



**Universiteit
Leiden**
The Netherlands

**Omslag, bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het
Scaliger Instituut / 2009 - no 3**

Miert, Dirk van; Vrolijk, Arnoud; Scheper, C.H.; Top, Rens; Dunkelgrün, Theodor; Marzillo, Patrizia; ... ; Warnar, Geert

Citation

Miert, D. van, Vrolijk, A., Scheper, C. H., Top, R., Dunkelgrün, T., Marzillo, P., ... Grafton, A. T. (2009). Omslag, bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut / 2009 - no 3. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/60461>

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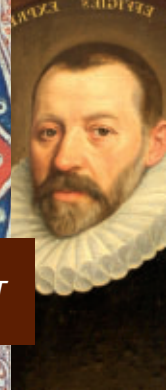
Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



Omslag

2009

03



BULLETIN VAN DE UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN EN HET SCALIGER INSTITUUT

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In 2009 the Scaliger Institute of Leiden University Library commemorates the quatercentenary of the death of the great humanist Josephus Justus Scaliger with several activities. On the 21st of January, the actual day of his death, a laudatio was delivered by Professor Anthony Grafton of Princeton University. In spring an exhibition was organized in Leiden University Library. The subject of this exhibition was Scaliger and the Oriental languages.

On 5 and 6 November the Scaliger Institute, the Warburg Institute and The Huygens Institute are organizing a two-day conference on The Legacy of Joseph Scaliger. Several specialists will speak about the relation between Scaliger and Heinsius, Scaliger and chronology, Bentley as a reader of Scaliger, Vossius and Scaliger, Scaliger and linguistics and Scaliger and the oriental languages. On the occasion of this conference this special issue of *Omslag* was published.

Brahe's catalogue of stars

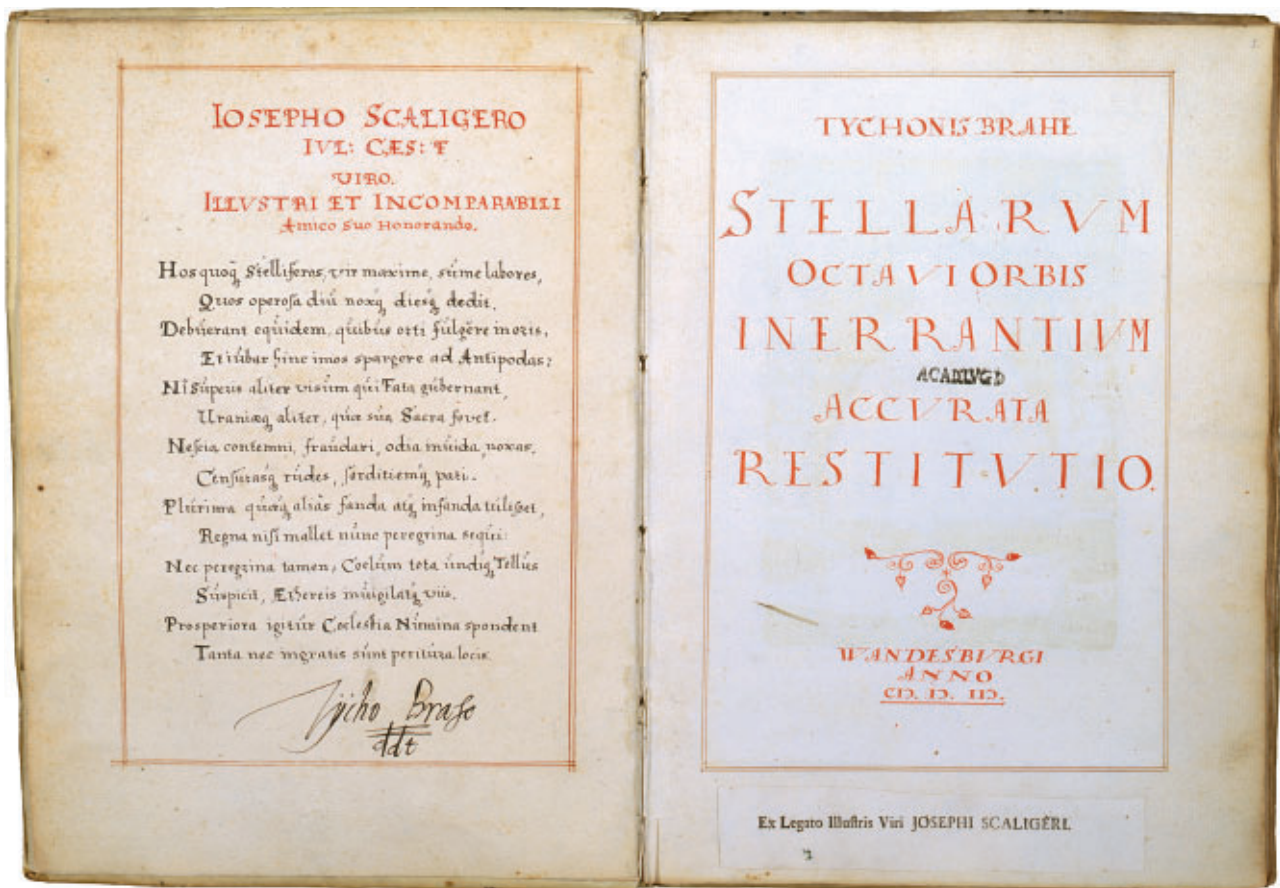
Dirk van Miert (Warburg Institute, London and Huygens Institute, The Hague)

A stellar student of the stars

The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) was a stellar student of the stars. His very appearance twinkled: after his nose had been cut off during a duel in his student days, he wore a nasal prosthesis made of an alloy of silver and gold. He was rocketed to fame by his treatise on the supernova of 1572, and he consolidated his renown by the unmatched accuracy of his celestial observations, especially regarding the locations of the many stars he discovered. Furthermore, he famously devised an ingenious compromise between the ancient



Portrait of Tycho Brahe in his *Stellarum octavi orbis inerrantium accurata Restitutio* 1598 [UBL Scal 13].



Title page and poem by Brahe to Scaliger in the *Stellarum octavi orbis inerrantium accurata Restitutio* 1598 [UBL Scal 13].

geocentric world view of Ptolemy and the recent heliocentric theory proposed by Copernicus. According to Tycho, all planets besides earth circled around the sun while the sun circled around the earth. He reportedly died after his bladder had nearly exploded, because he thought it rude to go to the toilet during a banquet at the imperial court in Prague. Yet Tycho should be famous for an additional reason: he was worthy to correspond with another star on Europe's firmament: Joseph Scaliger.

The long letters between these two superheroes of science and scholarship cover neither stellar noses nor supernova's. They mostly deal with Brahe's observations of the precession of the equinoxes and Scaliger's reconstruction of what ancient authors, notably Ptolemy, thought of the same phenomenon. While Tycho observed the present heavens, Scaliger told him what men in the distant past had seen in the same sky.

Looking for patronage

Scaliger was careful enough not to ask after the precise reasons for Tycho's sudden departure from Denmark in 1598. Tycho had been observing the Scandinavian heavens for years. Under the patronage of the Danish king, he had designed and built an observatory on a small island

between the Danish and Swedish coasts. He aptly baptised it *Uraniborg*, after the Greek word 'ouranos' (heaven). He devised large observatory instruments, acquired a printing press and a paper mill, and assembled a team of able young assistants. But when he fell out with the new king of Denmark, he was forced to leave and seek a new patron. With good prospects of a position at the court of emperor Rudolph II in Prague, Tycho nonetheless made sure to devise a plan B: he sent his son-in-law and former assistant Franz Gansneb Tengnagel to Holland on a secret mission. Tengnagel carried with him a letter for Scaliger, who favourably received him in Leiden. They discussed something which Brahe did not put in writing. Tycho also sent some poems, written by others, which touch upon his departure from Denmark. In his next letter to Scaliger, he writes that he learned from Tengnagel's report that Scaliger would like Tycho to move to Holland. Tycho responded that, although he had received an invitation from Prague, he was open to an offer from the Dutch authorities, 'because the clever minds of the Dutch have always pleased me more than those of the Germans.' It would appear from the letters that Tengnagel had explained to Scaliger the reasons why his patron had left Denmark and that he had discussed the possibility that

Tycho would come to Leiden. What is more, Tengnagel had also spoken with prince Maurice of Orange and with grand pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, making clear that Brahe was willing to move all his equipment to Holland, if the States of Holland would invite him. Especially Maurice appeared interested. Tycho knew that such a decision would take time, so any pressure Scaliger could put on the procedures was welcome. But then Tycho immediately plays off Leiden with Prague, adding that there already was the invitation from Rudolph II, and making clear that only if that would fall through, he could think of going elsewhere.

This is what Tycho Brahe looks like

Of course, Scaliger's support was not requested without a token of respect. 'I present you with a special book, in which I have poured out a thousand stars (because more than that can hardly be observed in our part of the world). It reinstates their longitude and latitude up to the minute, even half a minute sometimes, on the basis of twenty years of hard work and painstaking observation. With all due respect, this has never been seen before.' Tycho told he gave a copy to Maurice as well. What he did not mention is that he sent copies to Archduke Matthias, the imperial vice-chancellor Coraduz, the Archbishop of Salzburg Wolfgang Theodore, the Bishop of Lübeck, his ex-patron the King of Denmark, and to Johannes Kepler. If all these copies looked as magnificent as the copy still in the possession of Leiden University, the copyist must have expended extraordinary effort.. The binding in vellum has Tycho's own gilded portrait stamped on it, with the circumscription: 'This is what Tycho Brahe looks like. The contents show a more accurate picture'. These 'contents' do not refer to the Latin poem addressed to Scaliger, which is found opposite of the title page. They also do not refer to the proud coloured portrait which is found on the back of the title page, accompanied by his coat of arms and his motto: 'Not to seem, but to be'. Neither do they refer to the long letter of dedication to Rudolph II. They refer, of course, to the tables found inside with the names and coordinates of more than a thousand stars.

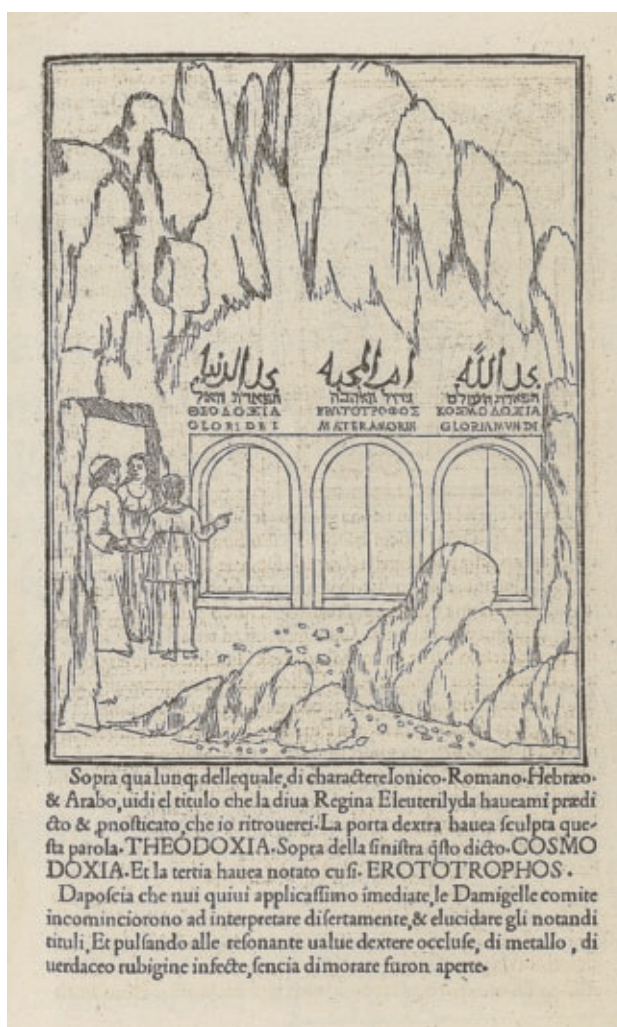
Scaliger's copy of Tycho's book of stars thus contains not only a chapter in the early modern history of science, it also tells a story about the behaviour of early modern scientists. They understood that doing painstaking and solid research did not guarantee success. In order to weave a strong network of support, discoveries needed to be presented in an attractive and personalized format. Dedication copies had to be strategically dispersed, supported by occasional poems. No doubt their persuasive power was strengthened if the work was copied by hand and thereby given the air of exclusivity – something a printed version could never have matched.

The oldest printed book in Arabic: the 1514 Melkite Horologion in the Scaliger collection

Arnoud Vrolijk (Curator of Oriental Manuscripts & Rare Books)

In November 2008 the situation got out of hand again at the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the place where the body of Christ was supposedly interred before His resurrection. Israeli police forces intervened to separate pugnacious monks of several Christian denominations who had come to blows over the custody of the shrine.

If the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism are already puzzling to the average European layman, the variety of Christian Churches in the Middle East is truly



[Francesco Colonna], *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499). fol. h8r: Woodcut illustration of three doors with inscriptions in, among others, Arabic. From right to left in a slightly perturbed order: 'Majd Allâh' (The Glory of God), 'Umm al-Mahabba' (The Mother of Love) and 'Majd al-Dunyâ' (The Glory of the World). [THYSIA 2222: 1].



Kitâb salât al-sawâ`î, Fano [i.e. Venice], 1514. Horologion of the Melkites.
Page 1: opening page of the midnight prayers with a woodcut ornamental border and Arabic text in red and black ink. [UBL 876 G 27].

bewildering. From as early as the fifth century AD, Eastern Churches started breaking away from the Byzantine fold for ethnic or political reasons. Others stayed loyal to the Emperor and Patriarch at Constantinople and were sneeringly referred to as 'Melkites' or 'Government Church-people'. After the Islamic conquests of the seventh century the ties with Constantinople loosened and the Melkites gradually adopted Arabic, the language of the conquerors. After the great Schism of 1054, when the Roman Catholic Church went its own way, the Pope quite naturally sought to establish his influence among the Christians of the East in the territories that were beyond the control of the Byzantine Empire. Catholic missionaries such as the Dominican friars were active in Syria from the early fourteenth century. Roman Catholic influence among the

Orthodox Melkites grew stronger until 1724, when part of their flock entered in full communion with Rome as a so-called Uniate Church.

One of the ways in which Rome tried to extend its influence was the spread of religious literature in the Middle East. In fact, the development of the Arabic printing press in Europe cannot be explained without this ambition. Before 1500 only isolated examples of Arabic printing occur in the form of woodcuts, for instance in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), a book printed by Aldus Manutius of Venice. A copy of this rare and beautiful incunable, which has gained the status of a cult book, is preserved in the Thysiana library in Leiden.

Clumsy and ill-balanced

In 1514, however, Pope Julius II ordered the Venetian printer Gregorio de' Gregorii to print an Arabic *Horologion* for the Melkite Christians. It is the first full-text Arabic book to be printed with moveable lead type, the design of which is generally regarded as clumsy and ill-balanced. The book mentions Fano, about 300 kilometres from Venice, as its place of publication. However, it is quite likely that the book was actually printed in Venice itself and that the name of Fano, a town within the jurisdiction of the Pope, was chosen to avoid problems with the Venetian authorities.

A Horologion or 'Book of Hours', in Arabic 'Kitâb salât al-sawâ`î', is a liturgical text used for recitation by

the lower members of the clergy in the Eastern Churches. It contains the cycle of daily prayers, starting with the Midnight Office and continuing with the prayers for fixed hours of the day (Lauds, Terce, Sext, *Makarisme*, None, *Hesperion* or Vespers), and ending with Compline, the late evening prayer.

A copy of this extremely rare book came into the possession of Josephus Justus Scaliger, who in his turn willed it to the library of Leiden University at his death in 1609. Scaliger must have had a twofold interest in this book: it helped him to study Arabic in a time when Arabic manuscripts and printed books were rare in Europe, and it supplied him with information about the Orthodox Churches of the East, whose canonical calendars he described in his *magnum opus* on chronology, *De Emendatione Temporum*.

Beesten, bosvruchten en nagelgaten

Een unieke 'eikeltjesband' in de Scaligercollectie

Karin Scheper (restaurator UB Leiden),
met dank aan Rens Top, Beheerder
Bandencollectie van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek

Zoals alle geleerden van alle tijden kocht Scaliger zijn boeken zowel nieuw als gebruikt. Nieuwe boeken werden doorgaans verkocht in losse katernen en de koper verstrekte zelf de bindopdracht. De boeken uit Scaligers nalatenschap die nu in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden berusten doen vermoeden dat hij voor zijn nieuwe boeken een sobere perkamenten band koos.

Een luxe band

Reeds gebruikte boeken waren meestal al gebonden in opdracht van de eerdere eigenaar. Een aantal 'tweedehands' boeken in de Scaligercollectie laat echter zien dat vorige eigenaren vaak meer geld en moeite staken in hun boekbanden dan Scaliger zelf. Een voorbeeld daarvan is *Leshon limudim*, een in kalfsleer gebonden Hebreeuwse grammatica (Constantinopel 1506, UBL 871 F 6). De blindbestempeling bestaat uit een groot paneelstempel dat wel een *eikelspaneel* wordt genoemd. In het centrale vlak zijn de eikels verbonden aan twee naast elkaar gepositioneerde zigzaggende ranken. In het buitenkader zijn dieren en planten afgebeeld, in dit geval zijn dat een draakje en een griffoen in de lange zijden, en een hond (?) en een gevleugeld beest in de horizontale banen, in de hoeken geflankeerd door vruchten die meestal worden geduid als granaatappelen. Ze lijken ook wel op ananassen maar die kwamen in die tijd in Europa nog niet voor; een andere suggestie is dat het gaat om artisjokken.¹ Om het paneelstempel heen zijn nog enkele kaderlijnen getrokken en kleine losse stempeltjes gezet met een bloemmotief.

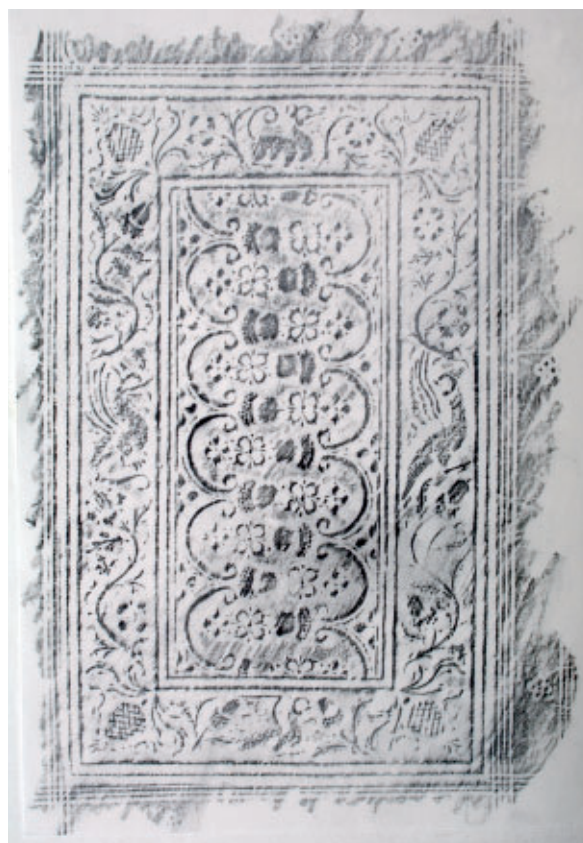
Het boek heeft kartonnen platten, wat gebruikelijk is bij een dergelijke bestempeling. Door het zachte karton is het paneelstempel gemakkelijker af te drukken in het leer. Het boekje heeft sluitveters van aluingeloid leer, niet alleen aan de frontsnede maar ook aan kop en staart. Dat is opmerkelijk voor de Lage Landen.

Het paneelstempel met dit thema verschijnt voor het eerst rond 1500. De dierfiguren lijken nog bij de Gotische traditie te horen, maar de plantornamenten en symmetrische ordening passen bij de renaissancestijl. Uit het eerste

¹ G.D. Hobson, *Blind stamped Panels in the English Book-Trade, ca. 1485-1555*, London 1944, p. 67.

² G. Colin, 'Les plus anciennes plaques aux glands sont francaises', in: *Einbandforschung. Informationsblatt des Arbeitskreises für die Erfassung und Erschließung Historischer Bucheinbände*, 10 (2002), p. 49-53.

³ P. Verheyden, 'Banden met blinddruk bewaard in het Museum Plantin-Moretus'. In: *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* 4 (1906), p. 28-37, 51-63, 117-128, 163-169 (aldaar p. 121).



Wrijfsel van de 'Eikeltjesband'.
[UBL 871 F 6].

kwart van de zestiende eeuw zijn alleen exemplaren overgeleverd om Franse boeken, later ook om drukken uit Vlaanderen.² In het *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen* wordt 'deze boekversiering' 'belangwekkend om hare talrijke en zeer verspreide varianten' genoemd.³ In de KB berust het Wrijfselarchief van Prosper Verheyden en Luc Indestege, dat zij begin vorige eeuw nauwgezet samenstelden. Daarin komt dit type paneel onder het kopje 'Eikels aan een festoen' 81 maal voor, in allerlei variaties.⁴ Er is echter geen enkel ander voorbeeld van dit specifieke paneel bekend.

Openbaar bibliotheekbezit

Gaatjes aan de bovenkant van het paneelstempel in het achterplat wijzen erop dat daar een *fenestra* was bevestigd, een titelvenster dat bestond uit een doorzichtige afdekking van een titelschildje dat met een metalen rand en nageltjes was bevestigd op één van de platten. Het gebruik van zo'n plat-titel is functioneel in een bibliotheek waar boeken op een lessenaar liggen, zoals gebruikelijk was in librijen.

⁴ Volgens de systematiek van Verheyden en Indestege, later bewerkt door Jan Storm van Leeuwen en Elly Cockx-Indestege heeft het Leidse paneel nummer E 5.149, type 13B. Voor de ontstaansgeschiedenis van dat archief, zie E. Cockx-Indestege, 'Van 'Abrahams offer' tot 'Zwolle. Agnietenberg'. Ontstaan, ontwikkeling en bestemming van het Wrijfselarchief Verheyden/Indestege', in: J. Biemans [e.a.] (red.), *Boek & Letter*, Amsterdam 2004, p. 535-559, 557.



De rijkgedecoreerde 'eikeltjes band' om het exemplaar van de *Leshon limudim* (Constantinopel 1506). [UBL 871 F 6].

Bovendien heeft het boek sporen van een ketting, wat ook duidt op herkomst uit een openbare boekerij. Het is echter onwaarschijnlijk dat de beheerders voor een dergelijke kostbare band zouden kiezen. Ze hebben het boek dus van een vorige privé-eigenaar gekocht of gekregen.

Terug in een particuliere collectie

Het boek is niet lang in de onbekende boekerij gebleven. Op de titelpagina staat in vervaagde inkt de naam van een nieuwe privé-eigenaar, Jean Hurault de Boistaillé (1517-1572). Scaliger bezat een aantal gedrukte werken uit zijn bibliotheek (zie ook de bijdrage van Kasper van Ommen in deze *Omslag*). Eén van die boeken is een Pentateuch (Venetië 1527, UBL 854 C 38). Het steekt in een heel andere rijk vergulde band, maar de sporen van een kettingbevestiging en een fenestra die gelijkvormig zijn aan die van *Leshon lumudim*, duiden op dezelfde kettingbibliotheek.

Nadere bestudering van de gedrukte werken uit het legaat Scaliger levert nog een derde band op uit de ketting-

bibliotheek. Het gaat om het convoluut *Sefer ha-kuzari*, samengebonden met *Mešal ha-qadmoni* (Fano 1506, UBL 1371 D 22). De Boistailler had de gewoonte om zijn naam in al zijn boeken te schrijven, maar in deze band ontbreekt dat. Het convoluut is dus mogelijk via een andere weg in Scaligers bezit geraakt. De bruine kalfsleren band lijkt op die van *Leshon limudim*, met een zelfde soort stempelpatroon en vier sluitveters van aluingeloid leer. Het paneel toont een afbeelding van de heilige Yves, maar het kleine bloemstempel in de marge buiten het kader is wel identiek. Een op het dekblad geplakte aantekening in potlood, vermoedelijk van Verheyden of Indestege, vermeldt: 'de binder is wrschl. Julien des Jardins, binder te Parijs ca 1510'. Als dat waar is zou de band met het eikeltjespaneel met enige waarschijnlijkheid kunnen worden toegeschreven aan dezelfde Parijse binder.

De luxe eikeltjesband met een Hebreeuwse tekst uit een Middellandse zee milieus wijst, net als de twee andere banden, op een Hebreeuws lezende, Franse eigenaar met voldoende geld. Een poging om zijn naam, of die van de openbare boekerij, te achterhalen blijft nu nog steken in *educated guesses*. Wellicht kan verder onderzoek naar de samenstelling en de fysieke kenmerken van het boekenbezit van Scaliger meer duidelijkheid geven over deze unieke boekband.

Colofon

JAARGANG 7 – NUMMER 3

Omslag is een uitgave van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut.

De redactie bestaat uit Maartje van den Heuvel, Anton van der Lem, Kasper van Ommen, Loek Tilanus, Arnoud Vrolijk en Geert Warnar.

De eindredactie is in handen van Kasper van Ommen.

Redactieadres Omslag (secretariaat),
Postbus 9501, 2300 RA Leiden

Vormgeving TopicA, Antoinette Hanekuyk, Leiden
Druk Karstens, Leiden

ISSN 1572-0160

URL www.bibliotheek.leidenuniv.nl/locatieub/alumni.jsp

e-mail omslag@library.leidenuniv.nl

From Tunis to Leiden across Renaissance Europe

The curious career of a maghribi Qur'ān

Theodor Dunkelgrün (University of Chicago and Scaliger fellow 2008)

The Leiden Codex Or. 241 is an illuminated Qur'anic manuscript in *maghribi* script containing suras 33:31-37:144, with a lacuna from 36:80 to 37:22.¹ It was probably written in the early 16th/10th century. The recto of its first written page contains a manuscript annotation, 'Sum Andreae Masij', by which it has long been known to have belonged to the Netherlandish scholar and diplomat Andreas Masius (1514-1573). But if one turns back a page, to the very first fly-leaf (read from right to left), and holds the codex upside-down, two more small annotations meet the eye: 'Sum Rescij professoris graeci' and 'Sum nunc Andreae Masij Rescij discipuli.' The owner in the first *ex libris* note can be no other than Rutger Rescius (Ressen), printer and professor of Greek (1518-1545) at the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain. Masius, who indeed studied Greek with Rescius there, respectfully noted his name beneath that of his teacher. But while Rescius opened the book at the right end, he held it upside down while marking his ownership, much like Scaliger does with an Arabic manuscript in the famous 1608 portrait, now kept in the Senaatskamer of the Academiegebouw. Perhaps to subtly note his own competence in Arabic, Masius noted his ownership a second time, now right-side up.

A journey through space and time

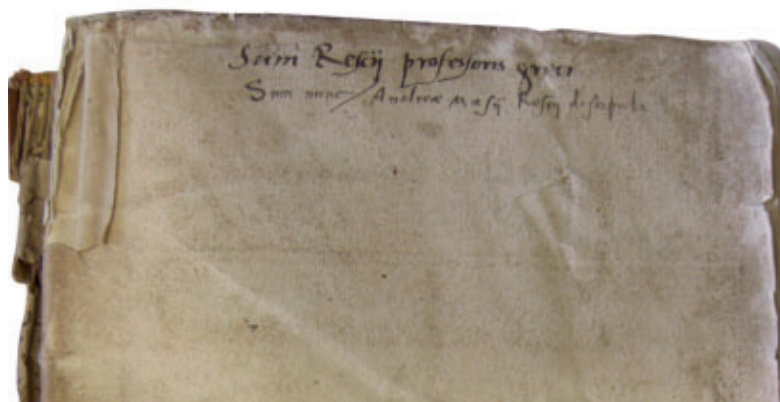
These brief annotations open up the history of this beautiful codex, which has quite a story to tell about the history of oriental scholarship in Early Modern Europe. Some twenty years ago, Alastair Hamilton discovered that several important Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts were long erroneously ascribed to the Scaliger bequest, and that they had actually belonged to Franciscus Raphelengius, printer to Leiden University, professor of Hebrew, and founding father of Arabic studies in the Netherlands. Hamilton's

¹ See the description of this MS in Arnoud Vrolijk and Kasper van Ommen (eds.), *All my Books in Foreign Tongues. Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609-2009* (Leiden University Library 2009), 69-71. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk and Dr. Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld for their helpful advice regarding this manuscript.

main source was the 1626 auction catalogue of books sold by Raphelengius' sons, some thirty years after their father's death. Among the manuscripts listed therein is one described as 'Ex Alcorano Fragmenta quaedam, seu integrae Azoarae, caractere African. in charta. Exemplar hoc fuit primo Rescij Professoris Graeci Lovan. inde And. Masij, &c.' Hamilton suspected this to be the current Or. 251, but that is on parchment, while the auction catalogue says 'in charta' (on paper) instead of 'in membrana' (on parchment). Or. 241, however, *is* on paper, and indeed belonged to both Rescius and Masius, while nothing about Or. 251 suggests such provenance. It can therefore safely be asserted that Or. 241, while included in the recent catalogue of Scaliger's library, *All my books in Foreign Tongues* (2009), did not in fact belong to Joseph Scaliger at all. And while it therefore must only have entered the library sometime after the 1626 auction, it most probably arrived in Leiden with Raphelengius in 1586 when he took over the Leiden office of the Plantin printing house, available there for Scaliger to consult.



The owner's entry by Andreas Masius on the verso of the first leaf. [UBL Or. 241].



The annotations 'Sum Rescij professoris graeci' and 'Sum nunc Andreae Masij Rescij discipuli.' on the first fly leaf. [UBL Or. 241].



The illuminated Qur'anic manuscript in maghribi script, f. 42v and f.43r. [UBL Or. 241].

Rescius and Raphelengius: two of a kind

Rescius and Raphelengius resemble each other in interesting ways. Both studied in Paris before returning to their native Low Countries. Rescius was a corrector for Erasmus' friend and printer, Theodoricus Martinus (Dirk/Thierry Martens) in Louvain, in the very years when he produced the *editio princeps* of Thomas More's *Utopia*; Raphelengius went to work for Christopher Plantin in Antwerp and collaborated on the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, among others alongside Andreas Masius, from whom he most likely acquired this Qur'ān. Eventually, Rescius and Raphelengius both became important printers as well as scholars in their own right.

Yet if we know how this Qur'ān passed from Rescius through Masius to Raphelengius, a man famous for his love of Arabic, then how did it wind up in the hands of a Louvain Hellenist with no known interest in Arabic?

A Moroccan scholar has recently deciphered the calligraphic *waqfiyya* of this manuscript, identifying its origin as Bizert, the ancient Phoenician port just north of Tunis. Among the earliest Arabic manuscripts acquired by Renaissance humanists were those looted by the troops led by Charles V during the sack of Tunis in 1535, and Rescius' Qur'ān might very well have been among them. But how did it get to Rescius?

A possible path, while without direct evidence, merits consideration. Among Rescius' most devoted students was Nicolas Clenardus (Cleynaerts, 1493-1542), the

Netherlandish humanist best known for his popular introductory grammars to Greek and Hebrew. Clenardus taught himself rudimentary Arabic from Agostino Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter published in Genoa in 1516 (the Leiden copy UBL 1368 c 2 belonged to Scaliger), and eventually decided to travel to Spain, and hence to Fez to study Arabic in earnest.

A centre for islamic studies

Rescius is among the addressees of Clenardus' letters. The correspondence does not mention the gift of a Qur'ān, but it does show us Clenardus as a devoted pioneering Arabist. In Granada he acquired not only Arabic manuscripts, but also a Muslim slave taken in captivity from Tunis, recently identified by P. Sj. van Koningsveld, from contemporary Arabic sources, as the prominent Tunisian scholar Muhammad ibn Abī 'l-Faḍl ibn Kharūf. Clenardus even tried to persuade 'Charufius meus' to come to Flanders to teach Arabic, mirroring the way his hero, Erasmus, had attracted to the Collegium Trilingue a converted Sephardi Jew, Matthias Adriani, to teach Hebrew.

Clenardus' dream of establishing a center for Islamic studies in the Netherlands took another fifty years to materialize, at Leiden rather than Louvain. But there, the Qur'ān Or. 241, whether Clenardus' or not, served Raphelengius, Scaliger and their students as a most valuable source for their study of the Islamic world.

Some notes by Joseph Justus Scaliger on ancient philosophy

Patrizia Marzillo (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Research fellow for Ancient Greek Philosophy)

Among the books ‘in foreign tongues’ bequeathed to Leiden University Library by Josephus Justus Scaliger there are some manuscripts and books in Greek that denote an interest of the great humanist for ancient philosophy.

Scaliger’s work in manuscripts

For example, although Scaliger does not seem to have really worked himself extensively on Aristotle, he owned a copy of Aristotle’s *Politics*. This manuscript (Shelfmark Scal. 26) is very beautiful and was written by Demetrius Sguropulus for Francesco Filelfo (Tolentino 1398–Florence 1481) in 1445.

In the manuscript classified as Scal. 62, Scaliger translated the Greek Hymns, attributed to the mythical singer Orpheus, into Latin. Greek philosophy was from its beginnings connected with poetry and mythical figures like Orpheus and Pythagoras. Diogenes Laertius, who wrote ten books on the lives of the philosophers in the third century AD, quoted fragments of their works, and regarded Orpheus as the starting point of ancient philosophy. This is also why the *Poesis Philosophos* (1573) by Henri Estienne (Paris 1531–Lyon 1598), an anthology of poets-philosophers that also contains philosophers’ biographies, is regarded as the first edition of the so-called pre-Socratics (philosophers before Socrates who mostly dealt with problems concerning the Nature like the first principle of the world)

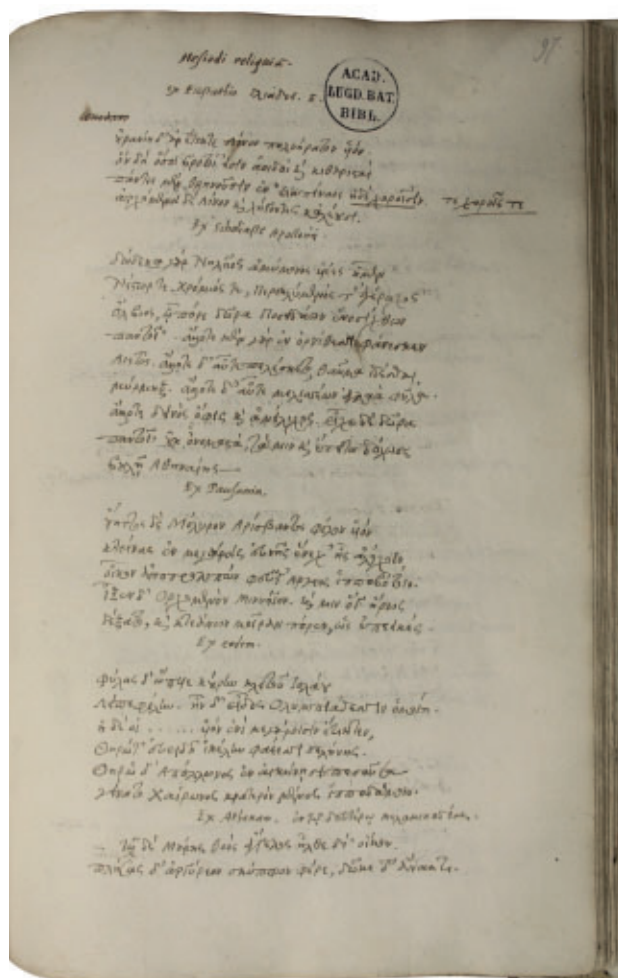
Scaliger’s translation of Orpheus and the rest of the manuscript can be regarded as a translation exercise from Latin into Greek and vice versa. This cannot be said of the manuscript with shelfmark Scal. 25. Here we find an entire section dedicated to the poets-philosophers. The folia 97–120 contain fragments from Hesiod, Empedocles, Parmenides and Orpheus. Empedocles and Parmenides are arranged under the pre-Socratics, Hesiod, the archaic poet, and Orpheus were considered not as mere philosophers, but as theologians under the influence of Renaissance neo-Platonism. Scaliger seems to be working on a critical edition of these authors in this manuscript by emulating Henri Estienne. In fact, we can observe some similarities (like the fact that both introduce a fragment by indicating its sources), but Scaliger presents new fragments from Orpheus and Empedocles and introduces Hesiod which Estienne had edited separately (in the *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis et alii nonnulli* of 1566). The method of textual emendation and interpretation used by Scaliger consists in underlining the word or the expression he intended to correct or comment and in writing his notes in the margin.

Even a genius makes mistakes

Scaliger worked on Empedocles in other manuscripts. Two manuscripts (Scal. 22 and Scal. 32) report the so-called *Empedoclis sphaera*. This poem is nowadays not reckoned as a genuine work by Empedocles. The Sicilian philosopher had once spoken of the ‘sphaيروس’. That is what induced Scaliger himself to attribute the ‘sphere-doctrine’, which actually deals with the zodiac and the position of other stars, to Empedocles. The poem, consisting in a longer and in a smaller text, circulated widely in a version corrected by the Byzantine scholar Demetrius Triclinius (~1300). Scaliger improved Triclinius’ text with some variant readings in the margins according to the same method as he used in manuscript Scal. 25. Bonaventura Vulcanius (Bruges 1538–Leiden 1614) copied Scaliger’s improved ‘edition’ in one of his manuscripts (Vulc. 88).

Editions of philosophers’ biographies

It was fairly common that Scaliger was asked to ‘correct’ editions of other contemporary scholars. They wrote him, asking him for his opinion about their own philological works, mostly before the book was printed and published.



Fragments by Hesiod, written by Scaliger (16th century).
[UBL Scal 25, f. 97v].



Greek manuscript of Aristoteles, *Politics* (1445). [UBL Scal 26].

This is, for example, the case of Henri Estienne's *Poesis Philosophos* in which Scaliger's annotations are printed at the end of the book (p. 216–219). On some occasions Scaliger annotated the printed books he owned. Of course, among these commented editions there are many other books beside those on philosophy, but three of them deal with philosophers' biographies and also contain further passages of their works and information about their doctrine: Examples are the edition of Diogenes Laertius by Henri Estienne (1570), the posthumous reprint of Eunapius' *De vitis philosophorum* (1596) by Hadrianus Junius (Hoorn 1511–Middelburg 1576) and the edition of Jamblichus' *De vita Pythagorae* by Johannes Arcerius of

1598. All these editions are full of Scaliger's annotations: On the one hand he corrects the Greek text; on the other he provides further fragments by other authors that can cast light on the text exegesis.

The last example is to be found in the complete Hesiod's edition by Scaliger's pupil Daniel Heinsius (Ghent 1580–The Hague 1655). Heinsius relates some of Scaliger's corrections on the scholia of Hesiod written by the neo-Platonic philosopher Proclus (Constantinople 412–Athens 485 AD). Some of these improvements to the text introduced by Scaliger are still accepted nowadays and confirm Scaliger's reputation as a great philologist and a fine interpreter.

‘À la bonne grace de Monsieur de Boistailli’

Scaliger and the Hurault de Boistaillé family

Kasper van Ommen (Scaliger Instituut)

Among the books and manuscripts bequeathed by Scaliger to the University of Leiden, there is one special group that was once in the possession of a French nobleman: Jean Hurault de Boistaillé. This group is very distinctive because of the owner’s mark *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraulti Boistalerii*.

Early modern book collecting

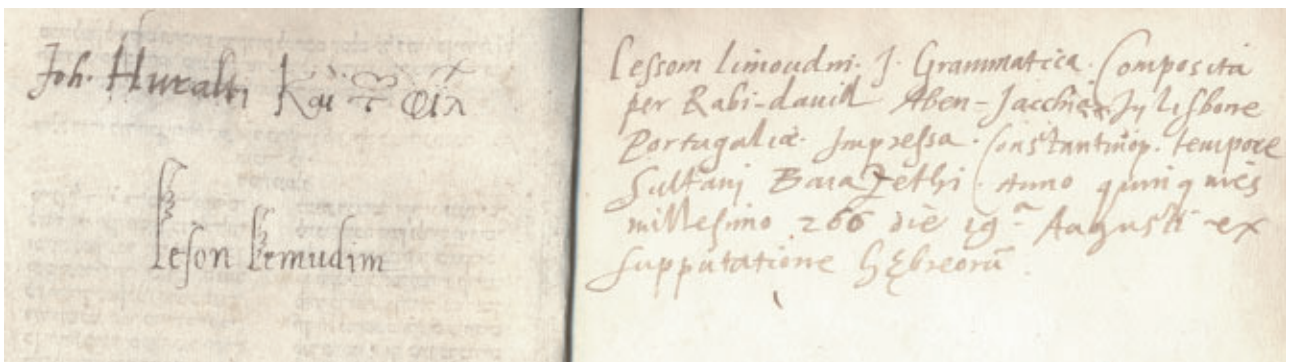
Jean Hurault, sieur de Boistaillé (c. 1517-1572) was a member of a family of diplomats and government officials. During the brief period between May 1561 and March 1564, when he was ambassador in Venice, Jean Hurault used his appointment at the embassy to collect books and manuscripts in great quantities, as he had done earlier in Constantinople. Jean Hurault was especially keen on collecting Greek manuscripts, but he also collected a *corpus* of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts. Among this first group is a famous 13th-century Koran and a *Horologion* of the Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Church, the earliest book printed in Arabic (1514). An example of the Hebrew manuscripts collected by Hurault is the German *Pentateuch* of 1330, which is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As many other collectors did, Hurault made use of several agents and transcribers who collected the books and manuscripts on his assignment, amongst whom a certain Zacharias Scordylis from Crete. Several book traders such as Andreas Dramarius and Nicolas della Torre were also supplying manuscripts and books to Hurault and he used the services of the Roman booksellers Vincenzo Lucchino and Camilius Venetus. The books and manuscripts in the collection of Scaliger were for the greater part bought by Hurault in Venice, partly from the Antwerp printer Daniel Bomberg or Van Bomberghen (1483-1553) who owned a



Title page of *Derek Emunah* (The Path of Faith). Padua, Lorenzo Pasquato 1562 with owners’ mark by Hurault de Boistaillé. [UBL 875 E3-2].

printing shop in Venice for more than 30 years. The best-known example from this group is the only surviving manuscript of the Jerusalem Talmud or *Talmud Yerushalmi*, of which Bombergen printed an edition in 1523-24. Other manuscripts and books were bought by Hurault from a certain rabbi Zalman and a rabbi Samuel. On behalf of Hurault, several agents even bought manuscripts from private collections and libraries, such as the *Bibliotheca Marciana*, the library of S. Antonio di Castello and the library of the monastery of SS. Giovanni and Paolo in Zanipolo.

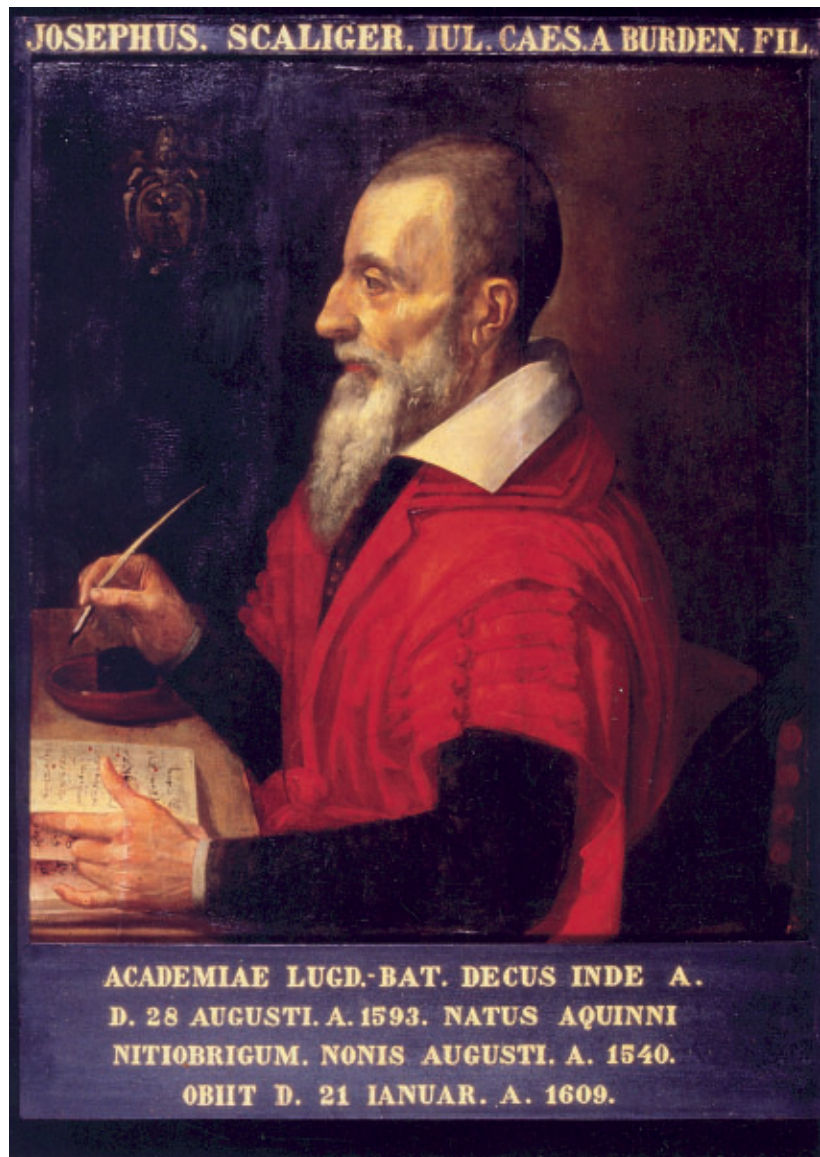


The owner’s mark of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé and the inscription και τ φιλ (‘Kai ton philon’ i.e. ‘and his sons’) in his copy of the *Leshon limudim* (Constantinople 1506) [UBL 871 F 6].

All in the family

We first have to look into the adventures of the collection of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé before the books ended up in Scaliger's hands. In 1564, Jean Hurault de Boistaillé returned from Italy to France with his collection. Jean died on a diplomatic mission in England in 1572 and was buried in Morigny in Normandy. His library came into the possession of his brother André Hurault de Maisse, also a passionate book collector, but for how long is not known. Later, the library turned up at his cousin's, Philippe Hurault de Cheverny, Abbot of Pontlevoy and bishop of Chartres (1579-1620), who had earlier inherited the library from his father Philippe Hurault de Boistaillé (1528-1599), the chancellor of France in 1599. Philippe was Jean's nephew. He united the library of his father with the books and manuscripts of his nephew Jean, resulting in a collection of 12,000 books and 1255 manuscripts. Philippe died in 1620 and one year later his heirs sold part of the collection, consisting of 409 manuscripts, for the sum of 12,000 francs to King Louis XIII (1610-1643) who deposited them in the Royal library.

Scaliger was probably familiar with the collection of the Hurault family. In the *Scaligerana* of 1740, the Vassan brothers noted that Scaliger told them: 'J'ay veu une belle Bible Hebraïque avec la Massora à Monsieur le chancelier de Chiverny. Le Duc de Savoye en voulut donner 1200 escus. Les Juifs en estoient bien amoureux. C'estoit une belle Bibliothèque, j'ay vue tous les livres'. The name of Hurault is, however, only mentioned twice in the vast correspondence of Scaliger and no notion of borrowing, buying or being presented with books from the Hurault family can be found in the letters. It seemed nonetheless common knowledge that Greek and Oriental manuscripts from the Hurault collection were in the possession of Scaliger while still in France before his departure to Leiden in 1593. Regarding the printed books not much is certain. They could already have been part of Scaliger's library before 1593, but they could just as well have been added later. Until the latter part of his life, Scaliger was still asking for books from abroad and 'copying Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew books [that is manuscripts] that are temporarily in my possession'.



Jan Cornelisz. van 't Woudt (attributed),
Portrait of Josephus Justus Scaliger, Oil on panel, 1608,
70 x 61cm. [Academy building, Senate chamber, Icones 31].

An attempt to unravel the thread of Ariadne

One of the ways in which Scaliger may have acquired the books and manuscripts of Hurault de Boisatillé is via Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1533-1617). De Thou was appointed Maître of the Royal library by Henri IV in 1593. There is a connection between the families of Hurault and De Thou through the marriage in 1566 of Anne De Thou, a sister of Jacques-Auguste, with Jean Hurault de Boistaillé's uncle Philippe. From 1604, De Thou was assisted as librarian of the Royal library by the *Garde de la Librairie du Roy*, Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), also a friend of Scaliger. De Thou, as collector and librarian, must have had the opportunity to explore the collection of de Hurault family and would probably have had easy access to the books.

De Thou and Scaliger were also lifelong friends and knew each other from their years of study with the lawyer Jacques Cujas (1522-1590) in Valence. Between 1582 and 1585, Scaliger and De Thou were corresponding frequently and Scaliger more than once asked De Thou to deliver him Hebrew books. In a letter of 24 May 1601 Scaliger's demand for books is almost emotional: 'Je suis pauvre en tout, mesmement en livres, que le reste des livres de feu mon père m'ont esté pillés dans Agen depuis le temps que je suis ici. Jamais à bon chien ne tomba bon os en gueule. *Hoc est meum fatum.*'

The Leiden connection

After Scaliger left France in 1593, the most probable agent between him and De Thou was the Oriental scholar and printer Franciscus Raphelengius, the son-in-law of Christopher Plantin. Raphelengius had a printing shop in Leiden and was professor of Hebrew at Leiden University. Scaliger and he were colleagues who had a high esteem for each other and co-operated many times in scholarly enterprises, such as the famous second edition of *De Emendatione Temporum* (1598). Raphelengius had excellent international connections within the European book trade. Via the Plantin agent in Frankfurt, Hans Dressel, Raphelengius received regular shipments of oriental books such as the editions of the *Typographia Medicea* from Rome.

Apart from Raphelengius, Scaliger himself also had contact with several agents abroad, such as the collector Giovanni Pinelli in Rome. Pinelli had a vast network among the Jewish community in Constantinople.

In 1572, Scaliger barely escaped from the terror of Saint Bartholomew's Day in France and fled to Switzerland. Scaliger kept contact with many friends during his stay in Basel. There are several letters by Scaliger to Pierre Daniel (1530-1603/1604), the humanist from Orleans and 'avocat au Parlement de Paris'. Daniel was a great collector of books and manuscripts and was acquainted with many diplomats and ambassadors, such as the Hurault de Boistaillé family, but also with another branch of the Hurault family: that of the l'Hospital. In two letters to Daniel from 1574, Scaliger is offering his service to Philippe de Boistaillé.

Many books and manuscripts of the Hurault family seem to have been adrift and were collected by many scholars and collectors. Manuscripts from Jean Hurault are also to be found in the collection of Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) in Leiden and in the Ambrosiana, the Vatican Library, in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, in Montpellier and in several other collections in Paris, as well as in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

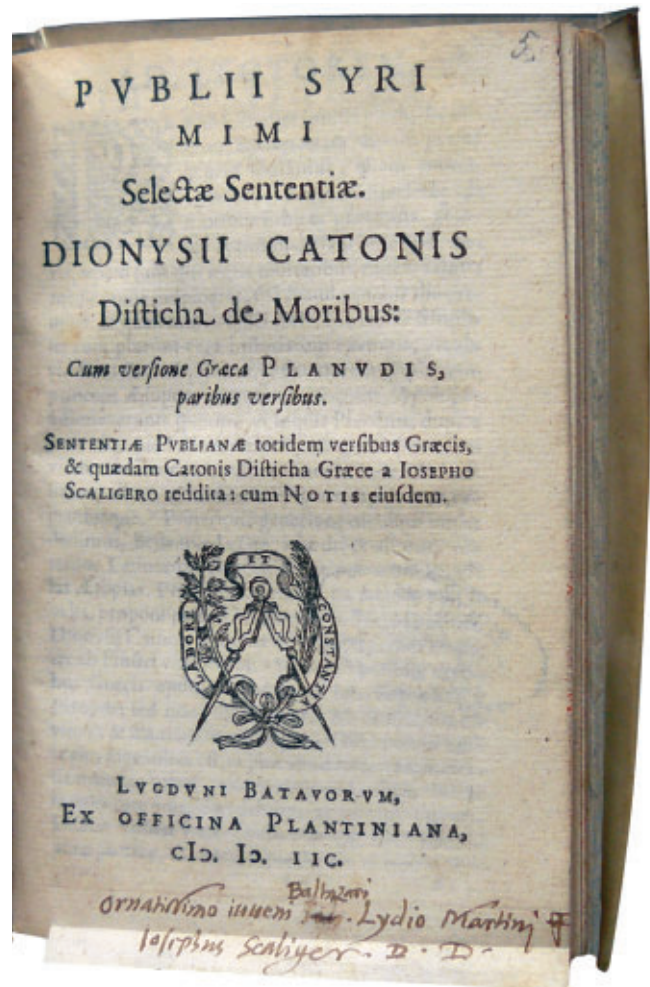
The picture of Hurault's collection is not yet complete, but his books in the Scaliger collection are the object of my current research at the Scaliger Institute.

Scaligerana in de Bibliotheca Thysiana

Paul. G. Hoftijzer (Hoogleraar boekwetenschap Universiteit Leiden en curator Bibliotheca Thysiana)

Tot 'publyckque dienst der studie'

De kern van de Bibliotheca Thysiana bestaat, zoals de naam al aangeeft, uit de boeken van de Leidse jurist en bibliofoon Johannes Thysius (1622-1653). Hij heeft deze na zijn dood bij testament nagelaten tot, zoals hij het zelf omschreef 'publyckque dienst der studie'. Uit een bij dit legaat behorend geldbedrag kon tevens een bibliotheekgebouw worden gefinancierd. Thysius' streven was erop gericht geweest een verzameling tot stand te brengen die alle gebieden van wetenschap besloeg en die zowel de belangrijkste 'oude', dat wil zeggen klassieke, als 'moderne' auteurs bevatte. Vraag is wel in hoeverre hij dit ideaal heeft kunnen verwezenlijken. Toen hij in 1653 op amper 32-jarige leeftijd overleed, moet zijn bibliotheek, die op dat moment ruim 3000 individuele teksten bevatte naast een zeer omvangrijke collectie pamfletten, bij lange na nog



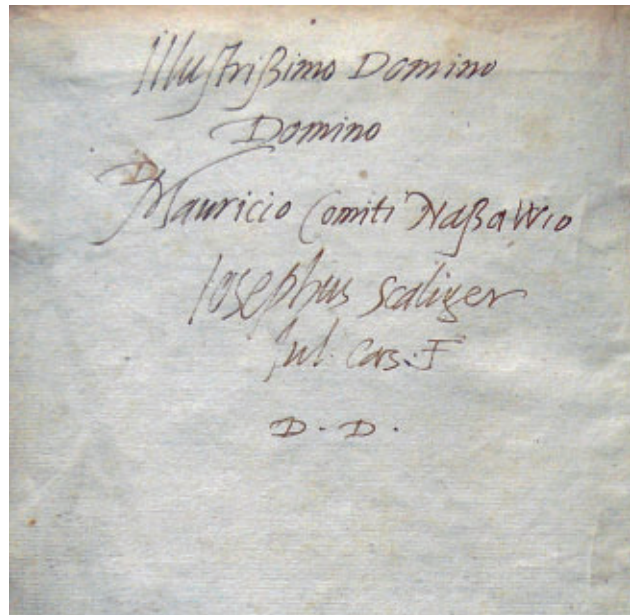
Opdracht van Josephus Justus Scaliger aan zijn leerling Balthasar Lydius op de titelpagina van Publilius Syrus' *Sententiæ* [etc.] (Leiden, 1598; Thysia 548:5).

niet voltooid zijn geweest. Helaas is onder zijn nagelaten persoonlijke papieren echter geen lijst aangetroffen van boeken waarnaar hij nog op zoek was.

De grootste geleerde van het Humanisme

Desalniettemin kan worden vastgesteld dat de Bibliotheca Thysiana op het moment van de openstelling in 1657 van haar prachtige nieuwe behuizing aan het Rapenburg op veel terreinen uitstekend was voorzien. Dat geldt bijvoorbeeld het werk van de klassieke Griekse en Romeinse schrijvers. Zij zijn prominent in de collectie vertegenwoordigd, vaak in verschillende edities. Ook van het werk van vader Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) en zoon Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) – misschien wel de grootste geleerden uit de tijd van het Humanisme – had Thysius een verantwoorde selectie bijeengebracht. Van Julius Caesar bezat hij diens eersteling, de ongemeen felle aanval op de *Ciceronianus* van Erasmus (*Adversus Desid. Erasmus orationes II*, uitgave Toulouse, 1621), alsmede diens baanbrekende werken op het gebied van natuurwetenschap, taal en literatuur: *In libros duos, qui inscribuntur de plantis, Aristotele auctore, libri duo* (Marburg, 1598), *Exotericarum exercitationum liber XV de subtilitate ad Hier. Cardanum* (Frankfurt, 1582), *De causis linguae latinae libri tredecim* (Genève, 1580) en *Poeticæ libri septem* (Lyon, 1561).

De productie van de zoon is zo nodig nog beter vertegenwoordigd, niet verwonderlijk gezien de diepgaande invloed die Josephus Justus Scaliger heeft uitgeoefend op het intellectuele klimaat in Leiden. Daar kwam nog bij dat Johannes' oudoom Anthonius Thysius (1565-1640), die in Leiden hoogleraar godgeleerdheid was, tot de kring van intimi rond Scaliger heeft behoord. Ook zijn andere Leidse oom, Constantin l'Empereur (1591-1648), die hoogleraar Oosterse talen was en in wiens huis aan de Papengracht Johannes van 1634 tot zijn dood in 1653 heeft gewoond, heeft Scaliger naar alle waarschijnlijkheid nog persoonlijk gekend. Hoe het ook zij, vrijwel alle belangrijke werken van Josephus Justus Scaliger zijn in de bibliotheek aanwezig. Zo vinden we zijn vertalingen naar het Latijn dan wel Grieks van Sophocles (*Ajax*, 2 dln. Genève, 1574) en Publilius Syrus en Dionysius Cato (*Sententiae / Disticha*, Leiden, 1598), zijn omstreden wiskundige verhandelingen *Cyclometrica elementa duo* en *Mesolabium* (beide uit 1594), zijn hoofdwerk over de historische tijdrekenkunde *Opus de emendatione temporum* (1598), alsmede zijn editie van de *Astronomicum* van de Romeinse dichter Manilius (Leiden, 1600; gekocht door Thysius in 1650 op de veiling van de bibliotheek van Scaligers leerling Johannes de Laet), voorts twee *Opuscula*-uitgaven (Parijs, 1605 en 1610), en zijn verhandeling over de equinox (*De aequinoctio anticipatione diatriba*, ed. J. Rutgersius, Paris, 1613). Ook zijn er verscheidene boeken waaraan Scaliger direct of indirect heeft meegewerkt, zoals de verzameling Arabische spreekwoorden *Kit, b al-amth, l seu proverbiorum Arabicorum centuriae duae*, bezorgd door Scaligers leerling Thomas Erpenius

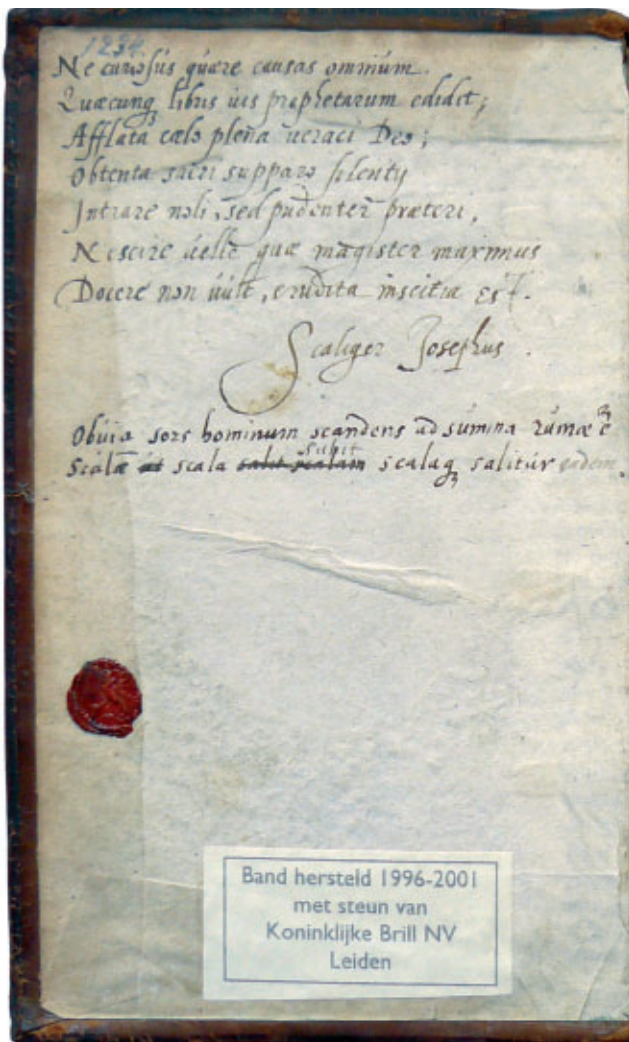


Handgeschreven dedicatie van Josephus Justus Scaliger aan Prins Maurits voorin de *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis scaligeræ* (Leiden, 1594; Thysia 1818).

(Leiden, 1614), en de collectie Romeinse inscripties, uitgegeven door weer een andere intimus, Janus Gruterus (*Inscriptionum Romanarum corpus absolutissimum*, Heidelberg, 1616). Het enige belangrijke werk van Scaliger dat in de Bibliotheca Thysiana ontbreekt, is de *Thesaurus temporum*, met daarin zijn editie van de gegane kerkelijke kroniek van Eusebius van Caesarea (1606).

Geschenk van een prins aan een prins

Vrijwel al deze boeken zijn in de bibliotheek terecht gekomen door toedoen van Johannes Thysius zelf, meestal door aankoop op veilingen. Eén uitgave van Scaliger is echter langs andere weg verworven. Dit is zijn befaamde verhandeling over de roemrijke geschiedenis van de familie Scaliger, de *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis scaligeræ*, zoals vrijwel al zijn Leidse werk uitgegeven door de 'Officina Plantiniana' van Franciscus Raphelengius en zonen (1594). Het boek werd meteen na verschijning genadeloos gefileerd door Scaligers vijanden in het katholieke kamp, met name door de Duitse jezuïet in Italiaanse dienst Gaspar Schoppe. Hij toonde aan dat de Scaligers van heel wat nederiger afkomst waren dan hun vermeende afstamming van het heersersgeslacht Della Scala van Verona. Het exemplaar in de Bibliotheca Thysiana heeft een bijzondere provenance. Op het blanco blad tegenover de titelpagina staat de volgende handgeschreven opdracht van Scaliger zelf: 'Illustrissimo Domino Domini Mauricio Comiti Nassawio Iosephus Scaliger Jul. Caes. F. D.D.' ([Dit boek] heeft Joseph Scaliger zoon van Julius Caesar geschonken aan de zeer illustere heer Maurits graaf van Nassau). Het is dus het exemplaar dat door de auteur zelf was aangeboden aan prins Maurits. Opmerkelijk is de sobere uitvoering in



Handgeschreven tekst van Josephus Justus Scaliger uit zijn *Iambi gnomici* over het thema van de geleerde onwetendheid, voorin Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poemata in duas partes divisa [etc.]* (z.pl. en uitg., 1578; Thysia 1234).

Het handschrift vertoont enige gelijkenis met dat van Scaliger zelf.

een blank perkamenten – Hollandse – band, zonder enige versiering. Het is bekend dat Scaliger weinig gaf om het uiterlijk van de boeken in zijn eigen bibliotheek, maar een prins uit het huis van Oranje verdiende toch wel wat fraaiers. Blijkens een handgeschreven notitie onderaan dezelfde pagina was het boek lang in het bezit van de stadhouders gebleven, totdat het in 1749 op de veiling van een deel van de bibliotheek van Willem IV is verkocht. Hoe de *Epistola* vervolgens in de Bibliotheca Thysiana terecht is gekomen is vooralsnog onduidelijk. In de gedrukte catalogus van de bibliotheek van 1852 komt het boek niet voor, wel in die van 1879. Mogelijk is een van de toenmalige curatoren, te denken valt aan de Leidse hoogleraar geschiedenis Robert Fruin, hiervoor verantwoordelijk geweest.

Dierbare geschenken

Er zijn in de bibliotheek nog twee andere auteursexemplaren van Scaliger. In Thysia 1290, een convoluut met daarin

een elftal teksten in kwarto formaat over uiteenlopende onderwerpen, bevindt zich een uitgave van de *Canon Paschalis*, de handleiding voor de berekening van de datum van Pasen van de vroegchristelijke kerkvader Hippolytus van Rome, aangevuld met een kritisch commentaar van Scaliger op de Gregoriaanse kalender (Leiden, 1595). Het boekje heeft een gedrukte auteursopdracht aan Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, maar Scaliger gaf het ook weg aan zijn leerlingen, getuige de handgeschreven eigendomsaanduiding onderaan het titelblad: ‘Cornelii Pynacker ex donatione ill[ust]ris viri D[omi]ni Josephi Scaligeri’ ([Dit boek is van] Cornelius Pijnacker, als geschenk van de beroemde Josephus Scaliger). Cornelius Pijnacker (1570-1645) had in Leiden rechten gestudeerd en behoorde tot de kring van favoriete studenten van Scaliger. Hij werd al in 1597 benoemd als hoogleraar in de juridische faculteit, een positie die hij in 1614 inruilde voor een professoraat eerst in Groningen, later in Franeker. Hij heeft echter vooral naam gemaakt door zijn pogingen om christelijke slaven vrij te kopen in Algiers en Tunis, als gevolg waarvan hij in ernstige financiële problemen geraakte. Om die reden woonde hij jaren lang in Meppel, waar hij zich onder andere bezighield met het vervaardigen van een landkaart van Drenthe. Hoe Thysius dit boekje heeft verworven is niet bekend. Mogelijk heeft hij het aangekocht op een veiling van de bibliotheek van Pijnacker, maar hierover zijn geen gegevens bewaard.

Het andere auteursexemplaar is de al genoemde editie van de *Sententiae* van Publilius Syrus en de *Disticha* van Dionysius Cato (Leiden, 1598). Dit octavo-boekje heeft een opdracht van Scaliger zelf: ‘Ornatissimo iuveni Baltazari Lydio Martinii F. Josephus Scaliger D.D.’ (Dit heeft Josephus Scaliger geschonken aan de voortreffelijke jongeling Balthasar Lydius, zoon van Martinus). Balthasar Lydius (1577-1629), wiens vader hoogleraar in Franeker was geweest, had rond 1600 in Leiden theologie gestudeerd en werd later predikant in Dordrecht. Daar was hij ook scholarch en bibliothecaris van de Illustere School. Er zijn in de Bibliotheca Thysiana overigens nog twee andere boeken uit zijn aanzienlijke bibliotheek, die in 1629 en 1630 in drie (!) veilingen was verkocht.

Tot slot verdienen nog twee gelijktijdig in 1609 verschenen uitgaven over Scaliger in de Bibliotheca Thysiana vermelding. Het zijn de teksten van de lijkoraties die na de dood van de grote geleerde werden uitgesproken in het Groot Auditorium van het Leidse Academiegebouw door zijn leerlingen Daniel Heinsius en Dominicus Baudius, aangevuld met lof- en rouwdichten van onder anderen Hugo de Groot en Bonaventura Vulcanius, en met de tekst van een rede van Heinsius over het grafmonument voor Scaliger, dat op last van de curatoren van de universiteit in de Vrouwekerk aan de Haarlemmerstraat was opgericht. Sinds de negentiende eeuw bevindt dit monument zich in de Pieterskerk.

De oplettende lezer

Anthony Grafton

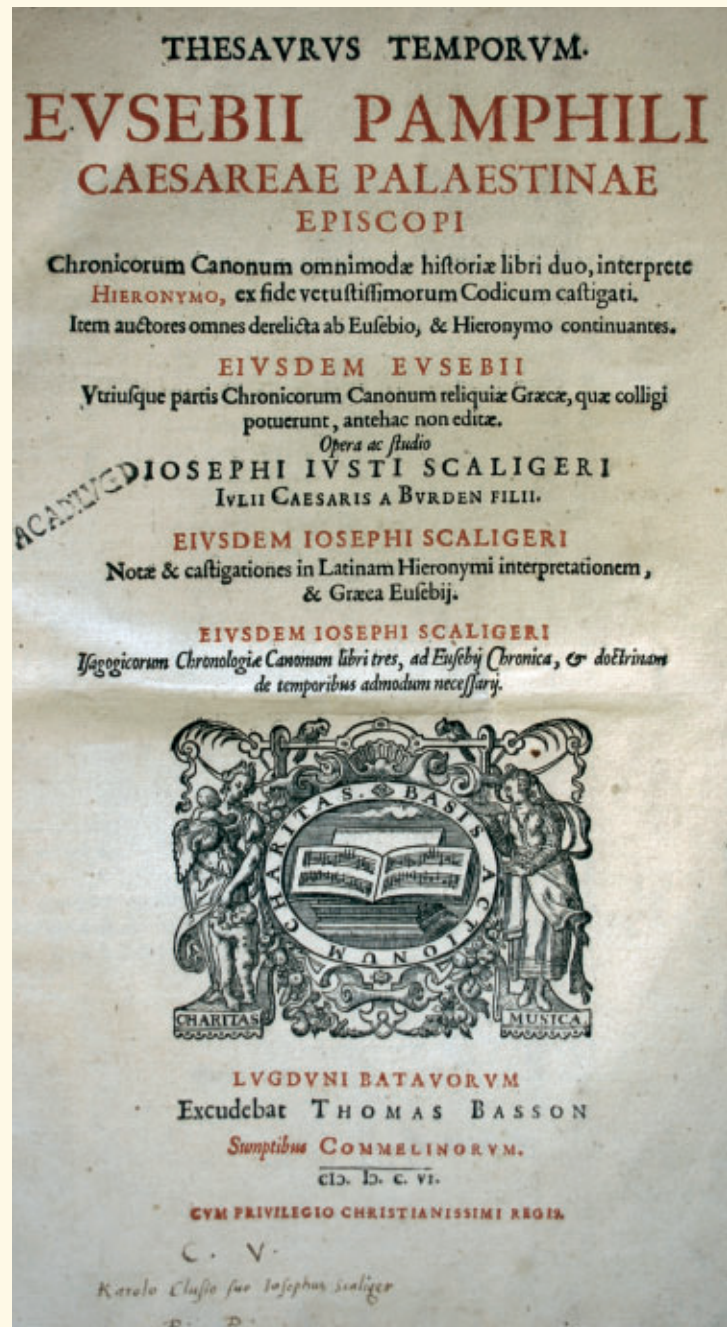
The Treasure House of Time

Scaliger devoted the last years of his working life to reconstructing the lost first book of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius—the project at the core of the *Thesaurus temporum*. He had long despised the pseudo-antique histories of Babylon, Egypt and Greece forged by Annius of Viterbo at the end of the fifteenth century and ascribed to the Chaldean priest Berosus, the Egyptian priest Manetho and others, and in the second edition of the *De emendatione*, he not only denounced them but also printed what he saw (and most scholars still do) as the genuine fragments of Berosus.

In the *Thesaurus*, drawing on the Byzantine world chronicle by George Syncellus, Scaliger published both Ptolemy's Canon of Near Eastern rulers, a work central to the chronology of the ancient world, and Manetho's genuine lists of Egyptian dynasties, which caused a vast controversy because they seemed to start before the world did.

The *Thesaurus*, in other words, played a tremendously important role in Oriental studies, and the materials Scaliger collected would provoke debate for centuries. But the texts in question were in Greek. So were other texts—such as the Letter of Aristeeas—that Scaliger here identified, with path breaking arguments, as the work of Hellenistic Jews, a group whose very existence had largely been forgotten by scholars, and the Byzantine works on astronomy from which he drew much of his treatment of Islamic calendrics.

Yet the *Thesaurus* also contained central material and arguments drawn from Oriental sources—from the Jewish Megillat Ta'anit, which supplied Scaliger with important evidence against the authenticity of Aristeeas, to the textual and numismatic evidence, some of it previously marshalled by Guillaume Postel, that he used to prove the late origin of the square-charactered Hebrew alphabet—a position which he defended, rightly, against a more proficient but less historically-minded Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf.



Title page of Josephus Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1606), with the dedication by Scaliger to the botanist Carolus Clusius.

[UBL 754 A 13].

Anthony Grafton is Henry Putnam University Professor of History at Princeton University and honorary doctor of Leiden University. He wrote the magisterial two volume book *Joseph Scaliger. A study in the history of classical scholarship*.