

HENK JAN DE JONGE

## THE LATIN TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH SCALIGER, 1607

Joseph Scaliger, the illustrious philologist and historian who was attached to Leiden University from 1593 to his death in 1609, made his last will in January 1601, when he was 60 years old. On January 27 of that year he wrote to his friend Casaubon :

« Five days ago I wrote my testament with my own hand, making my last arrangements not only for my mother's property but also for the trifles which I have here. To my friends I leave a part, rather as a testimony of my good will toward them than as anything that would deserve the name of legacy. I feel relieved of a great burden, in that it occurred to me to make my last will before a sudden illness drove me to it or a superior power deprived me of the opportunity. »<sup>1</sup>

Six and a half years later, however, Scaliger cancelled this testament of 1601 and made a new one. On October 13, 1607, he informed Casaubon :

« I have cancelled my former will and drawn up a new one. I have made my sister heiress of my estate. To my friends I have left from my trifles something as a remembrance of us, a testimony of my love rather than of wealth. I can not enrich them, since this is in accordance neither with their desires nor with my means. I should have liked to bestow upon you a better or a larger gift than that which I leave as a legacy<sup>2</sup>. Yet I hope it will be as acceptable to you, as it will be honourable to me, that I remember you even in my last will. ... I am bequeathing the choicer books in Oriental tongues to the library of this University... »<sup>3</sup>

Now the definitive French recension of Scaliger's last will was drawn up, signed and dated only on November 18, 1608<sup>4</sup>. In this French will of No-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted after G.W. Robinson, *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger, with autobiographical selections from his letters, his testament, and the funeral orations by Daniel Heinsius and Dominicus Baudius, translated into English*, Cambridge Mass. 1927, p. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> Scaliger bequeathed to Casaubon a cup of silver plated with gold, with its box, which Messieurs the Estates of Zealand had given him.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3. Cf. J. Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, Berlin 1855 (repr. Osnabrück 1965), p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Of Scaliger's French will five copies up till the present are known to exist : a. Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), American Philosophical Society Library, a copy with a notarial addition at the end of the text signed by the Leiden notary public Jean d'Agache (see below, text corresponding to nn. 27-31). b. *Ibidem*, a transcript of a with a subscription signed by three citizens of Agen, D. Lefabre, [...]zal, and Belengieu (This copy was brought to my attention by Mr. M.H. Hoeflich of Cambridge). c. Agen, Archives départementales of Lot-et-Garonne, a rather faulty transcript of a (see n. 5). I have not checked whether this copy still exists. d. Leiden, Univ. Libr., Perizonianus Qu. 5, fo. 39r-44v (see n. 5). e. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Dupuy 395, fo. 180r-181v. The Philadelphia, Leiden and Paris copies are dated No-

vember 1608, Scaliger referred to « the Latin copy of this my testament » and declared that this French testament was « identical with that which I have written in Latin, of the same tenor and provisions. » The conclusion is obvious therefore, that in his letter to Casaubon of October 1607 quoted above, Scaliger spoke of his Latin will and that he translated this Latin will into French after more than a year, in November 1608.

Scaliger's French will of 1608 has justly been considered so important that it has been edited three times<sup>5</sup>, and moreover once in English translation<sup>6</sup>. The Latin recension underlying the well-known French version, however, has never been published so far. G.W. Robinson, to whom we owe the English translation of the French version, even remarks: « no copy of the Latin will has been found »<sup>7</sup>. Yet Scaliger's Latin will of 1607 is preserved in at least four manuscripts, all of them in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, *viz.* Collection Dupuy 395, folios 182<sup>r</sup>-189<sup>r</sup>, Collection Dupuy 663, folios 5<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>, Fonds Latin 17.283, folios 2<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup> and Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 7112, folios 143<sup>r</sup>-147<sup>r</sup>.

For several reasons the Latin text of Scaliger's last will as preserved in the manuscripts just mentioned is extremely interesting.

In the first place, the Latin testament of July 25, 1607, (henceforth referred to as L) differs considerably from the commonly known French version of 1608 (henceforth referred to as F). In F Scaliger bequeathed most of his precious possessions to other persons than he had done in L. Two persons who had come in for a legacy in L, were no longer remembered in F, *viz.* Paul Schuart (= Choart de Buzanval), ambassador of the French King Henry IV at The Hague since 1591, who died September 9, 1607, one and a half months after Scaliger had mentioned him in his last will (L), and Franciscus Dousa, the son of the late curator of the University, Janus Dousa. Five persons whose names did not figure in Scaliger's will of 1607, were only remembered in 1608, in F, which was to be Scaliger's definitive will, *viz.* Daniel Taffin, Franciscus Raphelengius, Justus Raphelengius, Carolus Clusius and Franciscus Gomarus. Several persons received other legacies according to the testament of 1608 than Scaliger had assigned to them in his will of 1607. For example Daniel Heinsius, Scaliger's favourite pupil in whose arms he died, would have received according to L: a number of non-oriental printed books, a golden medal weighing thirty-three crowns, a silver

vember 18, 1608. According to Magen (cf. n. 5), the Agen copy is dated « ce dix-huictiesme novembre mil six cens unze ». This is of course corrupt, as Scaliger died in 1609.

<sup>5</sup> It was edited twice from the Leiden MS, *viz.* by W.N. du Rieu, « De portretten en het testament van J.J. Scaliger », *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 1880-1881, II, Leiden 1881, pp. 131-7; and by [P.C. Molhuysen], *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices Scaligerani (praeter Orientales)*, Leiden 1910, pp. v-viii. Excerpts from the Leiden MS were published by G.D.J. Schotel, *De bibliotheek der Hoogeschool te Leyden*, Leiden 1866, p. 54, and in *Leidse universiteit* 400. *Stichting en eerste bloei 1575-ca. 1650*, Amsterdam 1975, p. 149, where the MS is partially reproduced by photo. The Agen MS was published by A. Magen, *Documents sur Jules-César Scaliger et sa famille*, Agen 1873, pp. 75-81. Schotel, *De Academie te Leiden in de 16e, 17e en 18e eeuw*, Haarlem 1875, p. 373, wrongly says that he published Scaliger's testament in his *Edel Driemanschap*, Leiden 1874. There he did publish the last will of Jan van Hout, pp. 48-58.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *Autobiography*, pp. 59-70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 18.

dessert-platter, and half of Scaliger's Chinese paper. But according to F he received : the same books, and a silver wash-hand basin plus ewer. The golden medal was assigned to Taffin, the dessert-platter to Franciscus Raphelengius, and the Chinese paper to Gomarus.

Much more significant is another difference between L and F. In L it was Daniel Heinsius whom Scaliger asked to take care of a corrected edition of his *Thesaurus temporum*, no doubt his greatest work. But in F he expressed his wish that the *Thesaurus* would be re-edited by Franciscus Gomarus. At the same time Scaliger willed to Gomarus a large quire of China paper, half of which had been destined for Heinsius in L. For what reasons Scaliger finally preferred Gomarus to Heinsius as editor of the revised *Thesaurus*, is not clear. Maybe Scaliger felt that he made too great demands on Heinsius if the latter was charged with the re-edition, not only of Scaliger's Manilius and Catullus and his father's commentaries on Aristotle's *De historia animalium*, but also of the *Thesaurus temporum*. Further the fact must have played a part that in 1607 Gomarus had carefully edited Scaliger's chronological treatises against Paraeus, the *Elenchus utriusque orationis chronologicae D. Davidis Paraei*<sup>8</sup>. At any rate the change in Scaliger's will testifies most eloquently to his more favourable judgment on Gomarus since 1607, to which Van Itterzon has justly drawn attention<sup>9</sup>.

In the second place Scaliger's Latin will is of interest because of the codicil subjoined to it. This codicil, written in French, is of the same date as the French testament. Consequently, the directions given in it have to be considered as part of Scaliger's ultimate and definitive disposal, though for some reason or another the codicil has not been transmitted in the existing copies of the French will. That is why Scaliger's instructions contained in this codicil have remained unknown so far. Yet they are very important. They consist of, first, the interdiction of a dissection of Scaliger's corpse, second, orders for the inscription which was to be carved on his grave-stone.

In the letter<sup>9a</sup> in which Scaliger's friend Dominicus Baudius invited the curators of the University Van Mathenes and Van der Myle to attend Scaliger's funeral on January 25, « Die Dominico post horam secundam a meridie », he made mention of Scaliger's last will and his directions for the funeral ceremony, and cited the text of the sepulchral inscription as prescribed by Scaliger himself. This confirms that Scaliger's directions contained in the codicil to the Latin testament, formed part of his authoritative and definitive will, and that the French testament in the copies presently known is incomplete.

As to Scaliger's sepulchral stone, upon the demolition, in 1819, of the Vrouwekerk, where Scaliger was buried, it was removed to the Pieterskerk<sup>10</sup>. As the slab proved to be too broad for the place which had been made free for it in the transept of the Pieterskerk, a strip was broken off from its right-

<sup>8</sup> G.P. van Itterzon, *Franciscus Gomarus*, 's-Gravenhage 1930, pp. 148-151.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-151 and 270-1, with criticism of Bernays.

<sup>9a</sup> *Epistolae* (see n. 15) II, 98, p. 291.

<sup>10</sup> Du Rieu, *art. cit.*, p. 97. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

hand side. Owing to this, the inscription on the slab is slightly damaged<sup>11</sup>. The lost letters can easily be supplied, however, and moreover the text of the inscription was published while the slab was still uninjured<sup>12</sup>. It reads as follows :

IOSEPHVS IVST[VS  
SCALIGER  
IVL. CAES. F.  
HIC EXPECTO RESVRREC[TIONEM  
TERRA HAEC AB ECCLESIA EM[PTA EST  
NEMINI CADAVER HVC INFERRE [LICET

From Scaliger's Latin will we now learn that this inscription was drawn up, entirely and literally, by Scaliger himself. True, this has already been assumed for the first four lines<sup>13</sup>. But Du Rieu<sup>14</sup> raised the objection that Scaliger as an expert in epigraphy would never have written « expecto » in the first person singular, but « expectat » in the third person. Further Scaliger would not simply have called himself « Iul. Caes. f. », but rather « Iulii Caesaris a Burden filius ». Finally Du Rieu urges that according to Baudius, Scaliger would even have prescribed the archaic form « heic expectat »<sup>15</sup>, not « hic... ». From all this Du Rieu drew the conclusion, that as far as the inscription on Scaliger's sepulchral slab is concerned, « Scaliger's last will has not been fulfilled to the letter ». This conclusion turns out to be wrong. The codicil to the Latin testament of Scaliger furnishes documentary proof that the inscription as preserved on Scaliger's slab in the Pieterskerk is in perfect conformity with what Scaliger wished as his sepulchral inscription, at least as far as the text was concerned.

For in one respect the grave-stone does fall short of the demands made by Scaliger. In his codicil of November 18, 1608, he had determined : « Jonas will be bound to buy a grey stone for my grave, on which he will have my arms carved, and underneath he will have the following words carved, in capitals... (follows the text of the inscription). » On Scaliger's grave-stone, then, his arms are lacking. Whether it is his servant Jonas who should be blamed for this omission or not, cannot be ascertained.

<sup>11</sup> For an excellent photographic reproduction of the tombstone, see B.A. van Proosdij, « Scaliger's Graf », in *Brill's uitgaven voor algemeen voortgezet onderwijs*, Leiden 1972, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Les délices de Leyde*, Leiden 1712, p. 184-5.

<sup>13</sup> Du Rieu, *art. cit.*, p. 93, line 8 from the bottom : « according to the wish of the faithful Christian, the following words had been engraved on the slab... »

<sup>14</sup> Du Rieu, *art. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Baudius' *Epistolae* II, 98 already mentioned in the text : « Cavit testamento ut sepeliatur in ea parte templi Gallici, quam insidere solebat auditurus sacras conciones : nec aliud monumento incidi voluit nisi hoc breve oraculum, IOSEPHVS IVSTVS SCALIGER / IVL. CAES. FIL. / HEIC EXSPECTAT RESVR-/RECTIONEM. » Obviously Baudius is quoting here from memory, not from a copy of the testament. In fact, neither the French, nor the Latin testament says anything as to the place in the Vrouwekerk where precisely Scaliger wished to be buried. They do not even contain the direction that he be buried in the Vrouwekerk ! — There is an allusion to Scaliger's words « hic expecto resurrectionem » in Baudius' funeral oration on him : « Corpus, hospitium illius illustris animae, ... hesternae die compositum est tumulo, ubi expectat resurrectionem », *Epistolae semicenturia auctae. ... Accedunt eiusdem orationes et libellus de foenore*, Amsterdam 1662, p. 620.

As appears from the codicil to the Latin will, Scaliger composed also the two final lines of the inscription on his sepulchral stone: « Terra haec ab ecclesia empta est./Nemini cadaver huc inferre licet. » That Scaliger himself is the author of these lines, seems to be forgotten knowledge. As a result, the meaning of the two sentences has been misunderstood. According to Du Rieu<sup>16</sup>, the grave would have been bought from the Walloon Church by the curators of the University and the burgomasters of the city. But neither the curators or the burgomasters were ever likely to have felt concerned about a professor's grave. Nor do the proceedings of the college of curators contain any indication that the curators resolved to pay for Scaliger's grave. Nor would Scaliger in his sepulchral inscription have failed to make mention of the unusual generosity of the curators and burgomasters if they had really bought a grave for him. Du Rieu's conclusion cannot possibly be correct, therefore.

But Du Rieu could have saved himself this mistake if he had taken the small trouble of consulting the *Register of receipts and payments of the churchwardens of the three principal churches in Leiden*<sup>17</sup>, preserved in the Public Record-Office at Leiden. Here one finds, under February 2, 1609, that the churchwardens received the comparatively enormous amount of 50 guilders for the sale of Joseph Scaliger's grave in the Vrouwekerk, together with a blue stone:

« Den 2en february. Ontfangen van de coop van 't graf van Josephus  
Schaliger in de Vrouwekerck met een blauve steen 50-0-0. »

Obviously, Scaliger had not bought a private grave in his lifetime at all. According to his wish expressed in his last will he was buried, on January 25, 1609, « as inexpensively as possible, with the excision of all superfluity and vanity ». That meant, for instance, that he did not wish the bells to be rung during the hours preceding the funeral ceremony. As he did not possess a grave, but wished to be buried, according to his disposal in the codicil of November 1608, in a private grave, a grave had to be bought as soon as possible. Eight days after Scaliger's burial the 50 guilders for this grave were paid, doubtless « from the rest of the money »<sup>18</sup> which after his death had been found in the chest of his chamber, and from which 30 guilders had been given to Anna his chambermaid, and 100 guilders to the poor of the Walloon Church. Thus, Scaliger was buried in a grave bought from the church (« ab ecclesia empta », as he said in his sepulchral inscription) and paid for from his estate. As Scaliger left no relatives who could act as possessors of the grave, its posthumous purchase had no other use than to warrant that it would be kept closed for a considerable time.

From the *Register of the churchwardens* it is also clear that Scaliger's funeral in the Vrouwekerk was really a simple and inexpensive ceremony. The only

<sup>16</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 93.

<sup>17</sup> *Register ofte blaffaert van den ontfang ende wtgeef der kerckmeesteren van de drie hooftkercken binnen Leyden beginnende priema Ianuarij anno xvi<sup>e</sup> ende negen*, Leiden, Public Record-Office, Archief Kerkvoogdij N.H. Gemeente Inv. P. 117, fol. 14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Scaliger's will in the translation of Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

costs which resulted from it were those « for opening the grave », and no more<sup>19</sup>.

In this connection it may be observed that some years before his death, Scaliger, speaking to some students about his grave, said : « Ego non curo quidquam nisi resurrectionem ; sepulchrum non curo ; ubi sepeliar non interest. »<sup>20</sup> These words correspond to those on his slab : « hic expecto resurrectionem ». For his students he explained : « Cum moriar, meum corpus erit ut asini corpus. » And remarkably enough he concluded : « Sunt qui nolunt alios in suo sepulchro sepeliri : sed in nostra Religione non deberet fieri. » Thus, about 1605, Scaliger was of the opinion that Protestants should not mind the graves in which they were to be buried being used after some time for other interments. In 1608, when drawing up his own grave inscription, Scaliger could apparently not decide to conform to this view.

In the third place Scaliger's Latin testament is important because it gives information which is lacking from its French recension. To quote only one example, in L Scaliger bequeathed a medal of gold to Franciscus Dousa (1577-1630), son of the late Janus Dousa, « because he has made a fair copy of my father's commentaries on Aristotles' *De historia animalium* ». Now there are among the Codices Scaligerani in Leiden University Library two copies of Julius Scaliger's commentaries on *De historia animalium* : Scal. 34 and Scal. 54. Scal. 34 is the autograph of J.C. Scaliger. Scal. 54 is in a handwriting very similar to that of Joseph Scaliger. Indeed Molhuysen in his catalogue of the Codices Scaligerani<sup>21</sup> states that Scal. 54 was written « manu I.I. Scaligeri ». If one compares, however, an autograph letter<sup>22</sup> of Franciscus Dousa with Scal. 54, it appears that the latter manuscript, seven thick volumes in quarto, is the fair copy made by Dousa and referred to by Scaliger in his Latin will. Unfortunately, Franciscus Dousa no longer figures in F, and his tremendous labours spent on Scal. 54 have been disregarded even in Molhuysen's catalogue<sup>23</sup>, where they should have been acknowledged.

In the fourth place the Latin testament of Scaliger is of importance as it may help to explain such passages in the French will as present problems of interpretation. This seems to be true, for instance, for one of the most generally known sentences<sup>24</sup> of the French will which runs :

<sup>19</sup> *Reg ster*, see n. 17, fol. 12r. « Ontfang van de graven te opnen in de Vroukercke », under February 2, 1609 : « Ontfangen van 't topen (*sic*) van 't graf van Josephus Schaliger 6 - 0 - 0. »

<sup>20</sup> *Secunda Scaligerana*, ed. Des Maizeaux, Amsterdam 1740, p. 558.

<sup>21</sup> *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidenensis. Codices Manuscripti II. Codices Scaligerani (praeter Orientales)*, Leiden 1910.

<sup>22</sup> Leiden, University Library, MS Lips. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Du Rieu, *art. cit.*, p. 129, remarks that Maussacus, who finally edited J.C. Scaliger's commentaries on Aristotle in 1619, had tried in vain to get permission from the Leiden scholars to base his edition on « the copy of Dousa. »

<sup>24</sup> For repercussions on this part of Scaliger's last will see Bernays, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-9. When in 1619 the Genevan printer Roverius announced an edition of the New Testament « cum notis Josephi Scaligeri. . », 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 ». By the time that Heinsius' own New Testament commentary, his *Exercitationes sacrae* (1639), was nearing completion he was accused himself of plagiarism from Scaliger's papers,

« Du reste de mes escrits je ne veux nullement qu'aucun soit mis en lumière, comme j'ay touché cy dessus, moins qu'on en face extraict. »

This is Du Rieu's<sup>25</sup> paraphrase of the sentence just quoted : « Of the rest of his writings, he definitely wished that none should be published. One was allowed to make abstracts from them ... » And Robinson<sup>26</sup> translated : « Of the rest of my writings, I am by no means willing that any should be published, as I have indicated above, unless in selections. » The Latin will, however, which apart from the changes of November 1608 had to be taken, as Scaliger determined himself, for identical with the French will and « of the same tenor and provisions », reads :

« Reliqua schedia tam patris, quam mea, quia inchoata et incondita sunt, praesertim *Thesaurum meum linguae Arabicae* publicari, aut ab ullo contractari, aut extra Bibliothecam Publicam efferri omnino veto. »

From this Latin passage it is perfectly clear that Scaliger's words « moins qu'on en face extraict » cannot possibly mean « unless in selections ». Far from implying an exception to Scaliger's general prohibition of publishing his papers, the French clause means that Scaliger did « not even » permit the making of abstracts from any of his writings left to the University Library, either for publication or for personal use.

From the preceding discussion it may be clear that Scaliger's Latin will, although it is not his definitive testament, deserves to be published. The transcript given below is based on that in the MS Dupuy 395. An attempt to find an official copy of Scaliger's authentic will in the Leiden Public Record-Office produced only a negative result, and this for an obvious reason. Scaliger's last will is not a so-called « open » or public testament drawn up by a notary public, but a « closed » or « secret » testament, composed by the testator himself. In case of an open testament, the opening-formula would have run : « Today, the 18th November 1608, appeared before me Mr.—, notary public at Leiden, appointed and sworn in by the Court of Holland, the Right Honourable Joseph Scaliger, son of Julius Caesar Scaliger, professor in the University of Leiden etc. etc. », or in a like manner. In that case the notary would not only have drawn up the testament, he would also have included the official testament in his notarial acts, in which it might have been preserved and might have found its way into the Public Record-Office of Leiden. Now since Scaliger's will is a « closed » testament, it may have been deposited with a notary public, but the notary's task consisted only in writing an « act of receipt », keeping the will until Scaliger's death and handing it over to the executors of the will, in this case the brothers François and Justus Rapheling. Thus Scaliger's testament left the notary's office, and the possibility of an autograph copy turning up in the notarial archives in the Public Record-Office at Leiden has to be considered as ruled out.

wrongly, as we demonstrated in our paper « The Study of the New Testament », in : *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning*, Leiden, 1975, pp. 64-109, esp. 96-100.

<sup>25</sup> *Art. cit.*, p. 129 : « Van zijne overige geschriften wilde hij uitdrukkelijk, dat niets zou worden uitgegeven, men kon er uittreksels van maken... » See below, n. 71.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

When Scaliger's testament was opened it was found to contain the following passage :

« I beg my cousin, Mr. Secondat de Rocques, that he cause a copy of this my testament to be placed safely in the hands of my sister Anna della Scala in Guienne. ... If my cousin is not found here, it can be put into his hands in France, at the court, or the place where he shall be found. »

In order to obtain an authorized copy of Scaliger's will to be sent to his sister in France, the Raphelengii must have made a transcript from the French original entrusted to their care, and asked a notary public at Leiden to confirm that it was in agreement with Scaliger's autograph. Having checked the transcript, the notary attached his fiat to the copy in the following words :

« Collatione a l'original et trouve concorder de mot a autre par moy, notaire soubsigné, jure et admis par le conseil provincial de la Court au comté d'Hollande, habitant au lieu de Leyden. En foy de quoy j'ay signe. Le deuxieme jour de febvrier mil six cens neuf. Lequel testament estoit signé par moy de page en page. *Agache*, notaire public. »<sup>27</sup>

Jean d'Agache is known to have kept a school for French speaking children at Leiden since 1586. In 1596 he was admitted to the office of notary public<sup>28</sup>. He died in 1624<sup>29</sup>. His archives have been lost without trace.

As to Scaliger's will, d'Agache obviously collated the transcript of the Raphelengii against the original. Having signed the pages of the transcript, he added the subscription quoted above, and then gave both copies, the autograph and the transcript, back to the Raphelengii, who sent the latter to France. The copy authorized by d'Agache apparently served as model for the transcript according to which Scaliger's French will was published (with many and serious mistakes) by Magen<sup>30</sup>. The copy signed by d'Agache himself is now in the Archives of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia<sup>31</sup>; photocopies of it were placed at the disposal of this writer.

The text of Scaliger's Latin will as edited below, with the kind permission of the Bibliothèque National at Paris, is based on that in MS Dupuy 395. At five places, mentioned in notes <sup>A</sup> to <sup>E</sup>, this text differs from that in MS Dupuy 663. The variants, all of minor importance, seem to indicate that Dupuy 663 is dependent on Dupuy 395, though the relationship between both MSS is not absolutely clear<sup>32</sup>. Both other MSS, *Nouvelles acquisitions*

<sup>27</sup> This is the addition in d'Agache's own hand in the copy preserved in the American Philosophical Society Library (cf. n. 4). In lieu of « concorder » Ad. Magen, *op. cit.* (see n. 5), p. 81, reads « conforme ».

<sup>28</sup> J. Briels, « Biografische aantekeningen betreffende Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten in Noordnederland 1570-1630 », *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 14 (1972), pp. 279-280. (Reference kindly supplied by H.J. Witkam of Leiden.) D'Agache does not figure in the « chronological list of the notaries public who, appointed at the recommendation of the municipality of Leiden, have been sworn in before the Court of Holland, 1525-1810 », in: W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, *De oude notariele Archieven van Leiden*, Leiden 1916, <sup>29</sup> The Public Record-Office of Leiden disposes of one notarial act bearing d'Agache's name, dated 1604 (*Voogdenboek* B 1). D'Agache was buried in the Hooglandse Kerk on December 4, 1624.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. nn. 5 and 27, and n. 34 to the Latin text.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. n. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Especially variant <sup>C</sup> suggests that Dupuy 395 has been copied from 663. In the latter MS



françaises 7112 and Fonds Latin 17.283, are copies from either of the Dupuy MSS.

The notes to the Latin text numbered 1 to 79 mainly aim at signaling the differences between L and F. For further elucidations, especially for more information on the persons mentioned in Scaliger's will, the reader is referred to the annotations of Robinson<sup>33</sup>.

## IN NOMINE TRINI ET UNIUS DEI.

A ✱ Ω

Quandoquidem uniuscuiusque interest, dum per humanam conditionem<sup>1</sup> licet, quid rebus suis post mortem suam fieri placeat, apud suos testatum relinquere; et suprema sua ordinare: ego Josephus Scaliger, Julii Caesaris filius, mentis integer meorumque sensuum compos hoc ultimum voluntatis meae iudicium manu mea scripsi.

Ac primum quidem Deo immortalī gratias ago, quod fulgore veritatis suae tenebras mentis meae discusserit, nec veterino superstitionis eam torpere passus sit; precorque eum per Dominum Jesum Christum eius aeternum ab aeterno filium, unicum columnen ac vindicem salutis nostrae, ut hunc tenorem fidei usque ad exitum vitae mihi perducere liceat, atque omnibus peccatis meis sanguine unigeniti sui expiatis, et mihi per gratiam suam condonatis, quandoque hoc corpusculo<sup>2</sup> exsolutus fuero, intra aeternam requiem suam, et immortale piorum gaudium me recipiat. Quod quidem, quanquam innumeris peccatis coopertus, ineffabili misericordia eius fretus ita fore spero, confido, atque ita mihi constanter persuadeo. Amen<sup>3</sup>.

Ac quanquam partim fraude hominum, partim domesticorum meorum iniuria<sup>4</sup>, nihil fere in oculis nostris relictum est, ac praeterea bellorum civilium tempestatibus res nostrae accisae et patrimonium in Aquitania<sup>5</sup> ita attritum est, ut tam exiguarum facultatum pudeat heredem instituere<sup>6</sup>, tamen universarum rerum, quantulascunque mihi calamitas ex illo naufragio in Aquitania reliquas fecit, *Anna Scaligera* soror mea heres esto. Si non erit, Josephus Charrier filius eius heres esto. Si neque is erit, tunc Margareta Cantarella, sororis meae Bertrandae Scaligerae filia heres esto.

De his rebus quas in Hollandia habeo, si quidem mihi contingat in his locis mori, omnem suppellectilem meam<sup>7</sup>, et domesticum instructum, vasa escaria, et coquinaria, lectos, scamna, sellaria, tum quae in conditis in diem mortis meae erunt, penus omne, et carnarium, vinum et cervisiam<sup>8</sup>, vestemque universam, quamcumque in diem obitus mei habui, lineas indusias, et stragula, arcas, scrinia, armaria, et omnia denique moventia sine ulla exceptione, quae in his aedibus possideo *Jonas Rousse* capito, sibi que habeto, propterea quod eum ad omnia idoneum, fidelissimum et obsequentissimum habui ministrum<sup>9</sup>. Voloque ut earum rerum auctionem faciat<sup>10</sup>, et redactam ex pretio venditarum

the word « Secundato » is the last of a line; for its final letter there remained almost no space. As a result, only its left half could be scribbled on the page, the rest was omitted. In Dupuy 395 the whole -o is missing. More decisive, however, seems to be variant E which rather suggests that 663 depends on 395.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. n. 1.

pecuniam, mercedem ac praemium laborum suorum habeat, unde se, uxorem, et liberos suos <sup>A</sup>sustentet.

Praeterea ex pecunia quam in scrinio cubiculi mei reposui, aurei decem<sup>11</sup> Annae ancillae Juniori semel numerentur, eosque habeat super id quod a me annui salarii nomine accipere solebat. Item ex iisdem nummis centum florinos pauperibus Christi Ecclesiae Gallicanae huius urbis<sup>12</sup> do lego. Ex reliqua summula impensae necessariae<sup>13</sup> post mortem meam fiant. Corpus meum parva impensa<sup>14</sup> funerari volo, et omnem superfluum atque ambitiosum sumptum tolli. Nihil, quantum meminisse possum, debeo, neque<sup>15</sup> me unquam a creditoribus meis appellari patior; si cui tamen per oblivionem<sup>16</sup> res soluta non fuerit<sup>17</sup>, ut id praestetur, fidei Jonae committo, ut et impendia omnia funeris, quae modica, et intra necessitatem fieri volo. Quod de ratione expensi reliquum fiet nummorum, id Jonas solus sibi habeto.

De bibliotheca autem, quam pro ratione facultatum satis instructam relinquo, omnes libros Hebraicos, Syriacos, Arabicos, et aliarum orientalium linguarum<sup>18</sup> huic inclitae Lugdunensi Academiae do lego. Quorum librorum cum aliquot Graecis manuscriptis, quos ad Academiam pertinere volo<sup>19</sup>, indicem huic instrumento<sup>20</sup> coniunxi, quem partem huius testamenti esse, aut codicillorum vim habere volo. Nobilissimo<sup>21</sup> viro Cornelio Mylio, huius Academiae curatori, item Heinsio, atque Baudio potestatem facio, quos velint libros de meis Graecis, et Latinis eligere, ita ut post Mylium Heinsius, post Heinsium Baudius sequatur. Horum librorum catalogus repositus est in viridi pulpito, cui inniti soleo scribens.

Schedia patris mei in doliolo condidi<sup>22</sup>, una cum commentariis eius in libros Aristotelis *de historia animalium*, quos maximi fecerim a Daniele Heinsio accurate recenseri, et prolegomenis<sup>23</sup> praemuniri, <sup>B</sup>ita ut in publicum emittantur, quod ut faciat eum etiam atque etiam rogo<sup>24</sup>. Quod si quid obstiterit quominus Heinsius illam editionem praestare possit, tunc illi commentarii intra Publicam Bibliothecam<sup>25</sup> contineantur, donec idoneus reperiatur, qui editionem illam digne curare possit<sup>26</sup>. Reliqua schedia<sup>27</sup> tam patris, quam mea, quia inchoata et incondita sunt<sup>28</sup>, praesertim *Thesaurum meum linguae Arabicae*<sup>29</sup> publicari, aut ab ullo contrectari<sup>30</sup>, aut extra Bibliothecam Publicam efferri<sup>31</sup> omnino veto. Librorum autem quos reliquos fecerint Mylius, Heinsius, et Baudius<sup>32</sup>, sumptis iis quos sibi delegerint, auctionem faciat Jonas, et pecuniam inde contractam sibi omnem habeto.

Ex supellectile exigua argentea<sup>33</sup> poculum argenteum deauratum quo me illustrissimi Ordines Zelandiae<sup>34</sup> donarunt, una cum conditorio suo, Isaacio Casaubono<sup>35</sup> do lego. Argenteum malluvium, aquimanile<sup>36</sup>, duodecim cochlearia, et fuscinulam escariam<sup>37</sup> nobilissimo viro Jacobo Secundato<sup>38</sup>, cognato meo, cohortis unius Gallorum subpraefecto do lego. Torquem aureum, ex quo nummus Provinciarum Confoederatarum aptus est<sup>39</sup>, nobilissimo viro Paulo Schuarto<sup>40</sup>, qui diu in his Provinciis legatus Christianissimi nostri Regis fuit, do lego. Alium nummum aureum earundem Provinciarum pendentem xxxiii aureos<sup>41</sup> Danieli Heinsio<sup>42</sup> do lego. Alium item aureum nummum imagine Samosci magni Poloniae Cancellarii<sup>43</sup> incusum nobili viro Francisco Douzae<sup>44</sup> do lego, propterea quod commentarios in libros *de historia animalium* descripsit, neque tam longi laboris difficultate deterritus est<sup>45</sup>. Nummum aureum imagine Christianissimi Regis signatum Everardo Vorstio compatri meo do lego<sup>46</sup>. Duo segmenta torquis aurei instar armillarum Karolo Labbeo<sup>47</sup>, caussarum apud

supremam curiam Parisiensem patrono<sup>48</sup>, do lego. Ex tribus pateris argenteis, quae cum bellariis mensis secundis imponi solent<sup>49</sup>, primam Daniel Heinsius<sup>50</sup>, secundam Hugo Grotius<sup>51</sup>, tertiam<sup>52</sup> Dominicus Baudius sibi capiunto atque habento. Synthesin vasculorum Sinensium, quae porcellana dicuntur<sup>53</sup>, omnem, nobilissimae puellae Elizabethae de Briquemaut filiae meae<sup>54</sup> do lego, una cum vasculis textilibus lacca glutinatis<sup>55</sup> et pupa Sinensi<sup>56</sup>. Duas aves paradisi cognato meo Jacobo <sup>c</sup>Secundato<sup>57</sup> do lego. Libellos Sinenses, et volumen chartae Sinensis<sup>58</sup>, et alia quae in risco ligneo<sup>59</sup> reperientur, Daniel Heinsius, et Dominicus Baudius aequaliter inter se dividunto<sup>60</sup>.

Effigiem meam, quae in aula harum aedium<sup>61</sup> pendet, nobili matronae Mariae vanden Berg, illustrissimarum Principum Palatarum moderatrici, ac quondam hospiti meae<sup>62</sup>, do lego. Effigiem caeream patris mei in pyxide conditam<sup>63</sup> volo in quodam loco Bibliothecae Publicae asservari, ita ut eam praefectus Bibliothecae a nemine tangi patiatur.

Item Daniele Heinsium<sup>64</sup> oro, ut Eusebium meum recudi curet ad exemplar quod ego manu mea accurate emendavi, et multis partibus auxi<sup>65</sup>. Nam pudet me foedissimorum errorum quibus editio illa oblita et deformata est. Sed antequam de secunda editione aliquid decreverit, prius consilium de ea re cum Joanne Commelino, et eius affini<sup>66</sup> Juda Bonenuitio communicet; quam editionem si ipsi in se receperint, non aliter illis concedet quam si fidem suam obstringant, se omni ope nisuros, ut quam primum editio maturetur<sup>67</sup>. Quam conditionem si reiecerint, tunc Heinsio<sup>68</sup> librum excudendum cui videbitur, tradere liceto<sup>69</sup>. Manilium meum, et Catullum multis in locis auctos, et meliores factos, eidem Heinsio relinquo, ut cum commodum erit, iterum recudantur<sup>70</sup>. Quam rem praestare, si illi per suas occupationes, aut alia impedimenta non licuerit, tunc ea exemplaria, una cum aliis autographis et schediis meis<sup>71</sup> in Bibliotheca Publica reponantur.

Salillum argenteum quotidianum, cochlear argenteum cui fuscina pro manubriolo est, thecas argenteas, quas quotidie mecum <sup>d</sup>circunfero, et pilam olfactoriolam argenteam<sup>72</sup> Jonas Rousse sibi habeto. Si Jonam contingat ante me decedere, omnia quae illi lego, uxori et liberis eius capere liceto<sup>73</sup>.

Exemplar huius ultimae voluntatis meae, quod ex hoc Latino in Gallicum sermonem transcripsi, unum idemque testamentum cum hoc esse volo, eundemque vigorem habere, uti in Aquitaniam ad sororem meam Annam Scaligeram, sive quem alium ad quem hereditas mea ex substitutione pertinebat, mittatur, fidei cognati mei Jacobi Secundati committo, si quidem illi commodum est, sin autem, ut per alios curetur<sup>74</sup>.

Haec est ultima voluntas mea. Ita fieri volo post novissimam subscriptionem meam<sup>75</sup>. Faxit Dominus Jesus, pater salutis nostrae, ut in ipso<sup>76</sup> moriar. Amen<sup>77</sup>. Lugduni Batavorum VIII Calend. Augusti, feria quarta MDCVII,  
<sup>e</sup>Josephus Scaliger,  
manu mea.

[Par un codicille escrit en françois, subsequent au susdict testament, en date du 18e No.<sup>bre</sup> 1608 il le confirme, y ayant chang   peu de choses, auquel codicille est cette clause suivante.]<sup>78</sup>

Item commendement expres audict Jonas, qu'il ne laisse ny ne permette en

aucune façon d'ouvrir mon corps : J'en fay aussy expresse priere a Messieurs les Raphelings executeurs de mon testament<sup>79</sup>.

Item ledict Jonas sera tenu d'acheter une pierre grise pour ma tombe, sur laquelle il fera graver mes armoiries, et au dessoulz il fera engraver en lettres capitales ce qui s'ensuit,

JOSEPHVS JVSTVS SCALIGER JVL. CAES. F.  
HIC EXPECTO RESVRRECTIONEM.

Et plus bas sera encores gravé

TERRA HAEC AB ECCLESIA EMPTA EST, NEMINI CADAVER  
HVC INFERRE LICET.

A sustentat Dupuy 395

sustineat Dupuy 663

B ita ut Dupuy 395

ut ita Dupuy 663

C Secundat Dupuy 395

Secundato Dupuy 663

D circumfero Dupuy 395

circonfero Dupuy 663

E Josephus Scaliger, Dupuy 395

cum hac subscriptione, Josephus Scaliger, Dupuy 663

F = Scaliger's definitive French will according to the authorized copy in the Archives of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. L = Scaliger's Latin will according to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Dupuy 395, ff. 182<sup>r</sup>-189<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For *humanam conditionem* F reads « ceste vie, veu l'incertitude d'icelle ».

<sup>2</sup> For *hoc corpusculo* F reads « ceste prison corporelle ».

<sup>3</sup> *Amen* is omitted in F.

<sup>4</sup> For *partim fraude hominum, partim domesticorum meorum iniuria*, F has only « tant par la perfidie de quelques miens domestiques ».

<sup>5</sup> For *in Aquitania* F has « tant en ce pais de Hollande qu'en Guienne, lieu de ma naissance et de mon patrimoine ».

<sup>6</sup> F omits the whole phrase *ut...pudeat...instituere*.

<sup>7</sup> In F the domestic utensils are enumerated in more detail and in an order different from that in L.

<sup>8</sup> F adds « bois à brusler, turves ».

<sup>9</sup> F adds « iusques à présent ».

<sup>10</sup> For *ut earum rerum auctionem faciat* F reads « que ledict Jonas en face ce qu'il luy plaira, ou en retenant lesdicts meubles, ou en les vendant ».

<sup>11</sup> In F Scaliger willed not *ten*, but *thirty* florins to his chambermaid Anna.

<sup>12</sup> The Walloon Church at Leiden still exists and will celebrate her fourth centennial in 1984.

<sup>13</sup> F reads more clearly : « la despençe de mes funérailles ».

<sup>14</sup> In F Scaliger expresses himself more strongly : « aux moindres fraicts que faire se pourra ».

<sup>15</sup> In F Scaliger inserted : « Dieu mercy ».

<sup>16</sup> For *per oblivionem* F reads : « par mesgard, oubliance, ou aultre cas ».

<sup>17</sup> For the words *res soluta...fieri volo* F simply reads : « il restoit quelque chose à payer, qu'il y soit pourveu de l'argent dudit sac ».

<sup>18</sup> F reads : « tous mes livres des langues estrangeres, Hebraics, Syriens, Arabics, Aethiopiens ».

<sup>19</sup> In F nothing corresponds to *cum aliquot Graecis manuscriptis, quos ad Academiam pertinere volo*. It may be noticed that Scaliger's non-Oriental manuscripts have really ended up in Leiden University Library. As far as these Greek and Latin manuscripts are concerned, it was Scaliger's Latin will which was executed, not his French will.

<sup>20</sup> For *huic instrumento* F reads : « a la copie latine de ce mien Testament ».

<sup>21</sup> The whole passage from *Nobilissimo* to the end of the paragraph, ...*soleo scribens*, is phrased rather differently in F : « Le catalogue de tous les livres de ma bibliothèque, dont j'ay distribué ceux qu'il m'a semblé bon, a mes amys et un rolle que j'ay faict signer au notaire devant tesmoings, lequell rolle ie veux qu'il ayt vigueur de codicile, est dans mon poulpitre verd, sur lequel j'ay accoustumé d'escire. »

<sup>22</sup> For *in doliolo condidi* F reads : « J'ay mis à part ».

<sup>23</sup> For *prolegomenis* F reads : « de telz prologomena ou préface que bon luy semblera ».

<sup>24</sup> The sentence *quod ut faciat eum etiam atque etiam rogo* is missing in F.

<sup>25</sup> After *Bibliothecam* F adds « de ceste ville de Leijden ».

<sup>26</sup> In lieu of *qui...possit* F reads « pour s'acquiter de ceste charge ».

<sup>27</sup> F adds « quy se trouveront apres ma mort ».

<sup>28</sup> For *quia...sunt* F reads « d'autant qu'ilz sont imparfaicts et sans disposition aulcune ».

<sup>29</sup> The words *praesertim Thesaurum meum linguae Arabicae* are missing in F. The *Thesaurus* referred to is the huge Arabic dictionary compiled by Scaliger and preserved in Leiden University Library, Ms Or. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Scaliger's translation of *aut ab ullo contrectari* runs « n'y qu'ilz soyent maniés d'aucun ».

<sup>31</sup> For *efferi* F reads « qu'on les tire... ».

<sup>32</sup> After Baudius Scaliger added in F « et autres miens amis ».

<sup>33</sup> For *supellectile exigua argentea* Scaliger wrote in F « ce peu que j'ay d'or ou d'argent en œuvre ».

<sup>34</sup> For *illustrissimi Ordines Zelandiae* F reads « les Messieurs des Estatz de Zelande ». Magen wrongly reads « Hollande ».

<sup>35</sup> After Casaubonus' name F inserts « sous-maistre de la librairie du Roy ».

<sup>36</sup> In F Scaliger bequeathed this wash-hand basin and ewer of silver to Heinsius: « Au sieur Heynsius, professeur en ceste Académie, je legue et donne mon bassin et aiguière d'argent ».

<sup>37</sup> In F this silver fork and the dozen spoons were bequeathed to Elisabeth de Bricquemaut.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. F: « je legue a mon cousin, Jacop Secondat de Rocques, escuyer, seigneur de Montesquieu, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du Roy, Lieutenant du regiment de Monsieur de Chastillon, ma chaine d'or avecq le pendant d'une medaille des Provinces unis. »

<sup>39</sup> In F this chain of gold with a medal of the United Provinces as a pendant, is bequeathed to Jacob Secondat, cf. n. 38.

<sup>40</sup> Paul Schuart (= Choart) de Buzanval is no longer remembered in Scaliger's will as set down in F, as he died September 9, 1607.

<sup>41</sup> In F this medal of gold, weighing thirty-three crowns, is bequeathed to Daniel Taffin, whom Scaliger had not included in his will contained in L.

<sup>42</sup> In F Scaliger bequeathed to Heinsius his hand-wash basin and ewer of silver (cf. n. 36).

<sup>43</sup> In F this medal bearing the portrait of the Seigneur Zamoyksi is bequeathed to Hugo Grotius, advocate fiscal of Holland.

<sup>44</sup> Franciscus Dousa (1577-1630), son of Janus Dousa sr., is no longer remembered in Scaliger's definitive will contained in F.

<sup>45</sup> Dousa's copy of Julius Caesar Scaliger's commentaries on the *Historia de animalibus* is among Scaliger manuscripts of Leiden University Library: Cod. Scal. 54. The catalogue wrongly states that this MS was written by Joseph Scaliger himself. See our introduction.

<sup>46</sup> The golden medal of Henri IV was also bequeathed to Vorstius in F. After *Christianissimi Regis* F adds « Henry IIII, a present regnant ».

<sup>47</sup> The two pieces of gold chain in the form of bracelets were also bequeathed to Labbé in F.

<sup>48</sup> For *caussarum...patronum* F reads « Advocat en Parlement, en tesmoignage des infinis plaisirs que j'ay receus de luy ».

<sup>49</sup> Scaliger's translation of the relative clause *quae...solent* runs « pour servir confitures a la table ».

<sup>50</sup> In F the first of the three silver platters is given not to Heinsius but « au sieur François Rafeling », who is not yet remembered in L.

<sup>51</sup> In F the second of the three silver platters is given not to Hugo Grotius, but to Justus Rafeling, brother of François. In the codicil to L the brothers Rafeling are designated as executors of Scaliger's will. In F Hugo Grotius was remembered with the medal bearing Zamoyksi's portrait (cf. n. 43), which in L had been destined for Fr. Dousa.

<sup>52</sup> F reads « la troisieme quy est dorée ». But in L as well as in F the third platter was bequeathed to Baudius.

<sup>53</sup> In lieu of *Synthesin...porcellana dicuntur, omnem* F reads « toute ma vaiselle de porcellaine ».

<sup>54</sup> After *filiae meae*, F inserts « estant au service de Madame la Princesse d'Orege ».

<sup>55</sup> For *vasculis...glutinatis* F reads « mes deux salieres d'argent doré », similarly destined for Miss de Bricquemaut. *Lacca* = *laca* = English 'lacquer', 'lac', see Du Cange, s.v. *laca*.

<sup>56</sup> The *pupa Sinensis* is not mentioned separately in F, but probably it is reckoned among « toute ma vaiselle de porcellaine », see n. 53.

<sup>57</sup> In F the two birds of paradise are bequeathed, not to Jacob Secondat, but « a mon tres

cher amy, Monsieur Clusius ». Jacob Secondat received, according to F, the chain of gold which in L had been destined for Paul Schuart, see nn. 39 and 40.

<sup>58</sup> For *Libellos Sinenses, et volumen chartae Sinensis* F reads « la grande main de papier de la Sine », adding « ie la donne a Monsieur Gomar, docteur et professeur en theologie en ceste Academie ». In L Gomar was not yet remembered. It was also only in F that Scaliger begged Gomar to give directions that his *Thesaurus temporum* be reprinted.

<sup>59</sup> For *in risco ligneo* F reads « dedens une grande layette » adding « en la casse ou garderobbe quy est en ma chambre ».

<sup>60</sup> For *Daniel Heinsius, et...Baudius...dividunt* F reads « ie le laisse a Jonas Rouse ».

<sup>61</sup> For *in aula harum aedium* F reads « a la cheminée de ma chambre ». The portrait in question has not been identified with any of Scaliger's portraits which have been preserved, cf. W.N. du Rieu, « De portretten en het testament van Josephus Justus Scaliger », *Handelingen en mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, 1880-1881, p. 114.

<sup>62</sup> From c. 1595 to 1607 Scaliger had had lodgings in the house of Maria van den Berch, widow of Jonkheer Steffen van Blitterswijck (now Breestraat 113). In another part of the same large house (now Breestraat 111) Mrs. Van den Berch lived herself. Cf. Leiden, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, *Schoorsteengeld 1606*, sub Wollhuis, f. xvij verso.

<sup>63</sup> On the history of this portrait of Julius Caesar Scaliger, see W.N. du Rieu, *art. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>64</sup> In F the name of Daniel Heinsius was replaced by that of Gomar.

<sup>65</sup> In F the clause *et multis partibus auxi* was omitted.

<sup>66</sup> For *eius affini* F reads « son neveu ».

<sup>67</sup> For *non...maturetur* F reads « le dict Sieur Gomar les obligera de la despescher le plustot que faire se pourra ».

<sup>68</sup> For *Heinsio* F reads « luy ».

<sup>69</sup> F inserts : « Au dict Sieur Gomar sera delivré un exemplaire de mon Eusebius non relié, que Jonas luy baillera, affin qu'il puisse mettre au net les corrections que j'ay marquées en mon livre ».

<sup>70</sup> In F this sentence runs : « Davantage je laisse quelques livres de ceux que j'ay composéz, corrigéz de ma main, et augmentéz, lesquels le Sieur Heynsius pourra disposer et corriger selon son jugement, et les faire reimprimer si bon luy semble ».

<sup>71</sup> The words *cum aliis autographis et schediis meis* do not occur in this sentence in F. There, however, Scaliger added a new sentence running : « Du reste de mes escrits je ne veulx nullement qu'aucun soit mis en lumière, comme j'ay touché cy dessus, moins qu'on en face extrait : ains que le tout soit mis dans un tonnelet des escritures de mon Pere, et serré dans la Bibliothecque de l'Academie. Je legue a la Bibliothecque de l'Academie de mes deux grans globes. Les aultres deux je les laisse a Jonas. »

<sup>72</sup> In F Scaliger added : « mes espees et pistolet ».

<sup>73</sup> In F nothing corresponds to this sentence.

<sup>74</sup> In F this whole paragraph runs : « Je prie mon cousin le Sieur Secondat de Rocques qu'il face tenir seurement une copie de ce mien testament, en Guienne, a ma sœur Anna della Scala, ou a celluy ou celles qui seront mes heritiers, selon la substitution que j'en ay faict, lequel testament est tout un avec celluy que j'ay escript en latin, de mesme teneur et dispositions. Si mon cousin n'est point trouvé ici, on luy pourra faire tenir en france, en court, ou la part ou il se trouvera. » And Scaliger added : « Je supplie mes tres chers et anciens amis, Messieurs les Raffelings, estre executeurs de mon testament ».

<sup>75</sup> For *Haec est ... meam* F reads « Voila ma dernière volonté et ordonnance de mes affaires, signée de ma main, laquelle je veux estre toutallement executée. »

<sup>76</sup> In F Scaliger added « et en la confession de sa verité ».

<sup>77</sup> *Amen* is the last word which L and F have in common. Nothing of what follows in L is found in F. There only followed on the left Scaliger's signature « Joseph della Scala », and at the right-hand side the date « fait en ma maison, ce dix-huictiesme novembre 1608. »

<sup>78</sup> The introduction to the codicil has been placed between square brackets by the present writer, as it does not belong to the text written by Scaliger.

<sup>79</sup> That the Raphelengii really took upon them the execution of Scaliger's will appears from their letter to Casaubon of January 30, 1609, published by G. Masson in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 18 (1869), p. 595.

## CORRIGENDA

In H.J. de Jonge's article 'J.J. Scaliger's *De LXXXV Canonibus Apostolorum Diatribe*' which appeared in the preceding issue of this journal (*Lias II*, 1975, pp.115-124) the following misprints should be corrected :

- p. 116, line 11, *for editus read editum*
- p. 119, line 13 from bottom, *for legentur read leguntur*
- p. 119, line 5 from bottom, *for LXXV read LXXXV*
- p. 120, line 19, *for scriptorum read scriptorem*
- p. 122, line 15 from bottom, *for . Scaliger read , Scaliger*
- p. 123, line 12, *for introductor read introducitur*
- p. 123, line 17, the Greek article should be accentuated.