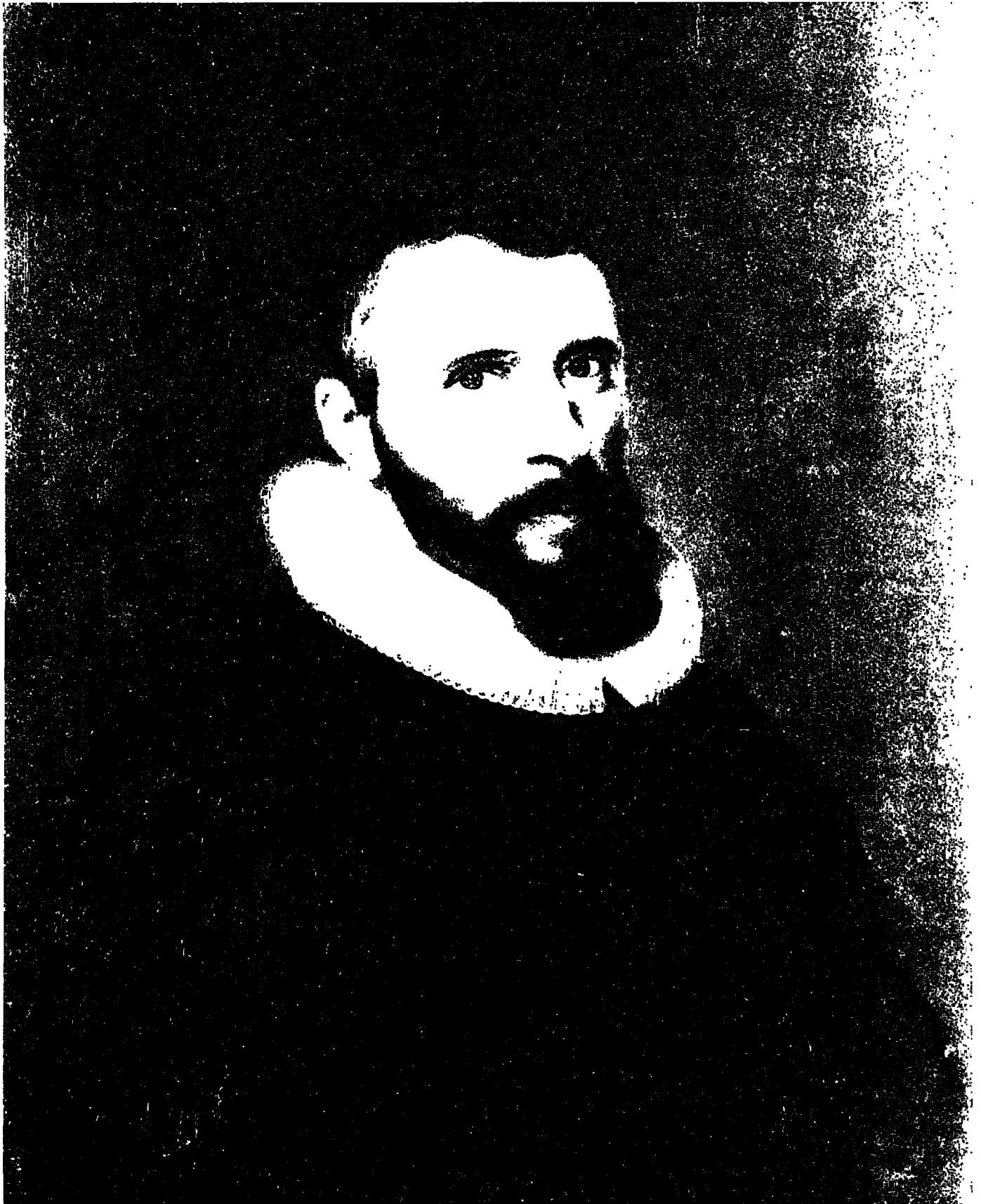


1. *Louis de Dieu.*



## THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

*The New Testament among theologians and philologists—  
a general sketch*

On the morning of the 8th February 1575 a solemn procession wound through the streets of Leiden, to mark the dedication of the newly established University.\* Part of the tableau consisted of symbolic female figures, representing the four faculties: Sancta Scriptura, Justitia, Medicina, and Minerva. The last three figures were on horseback, but Scriptura, who led the way, was seated in a splendid triumphal chariot drawn by four horses. In her hand she held an open Bible. Next to her car of victory walked the four Evangelists.<sup>1</sup> There could be no clearer expression of what was expected before all else from the theological faculty: the unfolding of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>2</sup>

But the reality was to differ in more than one respect from this picture of such promise.

In the first place it was soon to appear that the faculty was not always careful to provide teaching in the explanation of both Testaments. From the oldest known *series lectionum*, that of 1587, it appears that the theology professors in fact taught only biblical exegesis. Adrianus Saravia interpreted the Epistle to the Hebrews, Lucas Trelcatius the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>3</sup> In 1592 Trelcatius gave readings on I Corinthians,<sup>4</sup> and in 1595 Gomarus lectured on Romans.<sup>5</sup> But according to the *series lectionum aestivalium* of 1599 Franciscus Junius was to give lectures on Proverbs and Psalms and Trelcatius was to deal with "loci communes de libero arbitrio", while no lectures by Gomarus were announced, so that it appears that no public readings on the New Testament were given at that time.<sup>6</sup>

In the following years the minds of the Leiden theologians were so exercised by differences of dogma that biblical teaching came under serious pressure. In February 1611 the Curators had to establish that Gomarus, the only theology professor still in office, "deals only with his own theses during his lectures".<sup>7</sup> These theses were concerned with justification. The Curators believed that that was not to the best advantage of the University. They summoned Gomarus and requested him to put aside his subject and lecture on the Scriptures. Gomarus acknowledged that for some time he had been teaching the question of justification, but he considered that in fact it was one of the main points of the Christian religion: to forbid teaching of the subject "would be directly contrary to the word of God. He would rather suffer persecution than abandon his teaching".<sup>8</sup> Were not the "loci communes" always taught in other universities? Moreover, his redaction of the "locus

justificationis" was such that the students did not need to take any dictation, which otherwise they would certainly have to do. But, Gomarus concluded, if the lectures did not please the Curators, then he would submit to their judgment and give up his teaching on justification.

The Curators asked Gomarus to leave their assembly for a time, and when they recalled him after private discussion, they informed him that "as far as his lectures on his theses were concerned, seeing that he had explained that the course would be concluded within three weeks, they did not wish to make any difficulties over such a short period, but that the Curators required that once this course of lectures was concluded, Gomarus should lecture on Scripture." Gomarus then left the assembly without making any reply.<sup>9</sup>

A little later, though still in 1611, Gomarus left the University of Leiden. Against the background outlined, it is easy to understand that when J. Polyander was appointed professor of theology, also in 1611, he was particularly expected to offer "interpretatio Novi Testamenti".<sup>10</sup> Simon Episcopius too was invited to the chair in 1612 "to expound liberty of prophesy or the Holy Scripture in the Leiden Academy".<sup>11</sup>

In the second place, the exposition of the Bible in the theological faculty of seventeenth-century Leiden was strongly dominated by the dogmatic conceptions of the exegetes. In the *series lectionum* for summer 1601 Gomarus announced his intention to deal with the Gospel of John twice a week, and the Epistle to the Philippians twice a week.<sup>12</sup> In Gomarus's *Opera*<sup>13</sup> we find the *Selectiorum Evangelii Johannis locorum illustratio* and the *Pauli Apostoli ad Philippenses explicatio*, from which we can form an impression of what Gomarus said, among other things, by way of commentary in his lectures on these texts. Lexicographical, historical, grammatical and literary-historical observations are not entirely absent, but make up a very small proportion. What predominates is an interest in dogma which determines the questions asked, the method, reasoning and conclusions. Commenting on John iv. 10, for example, the question is raised, "an ex illis verbis probari possit quod liberae voluntatis humanae vires cum Dei gratia, in prima hominis conversione, cooperentur?" And in the *Explicatio* of Philippians, each discussion of a chapter is followed by a list of about twenty tersely worded remarks called "consectaria", in which the dogmatic conclusions distilled from the text are summarised as if they were an inventory of the booty. For example, from Philipp. iii. 10 follows "Justificationis finis est sanctificatio: quae mortificatione veteris hominis,

et resurrectione novi continetur." It cannot be denied that Gomarus took great pains over the accurate determination of word meanings. But the nuances which he distinguished derived from logic and dialectic, and were not the result of comparison with parallel passages or old translations.

Polyander, who was officially entrusted with teaching the New Testament, certainly inspired his colleague Daniel Heinsius, the *professor historiarum*, to write a strictly philological commentary on the New Testament,<sup>14</sup> but among Polyander's own works there are no exegetic *annotationes*, *animadversiones*, or *exercitationes*, nor even a *dissertatio* or *commentarius* on any part of the New Testament; the whole of his *œuvre* is concerned with dogma, edification, ethics or practical theology. It is plain from the origin and purpose of the institution of the *disputatio*<sup>15</sup> that the disputations presided over by Polyander invariably dealt with such subjects as *de Jesu divinitate*, *de bonorum operum fine et necessitate*, *de spiritus sancti donis et effectis*, *de providentia Dei*, *de justificatione*, etc.<sup>16</sup> But there is no need to doubt that Polyander, when he gave a report to the 66th session of the National Synod at Dordrecht on 24th January 1619, on Philippians iv.3, Rev. xxi.27 and Luke x.20, "in quibus agitur de inscriptione nominum in libro vitae"<sup>17</sup> gave, by modern standards, a textbook example of plundering the New Testament to prove a dogma.

"By modern standards". For almost all the theologians of seventeenth-century Leiden who concerned themselves with the explanation of the New Testament placed exegesis at the service of dogmatic objectives. They differed only in the degree to which the dogmatic element outweighed the grammatical. The most honourable exceptions were Simon Episcopius (1612-19) and Joh. Coccejus (1650-69). Episcopius's very readable *Notae breves in Matthaeum*,<sup>18</sup> his *Lectiones sacrae in I Epistolam catholicam apostoli Joannis*<sup>19</sup> and his *Lectiones Sacrae in cap. II et III Apocalypseos Joannis*<sup>20</sup> reflect in fact the striving for an unprejudiced exegesis which Episcopius, in true Erasmian spirit, mentioned in his farewell speech to his Leiden students in 1618.<sup>21</sup> The Bremen-born Joh. Coccejus was an outstanding expert in Oriental, late-Jewish and Greek language and literature. At Franeker he had learned the "methodus interpretandi" from Sixtinus Amama. After the death of the Franeker hellenist G. Pasor he taught Greek there from 1637 to 1639. He could have belonged to the most famous names of his age in the field of *philologia sacra*, had he not become a professor of theology, in 1643 at Franeker, and in 1650 at Leiden. Certainly, in his numerous and detailed commentaries on the New Testament,<sup>22</sup> the

philological element is well represented, and they contain linguistic observations which remain useful even today.<sup>23</sup> But for Coccejus too, exegesis was in the last resort at the service of his "theology of the Covenants". Adolf Jülicher, though recognising Coccejus's services to exegesis, has clearly shown<sup>24</sup> the fatal consequences of this approach in the explanation of the parables, not only in Coccejus himself but also in the generations after him both at home and abroad. It may also be significant of his dogmatic interest that Coccejus, who lectured publicly on the New Testament at Leiden for at least 31 semesters, dealt exclusively with the Epistles, and except in his last three years only with the Pauline Epistles. Almost amazing, but certainly worthy of admiration is the mechanical regularity with which he worked through the Epistles of the New Testament year by year in his lectures:

to 1656	Romans;	1664	Colossians;
1657-58	I Corinthians; <sup>25</sup>	1664-65	I and II Thessaloni- nians;
1658-60	II Corinthians;	1666	I and II Timothy;
1660-61	Galatians;	1667	James;
1661-62	Ephesians;	1668	I Peter;
1663	Philippians;	1669	II Peter. <sup>26</sup>

Coccejus died on 5 November 1669. It seems as if the fact that he had omitted the Epistle to the Hebrews was considered an oversight: in all the *series lectionum* which have been preserved, or which can be reconstructed, for the 12 years after his death, lectures are announced on Hebrews, in 1670 by Joh. Valckenier (1668-70), in 1671 (two semesters) by Frid. Spanheim jr. (1670-1701) and in 1680 and 1681 (three semesters) by Steph. le Moyne (1676-89).

The Leiden theologians who occupied themselves with the explanation of the New Testament<sup>27</sup> should not be too harshly reproached because their interests extended beyond the linguistic and historical aspects and beyond the original historical meaning of the biblical writings. Certainly, they knew the difference between the explanation of the Bible as an ancient document and the recasting of its contents into the conclusions of systematic theology. It was expressly stated that as far as the "States' Translation" was concerned, notes should be provided "quibus versionis ratio in obscurioribus locis reddatur; *observationes autem doctrinarum* addere, nec necessarium, nec consultum fuit judicatum".<sup>28</sup> But the Leiden theology professors, basing themselves on Scripture, wished to be theologians in the first place and not historians, critics or philologists.<sup>29</sup> It was as such that most of them were

directly involved in the conflicts of their time. And seen in this light, they deserve respect for the force and intensity with which they strove to make the Bible the foundation of their theology. Their commentaries in reality reflect the authentic Reformation effort to make Scripture alone (*Sola Scriptura*) the *principium doctrinae*. But they never lost sight of *doctrina* in their commentaries, in which, especially in the way they develop the doctrine out of the biblical text, the tenacity of scholasticism betrays itself. Only humanists like Calvin and Beza were able to surmount the temptations of scholasticism; the generations after them much less so.

The theology students were no less interested in dogma than their professors. The diagnosis which Joseph Scaliger, Leiden's eternal glory, made in 1608, was completely just then, and was to remain valid for a long time: "Iuventus nostra, quae studiis theologiae dedicavit sese, a grammaticis ad μετὰ τὰ φυσικά statim confert se; et in his vepretis [thorn-bushes] totam aetatem absumit. Quo fit, ut neque bonarum literarum aliquem sensum habeat, neque verba sacrorum librorum assequatur."<sup>30</sup> What the theologians lacked according to Scaliger, was a *feeling for literature* and an *understanding of the words* of the Scriptures. Complaints of this nature were frequently heard in the seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> Scaliger's charge, however, applied as much to the professors as to the students. Not only did the professors persist in an exegesis which was strongly influenced by dogma, but as far as we can tell,<sup>32</sup> in the first quarter of the seventeenth century the most suitable remedy was lacking: a lecture course in which the Greek New Testament was read more or less cursorily, with comment on grammatical, syntactical and stylistic phenomena, and the vocabulary was elucidated from the context and by parallels from related literature.

It was not a Leiden theologian but the Franeker professor of Oriental languages Sixtinus Amama, who recognised the danger of this situation and made strenuous efforts (nowadays we should say, "led a campaign") to limit theology students to the Greek text of the New Testament more closely than before. It was not the first, nor the last service which the University of Franeker performed for New Testament philology. One has only to think of Joh. Drusius, professor of Oriental languages, first at Oxford (1572-76)<sup>33</sup> then at Leiden (1577-85) and finally and definitively at Franeker (1585-1616). Relying on an unusual knowledge of rabbinical, Talmudic and patristic literature, Drusius was able to shed new light on many a passage in the New Testament also, and moreover was freer from dogmatic objectives than anyone else.<sup>34</sup> One can also cite George Pasor of Herborn (Nassau), professor

of Greek at Franeker from 1626 to 1637, who was responsible for both the first lexicon<sup>35</sup> and the first grammar of New Testament Greek.<sup>36</sup>

From the Franeker of Drusius and Pasor, Sixtinus Amama (1616-29) tried to make sure that the students of the theological faculties should acquire a sufficient knowledge of biblical Greek and Hebrew to be able to make a reasonable translation of a chapter chosen at random. In 1624 he published his *Short Remonstrance wherein all true servants and elders of the Reformed congregations of Friesland are desired to lend a helping hand to the very necessary revival of the declining study of the sacred tongues in which the Holy Scripture was originally written*.<sup>37</sup> In this treatise, Amama in particular requested the provincial synod of Friesland to collaborate in seeing that theological students should receive teaching in Greek and Hebrew, so that they should be able to expound the Bible correctly and fruitfully, finding their own way to the sources in cases of doubtful explanation or unclear translation of particular passages. The Synod of Friesland was very impressed by Amama's suggestion and resolved that henceforth the *candidati theologiae* who wished to be admitted to the *examen ministerii ecclesiastici*, the examination for those who intended to enter the ministry, would have to submit, apart from the normal references of the Senate and Faculty, testimonials from the professors of Greek and Hebrew to the effect that "they had studied these languages at least well enough to be able to read the original text of the Old and New Testaments with reasonable understanding." Moreover, the Frisian Synod decided that the theology students would have to provide proof of their knowledge of the biblical languages to the *classis* into whose ministry they desired admission, apparently by oral translation of a passage out of each Testament.<sup>38</sup>

About a month later, in July 1624, Amama approached the provincial (or rather "particular") synod of South Holland with the same proposals. He presented the assembly not only with a transcript of the resolution of the Frisian Synod but also with thirty copies of his *Short Remonstrance*. The matter was officially placed on the agenda for 1625, to allow the *classes* to instruct their delegates in time for the assembly of that year.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the particular synod of 1625, held at Woerden, resolved in conformity with the Frisian Synod, "that the candidates in sacred theology, wishing to be admitted to the examination, shall be obliged, as well as the *testimonia ecclesiae, senatus academici* and *professorum theologiae*, also to submit references from the *professores hebraeae et graecae linguae* to prove that they have acquired an adequate knowledge of those languages at least to be able to read the original

texts of the Old and New Testaments with reasonable understanding.”<sup>40</sup>

It can be inferred from this rather modest demand that in 1625 it could not be taken for granted that the theological students of Leiden were generally expert in unprepared translation and grammatical exposition of the Greek New Testament. In 1626 the South Holland Synod once again expressly urged the *classes* to uphold the resolution of 1625 as far as possible, and to make inquiry into the candidate’s knowledge of Greek and Hebrew during his admission examination.<sup>41</sup> The *classes* were advised again in 1627 not to admit to a post any one who “was not reasonably versed *in hebraicis et graecis* according to the *testimonium professorum*”.<sup>42</sup>

It has never been established, not even by Sepp, H. H. Kuyper, Knuttel or Eekhof,<sup>43</sup> whether the resolutions taken were put into effect. But the archives of the Curators of Leiden University have preserved documents<sup>44</sup> which make it possible to answer this question. Among these there is in particular a letter of 7th August 1651 to the Curators from Allard Uchtmannus, professor of Hebrew.<sup>45</sup> To appreciate this at its true value, it must be remembered that Uchtmannus was a not very popular and rather unimportant professor, who nevertheless was not treated with the appropriate respect by his colleagues and the Curators. In his letter to the Curators, Uchtmannus complained of the students’ lack of interest in his courses in Hebrew, and indicated as one of the reasons for this, the indolence of the ministers “who allow the students to pass their examinations with little or no inquiry into their fluency *in studio linguarum*.” Moreover, the ministers accepted at the admission examination “all sorts of testimonials from persons who have no right by *auctoritas publica* to teach” and so the students no longer followed the official courses of the University. To his letter, Uchtmannus added a piece of evidence which was embarrassing enough for all concerned, a testimonial of satisfactory knowledge of Hebrew, awarded to a student by . . . the prorector of the Latin School at Leiden.<sup>46</sup> Full of wrath and contempt, Uchtmannus observed that the testimonial was not even phrased in good Latin, that it had been awarded for a course of no more than three or four months, and that the student in question had not read more than ten or twelve psalms.

The Curators decided to have the matter investigated by the Senate and to let them come to a decision on it<sup>47</sup> but the theological faculty seems to have swept the matter under the carpet.<sup>48</sup> But it is clear enough that around 1650, theological students could not appear at the admission examination for the ministry without a testimonial on

their knowledge of Hebrew; and the same may be assumed for the Greek testimonial. That students may now and then have tried to obtain their testimonial from someone other than professors with whom they were on poor terms, proves that the rule itself could not be flouted. We know nothing of any abuse in the obtaining of testimonials from the Greek professor Lamb. Barlaeus (1641-55). But Barlaeus and Uchtmannus do appear to have been entrusted with the supervision of the study of Greek and Hebrew in the “Statencollege.”<sup>49</sup> We can safely assume that the rule for which Amama had pleaded, and which had been laid down by the Synod of South Holland, that theological students had to provide testimonials from the professors of Greek and Hebrew at their admission examinations, was in fact enforced. This is indicated also by the fact that in 1682 the Curators authorised the Lector in Hebrew, Car. Schaaf, to issue testimonials *in hebraicis* for theological students at their examinations.<sup>50</sup>

The necessary conclusion of all this appears to be that from about 1625 theological students at Leiden as a rule followed courses in New Testament Greek by the professor of Greek. We would wish here to refer to a document which establishes this conclusion as a strong probability. The Leiden University Library contains (BPL 2376) a manuscript with the title *Dictata ad Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios*. The author is Jac. Gronovius who in 1679 was appointed *professor ordinarius graecae linguae et historiarum*<sup>51</sup> at Leiden. The responsibility for teaching Greek had in the preceding years 1668-79 been entrusted to the hebraist Uchtmannus. These carefully written lecture notes contain observations on the vocabulary, grammar and style of the Epistle to the Ephesians, discussed chapter by chapter.

Now it is clear from the extant *series lectionum* that Gronovius, apart from his public courses on Greek and Latin historians, also gave public lectures on passages of the New Testament. In the *series* for the winter semester of 1697 we read that Gronovius, after concluding his treatment of two sections from Tacitus’s “de Batavis”, “aggredietur caput secundum Evangelii Lucae.”<sup>52</sup> Gronovius kept this subject on his programme up to and including the summer semester of 1703, which means that he gave courses on Luke ii over a period of twelve semesters. The new subject which Gronovius began in the autumn of 1703 was called “Narratio mortis Domini ab Evangelista Matthaeo prodita”.<sup>53</sup> According to the *series* Gronovius pursued this theme until 1716, i.e. 26 semesters. During the 27th semester, Gronovius died (October 1716). In passing it may be mentioned here that when the German theologian Heinrich Ludolff Benthem

travelled through the Netherlands in 1687, he expressed the wish in his travel diary, on the occasion of making Gronovius's acquaintance at Leiden, that Gronovius should employ his great knowledge "in lingua et antiquitate graeca" in elucidating the New Testament.<sup>54</sup> Benthem's wish was wonderfully fulfilled!

It is not only striking that among the subjects of Gronovius's courses announced by the *series*, the Epistle to the Ephesians, on which his notes are preserved, is absent. It is also clear that the two New Testament chapters tackled after Tacitus, Luke ii and Matthew xxvii, were chosen for their historical content and for the opportunity they presented to discuss biblical chronology and antiquities. They were not chapters for theologians learning Greek: they were matters in contention among the historians. So much appears from the fact that Jac. Gronovius was involved in a bitter quarrel over the interpretation of Matt. xxvii.5 *καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγγξατο* and over the question, how these words could be reconciled with the divergent tradition of Judas's death in Acts i.18, with his *collega proximus*, Jac. Perizonius, *professor eloquentiae, graecae linguae et historiarum* at Leiden since 1693.<sup>55</sup> Perizonius also wrote a *dissertatio* on Luke ii.1-2.<sup>56</sup> The courses on the Epistle to the Ephesians, of which the dictated notes are preserved, were on the other hand typical of the lectures on *philologia sacra* for theology students as Sixtinus Amama had wished. We believe it is therefore possible to conclude that Jac. Gronovius dealt with the Greek New Testament, at least with the Epistle to the Ephesians, in private courses for theology students—a form of teaching which grew more popular and more important at Leiden in the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup>

The conclusion thus seems to be justified, that in view of the Uchtmannus affair and in view of the fact that Gronovius held courses in New Testament Greek, the testimonial rule of the South Holland Synod did in fact function.<sup>58</sup> It is to the honour of the Leiden University Curators that they tried to win Sixtinus Amama, to whose personal initiative this result was to be attributed, for the University of Leiden as successor to Thomas Erpenius in the chair of Oriental languages. Franeker University however refused to release Amama.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, if we may return once more to the tableau with which we began this essay, we can point to a third respect in which a significant discrepancy soon developed between the suggestion of the triumphal procession of 1575 and the actual situation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Holy Scripture, personified in 1575 by the theology faculty was far from being the exclusive preserve

of the theologians. The Bible, including the New Testament, was also the object of intense scientific interest in the faculty symbolised by Minerva: the *facultas philosophiae et artium liberalium*. Indeed, the fact that Leiden in the first half of the seventeenth century won international renown as a centre of New Testament studies, and played a role which then and later received international recognition, is almost wholly to be ascribed to the learned contributions of the literary scholars: orientalists, classicists and historians (and it should be noted that teaching in the Oriental tongues, and later in Greek, was financed not least because of its usefulness in the interpretation of the Bible). One apparent exception was Louis de Dieu. True, he had studied theology and was not attached to the Faculty of Arts,<sup>60</sup> but he was not a professor in the theology department either, and in his scientific work he was through and through the pupil of the Leiden orientalists Erpenius and Golius.

In the following pages we shall first of all mention briefly a number of important examples of the contributions which the Leiden philologists of the seventeenth century made to the development of New Testament studies. We shall then look in more detail, in chapters on Scaliger and Daniel Heinsius, at two episodes of the international history of New Testament studies in which Leiden in the seventeenth century played a role of such striking importance.

The Leiden Greek professor Bonaventura Vulcanius (1581-1614) was not only the first who enabled the learned world to make the acquaintance of the Gothic translation of the Gospels in Gothic script, but also the first who connected this version with the name of Ulfilas. In his *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum*<sup>61</sup> he published two chapters on the Gothic language written about the middle of the 16th century by one of the discoverers of the Codex Argenteus, the Fleming Cornelis Wouters. These contained four fragments of the Gothic New Testament: the Ave Maria (Luke i.28 and 42), the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi.9-13), the Magnificat (Luke i.46-55) and the Song of Simeon (Luke ii.29-32), and consistently gave first the Latin translation, then the Gothic in Gothic characters, and then a transliteration of the Gothic in Latin characters. The attention which these fragments published by Vulcanius drew appears from Scaliger's comment: "Dans la Bibliotheque Palatine, il y avoit un Nouveau Testament Gothique. Gruter dit qu'il n'y est point, et je scay un homme qui l'a veu. Vulcanius nous en a donné quelque specimen."<sup>62</sup>

Thanks to the fact that the Holland humanist Isaac Vossius obtained the Codex Argenteus, in lieu of payment,

from Christina of Sweden (c. 1654), the *editio princeps* of the complete manuscript could soon be published. This edition, prepared by Vossius's uncle Franciscus Junius jr., appeared at Dordrecht in 1665.<sup>63</sup> Had Vossius not sold the manuscript back to Sweden (1662), it would doubtless have ended up with his other manuscripts in Leiden University Library. In any event, it was an invaluable good fortune both for the history of New Testament textual criticism and for Germanic philology,<sup>64</sup> that Vossius managed to prevent the Codex Argenteus following Christina to Rome, where it would have remained in the Vatican for centuries, inaccessible to scholarship. It was owing to Vossius that the Gothic translation was already cited in the critical apparatus of John Fell's 1675 Oxford edition of the New Testament, and in John Mill's edition, also published at Oxford in 1707 (Amsterdam and Rotterdam, 1710<sup>2</sup>).

The *editio princeps* of the whole New Testament in Arabic was printed and published in 1616 by the Leiden Arabist Thomas Erpenius<sup>65</sup> (1613-24): *Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Arabice*.<sup>66</sup> Its text relied on a manuscript of the New Testament dating from 1342, bequeathed to the Leiden University Library by Scaliger (now Or. 217), and containing an "excellent version, the best and most genuine of all those in Arabic."<sup>67</sup> For the Gospels Erpenius collated also several other manuscripts, among these his own codex of the Gospels dating from 1271. This manuscript, together with seventy others which once belonged to Erpenius, was bought for the University of Cambridge in 1628 (now Cambridge University Library Gg. v. 33).<sup>68</sup>

Erpenius had prepared the way for his important edition just mentioned by publishing two portions of the New Testament. His *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Arabice . . . iuxta editionem Romanam* (Leiden, 1613) can be mentioned here as neither Erpenius's biographers<sup>69</sup> nor the critics of the New Testament, are aware of it.<sup>70</sup> More important than this, which was reprinted from an existing edition (Rome, 1590), was Erpenius's *Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos Epistola, Arabice* (Leiden, 1615), in which the Arabic versions of Romans and Galatians appeared in print for the first time.

Erpenius's keen awareness of the direction which New Testament studies would necessarily take, is evident in his plan<sup>71</sup> to compile a monumental edition of the New Testament, containing:

- (1) the Greek text with *variae lectiones*, to be weighed and selected by Erpenius;
- (2) the vulgate with scholars' suggestions for the im-

provement of the translation from the Greek, and with notes;

- (3) the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian and Armenian translations, provided with comparative notes.

This polyglot was to be entitled *Tabernaculum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*.<sup>72</sup> Probably in search of financial assistance from the States General, Erpenius asked the Synod of Dordrecht (1619) to recommend the project. His request was discussed on the penultimate day of the Synod.<sup>73</sup> The report of the discussion reads: "Propositum fuit, Clarissimum virum D. Thomam Erpenium linguarum orientalium in Academia Leydensi Professorem meditari insigne opus in Novum Testamentum cum titulo Tabernaculi Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, et deliberatum fuit an non opus hoc nomine hujus Synodi Illustriss. DD. Ordinibus Generalibus sit commendandum: et re expensâ statutum fuit expectandum esse prius specimen ejus operis, quod promittit, ut, eo viso et Synodis Provincialibus exhibito, postea Ecclesiae de operis commendatione dispiciant."<sup>74</sup>

The reluctance of the Synod, which certainly underestimated Erpenius's scientific reputation, was undoubtedly inspired by distrust of his Arminian sympathies. In fact, he was on good terms with G. J. Vossius and Hugo Grotius, from whom he had obtained an assurance of their cooperation in his *Tabernaculum*. After 1619, collaboration with Grotius was rather difficult in view of his imprisonment and exile.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the Synod also feared that Erpenius's expensive project would compete with the costly undertaking which was much closer to their hearts—the States' official translation of the entire Bible, a new translation into Dutch from the original languages. The decision to prepare such a translation had been taken by the Synod during its first sessions, but the States General had to bear the enormous costs of subsidising long periods of leave of absence for qualified translators. The authorised version which was completed in 1637 was therefore called after its financiers, the "States' Bible" or "States' Translation". Anyhow, Erpenius's projected Leiden polyglot came to nothing owing to the unfavourable decision of the National Synod. It should be remembered that one of the more important participants at the Synod was the Leiden theology professor Polyander, whose task was the interpretation of the New Testament!<sup>76</sup>

Erpenius's successor as professor of Arabic was Jac. Golius (1625-67). Pierre Bayle in his *Dictionnaire* refers to Golius's "soin particulier qu'il prit de faire imprimer en Grec littéral et en Grec vulgaire le Nouveau Testament." In fact it was partly due to Golius's influence that the

2. Title-page of Louis de Dieu,  
*Apocalypsis Sancti Iohannis, edita  
 Caractere Syro, Leiden 1627.*





*editio princeps* of the New Testament in modern Greek appeared in 1638.<sup>77</sup> Bayle's version of the facts, however, is a little exaggerated. The truth is, briefly, as follows. Cyrillus Lucaris, the patriarch of Constantinople, who had had a modern Greek version of the New Testament prepared by a Greek priest, made a proposal to the States General in 1632, through the mediation of Cornelis Haga, the Dutch agent at Constantinople, that they should finance the printing and publication of the translation.<sup>78</sup> Before agreeing to give the subsidy desired, the States General wished to assure themselves that the publication of a New Testament in contemporary Greek would not occasion strife and disunity among the Greeks. They therefore asked the advice of the Leiden Arabist Golius, whose long travels had made him very familiar with the Near East. Golius's advice was favourable, and in 1638 the translation was printed at the expense of the States General by the Genevan printer Pierre Aubert. In this edition the ancient and modern Greek texts were printed in parallel columns, the ancient Greek being taken from the Elzevier edition of Leiden, 1633. The edition did not of course have a scientific objective, but rather illustrates how the recent history of the New Testament among the Greeks was influenced from Leiden. This influence was to remain until the twentieth century as we shall shew below.<sup>79</sup> G. D. J. Schotel also ascribes to Golius an Arabic translation of the New Testament,<sup>80</sup> but this must be based on a misunderstanding.

Louis de Dieu,<sup>81</sup> who was active at Leiden from 1619 to 1642, most probably owes his fame among twentieth-century New Testament scholars to the fact that Albert Schweitzer, at the very beginning of his *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu Forschung*,<sup>82</sup> refers to him as the translator of "Das einzige interessante Leben-Jesu vor Reimarus".<sup>83</sup> This life of Jesus was compiled in Portuguese<sup>84</sup> at the request of Akbar, the Mogul emperor of India (1542-1605) well-known for his eclectic-syncretic propaganda, by the Spanish missionary H. Xavier, S.J., who resided at Akbar's court at Agra. In 1602 the manuscript was translated into Persian by Abdel Senarim Kasen of Lahore, and offered to the Emperor. The book reached the west by the trade route, where De Dieu in 1639 made a Latin translation from the Persian, and published it in the same year under the title *Historia Christi Persice conscripta simulque multis modis contaminata a Hieronymo Xavier, latine reddita*...<sup>85</sup> De Dieu indignantly pointed out that this *Historia Christi* contained apocryphal additions from the *Evangelium Infantiae* and the *Acta Pilati*, while omitting portions of the canonical text of the Gospels. With such a fabulous story of Jesus, full of idolatrous superstition

("superstitionibus idolatricis refertum"), the Jesuits, so De Dieu warned, made proselytes even in the far corners of the earth! But he also hoped to stimulate others to study the Persian language, and so not only reprinted the Persian text in his *Historia*, but also published a Persian grammar in the same year (1639).

Of much greater importance for New Testament studies was an earlier publication of De Dieu, which guaranteed him a place of honour in the history of New Testament textual criticism until the twentieth century.<sup>86</sup> We refer to his *editio princeps* of Revelation in Syriac translation, *Apocalypsis S. Johannis ex manuscripto exemplari e bibliotheca . . . Jos. Scaligeri deprompto, edita caractere Syro et Ebraeo, cum versione Latina et notis* (Leiden, 1627). The manuscript on which this edition was based, had been discovered by Daniel Heinsius, *professor historiarum* and Librarian of Leiden University, among the papers bequeathed by Scaliger to the library.<sup>87</sup> Heinsius placed this manuscript at De Dieu's disposal and spurred him on to publish it, and to add a transliteration in Hebrew characters, a Latin translation and a Greek text. Understandably, De Dieu dedicated the edition to Heinsius. In his dedicatory letter to Heinsius, he says that the book "non magis me quam te parentem habet, cum sine te nec in manus meas incidisset, nec apud me edendi animum invenisset" (fol. \*3r). To understand the special importance of this edition, it must be recalled that the most widely known Syriac translation of the Bible, the Peshitta (c. 425 A.D.), had never included Revelation. The Apocalypse had only been included in later Syriac translations of the New Testament, viz. in those of Philoxenus of Hierapolis (508 A.D.) and Thomas of Heraclea (616 A.D.). The precise relation between these two latter versions is "one of the most confused and confusing tangles of textual criticism."<sup>88</sup> In 1897 John Gwynn published *The Apocalypse of St John in a Syriac Version Hitherto unknown*.<sup>89</sup> Comparison was thus possible between two versions of the Apocalypse, with the result that it seems possible to regard the text published by Gwynn as Philoxenian, and that of Louis de Dieu as belonging to the version of Thomas of Heraclea.<sup>90</sup>

De Dieu's book, cited above, was printed *typis Elzevirianis*. Three years later the Leiden Elzeviers printed another portion of the New Testament which had been previously unknown in Syriac, viz. II Peter, II and III John and Jude in the Philoxenian version.<sup>91</sup> This edition was prepared by the Oxford orientalist Edward Pococke, then 26 years old. All critics who refer to De Dieu's Apocalypse<sup>92</sup> also refer to Pococke's *Epistolae Catholicae*, but they all omit to mention that it was De Dieu who took

on the burden of preparing Pococke's work for publication and seeing it through the press with the necessary care.<sup>93</sup> This service was requested by G. J. Vossius, *professor eloquentiae et litterarum graecarum* at Leiden, who had made Pococke's acquaintance on a visit to England, and had brought his manuscript back to Leiden, and entrusted it to De Dieu.<sup>94</sup>

De Dieu's exegetical work on the New Testament is contained in the following works: *Animadversiones seu commentarius in quatuor Evangelia* (Leiden, 1631), *Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum* (Leiden, 1634), *Animadversiones in Pauli Epistolam and Romanos... Accessit Spicilegium in reliquas ejusdem Apostoli, ut et Catholicas Epistolas* (Leiden, 1646).<sup>95</sup> Of these commentaries, the second, that on Acts, was dedicated to James Ussher, the famous Archbishop of Armagh, in thanks for scientific services which that expert in early Christian literature had rendered to De Dieu.

"Crisin exercemus libere", said De Dieu in the Preface to his commentary on the Gospels. And in fact, the *Animadversiones* of De Dieu were the first purely philological commentaries on the New Testament to appear from Leiden, and apart from the *Exercitationes Sacrae* of Daniel Heinsius, the only ones which Leiden was to produce in the seventeenth century. Whoever looks for the first realisation of an interpretation of the New Testament independent of dogma, finds it not in the theologian Episcopius but in the regent of the Walloon College Louis de Dieu, and the professor of history Daniel Heinsius. Both these men wrote their commentaries at the same time, but while De Dieu published his work piecemeal in 1631, 1634 and 1646, Heinsius was working on his *Exercitationes* from 1627-28 and published them en bloc in 1639. He was therefore able to make repeated references to De Dieu, whom he always quoted with the greatest respect. Both commentaries shared another special trait in their criticism of Beza's annotations and Latin translation.

If one leaves aside Heinsius for a moment, and asks how De Dieu managed to make New Testament interpretation a purely philological activity, then the answer is by the simple and limited goal which he set himself (but which demanded not a little labour), and the consistency with which he adhered to it. His objective was the comparison of a great number of translations, especially the Oriental ones in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopian, and in Matthew also the Hebrew translation published by Munsterus and Mercerus, as well as the various Latin versions, the vulgate and those of Erasmus and Beza. De Dieu's first task was therefore one of observation. He

wished to collate the agreements and discrepancies between the translations, and then to indicate which in his opinion best reflected the original text, and best corresponded with the mode of expression (*phrasis*) and meaning (*mens*) of the authors. De Dieu speaks, however, not of the meaning of the authors but of the meaning of the Holy Spirit, "mens Spiritus Sancti". To establish this meaning it was not necessary for De Dieu to qualify or weaken the doctrine of inspiration. His aim, in his own words, was: "[ut] ubi convenient, ubi dissideant, quae illarum [sc. versionum] maximè genuina et ad phrasim mentemque Spiritus Sancti accommoda magis videretur, annotarem, non ubique quidem sed ubi usum aliquem habere, textusque Graecus id postulare videretur."<sup>96</sup>

The immediate results of this objective were the three most important characteristics of the literary genre of *Animadversiones* which De Dieu practised. We list them here, for later reference:

(1) The commentator follows the biblical text from beginning to end,<sup>97</sup> as a guiding principle, but reserves his freedom to determine which places he wishes to elucidate, and which he wishes to pass over. The not unimportant advantage of this practice is that the commentator is silent where he has nothing to say (which does not always follow). The disadvantage is that a full running commentary is not given.

(2) Ancient and recent translations are compared with each other and with the Greek, without distinction, as if sixteenth-century translators offered the same sort of information and an equally valuable light on the Greek text, as the ancient translations. A simple example, chosen for its brevity, is to be found in De Dieu's commentary on Acts xxviii.16 where it states that "Paul obtained leave to live on his own", καθ' ἑαυτόν. A sentence without any problems, at least from the linguistic standpoint. De Dieu, however, annotates καθ' ἑαυτόν, "Vulgatus sibi, Erasmus solus, Beza seorsim. Glossarium, καθ' ἑαυτόν, in se, secum. Hezychius [sic], αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ipse per se, in Dutch we would say 'op hemselven woonen'." The Dutch translation with which De Dieu concludes is just as accurate as obvious. It was thus expressed in the then most current Dutch Bible ("Deux Aes") and is still so expressed in the new translation of the Dutch Bible Society, and in the New Testament in Today's Dutch, "Groot Nieuws voor U". The modern reader of De Dieu's commentary will be inclined to ask what need there is for all the Latin translations when the meaning is so manifest. But it cannot be too often recalled that the academics of the seventeenth century spoke, corresponded, wrote poetry

and thought in Latin. Latin was to them a living language, they were masters of all the nuances of Latin vocabulary, which they felt directly as if by nature. And so for them, however clear the Greek expression might be, it was not a matter of indifference which Latin equivalent should be chosen. For De Dieu and for Heinsius therefore, criticism of Beza's Latin translation was an all-important stimulus to commentary. Unfortunately enough, it was also the reason why these commentaries forfeited their usefulness. Those who speak no Latin have more need of equivalents and periphrases in their own language, than to participate in discussing synonyms with Erasmus, Beza, Castellio and other humanists.

(3) A third characteristic of the genre *Annotationes* is that the very varied results of the comparison of transla-

3. *Autograph of Louis de Dieu, presenting his Animadversiones to Jacob Golius (cf. plate 4).*

liability of the Greek text. That was not the case, either for De Dieu or for Heinsius, or for their contemporaries, with one exception to whom we shall refer. One of the reasons why fundamental textual criticism remained unknown is that textual criticism was mixed up with exposition. The commentator did not concentrate on textual criticism. It is a highly significant fact that the position of the *textus receptus* was not threatened before Griesbach in 1775, after a century in which the collection of variants had become a true speciality, in the works of Fell (1675), Mill (1707), Bentley (1720) and Wettstein (1750).

From the above discussion it is evident that the weaknesses of De Dieu's commentaries were the necessary results of their characteristics. It should be clear that we have only referred to these shortcomings because De Dieu

Ornatissimo, Doctissimo, Clarissimo viro D. M. Jacobo  
Golio linguarum orientalium et mathematicarum Professori  
dignissimo, amicorum omnium primo obserbanti et gra-  
titudinis ergo D. D. aut Sox.

3

tions were noted indiscriminately. The commentator lists and compares the various interpretations or different shades of meaning of a particular interpretation, and also textual variants. De Dieu noted parallel passages from Jewish literature as well. All this is heaped together to the detriment of each element. The textual criticisms of De Dieu, for example, are highly significant. At the abovementioned verse, Acts xxviii.16, he makes this note: 'Ο ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ. Vulgatus, Syrus et Arabs hoc membrum non legerunt, editiones Graecae constanter legunt, legit et Aethiopicus.' Such an observation, and De Dieu's commentaries abound in them, could have thrown justified doubt on the re-

emerges with more credit from a justified criticism than most of the New Testament scholars of his time. The failure of his *Annotationes* to win enduring fame stems from the fact that much of the material he supplied was soon made more accessible in the polyglots of Paris (1620-45) and London (1655-57).<sup>98</sup>

Claudius Salmasius, who arrived in Leiden in 1632 from France, was a polyhistor of bewildering learning. He concerned himself with various aspects of the earliest Christian literature. In several writings, partly conceived as polemics against his rival Daniel Heinsius, he attempted to define the nature of New Testament Greek, for instance, in his *De Hellenistica commentarius* of 1643. The

4. Title-page of Louis de Dieu,  
*Animadversiones sive Commentarius in  
quatuor Evangelia*, Leiden 1631.

ANIMADVERSIONES  
SIVE  
COMMENTARIUS  
In quatuor Euangelia,

IN QVO

Collatis, SYRI inprimis, ARABIS, Euangelii HEBRÆI,  
VULGATI, ERASMI & BEZÆ versionibus,  
difficiliora quæque loca illustrantur, &  
variæ lectiones conferuntur.

ACCESSIT

*Appendix in MATTHÆVM, in quo cum prætermissa  
quædam, tum ÆTHIOPICÆ versionis nonnulla  
adduntur & expenduntur.*

AVCTORE

LVDOVICO DE DIEV.



LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,  
EX OFFICINÂ BONAVENTVRÆ & ABRAHAM I  
ELZEVIR. Academ. Typograph.

.c1631.

subtitle, *Controversiam de Lingua Hellenistica decidens*, is an excellent example of Salmasius's self-confidence. In this work he criticized Heinsius's terms "dialect" and "hellenistic" as designations of the Greek of the New Testament. It could not be called a "dialect", because there was no special region where it had been spoken. Nor could it be termed "hellenistic", for there had never been a hellenistic people or tribe as there had been Ionians and Dorians. In Salmasius's opinion this language was no special dialect, but, on the contrary, the common Greek language or κοινή of the time after Alexander. Semitisms as found in the New Testament were not inherent in this κοινή. They were only due to the fact that all writings of the New Testament except those of Paul and Luke had originally been written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and had been translated into Greek. Paul and Luke had been bilingual, but had not been able to keep their Greek free from semitisms.

Salmasius's objections against Heinsius's terms "dialect" and "hellenistic" have little foundation when seen with hindsight. But Salmasius understood better than Heinsius that the language of the New Testament displayed all the hallmarks of a nonliterary colloquial speech, and that written documents of daily life, such as letters and accounts, if they had been preserved, would have provided very important illustrations of such biblical Greek. "Nulla vox tam μονήρης in nova et vetere pagina reperitur, quin χερῆσις eius ex aliquo auctore qui periit, confirmari posset. Praecipue si illi extarent, qui plebeio stilo et idiotico res ac vitas privatorum scripserunt." (p. 107). As Schweitzer has observed, Salmasius also brought order out of the confusion caused by the word "Hebrew", by stressing that whenever the New Testament or the Fathers refer to "Hebrew", they mean Aramaic.

In 1644 appeared Salmasius's *Letter to Andreas Colvius concerning I Cor. xi and the wearing of long hair by men*. This was a practical-theological discussion concerning the then burning question indicated in the title, but exegetic observations were not less prominent. More important, however, was the work which Salmasius published in 1645, *De Primatu Papae*, directed principally against the French Jesuit Dionysius Petavius. In this work, Salmasius took an important part in the international discussion of various questions, some of them still unsolved, about the earliest history and literature of Christianity, for example the authenticity of the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, and the problem of whether Peter ever visited Rome.

Finally it deserves to be mentioned that Salmasius played a role in the appearance of the *editio princeps* of the Greek Epistle of Barnabas. Salmasius made a transcript of

Barnabas (and Polycarp) in his own hand, and placed it at the disposal of Isaac Vossius. Vossius gave it to James Ussher, who wished to edit Barnabas and Polycarp together with Ignatius. Unfortunately, the entire impression of Ussher's edition of Barnabas was destroyed in the great fire of Oxford in 1644.<sup>99</sup> The Codex Salmasianus cited by Ussher is no longer traceable today, and forms one of the enigmas of early Christian literature.<sup>100</sup>

Salmasius inclined to extreme and bizarre standpoints, and allowed himself to be led by anti-Catholic feelings, if not by personal enmity. But his historical insight and acute judgment are evident in a number of detailed observations, and the international fame which he enjoyed was certainly not the result of his international quarrels alone. It is definitely to be regretted that his *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* remained unpublished and are now lost.<sup>101</sup>

At this point we wish to end our tableau of the most important contributions which the Leiden philologists of the seventeenth century made to the development of the scientific study of the New Testament. The second half of the seventeenth century was much less fruitful than the first half for the study of the New Testament at Leiden, although neither Jac. Perizonius<sup>102</sup> nor Car. Schaaf<sup>103</sup> should be forgotten. As far as the first half of the century is concerned, in 1660 there appeared, as a complement to the London polyglot, the immense work *Critici Sacri*, a compendium of the most important practitioners of biblical philology from Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus to Drusius, Casaubon and Grotius. In this "Pantheon of exegetes", among the critics of the New Testament, are to be found two Leiden scholars. Louis de Dieu is represented by a number of excerpts from letters on exegetic problems.<sup>104</sup> The other Leidenaar included in the *Critici Sacri* was Joseph Scaliger.

### *Joseph Scaliger*

If there was ever a Leiden scholar who was pressed both at home and abroad to publish his notes on the New Testament, then it was Scaliger. In particular, his good friend De Thou, the historian and councillor of the Parlement of Paris, and from 1595 its vice-president, continually urged him to do so. Even before his arrival at Leiden, Scaliger tried to excuse himself to De Thou: "Les notes du Nouveau-Testament ne se peuvent faire sans mes livres, car il fault avoir le Talmud et plusieurs autres livres."<sup>105</sup> But De Thou persisted. In January 1595 he wrote to Scaliger at Leiden: "Vous nous avez autresfois promis *Notas in N.T.*"<sup>106</sup> and again in October: "Je ne laisseray cependant de vous faire souvenir des

Notes sur le Nouveau Testament."<sup>107</sup> Scaliger continued to make excuses, this time with a new argument, "quant aux notes sur le Nouveau Testament, je vous ai tant de fois testifié la fortune qu'il me faudroit courre, si j'entreprendois cela, veu que vous voies qu'on ne tache aujourd'hui qu'à effacer le grand bien que j'ai fait au public . . . je ne m'avancerai plus à faire du bien pour en recevoir du reproche."<sup>108</sup> The only result was that others took up the call of De Thou. In 1598, Philippe de Mornay, seigneur du Plessis, a diplomat of Henri IV and governor of Saumur, enquired about Scaliger's commentary on the Bible. Scaliger answered: "Ceux qui vous ont donné à entendre que nous travaillions sur le vieulx et nouveau Testament ont compté sans parler à l'hoste. Quand nous le pourrions faire, nous ne l'oserions entreprendre. . ."<sup>109</sup> Fear of malicious criticism was also the reason by which Scaliger excused himself to Martinus Lydius, professor of theology at Franeker, in 1600: "De notis in Novum Testamentum, quod ut a me edantur petis, prius illud videndum esset, an praestare id possim, deinde illud difficilium occurrit, an debeam. Alterum non est ingenio nostri, alterum isti saeculo non convenit, in quo plures quotidie oriuntur qui docere quam qui discere malunt. Taceo eorum qui literas tractant procaciam qui nullum aliud quam maledicendi argumentum norunt. Quamvis autem animus excelsus contemnere haec debet, tamen extra culpam non est qui literas, rerum divinarum ministras, improborum maledicentiae obiicit, quum modesto silentio ab hoc periculo tutas praestare illas possit. Ego, mi Lydi, sacra illa tangere non audeo."<sup>110</sup> In 1601 it was Charles de Harlay, baron de Dolot and son of Christophe de Harlay, president of the Parlement of Paris, who wrote to Scaliger that he would be glad to know "si nous n'attendrons point de vous que le public jouisse de vos saints labours sur le Nouveau Testament, ce que je ne cesseray jamais de vous ramentevoir, tant que je vivray, combien que je sache bien ce qu'avez respondu sur cela à M. De Thou."<sup>111</sup> De Thou himself reminded Scaliger in 1602: "Je ne laisseray cependant vous recommander tousiours les Notes sur le Nouveau Testament"<sup>112</sup> and six months later wrote: "Si vous vouliez recueillir les observations que vous avez tant sur le Vieil que Nouveau Testament sans vous astreindre à contenues Annotations, vous obligeriez beaucoup le public. Quoy que vous faciez sera bien recue d'un chascun."<sup>113</sup>

Scaliger made his final negative reply in an epigram to De Thou<sup>114</sup> which he included in a covering letter. A fragment of this letter is preserved in Leiden University Library MS. BPL 246 (transcript, unpublished): "Je scay bien que de faire Annotations sur le Nouveau Testament,

non magis mihi impune erit, quam profanos tetigisse. Un méchant Epigramme m'est échappé sur cela. Je le vous envoie."

Why did Scaliger arouse such keen expectations as an Annotator of the New Testament? In the first place by the numerous observations which he made on biblical and early ecclesiastical history in his diverse works. For example, in connexion with the second edition of his *De Emendatione Temporum* Scaliger received a letter with these words: "tant de belles observations que vous avez faites tant sur le vieil que sur le Nouveau Testament, lesquelles j'admire comme je doy."<sup>115</sup> The title page of this edition of the *De Emendatione* in fact announced "loci aliquot obscurissimi chronologiae sacrae et bibliorum illustrantur." In the second place Scaliger discussed the New Testament to an unusual extent with his friends and pupils. In one of his letters to De Thou, mentioning his intention not to publish any notes on the New Testament, he immediately adds: "mais si nous estions ensemble, en discours familiers je vous pourrois encores entretenir de beaucoup de choses sur ce, qui vous contenteroient à mon advis."<sup>116</sup> The *Scaligerana* also provide remarkable evidence of the great attention given to the New Testament in his conversations.<sup>117</sup> Thirdly, it is plain from Scaliger's correspondence that he frequently expounded passages of the New Testament on request. Fourthly,—and the most important reason for the expectations aroused—Scaliger himself repeatedly told people that he had made, or was making annotations on the New Testament.

These annotations of which Scaliger spoke had a specific origin, the appearance in 1582 of the folio edition of Beza's New Testament, containing the Greek text with Beza's own Latin translation and the vulgate, copiously annotated. Scaliger seems at first to have had some respect for this work. At any rate Andreas Rivetus cites a few very laudatory lines written by Scaliger in praise of Beza's New Testament.<sup>118</sup> But after Scaliger had thoroughly perused Beza's translation and commentary from cover to cover, he changed his mind. In 1584 he wrote to his friend Claude Dupuy, a councillor of the Parlement of Paris, "si j'ai loisir je vous ferai un recueil des fautes que j'ai trouvées dans la version et commentaires de M. de Beze sur le Nouveau Testament qui sont en grand nombre, et peuvent faire juste volume. Mais c'est entre vous et moi que je di ceci, et je ne voudroie pour rien que personne le sceust. Car j'ai delibéré de les envoyer au dit de Beze affin qu'il corrige tout s'il fait une seconde édition."<sup>119</sup> And in 1586 he restated this to Dupuy, adding: "Ce n'est toutesfois encores besogne preste. Car j'ai aultre chose à faire."<sup>120</sup>

After 1600 Scaliger repeatedly spoke to his pupils at Leiden of further, different notes which he had made on the New Testament. He explained I Cor. xi.10 "À cause des Anges" to mean "À cause que les Anges sont tesmoins de leurs actions" and concluded "Notavi plura in N.T. meo".<sup>121</sup> After an extremely important discourse, inspired by Erasmus,<sup>122</sup> on the proverbial form of a number of Jesus's words, which appeared to be derived from the colloquial speech of the Jews, "ex communi sermone Judaeorum", he observed, "I have made a great number of such observations on the New Testament" (*Talia multa annotavi in Novo Testamento*).<sup>123</sup> Is it surprising that the world was eager for the New Testament annotations of Scaliger, who himself claimed "I haven't seen a single difficult word in the Bible that I don't know" (*J'ai veu qu'il n'y avoit mot difficile en la Bible ... que je ne sceusse*)?<sup>124</sup>

Scaliger died in 1609 without having published his notes on the New Testament, but the keen interest in having notes from his hand on the New Testament by no means disappeared as a result. In 1619 the little known Genevan printer Pierre de la Rovière<sup>125</sup> announced an edition of the New Testament "cum notis Josephi Scaligeri in locos aliquot difficiliores". Daniel Heinsius, who as Librarian of Leiden University was in charge of Scaliger's papers, was extremely annoyed. Without having seen the edition he expressed anger in a letter to Dupuy in Paris, at the shamelessness of the publisher who dared to print Scaliger's notes "contra eius tabulas [will] quibus vetuit quicquam suum se defuncto edi ... cum nobis satis constet, notas illas diu inter eius chartas, et cum cura maxima quaesitas, non comparuisse."<sup>126</sup>

Heinsius's annoyance was only partly justified. It is true that Scaliger's will had forbidden publication of anything from the papers which he left to Leiden University Library. But Scaliger had not forbidden the publication of material already dispersed, such as poems and letters, nor had Heinsius any objections. The annotations which appeared at Geneva were not from Scaliger's papers in the library at Leiden. So much is clear not only from the history of their origin which can be partially reconstructed, and from the content of the Geneva notes (henceforth abbreviated as *Genevensia*) but also from the fact that long and thorough searches among Scaliger's papers in the Leiden University Library failed to uncover a single note on the New Testament, as the Librarian himself testified in the words quoted above.

There is no reason to doubt the trustworthiness of this evidence. In the first place, in 1619 Heinsius had nothing to gain by concealing any possible notes by Scaliger, for

he did not form his own plans to publish a commentary on the New Testament until long after 1619 and he did not make a start until 1627-28. Secondly, if he had been aware of any notes of Scaliger on the New Testament, he would not have refrained from publishing them once the *Genevensia* had appeared (against Scaliger's own prohibition, which he also flouted by publishing Scaliger's notes on Nonnus)<sup>127</sup> in order to neutralise the harm which the *Genevensia* could have done to the memory of his deeply respected teacher. But there was a third reason why Scaliger's notes on the New Testament could not possibly be found among his papers—namely, that he never wrote any special notes on the New Testament while at Leiden,<sup>128</sup> nor did he collect the notes he had written before, such as his criticisms of Beza's translation and commentary. The critical comments which he wrote on Beza's work were written *in his own copy* of the 1582 edition. We know this not only from his pupil and friend Heinsius: "(Beza) obtinere non potuit, ut nemo alibi ab eo dissentiret. Inter quos et ille... magnus Scaliger, *in suo codice*, si quid esset, quod non satisfaceret, ut mos illius erat, obeliscis libere notarat, sed et alibi quae meliora viderentur reposuerat",<sup>129</sup> but also from the description given in the catalogue when Scaliger's copy of Beza was sold in 1656: "Novum Testamentum Bezae apud Stephanum 1582. Ad oram multas censuras et emendationes adscripsit Jos. Scaliger."<sup>130</sup> And whenever Scaliger told his students at Leiden of notes he had written on the New Testament, he did not say "adnotavi Novum Testamentum" or something similar, but "Notavi in N.T. meo ...",<sup>131</sup> that is to say, in his own copy of the New Testament. But apart from such marginalia, "quae in codice uno alterove memoriae causa annotarat" as Heinsius said,<sup>132</sup> and apart from the observations on the New Testament published in his works, Scaliger never had, at Leiden, independent notes on the New Testament. A few years before his death he made this clear himself in a phrase which has never been cited in this context, but which is of the greatest importance: "On se trompe en trois choses de moy, que j'ay de l'argent, que j'ay de belles choses sur le Nouveau Testament, que je fays bien des vers."<sup>133</sup>

The edition of the New Testament with Scaliger's notes, announced by De la Rovière, appeared in 1619 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, A2552, in-4to). The same edition appeared in 1620 with an altered title page: the year MDCXIX was changed to MDCXX, and "Coloniae Allobrogum" was overprinted with an ornamental band above which was the word "Genevae" (Leiden, University Library, 759C31 and 32). Also in 1620, the same work

was published with a third title page on which the words "nunc primum editis" were added after "cum notis Josephi Scaligeri in locos aliquot difficiliores" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, A4223, in-4to). In some of the copies, Scaliger's notes are bound before the Greek text, in others after it. They were introduced by a short anonymous preface of a single sentence, announcing that these notes of Scaliger "fell into our hands by chance", and exhorting the readers also to publish any notes by Scaliger which they might happen to possess. There was not a single word to indicate the origin or provenance of the notes which De la Rovière printed.

Anyone who takes the trouble to study the *Genevensia* rather more closely—which no one up to now has done—can discover a great deal about the way they were compiled.

The *Genevensia* appear to consist of two series of notes, the second placed after the first. In both series the notes are arranged in order of the books of the New Testament. The first series contains short notes on Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, I Corinthians, Ephesians, Hebrews and I Peter. The second series contains longer notes, sometimes excursions running to several pages, on Matthew, Mark, John, I Corinthians and Revelation.<sup>134</sup>

The conclusion is evident that the *Genevensia* were put together from two sources, and that the compiler did not take the trouble to insert the second series in the appropriate sequence among those from the first series. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the second series (the longer notes and excursions) survives in a manuscript independent of the set of notes belonging to the first series. The second series of *Genevensia* are found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 17.283, ff. 4r-11r. This manuscript is admittedly dated 1736, but it contains the second series of *Genevensia* in a recension which must be older than the form in which they were published in 1619. This is indicated first of all by the fact that in the manuscript the notes are not arranged in the order of the Books of the New Testament.<sup>135</sup> Secondly, in the middle of the notes on the New Testament the manuscript contains a short treatise by Scaliger *De Apocryphis Bibliorum* clearly omitted from the printed *Genevensia* because it could not be considered as commentary on the New Testament. Thirdly the printed *Genevensia* display obvious copyist's errors, lacking in the manuscript.<sup>136</sup> Fourthly, the notes in the manuscript are consistently fuller, while the printed notes were excerpted or compressed sometimes to the point of incomprehensibility. In such cases, the long text, whenever it can be verified, appears to be word for word the same as that of authentic letters

of Scaliger. The autographs of several of these letters are preserved in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Dupuy 395, ff. 2r-5v.<sup>137</sup> Notes of which this MS. does not contain Scaliger's autograph copies, are found in the same volume in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century transcripts. Moreover, we know that in 1728 Magnus Crusius indicated that he was aware of a longer recension of the *Genevensia* than the printed one, and that it also included Scaliger's short treatise *De Apocryphis Bibliorum*.<sup>138</sup> Crusius was therefore acquainted with a copy related to the Paris ms. lat. 17.283.

The source of this second series of *Genevensia* is clearly Scaliger's correspondence. This is not only plain for the notes which form part of Scaliger's autograph letters preserved in Dupuy 395. It can also be demonstrated for all other notes of the series; we shall do so for two of them.

In 1855 J. Bernays wrote: "Die Noten Scaligers (*sc.* the *Genevensia*) rühren in dieser Fassung schwerlich von Ihm her."<sup>139</sup> But he had not read these notes thoroughly, for when eight years later he published "ein ungedruckter Brief Joseph Scaligers"<sup>140</sup> he completely failed to realise that three quarters of this "unpublished letter" had already been published at least seven times in the middle of the *Genevensia*<sup>141</sup> and fragments of it another five times.<sup>142</sup> Only when Bernays thought he was publishing an unknown fragment by Scaliger did he recognise "die scharfe Ausarbeitung aller Einzelheiten und die lebendige Frische welche das Ganze durchzieht". Still, it was useful that Bernays published the complete text of the letter as a comparison between it and the *Genevan* excursus on I Cor. iii.15 clearly shews how the maker of the *Genevensia* approached his work. All the parts of the letter which shewed clear evidence of epistolary style, were omitted. This included both the exordium ("Accepi omnes literas tuas . . .") and the last line ("tam prolixius fui . . .") and other passages written in a more or less personal style (e.g. "Dices haec neminem ignorare . . ." and "Intelligis igitur quid sit . . ."). What remained was factual commentary. The letter from which this commentary on I Cor. iii.15 was extracted, was written by Scaliger in 1591 ("Prulliaci V.Eid.Jun. 1591") to his friend François Vertunien, a doctor, who also compiled the *Prima Scaligerana*, including many fragments of letters.

The final note in the *Genevensia* concerned Rev. xvii.5 which according to Scaliger was to be understood as follows: on her forehead was written MYSTERIUM, the significance of this secret being, as the Apostle said in the gloss he added, "the great Babylon is the mother of fornicators".<sup>143</sup> Scaliger points out in his note on this



that until shortly after 1500 "Mysterium" had been the inscription on the Papal tiara. This note is also to be found in an unpublished letter of Scaliger, of which a transcript is preserved in Leiden University Library, ms. BPL 246, dated "de Preulli ce 29 Jul. 1591".<sup>144</sup> The name of the addressee is missing. The same letter, without the introductory lines or the date, appears in Paris, Bibliothèque National, MS. Dupuy 395, f. 16r.-v. In the *Genevensia*, not only the exordium but also the last third of the letter is absent.

The second series of *Genevensia* thus consisted of excerpts from Scaliger's letters. The shorter notes, on the other hand, cannot be traced to any letters of Scaliger. Nonetheless their authenticity is beyond doubt. It is evident, inter alia, from the characteristic attention which Scaliger devoted to modern Jewish customs. At I Cor. v.4-5, παραδοῦναι τῷ Σατανᾷ, his note reads "Extrema excommunicatio, qua etiam hodieque Iudaei utuntur . . ." An interest typical of Scaliger is also reflected in the observation on Hebrews xi.21 that the words τῆς ῥάβδου reveal that "the author of this Epistle" followed the translation of the Septuagint. At any rate, that the author of Hebrews was "imperitus Hebraicae linguae",<sup>145</sup> was a cardinal point in Scaliger's important theory that the Hellenistic Jews "ne *gru* quidem in lingua Hebraica callebant: ut autor Epistolae ad Hebraeos, qui non est Paulus, sed quidam Hellenista".<sup>146</sup> The authenticity of the first series of *Genevensia* need not therefore be questioned, the less so as a transcript of these shorter notes signed "Jos. Scal. Jul. Caes. f." is found in the MS. Dupuy 395, ff. 21r.-22r., although the transcript in question is no autograph. These shorter notes were probably rapid annotations which Scaliger wrote for some admirer, but had not intended to publish.

The compiler of the whole complex of *Genevensia* is unknown. Nicolas Vedelius has been wrongly identified as the man responsible,<sup>147</sup> through the fact that the edition of 1619-20 contained also a "Syllabus locorum Novi Testamenti de quorum sensu et usu in controversis religionis Christianae capitibus . . . lis est" which was preceded by a preface under the heading "N.V. Lectori S."<sup>148</sup> Vedelius can only be held responsible for this Syllabus and its preface, and not for the other contents of De la Rovière's edition. The *Genevensia* were probably compiled in France. It was there that there had long been the greatest demand for Scaliger's notes on the New Testament; that he had sent a number of letters which were drawn on for the *Genevensia*. It was there that manuscripts of the second series were found in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>149</sup> It is beyond doubt

that François Vertunien played some part as collector of Scaliger's New Testament notes. Vertunien is the addressee of most of Scaliger's letters from which the longer notes were excerpted. It was Vertunien too for whom Scaliger wrote the as yet unpublished "Notae quaedam in Novum Testamentum quas Francisco Vertuniano aliud agens communicavit" preserved in Dupuy 395, ff. 19r.-20v. Probably it was Vertunien too for whom Scaliger wrote the shorter *Genevensia* in the more extensive and more original recension preserved in Dupuy 395, ff. 21r.-22r. But as Vertunien died in 1607, he cannot have been responsible for the edition of the *Genevensia* which appeared in 1609. Moreover, a number of extremely interesting notes which Vertunien had had at his disposal (those figuring in Dupuy 395, ff. 19r.-20v.), were not published along with the *Genevensia*. Among these notes which remained unpublished is that on Jesus's genealogy in Matth. i. 2-16 where Scaliger's comment reads "Haec tota genealogia a veteribus christianis addita est . . ."

The *Genevensia* were republished in the following editions of the Greek New Testament:

at London in 1622, apud Ioa. Billium  
(Paris BN, A10584, in-8vo);  
at London in 1633, apud Rich. Whittakerum  
(Paris BN, A10587, in-8vo; Rahir 383);  
at Leiden in 1641, ex officina Elzeviriana  
(Paris BN, A6304 and 6307 in-8vo; Rahir 527).

Later Scaliger's notes were included in the *Critici Sacri*, which appeared at London in 1660, at Frankfort in 1695, and at Amsterdam in 1698. Extracts from them appeared in Matthew Poole's *Synopsis Criticorum* (cf. n. 142).

The London edition of 1633 deserves special attention. This was not printed in England, but as appears from the title-vignette, the printing materials (inter alia the head- and tail-pieces) and the high quality of paper and printing, by the Leiden Elzeviers. As was their custom, they added a preface to the book. This was, without the slightest doubt, written like numerous others by Daniel Heinsius.<sup>150</sup> An historical irony thus meant that Heinsius, who had been so annoyed by the publication of Scaliger's notes in 1619, was to recommend those same notes to the public fourteen years later. What is more, he himself had contributed to this edition. He claimed that printing errors which had disfigured the notes in earlier editions, had been removed. We have tested the justice of this claim: in fact it seems that successful efforts were made to correct faults.<sup>151</sup> On stylistic<sup>152</sup> and historical<sup>153</sup> grounds it is

probable that this correction was carried out by Heinsius himself. The corrected recension was followed in the *Critici Sacri*.

Among the numerous scholars who were soon to cite Scaliger's *Genevensia* was Abr. Scultetus, formerly court-preacher of the Elector Palatine Frederick V. In his *Exercitationes Evangelicae* (1624)<sup>154</sup> he cited at length a paragraph from Scaliger's excursus on I Cor. xv.29 in which Scaliger had argued inter alia, that the early church had not always celebrated the Baptism of Jesus on 6 January, but for a time on 6 February, and in which he had traced the name *φωτισμός* for the Baptism back to Jewish idiom concerning the circumcision. Surprisingly enough, Scultetus also cited "Notae in N.T." by Scaliger which are not to be found among the *Genevensia*.<sup>155</sup> These notes, he says, had been communicated to him by Janus Rutgersius, the Dutch-born envoy of the king of Sweden to Frederick V.<sup>156</sup> Scultetus and Rutgersius had met at the court of the Winter-King at Prague in 1620. The tottering political situation in Bohemia appears not to have prevented the court from finding time for literary pursuits. Scultetus at least mentions<sup>157</sup> that he had discussions with Rutgersius about Gellius. On such an occasion, apparently, Rutgersius presented him with notes by Scaliger on the New Testament which were not identical with the *Genevensia*.

What these notes were, appeared in 1714 when H. L. Schurzfleisch published *Scaligeri Animadversiones mss. in Bezae Novum Testamentum*.<sup>158</sup> These *Animadversiones* or short notes on Beza's translation of and commentary on, the New Testament, also contained the note which Scultetus had cited<sup>159</sup> and which was not in the *Genevensia*. In his introduction Schurzfleisch said that these notes "procedunt" from the library of G. J. Vossius. Now a great many of Vossius's books have ended up, after a veritable Odyssey, in the Leiden University Library. Among them is a copy of Beza's New Testament of 1582 (shelfmark 525A3). On a fly-leaf is written this inscription: "Gerardi Vossii ex bibliotheca patris sui Johannis Vossii Ecclesiae Dordrechtani." In fact this book appears to contain in the margins the handwritten observations which Schurzfleisch published as *Scaligeri Animadversiones mss. in Bezae Novum Testamentum*.<sup>160</sup>

On the other hand, various observations do not allow us to accept that the Leiden copy, 525A3, was the source of Schurzfleisch's *Scaligeri Animadversiones*. In the first place, after careful collation it is evident that notes are absent from 525A3 which Schurzfleisch printed, among them the very note which Scultetus was aware of. Secondly, the marginalia in 525A3 are not in Scaliger's hand.

Thirdly, Scaliger can never have owned this book, for according to the inscription cited above, it belonged to the Vossii during Scaliger's lifetime. Fourthly, according to a comment made in 1783 by J. B. C. d'Ansse de Villoison<sup>161</sup> Schurzfleisch had published the annotations of Scaliger from a copy of the 1582 edition of Beza which contained a different inscription, namely "Gerardi Vossii ex bibliotheca illustris viri Josephi Scaligeri, cujus manu plurimae censurae sunt adscriptae." Schurzfleisch had not indicated this, nor that he had used an annotated Beza as source.

We draw two conclusions from this evidence:

- (1) G. J. Vossius must have had two copies of Beza's 1582 edition, one of which is now at Leiden, the other being known to Schurzfleisch and d'Ansse de Villoison.
- (2) As Schurzfleisch was curator of the Ducal Library at Weimar, and De Villoison collected the material for his *Epistolae Vinarienses* from that Library, Scaliger's copy of the 1582 edition of Beza could have been in that library in the eighteenth century, and could well still be in Weimar.

Conclusion (1) is confirmed as follows; Vossius left a catalogue of his immense library dating from his student days at Leiden until about 1622 when he became a professor at Leiden.<sup>162</sup> This catalogue has been preserved.<sup>163</sup> Under the rubric "Theologi recentiores, in folio, commentatores," can be read:

<i>In corio</i>	<i>Notae majores Bezae in N.T. 3<sup>a</sup> editio.</i>
<i>flor. 7</i>	<i>H. Stephanus 1582.</i>
<i>fl. 12</i>	<i>Eadem iterum, adscriptis multis a Jos. Scaligero.</i>

The second copy catalogued by Vossius had been in the possession of Scaliger. At the auction of Scaliger's books after his death in 1609, it was bought by Dom. Badius.<sup>164</sup> After his death in turn in 1613, his library too was sold, but the copy of Beza with Scaliger's annotations was no longer among the books auctioned.<sup>165</sup> Gerard Vossius, on the other hand acquired the book before 1622. In his library the notes from Scaliger's copy were transcribed into the copy of the same book owned by the Vossius family. Not only Scaliger's marginal observations were copied, but also the underlining, reference marks, &c,<sup>166</sup> so that this family copy (which passed into the possession of Leiden University Library later in the seventeenth century) faithfully depicts Scaliger's reactions as he read Beza's translation and commentary. The copy with Scaliger's notes in his own hand went, after G. J. Vossius's death in 1649, to Sweden, but Isaac Vossius recovered it

from Queen Christina's library after his return to Holland. As it was a duplicate of the family copy, Isaac decided to sell it in 1656, along with other books he wished to dispose of. In the auction catalogue,<sup>167</sup> the book is listed as "Novum Testamentum Bezae, apud Stephanum 1582, ad oram multas censuras adscriptis Jos. Scaliger." This working copy of Scaliger's probably reached Weimar via Frankfort.

For conclusion (2) has been confirmed by Dr. Kratzsch of the "Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen Deutschen Literatur in Weimar, Zentralbibliothek der Deutschen Klassik". Dr. Kratzsch has informed us<sup>168</sup> that "the former Ducal Library at Weimar continues to exist as a central library of German classical literature, and also preserves its old collections. The volume about which you enquired, Scaliger's copy of Beza's "Novum Testamentum sive Novum Foedus", 1582, is still in our possession, shelfmark 2°Cl, 1:32."

The above account was necessary to determine the provenance and authenticity of the notes on the New Testament which were published under Scaliger's name. Apart from the Genevensia, and those which we shall call Vinariensia (from Weimar), a third series of notes on the New Testament by Scaliger must be mentioned, which have never before received any attention.

by Scaliger The *Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, tome I,<sup>169</sup> refers under no. 690 to an "Expositio in hebraicum Matthaei Evangelium", written in Scaliger's hand. On examining this manuscript, we found that it does not bear any title but that *Annotationes in Matthaei Evangelium* would be the most appropriate title that could be given to the work, as Scaliger, after a preface and a short list of contents for Matthew, begins with a commentary, interrupted only by headings such as "In cap. 2. Matthaei", "In cap. 3.<sup>m</sup> Matthaei", "Caput 4<sup>m</sup>", "Caput V." etc. The whole work contains 54 folios (108 pages) in quarto. As it breaks off unexpectedly after the annotations on chapter xi, the work either remained unfinished or has not been preserved in toto.

It appears from the preface that Scaliger planned to compile a work in which he would combine a commentary on the Hebrew text of Genesis with a commentary on the Hebrew text of Matthew, as published by Mercerus and Munsterus. Scaliger said that he was certainly well aware that some denied that this Hebrew text of the Gospel of Matthew was the original one, and considered it to be no more than a recent pastiche. But in his opinion there could be no convincing proof that it was either genuine or spurious. And as the Hebrew text was in marked agreement with the Greek and Latin texts of the Gospel,

then, according to Scaliger, it could not differ greatly from the authentic Hebrew text of Matthew: "Quare fruamur iis, quae habemus... donec aut verum illud alicunde emergat, si aliud est ab hoc: aut Catholicae Ecclesiae decreto certum hac de re statui aliquid intelligamus."

From these last words it can be deduced that Scaliger wrote this work before his conversion to protestantism in 1562. He must therefore have written it in his twenties, and so can be forgiven his erroneous judgment of the Hebrew text of the Gospel, all the more when it is recalled how he later, at Leiden, was to speak of this text: "C'est une sottise de dire que Saint Matthieu ait escrit en Hebreu le texte qu'ont fait imprimer Mercerus et Munster: il n'y a que 200 ans que les Juifs l'avoient tourné du Latin pour combattre les Chrestiens."<sup>170</sup>

Echoes of Scaliger's intense scientific interest in the New Testament are to be found not only in MS. Dupuy 395 (which includes all the Genevensia), the Vinariensia, and the commentary on Matthew, but also in his correspondence and in the *Scaligerana*. Moreover, a number of his published works contain passages concerning the New Testament. As Bernays said in 1855, the collection of all this material "would be a rewarding task for a critical theologian".<sup>171</sup> But such a theologian has never come forward. Therefore we have ourselves collected the material, a fraction of which is given below. The complete corpus would require a volume of several hundred pages.

In his time, Scaliger was the only one to have a fundamental distrust of the current text of the New Testament. "Il y a plus de 50 additions ou mutations au Nouveau Testament et aux Evangiles; c'est chose estrange, je n'ose la dire; si c'estoit un auteur profane j'en parlerois autrement."<sup>172</sup> As is well-known Scaliger was also the first to introduce the idea of the mediaeval archetype into textual criticism. From the nature of the corruptions in the manuscripts of Catullus, he tried to prove that they were derived from a common parent written in precaroline minuscule.<sup>173</sup> Less well known are his similar insights into the textual traditions of the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle<sup>174</sup> and of Curtius Rufus. "Q. Curce est perdu. Tout ce que nous en avons a esté décrit d'un seul exemplaire, et tous les MSS sont nouveaux."<sup>175</sup> Scaliger applied this idea, unique in its time, of the history of the transmission of ancient texts to the New Testament also: "La depravation a esté plus grande, parce qu'on n'a décrit que d'un Exemplaire, et les Moines ont farcy beaucoup selon leur ignorance."<sup>176</sup> Referring to the Testimonium Flavianum in Josephus, he proved that corruption by Christians had

set in at a very early date: "Eusebe le cite, tellement que la depravation est bien ancienne."<sup>177</sup> It in no way impairs the value of these new, and still valid insights into textual history, that Scaliger determined corruptions on grounds that must now be regarded as unsound. What played him false was that the rule "lectio difficilior potior" was still unknown, and not to be formulated until the end of the seventeenth century by the Amsterdam professor J. Clericus.<sup>178</sup> Nonetheless, we give here a few passages whose reliability Scaliger doubted. It will appear that several of the passages which Scaliger mistrusted had already been discussed because of their difficulty by the early church.

In his opinion, an ancient error spoiled either Mark xv.25 or John xix.14 for according to Mark the crucifixion took place at the *third* hour, but to John after the *sixth*. "C'est une difficulté grande: error ex depravatione Exemplarium. C'est une chose depravée de long temps; car Augustin mesme travaille à la soudre."<sup>179</sup> Scaliger saw a similar fault in Mark xvi.2 where it says that the women came to the tomb "after sunrise", whereas according to John the Resurrection had taken place "when it was still dark", to Luke "at early dawn" and to Matthew "as the day was dawning": "error est et corruptio librarii: nescio quid dicam, torserunt se frustra Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus; error est librarii manifestus: potuerunt corrumpi ut nunc exemplaria: semper scriptum super chartam potuit corrumpi."<sup>180</sup> By comparison with Josephus, Scaliger came to the conclusion that the narrative of Herodias (Mark vi.22-29 and Matthew xiv.6-12) was corrupt in the Gospels: "Cela d'Herodias, femme d'Herode, qui est autrement dans Joseph est une chose terrible, car qui l'auroit induit à mentir? Les Chrestiens anciens ont beaucoup adjousté au Nouveau Testament. Ils peuvent aussi avoir changé celui-là."<sup>181</sup> Scaliger also mixed historical and textual criticism in his opinion of John i.28: "Non *Bethania*, comme il y a en d'autres exemplaires. Car Bethabara est près le Jourdain, comme il est dict au V.T. et dans Joseph."<sup>182</sup> He brought a confusion of literary and textual criticism to his judgment that in John ix.7 ὁ ἔρμηνεύεται, Ἀπεσταλμένος "est additio veterum Christianorum, qui omnia quae putabant Christianismo conducere, Bibliis interseruerunt. Malè. Car ils le prennent pour le nom propre de Christ; au lieu qu'icy Siloe signifie autant que *Gichon* qui est comme une escluse..."<sup>183</sup> Similarly on Acts xiii.8 οὕτω γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, "est addita in textu, qualia multa, non est genuina."<sup>184</sup> In Mark ix.49, Scaliger wished to alter πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται, which in his opinion made no sense, to πᾶσα πυρία [burnt-offering, holocaust] ἀλισθήσεται,<sup>185</sup> and at I Corinthians xv.32 he submitted

κατὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐθηριομάχησα as a better reading than κατὰ ἄνθρωπον.<sup>186</sup>

Really brilliant was Scaliger's conjectural emendation of Philip. ii.30. Here he altered the reading παραβουλευσάμενος as given by the commonly received text to παραβουλευσάμενος.<sup>187</sup> The surprising part of this conjecture is, that the verb παραβουλεύεσθαι did not occur in any Greek source known in Scaliger's time: the word was nothing less than an invention of Scaliger himself, formed on the basis of παράβολος ("fighter in the arena") which he had found in Socrates's *Historia ecclesiastica* (5th century A.D.). Nevertheless Scaliger's conjecture was confirmed, first by the Codex Claromontanus, then by several other manuscripts, finally by such codices as Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. At present Scaliger's reading is printed in all critical editions of the New Testament.

Scaliger emended the text of the New Testament without bothering about manuscripts. Faced with the dilemma, whether the *correctio corruptorum* should take place "par l'aide des manuscrits" or "par l'esprit", Scaliger not only changed his mind and methods at different stages of his career, he also decided that it depended on the author in question. In the case of Tertullian, Scaliger found that "difficile est aliquid in illum autorem edere sine mss."<sup>188</sup> The same was true of Josephus, "il est impossible remettre [cest auteur] en son entier sans l'aide des livres manuscrits."<sup>189</sup> But "Quant aux vieux livres [mss] du Nouveau Testament à la main, je ne m'y voudrois tenir, tant vieux soient-ils, car ils sont tres corrompus; il vaut mieux se rapporter aux Peres qui citent l'Escriture, et qui se sont servis de meilleurs exemplaires."<sup>190</sup> Scaliger was well aware that "les lettres capitales en Grec sont notes des plus vieux manuscrits. Libri veteres nisi sint ante 500 annos scripti, non sunt boni."<sup>191</sup> And he also knew that "il y a encore au Vatican des Exemplaires du Nouveau Testament."<sup>192</sup> But to tell the truth, "Il n'y a qu'un livre dont je porte envie à la Bibliotheque du Vatican: Eusebii ἀποδείξεων βιβλία ι' . . . il n'y a pas moyen d'avoir ce livre-là."<sup>193</sup>

Daniel Heinsius claimed to have borrowed the characterisation of the language of the New Testament as "sermo hellenisticus" from Scaliger.<sup>194</sup> Consequently, it has often been asserted that Scaliger was the first to call New Testament Greek "hellenistic".<sup>195</sup> The truth of this is very much open to question. In Scaliger's works and letters as well as in the Scaligerana, there is frequent reference to "Hellenistae", including references in connexion with the New Testament, but Scaliger never used the adjective "hellenistic", at least not in writing. The oldest verifiable use of the adjective known to us is the

expression "lingua hellenistica" in Drusius's commentary of 1612 on Luke xv.18.<sup>196</sup> Of course, the possibility cannot be excluded that Scaliger used the adjective "in conversatione familiari".

Time and again<sup>197</sup> Scaliger emphasised who the "Hellenistae" of Acts vi.1 were. They were Jews who read the Old Testament only in Greek, and *not* also in Hebrew or Aramaic. "Et vix in Hebraeis unus reperiebatur qui Hebraice legeret."<sup>198</sup> "Hodie plures Judaei sunt Hebraice docti quam tempore Christi."<sup>199</sup> Among the hellenists who read the bible only in Greek, Scaliger included not only such a man as Philo, "hebraismi imperitissimus",<sup>200</sup> and the epitomist of II Maccabees, but also "Saint Paul et les Evangelistes" including "Saint Luc aux Actes" and the "auctor Epistolae ad Hebraeos". The fact that Paul has sat at the feet of Gamaliel did not mean that Scaliger did not consider him a hellenist.<sup>201</sup>

This original interpretation of Acts vi.1 not only elucidated the use of the Septuagint in the New Testament, but also shed light on New Testament vocabulary. In Luke xxi.38 for example, the verb ὁρθοίξειν can only have been used under the influence of the Septuagint as it does not appear elsewhere.<sup>202</sup> Scaliger pointed out the hebraisms<sup>203</sup> and concluded "Jacobi epistola plena est Judaismis".<sup>204</sup> But he was very sensitive to the literary context within which the New Testament had to be considered. On the one hand, he refused to elucidate the New Testament without having the Talmud to hand<sup>205</sup> and drew a brilliant parallel for Galatians iii.16 (it does not say "and to your *offsprings*") from the Mishna treatise, Sanhedrin IV.5.<sup>206</sup> On the other hand, he said: "Numquam plura apud ullos auctores legi, quae me magis ad interpretationem sacrarum litterarum ducerent, quam apud Aristophanem, Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium et eiusmodi salacissimos auctores."<sup>207</sup> In sum, his advice to exegetes was, "lisez les bons auteurs, la Metamorphose d'Ovide, le Thalmud, illa sunt necessaria ad Biblia".<sup>208</sup>

Papyri were still totally unknown in Scaliger's time, but in seventeenth-century Leiden there was already an awareness that much would be gained for the comprehension of the language of the New Testament "si illi extarent, qui plebeio stilo et idiotico res ac vitas privatorum scripserunt", as Salmasius said in 1643.<sup>209</sup> Scaliger knew where the "plebeius stilus et idioticus" and the "res ac vitas privatorum" should be looked for in his day: in the inscriptions. "Il y a tant de beaux testaments et instrumens anciens dans ces inscriptions . . . si quelque jeune homme prenoit la peine de les recevoir, et toutes les Epistres esparses çà et là, bene faceret: il y a beaucoup dans les inscriptions."<sup>210</sup> "Dans les inscriptions Grecques

anciennes il y a ordinairement ι pour η pour οι; etc."<sup>211</sup> Scaliger knew the name Κλεοπάας (Luke xxiv.18) from an inscription.<sup>212</sup> He made indices to Gruterus's *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (1603) including an "index eorum, quae ad rem grammaticam pertinent" in which there was also much for students of the New Testament to learn.

Scaliger judged the authenticity of the books of the New Testament more radically than anyone else of his time. He regarded as spurious Hebrews,<sup>213</sup> James,<sup>214</sup> II Peter,<sup>215</sup> I, II and III John,<sup>216</sup> Jude<sup>217</sup> and Revelation.<sup>218</sup> Of these books, only Hebrews won his literary approval: "Est admirabilis liber. Initium et finis videntur simpliciora, quae vero in medio libro sunt, excellentissima sunt."<sup>219</sup> At first he had also regarded Revelation as "canonicus vere liber"<sup>220</sup> but he later modified his opinion. He said that the catholic Epistles, excluding I Peter but including I John, were spurious, "recentiores" and "indoctae", that they possessed "nihil majestatis" but rather "mira quae non videntur esse apostolica". Indeed, he even went so far as to call them "non divinae".<sup>221</sup>

The importance of Scaliger's criticism should not be exaggerated. Scaliger was not different from any other humanist or reformer in pointing out that a number of books in the traditional canon were not of themselves authoritative. The value of the canon itself was not put in doubt by these scholars, nor was the canon reduced in number. For even if one or other of the New Testament writings was disqualified, it retained its place provided that it could serve "ad aedificationem et institutionem". So too with Scaliger. The writings which he distinguished as spurious and "non divinae", he accepted as canonical and credible, "because they contain nothing against us", that is, against us protestants.<sup>222</sup> The only way in which Scaliger was not equalled by anybody until the Enlightenment was probably in the great number of writings in the New Testament which he regarded as unauthentic.

Of Scaliger's further statements in the field of "Einleitung", we give only his opinion on the original language in which Revelation was written. "The Apocalypse was written in Hebrew. α and ω is Ϟ and ϟ. Put together, these letters amount to ϞϞ. One must understand this to mean: God."<sup>223</sup> The statement is phrased rather like a riddle. Scaliger's argument is that "the Alpha and the Omega" by which the Lord God refers to himself in Rev. i.8 is a Greek version of the Hebrew letter combination ϞϞ which, in such cabbalistic writings as *Zohar*, refers to God.<sup>224</sup> As is well-known, the study of the Cabala by Christian humanists was especially stimulated by Pico della Mirandola, Joh. Reuchlin, and Guillaume Postel, who made a translation of *Zohar*. As a student of about

twenty, Scaliger had come into contact with Postellus in Paris, and on his advice he had begun serious study of Hebrew, Syriac, and Aramaic. Perhaps it was also Postellus who aroused Scaliger's interest in *Zohar*.<sup>225</sup>

Scaliger paid great attention to biblical antiquities and semantics. A single example of each: "Recte ambigis περι τῆς κοκκίνης χλαμύδος [Matthew xxvii.28] quam alius Evangelista [Mark xv.17] πορφύραν vocat. Sed πορφύρα est genus. Species ἀλιπόρφυρον et κόκκινον. Alterum ex ostreo sive muricis sanie, alterum ex grano ilicis humilis. Uterque color nomine purpuræ continetur. Et Plinius lib. XXXVI cap. VI dixit purpuram ex sandyce. Purpura igitur non de marini tantum ostrei sanie, sed ad alia extenditur."<sup>226</sup> "Ραπίζειν [Matthew v.39; xxvi.67] est proprement infligere alapam, et non pas comme Beze, qui ne m'a pas voulu croire, virgis caedere: Ce mot de ῥάπις signifie virga, sed apud veteres admodum grammaticos; ne doit estre considéré en ce sens. Es nouvelles de Justinian, il est dit que *sustulimus ῥάπισματα in manu-missione*, parce qu'en envoyant un serf et le faisant libre, on lui donnoit des soufflets. Au glossaire il est ainsi tourné: ῥάπισμα, *alapa, colaphum*, qui est proprement un coup de poing."<sup>227</sup>

Scaliger threw new light on the history of the New Testament period as well as on early Christian literature. He was the first to explain both clearly and concisely the history and geographical extent of the Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac languages, and to describe the linguistic situation in Palestine in the Apostolic period.<sup>228</sup> Albert Schweitzer has shewn in its true light the great importance of this information, which was contained in several letters.<sup>229</sup> Scaliger's arguments forcefully demonstrated how untenable was the current Eusebian interpretation of Philo's *De vita contemplativa* according to which a Christian monachism had already existed in the Apostolic age. It is well known how Scaliger proved, on conclusive philological grounds that the writings which went under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite could not date from the first century. But it is wholly unknown that Scaliger did the same for the *Canones Apostolorum*.<sup>230</sup> In a short treatise, still unpublished,<sup>231</sup> a splendid specimen of his vitality, clarity and force of argument, Scaliger attributed both the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* and the *Canones* to the post-Constantine period. He did this by shewing that the words which the *Canones* had in common with the New Testament, had a deeply altered meaning, and that the *Canones* referred to ecclesiastical conditions which were completely unknown in the Apostolic age.

All this manifests Scaliger's genuinely Renaissance striving towards the purification of knowledge. But one

or two weaknesses of this same interest in history must be mentioned.

Scaliger greatly overestimated the possibility of arriving at a definite New Testament chronology. For example, in his *Thesaurus temporum*,<sup>232</sup> he devoted pages to calculating the dates of the most important events in the life of Jesus. For Jesus's birth, in contrast to the traditional chronologies, he managed to pinpoint not only a particular year but even a particular week, namely the end of September or early October: "scio septimanam, sed diem non possum dicere."<sup>233</sup>

Scaliger's strong historical sense went hand in hand with his contempt for the "pseudepigraphical writings of the Old Testament".<sup>234</sup> He could only regard them as fakes to be rejected. He gave his views on many of the Pseudepigrapha: "Oracula Sibyllina ont esté supposez par les Chrestiens."<sup>235</sup> Hecataeus's *De Judaeis* and the Letter of Aristeas were the deceitful products of hellenistic Jews.<sup>236</sup> Scaliger said of the *Mikropresbytikon* of 1550, which collected many of the early Christian pseudepigrapha as well as Old Testament pseudepigrapha such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Sibylline Oracles*, "omnia illa supposititia", which was of course true, but he added "nihil ibi boni", which was too narrow.<sup>237</sup> Scaliger was the first to collect<sup>238</sup> and edit<sup>239</sup> the fragments of the Greek *Apocalypsis Henochi* from Syncellus, which is why even in 1970 his name was rightly included in the bibliography of the new edition of that Apocalypse.<sup>240</sup> Scaliger was also the first to be able to determine that Jude 6 refers to Enoch x.11. He also identified Jude 14-15 as a citation from the Book of Enoch of which he knew the fragments, even though the text of Jude 14-15 was not preserved in these fragments.<sup>241</sup> This attribution was confirmed by the Gizeh Papyrus. The references to Enoch i.9 and x.11 will not be omitted from the margins of Jude in future editions of the New Testament. But it was the same book of Enoch which gave Scaliger the occasion to remark "quae omnia plusne otii Judaeis ut confingerent, an mihi patientiae ut describerem superfuerit, equidem statuere non possum. Tot enim sunt in illis quorum piget, taedet pudetque, ut nisi scirem Judaeorum esse mentiri, neque nunc illas nugae desinere posse, ne digna quidem censuissem quae legerentur . . ."<sup>242</sup>

It must be considered to Scaliger's honour that as a historian he rejected out of hand documents which could not be considered authentic. But it is to be regretted that unlike Drusius, once he had decided a document was not authentic, he had no more literary or historical comments to make on it. Scaliger's disdain for pseudepigraphy was common to many seventeenth-century scholars. Not until

the end of the century did this literature receive the literary attention which was to lead to scientific study.

Finally it must be pointed out that Scaliger's interest in the New Testament was not always free from the prejudices implied in the choice he had made in the great religious controversy of the age. This deficiency was already noticed by the first of the two scholars who, about 1700, applied their deep learning to weigh the history of New Testament study in the balance: Richard Simon<sup>243</sup> and John Mill.<sup>244</sup> Both gave a negative opinion of Scaliger, but based their opinions, with only one exception, solely on the *Genevensia*. Mill dealt relatively fully with Scaliger's proposed textual emendations, rejected them on good grounds and regretted that Scaliger, who had done so much for the text of profane authors, had only neglected the criticism of the New Testament.<sup>245</sup> Simon wrote of Scaliger's exegetical notes: "Il y en a très-peu qui soient dignes de ce savant homme, qui ne s'étoit pas appliqué à cette étude. Il fait quelquefois le Theologien et le Controversiste, osant même accuser d'ignorance les anciens Docteurs de l'Eglise."

It is true that Scaliger consistently shewed little respect for the biblical exposition of the Fathers. "Patres habent miras interpretationes scripturarum, et detortas."<sup>246</sup> Of Augustine, Scaliger said "Non est ἐξηγητικός, non interpretatur bene scripturam, est ineptus saepe."<sup>247</sup> Chrysostom was an exception: "le meilleur des Peres Grecs...infinita pulchra habet et optima in Novum Testamentum."<sup>248</sup> "Ego studiosissimus illius Patris sum, quia nullus melior Novi Testamenti interpret . . ."<sup>249</sup> But in general, Scaliger could only lament: "La grande ignorance de ces Peres depuis 13 ou 1400 ans. Les Jesuites voudroient que nous demeurassions en ces tenebres-là."<sup>250</sup>

The somewhat unexpected twist in Scaliger's expression, just quoted, was no accident. Scaliger's gigantic historical activity can only rightly be understood as a polemic against the learning of the church he had abandoned in his twenties.<sup>251</sup> His lifework was an immense effort to shew that there could be another learning than the Catholic, and that in fact the critical use of the historical sources removed the foundations of Catholic tradition. Scaliger's *De Emendatione Temporum* was a reaction to the Gregorian reform of the calendar. His *Elenchus Serarii* was a denial of the historical legitimacy of monasticism. Also anti-Catholic was Scaliger's schematic picture of the earliest history of the church. According to Scaliger, this history was well known only up to the sixties of the first century. "Depuis la fin des Actes des Apostres, jusques au temps de Plin le jeune, on ne sçait

rien de certain touchant l'Eglise: le plus qu'on en sçait, c'est des profanes."<sup>252</sup> "Veteres Christiani, quibus à fine Actorum Apostolicorum ad tempora Traiani nihil certi exstare in historia Christiana dolebat, ut illum hiatus temporum explerent, multa licenter et ineptè de Petri Romam adventu, deque eius prima sede fabulati sunt."<sup>253</sup> Hence the ignorance of the Fathers: "Polycarpus qui a esté disciple des Apostres, et a tant de faussetez. Il ne faut pas dire que pour avoir esté si prez des Apostres, ils n'ayent point erré, et qu'il n'est pas vray semblable que Christ ait laissé son Eglise ainsi lourdement broncher. . ."<sup>254</sup>

Disqualification of the traditions on which the Roman church was founded was also the ultimate aim of Scaliger in his interpretation of the New Testament. "Leur fondement est si absurde que c'est de merveilles que toute Europe ait consenty a cela."<sup>255</sup> "C'est grand cas qu'aujourd'huy l'Escriture est si claire, il y a tant de lumieres et cependant le Papisme s'establit tant."<sup>256</sup> Scaliger rightly shewed also the inaccuracy of the traditional interpretation of a number of places in the Passion, which stimulated belief in miracles and dogmas.<sup>257</sup>

Scaliger's objective was very clearly revealed whenever he stated his position on the already traditional question of whether Peter had visited Rome.<sup>258</sup> No less a person than F. C. Baur counted Scaliger among the protestant scholars who, in dealing with this problem, believed "der Gegenpartei einen Beweis ihrer Unparteilichkeit und Bereitwilligkeit geben zu müssen".<sup>259</sup> Nothing is farther from the truth. Scaliger repeatedly contested, as did Calvin,<sup>260</sup> the tradition of Peter's visit to Rome.<sup>261</sup> His conclusion was: "de eius Romam adventu, sede 25 annorum, et supremo capitis supplicio ibidem, nemo qui paulo humanior fuerit credere posset."<sup>262</sup> Baur allowed himself to be misled by a careless statement by Frid. Spanheim jr. We have deliberately delayed mentioning this Leiden theology professor (1670-1701) until now. His *Dissertatio de ficta projectione Petri Apostoli in urbem Romanam*<sup>263</sup> has recently been praised by Cullmann as the "first scientifically argued attack on the tradition of Peter's visit to Rome . . ., his arguments are still in part of interest today."<sup>264</sup> But Spanheim had not judged Scaliger correctly. On the contrary, Scaliger had so explicitly rejected the tradition that Peter had visited Rome, that his criticism put those of his predecessors in the shade: the Italian philologist Pier Francesco Foggini (1713-1783), a librarian of the Vatican, about 1750 thought that before Scaliger none had doubted that Peter had come to Rome. Almost a century and a half after Scaliger's death, Foggini thought it worth while to attack him at length.<sup>265</sup>

The undermining of Catholic conceptions was the goal of various exegetical notes by Scaliger. For John xviii.31 "we are not allowed to put any man to death", Scaliger gave a strictly historical explanation, concluding: "Mirus est stupor eorum qui id in jus canonicum detorserunt. Sane tantum abest, ut ministro verbi divini . . . liceat hominem capitis damnare, ut omnis administratio civilis eis adempta sit."<sup>266</sup> In his letter to Vertunien, quoted above (p. 79) and included in the *Genevensia*, Scaliger asserted that I Cor. iii.15 could not be used as evidence for the existence of Purgatory: "ex eo ignis purgatorii veterem fabulam probant, stupore plane asinino."

There is a strong example of anti-papism hidden in Scaliger's commentary on Rev. xvii.5<sup>267</sup> where it states—according to the text and punctuation of Scaliger's days—that the great whore had "Mysterium" written on her forehead. Scaliger explained that he had been told "qu'à la verité le tiare pontifical avoit escript au frontal en lettres d'or, MYSTERIUM," and suggested that on inquiry he had not been informed of the inaccuracy of this information, even though the inscription had been altered meanwhile. He concluded: "Quant à moy, je ne doute nullement que le Pape . . . avoit mis . . . Mysterium." Of course the identification of the Pope with Antichrist had a long history.<sup>268</sup> Those who most regularly and consistently equated the Pope or the papacy with Antichrist were the heretics—Joachim of Flora, the Cathars, the Albigensians, the Waldensians, the Spiritual Franciscans, the Fraticelli, Wyclif and the Lollards, Hus and the Hussites. But Luther and Calvin also identified the papacy with Antichrist. So did Melancthon, Bullinger, Bucer, Beza, and indeed all the leading reformers, including radicals like Castellio, Servetus, and many others. Though Scaliger has not been mentioned in this connection, he, too, was convinced that the Pope was Antichrist. Perhaps it is not surprising that he accepted this orthodox protestant identification without question. But it is remarkable that Scaliger, who often severely criticised the traditional exegesis of passages from the Scriptures on which the Catholic dogma was based, held the identification of the Pope with Antichrist proved by Rev. xvii.5.

In mitigation we must make two points. First of all, in most cases where Scaliger gave an anti-Catholic interpretation of one or another passage, he was rightly attempting to clear the text from false explanation. Secondly, even though it was Scaliger's ultimate goal to eradicate Romanism from the explanation of the Bible, this anti-Catholic tendency remained mostly in the background, and Scaliger attempted to reach his objective by a purely historical and philological route. Scaliger's work was

inspired by his protestantism, history and philology were his instruments.

#### *Daniel Heinsius*

One of the most curious of Scaliger's numerous comments on recent and contemporary exegetes of the New Testament, was the following: "Valla primus scripsit Notas in Novum Testamentum, secundus Erasmus, postea Camerarius."<sup>269</sup> Apparently Scaliger noticed soon after 1600 that writing notes on the New Testament was becoming a traditional part of the activity of the great humanists. In the same tradition were Rob. and Henr. Stephanus, and Casaubon.<sup>270</sup> Scaliger too, took his place in the list, against his own intention. What Scaliger himself had not wished to perform, was achieved by two of his pupils at Leiden, Hugo Grotius and Daniel Heinsius. With Salmasius, who was to take Scaliger's place at Leiden, they were among the most famous humanists of the first half of the seventeenth century. All three of them wrote notes on the New Testament. Those of Salmasius, however, remained for the most part unpublished.<sup>271</sup>

No other seventeenth-century New Testament commentary still enjoys so much influence in the twentieth century as that of Grotius. The influence of Grotius's teacher Scaliger is evident in this work. Time and again the reader of Grotius's *Annotata* meets with interpretations and emendations of Scaliger. In some cases Grotius gave Scaliger full credit,<sup>272</sup> but usually he failed to acknowledge his dependence.<sup>273</sup> Scaliger's influence is also shewn more markedly than in such details, in the manner in which Grotius generally "in seiner historischen Orientierung . . . bei der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte anknüpft und auf den Sprachgebrauch der Juden zur Zeit Jesu zurückgreift."<sup>274</sup> It has been pointed out, not without objections, how Grotius "on one hand indicates the hebraisms and elucidates them, consistently using the Septuagint, and sometimes also the language, phrasing and opinions of the Rabbis, and on the other hand offers an abundance of citations from the profane Greek authors."<sup>275</sup> What is this but the practice of Scaliger's rule for exegesis, that Ovid and the Talmud were both necessary for the explanation of the Bible? The objective for which Grotius strove in his *Annotata* was the furthering of peace between the churches.<sup>276</sup> Hopes of a similar result had been in Erasmus's mind when he published his editions.<sup>277</sup> That even Grotius could cherish such a naïve hope, reflected the well-known opinion of Scaliger, "Non aliunde dissidia in religione pendent, quam ab ignoracione grammaticae."<sup>278</sup> Grotius came to write his *Annotata* when, as an



5. *Daniel Heinsius.*



Arminian, he was forced to quit Holland. For that reason we can only mention his *Annotata* here with due modesty. But it should not be forgotten that the *Annotata* were throughout the product of his education at Leiden.<sup>279</sup>

As for Heinsius, his *Exercitationes Sacrae* of 1639 were by no means the first sign of his interest in the New Testament. Even as a 16-year old student at Leiden, he had managed to get hold of a manuscript copy of Casaubon's notes on the New Testament. As Casaubon feared that these notes would be published, he wrote to Scaliger requesting him to use his influence to prevent their publication. Scaliger must have had little trouble persuading his pupil Heinsius that Casaubon's notes could not yet be printed.<sup>280</sup>

It was especially after the Synod of Dordrecht, where he acted as Secretary of the Lay Commissioners, that Heinsius devoted himself more and more to the study of the New Testament. The first great result of this was his *Aristarchus Sacer* of 1627. This work, an octavo volume of more than 800 pages, published by the Elzeviers, was intended in principle as an edition of the text of Nonnus's hexametrical paraphrase of the fourth Gospel, with a detailed commentary. In the first part of the commentary Heinsius considered Nonnus as a poet, in the second part as an interpreter of John.

Heinsius not only criticised the "dicendi ratio" of Nonnus, but also convicted him of geographical, chronological and dogmatic errors. He attributed these not so much to the fact that Nonnus was "vix e paganismo redux" when he wrote the *Paraphrasis*<sup>281</sup> as to Nonnus's lack of understanding of the hellenistic language of the Gospel. So it was that Nonnus created, from an idiom he did not understand, a new poetic language of his own, an "elocutionem non tam Graecam quam Graecanicam, quam nemo ex antiquis Graecis intelligeret, nemo eruditus intelligere tenetur."<sup>282</sup> Nonnus was an author "qui ignarus hebraismi, ἐβραϊζει: qui ignarus syriasmī, συριαζει: qui Chaldaicae ignarus, χaldaϊζει; qui postremo Graecam cum profiteatur, cum Iudaeis Graecis, non cum Graecis, ἐλληνιζει: quae foecundam judicandi Critico materiam suppeditant."<sup>283</sup> So much for Nonnus and his language.

It is self-evident that whenever Heinsius accused Nonnus of not understanding John's Greek, he himself would not let slip the opportunity to explain "plurimos ac obscurissimos Sanctissimi Evangelistae locos." So the *Aristarchus Sacer* developed into a hybrid sort of work; what was originally designed as a commentary on Nonnus became a commentary on John. The reader is always uncertain whether Heinsius's final goal was to explain

Nonnus or John. The commentator seems to have wished to kill two birds with one stone, with the result that the *Aristarchus Sacer* cannot be used either as a commentary on Nonnus or on John, however much of value it contains.<sup>284</sup>

In his *Aristarchus* Heinsius devoted much attention to the language of the New Testament, which he called "lingua hellenistica". Heinsius traced this language back to the Septuagint. He thought "ex Hellenisticis antiqui Foederis interpretibus Novum esse intelligendum... Cujus autores, Hebraea cum exprimerent, Graecis ea vocibus... expresserunt".<sup>285</sup> In Heinsius's opinion this hellenistic Greek was a language of Hebrew and Aramaic concepts expressed in Greek words: "si quis ex me quaerat, quam lingua scripserit Evangelista noster; Hellenistica scripsisse dicam. Si quis, qua conceperit quae scripsit, Syriacam fuisse dicam."<sup>286</sup> The play on words in the Gospel usually only works in Aramaic,<sup>287</sup> at any rate, the language of the New Testament "non cum Graecis sed cum iis quos interpretatur et cum Oriente loqui solet."<sup>288</sup> Heinsius shewed in detail that such words as σάρξ, πνεῦμα, μένειν, ἀλήθεια, δόξα and εἰρήνη had meanings in the New Testament which had been borrowed from their Hebrew equivalents, meanings "in quibus Graeci, nisi qui in Hellenisticis versati sunt, nihil intelligunt aut vident."<sup>289</sup> "Ἀλήθειαν ποιεῖν cum dicunt: nec Aristoteles nec Plato intelligeret. de suo enim Graeci veteres, de alieno Hellenistae, ut plurimum, loquuntur."<sup>290</sup>

Heinsius said that in matters of textual criticism he wished to proceed "reverenter" and "verecunde" even though the Fathers complained loudly of the damage which the Bible text had suffered through the inattention of copyists and the deliberate textual corruptions of heretics.<sup>291</sup>

We will consider Heinsius's views on the "lingua hellenistica" and New Testament textual criticism below, but we must first mention Heinsius's share in the appearance of several apparently anonymous editions of the Greek New Testament, published by the Elzeviers in 1624, 1633 and 1641,<sup>292</sup> that is, in the years when Heinsius himself was almost wholly occupied with his work on his New Testament commentaries.

In 1624 there appeared from Isaac Elzevier at Leiden a duodecimo edition of the Greek New Testament:<sup>293</sup> Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. *Novum Testamentum ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus cum cura expressum.*<sup>294</sup> It was a small book without any pretensions to learning. A year earlier in 1623, the States of Holland had given the Curators of Leiden University instructions to draw up a uniform syllabus for all the Latin students prior to their entering the

6. Title-page of the first Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament, Leiden 1624.

Academy.<sup>295</sup> The Curators asked the advice of the Senate, which in 1623 appointed an ad hoc committee, of which Heinsius was a member.<sup>296</sup> The syllabus which was drafted proposed six years of study. In the two highest classes the pupils were to read, inter alia, the Greek New Testament. No wonder that Isaac Elzevier saw a profit in publishing a pocket edition of the New Testament in Greek. Besides, there was also the new regulation of 1625, discussed above (p. 67-68), according to which theological students had to obtain a testimonial to their fluency in reading the Greek New Testament.<sup>297</sup> This is the background against which the publication of the Elzevier editions of the Greek New Testament<sup>298</sup> should be seen: they were simple editions "in usum tironum".

Little scientific care was taken over the text of the first

7. Title-page of the second Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament, Leiden 1633.

edition of 1624, which was a reprint of the minor octavo of Beza, 1565, with a number of relatively unimportant differences. A second impression was necessary in 1633. It was in the preface to this edition that Heinsius wrote the words which have since become famous "textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus."<sup>299</sup> At the same time, Heinsius allowed the inclusion, under his own name, of a panegyric on the New Testament which he had composed himself. Like the first edition, the second contained a list, Πίναξ, of citations from the Old Testament in the New. In the second edition, moreover, were added lists of ancient chapter-headings, κεφάλαια. Both the Πίναξ and the κεφάλαια were taken from the edition of the Greek New Testament published by Joannes Billius in London in

Ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus, cum cura expressum.

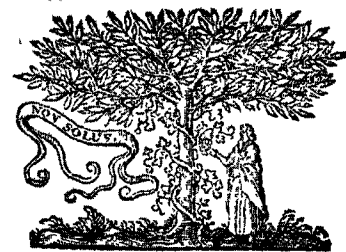


Lugduni Batavorum,  
Ex Officina Elzeviriana.  
MDCXXIV

Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ

ΝΟΤΑ

Ex Regiis aliisque optimis editionibus, hac nova expressum: cui quid accesserit, Prefatio docebit.



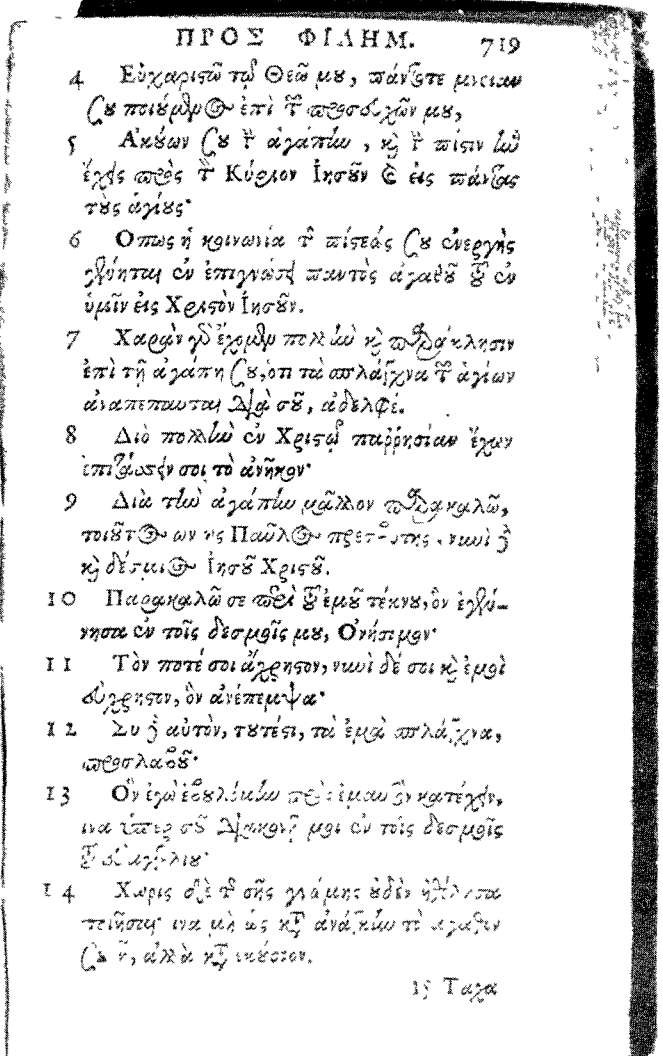
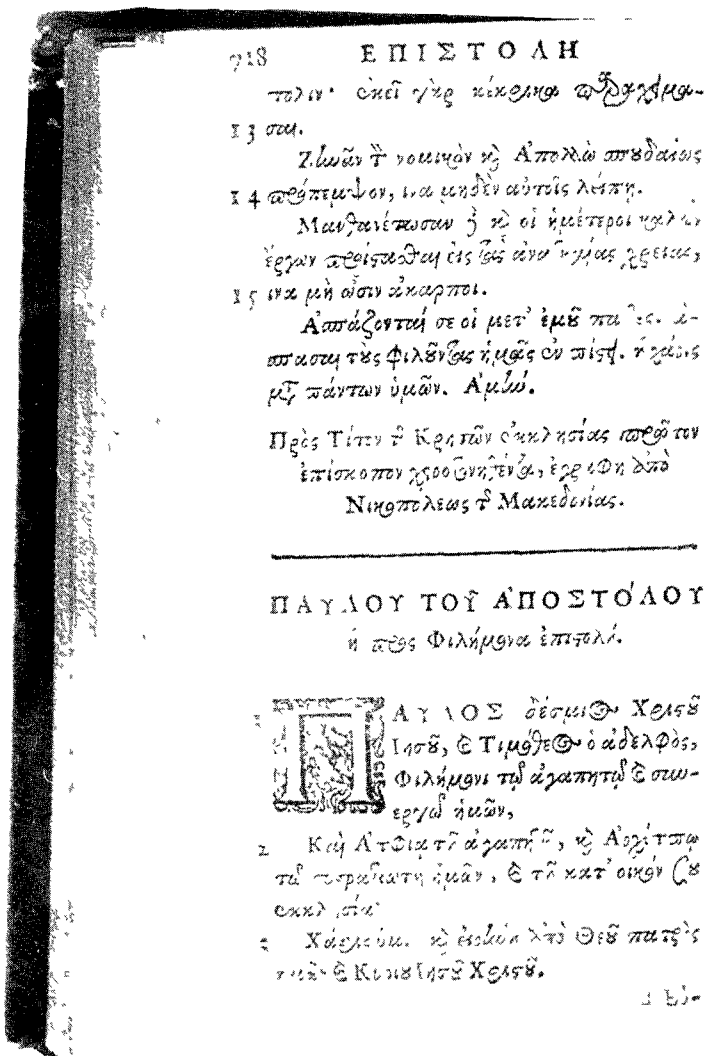
LEID. BATAVORUM,  
Ex Officina Elzeviriorum.

1622, which as stated above (p. 80), was also reprinted in 1633 by the Elzeviers with a preface by Heinsius. Some editorial attention was given to the text of the second Elzevier edition. Though a number of printing errors were carried over from the first impression, others were corrected. Moreover, the 1633 Elzevier shewed, apart from hundreds of insignificant changes in capitalisation, punctuation, orthography, and aspirates, thirteen genuine textual alterations to the 1624 Elzevier, often replacing a 1624 reading with one from the Complutensian Polyglot.<sup>300</sup>

The second impression was as bare of an editor's name as the first. But on various grounds it is highly probable that the editor was none other than the author of the preface (1) and the poet of the panegyric, "In Novi Foederis Libros" (2), that is Daniel Heinsius. Not only

8. Two pages from the second Elzevier edition of the Greek New Testament.

was Heinsius a personal friend of the Elzeviers (3), but he also acted as unofficial academic adviser and managing editor<sup>301</sup> of their firm (4). It was generally known<sup>302</sup> that he played an active part in the enterprises of that publishing house. Besides in 1633 Heinsius was busy on his *Exercitationes Sacrae ad Novum Testamentum* (5). Heinsius's responsibility for the Elzevier editions was accepted without reservations in 1664 by such a competent critic as Joh. Henr. Hottinger.<sup>303</sup> Hottinger had spent a considerable time at Leiden in 1640 researching into the Samaritan Pentateuch in Leiden University Library, and had not only made the close acquaintance of the *civitas academica*, but had also got to know the Librarian Heinsius. His opinion (6) is therefore of great weight. Independently of Hottinger, J. A. Fabricius half a century later identified



9. Title-page of Daniel Heinsius,  
*Animadversiones sacrae*, Leiden 1639.

*Heinsius*  
*14<sup>th</sup> Nov 1639*  
*1805*

DANIELIS HEINSII  
SACRARVM  
EXERCITATIONVM  
AD NOVVM  
TESTAMENTVM  
LIBRI XX.

In quibus Contextus Sacer illustratur, S. S. Patrum aliorumque  
sententiæ examinantur, Interpretationes denique anti-  
quæ aliæque ad eum expendantur.

*QVIBVS*

ARISTARCHVS SACER,

emendatior nec paulo auctior, Indicisqve  
aliquot vberissimi accedunt.



LVGDVNI BATAVORVM.  
Ex Officinâ Elseviriorum.

c16 16c xxxix.

Heinsius as the man who prepared the Elzevier edition of 1633 (7). No other Leiden scholar could be considered a more likely editor of the 1633 Elzevier than Daniel Heinsius (8). Finally, it should be pointed out that the Elzevier editions are no more than the realization of Heinsius's opinions on textual criticism, which we have just mentioned, and which can be summarised in the words he wrote in the preface to the *Exercitationes Sacrae*: "caveatur, ne . . . quod jam receptum, facile immutetur" (9).<sup>304</sup> The nine reasons given allow us to conclude that the editor of the Elzevier edition of 1633 must be identified as Daniel Heinsius. The same conclusion can be accepted for the 1624 Elzevier.

The reason why we have attached such importance to the identification of the editor of the Elzevier editions is that these editions have deeply influenced the history of the text of the New Testament from North America to Turkey. By far the majority of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth-century editions of the New Testament reproduced the text of one or other of the Elzevier editions, in some cases with deviations occasioned by the texts of other editions.<sup>305</sup> Only in England was the text of Rob. Stephanus usually reprinted, though even there slightly adapted to Elzevier. Since 1810 the Elzevier text has been used in innumerable editions of the British Bible Society, so that in nineteenth-century England also, the Elzevier text set the tone. The British and Foreign Bible Society issued the same text up to the twentieth century for dissemination in Greece and Turkey. An edition of Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα issued by the Βρεταννικὴ Βιβλικὴ Ἑταιρεία at Athens and Constantinople in 1902 contains, according to the "Monitum" at the beginning of the book "Textus qui dicitur Receptus, ex primâ editio-ne Elzevirianâ (Lugduni Batavorum anno 1624 impressâ) depromptus." Not long ago in Crete the present author bought a copy of the Greek New Testament of 1967<sup>306</sup> in which the text of the 1902 edition just mentioned was reprinted word for word and line by line, but with the omission of the "Monitum". This sketch of the dissemination of the Elzevier text may suffice to indicate the influence which the Elzevier editions had, and still have at the present day.

There were various reasons for the authority of these editions. One of them was that even in foreign countries, they were regarded, not altogether with justification, as being free from printing errors.<sup>307</sup> There is a splendid, but hitherto unnoticed, testimonial by Hugo Grotius, then at Paris, to the care with which the Elzeviers had managed to keep their 1624 edition free from faults. In 1629, he said "non posse se non mirari Elzevirios, qui

aliquot abhinc annis novum testamentum graecum excuderint, ea diligentia, ut ne quidem in minimo accentu peccatum sit."<sup>308</sup> Grotius regarded this edition as being free of all printing errors: "omnibus plane mendis typographicis carere".<sup>309</sup> With this fame for typographical accuracy was soon mingled the reputation for textual reliability, most probably owing to Heinsius's preface to the 1633 edition. What Heinsius called the "textus nunc ab omnibus receptus" was generally considered to be the only true, that is inspired text, so that "in some cases attempts to criticize or emend it have been regarded as akin to sacrilege".<sup>310</sup>

Since the realisation gained ground that the Textus Receptus is by no means the original text of the New Testament, but an inferior text which developed and was disseminated in the Byzantine Empire, and that various older texts can be reconstructed (one of which, through the editions of Nestle-Aland, has come to be the Textus Receptus of the twentieth century), the Textus Receptus of the Elzeviers has often been dismissed with contempt. This contempt is completely misplaced for the period of the Elzeviers themselves. It is true that Scaliger had already cast doubt on the reliability of the current text of the New Testament (see above, p. 82). But the consequence was that he permitted himself an unbridled freedom of conjecture in criticism, in whose results he had a boundless but, in most cases, completely misplaced confidence. Of the fifteen conjectures of Scaliger known to us, fourteen are not worth the trouble of considering<sup>311</sup> unless one is interested in Scaliger rather than in the text of the New Testament. Although Scaliger cannot be reproached for his unhappy conjectures, given the state of textual criticism at the time, it is clear that his method created needless dangers for the text in which the New Testament was disseminated. Scaliger's pupil, Daniel Heinsius, quite properly judged that the traditional text was far preferable to a "propria editio" which derived solely "ex ingenio" of the editor.<sup>312</sup> In his *Exercitationes* of 1639, Heinsius warned, with great emphasis and complete justification: "Caveatur . . . ante omnia, ne quisquam ex ingenio id sibi sumat, ut propriam editionem nobis donet". Heinsius gave concrete expression to this absolutely correct view in the Elzevier editions.

Heinsius's *Exercitationes Sacrae ad Novum Testamentum* appeared under the Elzevier imprint in 1639. Heinsius had worked on them for twelve years. The title *Exercitationes* then growing more common, rather suggests that the author was writing to exercise himself or his mind "exercendi causa ingenii",<sup>313</sup> and in Heinsius's case it was a matter of "exerceri in veritate".<sup>314</sup> To get at the truth of

the New Testament, Heinsius followed a method which according to his own description included the following:<sup>315</sup>

- (1) elucidation (“illustrare”) of difficult passages;
- (2) testing the exegesis of the Fathers;
- (3) adducing parallels or illustrative material (“quae maxime accommodata videbantur”) from early Christian and other literature, pagan and Jewish;
- (4) comparison with Old Testament parallels;
- (5) supplying linguistic information (“linguarum ope usus”) by elucidation of hellenistic idiom and above all by comparison of translations;
- (6) avoidance of allegorical interpretation and a search for the “sensus literae” or “sensus historicus”;
- (7) avoidance of “controversiae”.

Although Heinsius himself considered his *Exercitationes* the most important work of his life,<sup>316</sup> his biographers left the work unread. There is no other explanation for the numerous misconceptions which surround the *Exercitationes*. For instance, Heinsius’s biographers often speak of the *Exercitationes* (and sometimes also of the *Aristarchus*) as if it was a “theological” work, and the author a theologian. Anyone who takes the trouble to read a page of the *Exercitationes*, and a page from the commentaries of a theologian of the same period, will realise that Heinsius was doing something entirely different from the theologian. What is theological about the method described? But Heinsius’s virtue was not only that he explained the New Testament by a purely philological method, in contrast to contemporary theological exegetes. He also expatiated on his wish to remain aloof from the controversies which “ab annis aliquot” had been fought out by certain disputatious writers, (“diversae quidam vel opinionis vel sententiae, καὶ ἄλλου . . . δόγματος”).<sup>317</sup> Heinsius did not wish to get involved in the theological discussion of his age. In fact he gave no special attention in his commentary to the passages which were the “loci” of the theological controversies of the first half of the seventeenth century. Thirdly, Heinsius did not consider himself a theologian; he stated that he had written the *Exercitationes* at the instigation of the Leiden University theologians, Polyander, Walaeus, Thysius and Rivetus.<sup>318</sup> Heinsius might have meant by this statement to protect his critical textual interpretations from accusations of heterodoxy. But it also makes it plain that he did not count himself among the theologians. Indeed it must be said that it was precisely in the *Exercitationes* that he revealed himself as a philologist.

The literary form of this commentary was the same in principle as that of the *Animadversiones* of De Dieu, which were composed at the same time as Heinsius’s *Exer-*

*citationes*. The characteristics and defects of this genre—which goes back ultimately to the *Annotationes* of Erasmus—were indicated in the discussion of De Dieu. It may be mentioned that all the specimens of this genre make one feel this shortcoming that scattered observations of different purpose never lead to an understanding of the New Testament writings as a whole. The *Exercitationes* distinguished themselves from De Dieu’s *Animadversiones* by their greater wealth and diversity of material. De Dieu mainly compared translations, Heinsius also produced all sorts of linguistic, historical and literary details. De Dieu’s observations in his commentary were mostly short, simple and rather dry; Heinsius on the other hand wrote at greater length and always in a brilliant, if rather affected and involved, Latin. Grotius’s *Annotata* had the advantage over Heinsius’s *Exercitationes* that they dealt with more verses (though not all) and more succinctly.

Heinsius stated his position on textual criticism in the Prolegomena.<sup>319</sup> His first principle, already mentioned in connexion with the Elzevier editions, was that care should be taken, where the text was dubious, not to alter it “temere” or “ex ingenio”, and so change the Word of God to the word of the editor. Furthermore Heinsius considered that there was no objection at all to the collation of manuscripts, indication of variants, and expression of an opinion on the variants. Variants and proposed emendations of a few letters could even be noted in the margin. But Heinsius laid down this limit to criticism; one should not place such a disproportionate trust in one or more manuscripts (“plus aequo”) that one altered the commonly received text on that ground. This conservatism was based on Heinsius’s unjust claim that “aetate nostra, optimos atque antiquissimos jam pridem codices collatos (esse).” Heinsius in fact believed that the “legitimus verusque contextus” of the New Testament had been so well reconstructed by the scholars of the Renaissance that New Testament textual criticism could be considered a closed chapter of science.<sup>320</sup> This was the reason why he himself never thought of using the “manuscripti antiquissimi” which he had at his disposal and cited in his commentary, now minuscule 155 and lectionary 6,<sup>321</sup> in establishing the Elzevier text. Heinsius was no genius as a textual critic of the New Testament. Leiden was not to make any further contribution to the science of textual criticism; the initiative in this field was taken by Amsterdam (Curcellaeus, Clericus, Wettstein).

Another of the misconceptions regarding the *Exercitationes* is that they were “expressly designed as a buttress for the orthodox establishment.” This error rests on a misunderstanding of the postscript with which Heinsius

concluded the *Exercitationes*, and in which he declared that he submitted everything he had said to the judgment of the orthodox. But this was no more than a traditional commonplace, by which many critics, e.g. Erasmus, Scaliger and Grotius,<sup>322</sup> had sought to defend their independent exposition of the Scriptures against the condemnation of the Church. But Heinsius indeed had a reason to be afraid that his commentary would be condemned, for one of the most noteworthy features of his book, ignored by all his biographers, was his criticism of the then most prominent paragon of orthodoxy, Beza. Heinsius admittedly tried not to refer to Beza by name, and throughout mentioned him only as “recens”, “recens interpres” or “interpretum postremus”. And what Gomarum admitted in a letter to Heinsius was literally true: “Nomini D. Bezae quantum observare potui parcis”.<sup>323</sup> But although Heinsius spared Beza’s name, he continually criticised his translation and notes.

Beza had long enjoyed great authority at Leiden. Not only had he often been asked for advice when positions fell vacant, but many a Leiden professor had followed his lectures at Geneva, among them Scaliger and the influential Polyander, Walaeus, and Thysius. We have mentioned already (p. 77) how Scaliger, who had at first regarded Beza as a “magnus vir procul dubio”, later took a more critical attitude towards the Genevan church leader, especially in connexion with Beza’s *Annotationes* on the New Testament.<sup>324</sup> Certainly, Beza had criticised Scaliger (on Luke vi.1). Scaliger’s main charge against Beza was that he had attacked Erasmus too violently and often unjustly. That Scaliger at Leiden had lost most of his respect for Beza, appears, inter alia, from his opinion that Beza “n’a pas bien entendu les langues”, “il n’estoit pas docte en Hebreu”:<sup>325</sup> these were the stereotyped verdicts which Scaliger gave on anyone who did not have, or no longer had, his sympathy.

Heinsius had already expressed his objections to Beza’s *Annotationes* in his *Aristarchus Sacer*, although he avoided naming him, and spoke only of “eruditus vir”. De Dieu, too, frequently warned against exaggerating the value of Beza’s translation and commentary, but not without making humble excuses for this criticism in the foreword to his *Animadversiones* on the Gospels. In Heinsius’s *Exercitationes* the opinions of the “recens interpres” were disputed on virtually every page. Heinsius made no excuses for this in his Prolegomena, but only remarked that the “interpretum postremus” (without any of the usual adjectives, “doctissimus”, “eruditissimus”, “celeberrimus” or the like) “obtinere non potuit, ut nemo ab eo dissentiret. Inter quos et ille . . . magnus Scaliger.”<sup>326</sup>

Heinsius’s appraisal of Beza as a New Testament scholar must therefore have been inspired ultimately by Scaliger. But at the same time his criticism of Beza must have had a concrete cause in the fact that Beza’s edition of the New Testament threatened to exert what was to him an unacceptable influence on the States’ official translation. In 1619 the Synod of Dordrecht, with Heinsius in attendance, had decided that the translation must be achieved “adhibitis in subsidium et collatis optimis versionibus, scholiis et lexicis,”<sup>327</sup> without specially mentioning Beza. But in 1634 the revisers of the translation of the New Testament decided “ut in exemplaribus Graecis editionem sequeremur Graeci textus editi ab Henrico Stephano anno 1588 et 1589 cum annotationibus Bezae . . .”<sup>328</sup>

In 1636 Willem de Groot informed his brother Hugo that Heinsius had told him “se jam edere exercitationes suas in testamentum novum, oppositas ex parte, ut videtur, eorum labori qui testamentum in Belgicum sermonem verterunt jussu Ordinum.”<sup>329</sup> As the *Exercitationes* contain no polemic against the States’ Translation, Grotius’s report of Heinsius’s words probably does not mean that Heinsius expressed any disapproval of the “labour” of the translators and revisers of the States’ Bible, but rather that he voiced his disquiet over their use of Beza. The influence of Beza (next to that of Piscator) was clearly recognisable in the States’ Bible, both in the text and in the marginalia.<sup>330</sup> That was what Heinsius had wished to combat; his *Exercitationes*—which thus could not in the least be considered as a buttress of orthodoxy—did not however appear until two years after the States’ Translation.

A recent biographer (“vir eruditus”!) of Heinsius states that Heinsius was involved in the preparation of the States’ Translation. An earlier biographer said that it was not certain whether or not he collaborated on the revision. Both statements are false. In a letter of 29 November 1637 Heinsius told the Curators of the University that he had declined both the invitation to act as one of the translators and the request to take part in the revision. In both cases, Heinsius had excused himself on the grounds that his *Exercitationes* had brought him too much pressure of work.<sup>331</sup>

Just as in the *Aristarchus Sacer* (see p. 89), Heinsius in his *Exercitationes* devoted a detailed discussion to the character of New Testament Greek. His viewpoints can be summarised as follows:

- (1) the language of the New Testament does not display an Attic elegance, but an Oriental mode of expression; it hebraicises [*cum* Hieronymo, Erasmo, plerisque; *contra* Pfochen, who however is not mentioned];



- (2) but the language is not therefore "non purus" (Prolegomena, p. 23). One cannot talk of impurity, solecisms or imperfect knowledge ("imperitia") of Greek [*contra* Erasmus, Hieronymum, *cum* Beza], for:
- a. a man such as Paul could have learned perfect Greek at Tarsus;
  - b. the hebraistic language, which despite this was used in the New Testament was necessary for an adequate and appropriate expression of the full "sensus" and "mens" of the Word of God, for which classical Greek was not well adapted [*cum* Beza];
  - c. a number of grammatical irregularities can also be located in classical Greek [*cum* H. Stephano].

In this sensitive awareness Heinsius not only synthesised the clear insights of various earlier scholars, but also rejected Beza's opinion that the Apostles knew Greek by virtue of the miracle of Pentecost,<sup>332</sup> and that their language was therefore inspired and, a priori, beyond reproach. It is also important that Heinsius regards New Testament Greek as both "hebraistic" and "not impure"; the standpoints of hebraists and purists, which were later to be sharply opposed, were in principle happily amalgamated in him. But in practice Heinsius was too strongly inclined, often without good reason, to declare that New Testament Greek was "hebraistic" even though he recognised, with Scaliger, "scriptoribus profanis . . . et hic locus esse potest".<sup>333</sup> The salutary realisation, known to Scaliger and Salmasius, but also as old as Erasmus,<sup>334</sup> that New Testament Greek was at least partly to be understood as an ordinary popular idiom, a non-literary colloquial speech, was not shared by Heinsius.

In 1639, the year of the publication of the *Exercitationes*, Cl. Salmasius, active at Leiden from 1632, launched a fierce attack, not so much against Heinsius's opinions on New Testament Greek as against his description of that Greek as a "lingua" or "dialectus hellenistica". The result was a polemic which lasted for years. The driving force of Salmasius's aggressiveness was mere personal enmity, and not a fundamental difference of scientific outlook. There is not space here to describe this battle of words between the two scholars as it deserves.<sup>335</sup>

The praise which Heinsius won with his *Exercitationes* came above all from England. Material had repeatedly been sent to him from that country for his preparations, not only by James Ussher<sup>336</sup> but also by the Royal Librarian Patrick Young, who sent him a partial transcript of the Codex Alexandrinus.<sup>337</sup> At Cambridge, the *Exercitationes* were considered of such great importance that the

University Printer, Roger Daniel, received a commission to prepare a new edition, which appeared in 1640.<sup>338</sup>

It is not to be denied that the *Exercitationes* also aroused much opposition. A fairly detailed survey of this can be found in a Leiden thesis of 1934, whose author spared no pains to discredit Heinsius, both as a man and a scholar. Instead of supplying any information, however summary, on the contents of the *Exercitationes*, this author cited the correspondence of Grotius, Vossius and Meursius to shew how badly his *magnum opus* was received. He omitted to mention that these three witnesses by their Arminian sympathies, and friendship with Salmasius, were far from unprejudiced against Heinsius. Anyone who reads their comments on the *Exercitationes* will find not a single solid objection to Heinsius's work. What one does find are the signs of envy of a successful scholar with whom they had associated as students or colleagues at Leiden, and who had made a reputation as a Leiden professor, after they had been compelled, more or less forcibly, to carry out their work elsewhere, in Paris, Amsterdam and Denmark. Vossius could scarcely conceal his malicious pleasure at the damage which he supposed Salmasius would inflict on Heinsius's reputation. However understandable these expressions of frustration, rancour and partisanship by scholars whose careers had been blocked by their Remonstrant sympathies, their objections to the *Exercitationes* cannot be considered as serious scientific criticism.

Another attack inspired by personal grievance rather than scientific objection was that of the Genevan theologian Jean de Croy; he held Heinsius responsible (whether rightly or wrongly is not certain) for the Elzeviers' repeated postponement of the publication of his *Observationes ad Novum Testamentum*.<sup>339</sup> Anyone who, like De Croy, writes: "Heinsium ne millesimam quidem Sacri textus partem intelligere" betrays more anger and passionate antipathy than competence. Yet the thesis referred to above considers this as "the judgment of a real expert". In fact De Croy only reiterated Salmasius's arguments.

However violent the animosity aroused by the *Exercitationes* for several years both at home and abroad, as scientific opposition it was as harmless as its psychological and sociological inspiration was clear. But among the charges made against Heinsius was one which, if repeated without contradiction by a biographer, becomes a piece of downright malice, namely the charge of plagiarism. That was the accusation made by Vossius, not to Heinsius himself (for he wrote Heinsius a laudatory letter), but in letters to Salmasius<sup>340</sup> and Meursius. In the thesis cited above, one may read that "Heinsius was accused of

plagiarism from many quarters". In fact, Vossius appears to have been the source of all the allegations. They fall into two charges. Heinsius was supposed not only to have copied from printed works (1), but to have used unpublished material in his care, as Librarian of the University, especially from Scaliger's remaining papers (2).

(1) The accusation that Heinsius owed all the good parts of his *Exercitationes* to the printed works of others, is footnoted "see the survey in *Schurzfleischiana*".<sup>341</sup> When one consults this "survey", it appears to consist of no more than the statement "in *Exercitationibus* (Heinsius) *Ludovicum de Dieu* exscribit". Now, only someone who was totally ignorant of academic life at Leiden in the second quarter of the seventeenth century could consider the use which Heinsius made of the *Animadversiones* of De Dieu as improper. Everyone knows that the two Leiden scholars were good friends. Heinsius honoured De Dieu's father as if he were his own.<sup>342</sup> After Heinsius had placed at De Dieu's disposal the manuscript for his (De Dieu's) edition of Revelation in Syriac, De Dieu dedicated the edition to Heinsius, as its spiritual father (see p. 72). Heinsius and De Dieu collaborated on the preparation of the reissue of Selden's *De Diis Syris*.<sup>343</sup> They were both working on their notes on the New Testament at the same time (see p. 73). Heinsius repeatedly contributed very laudatory *carmina* to De Dieu's works on the New Testament.<sup>344</sup> In the prolegomena to his *Exercitationes*, Heinsius stated that his predecessors in the task which he had set himself, the comparison of translations and the Greek text, had been, apart from Erasmus, Beza and Scaliger, "Ludovicus de Dieu", "summae ac inusitatae eruditionis vir, vere θεώνομος".<sup>345</sup> In the course of his commentary Heinsius repeatedly cited De Dieu's *Animadversiones* by name, calling him "vir summus", "omni commendatione major, sive eruditionem sive probitatem spectes, nunquam satis commendatus". It must have been obvious to everybody that Heinsius relied on material published by De Dieu for his information on Arabic and other oriental translations. But if one remembers, in this connexion, that De Dieu's commentaries were published ("publici iuris facti", as the saying was), and that ideas on the use of published material were a great deal more liberal than in later times, then Heinsius can certainly not be accused of improper use of De Dieu's works. In fact, Schurzfleisch's statement dates from a century or more after the *Exercitationes*.

(2) It was Vossius too,<sup>346</sup> who before the *Exercitationes* were published, and before he could have seen them, expressed his belief that Heinsius had made use of unpublished notes of Scaliger, which were only accessible to

Heinsius as the University Librarian.<sup>347</sup> The accuracy of this statement deserves to be tested once and for all.

Scaliger had died in 1609. In his will he bequeathed his unpublished works and papers to Leiden University Library, strictly forbidding the publication of any of their contents. It can be regarded as certain that there were no notes on the New Testament among these papers. For in the *first* place, Scaliger never wrote any independent notes on the New Testament while at Leiden and refused to collect the observations which he had made before, e.g. those communicated to Vertunien. In the *second* place, Scaliger expressly stated that it was mistaken to believe that he had any notes on the New Testament, "que j'ay de belles choses sur le Nouveau Testament". *Thirdly*, ten years after Scaliger's death the University Librarian stated that a long search through the papers left by Scaliger had not revealed any notes on the New Testament. The reliability of this statement is beyond doubt, for otherwise Heinsius would not have failed to publish any notes of Scaliger known to him, in order to overshadow the *Genevensia* of 1619.

In 1627 Heinsius lamented: "If only Scaliger had published his notes on the New Testament after all! Now they are totally and utterly lost, apart perhaps from what he wrote to assist his memory in one book or another. We have seen one of these annotated copies in the library of Cornelis van der Myle."<sup>348</sup> Van der Myle, a Curator of Leiden University,<sup>349</sup> probably acquired the book referred to when, as laid down in Scaliger's will, he was the first to make a choice out of the printed books left by Scaliger. The way in which Heinsius mentions this book, in no way indicates that he had been able to make use of it; in that case he would have acknowledged his obligations to Van der Myle at the appropriate place as he did to G. J. Vossius, from whom he borrowed a copy of Nonnus annotated by Scaliger, and whom he expressly thanked in his *Aristarchus*.<sup>350</sup> But even if Heinsius had used the copy of the New Testament with Scaliger's notes owned by Van der Myle, then Vossius's charge of plagiarism would have no relevance to it, for Vossius accused Heinsius of having used Scaliger's papers in the Library.

In the prolegomena to his *Exercitationes*, Heinsius said in so many words that Scaliger marked with "obelisci" the passages in Beza 1582 he disagreed with, and occasionally noted down improvements. Heinsius said of this book, annotated by Scaliger, "cujus et excerpta apud nos habemus quaedam."<sup>351</sup> Heinsius therefore, just like his brother-in-law J. Rutgersius, and Abr. Scultetus, had at his disposal Scaliger's written criticisms of Beza, transcribed from the copy of the 1582 edition then owned by

10. *Imaginary group portrait of nine exegetes of the New Testament. [Left to right, Grotius, Camerarius, De Dieu,*

*Salmasius, Beza, J. J. Scaliger, Spanheim Sr., Gomarus and D. Heinsius.]*

Vossius, which had belonged to Scaliger and which is now preserved at Weimar. But a comparison of these criticisms by Scaliger (the *Vinariensia*) with the *Exercitationes* shews as clear as day that Heinsius made not the slightest use of them in his commentary on the New Testament.

When Heinsius wrote in May 1642 to Sir Simonds D'Ewes about the papers which Scaliger had left, he explained "Annotationes autem nullas ad N.T. habeo, aut ullis unquam, quae non extant, usus sum."<sup>352</sup> This observation is incorrect, in so far as Heinsius was aware of both the published *Genevensia* and the then still unpublished *Vinariensia*. But the observation is correct in so far as Heinsius had apparently left the unpublished *Vinariensia* unused, and evidently had made as little use of any other notes of Scaliger which had remained un-

used an observation of Scaliger's on one or other passage of the New Testament, then he knew the observation either from one of Scaliger's printed works (for example from his editions of Manilius or from the *Thesaurus Temporum*), or from Scaliger's correspondence which Heinsius himself had published, or—and this was most often the case—from the *Genevensia* which were first published in 1619 (see above p. 78). In virtually every case Heinsius acknowledged his borrowing from Scaliger clearly and by name. In a single case Heinsius restated Scaliger's commentary on a New Testament passage with only a covert allusion to the author. On Philip. ii.30 he writes "video quaesisse eruditos, quid παραβουλεύεσθαι", thus referring to Scaliger without actually naming him. But everyone who counted himself a member of the



10

published ("quae non extant"), as we shall demonstrate.

The present author has made, for personal use, a preliminary collection, as complete as possible, of Scaliger's observations on the New Testament. The material was compiled from Scaliger's published works and correspondence, from partially or wholly unpublished letters, from the *Scaligerana*, from rough notes and unpublished fragments by Scaliger in various libraries, from *libri annotati* and from statements by Scaliger's pupils and friends. In the middle section of this article, a small part of this material was quoted. Comparison of the whole collection of material, so far as it goes, with Heinsius's *Exercitationes Sacrae* reveals the following: if Heinsius

Respublica Litterarum could have known that the verse at issue had repeatedly been discussed in correspondence between Scaliger and Casaubon.

It need cause no surprise that Heinsius referred several times to the *Genevensia*. True, in 1619 he had been angered by their publication. But in 1633 he had himself revised and corrected the text for a new edition to appear in London, but to be printed by the Elzeviers. Thus Heinsius had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the *Genevensia*.

The result of a comparison of the scattered observations of Scaliger on the New Testament, and the *Exercitationes*, is this; not a single instance can be cited in which the

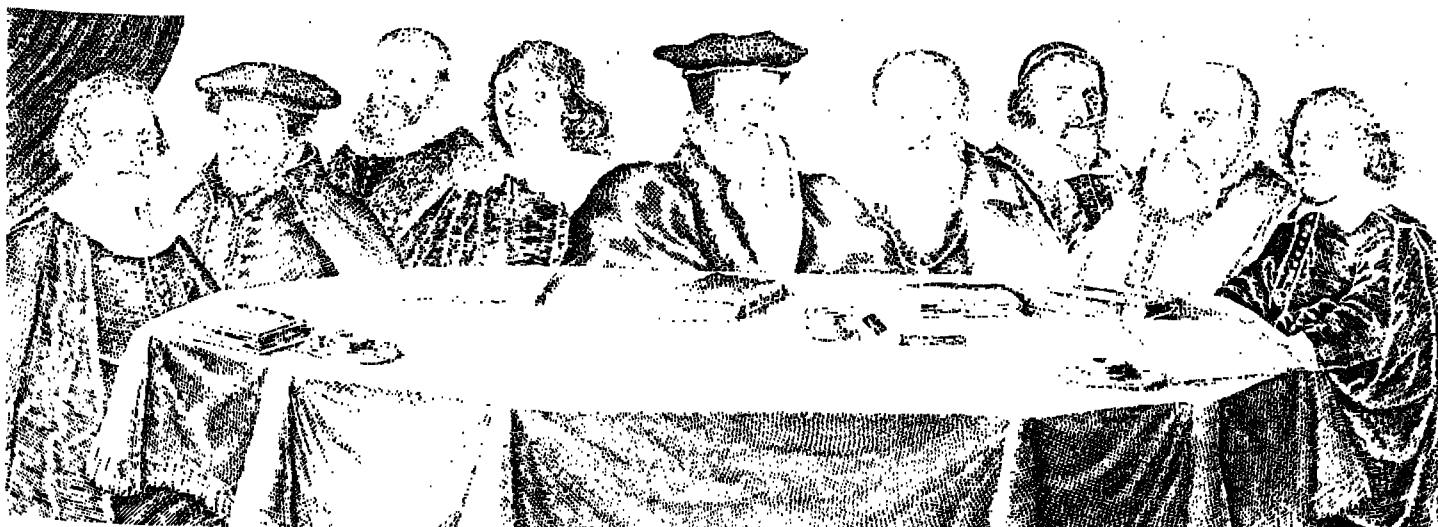
11. *Detail of the title-page of Novi Testamenti libri historici, edited by*

*Balduinus Walaeus, Leiden 1653, with the groupportrait (plate 10) in reverse.*

agreement of the *Exercitationes* with Scaliger's material cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by Heinsius's use of printed and readily accessible works of Scaliger, including in this case both Heinsius's edition of the correspondence and the *Genevensia*. There is nothing to shew that Heinsius used any more material of Scaliger. For this reason, Vossius's accusation must be considered unfounded.

It was not the material but the spirit of Scaliger, which was present in the *Exercitationes*. This was clearest in Heinsius's criticism of Beza. Although he had access to Scaliger's comments on Beza, he did not use them, and even when he dealt with passages from Beza on which Scaliger had already commented, he adduced completely different material. Heinsius was also a complete disciple

who read the Old Testament only in the translation of the Septuagint. But these Jews knew no Hebrew, and so it would have made little sense to Scaliger to note Hebrew or other Semitic equivalents for the vocabulary of the New Testament, as Heinsius did. In Scaliger's opinion, the Greek of the New Testament was in the final analysis a true Greek, for Heinsius it was, to put the case strongly, Hebrew or Aramaic in Greek disguise. This was why Scaliger realised, and Heinsius missed, the colloquial character of New Testament Greek. Although the differences between the linguistic opinions of Heinsius and Scaliger are evident (and they are still clearer in the field of textual criticism) Heinsius still believed that he was following or adapting Scaliger's ideas. And it must be admitted that if Scaliger had not concentrated attention



11

of Scaliger in the attention which, as a thorough going classicist and historian, he devoted to Oriental languages and especially to Jewish literature.<sup>353</sup>

Nothing was so characteristic of Heinsius as his consistent efforts to understand the language of the New Testament as "lingua Hellenistica" and to provide the Greek words with Hebrew equivalents. Heinsius believed, probably wrongly, that he had taken over the term "lingua Hellenistica" from Scaliger. But Heinsius appears to have erred in his belief<sup>354</sup> that he owed his conception of the "lingua Hellenistica" entirely to Scaliger, which was certainly untrue. True, Scaliger had considered the authors of the New Testament as "Hellenistae" or Jews

so heavily on the category of "Hellenistae" and had not defined them so emphatically as "readers of the Septuagint", Heinsius would probably not have described the "lingua Hellenistica" so positively as a special Judeo-Greek dialect.

But above all Heinsius was Scaliger's spiritual heir in the freedom with which, not as a theologian but as a historian, he included the interpretation of the New Testament in his domain, and consistently applied philological methods where theologians were accustomed to make room for dogmatic speculation.

If then, there can be no talk of plagiarism from Scaliger's material, yet the inspiration, the example, and the

influence of Scaliger were inseparable from the *Exercitationes*. Heinsius had, in great part, to thank his teacher and fatherly friend Scaliger, that, in the opinion of a competent critic, the *Exercitationes* "raise him to the rank of one of the most outstanding grammatical expositors of the Scriptures in his age".<sup>355</sup>

It was in large measure owing to Scaliger that the study of the New Testament in seventeenth-century Leiden developed into a phenomenon of international renown. The great hopes cherished by many in the France which he abandoned, of his scientific interest in the New Testament, were fully justified. But the results of this interest were to be different from what was expected. They did not consist of notes on the New Testament, but above all in the influence which he had on Heinsius, Grotius and Erpenius. Admittedly, nothing came of the *Tabernaculum*, or New Testament polyglot, which Erpenius had planned, but to a certain extent the *Animadversiones* of Erpenius's pupil, De Dieu, could be considered as a substitute for it. Grotius had to complete his *Annotata* in the country from which Scaliger and Salmasius had come to Leiden. Heinsius's *Exercitationes* had to combat the influence of the Genevan church leader, Beza. They provoked a violent attack from De Croy, then also at Geneva, and a prolonged quarrel with Salmasius. In England on the other hand, admiration for the *Exercitationes* led to a second edition within a year.

From England, De Dieu had obtained scientific help from Ussher, Heinsius from Ussher and Young. In the other direction, De Dieu lent his assistance to an edition by the English orientalist Pococke, of the Catholic Epistles in Syriac, Heinsius helped with an edition of the Greek New Testament with Scaliger's notes, published by Richard Whittaker at London in 1633, and Salmasius and Is. Vossius provided the Greek manuscript for Ussher's edition of the Epistle of Barnabas. Heinsius's brother-in-law J. Rutgersius travelled as envoy of the Swedish king to Prague in 1620; there he met Abr. Scultetus and presented him with a transcript of the criticisms which Scaliger had made in his copy of Beza. In the *Critici Sacri*, the observations of Scaliger and De Dieu, and also those of Grotius, were disseminated to the whole educated world. Heinsius's *Aristarchus Sacer* was also published in "Migne". Scaliger himself found critics in Italy as late as

the eighteenth century, of his role in the international, and still active, discussion, of Peter's visit to Rome.

Golius's advice was asked on the question whether a modern Greek version of the New Testament which the patriarch of Constantinople, Cyrillus Lucaris, wished to publish, should be printed. He advised that it should be. The Elzevier editions of the Greek New Testament, originally intended for use in the schools of Holland, determined for centuries the text in which the Greek New Testament was to be read in Europe and beyond. This text, the "Textus Receptus", stood in the way of efforts at critical reconstruction of a better text in later times. But in the seventeenth century it prevented the appearance of a wildly conjectural recension.

The Elzeviers at Leiden created the typographical vehicle not only for the generally accepted Greek text of the New Testament but also for numerous publications in which the New Testament learning of the seventeenth century was manifested and disseminated throughout Europe.

In 1653 Balduinus Walaëus, chaplain to the legation of the States General in Paris, edited his *Novi Testamenti libri historici*. This valuable work contains, apart from the Greek and Latin texts of the Gospels and Acts, a strictly philological-historical commentary compiled from the works of prominent recent and contemporary critics of the New Testament. A group portrait on the engraved title-page shows an imaginary international conference of those exegetes who, about the middle of the seventeenth century, were regarded as the great authorities in the field of grammatical, linguistic, and historical elucidation of the New Testament. At a long table Beza holds pride of place, between Joseph Scaliger and Salmasius (see photographs, pp. 98-99).<sup>356</sup> Next to Scaliger are Fred. Spanheim sr. and Gomarus, next to Salmasius De Dieu and Camerarius. At the ends of the table are Daniel Heinsius and Grotius, facing each other. Seven out of these nine scholars were attached, in one way or another, to Leiden University. Even if one allows for a certain degree of prejudice on Walaëus's part in favour of Leiden, where his father had been a professor and he himself had studied, this title-engraving testifies in an eloquent and illustrative way to the role which Leiden played in New Testament criticism in the first half of the seventeenth century.

- \* The author is indebted to Professor J Smit Sibinga of Amsterdam, whose interest in, and knowledge of the history of biblical scholarship formed the ἀρχή of this article. The author also received valuable suggestions from A T Grafton of Cornell University (N Y), and from R Breugelmans, Th Korteweg, and J C H Lebram, all of Leiden, who agreed to read the draft in full or in part
- <sup>1</sup> Cf R van Luttervelt, "De optocht ter gelegenheid van de inwijding der Leidse universiteit", *L J* 50, 1958, 87-104. Several (copper) engravings and etchings were made of this triumphal procession, photographic reproductions of which are given by Van Luttervelt. A collection of them is preserved at the Leiden Town Archives, Print Collection nos 63604-63614
- <sup>2</sup> In fact in the curriculum of the University, the *institutionis sermae hypotyposis*, drawn up by G Feugeray, the exposition of the Bible was named as the principal task of the theology faculty. "Hic ut theologiam discere queat, non quaestionarii aut sophistae veritatis insolentes proponuntur, sed soles illi duo caelestes ac divini, alter Testamenti veteris Hebraice, alter novi Graece exponuntur", Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, 41\* 42\*, A Eekhof, *De theologische faculteit te Leiden in de 17de eeuw*, Utrecht 1921, 32\*
- <sup>3</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, 157\*
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 192\*
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 362\*
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 384\*
- <sup>7</sup> "anders nyet en las dan sijn eygen theses", Molhuysen, *Bronnen* II, 20
- <sup>8</sup> "sulcx te verbyeden soude wesen directelyck tegen Godes woort, ende daerom lyever hadde vervolginge daerover te liden, dan daerinne stille te staen", Molhuysen, *Bronnen* II, 21
- <sup>9</sup> "daer mede de voors Gomarus gesceyden is sonder yet te antwoorden", Molhuysen, *Bronnen* II, 22
- <sup>10</sup> Polyander said so in the "Epistola dedicatoria" which precedes his *Orationes inaugurales* of 1619, published at Leiden in 1620, fol \*3r "interpretationem Novi Testamenti mihi ante octennum mandatam". Polyander was mentioned as "novi Testamenti Professor" in Joa Meursius, *Athenae Batavae*, Leiden 1625, 329. But the first professor at Leiden to receive official responsibility for teaching the New Testament was Broerius (or Brouerius) Brocs, who, having been *professor theologiae* since 1784, became *ordinarius professor exegeseos Novi Testamenti* in 1799. Molhuysen, *Bronnen* VII, 106
- <sup>11</sup> C Sepp, *Het godgeleerd onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de 16e en 17e eeuw*, I, Leiden 1873, 219
- <sup>12</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, 400\*
- <sup>13</sup> F Gomar, *Opera theologica omnia*, Amsterdam 1644, 1664\*  
R Simon gives great attention to the exegesis of Gomar, see his *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1693, 761-764
- <sup>14</sup> D Heinsius, *Sacrarum exercitationum ad Novum Testamentum libri XX*, Leiden 1639, "Prolegomena", pp (39) (40) "suasu amicorum ac impulsu factum, ut de opere hoc suscipiendo cogitarem [this is of course no more than a proemial commonplace, but the names given by Heinsius are interesting] quorum inter primos nobilissimus ac reverendus vir Iohannes Polyander [and also Ant Thysius, Ant Walaeus and Const L'Empereur]"
- <sup>15</sup> On the medieval origin and the purpose of the *disputatio*, see P Polman, "Roomse en anti roomse strijdletteratuur uit de dagen der Republiek", *Studia Catholica* 12 (1936), 96-97
- <sup>16</sup> Yet disputations on purely exegetical subjects were not to be completely excluded. For example, around 1685 at Groningen theses on certain passages of the Old and New Testament were defended, see Joh a Marck, *Exercitationes miscellaneae sive selectarum disputationum fasciculus*, included in his *Opuscula prima philologico theologica*, Groningen 1748, 367-580. A Marck collected and published the *Exercitationes* in 1690, shortly after becoming a professor at Leiden
- <sup>17</sup> *Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtii*, Leiden 1620, 193
- <sup>18</sup> S Episcopus, *Opera Theologica* II, Rotterdam 1665, 1-169
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, 173-428
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, 429-581
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 170. The ms of the speech is preserved in Amsterdam University Library
- <sup>22</sup> *Opera Omnia Theologica*, Amsterdam (1669-) 1675, IV and V  
*Opera Anekdotica*, Amsterdam 1706, II
- <sup>23</sup> Cf, e.g., R C Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, London 1880\*, § xvi, note, § lxvi, and cf § lxiii
- <sup>24</sup> A Julicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, Tübingen 1910, repr Darmstadt 1969, 280-281
- <sup>25</sup> Interrupted by a final course on Romans in the winter semester of 1657
- <sup>26</sup> Extract from Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III
- <sup>27</sup> Arminius's exegetical works were written in the years before his professoriate at Leiden (1603-09). We have already mentioned Gomar (1594-1611), Polyander (1611-48), and Episcopus (1612-19). On Gomar, see G P van Itterzon, *Franciscus Gomar, The Hague 1930*, 325-368. "Tiende Hoofdstuk, Exegetische gezichtspunten, 368. "his exegesis had above all a dogmatic aim". A Rivetus (1620-32) occupied himself mainly with the Old Testament. A Julicher writes of his *Isagoge sive introductio generalis ad sacram scripturam Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (in *Opera Theologica*, Rotterdam 1651-60, II, 841-1040) which was not an "Einleitung" but a hermeneutic "das dogmatische Interesse beherrscht. Alles geschichtliches Material wird nur soweit mitgeteilt, als es dazu dienen kann in die orthodox protestantische Anschauung von der Schrift einzuführen" (Julicher, *Einleitung in das NT*, Freiburg 1894, 7). Cf "Rivet en de H Schrift" in H J Honders, *Andreas Rivetus*, The Hague 1930, 35-70. The *Dubia Evangelica* of Fr Spanheim sr (1642-49) had already appeared in 1634, i.e. long before he moved from Geneva to Leiden. Const l'Empereur was primarily concerned with Judaica. His *De Legibus Ebraeorum Iorensibus*, written when he was still professor of Hebrew (1627-46), namely in 1637, contained interesting pages on the character of New Testament Greek. We have discussed Cocceus (1650-72), on him see G van Gorkom, *De J Coccejo s Codicis interprete*, Utrecht 1856. The contributions of the Leiden theology professors of the last quarter of the 17th century were less noteworthy. The most notable products of that time were a treatise on Peter by Spanheim jr, to be mentioned in Section II, and an edition of the Greek texts of Polycarp and Barnabas with translation and commentary by Steph le Moyne (of Rouen, 1676-89) in his *Varia sacra*, Leiden 1685. But the Greek texts were based on already published material, cf Th Zahn, *Ignatii et Polycarpi epistolae*, Leipzig 1876, xliii, and Sepp, *op cit* II, 256-57. And the erudite, but too diffuse commentary, which too often strays from the text, (more than 900 pp in 4<sup>th</sup>) has been attacked by Clericus in his *Patres apostolici*, Amsterdam 1724, I, "Praefatio", sub Ep Barnabae and sub Ep Polycarpi. Towards the end of the century, there were some good exegetes of the New Testament at Leiden, in the persons of Joh a Marck (1689-1731, see n 16) and Herm Witsius (1698-1708). The latter is cited by Trench, *op cit* (n 23). They can only be mentioned here
- <sup>28</sup> *Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtii*, Leiden 1620, 23
- <sup>29</sup> The distinction between a theological and a philological approach is clearly brought out by Joh Drusus, *Tetragrammaton*, in *Civitas sacra*, London 1660<sup>1</sup>, VIII, 2168. Drusus answers a question put to him "ponis quaestionem alienam a professione mea quo me loco habeas nescio certe non sum theologus. An grammatici nomen, quod aliquando probrose

- mihī objectum, tueri possum, nescio Iterum dico quaestionem hanc pertinere ad professionem theologiae”
- <sup>30</sup> In a letter of July 1608 to Janus Gruterus, in *Josephi Scaligeri epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt*, Leiden 1627, 794
- <sup>31</sup> E.g. from Sixtinus Amama, but also from Ant. Hulsius and Joh. Coccejus
- <sup>32</sup> The *series lectionum* give only the subjects of the public lectures, and not of private classes
- <sup>33</sup> At Oxford, Drusus was a member of Merton College, and a personal friend of Sir Thomas Bodley
- <sup>34</sup> Cf. n. 29 and Drusus's words, “Concedatur modo mihī aliqua libertas in exponendo textu” in the preface to his *Henoch*, Franeker 1615. It may be mentioned here that Drusus enjoys the honour of having one of his conjectures mentioned in the most current modern edition of the Greek New Testament, E. Nestle K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 1963<sup>25</sup>, apparatus ad Matth. 11:6. Cf. W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin 1963<sup>5</sup>, 312. “hier empfiehlt E. Nestle im App. die von P. W. Schmiedel (zuletzt Zürcher Bibel '31, Anhang z. N.T., S. 5) gebilligte Konjektur von Drusus († 1616) γῆς”. Drusus's conjecture is to be found in his *Parallela Sacra*, Franeker 1588 (also in the *Critici Sacri*) ad Matth. 11:6
- <sup>35</sup> H. Schlosser, “Die erste Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch”, *Neutestamentliche Studien Georg Heinrich zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Leipzig 1914, 252-260. There is a facsimile of the title page of Pasor's lexicon in A. Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen 1923<sup>4</sup>, 346
- <sup>36</sup> Schlosser, *art. cit.* (n. 35), 253-258. According to H. W. Fortgens, *Schola Latina*, Zwolle 1958, 67, Pasor's *Grammatica graeca sacra* had a forerunner in the *Grammatica linguae sanctae nova* of Drusus, Franeker 1612, but in fact this latter work was not a Greek, but a Hebrew grammar. Fortgens was led into this error by E. Drerup, *Die Schulaussprache des Griechischen. Geschichte des Griechischen Unterrichts I*, Paderborn 1930, 270. Cf. *Schurzfleischiana*, Wittenberg 1744, 228. “Drusus Lexicon Hellenisticum promisit, sed non praestitit, neque mea sententia praestare potuit”
- <sup>37</sup> *Cort Vertoogh, naer inne alle ghetrouwe Dienaers ende Opsieners der Ghereformeerde Gbemeynten van Vrieslant worden ghebeden, omme de behulpelycke handt te bieden tot de hoochmoedighe opwekkinghe der vervallende studien der heylighe Talen, in welke de H. Schriftuyre oorspronckelyck gheschreven is*, Franeker 1624. The Latin version appeared four years later, and is included in Amama's *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, Amsterdam 1628, 196-239. *Supplex paraenesis ad synodos, episcopos et superintendentes ecclesiarum protestantium, de excitandis sacrarum linguarum studiis*
- <sup>38</sup> W. P. C. Knüttel, *Acta der particuliere Synoden van Zuid Holland I, 1621-1633*, 's Gravenhage 1908, 113
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 114
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 149
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 170
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 207
- <sup>43</sup> For Sepp, Knüttel and Eekhof, see n. 11, n. 38 and n. 2. H. H. Kuypers, *De Opleiding tot den Dienst des Woords*, 's Gravenhage 1891, does mention that in the 17th and 18th centuries, in several of the provinces, regulations were published which laid down that theology students must provide themselves with testimonials to their knowledge of Greek and Hebrew (p. 361, Friesland 1660, p. 363, Utrecht 17th-18th centuries, p. 364, Zeeland 17th-18th centuries, *ibid.* South Holland, 1625-27, p. 372, Gelderland 16th-17th centuries). But Kuypers says nothing about the practical effect. The testimonial rule seems to have been in existence until 1815, after which date only candidates in the Faculty of Letters were permitted to become theologians, so that the testimonial rule became superfluous
- <sup>44</sup> Published by Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 58, 66 and 22\* 23\*
- <sup>45</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 22\* 23\*
- <sup>46</sup> The text of this testimonial reads: “D<sup>s</sup> Johannes van der Slaert SS<sup>tae</sup> Theologiae studiosus illos progressus fecit in sacri et originalis Testamenti Veteris lectione ut non sit, cur gravarer ego eum classico testimonio, ex decreto Reverendae Synodi, exornare, et Ecclesiae moderatores, ad publicas eum admittere conciones. Quod testor Theodorus Schuilus, Scholae Lugd. Bat. prorector 5 April 1651”
- <sup>47</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 58, 7 August 1651
- <sup>48</sup> According to the complaint of Uchtmannus, made to the Curators in February 1652. Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 66
- <sup>49</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 57. This duty was entrusted to them by the “Ordinance on the administration of the Collegium Theologiae”, 1st part, art. 23, Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, 349\*
- <sup>50</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* IV, 17. The history of the testimonial appears to be briefly described (according to the schema “Ursprung und Entartung”) by A. Hulsius, *Authentia Absoluta s. Text. Hebr.*, Rotterdam 1662, fol. \*\*\*2r v. On Schaaf, see n. 103
- <sup>51</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen* III, 341
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 64\*
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 99\*
- <sup>54</sup> H. L. Benthem, *Holländischer Kirch und Schulen Staat*, Frankfurt-Leipzig 1698, “Anderer Theil”, 411
- <sup>55</sup> See, on this scholarly conflict, which produced a number of polemics from both sides, T. J. Meijer, *Kritiek als beroepsaardiging. Het Levenswerk van Jacob Perizonius*, (Leiden 1971), 137-141. Meijer writes rather too readily that the victory went to Perizonius. In fact, Perizonius's solution of the problem in question was just as wrong as that of Gronovius. Meijer does mention that Gronovius's standpoint was that of Salmasius, but omits to observe that Perizonius's “solution” was also older, and had, for example, been proposed by G. J. Vossius, *Harmonia evangelica*, Amsterdam 1656, 216, who in his turn cited Grotius and Priscaeus
- <sup>56</sup> *De Augustea Orbis Terrarum descriptione, et loco Lucae eum memorantis*, Franeker 1682, often reprinted, cf. Meijer, *op. cit.*, 215
- <sup>57</sup> To the disquiet of the Curators. As the students had to pay for private-lessons, the professors derived quite a substantial additional income from this teaching
- <sup>58</sup> For this reason we give here the names of the professors who were entrusted with the teaching of Greek after 1625, and with whom the theology students could therefore have come into contact. Most of these professors combined the teaching of Greek with other teaching duties.
- |                    |           |                      |           |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|
| G. J. Vossius      | 1625-1631 | A. Uchtmannus        | 1668-1679 |
| J. Hoelzelius      | 1632-1640 | J. C. Nuber (lector) | 1672-1681 |
| Lamb. Barlaeus     | 1641-1655 | Jac. Gronovius       | 1679-1716 |
| Joa. Fr. Gronovius | 1658-1668 |                      |           |
- Jac. Perizonius (1693-1715) who also had teaching responsibilities in Greek at the same time as Jac. Gronovius, seems to have given no lectures on the New Testament, cf. Th. Meijer, *op. cit.*, 116-122. Perizonius did write notes on Matthew (Meijer, 208) and dissertations on historical problems related to the New Testament, including some in connexion with John xviii 31 (Meijer, 208), Luke 11:1-2 (215), Philipp. 1, 13 (216), and on Matthew xxvii 5 and Acts 1:18 (219)
- <sup>59</sup> Eekhof, *op. cit.*, 37, n. 2
- <sup>60</sup> Since 1619 he had been a minister at Leiden, in 1636 he became a regent of the Walloon College and remained so until his death in 1642. See G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Geschiedenis van het Waalse College te Leiden (1606-1699)*, Leiden 1975, 80-82
- <sup>61</sup> Leiden 1597, 31-42
- <sup>62</sup> *Scaligerana*, ed. Des Maizeaux, 354. In the same year that Scaliger said this, J. Gruterus published several fragments of the Gothic N.T. which were rather more extensive than those of Vulcanius, in his *Inscriptiones Antiquae* of 1603, cxlvi-cxlviii. Scaliger's own

- copies of Gothic matter are preserved in Leiden, Univ. Libr., MS Scal. 61. For an excellent account of the history of the Codex Argenteus and the early editions of its text, see *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis Jussu Senatus phototypice editus*, Uppsala 1927, "Caput III. Fata codicis et editiones", 83-118. On Vulcanius and Scaliger, p. 87; on the MSS Leiden, Univ. Libr., Vulc. 92 C I and Scal. 61, p. 87, n. 6.
- <sup>63</sup> *Quatuor D. N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglosaxonica*, I-II, Dordrecht 1665. F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the N.T.*, London 1926<sup>2</sup>, 241, wrongly ascribed this edition to his countryman, and in a way his predecessor as Librarian, Patrick Young.
- <sup>64</sup> K. Burdach, *Die nationale Aneignung der Bibel und die Anfänge der germanischen Philologie*, 1924, cited by O. Paret, *Die Bibel, Ihre Ueberlieferung in Druck und Schrift*, Stuttgart 1949, 29.
- <sup>65</sup> Erpenius is the subject of the second chapter of Wilhelmina M. C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwse Beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht 1931, 59-118. See also Brugman's contribution in this symposium, pp. 203 ss.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ex Bibliotheca Leidensi*, Leiden 1616.
- <sup>67</sup> F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Cambridge 1883<sup>3</sup>, 414.
- <sup>68</sup> J. Mill does not refer to Erpenius's edition, cf. his *Novum Testamentum Graecum*, 1710<sup>2</sup>, "Prolegomena" cap. 1295 and 1472. The edition is mentioned by R. Simon, *Histoire critique des versions du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1690, 212 ff.; Gottlob Wilhelm Meyer, *Geschichte der Scribterklärung III*, Göttingen 1804, 225 and 229; Scrivener, *op. cit.* (n. 67), 414-415; Eb. Nestle and E. von Dobschütz, *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1923<sup>4</sup>, 114: "hier liegt nach Burkitt *Pesch.* zugrunde, für die 4 darin fehlenden Kath vielleicht direkt Griech., für Apokal. viell. Kopt."
- <sup>69</sup> Among them Juynboll, *op. cit.* (n. 65).
- <sup>70</sup> Erpenius's editorship of the anonymous book is proved by a letter of J. Smetius published by N. C. Kist but which has apparently remained unnoticed. See *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, 4, 1833, 194.
- <sup>71</sup> The plan, announced by Erpenius himself in the preface to his edition of the New Testament in Arabic (1616) (fol. \*\*4r.), is described by G. J. Vossius, *Oratio in obitum Th. Erpenii* (1624), in Vossius's *Opera*, iv, fol. 88. On the *Tabernaculum*-project, see also Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 86-89.
- <sup>72</sup> We do not know whether Erpenius ever explained this title anywhere. The title was however, undoubtedly chosen because of the analogy between the Tabernacle in the Book of Exodus, to the construction of which all the Israelites had to contribute, and the polyglot of Erpenius, to which many peoples were to contribute their translations and many scholars their collaboration.
- <sup>73</sup> In the morning of 28 May 1619, during the 178th session.
- <sup>74</sup> H. H. Kuyper, *De Post-acta of Nabandelingen van de Nationale Synode van Dordrecht*, Amsterdam [1899], 284.
- <sup>75</sup> When Grotius escaped from Loevestein in the chest of books, a New Testament which had belonged to Erpenius served him as a pillow, according to Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, ed. P. C. Molhuysen, II, The Hague 1936, p. 68.
- <sup>76</sup> Erpenius also wrote a Greek grammar which was published posthumously: *Brevia praecepta de lingua Graecorum communi, Conscripta a . . . Thoma Erpenio . . . nunc primum edita Opera ac Cura Wilhelmi Holtheni*, Leiden 1662. By "lingua Graecorum communis" Erpenius did not mean "common Greek" in the sense of *koinè*. The only known copy of this grammar in the Netherlands is in the Royal Library at The Hague. We are grateful to J. A. Gruys of The Hague for information concerning this book.
- <sup>77</sup> Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διγλωττος, ἐν ἡ ἀντιπροσώπως τό τε θεῖον πρωτότυπον καὶ ἡ . . . εἰς ἀπλὴν διάλεκτον, διὰ . . . ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ τοῦ Καλλιουπολίτου γενομένη μετάφρασις ἅμα ἐτυπώθησαν, [Geneva] 1638. What Ed. Reuss says about this edition in his *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci* . . . , Brunswick 1872, 142, is corrected and amplified by the detailed essay of C. Sepp, "Het Nieuw-Grieksche Testament van 1638", *Bibliographische Mededeelingen*, Leiden 1883, 188-256. See also Simon, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 224-231.
- <sup>78</sup> The letters of Cornelis Haga to the States General are published in *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, 23, 1867, 370-455. On the New Testament in modern Greek, see pp. 429-430.
- <sup>79</sup> See p. 93.
- <sup>80</sup> G. D. J. Schotel, *De Academie te Leiden in de 16e, 17e, en 18e eeuw*, Haarlem 1875, 138.
- <sup>81</sup> On De Dieu see the contribution elsewhere in this symposium by J. C. H. Lebram, pp. 32-33, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, *op. cit.* (n. 60), 78-97.
- <sup>82</sup> Tübingen 1913<sup>2</sup>, 14.
- <sup>83</sup> Schweitzer evidently regarded Tatianus's *Diatessaron*, or the Liège history of the life of Jesus, as of no interest.
- <sup>84</sup> Not in Persian, as Schweitzer says.
- <sup>85</sup> Leiden 1639. To the *Historia Christi* is added a *Historia S. Petri, persicè conscripta*, which had the same origin and history as the *Historia Christi*. On this work of De Dieu, see Juynboll, *op. cit.* (n. 65), 202-203.
- <sup>86</sup> Cf. R. Simon, *op. cit.*, (n. 68), 168; J. Mill, *op. cit.*, Prolegomena, cap. 1240; G. W. Meyer, *op. cit.* III, 210; F. H. A. Scrivener, *op. cit.*, 315; Eb. Nestle—E. von Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, 111; F. G. Kenyon, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 167; H. J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Bonn 1955<sup>2</sup>, 122; F. G. Kenyon—A. W. Adams, *Der Text der Griechischen Bibel*, Göttingen 1961, 99.
- <sup>87</sup> We should not omit to mention that Scrivener, *loc. cit.*, writes of this manuscript: "an unpromising and recent manuscript, since examined by Tregelles in the University Library there (Scaliger MS. 18)". Cf. *Scaligerana*, ed. Des Maizeaux, 200: "Ecclesia Syriaca [Apocalypsin] non agnoscit, quamvis Scaliger habeat Syriacam, que le Patriarche lui avait envoyée, quam Maronitae vertendam curarunt."
- <sup>88</sup> B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament . . .*, Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>, 70. Surprisingly, De Dieu is not mentioned in A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, Stockholm 1954.
- <sup>89</sup> Dublin and London 1897.
- <sup>90</sup> G. Zuntz, *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament* (The British Academy Supplemental Papers, no. VII), London 1945, 45, n. 2: "De Dieu's Apocalypse is Harklean" (Zuntz' italics).
- <sup>91</sup> *Epistolae quatuor: Petri secunda, Iohannis secunda et tertia et Judae . . . una, ex celeberrimae Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis Ms. exemplari nunc primum depromptae . . .*, Leiden, Bonaventura et Abraham Elzevier, 1630.
- <sup>92</sup> See note 86.
- <sup>93</sup> De Dieu refers to the edition with the words "editio quum curae nostrae esset demandata . . ." in the "Praefatio auctoris" to his *Animadversiones in quatuor Evangelia*, which was published by the Elzeviers at Leiden a year after the *Epistolae catholicae* of Pococke, i.e. in 1631.
- <sup>94</sup> Juynboll, *op. cit.*, 218, n. 1, refers to the intervention of Vossius, citing the *D.N.B.* She does not mention De Dieu's collaboration, although her source states: "under the supervision of Lud. de Dieu, the work appeared at Leyden in 1630, with the title of 'Versio et notae ad quatuor epistolas Syriacae.'" What Miss Juynboll does copy from her source is the erroneous title.
- <sup>95</sup> All these works were collected and published half a century after De Dieu's death, in Lud. de Dieu, *Critica Sacra sive animadversiones in loca quaedam difficiliora Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Editio Nova . . .*, Amsterdam 1693.



- <sup>96</sup> From the foreword to the *Animadversiones* on the Gospels
- <sup>97</sup> That is, for example, not the case in the later *Observationes* literature. The authors of *Observationes* took as their starting point non biblical writers, noted passages which in their opinion formed parallels to, or threw light on, the New Testament, and later collected their observations more or less in the order of the biblical text "Es ware eine dankenswerte Aufgabe eine Geschichte der Methoden der Kommentare zu entwerfen. Die Bedürfnisse und die Einseitigkeiten jeder Periode der theologischen Wissenschaft spiegeln sich in diesen wieder," according to G. Heinrich, "Hermeneutik (Biblische)" in Herzog Hauck, *Realen cyclopaedie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup>, Leipzig 1899, VII, 742, cited by W. C. van Unnik, "Hugo Grotius als uitgelegger van het Nieuwe Testament", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, new series, 25, 1932, 3-4
- <sup>98</sup> The London Polyglot contained the first systematic collection of variant readings. On De Dieu as commentator, see R. Simon, *Histoire Critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1693, 787 (not entirely favourable) and G. W. Meyer, *Geschichte der Schriftklärung* III, Göttingen 1804, 414-416 (very laudatory)
- <sup>99</sup> J. W. Backhouse, *The editio princeps of the Epistle of Barnabas by Archbishop Ussher, as printed at Oxford A.D. 1642*, Oxford 1883, xiv and 243
- <sup>100</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* 2, 3, London 1889, 319. R. A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé* (Sources chrétiennes 172), Paris 1971, 52, n. 1
- <sup>101</sup> Hugo Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, ed. B. L. Meulenbroek, VIII, 's-Gravenhage 1971, p. 293, n. 3, and IX, 1973, 599
- <sup>102</sup> See p. 69 and nn. 55, 56 and 58
- <sup>103</sup> From 1680 he was lector in Oriental languages at Leiden University. He did not become *ordinarius professor* until 1720, and died in 1729. It is to Schaaf that we owe the appearance of the edition of the New Testament in Syriac, undertaken by the Utrecht Greek and Hebrew professor Joh. Leusden, published in 1708 *Novum D. N. Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriacum*, Leiden 1708, and with new title page, 1709. Schaaf also provided an accompanying *Lexicon Syriacum concordantiale omnes NT syriaci voces complectens*, Leiden 1709. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, IV, 24-25 and 240-241, Scrivener, *op. cit.*, 316, where the edition of Leusden and Schaaf is described as "tolerably accurate and of considerable value", Nestle Dobschutz, *op. cit.*, 110, Vogels, *op. cit.*, 118
- <sup>104</sup> *Deliciae biblicae Brielenenses sive Job Cloppenburgii collationes criticae sacrae, per Epistolas cum D. Ludovico de Dieu anno 1632 et demceps*, included in tom. IX (in the first edition of 1660, of which our copy formerly belonged to the Cathedral Library of Ely), col. 3968-4004, especially from col. 3988. There is here (col. 3997) a highly interesting discussion of the enigmatic *nardos pistike* of Mark xiv. 3. In the third edition of the *Critici Sacri*, Amsterdam 1698, the *Deliciae* are in tom. VIII, col. 1427-1460
- <sup>105</sup> Scaliger to J. A. de Thou, Preuilly 13.4.1591, see Ph. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger*, Agen Paris 1879 (henceforth referred to as Tamizey), 284
- <sup>106</sup> J.-A. de Thou to Scaliger, 30.1.1595, see Jacques de Reves, *Épîtres françaises des personnages illustres et doctes à Joseph Juste de la Scala*, Harderwijk 1624 (henceforth cited as De Reves), 185
- <sup>107</sup> 31.10.1595, De Reves 327
- <sup>108</sup> To J. A. de Thou, Leiden 12.2.1597, Tamizey 317
- <sup>109</sup> To Ph. Duplessis Mornay, Leiden 6.12.1598. *Mémoires et Correspondance de Duplessis Mornay*, IX, Paris 1824, 190
- <sup>110</sup> *Illustriss. viri Iosephi Scaligeri Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum collectae ac editae*, Leiden 1627 (henceforth cited *Epistolae* 1627), 576-577. Also cited by J. Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, Berlin 1855, 204-5 and C. Sepp, *Het Godgeleerd Onderwys*, I, 129-130. The letter is dated 10.11.1600
- <sup>111</sup> 28.11.1601, De Reves 279
- <sup>112</sup> 25.11.1602, De Reves 328
- <sup>113</sup> 1.5.1603, De Reves 333
- <sup>114</sup> Included in *Iosephi Scaligeri poemata omnia, ex museo Petri Scriveneri*, Leiden 1615, 33. Bernays (*op. cit.*, 204) gives a transcript, which differs in two places from the text of Scrivenerius (1.5. Scr. silenti] Bernays, silenti, 1.11. Scr. praestringit] Bernays perstringit). But Scrivenerius too, in fact, altered and indeed improved the text especially towards the end. Scaliger's original recension, of which a copy is preserved in Leiden University Library, MS BPL 246, reads
- O Musas et nos aequo complexus amore,  
Musarum, et nostrum dulce, Thuane, decus,  
Pro quo non dubitem totas ex ordine noctes,  
Noctibus et totos continuare dies  
Quid me divini velo summota silentii  
Legis Apostolicae tangere sacra iubet?  
Ecce profanorum maculas abolere parantem  
Impatiens veri non tulit invidia,  
Scilicet in vero verum patientur inique,  
Qui verum in nugis non potuerit pati  
Invidiae si luce sua perstringit ocellos  
Sol meus, uret eam sol meus igne suo
- The poem is also preserved in two copies in Paris, B. N., MS Dupuy 395, ff. 28r and 191v
- <sup>115</sup> I. Merlin to Scaliger, 17.8.1602, De Reves 290
- <sup>116</sup> The letter mentioned in note 105
- <sup>117</sup> Even where it would not be suspected. On page 601 in the edition of Des Maizeaux, which we shall cite in future, he writes "Traducere c'est proprement mener par la ville en triomphe cum ignominia." Who would suspect that this is an observation on Matth. 1.19, unless he knew that Scaliger strongly disapproved of Beza's suggested improvement of the Vulgate at this point to read "ignominiae exponere" instead of "traducere"? "Immo", Scaliger noted in his Beza, "recte vertit vetus interpres." Cf. *Scaligerana*, 230 and 231-232, s.v. Beza
- <sup>118</sup> A. Rivetus, *Opera*, Rotterdam 1650-1660, III, 34a. "magnus Scaliger, cujus hoc fuit iudicium de Novo Testamento a Beza edito
- Foetus supra caput extulit omnes  
Ille tuum operum summa caputque liber  
Quo penetrare Novi reseratur foederis, et quo  
Discussa lucem nocte videre detur"
- We cannot say whether this panegyric is published in a more complete version elsewhere. Cf. also *Scaligerana*, 416. "Testamentum Bezae, Calvinii opera, praestantissima", and n. 324
- <sup>119</sup> 16.11.1584, Tamizey 179-180
- <sup>120</sup> 3.12.1586, *ibid.*, 184-5
- <sup>121</sup> *Scaligerana*, 193. Scaliger gives another explanation of *δια-σους ἀγγελοῦς* in I Cor. xi. 10 in a letter of which a copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, ms. lat. 17.283, fol. 11r (cf. n. 137). There he explains the expression as "propter Deum", on the grounds that in Hebrew literature the word "angels", just as "heaven" can be used as a devout reference to God. But at the same time, Scaliger also gives the correct interpretation, as given by Tertullian, who refers to Genesis vi. 2
- <sup>122</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia* III, 10.91, "Culicem colunt" (*LB*, II, 948 A)
- <sup>123</sup> *Scaligerana*, 522
- <sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 551
- <sup>125</sup> De la Roviere printed, at least from 1599, Greek and Greek-Latin editions of the Bible and of classical Greek authors and scholarly works on Hebrew and law as J. A. Gruys of The Hague informs us. His press was still active in 1631, see F. d. Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci*, Brunswick 1872, 80
- <sup>126</sup> Paris, B. N. MS Dupuy 19, f. 61r (unpublished)
- <sup>127</sup> At the end of his *Aristarchus Sacer* of 1627

- <sup>128</sup> Here we disregard the notes on the New Testament which Scaliger wrote in his letters
- <sup>129</sup> *Exercitationes Sacrae* 1639, p (37)
- <sup>130</sup> *Catalogus variorum et exquisitissimorum librorum Gerardi Ioannis Vossii quorum auctio habebitur in aedibus Petri Leffen*, Leiden 1656, 3, no 61 We consulted microfiches in Leiden University Library of the copy in the Royal Library at Copenhagen
- <sup>131</sup> See text corresponding to n 121
- <sup>132</sup> *Aristarchus Sacer*, 1639<sup>2</sup>, 936
- <sup>133</sup> *Scaligerana*, 550
- <sup>134</sup> The only deviation from the normal order is that a note on Matthew is preceded by a note on I Cor
- <sup>135</sup> The second series is arranged as follows f 4r John xviii 31, f 6r I Cor xv 29, f 8r *De apocryphis bibliorum*, f 9r I Cor iii 15, f 10r Matthew vi 11, *ibid* Mark ix 49, f 10v Revel xvii 5, f 11r I Cor xi 10
- <sup>136</sup> In the note on Matthew vi 11 Scaliger declares that ἐπιουσιος is not a compound of the element ουσι- (from εἶναι, "to be") "Sed", so he continues, "ab ἐπι et ων, ἰοντος, ἰουσα, ἰουσης, εω Inde επειμι, sequor, post eo" In the printed *Genevensia*, "Inde" is misprinted as "vide" and "post eo" as "Postea", which is regarded as the beginning of the next sentence When the *Genevensia* were reprinted in 1633 by the Leiden Elzeviers, Heinsius revised the text and corrected the first mistake almost entirely for "vide", he read "unde"
- <sup>137</sup> The ms Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Coll Dupuy 395, II, f 19r 24v bears the title *Notae quaedam Jos Scaligeri in Novum Testamentum, quas Francisco Vertumano aliud agens communicavit* The ff 21r 22v prove to be the source of Lat 17 283 as well as of the second series of the *Genevensia* The contents of ff 19r 20v have remained unpublished
- <sup>138</sup> *Dissertatio epistolica de scriptis quibusdam integris fragmentisque bactenis meditis*, Leipsic 1728, 45 46 Crusius's transcript came from France
- <sup>139</sup> *Op cit* (n 110), 205
- <sup>140</sup> In *Monatsberichte der Koniglichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1863, Berlin 1864, 647 652 Bernays based his edition on a copy of the letter in the Bodleian Library, in which the date was not given However, on the grounds that the letters from Scaliger to Veitunien included in the *Epistolae 1627* dated from 1574-5, Bernays suggested that the letter which he published should also be attributed to "die Nahe der genannten Jahre" It appears to have escaped his notice that Leiden University Library also has a copy of the letter, BPL 246 This copy is fully dated, "Prulliaci V Eid Jun 1591", i.e Preully 9 June 1591 Another copy is in Paris, B N, MS Dupuy 395, ff 25r -26r 1619 20<sup>1</sup>, London 1622<sup>2</sup>, Leiden London 1633<sup>3</sup>, Leiden 1641<sup>4</sup>, and then in the *Critici Sacri*, London 1660<sup>1</sup>, Frankfort 1695<sup>2</sup>, Amsterdam 1698<sup>3</sup>
- <sup>141</sup> Matthew Poole *Synopsis Criticorum*, London 1669 76, and reprinted elsewhere in 1678<sup>2</sup>, 1684<sup>3</sup>, 1694<sup>4</sup> and 1712<sup>5</sup>
- <sup>142</sup> Scaliger wished to read πορνων and not πορνων This suggestion is in the Nestle-Aland edition, p 644, attributed to Griesbach
- <sup>143</sup> *Incipit* "Monsieur, j'ay receu aujourd'hui lettre du 13 de ce mois, qu'un mien amy m'a apporte de la Rocheposay"
- <sup>144</sup> *Scaligerana*, 306-7
- <sup>145</sup> *ibid*, 368-9
- <sup>146</sup> By Schurzfleisch, *o citando* (n 158), 21 N Vedelius (1596 1642) studied theology at Heidelberg, became *professor philosophiae* at Geneva in 1617, *professor theologiae* and Hebrew at Deventer in 1630, and *professor theologiae* at Franeker in 1639 He was a Voetian and an active opponent of the Arminians
- <sup>147</sup> The interpretation of the initials N V as Nicolas Vedelius is in our opinion the most probable We have considered many other possibilities, such as Nic Vincentius, Nic Vassanus, Nic Vignier, Nic Vismar, Nic Villagagnonius, but have had to reject them all Vedelius published several works under his initials only
- <sup>148</sup> Paris, B N, ms lat 17 283 (A D 1736) composed by J Bouhier (1673 1746) jurist and man of letters, life-president of the Parliament of Dijon, and a member of the Academie Française So also the ms mentioned by M Crusius, *op cit* (n 138), 45, and the MSS referred to in n 137
- <sup>149</sup> This appears from the Latin, with Heinsius's characteristic relative clauses, & affected allusions to mythological themes, and from parallels with Heinsius's foreword to the Elzevier edition of the New Testament of 1633
- <sup>150</sup> See note 136
- <sup>151</sup> Typical is Heinsius's conjecture "unde" for "vide" where Scaliger had written "inde" Heinsius chose a relative clause again! See notes 136 and 150
- <sup>152</sup> In 1633 Heinsius was deeply involved in the preparation of his *Exercitationes Sacrae*, in which he made several references to the *Genevensia*, for example on pp 225 and 407 In his *Aristarchus Sacer* of 1627 he also referred twice to the *Genevensia*, the first reference being to the note on Matth vi 11 (see our notes 136 and 152) (in the edition of 1639<sup>2</sup> pp 858 9 and 898)
- <sup>153</sup> Lib II, c 1, in *Critici Sacri* 1660, VI, col 1945 46
- <sup>154</sup> Lib II, c 34 "Scaliger notis in N T a Jano Rutgersio mihi communicatis omnino retinendum censet Vulgatum quando Matth 6,16 συθηρωπος vertit *tristes*" Scultetus also borrowed the following parallels from Scaliger
- <sup>155</sup> On Rutgersius, see our note "The 'Manuscriptus Evangeliorum antiquissimus' of Daniel Heinsius (Vatic Reg gr 79)", *New Testament Studies* 21, 1974/5, 286 294 esp 288 9
- <sup>156</sup> Lib II, c 32
- <sup>157</sup> In *Acta Literaria*, Wittenberg 1714, 23-33
- <sup>158</sup> See note 155
- <sup>159</sup> There is a large number of underlinings in Beza's translation and commentary, in the same hand, and several arrows in the margin, to which Heinsius referred when he wrote "Scaliger in suo codice (sc Bezae 1582) si quid esset, quod non satisfaceret, ut mos illius erat obeliscis libere notarat," *Exerc Sacr* 1639, p (37) The Leiden University Library copy, 525 A 3, also contains handwritten annotations in two other, clearly distinguishable hands
- <sup>160</sup> *Epistolae Vnarienses*, Zurich 1783, 100
- <sup>161</sup> C S M Rademaker, "The Correspondence of Ger Joa Vossius (1577 1649)" in F F Blok and C S M Rademaker, *Humanists and Humanism in Amsterdam*, on the occasion of the second International congress of neo Latin studies, Amsterdam 1973, 36, cf 73
- <sup>162</sup> Amsterdam, University Library ms III D 11<sup>3</sup> We are grateful to C S M Rademaker who provided photocopies of the manuscript for our inspection, when the ms itself was not accessible, being on display
- <sup>163</sup> *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae illustris viri Josephi Scaligeri quorum auctio habebitur in aedibus Lud Elzevirii ad diem II Martii*, Leiden 1609, fol A2 "Novum Testamentum graecolatini cum annotationibus Bezae 1598 Idem anno 1582" In the Leiden University Library copy, Dep of Western Mss, 27 D 9, is written next to the item "Idem anno 1582", the buyer and price, "Baud 7 10 st"
- <sup>164</sup> *Catalogus Librorum Domini Baudu quorum auctio habebitur apud Lud Elzevirium ad diem XXIV mensis Martii*, Leiden 1614
- <sup>165</sup> See note 160
- <sup>166</sup> On this catalogue (for the title of which, see n 130), see F F Blok, *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library* (Verh Kon Ned Ak Wet, Afd Lett, N R 83), Amsterdam London 1974, *passim*
- <sup>167</sup> By a letter dated Weimar 7 9 1973
- <sup>168</sup> Sous la direction de Ph Lauer, Paris 1939, 241

- <sup>170</sup> *Scaligerana*, 446 On the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew see Hugh J Schonfield בְּשׂוּרַת מַתִּי *An Old Hebrew Text of St Matthew's Gospel*, Edinburgh 1927 Scaliger's name is absent from the Bibliography on p 18
- <sup>171</sup> *Op cit* (n 110), 203
- <sup>172</sup> *Scaligerana*, 399 Also cited by Bernays, 203
- <sup>173</sup> S Ridderbos, *De philologie aan de Leidsche universiteit gedurende de eerste vyfentwintig jaren van haar bestaan*, Leiden 1906, 44 The best account of Scaliger's textual criticism is a paper by A T Grafton read to the Seminar on the Influence of Classical Tradition in the Renaissance, The Warburg Institute University of London, 18 January 1974, "Scaliger's edition of Catullus and the Traditions of Textual Criticism in the Renaissance", to appear in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1974 or 1975)
- <sup>174</sup> *Thesaurus temporum*, Amsterdam 1658, "Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii", 5 6 Here Scaliger gives a stemmatic description of the transmission of the Eusebian-Jeromian Chronicle I owe the reference to the *Thesaurus* to A T Grafton of Cornell University (N Y)
- <sup>175</sup> *Scaligerana*, 287
- <sup>176</sup> *Ibid*, 382
- <sup>177</sup> *Ibid*, 383
- <sup>178</sup> This rule is usually erroneously ascribed to J A Bengel Forty years before Bengel's "Proclivi lectioni praestat ardua", Clericus wrote "lectio obscurior vera, clarior glossema", *Ars Critica*, Amsterdam 1696, 1712<sup>a</sup>, II, 293 At the same time, but probably independently of Clericus, J Mill wrote "quo quid obscurius est, eo fere αθηναιωτερον et e variis quae occurrunt lectionibus, illae quae clariores videntur, νοθειας jure merito sunt suspectae, quae in aliarum obscuriorum locum, ex ora Codicum irrepserint" *Novum Testamentum Graecum* 1707, 1710<sup>2</sup>, Prolegomena, ch 1146
- <sup>179</sup> *Scaligerana*, 382
- <sup>180</sup> *Ibid*, 312-313 The contrast between Mark, xvi 2, "after sunrise" and John xx 1 "while it was still dark", has caused acute difficulties for exegetes since Tatianus See T Baarda, *Vier = Een Enkele bladzyden uit de geschiedens van de harmonistiek der Evangelien*, Kampen 1969, 25 and notes 140 142
- <sup>181</sup> *Scaligerana*, 398
- <sup>182</sup> *Ibid*, 230
- <sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, 574
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, 304
- <sup>185</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 807-8 (to Joh De Laet, 23 1 1606), *Genevensia*, 2nd series, *ad loc*, Grotius says in his commentary on this passage "Memini Scaligerum mihi dicere mutandam lectionem, et scribendum Πῶσα γὰρ πυρία" Grotius rejected the conjecture, as did Capellus and De Dieu, who knew it from Scaliger's *Elenchus Serarum* of 1605 Mill, *op cit* (n 178), also criticised the conjecture in his ch 1301
- <sup>186</sup> *Genevensia*, 1st series, *ad locum*, the conjecture was made again by the Groningen minister J W Straatman, *Kritisch studien over den eersten Brief van Paulus aan de Korinthiers*, 2e stuk, Groningen 1865, 253
- <sup>187</sup> M Manili *Astronomicum*, ed Scaliger, Leiden 1599<sup>2</sup>, second part, p 317 For a discussion of this conjecture, see our note "Eine Konjektur Joseph Scaligers zu Philipper II, 30", to be published in *Novum Testamentum*
- <sup>188</sup> *Scaligerana*, 230
- <sup>189</sup> Tamizey 328 (letter to J -A de Thou, 2 8 1600)
- <sup>190</sup> *Scaligerana*, 589
- <sup>191</sup> *Ibid*, 441
- <sup>192</sup> *Ibid*, 234 The first scholar who used the Codex Vaticanus for critical purposes was Erasmus
- <sup>193</sup> *Scaligerana*, 606
- <sup>194</sup> *Exercitationes Sacrae* 1639, p (23)
- <sup>195</sup> E g J G Straube, *De emphasi gr ling NT*, in T H van den Honert, *Stylus NT Graecus vindicatus*, Amsterdam 1703, 72, D G Morhofius, *Polybistor*, Lubeck 1732<sup>2</sup>, I, 788, J F Budaeus, *Isagoge*, Lipsic 1730, 1301
- <sup>196</sup> See the *Critici Sacri*, *ad loc* Drusius used the same term in his commentary on Acts vi 1
- <sup>197</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 99, *Genevensia*, 2nd series, *ad Joh xviii 31* (end), *Scaligerana* (prima<sup>1</sup>) 136 137, *ibid* (secunda), 368 9, *Thes Temp*, 1658<sup>3</sup>, "Animadversiones", 7 and 134, "Can Isag", 224
- <sup>198</sup> *Thes Temp* (sec note 197), 134
- <sup>199</sup> *Scaligerana*, 202
- <sup>200</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 98, cf *Scaligerana*, 136 and 368
- <sup>201</sup> *Scaligerana*, 368 369
- <sup>202</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 384 (ad M Velscrum, 21 8 1602)
- <sup>203</sup> ἐξουσια in I Cor xi 10 (Paris, BN, ms lat 17 283, fol 111)
- <sup>204</sup> *Scaligerana*, 384 5
- <sup>205</sup> Tamizey 284 (to J A de Thou, 13 4 1591)
- <sup>206</sup> Scaliger cites the place with reference ("Nam Hebraice in Misna ") in the margin of Beza 1582, see *Vimariensia*, *ad loc* (not in Leiden, Univ Libr 525 A 3)
- <sup>207</sup> *Scaligerana*, 22
- <sup>208</sup> *Scaligerana*, 453 Scaliger possessed the ms which had formed the basis of the Bomberg edition of the Talmud (Venice 1523 4), now Leiden, University Library, ms Or 4720 See A van der Heide, "Het Leidse Handschrift van de Jeruzalemse Talmud", *Studia Rosenthaliana* 7 (1973), 258 265
- <sup>209</sup> On this "Deissmannism before Deissmann" see J Ros, *De studie van het bybelgrieksch van H Grotius tot A Deissmann*, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1940, 15 As his title indicates, Ros does not consider Scaliger
- <sup>210</sup> *Scaligerana*, 395-6
- <sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, 356
- <sup>212</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 357 (ad M Velscrum, 20 1 1599)
- <sup>213</sup> *Scaligerana*, 368 9
- <sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, 306, 384 5
- <sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, 306, 307, 504
- <sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, 307
- <sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, 306-7
- <sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, 200
- <sup>219</sup> *Ibid*, 307
- <sup>220</sup> *Prima Scaligerana*, *ibid*, 15, with the note of T Faber
- <sup>221</sup> *Scaligerana*, 307 and 306
- <sup>222</sup> *Ibid*, 307 "Ego credo iis quae intus, quia nihil contra nos"
- <sup>223</sup> *Ibid*, 200 "L'apocalypse a este escrite en Hebreu α et ω, c'est X et Ω qui estant conjoints vaut autant a dire que alpha thau, subaudi est Deus"
- <sup>224</sup> According to Joh Drusius, *ad Rev* 1 8, followed by Grotius, Ω is used to mean "God" in the Cabalistic works *Zobar*, *Porta Lucis*, *Babir* and *Portae Justitiae*
- <sup>225</sup> Scaliger possessed himself a copy of *Zobar*, see the *Catalogus librorum omnium qui hodie conservantur a J Scaligero* in Leiden, Univ Libr, ms Vulc 108, pars 5 On his interest in *Zobar* which he dated as "Talmude recentior", cf *Epistolae 1627*, 333, 343 5, 350, 523 and I ebram's contribution in this volume nn 134-5
- <sup>226</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 96 The passage is reprinted with slight alterations in the *Prima Scaligerana*, 141
- <sup>227</sup> *Scaligerana*, 528
- <sup>228</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 518 520, 701-2, 820 3
- <sup>229</sup> *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu Forschung*, Tübingen 1951<sup>6</sup>, 261 It should not be imagined that the problem of Jesus's language was solved by Scaliger or by anyone else
- <sup>230</sup> The *Canones LXXXV Apostolorum* form the conclusion of the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, lib VIII, 47, the text of which has been edited by A P de Lagarde, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae*, Lipsiae 1856, 20 35 Cf B Altaner A Stuiber, *Patrologie*, Freiburg Basel Wien 1966<sup>7</sup>, 256, and O Bardenhewer,

- Geschichte der Altkirchl. Literatur* IV, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1924, 266 ff.
- <sup>231</sup> Paris, BN., ms. fr. nouv. acq. 1210, p. 49 ff.
- <sup>232</sup> In the *Isagogici Chronologiae Canones*, 1658<sup>2</sup>, 305-8. On the date of Jesus's death, 309-311. Scaliger shared this chronological optimism with other seventeenth-century scholars, e.g. G. J. Vossius in his *Dissertatio de annis, quibus natus, baptizatus, mortuus*, Amsterdam 1643.
- <sup>233</sup> *Scaligerana*, 179.
- <sup>234</sup> On this subject, see our "Die Patriarchentestamente von Roger Bacon bis Richard Simon", to appear in a special symposium on the *Testaments*, in St. Ps. V. T. gr., Leiden (Brill), 1975.
- <sup>235</sup> *Scaligerana*, 478.
- <sup>236</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 303-4 (ad Casaubonum 30.10.1605) of which an excerpt is printed in *Prima Scaligerana*, ed. Des Maizeaux, 122: "Mendaciis putaverunt veteres se posse Regnum Dei provehere."
- <sup>237</sup> *Scaligerana*, 454.
- <sup>238</sup> From the ms. which is now Paris, BN, ms. gr. 1711. Scaliger wrote one letter after another asking to be allowed to borrow this manuscript (see the *Epistolae 1627*). At last, after abandoning all hope (Dec. 1601), he received a report that the manuscript had been found and that it would be sent to him (Jan. 1602). The ms. reached Leiden from Paris in the course of 1602, and Scaliger made very profitable use of it in his *Thesaurus*. In the twentieth century, the manuscript was sent from Paris to Breslau, where W. Kroll used it for his *Historia Alexandri Magni* I, Berlin 1926, in which he gave a description of the manuscript. Kroll was not aware that Scaliger had consulted it in Leiden. For a fresh collation of the Henoch fragments, the present author had to visit Paris, see the work of Black quoted in n. 240, 14-16.
- <sup>239</sup> *Thesaurus*, 1658<sup>2</sup>, "Notae in Graeca Eusebii", 404-5.
- <sup>240</sup> M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, Leiden 1970, 17. Scaliger's opinion on the tragedian Ezechiel is mentioned by A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, Leiden 1969, 275.
- <sup>241</sup> *Scaligerana*, 472: "Judas citat Prophetiam Enoch, quam ipsam habet Graece scriptam Scaliger."
- <sup>242</sup> *Thesaurus* (cf. n. 239), 405, cited by, inter alia, Witsius and Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. V.T. I*, 1722, 199-200 and 206-7.
- <sup>243</sup> *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam 1693, 778.
- <sup>244</sup> *Novum Testamentum*, Oxford 1707; Amsterdam-Rotterdam 1710<sup>2</sup>, "Prolegomena", ch. 1301.
- <sup>245</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 244), ch. 1416. Mill here cites Ed. Bernardus.
- <sup>246</sup> *Scaligerana*, 623.
- <sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.
- <sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.
- <sup>249</sup> Scaliger ad Hoeschelium, "Non. Augusti Iuliani, natali meo LXII, 1601" in *Epistolae 1627*, 737.
- <sup>250</sup> *Scaligerana*, 496-7.
- <sup>251</sup> Cf. Cl. M. Bruehl, "Josef Justus Scaliger. Ein Beitrag zur geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Altertumswissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 12, 1960, 206-7.
- <sup>252</sup> *Scaligerana*, 377.
- <sup>253</sup> *Genevensia*, 2nd series, ad John xviii. 31.
- <sup>254</sup> *Scaligerana*, 511.
- <sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.
- <sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 485.
- <sup>257</sup> *Prima Scaligerana*, s.v. Biblia, 28-29.
- <sup>258</sup> About 1519, Ulrichus Velenus Minhoniensis had been the first to write a tract "quo asseritur Petrum Apostolum numquam Romam fuisse", in Melch. Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii III*, Frankfort 1613, 1-16. One of the reactions was that of Cardinal Gregorio Cortesio, *Adversus negantem B. Petrum Apostolum fuisse Romae, ad Adrianum VI Pont. Max.*, 1523, reprinted at Venice in 1573. A very incomplete survey of the discussion is given by O. Cullmann, *Petrus . . .*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1960<sup>2</sup>, 80 ff.
- <sup>259</sup> F. C. Baur, *Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi*, I<sup>2</sup>, Leipsic 1866, Anhang, p. 316-22, especially p. 317 and note 2 (reference due to G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes). Baur's words "und Bereitwilligkeit" were omitted in the 1866 edition.
- <sup>260</sup> See e.g. Calvin's *Commentarii ad II Tim. iv. 14* and I Peter v. 13, and *Institio* IV. vi. 14. Scaliger always spoke of Calvin's New Testament commentaries with the greatest admiration, e.g.: "Calvinus . . . litteras sacras tractavit ut tractandae sunt: vere inquam, et purè ac simpliciter, sine ullis argutationibus scholasticis . . .", *Prima Scaligerana*, 41.
- <sup>261</sup> *Genevensia*, second series, ad John xviii. 31; *Scaligerana*, 504: "Saint Pierre est mort à Babylone . . ."; *Thesaurus temporum* 1658<sup>2</sup>, "Notae in graeca Eusebii", 424 and "Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii", 188a and 189a; MS. Dupuy 395, f. 20.
- <sup>262</sup> *Genevensia*, loc. cit. (n. 261).
- <sup>263</sup> Cullmann (see n. 258) cites, as does Baur, the edition in *Opera* II, Leiden 1703, col. 331 ff. An earlier edition was *Dissertationum historici argumenti quaternio*, I. "De temere credita Petri in urbem Romam profecione (etc.)", Leiden 1679. Cf. n. 27.
- <sup>264</sup> Cullmann, *op. cit.* (n. 258), 81.
- <sup>265</sup> P. F. Foggini, *De Romano Divi Petri itinere et episcopatu eiusque antiquissimis imaginibus Exercitationes historico-criticae. Ad Benedictum XIV Pont. Max.*, Florence 1741. See the index, s.v. Scaliger, Ios.: "Ante eum nemo dubitavit Romam Claudio imperante D. Petrum venisse."
- <sup>266</sup> *Epistolae 1627*, 97-8 (ad Seguinum) excerpted in *Prima Scaligerana*, 89.
- <sup>267</sup> Leiden, Univ. Libr., ms. BPL 246. There is a summary of this letter in the *Genevensia*, ad Rev. xvii. 5.
- <sup>268</sup> For a survey of this history, see C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-century England*, London 1971, esp. Ch. I, "Before 1640: The Roman Antichrist", on which we depend in this paragraph.
- <sup>269</sup> *Scaligerana*, 605. Scaliger repeatedly declared his respect for Camerarius, cf. *Scaligerana*, 42 and 252.
- <sup>270</sup> Casaubon's notes on the New Testament were known to Scaliger, cf. *Scaligerana*, 260. Scaliger quoted them with approval, cf. *ibid.*, 504-5, while for his part Casaubon also cited and agreed with Scaliger's emendation and interpretation of Acts xiii. 42, see *Critici Sacri*, ad loc., and Phil. ii. 30, cf. n. 187.
- <sup>271</sup> Cf. Hugo Grotius, *Briefwisseling* ed. B. L. van Meulenbroek, VIII, 's-Gravenhage 1971, 293, n. 3 and IX, 1973, 599.
- <sup>272</sup> *Ad Mc. ix. 49*, Jude 14, Philip. ii. 30.
- <sup>273</sup> For exemple ad John vii. 35, Acts vi. 1, xiii. 42, xxviii. 11, Hebr. xi. 19, I Peter iv. 6. Compare Grotius's observations on Acts xxviii. 11 παρασῆμο with Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*, "Animadversiones in Chronologica Eusebii", Amsterdam 1658, 40.
- <sup>274</sup> G. Schrenck, *Gottesreich und Bund im älteren Protestantismus*, Güttersloh 1923 = reprint Darmstadt 1967, 215.
- <sup>275</sup> J. Ros, *De Studie van het Bijbelgrieksch van Hugo Grctius tot Adolf Deissmann*, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1940, 8-9.
- <sup>276</sup> W. C. van Unnik, "Hugo Grotius als uitlegger van het N.T.", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* N.S. 25, 1932, 1-48, especially 14-16.
- <sup>277</sup> Erasmus spoke of the "spem . . . restituendae sarciendaeque Christianae religionis" in the preface to his *Novum Instrumentum*, "Leoni Decimo . . ."; also in P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus Epistolarum D. Erasmi* II, 185, line 42-3. The same eirenic intention seems to have impelled the Fleming Gerard Mercator, better known as a cartographer, to write his commentary on Romans, as J. Smit Sibinga has rightly informed me. "Conscripsit . . . commentaria in epistolam ad Romanos, in quibus . . . controversias quasdam nostri seculi . . . pro virili componere conatur," according to the *Vita Gerardi Mercatoris* of G. Ghymmius, cited

- by J van Raemdonck, *G Mercator*, St Nicolas 1869, 208-209
- <sup>278</sup> *Prima Scaligerana*, ed Des Maizeaux, 96
- <sup>279</sup> The *Annotata* on the other hand were not printed in France but in Amsterdam, as Grotius could not but fear that the Theology Faculty of the Sorbonne would not grant permission for their publication. See Van Unnik, *art cit* (n 276), 9. On Grotius, see also W G Kummel, *Das Neue Testament Geschichte der Erforschung seiner Probleme*, Freiburg and Munich 1970<sup>2</sup>, 28-36
- <sup>280</sup> See Scaliger's *Epistolae* 1627, 181 (Scaliger to Casaubon 7 11 1600)
- <sup>281</sup> We refer to the *Aristarchus* in the second edition of 1639, see p 670
- <sup>282</sup> P 670
- <sup>283</sup> P 675
- <sup>284</sup> Heinsius's text of Nonnus's *Paraphrasis*, as well as the complete *Aristarchus*, are included in Migne, *PG* 43, 749-1228. Cf P R Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England*, Leiden and London 1968, p 36, n 1
- <sup>285</sup> P 667, cf p 653
- <sup>286</sup> P 668
- <sup>287</sup> P 668
- <sup>288</sup> P 797
- <sup>289</sup> P 797 8
- <sup>290</sup> P 801
- <sup>291</sup> P 675
- <sup>292</sup> We discussed this question in more detail in our *Daniel Heinsius and the Textus Receptus of the New Testament. A Study of his Contributions to the Editions of the Greek Testament printed by the Elzeviers at Leiden in 1624 and 1633*, Leiden (E J Brill) 1971. The earlier literature on this subject was dealt with there and is not cited again here, except J H Hottinger's testimony (n 303), which was still unknown to us in 1971
- <sup>293</sup> In our opinion this edition is wrongly described by Scrivener and Reuss as an in 24mo. The book is a "duodecimo by cutting" as appears from the position of the watermark and from the direction of the chain lines. It corresponds exactly to the description of the duodecimo, type (a) in R B McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, Oxford 1928<sup>2</sup>, 170-172
- <sup>294</sup> This first impression appeared with four different title pages, not with five as is misleadingly suggested by H C Hoskier, *A Full Account and Collation of Codex Ev 604*, London, 1890, "Appendix C", 18-19
- <sup>295</sup> H W Fortgens, *Schola Latina*, Zwolle 1958, 53-60
- <sup>296</sup> Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), 36
- <sup>297</sup> The regulation had already been accepted in 1624 by the Provincial Synod of Friesland
- <sup>298</sup> The Elzevier editions were published at Leiden in 1624, 1633, 1641, at Amsterdam in 1656, 1662, 1670 and 1678. The editions of 1633 and 1641 belonging to this series should not be confused with the octavo editions printed by the Leiden Elzeviers in the same years and provided with, inter alia, Scaliger's *Genevensis*
- <sup>299</sup> It is from this passage that we derive the term, now naturalised in philology, "textus receptus". Apart from this term, Heinsius is also responsible for the description of the Greek of the New Testament as "hellenistic", true, the term is first found in Drusus, but Heinsius was the first to use it on a large scale and to give it general currency
- <sup>300</sup> Cf Hoskier, *op cit* (n 294), 24-25. Hoskier notes 14 "real various readings". Two of these, however, can be regarded as mere orthographical variants. Hoskier did not include Hebr ix 12 where the 1624 edition reads εὐραμενος and that of 1633, in a number of copies (including those of Scrivener, Eb Nestle and the present author) εὐραμενος, while yet other copies of the same edition (among them that of Hoskier) do not differ from 1624. The text of 1624, like that of 1633, was revised while still in the press, so that different issues of the same edition can be distinguished. A somewhat unpleasant discussion of this point took place between Eb Nestle (*JTS*, 11, 1910, 564-568, "Some Points in the History of the Textus Receptus of the New Testament") and H C Hoskier ("The Elzevir New Testaments of 1624 and 1633", *JTS*, 12, 1911, 454-456). The honorary doctorate awarded to Hoskier by the University of Amsterdam in 1932 would have been deserved if only for his Appendices B and C in his *op cit* (n 294)
- <sup>301</sup> Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), 34
- <sup>302</sup> Cf Burman, *Sylloge* II, 476, Heinsius ad N N (Crojum!), 1644, cf n 339. Cf also Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), 104
- <sup>303</sup> *Bibliothecarius Quadrupartitus*, Zurich 1664, 130-131. "Casaubonus etiam et Heinsius quorum tamen in Crisi et antiquitatis studiis magnum est nomen, in illis [sic editionibus Stephani et Bezae] acquirerunt. Nihil enim fere accessit recentissimis Belgii, Germaniae vel Galliae Editionibus, quam πιναξ et veterum distinctio, ab hac nostra aliena." The πιναξ and the "veterum distinctio ab hac nostra aliena" have been copied from the Elzevier editions by countless others, the six words, "veterum aliena" are cited by Hottinger (without reference) from Heinsius's foreword to the Elzevier edition of 1633. As Casaubon died in 1614, Hottinger apparently held Heinsius to have been the editor responsible for the Elzevier edition of 1633 (and 1624?). On Hottinger's visit to Leiden, see J C H Lebram elsewhere in this symposium, 31 and 59, n 154, and J H Hottinger, *Exercitationes anti-Morimanae*, Zurich 1644, preface, 10
- <sup>304</sup> Ed 1639, p (6)
- <sup>305</sup> E Reuss, *Bibliotheca Novi Testamenti Graeci*, Brunswick 1872, 108-166, 209-218. For the following see also Eb Nestle, *Vom Textus Receptus des Griechischen Neuen Testaments* (Salz und Licht 8), Barmen 1903, esp 18-19, Eb Nestle—E von Dobschutz, *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, Göttingen 1923, 65-66, esp ch 49
- <sup>306</sup> Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἀπαντα Βιβλικὴ Ἑστειρεία, Athens 1967. The colophon on p 512 reads "Printed in Great Britain by Lowe and Brydone (Printers) Limited, London N W 10"
- <sup>307</sup> Cf Hoskier, *op cit* (n 294), Appendix C, 16-24
- <sup>308</sup> From a letter of R Robertinus to M Bernegger, 14/24 5 1629, in A Reifferscheid, *Briefe G M Langelsbeims, M Bernegggers und ihrer Freunde*, Heilbronn 1889, nr 297, p 362, lines 75-80
- <sup>309</sup> *Ibid*, 12/22 6 1629, nr 299, p 365, lines 21-23
- <sup>310</sup> B M Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>, 106. Cf H Poggel, "Die altprotestantische Lehrbegriffe über die Heilige Schrift", *Theologie und Glaube* I, Paderborn 1909, 273-287, Nestle Dobschutz, *op cit* (n 305), 65, ch 48
- <sup>311</sup> In the critical apparatus of Nestle Aland<sup>25</sup> Scaliger's name does not appear, whereas that of Junius, for whom Scaliger had a sovereign contempt, does, pp 535 and 569, Drusus, p 3, and Grotius, pp 480, 520. Three readings are even given under the name of "Elzevier", pp 18, 261 and 365. Nestle-Aland also included the conjectures of later Leiden hellenists Valckenaer, p 209, and Cobet, p 565. Cf n 143
- <sup>312</sup> "Ex ingenio" means "Ex simplici conjectura", cf Th Beza, *Testamentum Novum sive Novum Foedus Jesu Christi, D N*, Geneva 1588, dedicatory letter, fol iij verso "hunc modum tenuimus, ut ex ingenio aut simplici conjectura ne apicem quidem mutaremus." Heinsius followed Beza in this textual conservatism
- <sup>313</sup> P (22), line 2, cf p 670, line 35
- <sup>314</sup> P (35) line 16
- <sup>315</sup> P (38)
- <sup>316</sup> P R Sellin, *op cit*, 40
- <sup>317</sup> Pp (38)-(39)
- <sup>318</sup> Pp (39)-(40)
- <sup>319</sup> Pp (5)-(6)
- <sup>320</sup> P (3), lines 10-17, and p (6), lines 5-10
- <sup>321</sup> Cf "The 'Manuscriptus Evangeliorum Antiquissimus' of Dan

- Heinsius", *New Testament Studies* 21, 1974/5, 286-294 and "Joseph Scaliger's Greek Arabic Lectionary", *Quaerendo* 5, 1975, in the press Minuscule 155 = Vat Reg gr 79, lectionary 6 = Leiden ms Or 243
- <sup>322</sup> Erasmus, *Annotationes, ad Acta* x 46 "Mihi tamen non est animus, neque pro hac (opinione), neque pro ulla alia digladiari, si diversum sentit Ecclesia" *Ad Hebr* xiii 24 "Si Ecclesia certo definit esse Pauli, captivo libens intellectum meum in obsequium" *Ad Rev* xxii 22 "Haec me non nihil moverent, quo minus crederem esse Joannis Evangelistae, nisi me consensus orbis alio vocaret, praecipue vero auctoritas Ecclesiae" Grotius, *Annotata ad Evangelia*, preface "Testor, si quid usquam a me scriptum est pugnant cum iis S Scripturae sensibus quos Ecclesiae Christianae a prima aetate acceptos tenuere, me id pro non scripto habere ac mutare paratissimum" Jos Scaliger, *Annotationes in Mt Evangelium*, preface "si modo fallimur, patiamur, donec catholicae Ecclesiae decreto certum hac de re statui aliquid intelligamus" Similar statements precede the commentaries of Fr Lucas Brugensis, N Zegerus (*Critica sacri*, ed 1660, VI, xii) and A Masius, (*ibid*, I, xliv)
- <sup>323</sup> Burman, *Sylloge* II, 477
- <sup>324</sup> *Scaligerana*, 28, 230-232 Yet Scaliger also recognised the good parts in Beza's observations On I Peter iii 20 he writes, "Beza optime illum exposuit" (*Scaligerana*, 504) and on Acts xix, 24 "M De Beze l'a fort bien remarque" (*ibid*, 467)
- <sup>325</sup> *Scaligerana*, 231 Casaubon too, testifies to the growing coolness between Beza and Scaliger in a letter to Lipsius of 1591 (Burman, *Sylloge* I, 372) "De Scaligero nihil plane per aliquot jam annos magnus noster senex, Bezam dico, intellexit"
- <sup>326</sup> P (37)
- <sup>327</sup> *Acta Synodi Nationalis Dordrechtii*, Leiden 1620, 23 J Heringa, "Bijzonderheden betreffende de vervaardiging van de gewone Nederlandsche bijbelvertaling", *Archief voor Kerkelyke Geschiedenis*, V, 1834, 86-87
- <sup>328</sup> *Acta Revisorum Novi Testamenti* by L A Renesse, in N Hinlopen, *Historie van de Nederlandsche Overzettinge des Bybels*, Leiden 1777, Bijlagen, p 135
- <sup>329</sup> Hugo Grotius, *Briefwisseling* ed B L Meulenbroek, VII, 's Gravenhage 1969, p 346-7
- <sup>330</sup> J Heringa, *Disputatio de Valckenaerii sententia* (Comm Latin Classis III<sup>ae</sup> Instit Regii Belgici, VI) 1835 G Sevenster, "De Statenvertaling en hare kanttekeningen", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n s 29, 1937, 263-306
- <sup>331</sup> The letter is published by A Angz Angillis, "Daniel Heins, Hoogleraar en Dichter", *De Dietsche Warande* 6, 1864, 31-33 Also in Molhuysen, *Bronnen* II, 317\* 319\*
- <sup>332</sup> This view is also advocated by J Eck, in a letter to Erasmus, see *Erasmii epistolae*, ed Allen, III, p 210, lines 64-70
- <sup>333</sup> P (34), line 32
- <sup>334</sup> Cf Erasmus's *Annotationes, ad Acta* x 38 and I Cor iv 3
- <sup>335</sup> Cf Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), 43-44, 47-48 Ros, *op cit* (n 275), 14-15, 60, n 18 P W Schmiedel, *G B Winey's Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, Achte Auflage, I, Gottingen 1894, 25, n 4 "Indessen duffte, zumal nach dem weitschichtigen Gebrauche von διαλεγεσθαι (z B Strabo VIII, 1, 2, p 514), "Dialekt" (διαλεκτος τοπιχη) nicht unzulassig sein" A Springhetti, *Introductio historica grammatica in graecitatem Novi Testamenti*, Rome 1966 37 See also above, our discussion of Salmasius
- <sup>336</sup> Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), 94
- <sup>337</sup> *Ibid*, 108-9 See *Exercitationes*, 553
- <sup>338</sup> Sellin, *op cit*, 42
- <sup>339</sup> This is evident from Heinsius's letter published in Burman, *Sylloge* II, p 476-77, "ad N N" Without any doubt this letter was addressed to Crojus, as appears from a comparison with a letter of Sarravius to Salmasius, dated 25 6 1644, in *Gndu et Sarravi Epistolae* II, p 81 Sarravius refers expressly to Heinsius's letter to Crojus and to the delay in the publication of Crojus's *Observationes* By this means, and by the mentioning of the fact that Gomarus's works are in the press at Amsterdam, Heinsius's letter can be dated to 1644
- <sup>340</sup> *Epistolae*, Amsterdam I, 379a
- <sup>341</sup> G Wagenerus, *Schurzfleischiana*, Wittenberg 1744, 81
- <sup>342</sup> *Exercitationes*, Prolegomena p (37), line 14
- <sup>343</sup> Leiden (Elzevier) 1629<sup>1</sup>, cf Sellin, *op cit* (n 284), p 104
- <sup>344</sup> For example for De Dieu's *Historia Christi Persice*, for his *Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum*, and for his *Animadversiones ad Sacrum Novi Testamenti Foederis contextum The Critica Sacra* also contains a poem of Heinsius *In obitum De Dieu*
- <sup>345</sup> P (37)
- <sup>346</sup> *Epistolae*, Amsterdam I, 356b "opinio est multum eum adjuvari iis quae Scaliger observat, cujus chartas scis in solius Bibliothecarii esse potestate"
- <sup>347</sup> Vossius further insinuated that Heinsius had used the material collected for Erpenius's *Tabernaculum* (see text, p 70) As Vossius was himself one of the collaborators on the *Tabernaculum*, and as he gave not a single proof of his accusation, the charge can not be regarded as anything more than an insinuation Grotius, too, had cooperated on the *Tabernaculum*, by sending Erpenius rough drafts of his *Annotata* (W M C Juynboll, *Zeventiende eeuwse beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland*, Utrecht 1931, 88) But Heinsius was wise enough not to make any use of this material of Grotius, he was much too afraid of the charge of plagiarism (see the *Aristarchus*, 1639<sup>2</sup>, 965, lines 1-3) Nor did Grotius ever complain that Heinsius had misused material he had sent to Erpenius
- <sup>348</sup> *Aristarchus* 1639<sup>2</sup>, 936, lines 5-11
- <sup>349</sup> Cornelis van der Myle (Mylus), 1579-1642, Holland statesman, son-in-law of Johan van Oldenbarneveld, former student at Leiden, and at the time of Scaliger's death one of the Curators of the University
- <sup>350</sup> *Aristarchus* 1639<sup>2</sup>, 837, line 11, 894, line 49, 965, line 8
- <sup>351</sup> *Exercitationes*, p (37), lines 5-6
- <sup>352</sup> Burman, *Sylloge* II, 480, cf Sellin, *op cit*, 117
- <sup>353</sup> Traces of Heinsius's study of Hebrew are preserved in the Leiden University Library copy (577 D 15 16) of the *Biblia Hebraica, cum interlineari interpretatione Latina Xantis Paonni Lucensis* (Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, Leiden) 1613 The blank pages facing the title pages in the first and second volumes bear handwritten observations by Heinsius, as R Breugelmanns of Leiden has rightly seen, and has informed me
- <sup>354</sup> See *Exercitationes*, p (27), line 30-35 The reference to Spanheim given there, is to his *Dubia Evangelica*, Geneva 1634, I, 176-7
- <sup>355</sup> G W Meyer, *Geschichte der Schriftklärung* III, Gottingen 1804, 416 "ihn erheben zum Range eines der vorzuglichsten grammatischen Schriftklärer seiner Zeit" For a less favourable judgment on Heinsius as an exegete of the New Testament, see J A Ernesti, *Opuscula philologica critica*, Leiden 1776<sup>2</sup>, 268
- <sup>356</sup> The copper-engraving and the drawing after which it was engraved (reproduced together on pp 98-99) were brought to the author's attention by R E O Ekkart of Leiden

(Translated by J C Grayson, B A)