



Tempora qui nobis, qui veros reddidit annos,
 Qui docuit priscos certius ire dies,
 Juliades sic ora tulit: quae regna parentum
 Fortuna abstulerat, reddidit ipse sibi.
 Nunc, licet invita fors te, maiora capessit.
 Sceptraq; sed nulli praeripienda, gerit. *D.H.*

Magnifico Dno Rectori Cornelio Grotio I. C.
 Josephus Scaliger Jul. Cas. F.

D. D.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

'Je suis pouvre en tout, mesmement en livres'. Thus Joseph Scaliger, the ornament of Leiden University from 1593 to his death in 1609, in a letter of 1601.¹ The words quoted are not only an expression of Scaliger's usual modesty. In his Leiden years he complained time and again of the tenuitas bibliotheculae meae.² And judging from the auction catalogue of his library, which records about 1700 books, his library was indeed not very large.

There were two causes to which Scaliger usually attributed the limitations of his library. First, when coming to Holland, he had left the bulk of his books in France.³ True, the account of his journey from France to Leiden records payments 'for two boxes made to carry the books' and for the transport of the boxes.⁴ But these two book-chests were carried by only one mule⁵ and cannot have contained more than a small portion of Scaliger's library. The greater part of his books remained in France, dispersed over three places⁶, and in particular those left at Agen were already scattered during his lifetime.⁷

The second circumstance to which Scaliger repeatedly ascribed his penuria librorum, was the thieving of his man-servants and valets.⁸ One day a servant stole a copy of Plautus heavily annotated by Scaliger himself. Only after six months did he succeed in recovering his precious possession, damaged and obliterated at many places, on payment of a considerable ransom.⁹

On the other hand, Scaliger's library was not only larger, but also of much greater value and significance than the auction catalogue might suggest. For it does not include four elements of Scaliger's Leiden book-collection.

In the first place, Scaliger bequeathed nearly 170 Oriental books, MSS. as well as printed works, to the library of Leiden University. These volumes include Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopian and Russian texts, commentaries on such texts, and grammars and dictionaries of Oriental languages. A list of these books was entered in the 1612 catalogue of the University Library.¹⁰

A second category of books owned by Scaliger but not listed in the auction catalogue is formed by his Greek and Latin MSS., together with Scaliger's own adversaria about 75 in number.¹¹ These, too, were incorporated in the University Library. To be sure, this had not been prescribed by Scaliger's definitive French will, his earlier Latin will having assigned only his Greek MSS. to the Library.¹² Still, the statement on the verso of the title-page of the auction catalogue, to the effect that Scaliger had bequeathed his Greek and Latin MSS. to Leiden University Library, is probably correct, though it may need some comment. In fact, Scaliger himself compiled an 'index' of the MSS. which he wished to bequeath to the University Library, as he said in his Latin will. He added this index to his Latin will by way of codicil and referred to it in his French will. Unfortunately, the index has not been preserved with any known copy of Scaliger's will, probably because soon after his death the original index was deposited in the Library, together with the books enumerated in it, while the will itself remained with the executors, Franciscus and Justus Raphelengius. However, Scaliger's index very likely served as the basis for the 'Catalogus librorum quos Bibliothecae Iosephus Scaliger legavit' which was inserted in the 1612 catalogue of the University Library.¹³ This 'Catalogus librorum' proves to include, besides the Oriental books mentioned above, about 40 Greek and Latin MSS.

It is likely that these Western MSS. already figured in Scaliger's index underlying the 'Catalogus librorum', and, thus, that the University Library gained possession of Scaliger's Greek and Latin MSS. by virtue of the index composed by the testator. It is not surprising that this codicil is no longer extant. After it had been printed, with a few slight editorial changes or additions, in the 1612 catalogue of the University Library, it was no longer needed as a checklist and was probably lost. In any case, Scaliger's Western MSS., the Latin as well as the Greek ones, passed quite properly into the possession of Leiden University Library and, as a result, were not entered in the auction catalogue.

A third group of books from Scaliger's library not included in the auction catalogue are the printed works which, according to both the Latin and the French version of Scaliger's will, Mylius, Heinsius and Badius — and according to the French will, still other friends — were allowed to select and to keep as a legacy. Neither the number nor the titles of the volumes which Scaliger's friends chose from his library can be ascertained, though it may have been on this occasion that Mylius acquired a New Testament with MS. notes from Scaliger's hand¹⁴, and that Heinsius obtained a Polybius in which Scaliger had made numerous corrections.¹⁵

Finally, a small number of MSS. and annotated copies of printed works which Scaliger wished to be edited by particular friends, or to be republished in revised editions, were also removed from his library before it was auctioned. Among these were the MSS. of his father's commentaries on Aristotle's De historia animalium, an annotated copy of his own Thesaurus temperum, and annotated copies of Manilius, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius.¹⁶

From what precedes it will be clear that when Scaliger's library was auctioned, on 11 March 1609,* a good month and a half after his death, some of its most important components no longer formed part of it. The remaining books fell into the following classes, distinguished already in the catalogue but here arranged in order of the number of books by which each class was represented:

Poetae et poetici	448
Historici, chronologici, geografici	315
Oratores et philologi	311
Theologi	187
Medici et philosophi	147
Mathematici	83
Juridici	41
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In addition, the catalogue mentions 174 books in modern languages, and finally some globes, maps, mathematical instruments, and Scaliger's writing-desks. It does not mention Scaliger's sword (ensis) and pistol (bombardula) which were auctioned immediately after the maps and the desks. An 'Appendix', separately printed and without pagination, contains books which had not belonged to the library of Scaliger but were sold in the same auction.

Nearly 175 titles, about ten per cent of the whole, have been marked with an asterisk, indicating that the volumes concerned contain annotations from Scaliger's hand and so testifying to the tireless industry of their one-time possessor. His annotated copies were to become treasures much sought after by later collectors. By 1656 Isaac Vossius owned at least 24 such books.¹⁷ Nicolaas Heinsius, who had a real passion for these copies, is reported to have possessed more than 200 of them — that is, more than Scaliger's auction catalogue had registered.¹⁸

* 'die 12 Martis MDCIX', ut dicit Rodolphus Snellius; vide quod ille scripsit in tituli pagina libri 758 C 26 Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis-Batavae.

Leiden University Library presently preserves about 65 such copies, partly bought at the auction of Scaliger's books, partly acquired by different roundabout ways.¹⁹ Strikingly, not a single asterisk is found in the section of 'unbound volumes', c. 245 in number. One is reminded of Scaliger's words: 'I am used to read no books but bound ones.'²⁰

The present facsimile reproduces the copy preserved in Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Older Collection, Cat. 79^{II}, -39). Copies of this catalogue are rare; apart from the one reproduced here, a copy without MS. annotations is kept in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Q 2261). A copy which was kept in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden was lost during the last war.²¹ The University Library at Leiden is in the possession of a photocopy of the former Kiel University Library copy, the original of which was burnt in 1942. Owing to its condition, the Leiden photocopy could not be used for the present reprint. This is certainly to be regretted, as the Kiel copy had been provided with a considerable number of notes concerning buyers and prices.

The MS. notes in the Kiel copy were written by someone who marked his own numerous purchases with the initial S., occasionally with Sc. (p.44) and twice with Scr. (p.10). The initial and the abbreviations seem to point to P. Scriverius as the man responsible for the marginal notes. From these marginalia it also appears that, at the auction, G.J. Vossius displayed a special interest in Scaliger's annotati; he bought no less than 16 of them, while the University Library, probably represented by the then Librarian D.Heinsius, bought at least ten. Heinsius also bought some annotati privately. Among the purchasers one also encounters C. Mylius, Warden (curator) of the University, the bibliophile J. Rutgersius, and professors Gomarus, Badius and Snellius.

Those of Scaliger's books that are extant are scattered over many libraries. His copy of Gruterus' Inscriptiones is in the Vatican²², his copy of Beza's Testamentum Novum of 1582, full of Scaliger's critical remarks, is kept in Weimar²³, his Ovid in the 1546 edition of Gryphius containing MS. marginal readings throughout rests in Berlin²⁴, a copy of the Lyons 1563 edition of Varro's De lingua latina with notes by Scaliger is in Bern²⁵, a Manilius with a collation of the Codex Gemblacensis, an Apicius²⁶, and a copy of Canter's Euripides (Antwerp 1571)²⁷ with Scaliger's marginalia rest in the Bodleian, eight volumes annotated by Scaliger are in Cambridge²⁸ and at least three in the British Library at London.²⁹ It is hoped that the present reprint will help to form an idea of Scaliger's library before it was definitively dispersed: the library of a man whom Grotius called 'a library greater than one of thousand books'³⁰, and to whom tradition ascribes the words: 'Not the least part of erudition is knowing good books.'³¹

I am indebted to Professor A.T. Grafton of Princeton University for his careful reading of the typescript of this introduction and for many acute suggestions concerning both its contents and presentation.

1. Lettres françaises (ed. Ph. Tamizey de Larroque), Agen/Paris 1879, p. 334.
2. Epistolae (ed. D. Heinsius), Lugduni-Bataavorum 1627, p.628. Similar complaints: pp. 149-150, 183, 590, 773, and Lettres françaises, pp. 338, 347.
3. Epistolae, pp. 147, 149-150, 169. Lettres françaises, p. 334.
4. G.W. Robinson, Autobiography of J. Scaliger, Cambridge, Mass. 1927, p. 40 note.
5. 'un mulet', see P.C. Molhuysen, Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, I, 's-Gravenhage 1913, pp. 264* and 278*. Cf. H.J. Witkam, De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse Universiteit 9, Leiden 1974, p. 154; see also pp. 155 and 169.
6. Epistolae, p. 147: 'Bibliothecam meam in Gallia tribus locis dissipatam reliqui.'
7. Lettres françaises, p. 334.
8. Ibid., pp. 338, 347.
9. Ibid., p. 341.
10. (D. Heinsius (ed.)), Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Lugdunensis, (Leiden 1612), pp. 79-88. *cf. Animadv. in Graeca Eusebii, 173, over gestolen handschriften, die Scaliger zelf van Cujas geleend had.* **UB 1408 I 59**
11. (P.C. Molhuysen (ed.)), Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Scaligerani (praeter Orientales), Lugduni-Bataavorum 1910.
12. H.J. de Jonge, 'The Latin Testament of J. Scaliger', Lias 2, 1975, pp. 249-263. For the French will, see Molhuysen (cf. n. 11), pp. v-viii.
13. Scaliger's authorship of the 'Catalogus librorum quos Bibliothecae Iosephus Scaliger legavit' accounts for a remarkable slip in it. Among the 'Libri Arabici in quarto' (p. 14, 14th title), the 'Catalogus' mentions a Dictionarium Graeco-Arabicum vetustissimum. This is no doubt the Greek-Arabic lectionary now bearing pressmark Cod. Or. 243 (and discussed in Quaerendo 5, 1975, pp. 143-172), the word Dictionarium being a mistake for Lectionarium. But the same mistake occurs in Scaliger's words 'J'ay un Dictionaire Grec Arabique...' quoted in the Scaligerana, Amsterdam 1740, p. 204 and referring to the same MS.
14. D. Heinsius, Exercitationes sacrae, Lugduni Bataavorum 1639, p. 936, lines 5-11.
15. D. Heinsius, in: Scaliger's Epistolae, p. 832. The Polybius which Heinsius mentions in this letter should probably be distinguished from the Polybius listed in the auction catalogue, p. 18, sub 'In quarto', 2nd title. True, the latter copy, now in Leiden University Library, shelf-mark 757 D 6, also belonged to D.Heinsius, but before he acquired it, it was in the possession of J. Rutgersius, who probably bought it at the auction of Scaliger's books.

16. D. Heinsius, In obitum I. Scaligeri orationes duae, Lugd. Bat. 1609, p. 98. Scaliger's copy of the 1569 Plantin edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius (now Leiden University Library, shelf-mark 755 H 23) has received special attention in A.T. Grafton, 'J. Scaliger's Edition of Catullus...', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 38, 1975, pp. 155-181, esp. p. 159.
17. F.F. Blok, Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius's Library, Amsterdam/London 1974, p. 24.
18. F.F. Blok, Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden, Delft 1949, p. 125.
19. For a list of libri a Scaligero annotati in Leiden University Library, see Molhuysen (cf. n. 11), pp. 30-32. There are Scaligeran annotati in Leiden not listed by Molhuysen, while some of those he lists are not annotated by Scaliger.
20. Scaligerana (secunda), p. 187: 'Ego non soleo legere libros nisi compactos.'
21. Dr. H. Deckert of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, kindly informed me by letter of 28 July 1976, 'dass der Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Iosephi Scaligeri von 1609 (Bibl. priv. 129) zu unseren Kriegsverlusten gehört. Nach der alten Katalogkarte scheint er keine handschriftlichen Notizen und Preisangaben enthalten zu haben.'
22. J.A.F. Orbaan, Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden, I: Rome, 's-Gravenhage 1911, p. 89, nr. 109.
23. H.J. de Jonge, 'The Study of the New Testament', in: Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning, Leiden 1975, pp. 64-109, esp. 81-82. For other books from Scaliger's library now at Weimar, inter alia a Josephus with his MS. corrections which was later owned by Comarus, see H.L. Schurzfleisch, Acta Literaria, Vitembergae 1714, p. 20 and J.B.C. d'Ansse de Villosion, Epistolae Vinarienses, Turici 1783, **p. 80**
24. M.D. Reeve, 'Heinsius's MSS. of Ovid', Rhein. Mus. N.F. 117, 1974, p. 163 and 119, 1976, p. 73.
25. H.Hagen, Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana), Bernae 1875, p. 550.
26. In the Torinus 1541 Basel edition; see M.E. Milham, 'Leyden and the 'fortuna' of Apicius', Renaiss. Quart. 25, 1972, pp. 188-191. The Apicius, as well as the Varro, Manilius and Euripides, were brought to my attention by Professor Grafton.
27. C. Collard, 'J.J. Scaliger's Euripidean Marginalia', Class. Quart. N.S. 24, 1974, 242-249.

28. J.R. Luard, A Catalogue of Adversaria and Printed Books Containing MS. Notes Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, Cambridge 1864, Index, sub Scaliger, Jos. The libri annotati of Scaliger preserved at Cambridge include copies of Aeschylus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ctesias, Herodotus, Hesychius, Hotomannus, Guilandinus, the Rhetores Graeci, and the Septuagint. For the Herodotus/Ctesias and the Septuagint, see M.H. Hoeflich, 'Two Heinsius-related Volumes in the University Library, Cambridge', Trans. Cambridge Bibliographical Soc. 6, 1975, pp. 262-265, n.11.
29. British Museum, General Catalogue of Printed Books, 213, London 1964, col. 1079-1084. The annotati of Scaliger listed here include a work by Leunclavius (in which the notes are definitely Scaligeran), an Ael. Aristides, J.C. Scaliger's letters, and a Gellius (in which the Scaligeran provenance of the annotations is doubtful).
- For further information on libri annotati of Scaliger, see H. Nettleship, 'The Printed Editions of Nonius Marcellus', The Journal of Philology 21, 1892, pp. 211-232; idem, 'Scaliger's Unpublished Emendations in Nonius (continued)', ibid., 22, 1893, pp. 74-83; and I. Bywater, 'Scaliger's...handschriftliche Noten zu den veteres glossae verborum iuris', Rhein. Mus. N.F. 42, 1887, pp. 62-80.
30. In: D. Heinsius, In obitum...(cf. n. 16), p. 76.
31. 'Non minima pars eruditionis est bonos nosse libros', inscription carved over the door of Bishop Cosin's Library, part of the University Library, Durham, England.