thor of the vulgate Latin version, unless he knew that the Jews put the points of Adonai to Jehovah? There is a passage in Jerom* which is produced by some to difprove the knowledge and use of vowelpoints in his time; when speaking of Enon near Salim, "it matters not, he fays, whe-" ther it be called Salem or Salim, fince the " Hebrews very seldom make use of vowel-" letters in the middle; and according to " the pleasure of readers and the variety " of countries, the same words are pro-" nounced with different founds and accents." Now Jerom is here to be underflood either of the Matres Lectionis; and; and it, is very true that these are seldom used in the facred books of the Hebrews, and which makes the use of vowel-points the more necessary; and if the Matres Lectionis were expunged upon the introduction of the points, as is suggested by some, then the points must have been before Jerom's time, and consequently not the invention of the men of Tiberias; fince it seems the above letters were rarely used in his time as placed between consonants, as Dabar, and other

^{*} Epist. Evagrio, tom. 3. fol. 13. F.

other words observed by him shew: or else he is to be understood of vowel-points going along with letters; and these he might truly say, were very rarely used, because pointed Bibles in his time were very rare: but then he supposes such were used, tho' but feldom, and this Dr. Owen o took to be his fense; " either, fays he, I cannot un-" derstand him, or he does positively af-" firm, that the Hebrew, had the use of " vowels, in his epistle to Evagrius;" upon which he observes, " if they did it per-" raro, they did it, and then they had " them; though, in these days to keep up " their credit in teaching, they did not " much use them; nor can this be spoken " of the found of vowels, for furely, they " did not feldom use the sounds of vowels, " if they spoke often." And to this sense, the words of Jerom are quoted by R. Azariah*; and from whence he concludes, that the points were really in being before his time, and so they are understood by others; to fay no more, as not only the vowel-points and accents are faid to be the N

invention of the men of Tiberias, after the finishing of the Talmud, but the distinction of verses also; it is certain, that Jerom, who lived a century or two before these pretended Tiberians are said to live, frequently so speaks of verses in the Hebrew books, and distinguished by him into colons and commas which the accents make; and of which mention is made before him in the Jerusalem Talmud, and even in the Misnah, as will be seen hereaster; yea, in the New Testament, Luke iv. 17. Act. viii. 32.

A. D. 370.

ABOUT this time lived Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus; he flourished in the times of Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius, and wrote a book against various heresies; and among them takes notice of those of the Nicolaitans, and their followers the Gnosticks, &c. who had a fort of deities they paid honour to, and which they called by barbarous names; and one of them was called Caulaucauch, a word taken from Is. xxviii. 13. as he observes; upon which he gives the text in Hebrew, thus, "Saulasau Sau-" lasau,

[§] Præfat. in Josuam, Paralipomen. Esaiam & Ezekiel. P Eriphan. contr. Hæres. 1. 1. hæres. 25.

" lasau, Caulaucauch, Caulaucauch, Zier-" fam, Ziersam," exactly agreeing with the present punctuation, only the Sheva in the last word is pronounced as an i; which may be owing to the copier, and is fometimes not pronounced at all, as before observed, and when it is, it is differently: and very nearly to the same manner of pointing, is his quotation of Pf. cx. 3, according to the Hebrew text, " Merem messaar " Lastal jeledechetha"; and so of I/. xxvi. 2, 2. the likeness is very great and much the fames. I suppose Epiphanius took these Hebrew paffages from Origen's Hexapla, a work in being in his time; and if so, this carries the punctuation still higher; of which more Moreover, the first word obhereafter. ferved, was fo pronounced by some hereticks, if not in the first, yet in the second century.

A. D. 360.

ABOUT this time lived R. Ase, the head of a school or academy at Sura in Babylon'; he is said to write a large book concerning

N 2 point-

⁹ Ib, l. 2, hær. 65.

Th. l. 3, hær. 76, vid. Montfaucon, Hexapla Origen, vol. 2, p. 130

Vid. Ganz, Yzemach David, par. 1, fol. 33, 1, 2.

pointing, and the cabalific fecrets in it, which book R. Nachman^t, who lived about the year 1200, fays, was then in their academy. Now if this Rabbi so early wrote a book about the points, they must then, and before that time be in use, and must have been some time before in use, to be reduced to an art, and brought under certain rules, and treated on at large.

A. D. 340.

ABOUT this time lived R. Hillell, the prince, the last of those who was promoted to doctorship in the land of Israel, as before observed. Now R. Zacuth speaks of a copy of the book of 24, called the Bible, written by R. Hillell, by which all books were corrected in the year 956 or 984, (according to the Jewish account) and that he saw a part of it sold in Africa, and that it had been written in his time 900 years, and observes that Kimchi says in his grammar, that the Pentateuch was at Toletolo, or Toledo. Some, as Schickard and Cunæus, are of opinion, that this Hillell, was the

t Apud Buxtorff, de Punct. Antiq. par. 1. p. 55. Uschafin, tol. 1/2 1. Bechinat haperunium, p. 51. 3: Jus Reg. Heb. c. 2, theor. 5, f. 4. De Republic, Heb. 1, 1, c. 18.

Kamets Chateph; and in another work of his, he says of the word num, in 2 Sam. xiii. Mem is with Segol, which is not usual, and is in the room of Pathach; and in the book of Hillell, which is at Toletolo or Toledo it is with Pathach; and the learned Mercer observes, that the word num, in Prov. xxiv. 14. is, in a MS. written with a Tzere, but in the margin it is remarked, that in Hillell it is written with a Segol. Wherefore the points must be annexed to the Bible as early as the times of Hillell, and before.

In the library at Berlin is a Hebrew MS. written by Elias the pointer, containing the Pentateuch, the 5 Megillot, with the book of Job, and some chapters out of the Prophets, with Masoretical observations in the margin; which, if what is said of it could be established, it would be full as antient as Hillell's copy: at the end of it the writer has put his name, and declares that he wrote it, and pointed it, and finished it in the year from the creation of the world 4094; and Andrew Mullerus, sometime provost at Berlin, wrote at the beginning of it,

^{*} Sepher Shorash, rad. Tie. Prov. xxiv. 14.

Comment. in

it, that this copy was written by Elias in the island of Rhodes, A. C. 334; but La Croze* the late librarian, says, that at the end of the book there are manifest traces of letters blotted out, and others put in, and that the colour of the ink, and form of the parchment clearly shewed, that it could not then be written scarce 400 years.

THERE are several antient copies of the Bible pointed, but the precise age of them cannot be ascertained. The Yews in China, have a very antient Hebrew Bible in Pekin, faid to be not at all differing from ours; by which it should feem that it is pointed, or otherwise it would differ. A copy called Sinai, a correct copy of the Pentateuch, has the accents, as Elias Levita acknowledges d, who observes that the first word in Exod. xviii. 1. is with Gera-(bim, but in Sinai with a Rebiah; and he also gives another instance of a different accentuation, but adds, that he knew not who was the composer of it. R. Nachman', who lived about the year 1200, fays, he fearched most diligently in all the Baby-N 4 lonan

* Apud Wolf. Biblioth. Heb. p. 166. 167.

c Semedo's History of China, Far. 1. c. 30.

d Sepher Shibre Luchot.

Apud Fuxtorff. ut supra.

Ionian and Jerusalem copies, and in Hillell's, and could not find any where a Dagesh in those three guttural letters, n, n, v, but found it in s, in three places, Lev. xxiii. 17. Gen. xliii. 26. and Ezra viii. 18. by which it appears, that not only Hillell's copy, but the Babylonian and Jerusalem copies were pointed. Ben Melech, on Ezek. xxiv. 10. observes, that R. Jonah writes, that he found the word Harkach with a Kamets under He in the Jerusalem copy, but in the Babylonian copy, he found it with a There was a ferufalem copy Pathach. made mention of by feveral, that was a pointed one; Muscatus fays, that the word אחר, in Deut. vi. 4. is pointed with Segol and Kamets, as it is found in the correct Jerusalem copy; and so Kimchi affirms, that in the correct Jerusalem copy, the word חול, in Job xxix. 18. was with a Shurek for those of Nahardea, and with a Cholem for the western Yews; and seems to be the copy R. Jonab the grammarian, and Maimonides, who both lived in the 12th century, trusted to and depended on; and which the latter b calls the famous Egyptian copy, which

was

f Comment, in Cossi, par 4, fol 220, 4. 8 Sepher Shorass, 121, 761. b Hilchot Torah, c. 8 f. 4.

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was many years at Jerusalem, and which Ben Asher spent much time in correcting, who lived there a long time, as Elias says, and by which other copies were corrected; and this Azariahk consulted, and says, it was in Jerusalem from the times of the misnic doctors, and had in it the Tikkun Sopherim, the ordination of the scribes, and the Bible-sections open and shut.

A. D. 300.

THE Rabbot are commentaries on the five books of Moses, written by Rabbi Bar Nachmoni, who flourished, according to Buxtorss, about this year. There are sistem words which have unusual pricks or points upon them, observed by the Masorah and in the Talmud; ten of them in the law, sour of them in the prophets, and one in the Hagiographa; those in the law, most, if not all of them, are taken notice of in these commentaries m; in one*

of

i Shibre Luchot ? . ræfat. 3. ad Maforet.

Enayim. c 9. fol. 52. 2.

Biblioth. Heb. p. 326.

Bereshit Rabba, s. 48. fol. 43. 1.1 & s. 51. fol. 46. 1.

f. 78. fol. 68. 3. & f. 84. fol. 73. 3. Bemidbar Rabba, s. 2.

fol. 182. 2.

Bemidbar Rabba s. 3. fol. 182. 2.

Abot R. Nathan, c. 34. vid. Aruch in voce 773 & Maaric Philip. Aquin. fol. 343. 2. who from hence concludes that Exra put the points and accents.

of which are these words concerning them, "said Ezra, if Elijah (another copy has "Moses) should come and say, why hast "thou written them? I will say to him, "now have I pointed them; if he should say, thou hast written well, I will imimmediately remove the points from them." In another of them, "express mention is made of the accents, Neh. viii. 8. is thus paraphrased, they read in the book of the law of God, this is the scripture; distinctly this is the Targum; and gave the script, these are the accents; and caused them to understand the reading, these are the heads of verses."

A. D. 230.

In this year the ferufalem Talmud was finished, as is generally owned, though Scaliger* places it in 370, and Whiston § in 369, in which the accents are made mention of. The passage in Neb. is explained much in the same manner, as in the Babylonian Talmud, and in the Rabbot just now quoted; the distinction of the verses is observed in it, which is made by the accent Silluk.

^{*} De Emend. Temp. 1. 7. P. 323.

gical Tables, cent. 19.

Hierof. Megillah, fol. 74. 2. 4.

| Ib. fol. 75. 1. 2.

In this Talmud‡ the double reading of a word in Hag. i. 8. is observed, which in the text is written ואכבר, but in the margin it is read ואכברה; the one is according to the letters without the 7 paragogic, the other according to the points with it, which, as Schindler fays", is the true reading; for because the point Kametz is under the last letter, the quiescent letter n is to be affumed, and so the word is to be read with n paragogic; but if the word had no points at the time this Talmud was compiled, nor written with in any copies, why should it be read, or directed to be so read? I have placed this Talmud here because it is generally received, though some think it was not written so early, fince mention is made in it of Dioclesian the king; and if the Roman emperor of that name is meant, it must be written in or after his time; though it appears from the Talmudo itself, that the Doclet or Dioclesian spoken of was, according to that, some petty king, that lived in the times of R. Judah Hakkodesh, the compiler of the Misnah, by whose chil-

[†] T. Hierof. Maccot, fol. 32. 1. & Taaniot, fol. 65. 1.

Lexic. Pentaglott. col. 830 ° T. Hierof. Trumot, 46. 2, 3.

children he had been beaten, as pretended, and when he became a king, complained of it; which can not so well agree with the emperor *Dioclesian*: however, what is quoted from it, is a proof of the accents being mentioned in it, which some have denied, and for the sake of which it is observed.

About this time flourished that indefatigable writer Origen, who had knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and is almost the only one of the antients that had, excepting Ferom. This writer, in one of his commentaries*, quotes the Hebrew reading of Ps. cxviii. 25, 26. and agreeable to the present punctuation; in which he appears to be instructed by a Jew, since he puts Adonai instead of Jehovah, and by which it is evident that the Yews pointed as they do now. The same writer composed a work called Hexapla; which, had it been preserved, would have been of great use in this controversy about the antiquity of the Hebrew points; for in this work he placed in the first two columns, first the Hebrew text with its proper letters, and then the same in Greek characters: Fabricius has given

^{*} Comment. in Matth. p. 438, 439. Ed. Huet. P Bibliothec. Græc. tom. 2. p. 346.

given a specimen of it in the whole first chapter of Genesis, collected out of the fragments of the antient Greek interpreters; and so has Montfaucon after him; which I have compared with our pointed Bibles, and find it exactly agrees with our modern punctuation, with scarce any variation at all; take as a proof the first two or three verses.

בראשות בַראָ אֱיֹהִים 1. בראשות בּייאָ אֵיֹת הַאָּרץ יהארץ הותה תחי ובהי 2. וחשר על פני תהום ורות אלהום מבחפת על

Βρεσιθ Βαρα Ελωιμ Εθ ασαμαιμ εεθ αωρες Rades arega gas agas σσωσεκ αλ Φνε θεωμ ερεαχ Ελωιμ μραχεφεθ αλ Que avair

ביאמיף אָלהוָם יְהוּ אור וַיְהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ אוֹר בּיִהוּ

THE rest of the specimen, throughout the whole chapter, is agreeable to this; both Fabricius and Montfaucon have given another specimen of the Hexapla, on Hos. xi. 1. the same which Walton has tranferibed from a copy of cardinal Barberini, from whom they feem to have taken it, which does not fo exactly agree with the modern pointing as the other does; but Montfaucons has given two more specimens,

⁴ Hexagla O igen. Tom. 1. p. 2. &c. * Biblia Poly» glitt. Tom. . 72 Interpr. Ed. Roman. p. 133. liminar, au Hexapla, c. 1, p. 15.

one out of the Octapla of Ps. ii. 6. and another out of the Enneapla of Hab. ii. 4. which perfectly agree with the present punctuation; and it is furprifing they should, when it is confidered, that particularly the specimen of the whole first chapter of Geness is collected from fragments preserved in various writers, and those but little skilled in the Hebrew language, and who sometimes wrote differently one from another; and that these have passed through the hands of various copiers, entirely unacquainted with that language; and yet Fabricius complains not of any difficulty in collecting it; Montfaucon indeed doest, and it is pretty much he should, since he wrote after Fabricius: this shews that he did not confult him, and that he had not his specimen from him: and therefore it is the more furprifing that they should so nearly a. gree, the difference between them being chiefly not in the vowel-points, but in the powers of some few of the consonant let-With what precision and exactness, agreeable to the modern punctuation, may it reasonably be supposed were the Hexapla of Origen, as first published by him, and

and as it would have appeared had it been preserved; and who must have had a pointed Bible before him when he composed it; and the most exquisite care, circumspection and diligence must have been used by him, to observe every letter and every point, so as to write each word in Greek characters, and give them a proper regular pronunciation. Though I must confess, that fince Origen was but indifferently skilled in the Hebrew language, as Huetius. has observed, and so father Simon*; I greatly suspect he had, by some means or other obtained a copy of the Hebrew Bible, written in Greek characters, perhaps from a Yew with whom he was acquainted, well versed in the Hebrew language, both letters and points; for it was allowed by the Jews to write the Hebrew text in the characters of any language, though not to read it so written in their synagogues; and especially they allowed of writing it in Greek characters, it may be for the use of the Hellenistic Jews; nay they allowed the facred books to be written in Greek characters

u Origenian. 1. 2. c. 1. s. 2. p. 26. * Disquisit. Critic. c. 9. p. 61. * T. Bab. Sabbat, fol. 115. 1. & Megillah, fol. 9. 1. & Debarim Rabba, s. 1. fol. 233. 1.

racters only, for so it is faid in the Misnah*, " there is no difference between the (fa-" cred) books, the Fhylacteries, and Me-" zuzab (the parchments on the door-" posts only that the books may be writ-" ten in every tongue, but the Phylacteries " and Mezuzah may not be written but in " the Affyrian (i. e. in Hebrew characters). " Rabbi Simeon Ben Gamaliel fays, they " don't allow the books to be written but in " Greek;" and the decision was, according to Simeon, as Maimonides*observes; and who agreeable to this fays, "they may not " write the Phylacteries and Mezuzah but " in Assyrian characters, but they allow " the (facred) books to be written also in " Greek, and in that only." I suspect therefore, I say, that Origen lighted on one of those copies, and what serves to strengthen the suspicion is, that in his Hexapla, Adonai is put for Jehovah, as the Rabbins read it §. Now what he did in compiling his Hexapla, was placing the feveral copies, as he found them, in order, in distinct columns as follows; first, the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, as then in use with the

^{*} Megillah, c. 1. f. 8. T. Hierof. Sabbat, fol. 15.3. * Tephillin, c. 1. 8. 19. § Vid. Epiphan. contr. Hæref. 3. hær. 76.

Ferus, as Eusebius assures*, who doubtless faw the work itself; and next a copy of the same in Greek characters, he had somewhere met with: then followed the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion: but be it in which way it may, whether the composition of the Hebrew copy in Greek characters, was Origen's, or another's, it feems a clear case that a pointed Bible must then be in being, and was made use of; and that there was a regular punctuation, and that by the specimen the present punctuation agrees with it; which observation sufficiently confutes and destroys those notions and vulgar mistakes so generally received, of the invention of the points by the men of Tiberias, and of their being invented after the writing of the Talmud, and of their being unknown in the times of Jerom; all which must now be retracted.

A. D. 200.

In this century, and the preceding, lived the Rabbins of *Tiberias*, so frequently mentioned in the *Jerufalem Talmud*, finished in the year 230, as before observed; at this

^{*} Ecclefiaft. Hift. 1. 6. c. 16.

time as there were many fynagogues of the Yews at Tiberias, so there was a famous academy; and now lived the true men of Tiberias, spoken of in Yewish writings, and at this time only, as to any number of them; for in the following century, univerfities and promotions ceased in the land of Israel. These men, so famous in Yewish writings for their knowledge of the Hebrew language, and the purity and elegance of it, and the right manner of reading and pronouncing it, lived before the times of Yerom, and so not after the finishing of the Talmud, as Elias fays; for Jerom manifestly refers to them, and to the fentiments the Yews had of them, for their knowledge of the law, and the beauty and elegance of their language*. But though these men studied the Hebrew language, and were very expert in it, and in the affair of pointing, yet they were not the inventors of the points; which may be concluded from what Aben Ezra fays of them; "I have feen, fays he, the books " which the wife men of Tiberias examin-" ed, and fifteen of their elders gave it " upon

^{*} Quarft. seu Trad. Heb. in Gen. T. 3. fol. 73. I. K. r Comment. sa Exod. 25. 31.

upon oath, that three times they dili-" gently confidered every word and every point, every full and deficient word, and " behold, Yod was written in the word "תיעשה, i. e. in Exod. xxv. 31. by which it appears that the Bible was not pointed by them, but pointed Bibles, which they had, were examined by them; so that pointed Bibles were in being before their time; they were pointed to their hands; they only fearched into them, and studied them, and became very expert and accurate in their knowledge of the points: hence the same writer, in another work * of his says, that from them, the men of Tiberias were the Masoretes; from we have the whole pointing; not that they were the authors and inventors of the points; but that by them they were handed down to them with great accuracy and exactness; for he expresly says in another work of his *, that " the men of the great synagogue taught the people the sense of the scriptures by the accents, and by the kings and ministers; so he calls the vowel-() 2

P. 11. * Mozne Leshon Hakodesh apud Buxtors. 1b. p. 13, 14.

vowel-points, Cholem, Shurek, &c. and were instead of eyes to the blind; therefore in their foot-steps we go forth, them we follow, and on them we lean in all expositions of the scripture." But whatfoever skill the men of Tiberias might attain to in the study of the points, they appear to be very unfit for, and unequal to fuch a work as the invention of them. Hear what Dr. Lightfoot has observed of them, who was thoroughly acquainted with their characters, as to be learned from the above Talmud. "There are some who " believe the holy Bible to be pointed by " the men of Tiberias; I do not wonder " at the impudence of the Jews who in-" vented this story; but I wonder at the " credulity of Christians who applaud it. " Recollect, I befeech you, the names of " the Rabbins of Tiberias, from the first si-" tuation of the university to the time " that it expired; and what at length do " you find, but a kind of men mad with " Pharifaifm, bewitching with traditions " and bewitched, blind, guileful, doting, " they must pardon me, if I say magical " and montrous? men how unfit, how unable.

Werks vol ii. Chorograph. Cent. c. \$1. p. 73. 74

"unable, how foolish, for the undertak"ing so divine a work?" Then he gives
the names of many of them, and observes
their childishness, sophistry, froth, and
poison, and adds, "if you can believe the
"Bible was pointed in such a school, be"lieve also all that the Talmudists write.

The pointing of the Bible savours of
"the work of the Holy Spirit, not the
"work of lost, blinded, and besotted
men;" and elsewhere he says, "it is
above the skill of a mere man to point
the Bible; nay, scarcely a verse as it is.

The ten commandments may puzzle all
the world for that skill."

As about this time, the universities both of Tiberias and Babylon were the most flour rishing, it may be reasonably supposed, that as they had each of them copies of the Bible, which they carefully examined, and preserved for the use of the fews in Palestine and Babylon, that now were made the various readings called western and eastern, published at the end of some printed Bibles; the one for the fews in their own land, called western, and the other for the sews in Babylon, called eastern. The difference

* Frubhim, or Miscellanies, c. 31. vol, i. p. 1014.

ference in number are 216, and none of them in the law; and they are mostly very trivial, and chiefly about letters and words, but not altogether, for in two places, Fer. vi. 6. Amos iii. 6. they make mention of the point Mappick, in which the one copy differs from the other; so that Elias b is wrong, in faying that the differences are about words and letters only, but not about points and accents, and therefore he supposes they were made before the invention of the yowel-points and accents; but he is mistaken, these were then in being. In Lam. v. 21. the western Yews have the Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, but the eastern have Adonai; the former word, as it should feem, having in their copy the points of the latter, as it fometimes has, they put Adonai instead of it; which shews that the points then were.

A. D. 190.

CLEMENS of Alexandria lived and wrote about this time, and is thought to make mention of the Hebrew points and accents, where he fays, there are some, who in reading,

Præsat. 3. ad Masoret. Stromat. I. 3.p. 442.

reading, by the tone of the voice pervert the Scriptures to their own pleasure, and by a transposition τινων προσωδιών και ςιγμων (which Sylburgius his interpreter renders) of certain accents and points, what are wifely and profitably commanded, force to their own liking;" in which he has respect to a text in Mal. iii. 15. and which he vindicates against some heretics of his time; but not to the Greek version of it, and the accents of that; for those in the opposition say, there were no accents in the Greek tongue for ages afterd; but to the Hebrew text, and the points and accents in that; and the rather this may be supposed, seeing it appears in several parts of his writings, that he had some knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

A little before Clemens, Irenæus wrote, who, tho' he had but a finall degree of knowledge of the Hebrew language, yet something of ithe

O 4 endea-

d Some say they began in the 7th century, vid. Velasti Dissert, de Lit. Græc. Pronunciat. par 4. c. 2 p. 95. Romæ, 1751. It it said the ancienter the MSS, are, the sewer are the accents, and that those which exceed a thousand years have none at all, Mirtisb. Sarpedon (alias Frideric Reissenberg), Dissert, de Vera Attic. Pronunciat par. 3. c. 1. p. 48. Romæ, 1750; but Gregorius Placentinius makes them much more ancient. See his Epitome Græc. Paleograph. c. 11. p. 88. Romæ, 1735. The controversy about the Greek accents has been of late years revived at Rome.