwarden. Everwinus Wassenbergh (1742-1826), Professor of Greek and Dutch language at the University of Franeker, was a member of the Schola.

As this preface was signed with "E.", it has been suggested (Boeles 1879-89:II, 470) that it was Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827), the rationalist theologian and Orientalist from Göttingen, who so evidently sought to dissociate himself from the contents of the *Observationes*. However, it was the Leipzig scholar Gottfried Heinrich Schäfer (1764-1840) who edited Valckenaer's book in the early nineteenth century.⁹ 'E' here means just 'editor'. Schäfer, "a man of wide learning" and later to become "the librarian of Leipzig" (Sandys 1908,III: 102), was a student of the German classical scholar Gottfried Hermann (1772-1848), who, in his *De emendanda ratione graecae grammatica* (1801), had taken to task van Lennep and Scheidius for having "perverted" Hemsterhuis's concept of analogy (Curtius 1879: 11; Gerretzen 1940: 115). Schäfer's suggestion that Valckenaer had distanced himself from his "observations" at a more mature age, has never been substantiated by later research, and I can add that Schäfer's contention immediately met with a furious denial by Valckenaer's student, Everwinus Wassenbergh (1808: 45; also 1815-1817,I: xii-xiii, cf. Feitsma 1994b: 77-78).

What does seem to be true is that in his later years Valckenaer suffered from what at the time was euphemistically called "bursts of agitation". For example, it was reported that one night the elderly Valckenaer was found arguing from an open window with two Leiden night watchmen, whom he had called upon, forcefully insisting that they should learn Greek and announce the time to the citizens in that very language (Kalma 1968: 147).

2.3. Johannes Daniel van Lennep (1724-1771)

Van Lennep studied in Franeker under Valckenaer, and in Leiden under Hemsterhuis. In 1752, he was appointed Professor of Greek and Latin at Groningen University. Fifteen years later, he left Groningen for Franeker, his alma mater, but due to his deteriorated health he was forced to take early retirement in 1770. He died soon afterwards in Germany in tragic circumstances. In 1790, a set of his lecture notes, probably dating from 1762-1766, appeared in print. They were edited by van Lennep's former student Scheidius under the title *De Analogia linguae Graecae sive rationum analogicarum linguae Graecae expositio* (214 pages), in one volume including Valckenaer's *Observationes*. One may consider this book as the 'editio vulgata' of the lectures of both Hemsterhusian scholars.

However, as I pointed out earlier, Monboddo appears to have consulted a quite different edition of van Lennep's *dictata*, for the edition lying on his desk had been published at Utrecht in 1779 "apud G.T. van Paddenburg", and in one volume with a reprint of van Lennep's 1752 Groningen inaugural oration *De Linguarum Analogia Ex Analogicis Mentis Actionibus Probata*. It is this book, *In Analogiam Linguae Graecae* (xlii + 319 pp.), that generally has been left out of consideration in the literature, even by a specialist such as Gerretzen.

It should be noted that another issue of this book exists, probably dating from around the same time. This issue seems to have been a truly European enterprise, the title page bearing the names of no fewer than nine publishing houses, namely in London, Paris, Bruxelles, Lyon, Leiden, Utrecht, Leipzig, Bern, and Wezel. Unfortunately, no date of publication is given. The German Christophor Saxe (Saxius, 1714-1806), *grammaticus novercae fortunae*, and Professor at Utrecht University from 1753, described van Lennep's *In Analogiam* as having

⁹ Cf. *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexicon* ed. by Christian Gottlob Kayser. Vol. 6. Leipzig: Schumann, 1836, p. 35. On Schäfer cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 33. Leipzig: Schumann, 1890, pp. 524-525.

been published "sine anno & loco. (Traiecti ad Rhen. 1778)".¹⁰

Complaining about the corruptions that van Lennep's lecture notes, circulating all over Europe, were to undergo in the hands of incompetent students, Scheidius remarked in 1790: "Testis esto editio optimi hujus libelli prima, quae, sub falso *Londini* nomine, una cum praefatiuncula Britannum editorem simulante, foedissimis mendis commaculata fuit" (Scheidius 1790: *5r).¹¹ Likewise, it appeared to Wytttenbach (1779: 123) that *In Analogiam Linguae Graecae* had been written down "ab homine minime Latine, nedum Graece, docto: quod patet ex copia errorum vitiorumque scriptionis". But whoever may have edited this book so "vitosissime", Wytttenbach did not mention his name: "nescio quis", a certain person (Wytttenbach 1790: 128). As a matter of fact, the preface begins with the phrase "Lectori graecae linguae studioso S[alutem]. D[icunt]. editores". "Editores" - another attempt at creating a mystery?

As the type in both the Utrecht and the London edition is identical, it must be assumed that we are concerned here with issues, not with independent editions. Assuming that the book was indeed printed at Utrecht, the scenario might have been the following. The Utrecht publisher, Gijsbert T. van Paddenburg, who evidently had good contacts with a number of his European confrères, appears to have destined part of the van Lennep edition for the European market, taking care of the printing of the copies to be sold by his 'commissionaires' abroad. The only thing van Paddenburg needed to do in order to produce the 1779 Utrecht 'edition' was to print another title page. For it can safely be assumed that the London 'edition' dates from 1778: it was in June 1778 that one of van Paddenburg's confrères and co-publishers, the Leiden publisher Le Maire, supplied his Leiden colleague Luchtman with copies of van Lennep's book.¹²

The intriguing question as to whether there has ever been a "Brittanus editor" who wrote such poor Latin, and if in the year 1778 copies "sine loco & anno" were also circulating, as an insider such as Saxe seems to suggest, I will gladly leave to specialists in the field of book history. Note that the issues from the late 1770s have an *encore* by comparison with the 1790 edition, which was entitled "Analogiae Systema ad Canones redactum", and turns out to include a convenient summary of van Lennep's views on analogy in twenty-six brief sections.¹³

¹⁰ Cf. volume seven of Saxe's voluminous *Onomasticum Literarium, sive Nomenclator historico-criticus* [...], Traiecti ad Rhenum: Paddenburg a.o., 1790, 117-118. In the *Bibliotheca Saxiana, h.e. catalogus librorum* [...] quibus usus est [...] *Christophorus Saxis* (Traiecti ad Rhenum: B. Wild & L. Altheer, 1806), Saxe's copy of van Lennep's *De Linguarum Analogia* is mentioned on p. 304 as "Trai. ad Rhenum, sine anno (1778)". I would like to add that in his review of van Lennep's work in the *Bibliotheca Critica* of 1779, Wytttenbach did not mention any place or year of publication, whereas he did mention such data both in other reviews in the same issue, and later in his review of Scheidius's 1790 edition. In that review he referred to the previous edition of van Lennep's booklet on analogy as having been published "ante hos duodecim annos" (Wytttenbach 1790: 128). In the *Bibliotheca Wytttenbachiana, sive Catalogus Librorum* [...] quibus usus est [...] *Daniel Wytttenbach* (Leiden: Haak & Socios/H.W. Hazenberg, Jr., 1832), Wytttenbach's copy of van Lennep's *In Analogiam* is mentioned on p. 124 as "Lond. s.l.a. cum annot. mss. D. Wytttenbachii in fronte et fine".

¹¹ In Scheidius's auction catalogue, the London edition is mentioned on page 64 as number 368. I found no copy of the edition Utrecht 1779 in this catalogue.

¹² I owe this information to my former colleague Dr Berry Dongelmans (now Leiden University).

¹³ Note that there are more differences between the editions of 1778/1779 and the edition 1790. This subject awaits further investigation.

Thus, in addition to the *dictata* circulating through Europe, van Lennep's views could be studied from the late 1770s on, thanks to the printed *In Analogiam Linguae Graecae*.

2.4. Everardus Scheidius (1742-1794)

Scheidius, born in Arnhem, but of German descent, studied theology in Groningen, where van Lennep was one of his teachers. In 1763 he enrolled at Leiden University. Two years later, he was appointed Professor of Oriental languages at the University of Harderwijk. Like the great Arabic scholar Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624) in Leiden, he had his own printing house in the years 1768-1786 (Wittop Koning 1985: 27). In 1793, Scheidius, "the erudite scholar", as Sir William Jones once called him (Cannon 1970: 168), moved on to Leiden to succeed Hendrik Albert Schultens (1749-1793). He died in 1794, seriously overworked.

Scheidius, who is usually regarded as just an epigone of the Schola Hemsterhusiana, was an Oriental and Greek scholar in his own right (cf. Nat 1929: 83-88). As a student he was among the founding fathers of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, the Leiden Society for Dutch Language and Literature, which still exists. He republished Jacob Perizonius's (1651-1715) edition of Sanctius's (1523-1600) *Minerva*; this edition appeared twice, in 1795 and in 1809. Furthermore, the year 1784 saw the publication of an adapted version of the *Rudimenta Linguae Graecae*, a book written by his Harderwijk predecessor Johann Christoph Struchtmeyer (1698-1764), which Scheidius "ad systema analogiae a Tiberio Hemsterhusio primum inventae effinxit et passim emendavit". Around 1793, Scheidius was commissioned by the Leiden Maatschappij to write a Dutch Dictionary and a Dutch grammar, a project that was never completed due to his untimely death (Bouman 1844-1847,II: 324 sqq.; Noordegraaf 1996: 41-43).

It is clear that Scheidius was an ardent advocate of "the etymological and analogical system of the great Hemsterhuis" (Bouman 1844-1847,II: 324). In 1790, he found the Utrecht publishing house van Paddenburg willing to publish an edition of the lecture notes of both Valckenaer and van Lennep in one volume (the first editions of van Lennep's work were obviously out of print). Scheidius seized the opportunity to include some three hundred pages of his own somewhat speculative 'animadversiones' on van Lennep's works, which may have been indeed the ultimate motive to edit these *dictata*, as Gerretzen (1940: 322) sourly remarked. Be this as it may, I believe that Scheidius also sought to render a sincere service to the memory of the scholar he once called his "aeternum mihi venerandus praeceptor". And we know from Saussure's *Cours* what impact posthumous writings may have.

Like his father before him, Otto Johannes van Paddenburg, who had inherited the publishing company in 1784, called in a number of *commissionaires* abroad. Thus, the title page has the names of various European cities where the book was to be obtained: not only Utrecht, but also London, Oxford, Paris, Leipzig, and Venice. During the turbulent Napoleonic era, a second edition appeared only at Utrecht in 1805, which now also included two orations by van Lennep. In its preface, van Paddenburg noted that the book had been better received "quam hodie solent libri Latine scripti" (Gerretzen 1940: 322 n.3).

The year 1790 also saw Scheidius's edition of van Lennep's *Etymologicum Linguae Graecae sive Observationes ad singulas verborum nominumque stirpes*, a two-volume work, some 1300 pages in full, beautifully printed in Harderwijk at the printing house of Everardus Tijhoff, and published by van Paddenburg *filis*. So, once more, the title page was adorned with the names of seven European cities and publishing houses. A second, enlarged edition appeared at Utrecht in 1808, examined and prefaced by Ruhnkenius's student, Carel Ferdinand

Nagel (1763-1825), the headmaster of a 'Latin School'. This edition is

insofern merkwürdig, als wir daraus sehen, wie nicht so gar lange nach dem Hervortreten der mit grossen Worten angekündigten neuen Wissenschaft in Holland selbst Zweifel darüber aufkamen. Denn Nagel's Anmerkungen zu Scheide's Prolegomenis folgen diesen wie hinkende Diener, indem sie meist das im Texte aufgestellte zu widerlegen suchen (Curtius 1879: 9).

Notwithstanding these doubts, the last edition I am aware of was published in 1820. In London - where else ?

2.5. *A few comments*

With regard to the Hemsterhusian doctrines it is clear that around 1800 the views propounded by van Lennep and Scheidius were best known. Small wonder that Bopp's biographer, Salomon Lefmann (1831-1912), talked about the "schola Lennepio- Scheidiana" (Lefmann 1891-1897, Nachtrag: iv).

There are at least two factors that favoured the spread of Hemsterhusian ideas, in particular in the last decade of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. The fact that the Schola published in Latin played a major part, for, consequently, its writings could be read all over Europe. This is all the more apparent when one considers the late appreciation which in other countries fell to ten Kate's works, which were written in Dutch. His books remained generally unknown in the international literature for a long time. As my former colleague, the late Jan Knol (1937-1991), once remarked: Had ten Kate written in the official language of the contemporary scientific community, he would have helped forward Germanic language study by leaps and bounds. Now his voice has not been heard (Knol 1977: 105).¹⁴

In the process of distribution of linguistic knowledge the role of the network of European publishing houses seems to be of importance. It would be interesting to know, for instance, how many copies van Paddenburg sent to his confrères Fletcher and Cooke in Oxford, and to Elmsley in London. Peter Elmsley (or Elsmly, 1736-1802), who was a relation of Sir William Jones (cf. Cannon 1970), did much in foreign bookselling business (cf. *DNB* 6, 728) - one would wish to have more information about his Dutch book trading relations.

3. On Anglo-Dutch connections

3.1. *Some linguistic contacts*

As it appears, the English language was not an appropriate vehicle for exchanging scholarly knowledge on the Continent in the eighteenth century. At any rate, Richard Bentley's *Dissertation upon the epistles of Phalaris* and other essays, written in English in the years 1697-1699, "remained long inaccessible except to natives of this country, and the few continental scholars who understood the English language", his biographer Monk noted. It was a situation regretted by Tiberius Hemsterhuis (Boeles 1879-89,II: 567), and he urged van

¹⁴ Be this as it may, the Scotsman James Boswell (1740-1795), on arriving in Utrecht in the 1760s, "was struck by the originality of Ten Kate's work" (Israel 1995: 1045).

Lennepe, who according to Valckenaer was "Anglicae quoque Linguae callentissimus", to translate Bentley's writings into Latin, being of the opinion that the language in which they had been written was a serious impediment to making them as accessible as they deserved to be. So it was van Lennepe who "omnia ex Anglico in Latinum sermonem convertit". The Latin translation, edited by Valckenaer, appeared in Groningen in 1777. "Nor was it till after nearly eighty years, when a Latin version of the Dissertation made by Lennepe, was published along with his edition of Phalaris, that foreigners became possessed of this literary treasure", as Monk put it (*Life of Bentley*, quoted after Gerretzen 1940: 320). The year 1823 saw a Leipzig reprint edited by G.H. Schäfer.

As Stankiewicz (1974: 169) has already pointed out, in Monboddo's *Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-1792) various of the author's "discoveries" were not new, but "had been advanced before him by the Dutch Graecists". Apparently, Monboddo himself realised that at least some of his ideas had been propounded some decades previously in Hemsterhuis's university lectures. It was a fact that he simply accepted; at any rate he seems not to have worried about it very much.

However, in the case of John Horne Tooke's (1736-1812) *Epea Pteroenta, or The Diversions of Purley* (1786) things are more complicated. It has been argued by Samuel Coleridge (1772-1834) that "[a]ll that is true in his [*sc.* Tooke's] book is taken from Lennepe, who gave it so much as it was worth, and pretended not to make a system of it" (7 May 1830; Coleridge 1990: 118). Aarsleff (1967: 61) deems this view to be "hardly correct", arguing that "the main statement of van Lennepe's doctrine" was published only in 1790 by Scheidius. But as we now know, van Lennepe's book on 'analogia' was for sale at Elmsley's in London as early as 1778.

Aarsleff (1967: 61-62 n.37) notes that a similar point had been raised in an earlier critique of the first edition of the *Diversions*, viz. in Cassander's *Criticisms on the Diversions of Purley*, a booklet written in 1787 and published in 1790. Cassander was the pseudonym of the Dutchman Johannes Bruckner (1726-1804), who had been born in the village of Cadzand in Zeeland, one of the provinces of the Dutch Republic. In this connection it is interesting to know that according to the Franeker *Album Studiosorum* he enrolled as Jean Bruckner on 1 November 1742, van Lennepe having been enrolled on 12 September 1742 (Fockema Andreae & Meijer 1968: 341). In Franeker, Bruckner studied theology, Valckenaer being one of his teachers. He appears to have moved on to Leiden where he obtained a pastorate and where he associated with scholars such as Tiberius Hemsterhuis and Albert Schultens. A gifted linguist - it is said that he could deliver a sermon in Dutch, Latin, French, or English -, Bruckner became the much-esteemed minister of the Walloon or French Church at Norwich in 1753, later also of the local Dutch Church, being the last regular minister of either church.

Having Coleridge's statement at the back of my mind I was surprised to find out that in his *Criticisms* Bruckner did not refer at all to his former Franeker fellow-student van Lennepe; their common master Valckenaer was mentioned only once (Bruckner 1790: 24). Significantly, he showed himself well-acquainted with the writings of the "very learned [Albert] Schultens" who "endeavours every where to banish from the theory of languages all notions of mystery, all kinds of anomalies [...]" (Cassander 1790: 16-17). Using material from Dutch¹⁵ and Frisian

¹⁵ Just one salient example: *Betaal* (the imperative of *betalen*, to pay) "is a very common word among the Dutch; it is generally the first word one hears when one lands any where in their country [...]" (Bruckner 1790: 67).

he revealed a number of mistakes in Tooke, who had been "meddling" with words he did not really know - "let me prevail upon you not to be too free with the Dutch", was Bruckner's advice (1790: 74).

A major thrust of Bruckner's attack, however, lies in the denial of the originality of Tooke's thesis concerning prepositions and conjunctions. Bruckner, steeped in Hemsterhusian and Schultensian doctrines, did not hesitate to put it in plain words:

Professor Schultens was the first philologist who suspected prepositions, conjunctions, particles in general to be no more than nouns and verbs, and refused therefore to make separate classes of them, among those that comprehend the parts of speech. But he confined himself in the application of this truth to the learned languages. *You are the first who applied it to those which are called modern*. It would be wrong not to acknowledge, that in this you have rendered the literary world an important service. For though you have not been allowed to proceed far in this career without frequent mistakes, yet your progress through it has been sufficiently marked with success to put others upon making some further discoveries (Bruckner 1790: 78-79; emphasis added).

It is clear that Tooke was not amused; at any rate, he was not ready to accept Bruckner's conclusion. As he saw it, Bruckner's essay contained many a "willful falsehood". Quoting extensively from Schultens's work Tooke, "a natural rebel" (Robins 1969: 155), sought to invalidate Bruckner's interpretation of Schultens's work (Tooke 1840: 82 sqq., 129 sqq.). Although Aarsleff (1967: 61 n.37) concedes that Tooke might well have been influenced by Schultens, he emphasizes "that the differences are too many to involve simple influence". Without going further into the matter he referred to another author, James Bonar, who maintained that as far as Tooke's derivation of the particles was concerned, Tooke was "not the first who struck into that path, similar views having previously been entertained, though probably unknown to him, by the Dutch etymologists Schultens, Hemsterhuis, and Lennep" (Aarsleff 1967: 62 n.37). Was Schultens, then, really that obscure in England at the time? I will come back to this point in section four.

In this connection I would also like to point to the erstwhile assistant and ardent supporter of the distinguished Leiden Hebraist, the clergyman and linguist Jan Willem Kals (1702-1781). He was a rather tragic personality, who published, amongst other things, a *Korte Schets van de onderwyzyng der gronden in de Hebreesche Letter-Kunst; Waerdoor de weg gebaent word; om derzelve Regelmatigheit te herstellen* (1750), seeking to promote Schultens's principles in the study of language (cf. Nat 1929: 57-59; van der Linde 1978). Kals's book is a Dutch compendium of Schultens's Latin-written works on Hebrew,¹⁶ and compares the Hebrew language with its "sister tongues". Being shipwrecked on his way to England Kals lost the manuscript of his *Cursus radicum verborum*. Notwithstanding, it appears that Schultens's disciple spent a couple of happy years in London and Oxford (1749-1750). Unfortunately, although some two hundred British scholars had subscribed to his *Compendium institutionum ad fundamenta Hebraeae*, its publication in England could not be realized, simply because the

¹⁶ The title of Kals's grammar is for the most part a translation of Schultens's large Hebrew grammar of 1737: *Institutiones ad fundamenta Linguae Hebraeae. Quibus via panditur ad ejusdem analogiam restituendam, et vindicandam*. Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Johannem Luzac.

English printers did not have the right types to print the book.

__The Dutch Grecist Henricus Hoogeveen (1712-1791) had better luck with his *Doctrina particularum linguae Graecae* (1769), "egregium opus" (Scheidius), "das vermütlich auch zu den Anregungen für H. Tooke's etymologische Thesen zählt" (Funke 1934: 88 n.5). Hoogeveen, one of van Lennep's competitors for the Franeker chair (Boeles 1879-89,II: 565), had worked for sixteen years on his voluminous book, which opens with a list of those "qui operis hujus editionem sua subscription adjuverunt". It is interesting to see that a host of English and Scottish scholars, and a number of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were included in the 250-odd subscribers, among whom one finds Robert Lowth (1710-1787), while King George III headed the list. In his 'praefatio' Hoogeveen discussed his English connections. To what extent Hoogeveen "mit seiner Abhandlung [...] und der darin vertretenen Lehre ('particulas in sua infantia fuisse vel verba vel nomina, vel ex nominibus formata adverbia') Horne Tooke's Lehre primär beeinflusst hat, mag dahinstehen", is Funke's conclusion (1934: 108). Funke seems not to have been acquainted with the teachings of the Schola Hemsterhusiana.

3.2. Dutch science: between Descartes and Locke¹⁷

The year 1710 saw the publication of Lambert ten Kate's *Gemeenschap tussen de Gottische spraeke en de Nederduytsche* ('Affinities between the Gothic and Dutch languages'). Six years later, ten Kate published a Dutch adaptation of George Cheyne's (1671-1743) *Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion* (London 1705, 2nd ed. 1715), entitled *De Schepper en Zyn Bestier te kennen in Zyne Schepselen; Volgens het Licht der Reden en Wiskonst. Tot Opbouw van Eerbiedigen Godsdienst en Vernietiging van alle Grondslag van Atheistery* ('The Creator and His Government as manifest in His Creatures; in to the light of reason and mathematics. On behalf of the constitution of respectful religion and the destruction of every basis of atheism'). Eulogising in the preface both his compatriot Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695) and the Englishman Isaac Newton (1643-1727), ten Kate attacked the Cartesian 'mechanismus': one had indulged in a mixture of untested conjectures, "sitting in one's study and speculating", whereas nothing should be accepted but what was to be proved by clear tests and experiments". In his criticising the "harmful mechanism", which he considered to be abhorrent and dangerous, in particular for younger people, ten Kate showed himself the pious Mennonite he always has been.¹⁸

Without going into details here I should like to stress this feature in Dutch mainstream Enlightenment: it has a religious dimension that cannot be disregarded. The secular scientists of the eighteenth century promoted research 'ad maiorem Dei gloriam', and this resulted in rejection of Cartesianism. It is true that the physician Bernard Nieuwentyt (1654-1718), for instance, rejected Cartesian science because it was based on a priori reasoning, and advocated

¹⁷ This characterisation I take from de Pater's introduction to 's Gravesande 1988, p. 31-33. De Pater refers to the French philosopher Charles-Auguste Mallet (1807-1875) who considered 's Gravesande as standing midway between Descartes and Locke. Hammacher (1983: 110) makes mention of the "Synthese vom späten Cartesianismus und der Englischen Naturphilosophie der Royal Society, wie sie Willem Jacob 's Gravesande [...] vollzogen hatte".

¹⁸ I should like to point out that the linguist ten Kate was also a prolific writer on religious matters. In 1732, for instance, his *Leven van onzen Heiland Jezus Christus* ('Life of our Lord Jesus Christ') appeared, a voluminous book of some one thousand pages, presenting a harmony of the four gospels.

instead the *philosophia experimentalis* of the "famous Mr Boyle in England" (Israel 1995: 1041). Nieuwentyt, however, was also the first and greatest among the Dutch proponents of 'physico-theology', i.e. the belief that God is omnipresent in nature and society.¹⁹ He sought to promote empirical science in conjunction with a veneration for a revealed God evident in every detail of nature. This is in sharp contrast with Cartesian views: Descartes considered nature as lifeless, without a soul. Everything in nature goes according to mechanical laws in completely determined schemes. Consequently, animals have no soul, and in Port Royal they could be subjected to cruel vivisection without any qualms.²⁰ At any rate, with regard to the Dutch scientists Bots (1972: 183) concluded: "Für alle Naturwissenschaftler, auf welchem Gebiet sie auch ihre Untersuchungen verrichteten, gilt eine eindeutig positive Beziehung zum Glauben". From a religious point of view the experimental approach in scientific research was a 'correct' one.

Thus, the linguist Lambert ten Kate can be regarded as a typical exponent of eighteenth-century Dutch mainstream Enlightenment, the essence of which was "the overthrow of Cartesian deductive science and its replacement with *philosophia experimentalis*, a mania for scientific classification which spilled over beyond the realm of the natural sciences" (Israel 1995: 1045). Ten Kate himself, for instance, wrote an (unpublished) essay entitled "Experiment on the division of the colours", imitating an experiment by Newton (Peeters 1990: 153). This does not come as a surprise, for as early as the second half of the seventeenth century Dutch scientists felt attracted to experimental research. As is well-known, the experimental method resulted in an empirical approach, which was propagated in the eighteenth century by Dutch scientists such as Hermannus Boerhaave (1668-1738) - "le célèbre Boerhaave", as Voltaire called him -, Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692-1761), and Willem Jacob 's-Gravesande (1688-1742), the chief exponent of Newtonian science on the Continent in the 1720s and 1730s, who drew hundreds of foreign students to Leiden. "The rise of Boerhaave, who by the 1720s was the foremost figure of Dutch academe, marked the final overthrow of Cartesian deductive science in the United Provinces" (Israel 1995: 1044). The Dutch played an important part in spreading the Newtonian approach in Europe.²¹ Moreover, in the Netherlands the empirical method also found application in other fields of research.

This is what happened, for instance, in the case of Petrus Camper (1722-1789), well-known among linguistic historiographers because of his treatise on the speech organs of the orang-

¹⁹ This revival of natural religion in the eighteenth century did not have its basis in some more or less accidental knowledge of nature, but in laborious and systematic experimental research (cf. Bots 1972: 10). In the Netherlands physico-theology became a popular cultural trend among the bourgeoisie as a whole.

²⁰ When, for instance, Arnauld was interviewed about the vivisections in his convent, he gave the same answer Malebranche had given to Fontenelle, when the learned and pious Oratorian had deliberately kicked his dog with such force that the poor animal started whining from the pain, and Fontenelle had uttered a cry of compassion: "Eh quoi! ne savez-vous pas bien que cela ne sent pas ?" (Bots 1972: 137).

²¹ Their ideas were also known to foreign linguists. Nicolas Beauzée, for instance, agrees with 's-Gravesande's conception of the judgment quoting the latter's *Introductio ad philosophiam metaphysicam et logicam continens* (1736) in his *Grammaire générale* (1767), and James Harris quotes a medical work by Boerhaave in his *Hermes* (1751).

utan.²² Camper studied medicine and philosophy in Leiden. Later he became a professor at Franeker University. In the wake of Boerhaave and 's Gravesande, friends of his father (cf. Visser 1985), he showed himself a convinced Newtonian, introducing current empiricist views on the certainty of natural science into the study of medicine, as 'stelling' (proposition) five added to his philosophical dissertation of 1746 clearly shows: "Sensus, Testimonia & Analogiam, adhibitis legitimis cautelis, nos ad veritatem conducere, & persuasionis fundamenta esse Deus voluit". In his *Oratio inauguralis de certo in medicis* of 1758 Camper held the same position,

It is worth noting here that the concept of analogy played a crucial methodological part in the scientific approach propagated by 's Gravesande and other Dutch scientists, according to whom it resulted in *probabilitas, evidentia*. For instance, when 's Gravesande discussed the inductive method in his oration *De Evidentia* (1717), he said that although it did not provide mathematical certainty, it did provide 'moral' evidence, the firm basis of which was to be found in God's will (de Pater 1988: 41). As the so-called 'auxilia' of this evidence 's Gravesande had mentioned *Sensus, Testimonium* and *Analogia*: observation, comparison, and reasoning by analogy. "Ex analogia ergo in rebus Physicis mihi est ratiocinandum", 's Gravesande remarked in 1717 (Gerretzen 1940: 11, 256, 277; de Pater 1988: 43).²³

The year 1737 saw the publication of Schultens's Hebrew grammar, the *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae hebraeae*, which brought him European fame. The book was dedicated to Herman Boerhaave, who died a year later. It was his colleague and close friend Albert Schultens who held the official funeral oration, on which Samuel Johnson based his "The Life of Dr Boerhaave", published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in early 1739 (Schoneveld 1994: vii). To be sure, the relations between scientists and linguists were not only of a personal character, as will be shown.

3.3 From science to linguistics

In ten Kate's remarkable work, *Aenleiding tot de Kennisse van het Verhevene Deel der Nederduitsche Sprake* ('Introduction to the Elevated Portion of the Low German Language') of 1723 we find his frequently quoted statement that "the laws of language must be discovered and not made" (cf. ten Kate 1723,I: 13). Ten Kate was lavishly praised by nineteenth and twentieth-century Dutch linguists for this standpoint because it meant a strict adherence to empirical principles in linguistics. The background of ten Kate's views can be found in the Newtonian approach then reigning supreme in the Netherlands (cf. Peeters 1990, Jongeneelen 1992: 210).

I have already noted that the concept of analogy played an important methodological role in the approach propagated by Dutch scientists. It has been established that under the direct influence of their views the Hemsterhusians, too, interpreted analogy in this way (Gerretzen 1940: 107-111, 251-262). The term 'analogy' in their lecture notes was no longer the ancient

²² His account of "the Organs of Speech of the Orang Outang" was published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1779. According to Aarsleff (1967: 39-40 n.53) his communication was "designed to nullify Monboddos argument" on the same subject in *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*.

²³ Cf. Locke's views on analogy in his *Essay concerning human understanding* IV, XVI, 12 sqq. Analogy "leads us often into the discovery of truth and useful productions, which would otherwise lie concealed".

one of Alexandria, of Varro and of Vossius, for something else had been added, or rather had become mingled with it: notions derived from the methodology of the natural sciences. The concept in linguistics was no longer restricted to mutual correspondences between individual words in inflection and composition, but embraced much more (Verburg 1952: 428). Seen from a methodological point of view, analogy implies induction - there is no fundamental difference (cf. Hülzer-Vogt 1989: 202). So, just as the German philosopher A.F. Trendelenburg (1802-1872) saw "das analogische Prinzip als wissenschaftliche Methode", the Hemsterhusians applied the analogical-inductive method to the Greek language. This becomes clear when reading Valckenaer's *Observationes*. For instance, in one of them he talked about the "Observationes, quas huc usque ex interiore linguarum indole, *similitudine exemplorum*, quam nos 'analogiam' vocamus, subnixi eruimus [...]" (Observatio XXI, Valckenaer 1743: 21; emphasis added. Cf. Gerretzen 1940: 277).

One of the consequences of the empirical tendency of the Hemsterhusians is that they concentrated on the study of language forms.²⁴ The Hemsterhusians did not see the sounds of a language "as an external cloak appended to its internal form" (Stankiewicz 1974: 170). In their lectures one does not find speculations on mental structures, so that it can be doubted whether they would have agreed with the statement "[q]ue la connaissance de ce qui se passe dans notre esprit, est nécessaire pour comprendre les fondemens de la Grammaire", which the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* presented to its readers, and which was so clearly rejected by ten Kate.²⁵

At the methodological level, analogy implied 'induction'. But, as it has been emphasized earlier in this paper, at the level of linguistic theory 'analogia' referred to the conception of language as a regular system: thanks to analogy, all elements of language were interconnected (Stankiewicz 1974: 170). I think we have to do here with an aspect of what Droihe (1971) once aptly called "l'orientation structurale de la linguistique au XVIIIe siècle".

3.4. *A few comments*

A crucial function of Dutch Enlightenment was the introduction of English ideas and culture to the Continent, where all progressive minds wanted to learn about Newton, Boyle, and Locke. It is generally acknowledged that scholars such as Boerhaave, Musschenbroek and 's Gravesande did an excellent job. Partly due to the religious climate, the general mood among

²⁴ This does not mean that semantics was excluded. Van Lennep (1790a: 24), for instance, divided analogy, like Gaul, into three parts: (1) the laws of word-formation ("vocalorum formandorum leges"); (2) how meanings have evolved and developed from primitive words ("analogia [...] docet, quibus modis a *propriis* & *corporeis* significationibus, quae verbis primitivis subjiciuntur, *metaphoricae*, per varios derivatorum flexus, & formas, profluxerint"), and (3) the rules, or principles, of speech construction ("construendae orationis leges, phrasiumque naturam exponit"). Cf. Gerretzen 1940: 323; Verburg 1952: 428-429.

²⁵ To quote just one example: "I have also observed in your words, and I approve of this, that speech is to be considered as a foster-child of reason; and a comparison of the *laws of state* and of *language* has shown me distinctly, that although the authority of reason has to be considered as their foundation, they have become a *common law* when the custom and estimable usage which constitute the law, have their roots in centuries past. From this it may be easily concluded that, when one is looking back at this moment, *the laws of language must be discovered and not be made*; thus, reason does not seem to have a legitimate claim to their authorship [...]" (ten Kate 1723,I: 13).

these Dutch scholars was anti-Cartesian. The empirical approach they propagated was transferred to other fields of scholarly research. It was Lambert ten Kate who received general recognition in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of his substantial achievements in historical linguistics. The Hemsterhusians, although drawing on the same Newtonian inspiration sources as ten Kate, were considered *quantité négligeable*, because their manner of etymologizing could not stand the test of nineteenth-century linguistic scholarship.²⁶

Parallel developments can be pointed out in linguistics as it was practised by their British contemporaries. In this connection, one might consider the part that analogy played in Monboddo's contemplations (cf. Land 1974: 97). I should like to quote two remarks on linguistics in eighteenth-century England which seem to support my view. Cohen points out that one of the major shifts in English eighteenth-century linguistics was

the confinement of words to other words [...] What the new linguist discovers by studying language is not the order or nature of things or the methods of thinking but the specific structure of a language and the status (and stature) of the society that has developed its linguistic habits in a particular manner (Cohen 1977: 99; cf. xxiv).

Land expresses as his feeling: "We saw in Monboddo's work the *first* clear isolation of linguistic form as an object of study independent of the theory of mind" (Land 1974: 102; emphasis added).

Taking these statements into account, I believe that the Schola Hemsterhusiana deserves at least some credit for having taken the same steps as their non-continental colleagues, independently, and, moreover, probably at an earlier time. The question of Hemsterhusian impact on British linguistics remains a matter for further research.

4. Dutch philology and comparative historical linguistics

4.1. Sir William Jones and his "friends at Leyden"

One of Hemsterhuis's close friends and colleagues, both in Franeker and in Leiden, was the Hebrew and Arabic scholar Albert Schultens. Droixhe gives the following characterization:

Schultens est l'homme d'une grande idée obstinée, ressassée pendant presque quarante ans: la comparaison de l'hébreu avec les autres 'dialectes' sémitiques est l'exercice le plus recommandable puisqu'il remet le premier à sa place d'idiome comme les autres. C'est déjà la thèse qu'il défend en 1704, alors qu'il est à peine âgé de dix-huit ans. [...] Le propos est développé dans ce qui restera l'oeuvre la plus célèbre de Schultens: les *Origines hebraeae* de 1724-38 (Droixhe 1978: 42).

When within the field of Semitic linguistics reference is made to the 'holländische Schule', the

²⁶ I should like to stress that neither ten Kate nor the Hemsterhusians can be regarded as empiricist scholars. They were adherents of eighteenth-century inductive, functional rationalism: reason is used for discovering and explaining the laws of language (Verburg 1952: 431-434; cf. also Peeters 1990: 155 for a concise, but clear exposition).

'Schola Schultensia' is meant, a school which had quite some reputation in the eighteenth century. A study of the mutual intellectual indebtedness between Schultens and Hemsterhuis and his school is still a desideratum, and it might yield interesting results.²⁷ This subject, however, is beyond the scope of the present article. What I should like to briefly discuss is the following.

In his *Dissertatio theologico-philologica de utilitate linguae arabicae in interpretanda sacra lingua* (1706) Schultens gave an introduction concerning the various 'dialects', the daughters of the Hebrew language such as Arabic, Aramaic etc. which differed from each other no more than the various dialects of Greek. Schultens argued that the vocabularies of these languages, in particular Arabic, could be used to unravel difficult words and passages in the Old Testament (Nat 1929: 39). In his later works, however, he claimed a sisterly relationship ("sororia affinitas") between Hebrew and Arabic. In the second volume of his *Origines Hebraeae* (1738) he showed that the Persian language was originally a European language ("ea Europeam praefert Originem"). We may see Albert Schultens as a pioneer in the field of comparative Semitic language study (Nat 1929: 48).

Now it has been claimed that Schultens's ideas on the relationships between various Semitic languages inspired Sir William Jones (1746-1794) in developing his own views: Jones's "eyes were opened to see a similar relation between the Indo-European languages" (cf. Fellman 1978: 52). I think one can hardly doubt that a scholar of Jones's stature was acquainted with Schultens's works. Moreover, he knew Schultens's grandson very well, for Hendrik Albert Schultens (1749-1793), the third member of the 'Schultens dynasty' and himself an Arabist and Orientalist of note, had studied at Oxford and Cambridge in 1772, and had held a chair at Leiden from 1779 onwards (cf. Nat 1929: 88 sqq.). While in England he met Jones, who encouraged him to study Persian and with whom he conducted a regular correspondence. In the summer of 1782, when travelling on the continent, Jones eventually managed to pay a visit to his long-time correspondent. "My time is very limited; but I shall be able to pass three or four days at Leyden", he wrote to Schultens on 25 August (Cannon 1970: 564-565). In Leiden he also met other philologists such as Scheidius and David Ruhnkenius (1723-1798), a former student of Hemsterhuis. It was some time before Jones could send his Dutch host "my warmest thanks for your hospitality and kindness to me last Autumn". Hurried "beyond description" and about to leave for India he let Schultens know on 11 April 1783:

I have received a most polite letter from professor Scheidius, and a valuable present from the learned and excellent Ruhnkenius. Will you have the goodness to thank them both in my name, and assure them, that I will write to them from India ? I will send you, from the same country, an account of all my oriental discoveries.

He added a request to present sincere compliments to "all my friends at Leyden" (Cannon 1970: 612-613). As it happened, Jones outdid his Dutch linguistic friends since one of his "oriental discoveries" in 1786 was that the "*Sanscrit* language" was even "more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*". Its effects were profound and far-reaching (Robins

²⁷ Cf. Valckenaer's statement: "Quod autem nos in lingua Graeca desideramus, id in Hebraea, multis voluminibus editis, praestare adgressus est idem vir excellentissimus Albertus Schultensius" (Valckenaer 1743: 5; cf. Gerretzen 1940: 276-277). The influence of Schultens may have been considerable, for instance with regard to idea of the priority of the verbal root, and the analogy concept.

1969: 134), outshining Hemsterhusian etymology within a couple of decades.

The question of whether Jones's thinking on the relation between the Indo-European languages could have been significantly affected by a prior Semitic model is, for various reasons, answered by Fellman in a negative way, although he is of the opinion that it may well have provided "part of the eighteenth-century preparatory groundwork for the acceptance in the nineteenth century of large-scale comparative and historical work on language and language families" (Fellman 1978: 53). This may be true, but I think that Dutch philologists contributed in another way to the rise of historical comparative linguistics.

4.2. *From classical philology to comparative historical linguistics*

Age-old classical philology had for centuries held the unchallenged position of constituting language study *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. The clash with the "homines comparativi" and their "nova Etymologiarum ars" (C.G. Cobet) was a fierce and a long one. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), himself once a professor of classical philology, described the outcome of this battle in his familiar sardonic manner:

Mit um so größerer Lust hat sich diese Schar [*sc.* der Philologen] auf die Sprachwissenschaft gestürzt: hier, in einem unendlichen Bereich frisch aufgeworfnen Ackerlandes, wo gegenwärtig noch die mäßigste Begabung mit Nutzen verbraucht werden kann und eine gewisse Nüchternheit sogar bereits als positives Talent betrachtet wird, bei der Neuheit und Unsicherheit der Methoden und der fortwährendem Gefahr phantastischer Verirrungen [...] (Nietzsche 1872: 222-223).

Without underplaying these controversies which lingered on during the nineteenth century, I feel we should also pay attention to the continuities between eighteenth-century classical scholarship and nineteenth-century comparative historical linguistics. They did indeed exist. Let me give one example.

In 1935, the classical scholar Roelf Jan Dam (1896-1945) presented an analysis of Hemsterhuis's views on language.²⁸ Dam examined, among other things, how the analogy concept of classical Antiquity had been renewed by the renowned Dutch Grecist. The title of his doctoral dissertation *De analogia. Observationes in Varronem grammaticamque Romanorum* (1930), shows that he was adequately prepared to address the analogy concept in Hemsterhuis's "Lectio publica De originibus Linguae Graecae" as it had been published by J.H. Halbertsma in 1845. I will briefly sum up Dam's findings.²⁹

Dam was of the opinion that an analysis of this oration would lead to a better understanding, and, in particular, to a fairer assessment of the Hemsterhusian approach, which should not be confused with Scheidius's *lusus pueriles*. Whereas Benfey in a typically German

²⁸ Dam had been a fellow-student of Hendrik J. Pos (1898-1955), the brilliant professor of classical philology and general linguistics at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, who in his lectures on the history of linguistics had discussed the achievements of the Schola Hemsterhusiana in 1929 (cf. Noordegraaf 1990: 157, 174). I assume that Dam's paper on the Hemsterhusian version of analogy was a spin-off of the doctoral dissertation he had been writing under Pos in the 1920s, but which he - due to a fierce argument with his 'promotor' - chose not to finish.

²⁹ Dam's paper is conspicuously absent not only in the list of references in Gerretzen 1940 and Verburg 1952, but also in Christmann 1979a, 1979b.

fashion had characterized the work of the Schola Hemsterhusiana as a "Absurdität", Dam concluded that Hemsterhuis's teachings meant an interesting renewal of the ancient analogy concept. In Hemsterhuis, the concept of analogy became more dynamic and subjective, and, consequently, analogy could also be applied to language *history*. Leaving aside Hemsterhuis's failures in some actual cases of etymologizing it should be emphasized that according to his method nothing could be brought forward that was not buttressed by some 'analogy'. As far as possible, the evidence of carefully compared language forms was called for. Capriciousness in etymology was ruled out; there is no language "quin *lege quadam certissima* regatur", Hemsterhuis argued (emphasis added). "Only seeds they were, but seeds indeed of the new historical method, which were to grow and bear fruit in the days of Romanticism", said Dam (1935: 143).

As evidence for the thesis that the connection between Hemsterhuis and Romanticism was real, Dam pointed to the works of the nineteenth-century Frisian scholar J.H. Halbertsma, whose etymological ideas went back to the Schola and who was an ardent admirer of both Hemsterhuis and Valckenaer. In a letter dated 12 June 1843 to Valckenaer's grandson, L.C. Luzac (1786-1861), Halbertsma spelled out the source of his linguistic knowledge and of his "historical view": "I may say: it was solely Ludovicus Casparus [Valckenaer]. [...] everything I have achieved and still hope to achieve" is "nothing else but the application of his principles to Germanic language study" (Kalma 1968: 139-140). It should not surprise us, then, that Feitsma (1996: 28) has ventured to conclude that "the transition between the Hemsterhusians and nineteenth-century historical linguistics seems to be very natural, or rather: historical linguistics had more or less taken its starting-point in the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*". Or, to put it in other words, the Schola Hemsterhusiana demonstrates the continuity that existed between eighteenth and nineteenth-century linguistic thought: the founding fathers of historical comparative grammar such as Schlegel, Rask, Bopp, Grimm, and Humboldt were all familiar with the works of Valckenaer, van Lenep, and Scheidius (cf. Noordegraaf 1995: 149).³⁰

5. Final remarks

In the nineteenth century linguists such as Benfey and Pott³¹ made a number of sweeping statements about the Schola Hemsterhusiana which sufficed to banish the Schola to the footnote level in linguistic historiography for some considerable time. These German scholars had a blind eye to what they had in common with the Dutch Grecists such as an inductive approach and the search for linguistic rules.

A crucial English contribution to Dutch eighteenth-century linguistics, albeit an indirect one, was the influx of Newtonian thought, adapted and propagated most skilfully by Dutch scientists such as Boerhaave and 's Gravesande. Their anti-Cartesian and experimental method, including among other things a tool such as 'analogia', stimulated the inductive approach *in grammaticis*. Moreover, as 'analogia' also referred to the conception of language as a system

³⁰ Lefmann (1891-1897, II: 45) suggests that Friedrich Schlegel's (1772-1829) remarks on 'organic' and 'mechanical' ("bloß mechanisch") in his 1808 *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* might be directed against "die Meisterjünger der holländischen Schule, die Lenep und Scheid und ihre Nachfolger [...]".

³¹ In 1836, Pott published a stinging review of a work on Sanskrit "aus dem, durch seine grossen Philologen einst so berühmten Holland". Its author was slated by Pott, among other things because he seemed to have followed van Lenep in a certain matter (Pott 1836: col. 15).

('regularity'), it should not surprise us that our eighteenth-century predecessors sought to formulate their findings in "regulae generales" (van Lennep), "festen Regeln" (Eichhorn 1807: 10). The fact that Lambert ten Kate was an impeccable linguist to the nineteenth-century mind, must suffice here. It was ten Kate who in 1723, thanks to his methodical approach, could proudly announce the importance of the Ablaut, as Grimm had to acknowledge (cf. Van de Velde 1980).

The works of ten Kate, the Hemsterhusians and other scholars may demonstrate the contacts that existed between Dutch and British scholars in the eighteenth century; the present paper is the evidence of the continuation of these long-standing Anglo-Dutch relations.

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