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# “Tous mes livres de langues estrangeres”: Reconstructing the *Legatum Scaligeri* in Leyden University Library

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### Résumé de l'article

Josephus Justus Scaliger, né en 1540 à Agen près de Bordeaux, accepta l'invitation de la nouvelle université de Leyde, et s'y installa en 1593 et y exerça comme professeur jusqu'à sa mort en 1609. De sa prise de fonction jusque son trépas, il ne quitta plus Leyde, où il fut enterré et sans cesse célébré depuis. En 2008, l'Institut Scaliger initia le projet, toujours en cours, de compiler la bibliographie des livres en langues orientales « et étrangères » légués à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde par Josephus Justus Scaliger en 1609. Cet article décrit ce projet, ses buts et ses enjeux, ainsi que les questions méthodologiques posées par la démarche : rencontrant en chemin des ambiguïtés et imprécisions de descriptions anciennes fort inattendues, il propose de catégoriser les types de témoignage touchant ce fonds. La bibliographie de cette collection allie l'histoire de la bibliothèque et l'histoire des anciens possesseurs, donateurs, acheteurs, passeurs de chaque manuscrit ou livre imprimé. Elle touche tout autant l'histoire de l'humanisme et la naissance des études orientales. L'analyse d'exemples précis montre que l'attribution de manuscrits et de livres à cette collection demeure incertaine en bien des cas. Néanmoins, une étude de la collection dans son ensemble, que le catalogue méthodiquement établi rendra possible, mettra en lumière les liens entre possession et transmission tout comme ceux qui unissent bibliothèque et savoir.

*“Tous mes livres de langues estrangeres”*  
Reconstructing the *Legatum Scaligeri* in  
Leyden University Library\*

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*Josephus Justus Scaliger, né en 1540 à Agen près de Bordeaux, accepta l'invitation de la nouvelle université de Leyde, et s'y installa en 1593 et y exerça comme professeur jusqu'à sa mort en 1609. De sa prise de fonction jusque son trépas, il ne quitta plus Leyde, où il fut enterré et sans cesse célébré depuis. En 2008, l'Institut Scaliger initia le projet, toujours en cours, de compiler la bibliographie des livres en langues orientales « et étrangères » légués à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde par Josephus Justus Scaliger en 1609. Cet article décrit ce projet, ses buts et ses enjeux, ainsi que les questions méthodologiques posées par la démarche : rencontrant en chemin des ambiguïtés et imprécisions de descriptions anciennes fort inattendues, il propose de catégoriser les types de témoignage touchant ce fonds. La bibliographie de cette collection allie l'histoire de la bibliothèque et l'histoire des anciens possesseurs, donateurs, acheteurs, passeurs de chaque manuscrit ou livre imprimé. Elle touche tout autant l'histoire de l'humanisme et la naissance des études orientales. L'analyse d'exemples précis montre que l'attribution de manuscrits et de livres à cette collection demeure incertaine en bien des cas. Néanmoins, une étude de la collection dans son ensemble, que le catalogue méthodiquement établi rendra possible, mettra en lumière les liens entre possession et transmission tout comme ceux qui unissent bibliothèque et savoir.*

On January 21, 2009, the Scaliger Institute at Leyden University commemorated the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of the famous French humanist Josephus Justus Scaliger. Scaliger, born in 1540 in Agen, halfway between Bordeaux and Toulouse, was persuaded to travel to the Dutch university town of Leyden to take up a position as professor in 1593. He never left Leyden again and died there in 1609. His body was interred in the Walloon

church, the Vrouwekerk, in the centre of the town. The university paid for a commemorative plaque, which can nowadays be seen in the Pieterskerk in Leyden, together with the gravestone on which the text

HIC EXPECTO RESVRRECTIONEM  
TERRA HAEC AB ECCLESIA EMPTA EST  
NEMINI CADAVER HVC INFERRE LICET

can still be read, although the stone is wearing down rapidly and it is uncertain for how long the text will remind us of the great humanist.

In 2008, the Scaliger Institute started a still-ongoing project of compiling a bibliography of the books in oriental and other foreign languages bequeathed by Josephus Justus Scaliger to Leyden University Library in 1609.<sup>1</sup> This work led to the exhibition *“All my Books in Foreign Tongues”: Scaliger’s Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609–2009*.<sup>2</sup> This article describes the project, its aims and expectations, as well as the problems and unexpected insights encountered while trying to reconstruct this legacy.

### **A library born from the Dutch Revolt**

On February 5, 1575, a remarkable event was seen on the Rapenburg in the centre of the Dutch town of Leyden. The previous year, on October 3, Leyden had been relieved after a five-month Spanish siege. Prince William (“the Silent”) of Orange founded a new university in Leyden as a special gift to the town that had withstood Spain and its king. Barely five months after the relief, a sumptuous pageant was held to celebrate the inauguration of Leyden University. The various sciences were represented by allegorical figures and by a number of important scholars of the past, such as Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, and Galen. Although the Holy Scriptures and the four apostles led the pageant, the most noteworthy scene was the ship with Apollo and his nine muses (*novem musae*) floating in the canal. With this representation, the newly founded university of the Northern Netherlands expressed a new attitude towards the sciences and scholarship. The curriculum of the university was not only dictated by the Holy Scriptures, but the muses would also play their part in the education of students and scholars alike. The muses were very much the doing of Janus Dousa (1545–1604), one of the curators of the university who had also played an important

role in the defence of Leyden against the Spaniards in 1574. His personal motto was *Dulces ante omnia musae* ("the Muses rejoice in heaven"), taken from Virgil's *Georgica*. The role of Dousa during the early years of the university was important and significant, as was the role of Jan van Hout (1542–1609), secretary of the town of Leyden and life-long friend of Dousa.

Beginning in 1581, the university was housed in the chapel of the Dominican Convent, or Convent of the White Nuns, on the Rapenburg. In front of the building a motto was set in the pavement: *Musa coelo beat* ("The Muse rejoices in heaven"). Again the muses played an important role, but in the early years of Leyden University there were barely any professors involved in teaching, no students to educate or books to read. In 1578, it was Dousa who, with a judicious sense of (what we would nowadays call) public relations and marketing, managed to bring the great scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) to Leyden to promulgate the greatness and novelty of the university (see the contribution by Jeanine De Landtsheer in this volume). Dousa's plan worked, and many students from all over Europe found their way to Leyden.

However, incoming scholars would find a university without a serious library. At the inauguration, Prince William of Orange donated the first book to the university: the *Polyglot Bible* printed by Christophe Plantin (1520–1589) in Antwerp in 1569–1572. Beside some other small donations, we cannot really consider this gathering of books a library; a collection of books would be a better description. It was only after two professors in Theology—Johannes Holmannus Secundus (1523–1586), in 1586, and Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614), in 1587—donated and sold parts of their libraries to the university that one could speak of a real University Library. From 1587 onwards, the small library was housed in one of the rooms of the Academy building. A few years after the acquisition of the Holmannus and Vulcanius books, the library was moved across the Rapenburg to the first floor of the chapel of the *Falied Beguinage* in 1595. That same year, librarian Petrus Bertius (1565–1629) compiled a catalogue of the holdings, the *Nomenclator*. This is the first separately printed general catalogue of an institutional library in the world, and is a subject-based inventory of the books in the order in which they were stored on the shelves. In 1595, the library had a total of 442 titles, of which 338 in folio, in some 525 volumes.<sup>3</sup>

## Scaliger and Leyden

In the meantime, a small disaster had occurred in Leyden: in 1591, Lipsius had suddenly left Leyden for Leuven and it soon transpired that he had no intention of returning to the Northern Netherlands again.<sup>4</sup> A substitute for this great man had to be found, and fast, or the young university would be lost. It was Dousa once again who pointed the way and suggested asking the French humanist Josephus Justus Scaliger to come to Leyden. At first, this sixteenth-century Einstein had no intention of leaving France, and it was only after he was offered a huge salary with no teaching obligations that he was willing to pack his books and travel to Leyden in 1593.<sup>5</sup> Again Dousa was proven right: the presence of Scaliger in Leyden was beneficial for the university and, as it eventually turned out, also for the library. Scaliger made good use of the library and frequently praised it as a *magna commoditas*.<sup>6</sup> Scaliger was never to leave Leyden again and died in the town in 1609. During his lifetime, Scaliger had already given several books from his library to his pupils and friends, including Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Domenicus Baudius (1561–1613).<sup>7</sup> The part of his library concerning the “western” books was auctioned in 1609 by former valet and heir of Scaliger, Jonas Rousse.<sup>8</sup> The only known copies of this auction catalogue are kept in the Royal Library of Copenhagen and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.<sup>9</sup> Leyden University Library bought some of Scaliger’s annotated books or *annotati* in this auction. But of more importance is the fact that Scaliger bequeathed the non-western part of his library to the university: “[...] tous mes livres de langues estrangeres, hebraics, Syriens, Arabics, Aethiopiens, lesquels livres sont contenus dans le Catalogue que i’ay adiousté a la copie latine de ce mien testament [...]”<sup>10</sup> Alas, this copy of the catalogue no longer exists, but we do have another early “catalogue” of the books and manuscripts of Scaliger’s library, drawn up by his colleague Bonaventura Vulcanius. This list, however, seems to have been compiled from memory as it does not list every item.<sup>11</sup> Up to 1609, with the exception of the Hebrew manuscripts and printed books of the theological *plutei*, the university library only contained a few “eastern” works. The Scaliger legacy changed this: the library was enriched with a large collection of non-western books and manuscripts which had been lacking until then. Scaliger would prove to be a good example, as later in the seventeenth century the library of eastern books and manuscripts of Levinus Warnar (1619–1665) was added to

the collection. Some Greek and some Latin manuscripts and two globes, also part of the Scaliger bequest, were shelved separately from the other books and manuscripts in the so-called *Arca Scaligeri* by librarian Heinsius. Heinsius was asked to compile a catalogue of the bequest, which was published in 1612.<sup>12</sup> Heinsius, not trained as an Arabist or Hebraist, encountered many difficulties in producing accurate descriptions of the titles. The descriptions are classified by language—Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopian, Russian, and Latin—but the titles were all given in Latin. Many titles were incomplete or inaccurate, but visitors to the library had one great advantage: the books and manuscripts were shelved separately in a cupboard. The content of that one cupboard was without discussion part of the legacy of the great scholar. The 1674 catalogue lists 114 volumes from the Scaliger bequest (32 in folio, 54 in quarto, and 28 in octavo).<sup>13</sup> The collection of Scaliger was described once again, and this time more accurately, in the catalogue of 1716 which contains a total of 113 titles in 100 volumes. The books are primarily in Hebrew type or on Hebrew subjects; a smaller part is in Arabic and Ethiopian, and there is one book in Japanese (an edition of *Fides no dōxi* [...] (shelfmark SER 614) by the Jesuit Luis de Granada, from 1592)<sup>14</sup> and one in Russian (*Diurnum Moscovitarum*). The 1716 catalogue also includes some annotations such as "*Cum additamento vocum Arabicarum manu Scaligeri*" and "*Manu Scaligeri multis in locis notatum*," etc.<sup>15</sup> The printed books were separated from the manuscripts, and even to this day the manuscripts are kept separately in a strong room of the library. In 1910, curator P.C. Molhuysen compiled a separate catalogue with descriptions of all the manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> Some 60 years later, Albert van der Heide produced extensive descriptions of the Hebrew manuscripts in his catalogue *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library*.<sup>17</sup> In 1993, a list of the manuscripts and *libri annotati* was published by Anthony Grafton in his study on Scaliger.<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, it remains unclear which books belonged to Scaliger and were bequeathed to Leyden University Library in 1609. In 1741 the Leyden librarian David van Royen (1727–1799) decided to incorporate the volumes in the normal shelving system, but not before he pasted a slip of paper stating *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri* in all the books and manuscripts. The intentions of Van Royen were undoubtedly admirable, but his action was more or less the beginning of a great deal of confusion. As Alastair Hamilton has pointed out in some very interesting articles, several manuscripts seem to be labelled as *Legatum Scaligeri*, but were in fact not from Scaliger's library. They

were from the library of Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), another Leyden Arabist and manager of the Leyden branch of the Officina Plantiniana.<sup>19</sup> How could this have happened? Scaliger often borrowed manuscripts from other scholars for his projects, for instance on Chronology (*De emendatione temporum*) and the *Thesaurus temporum* (Treasure house of time).<sup>20</sup> Some of these manuscripts never found their way back to their owners and were by mistake considered part of the library of Scaliger by Van Royen. No one has ever looked into the bequest of printed books owned by Scaliger before. We know there were 114 volumes listed in the 1674 catalogue and 100 in the 1716 catalogue, but how many titles are there actually and are they all part of Scaliger's bequest?

### **Towards a bibliography**

Nowadays, the books once owned by Scaliger are no longer shelved separately, but are dispersed across the shelves of the present library. The successive removals of books from the library over the course of 400 years and internal changes make it difficult to trace some of the copies among the 3.5 million books. Most of the titles can be found with the help of the descriptions of the 1674 and 1716 catalogues; however, it is impossible to pinpoint every edition or title in this way. Furthermore, once a book is found, one has to be convinced that it is indeed from the Scaliger legacy and not from some other source. In determining whether a book is from the Scaliger library, there are several distinguishing features to look for:

#### ***The bindings***

Scaliger preferred to bind his books in limp vellum, the so-called "Dutch" bindings. These plain bindings had several advantages: the books could easily be opened, and remained open on a working surface, while the bindings could be written on with ink as Scaliger sometimes did. This kind of binding was, of course, also reasonably cheap. About 90 per cent of the books from Scaliger's library are bound in vellum. But as Scaliger also bought or was given books from other scholars or collectors, there is also a small number of leather and other bindings. However, they are seldom richly decorated. Additional information can sometimes be distilled from the old indication of a shelfmark on the back

of the binding. The numbers on the backs are a reference to the classification in folio, quarto, and octavo of the 1674 catalogue. Alas, only a small number of books have this numbering on the binding.

### ***Handwritten annotations by Scaliger***

Scaliger's handwriting is neat, legible, and easily distinguished from other handwriting. Most of Scaliger's books are lavishly annotated; sometimes there are annotations on the flyleaves and in the margin(s) of the pages. In some cases Scaliger has put his name in the books.

### ***The slip "Legatum Scaligeri"***

Most of the books have this slip of paper pasted on the title-page, usually on the bottom part of the page, but sometimes it is affixed vertically on the outer margin of the title. As we have seen, librarian Van Royen provided every book and manuscript that was inside the cupboard until 1741 with a slip, not always closely examining whether a certain book or manuscript was originally Scaliger's. In the 1716 catalogue, for instance, two books are recorded that cannot possibly be part of the Scaliger bequest: one is the *Biblia Hebraica sine punctis* from 1639 and the other a *Novum Testamentum Graecum* printed in London in 1633.<sup>21</sup> As the dates in the imprints clearly show, these books were published after Scaliger's death.

### ***The old shelfmarks***

In a great number of the bindings, one can find old shelfmarks. Some of them—for instance shelfmark X Q 6—correspond with the description of the books in the library catalogue of 1674. The "X" stands for *Orientales*, "Q" for the format quarto.

### ***The modern shelfmarks***

The books donated by Scaliger are sometimes grouped together on the shelves of the modern library—in twos or threes—but even then there are several difficulties:



1. There is a slip *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*, but the book cannot originate from the Scaliger legacy;
2. There is a slip *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*, but the book is not printed in a foreign language but in Latin. Recently a pamphlet entitled *Oratio legatorum venetorum ad dominum Maximilianum cesarem habita Memmingen Tercio Kls. Januarij 1508. Responsio Maximiliani* [UBL PAMFLT 1508] from the library of Scaliger was discovered in Leyden University Library bearing this strip and marginal annotations by Scaliger;
3. There is no slip, but the book has annotations by Scaliger;
4. There is no slip, but the book is mentioned in one of the catalogues as being from Scaliger's library;
5. There is a dedication to Scaliger in the book, but no slip *Legatum Scaligeri*;
6. There are books bought by the library in the auction of Scaliger's "western" books, but they are in fact in a non-western language.

Must we consider these as part of the bequest or not? A fair impression can only be acquired by looking closely, hence by autopsy of each book separately.

The aim of the bibliography is to produce a complete and annotated list of all the books bequeathed by Scaliger to Leyden University Library in 1609. Additional information will be given on bindings, former ownership and provenance, and printers. The list will be a starting point for further research by specialists in the field (Arabists, Hebraists, etc.) who will be interpreting the annotations by Scaliger and who will examine these annotations for links to the printed oeuvre of Scaliger. Thus far, I have identified 143 titles from the Scaliger collection, not including those titles which were most likely not part of the original bequest.

The second phase will be to gather all the books and manuscripts together and try and reconstruct the order in which they were arranged in the *Arca Scaligerana*. As we have seen, the order of the books in the university library was by subject. Was this perhaps also the case in the *Arca*, or was the order defined by the format of the books? We do not yet know. Maybe in the near future we can rebuild the *Arca* itself and thus restore the legacy of Scaliger physically. Our reconstruction will also provide an opportunity to develop a state-of-the-art update of the Scaliger collection; in past years, the provenance of some of the Scaliger manuscripts (and books) has rightfully been questioned and refuted.<sup>22</sup>

### A case study: Scaliger and Hurault de Boistaillé

Among the books and manuscripts bequeathed by Scaliger to the University of Leyden there is one special group, undoubtedly part of Scaliger's library, 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. Huralti Boistalerii*, and the additional information on the flyleaves and titles in the handwriting of this former proprietor. Furthermore, this group of books and manuscripts contains some valuable and rare examples of Hebrew printing, and important manuscripts for the study of the development of oriental scholarship.

Jean Hurault, sieur de Boistaillé (c. 1517–1572), is addressed in official documents as "abbé du Breuil et conseiller du roy en sa court et parlement de Paris, lequel est de qualité et de la maison des Hurraulzz, bien cognue et respectée des princes et de segr de la court." He is also known among the humanists by his Latinized name *Boistallerius*. Jean Hurault was a member of a family of diplomats and government officials.<sup>23</sup> As an ambassador of the king of France, François I, to the Sublime Porte, he was in contact with Sultan Suleyman I (1494–1566) and played an important role during the years 1557–1558 in getting military support from the Ottoman Empire in the Franco-Spanish war. 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 from a humanistic point of view, as he had done in Constantinople. He was especially keen on collecting Greek manuscripts,<sup>24</sup> but he also collected a corpus of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts. Among this first group is a famous thirteenth century Qur'ân and a *Horologion* or Kitâb al-sawâ' i. of the Melkite (Greek Orthodox) Church. An example of the Hebrew manuscripts collected by Hurault is the German *Pentateuch* of 1330, which is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, shelfmark MS hébreu 48–49.<sup>25</sup> Among his vast collection can also be found a *Homélies* of the saint Johannes Crysostomus (c. 347–407) and several commentaries of Proclus Diadochus (411–485) on the works of Plato.<sup>26</sup>

Like many other collectors, Hurault made use of several agents and transcribers who collected the books and manuscripts on his assignment. One such agent was a certain Zacharias Scordylis from Crete.<sup>27</sup> 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, who also collected books on behalf of Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574), the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Hurault books and manuscripts in the collection of Scaliger were all bought by Hurault in Venice, partly from the Antwerp printer Daniel Bomberg or Van Bomberghen (1483–1553) who owned a printing shop in Venice for more than 30 years. The most well-known example from this group is the Jerusalem Talmud or *Talmud Hierosolymitanum* and a composite volume with a dictionary of the Talmud or *Arukh* of which Bombergen printed an edition in 1531.<sup>28</sup> Other manuscripts and books were bought by Hurault from a certain rabbi Zalman<sup>29</sup> and a rabbi Samuel.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> Some agents did not hesitate to steal manuscripts from these collections to satisfy their patron.

Venice, besides being a commercial centre for commodities, was also a place where one could acquire knowledge on the arts and sciences of the Middle East. As a result, Venice became an important centre in the trade of oriental and Greek manuscripts. Printers such as Aldus Manutius (in 1494), Zaccharias Callierges, and the above mentioned Bomberg set up their shops in Venice from the fifteenth century onwards. It will be no surprise that several Venetian printers specialized in the printing of Greek and Hebrew texts.<sup>32</sup> Venice was therefore also known as the *Oculus totius occidentis*. Many manuscripts and books in Hebrew, Aramaic (including Syriac), Arabic, and Greek were traded via this lively harbour of knowledge, and bought by scholars, princes, and kings alike. These collectors made great efforts to assemble as many manuscripts as they could, not only for the purpose of gathering knowledge, but also for a certain status or prestige. The rarity of the manuscripts and the opportunity to add a commentary to the text (by the owner himself, or by scholars) enhanced the status of the proprietor.

To understand how the books ended up in Scaliger's collection, we must first look into the adventures of the collection of Jean Hurault de Boistallé. In 1564, Jean Hurault returned from Italy to France with his library. Jean died on a diplomatic journey in England in 1572 and was buried in Morigny in Normandy.<sup>33</sup> 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, Abbé

de Pontlevoy, évêque de Chartres (1579–1620) who had earlier inherited the library from his father Philippe Hurault de Boistaillé (1528–1599), Comte de Cheverny, Chancellor of France in 1599. Philippe Hurault de Cheverny was Jean's nephew. He united the library of his father with the books and manuscripts of his uncle Jean, resulting in a collection of 12,000 books and 1,255 manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> 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 XII (1610–1643), who deposited them in the Bibliothèque du Roi.<sup>35</sup> The sale comprised 130 manuscripts in Greek, 11 in Hebrew and Arabic, 71 in Latin, and 191 in French and Neo-Latin. Highlights from the collection were a Hebrew *Pentateuch*, a French Bible of 1350, and a manuscript of Dante from 1403. The Greek manuscripts, however, were considered to be the most precious. Among this group is a tenth-century *Psalterium* (now better known as the *Psautier de Paris*).<sup>36</sup> All these manuscripts are still in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.<sup>37</sup>

As we have seen, only manuscripts were sold to the Bibliothèque du Roi, but nothing is said about the printed books of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé. The question remains how some of these books ended up in the possession of Scaliger and hence in the collections of Leyden University Library. It still remains a remarkable feat, even to this day, that a scholar, who never travelled to the Orient himself, was capable of collecting such rare and remarkable manuscripts and books from the Orient. An extensive network of scholars, diplomats, agents, and friends must have been active on his behalf to accomplish this.

Scaliger was probably familiar with the collection of the Hurault family. In the *Scaligerana* or "Table Talk" of 1740, two pupils of Scaliger noted that Scaliger had 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 vu tous les livres."<sup>38</sup> The name of Hurault de Boistaillé is, however, only mentioned twice in the vast correspondence of Scaliger and no notion of borrowing, buying, or being presented with the book from the Hurault family can be found in the letters. It seemed nonetheless common knowledge that the Greek and oriental manuscripts were in the possession of Scaliger while he was still in France, before his departure to Leyden in 1593.<sup>39</sup> Regarding the printed books, less is certain. They could already have been part of Scaliger's library before 1593, but they could just as well have been added later.<sup>40</sup> Until the latter

part of his life, Scaliger was still “copying Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew books” that were temporarily in Isaac Casaubon’s possession.<sup>41</sup>

One of the ways in which Scaliger may have acquired the books and manuscripts of Hurault de Boistaillé is via Jacques-Auguste de Thou or Thuanus (1533–1617). De Thou was appointed Maitre of the Royal Library by Henri IV in 1593 as the successor of Jacques d’Amyot (1513–1593). 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 Philippe Hurault, comte de Cheverny. From 1604, De Thou, acting as librarian of the Royal Library, was assisted by the *Garde de la Librairie de roi*, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), also a friend of Scaliger.<sup>42</sup> De Thou was a collector and must have had the opportunity to explore the collection of de Hurault. The relationship between De Thou and Philippe Hurault went further than just family; Philippe Hurault also encouraged De Thou to pursue his literary interests which resulted, among other works, in a poem on falconry in 1584 entitled *Hieracosophiou, sive De Re Accipitraria Libri Tres*.

De Thou and Scaliger were also lifelong friends and knew each other from their years of study with the lawyer Jacques Cujas or Jacobus Cujacius (1522–1590) in the town of Valence in the Dauphiné. Between 1582 and 1585, Scaliger and De Thou were corresponding frequently, and Scaliger more than once asked De Thou to deliver him Hebrew books, as demonstrates a letter from Aix en Provence written on February 24, 1583 in which Scaliger asks for a copy of the “*Sepher ben hammelec venhanazir*.”<sup>43</sup> And indeed, a copy of the *Sefer ben ha-melekh weha-nazir* (Mantua 1557) can still be found in the Scaliger collection.<sup>44</sup> In another letter written on May 24, 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*.”<sup>45</sup> Scaliger and De Thou corresponded regularly until a few months before Scaliger’s death in 1609.<sup>46</sup>

After Scaliger left France in 1593, the most probable agent between him and De Thou was the Arabist and printer Franciscus Raphelengius, the son-in-law of Christophe Plantin. Raphelengius had a printing shop in Leyden and was professor of Arabic at Leyden University. Scaliger and he were colleagues who had a high esteem for each other and who co-operated many times in scholarly enterprises, such as printing scholarly work on philology. Raphelengius,

as a printer and bookseller, 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.<sup>47</sup> Contact between Raphelengius and De Thou can be found in a letter by De Thou written on October 31, 1593 in which he wrote to Scaliger: "Le Sieur Raphelengius, que jáy veu icy [i.e. in Paris], nous assure que nous l'avions bientost, et que pour l'orner d'avantage commem il mérite, l'on a fait faire des poincons expres des caractères des langues estrangères."<sup>48</sup> De Thou on such occasions could have given books to Raphelengius to bring back for Scaliger in Leyden. Other friends of Scaliger were also involved in acquiring books. Chastagner de la Roche-Pozay wrote a letter to Scaliger on July 18, 1594 in which he informed him of the Arabic editions of Avicenna and Euclid he had ordered in Rome from a gentleman called Rucelay, as Scaliger had asked him to do.<sup>49</sup> Chr. Du Puy wrote from Rome about Arabic books and manuscripts he had found and could copy, if Scaliger wished.<sup>50</sup> Nicolas Claude Fabry did the same for Hebrew books in Venice, when Scaliger asked him to find a new edition of the *Sefer kol bō*.<sup>51</sup>

Apart from Raphelengius, Scaliger himself also had contact with several agents abroad, such as the collector Giovanni Pinelli, whom Scaliger had met when he lived in Rome. Pinelli had a vast network among the Jewish community in Constantinople. Many Arabic, Ethiopian, and Coptic manuscripts found their way to Pinelli and on to Scaliger. Another contact of Scaliger was the trader Hostagier in Marseille, who collected some Arabic manuscripts for him from the Levant.<sup>52</sup>

In 1572, Scaliger barely escaped from the terror of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in France and fled to Switzerland. He kept contact with many friends during his stay in Basle. There are several letters by Scaliger to Pierre Daniel (1530–1603/1604), the humanist from Orleans and *Advocat au Parlement de Paris*. Daniel was a great collector of books and manuscripts and was acquainted with many diplomats and ambassadors, like the Hurault de Boistaillé family, but also with another branch of the Hurault family, that of the l'Hospital.<sup>53</sup> In two letters to Daniel from 1574, Scaliger offers his service to Philippe de Boistaillé; but that was not unusual, as Scaliger was asking many friends and scholars for the books and manuscripts he needed to advance his own research.

The first letter to Daniel is dated Basle, July 1. In this letter, Scaliger expresses the desire to serve the nobleman Philippe de Boistaillé and asks Daniel to recommend him:

Aussi je desire estre recommandé bien fort à la bonne grace de Monsieur de Boistailli. Et lui direz, s'il vous plaist, que si je lui puis faire service, qu'il me trouvera tousjours dédié à lui, et pour l'amour de feu Monsieur de Boistailli son pere, et pour sa vertu. Car encores que je ne l'aie veu, si est ce que non tam aversus equos nostra sol iungit ab urbe,<sup>54</sup> que je n'aie oui parler de sa doctrine et vertu.<sup>55</sup>

And in a further letter to Daniel written on July 24, Scaliger repeats his request: "Je n'oublie pas aussi Monsieur De Boistailli, auquel je desire faire service, comme vous lui pourres dire, s'il vous plaist."<sup>56</sup>

These kinds of requests by Scaliger to obtain books or get access to collections of other scholars and collectors are not unique. In several letters to the lawyer and scholar Pierre Pithou (1539–1596) and to the chancellor of the royal house of Navarre, Henri des Mesmes (1532–1596), similar messages can be read. In these letters, he urges his friends to look for books and send them to him. Des Mesmes, who had lived for a long period in Italy, was asked to use his network to look for Hebrew books in the cities of Venice and Padua. Pithou was acquainted with the collection of the Hurault family and owned some of the manuscripts from this collection, as can be read in a letter to De Thou written October 25, 1593: "Je ne scai encor si je vous pourrai envoyer par luy mesmes [i.e. with the same messenger] l'histoire Latine qu'on dict estre de feu monsieur de Boistaille parce que celluy auquel je l'avois laissee à mon partement pour la transcrire ne l'a encore parachevee."<sup>57</sup> On March 7, 1594 he wrote: "Je vous envoie aussy un paquet pour Monsieur de la Scala dedans lequel est l'[unreadable Greek] qu'il desire tant. Monsieur Morel m'a faict ce bien de le transcrire pour luy."<sup>58</sup>

In the late summer of 1574, Scaliger returned to France and found friendly shelter in several castles owned by the De la Roche-Pozay family. Scaliger lived at Preuilly until the early spring of 1593. On March 24 he decided to accept the invitation to come to Leyden as a Professor at the Leyden University.<sup>59</sup> Before he started his journey to Holland, friends said farewell to him in Tours, where, without a doubt, he also met De Thou. The thought of a gift of De Thou to

Scaliger, also including books and manuscripts from the collection of Hurault, is tempting, but there is no evidence of such a gesture to be found.<sup>60</sup>

Books and manuscripts of the Hurault family seem to have been adrift and were collected by many scholars and collectors. Maybe the family had already sold several items which were considered inferior and not very valuable from the library before 1620.<sup>61</sup> Manuscripts from Jean Hurault are also to be found in the collection of Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) in Leyden<sup>62</sup> and in the Ambrosiana, the Vatican Library, in Bern, in Montpellier and in several other collections in Paris, as well as in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

We do not yet know exactly whether Scaliger bought, was given, or borrowed the books from the library of Hurault. It is even uncertain whether Scaliger acquired the book legally, because the name of Hurault de Boistaillé is crossed out or erased from two manuscripts and one book, possibly indicating an illegal possession of the books (see below). We do not even know for certain whether Scaliger already had the books in France before 1593, or that the books were sent or delivered to him when he lived in Leyden.

As mentioned above, Hamilton has pointed out that at least two of the manuscripts from the former library of Hurault de Boistaillé, which are now in the Scaliger collection, are in fact from the library of Raphelengius.<sup>63</sup> This kind of research has not been undertaken for the printed books. All this makes the attribution of manuscripts and books to Scaliger's bequest uncertain, but it does make it worthwhile to look at the whole collection again and to examine other possibilities of ownership and transmission. Ultimately, a reliable list of the bequest of Scaliger should be drawn up. 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.

### **Provenance Jean Hurault de Boistaillé in the bequest of Scaliger**

#### *Books*

#### **UBL 837 C 6**

Abraham ben Meir de Balmes, *Miqneh Avram* [Hebrew]/ *Pecvlium Abrae./ Gramma/tica Hebraea vna cum/ Latino / nuper edita per Doctiss. Virum/ Magistrum Abraham de Balmis Ar/tium & Medicinae doctorem. Im/pressa Venetijs, in Aedibus/ Danielis Böbergi.* [= Daniel Bomberg] XIII./K1 Decembris. M.D./XXIII. [=1523].



[Stamp: ACAD.LUGD.BAT.BIBL.]

In handwriting: *Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii*

Printed: *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*

Literature: Vinograd, Venice 81;<sup>64</sup> Roest 34.<sup>65</sup>

### UBL 854 C 38

Ḥamiš a humše tora im Targum: [wa-Ḥameš Mëgillôt]. [Hebrew]. Venetië, Daniel Bomberg, 1527, [1527].

In handwriting above title: *Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii* (almost invisible)

Sic! No slip *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*

\* With annotations by Scaliger on the verso of the first flyleaf.

Literature: Vinograd, Venice 118.

### UBL 871 F 6

David Ibn Jachja, *Leschon Limmudim = Lingua eruditionis, Grammatica Hebraica*. Acc. Tractatus brevis de arte metrica cui tit. Siclus sanctus, Hebraice. Constantinopoli, Dav. et Sam. Nachmias, 1506.<sup>66</sup>

In handwriting: Joh. Huralti καὶ τ[ὼν] φίλ[ων] = Kai ton philon = “and his friends”/ Leson Lemudim

[Stamp: ACAD.LUGD.BAT.BIBL.]

With handwritten title by Scaliger on verso of the first flyleaf.

On verso: in handwriting: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraulti Boistallerii*

Literature: Vinograd, Constantinople 10.

### UBL 874 D 7:1

Paul Fagius [= Paul Buchheim], *SENTENTIAE VE/ RE ELEGANTES, PIAE, MIRE/ QUE CUM AD LINGUAM DISCENDAM,/ tum animum pietate excolendum utiles, ueterum sapientum He/bræorum, quas Pirqe ‘avot [Hebrew] id est Capitula, aut si/ mauis Apophtegmatata patrum nominant in/ Latinum uersæ, schollijscq illustratae: per/ PAULUM FAGIUM in/ gratiam studiosorum lingue sanctae.*

[Printers device]

Excusum ISNAE in Algauria, oppido imperiali,/ ANNO M.D.XXXXI.

In handwriting: *Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii*

Printed: *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scaligeri*

Literature: Vinograd, Isny 2.

**UBL 874 D 7:2**

Sirah, Yošūḥa, Ben Sira' [Hebrew]/ *SENTENTIAE/ MORALES BEN SYRAE, vetvtissimi avthoris he/ bræi, qui á Iudæis nepos Hieremiæ pro/ phetæ fuisse creditur, cum/ succincto com/ mentario. Tobias Hebraice vt is/ apvd hodie apud iudaeos inveni/ tur, omnia ex hebræo in Latinum translata/, in gratiam studiosorum linguæ/ sanctæ, per Pavlvn/ Fagium Isnae, M.D.XXXXII.*

\* With extensive annotations by Scaliger

**UBL 874 D 7:3**

*Sefer tobiya* [Hebrew] *TOBIAS HEBRAI/ CE CUM VERSIONE LA/ TINAE E REGIONE, PER PAU/LUM FAGIUM.*

\* With extensive Hebrew and Latin annotations by Scaliger.

Literature: ad. 1: Vinograd, Isny 3; StCB 1435; ad 2: Vinograd, Isny 11; StCB 1366 and 1352.

**UBL 874 D 34**

Hezekiah ben Manoah, *comfortate me: commentariivs in Pentatevchvm; cvr. Vittorio Eliano.* Cremonæ, Vincenzo Conti 5319 [= 1559].

No written provenance, but assumed on account of the word "Cotte"<sup>67</sup> on the fly leaf which also can be seen in other books form the collection of Hurault de Boistaillé.

**UBL 875 B 1**

Simeon bar Jochai, *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (Cremona, Vincenzo Conti 1559)

In handwriting: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij*

*Emi a Rabbino Samuele coronato uno Patavij.*

Literature: Vinograd, Cremona 24, Roest 1071.

**UBL 875 E 3:1**

Gerard Veltwyck, *Ševilē tohu* [Hebrew] *ITINERA DESERTI/ De Judaicis disciplinis & eorum vanitate/ Autore Gerardo Veltuycko/ Ravesteynensi./ Addita etiam nonnulla quae exillorum/ libris eruta cum fide Christiana/ consentiunt./ Venetiis ex Officina Danielis Bombergi/ MDXXXIX*

[Stamp: ACAD.LUGD.BAT.BIBL.]

In handwriting: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii*

Printed: *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Josephi Scalgeri*

\* With marginal annotations by Scaliger

### UBL 875 E 3:2

*Derek emūnah: be-derek tešūvah še-alah al derek ha-qabalah* / [...] *hiberō* [...] Meir ben Gabay. Padūah [Padova] Lōrēnzō Paśqwa'ō we-šūtafāw [Lorenzo Pasquato], 1562, [5]323 [1562]. Piedrō dēl Pōr' lweqiō, [Piedro del Portelveqio] poh Padūah [Padua], 27 tevet 323

In handwriting: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii*

[Stamp: ACAD.LUGD.BAT.BIBL.]

Literature: ad. 1: Vinograd, Venice 172; ad 2: Vinograd, Padua 1; Roest 778.

### UBL 1368 G 8

[Testamentum Vetus, hebraice, cum punctis et accentibus]. Brescia, Gershom ben Moshe Soncino, 1494, [5]254 [1494].

In handwriting: *Ex Bibliotheca [Jo. Huraulti Boistallerii, erased]. Emi 4 coro.*

### UBL 1371 D 22:1

Judsah Halevi, ex Arabico vertit Yēhūdā ibn Tibbōn, *Sefer ha-kūzarī*. Fano, Gershom Soncino, 1506.

### UBL 1371 D 22:2

Isaac b. Solomon Abi Sahula, *Mēšal ha-qadmōnī*. Fano, ben Moshe Soncino, 1506.

No written provenance, but assumed based on similarities of the pinholes in the binding and with the type of binding of the *Leschon Limmudim* from the Hurault de Boistaillé collection (Shelfmark UB 871 F 6).

## Manuscripts<sup>68</sup>

### Or. 221

Arabic (in Hebrew script), paper, iv + 420 pp.

*Dalalat al-Ha'irin*, by Maimonides (Musa b. 'Ubaydallah Ibn Maymun, d. 601/1204, GAL G I, 489. In Scaliger's hand on f. iv : *Rabbi mosè Aegiptus*

[*Corban?* crossed out]. *De differentia naturae et legis: scriptus hebraice lingua in Arabica.*

*Ex Bibliotheca Jo. [Huraulti de Boistailerii crossed out] Emptus 4 coron* and in the hand of Scaliger *Liber excellentissimus.*

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus codicum hebraeorum bibliothecae academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden, Brill 1858), p. 382. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden, Brill/Universitaire Pers Leiden 1977), p. 48. See also A. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus," p. 571, note 47, where this MS is referred to as Or. Hebr. 96 (see endnote 18 in this article). Not in Voorhoeve's *Handlist*. (Hebr. 96).

### **Or. 4720**

Hebrew, parchment, 2 vols., 371 + (310 – 10 = 300) + 2 ff.

The Jerusalem Talmud or *Talmud Hierosolymitanum*.

Earlier Provenance: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraulti Boistallerij. Emi a bombergo coronatis XII*

Extensive description in S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Occasional notices on Hebrew manuscripts. No. I. Description of the Leyden MS. of the Palestinian Talmud*. Cambridge 1878. Traces of typographical activity by Bomberg throughout. Offprints of printed letters can be observed in vol. 1, f. 211a, inner margin, vol. 2, ff. 129b, outer margin, 216a upper margin, 248a lower left hand margin.

For an account of the restoration of the manuscript, see P.S. van Koningsveld in *Studia Rosenthaliana* 7 (1973), pp. 262–65.

A modern edition of several books of the Yerushalmi, on the basis of the Leyden manuscript, is being made by Hans-Jürgen Becker and others. Several volumes of that edition have appeared.

About the (almost) erased texts, see Hans Jürgen Becker, "Unexplored Glosses in the Yerushalmi Manuscript of Leiden," in *MME* 6 (1992), pp. 145–54.

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 341–43. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), pp. 49–50.

(Hebr. Scaliger 3).

### **Or. 4722**

Composite volume with texts in Hebrew, parchment, 490 ff., 2 columns, prickings, blind ruling, an owner's note of Jacob b. Elia, from Trier, is dated 1 Adhar 5164 (1404 AD).

(1) ff. 1–. *Mahberet*. Hebrew dictionary by Menachem ibn Saruk.

(2) ff. ??.<sup>69</sup> *Hasagot*. Notes with relevance to the previous text, by Dunash ibn Labrat.

(3) ff. ?? *Arukh*. Talmudic dictionary by Natan b. Jechiel (1101 AD)

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 344–46. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 61.

Earlier provenance: “Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij. Emi a Bombergo c[oronatis] 8, v 1563”.

(Hebr. Scaliger 5).

### Or. 4726

Hebrew and Arabic, paper, (2) + (95 + 24) ff., dated Tebet 5082 (1321–1322 AD).

(1) ff. *Beur Sefer ha-Otot ha-Eliyonot Kizzur*, a commentary on the meteorology in a compendium by Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198). As such in the manuscript, but the text is rather to be identified as Notes by Levi b. Gerson on the Hebrew translation by Moses b. Tibbon of the Arabic Middle Commentary by Ibn Rushd.

Earlier Provenance: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraultii Boistallerij*. He has written: “Liber iste est Commentum R. Levi de signis celestibus, scriptum ad hinc ducentis quadraginta annis” and “Habui ab heredibus Rabbi Zalman DD. Hebraei dum essem Venetiis legatus regius Anno 1562.” Another owner is Mardochai b. Asher ha-Levi (f. 1a). See also under Or. 4731, below.

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 349–50. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 62.

(2) ff. 96–120. *Amthal*. MS copy of Scaliger’s collection of Arabic proverbs, which was published by Thomas Erpenius (Leiden, 1614; second edition Leiden, 1623). Arabic text, with Latin translation and explanation. Another MS copy of the collection is in the printed books collection (874 D 7 (4), which also has the inscription *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraultii Boistallerij*). See Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 13.

(Hebr. Scaliger 9).

### Or. 4728

Hebrew, paper, (1) + 62 + (1) ff., binding: vellum.

*Maamar* (...) *be-kohot ham-Mezonot ve-has-Samim ve-Tikkunam vekhu'*, Hebrew translation by Shemtob b. Isak of of 27th part of the Arabic work *al-Tasrif li-man 'agiza 'an al-Ta'lif* by Abu al-Qasim Khalaf b. 'Abbas al-Zahrawi (Abulcassis, d. 404/1013), GAL G I, 239, on alimentary and aromatic materials and their use.

Earlier Provenance: Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti boistallerii

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 355–56. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 63.

¶ Was this formerly bound together with Or. 4762 (1)? See Steinschneider's remark on p. 89.

Earlier provenance: On f. 61a (heavily crossed out): "Liber D. Grimani Carlis S. Marci." He is the bibliophile cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523). This is MS Grimani 81. See van der Heide, pp. 6–7. MS Grimani 81.

(Hebr. Scaliger 11).

### Or. 4729

Hebrew, paper, 53 ff.

*Peirush Mavo Maamarot Melizah*, Commentary, or rather notes, by Levi b. Gerson, known as Leon de Bañolas, on the *Isagoge* by Porphyry, on the "Categories" and on *De Interpretatione* by Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198), GAL G I, 461.

Earlier Provenance: On f. 1: *Liber D. Grimani Carlis S. Marci* followed by *Ex Bibliotheca J. Huraltii Boistallerij*. The first inscription refers to the bibliophile cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523). See van der Heide, pp. 6–7. *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraultii Boistallerij em a Maio cor. Uno* (f. Iv).

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 356–57. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 63.

(Hebr. Scaliger 12).

### Or. 4731

Composite volume with texts in Hebrew, paper, (5) + 146 ff.

(1) ff. ?? *Reshit Hokhmah*, the "Beginning of Wisdom," an astrological work by Abraham Ibn Ezra.

(2) ff. 63–. *Sefer ham-Meorot*, the "Book of the Lights," by Abraham Ibn Ezra.

(3) ff. 72–. *Sefer ha-Olam u-Mahbarot* (?) *ham-Meshshartim*, the "Book about the World and the Conjunction of the Planets," by Abraham Ibn Ezra.

(4) ff. 86–. *Sefer kazar be-Mivharim le-Abu Maasher*, the Hebrew version, possibly (Steinschneider's guess) of the Arabic work *Kitab al-Ikhtiyarat 'ala Manazil al-Qamar*, by Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhi (d. 272/886), GAL G I, 221.

(5) ff. 90b–. *Sefer ha-Pri*, Hebrew version of (an Arabic version of) the “Liber Fructus” (*Karpōs*), the Aphorisms by Ptolemy, and the commentary on that text by Abu Ga'far Ahmad b. Yusuf b. Ibrahim. The Hebrew translator is not mentioned, but on the basis of information from other manuscripts, Steinschneider assumes that he may be identified with Kalonymos b. Kalonymos, who is said to have completed a translation on 20 Elul 5074 (1314 AD).

(6) ff. 125b–. *Athil likhtov b"ḥ mah she-Hibber Baal Hat-Takuit* (sic!) *bi-Thilat ha-Almank* (?) (...) by Yohana hal-Livni, (Steinschneider: “Capita X cet. magistri Tacuini cet. composita per Jochanan Haliphni”), who is identified by Steinschneider as Johannes de Bianchino (or Blanchino), from Bologna (mid-15th cent.). Partly edited (f. 125b) by Steinschneider in his Appendix 19 (pp. 405–06).

(7) ff. 143b–. *Luah Mahanot hal-Levanah*, Table for the lunar mansions (1466 AD). (8) ff. 145–146. A table inscribed: *Luah ladaat Shalit ham-Molad*, “in order to recognize a ruler or a lord.”

Earlier provenance: Inscription on a leaf before the beginning of the text: *Hic liber prius concisus et lacer (e?) restitutus et huic formae redditus est a me Johanne Heraultio Boistallerio regio apud Venetos legato. Venetiis Anno 1561*. This is possibly MS Grimani 55 (from the bibliophile cardinal Domenico Grimani (d. 1523). See van der Heide, pp. 6–7). And on f. V verso: *Habui ab heredibus cujusdam Doctoris Judaei Rabbi Zalmani pretio 3 aur.* The *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii* is written down twice, but once erased later. On f. 3a the name of another, previous, owner: Mardochai b. Asher ha-Levi, as is also clear from Or. 4726, above.

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 365–72. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 64.

(Hebr. Scaliger 14).

## Or. 4732

Composite volume with texts in Hebrew and German (Nos. 1, 11), parchment, 166 ff.

(1) *Shemot ha-Asavim*, the names of plants, with German translation (in Hebrew script).

- (2) f. 18. *Shaar: Irdopokos (?) Levika (?) Plomzia (?) hi hat-Tekufah hak-karah.*
- (3) f. 19. *Ve-yiddaber Asaf al d' Ruhot ham-menahagot hag-Guf milevad Ruah ha-Hayim, (...)* an excerpt from the Book of Asaf b. Barachia. On ff. 22b–23a notes 'de Clysteriis.' Ff. 23b–24 blank.
- (4) f. 25. Various medical notes.
- (5) f. 34. Treatise on urine.
- (6) f. 37. On medical recipes, *Shaar be-Rizepta (...)*.
- (7) f. 40. Apparently an index, lacking the beginning, on text No. 14, below. Followed by a list of simple medicines, in alphabetical order.
- (8) f. 52. On laxatives, beginning: *lehodia min ha-Refuot ham-meshalshelot bifnei azmam ve-ham-meshalshelim be-Hibbur (...)*. Galen is quoted. On f. 62b Clystier, with a figure. On f. 65b Hippocrates is mentioned. On f. 66 Alexander is mentioned. On f. 74 begins a chapter on venal section (= ? bloodletting?). On f. 75b mention of medicine.
- (9) f. 76. Medical astrology, according to the signs of the Zodiac, beginning: Teumim. And other notes.
- (10) f. 83. Fragment of a work on natural science, in "forma erotematica," in dialogues between Nekhed and Dod. The Berachija who says that he has translated the text from writings of peoples who had translated it from Arabic, is, according to Steinschneider, without a doubt the same as Berachija b. Nitronai, the author of the Book of the Fable of the Fox, and who seems not to have lived before the 13th century. On ff. 85b–86a are excerpts.
- (11) f. 88b. Miscellaneous notes on medicine, mostly on internal diseases. On f. 92a various notes, also names of illnesses and medicines, with notes in German (in Hebrew script).
- (12) f. 105b. About urine, and other symptoms. Also on other medical matters.
- (13) ff. 127–130. On unguents and plasters, beginning: *Eleh Sharei-ham-Meshihot ve-ha-Isplanit (...)*,
- (14) ff. 140–. Anonymous and untitled work on plants. In other manuscripts, it bears the title *Sefer ham-Maalot*, "Liber de Gradibus [plantarum]." In the Latin version it has an author's name attached to it, Constantinus Africanus (c. 1020–1087).
- (15) f. 165. A work on various sorts of medicines, also referring to No. 14, above. It is similar to the Arabic work by 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Ibn Wafid al-Lakhmi, Albenguefit or Abenguefit (d. after 460/1068), GAL G I, 485,



on Medicine, a work of which the Latin version by Gerard of Cremona has been published together with works by Constantinus Africanus (c. 1020–1087).

Earlier Provenance: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraultii Boistalerii* (f. 1a). Collection of Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597) acquired in or shortly after 1626, as has been proven by Hamilton. Sic!: Although the pasted slip indicates the bequest of Scaliger, it is in fact not a manuscript from Scaliger's bequest.

(Hebr. Scaliger 15).

See Steinschneider, *Catalogus* (1858), pp. 372–77. See A. van der Heide, *Hebrew manuscripts* (Leiden 1977), p. 64.

See also A. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus," p. 586, n. 94.

### **Scal. 51**<sup>70</sup>

Greek, vellum, 15th C. 53 ff in 2 parts

Ex Alexandro Aphrodisiensi excerpta. — Bessarionis et Gemistii Plethonis Epistolae mutuae. — Andronicus Callistus de Scientia naturae et de Fato. — Polybii Historiarum lb. II. — Dierum numeratio secundum Graecos et Alexandrinos. — Nomina rhetorum, musarum, mensium, al. — de Eclipsibus solaribus et lunaribus. — Isaaci Argyri Methodus cyclorum solarium et lunarium. — Solutio arabica problematis mathematici.

Earlier Provenance: *Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii*

### **Scal. 52**

Greek, vellum, 15th C. In 2 parts

Isaaci Argyri Methodus cyclorum solarium et lunarium. — Abacus. — Georgii Chrysococcae Expositio syntagmatis canonum astronomicorum Iudaicorum.

Earlier Provenance: *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii. Emi coro. Uno ab Andrea*

### **Scal. 58**

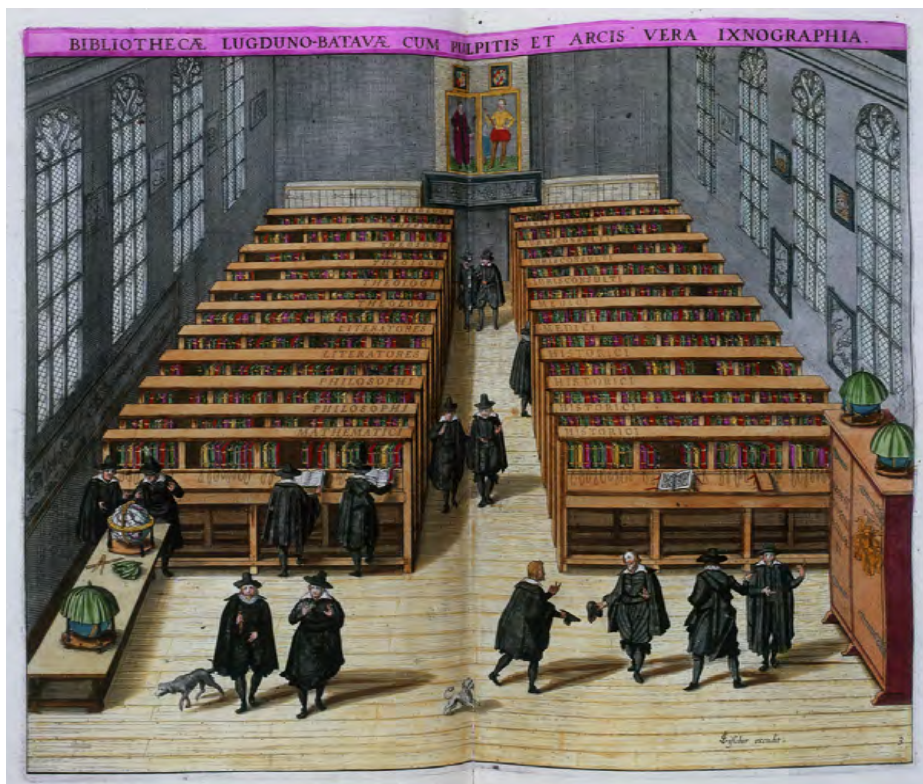
Greek, vellum, 16th C. 176 ff In 4 parts

Hilarionis Veronensis Oratio de Pane mystico Graecorum et Azymo Romanorum. — Gregorii Nazianzeni Carmina. — Basilii Magni ad Gregorium Epistolae II. — Gregorii Carmen. — Gregorii Magni Dialogorum lb. II fragmentum. — Thesaurus.

Earlier Provenance: *Ex bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerii. Emi Patavii coro. uno*



1. Paullus Merula, *Portrait of Josephus Justus Scaliger*, Oil on panel, 1597. 63 x 50 cm. [Scaliger Institute, Leiden University Library, *Icones Leidenses* 28].



2. Willem van Swanenburgh after Johannes Cornelisz. Woudanus, *Leyden University Library*, engraving, 1610, 330x 400 mm. On the right is the *Arca Scaligeri*. [Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam].

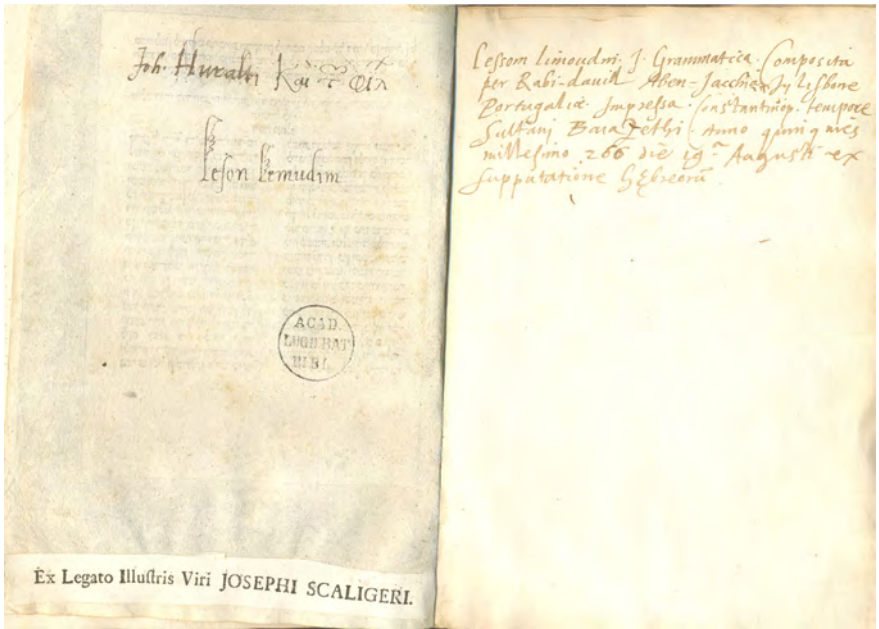


3. Daniel Dumonstier, *Portrait of Jacques Auguste de Thou*, Drawing, 2<sup>nd</sup> half 16<sup>th</sup> century.

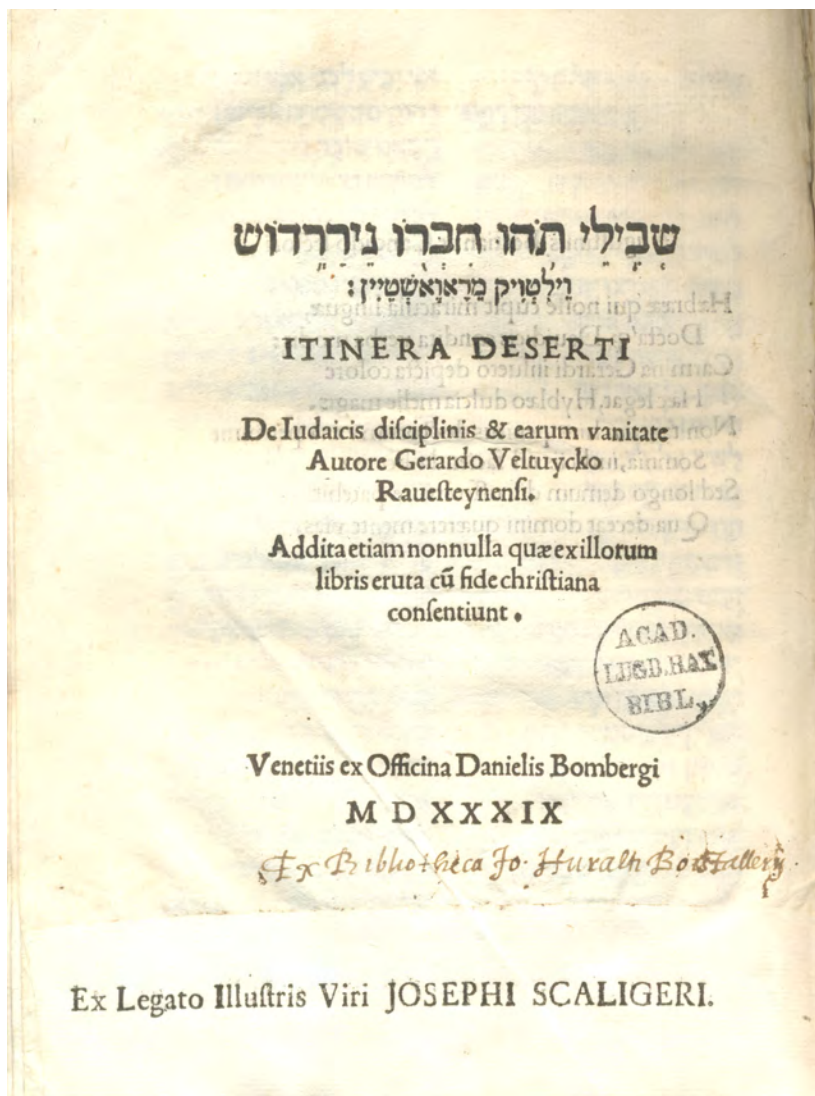




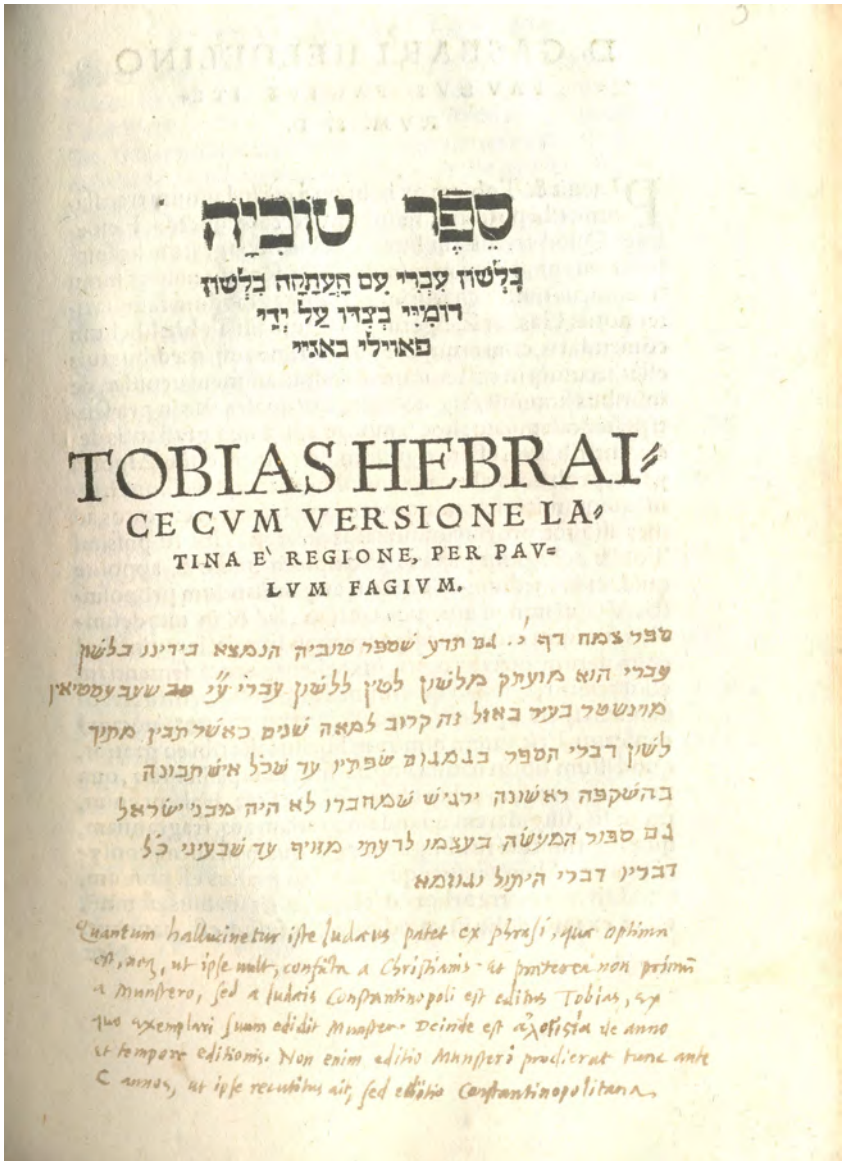
4. Thierry Bellange (1594–1638), *Portrait of Philippe Hurault de Boistaillé* (1528–1599), Comte de Cheverny, Chancellor of France in 1599; the father of Philippe Hurault de Cheverny, Abbé de Pontlevoy, évêque de Chartres (1579–1620), Drawing, ca. 1600, 130 x 110 mm. [Musée national de château de Pau].



5. The fly leaves of David Ibn Jachja, *Leschon Limmudim* = *Lingua eruditionis, Grammatica Hebraica*. Acc. Tractatus brevis de arte metrica cui tit. Siclus sanctus, Hebraice. Constantinopoli, Dav. et Sam. Nachmias, 1506 with the annotation Joh. Huralti [καὶ τῶν φίλ[ων]] = "Kai ton philon = and his friends" / Leson Lemudim. Underneath the first fly leaf also the strip *Ex legato Illustris Viiri Josephi Scaligeri* is to be seen. [UBL 871 F 6].
6. Title page of David Ibn Jachja, *Leschon Limmudim* = *Lingua eruditionis, Grammatica Hebraica*. Acc. Tractatus brevis de arte metrica cui tit. Siclus sanctus, Hebraice. Constantinopoli, Dav. et Sam. Nachmias, 1506 with the annotation *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huraulti Boistallerii*. [UBL 871 F 6].



7. Title page of Gerard Veltwyck, *Švilē tohu*: i.e. *Itinera deserti: De Iudaicis disciplinis & eorum vanitate* [...] [*carmen Hebraicum, cum addition. pros.*] *Autore Gerardo Veltuycko Rauesteynensi*. Venetiis ex Officina Danielis Bombergi 1539. [UBL 875 E 3: 1].



8. Title page of *Sefer tobiya*. TOBIAS HEBRAI/ CE CUM VERSIONE LATINAE E REGIONE, PER PAU/LUM FAGIVM with extensive annotations by Scaliger in Hebrew and Latin. [UBL 874 D 7:3].

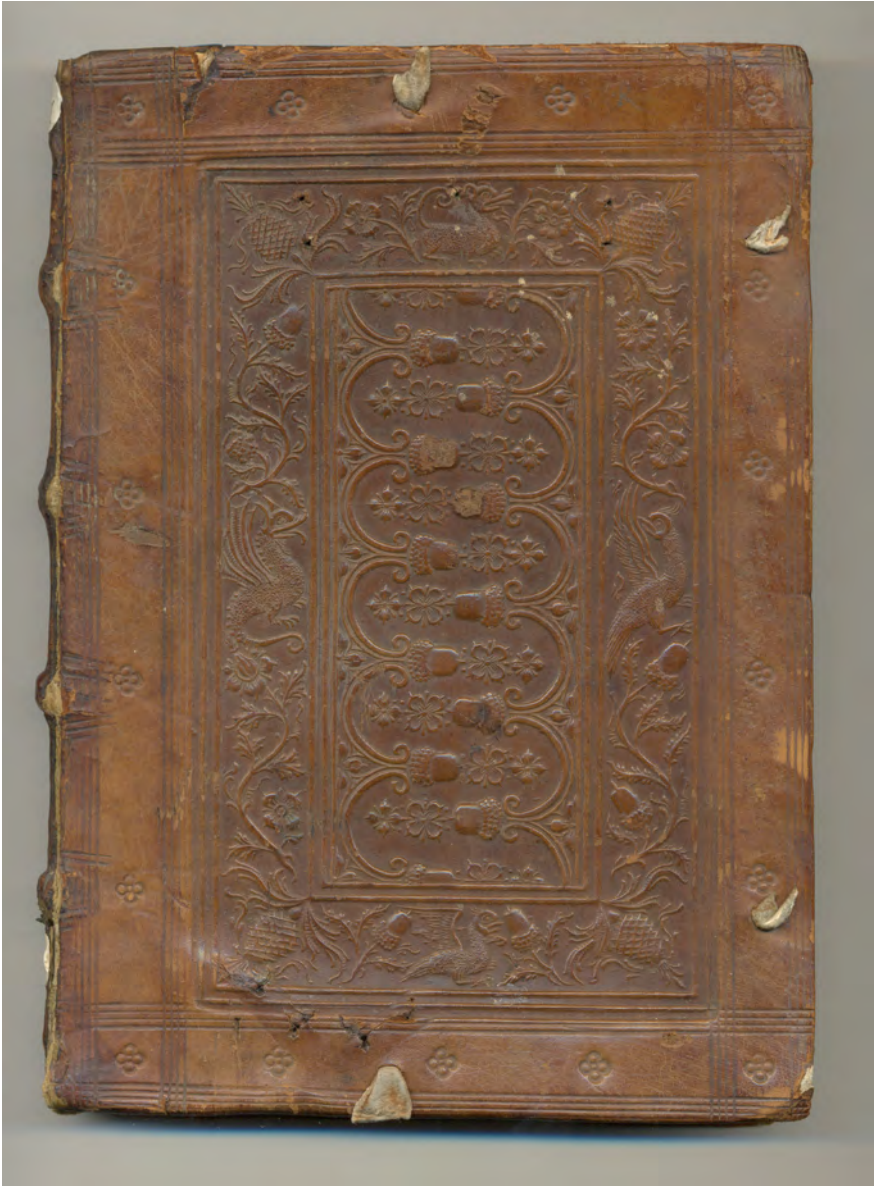




Ex Legato Illustris Viri JOSEPHI SCALIGERI.

Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij Emi a Rabbino Samuele coronato uno Patavij.

9. Title page of Simeon bar Jochai, *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (Cremona, Vincenzo Conti 1559) with *Ex Bibliotheca Jo. Huralti Boistallerij Emi a Rabbino Samuele coronato uno Patavij*. [UBL 875 B 1].



10. The so called “Eikeltjesband” in which the copy of the *Leson Limmudim* from the library of Hurault de Bositaillé is bound. [UBL 871 F 6].



11. Pages from the *Testamentum Vetus, hebraice, cum punctis et accentibus*. Brescia, Gershom ben Moshe Soncino, 1494. [UBL 1368 G 8].





12. Title page of the *Testamentum Vetus, hebraice, cum punctis et accentibus*. Brescia, Gershom ben Moshe Soncino, 1494. [UBL 1368 G 8].

## Notes

- \* I would like to thank Dr. D. van Miert (Huygens ING Den Haag), Dr. I. De Smet (University of Warwick), I. de Conihout (Bibliothèque Mazarine Paris), Dr. A. Vrolijk (Leiden University Library), Prof. Dr. J.J. Witkam (Leiden University), and Dr. R.M. Kerr (Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada) who shared valuable information with me regarding this article.
1. The Scaliger Institute is a special collections research centre at Leiden University Library, founded in 2000. For more information, see the website: <http://scaligerinstitute.leidenuniv.nl>.
  2. A. Vrolijk & K. van Ommen, eds., *"All My Books in Foreign Tongues": Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609–2009. Catalogue of an Exhibition on the Quatercentenary of Scaliger's Death, 21 January 2009* (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2009).
  3. See for general information on the history of Leiden University Library: P.C. Molhuysen, *Geschiedenis der Universiteits-bibliotheek te Leiden* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1905) and C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse universiteitsbibliotheek 1575–2000* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2001).
  4. For an excellent concise biography of Justus Lipsius, see J. De Landtsheer, et al., *Lieveling van de Latijnse taal. Justus Lipsius te Leiden herdacht bij zijn vierhonderste sterfdag* (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden/Scaliger Instituut, 2006).
  5. The significance of the presence of Scaliger for Leiden University is well documented and described in P.C. Molhuysen's *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-maatschappij, 1913) and *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit deel 1: 1574–7 Febr. 1610* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1913); W. Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met dame vol 1: Het bolwerk van de vrijheid: de Leidse universiteit, 1575–1672* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000).
  6. Scaliger in conversation with Jean and Nicolas de Vassan, students in Leiden in 1606: "Est hic magna commoditas Bibliothecae, ut studiosi possint studere." See *Scaligerana, ou Bons mots, rencontres agréables et remarques judicieuses et sçavantes* (Amsterdam, 1695), p. 237 and the translation in *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger*, trans. G.W. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).
  7. Latin will and testament of Scaliger, 1607: "Nobilissimo viro Cornelio Mylo, 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 sequator."

8. "Quant aux livres qui resteront apres les Sieurs Mylius, Heynsius, Baudius et autres miens amis [...] ie viex que Jonas Rousse les vende a l'encan, et que l'argent qui en proviendra de la vente, soit totalement a luy." French will and testament of 1608.
9. See for a complete bibliographic description of the *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Illust. Viri Iosephi Scaligeri* [...] (Leyden, 1609) in B. van Selm, *Een menighe treffelijcke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HESS, 1987), pp. 161–62. The copy in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Kopenhagen is under shelfmark 79II, 39, dl. I (4); the copy in the BN is under shelfmark Q 226I. The copies of the catalogue in the libraries of Dresden and Kiel (the latter with annotations of buyers and prices) were both destroyed during the Second World War. See also the reprint with commentary by H. J. de Jonge, *The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J.J. Scaliger, a Facsimile Edition with an Introduction* (Utrecht: HESS, 1977).
10. UBL Codex Perizonii Q n. 5, fol. 39–44.
11. *Librorum omnium qui hodie conservatur à Josepho Scaligero*. UBL VUL 108 f 5 listing, for instance, a *Zohar*, *Totum Talmud* and *Kalendarium Turcicum* without any further information.
12. [D. Heinsius], *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Lugdunensis. Praefixa est Danielis Heinsii Bibliothecarii [...] oratio*. Leiden 1612; see for example p. 78. "Catalogus librorum quos Bibliothecae Iosephus Scaligeri legavit."
13. *Catalogus Bibliothecae publicae Lugduno-Batavae* [...]. (Leiden: J. Elzevier, 1674).
14. Recently, a second Japanese book with the title *Racuyoxu* (1598) (Shelfmark SER 36) with the strip *Ex Legato Illustris Viri Iosephi Scaligeri* was discovered in the holdings of Leiden University Library. It is, however, uncertain whether it really is part of the Scaliger bequest. Further research has to be done.
15. *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*. (Leiden: P. van der Aa, 1716).
16. P.C. Molhuysen, *Codices Scaligerani (praeter Orientales)* (Leiden: Brill, 1910).
17. A. van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Brill/Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977). More recently, in 2008, Van der Heide wrote on several copies of Hebrew books from the Scaliger bequest, including those from the Hurault de Boistaillé collection in the *Catalogue Hebraica veritas. Christopher Plantin and the Christian Hebraists* (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin Moretus/Prentenkabinet, 2008).
18. A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983–1993), vol. 2, pp. 753–55.

19. A. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus': Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-latinum* (Leiden 1613)," in *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (ca. 1520–1589), ed. M. de Schepper and F. De Nave (Antwerpen: Vereniging van Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 1989), pp. 557–91, and A. Hamilton "Franciscus Raphelengius: the Hebraist and his Manuscripts," *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990), pp. 105–17. J.T.P. de Bruijn has pointed out a similar trend in relationship with some Persian manuscripts in the Scaliger collection, in *Een Perzisch handschrift in Leiden*. Leiden, Rijks Universiteit 1996.
20. The first edition of the *De emendatione temporum* was published in Paris in 1583. Raphelengius published an extended edition in 1598. The *Thesaurus temporum* was published in Leiden by the printer Basson in 1606.
21. The copy of the Greek New Testament of 1633 is also wrongly recorded in the 1674 catalogue as part of the Scaliger bequest.
22. See note 16.
23. Several members of the Hurault family were ambassadors in Venice during the reign of Catherina de Medici and Henri IV, such as André Hurault, sieur de Maisse from 1582–1596; see De Lamar Jensen, "French Diplomacy and the Wars of Religion," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 5 (1974), pp. 23–46. For a short history of the Hurault family, see I. de Conihout, "Jean et André Hurault: deux frères ambassadeurs à Venise et acquéreurs de livres du Cardinal Grimani," *Italique. Poésie italienne de la Renaissance X* (2007).
24. The Greek manuscripts collected by Hurault de Boistaillé are described in an inventory by Zacharias Scordylus in the *Catalogus bibliotheca Joannis Boesstallerii [...] graeco sermone exaratus*, MS 360 of the Bürgerbibliothek in Bern. The inventory is published by K.W. Müller, *Katalog der griechischen Bibliothek des franzoesischen Gesandten in Venedig Johannes Boistailler* (Rudolfstadt, 1852) and in the periodical *Serapeum*, XIX (1885), pp. 161–69. See also D.F. Jackson, "The Greek Manuscripts of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé," *Studi di Filologia Classica* 97/2 (2004), p. 212.
25. An extensive description of this *Pentateuch* can be found in G. Sed-Rajna, *Les manuscrits hébreux enluminés de bibliothèque de France* (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), pp. 196–201.
26. J. Balagna Coustou, *Arabe et humanisme dans la France des derniers Valois* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1999). The collection of Arabic manuscripts from Hurault in the Bibliothèque du Roi is in *Annexe I*, pp. 125–26.
27. For a general profile of the agent in the early modern period, see: M. Keblusek, "Profiling the Early Modern Agent," in *Your Humble Servant. Agents in Early*

- Modern Europe*, ed. H. Cools et al. (Hilversum, 2006), pp. 9–15. For agents and the book trade, see M. Keblusek, *De weg van het boek* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2004).
28. Both manuscripts are in Leiden University Library: shelfmarks Or. 4720 and Or. 4722.
29. S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Occasional Notices of Hebrew Manuscripts. No. 1: Description of the Leyden Ms. I of the Palestinian Talmud*. Cambridge 1878 & Id. *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1876), p. 15. See also the descriptions of Or. 4726 (Sca 9) & Or. 4731 (Sca 14) below.
30. According to the inscription of Hurault, "Emi a Rabbino Samuele coronato uno Patavij" in the copy of Simeon bar Jochai, *Sefer Ha-Zohar* (Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1559) shelfmark UBL 875 B 1. The German Pentateuch MS hébreu 48–49 NBF is from the same source. Hurault bought this manuscript for six *coronatis*.
31. The collection of Cardinal Bessarion could be found in the Bibliotheca Marciana, while the collection of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523) was located in the library of Sant' Antonio di Castello.
32. See N. Wilson, "The Book Trade in Venice ca. 1400–1515," in *Venezia, Centro Di Mediazione Tra Oriente E Occidente, Secoli XV–XVI: Aspetti E Problemi* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1977), II, pp. 381–97; J. Irigoin, "Les ambassadeurs à Venise et le commerce des manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540–1550," and L. Vranoussis, "Les imprimeries vénitiennes et les premiers livres grecs," in *Venezia. Centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli XV–XVI). Aspetti e problemi*, ed. H.G. Beck, et al. (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1977).
33. According to S.M. Schiller-Szinessy, Jean Hurault de Boistaillé died as ambassador of France in England in 1582. This supposition is wrong.
34. C. Jolly, *Histoire des bibliothèques Françaises*. Vol. 2: *Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789*. (Paris: Promodis, 1988), p. 81.
35. Four persons assessed the library: Pierre du Puy, Nicolas Rigaut, Olivier Fontenay and Henri de Sponde. The manuscripts were placed in the Royal Library by the librarian Rigaut himself. See: A. Paulin Paris, *Les manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. Vol. VII (Paris, 1848), p. 374; A. Coron, "The First Libraries. Blois, Fontainebleau, Paris," *Creating French Culture. Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1995). The manuscripts are described in an inventory by H. Omont in *Anciens Inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1929), p. 401–08.



36. Shelfmark BN Grec 139. See C. Astruc, "Les fonds Grecs du Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1958).
37. L.V. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Tome I (Paris: 1868 (reprint 1969)), pp. 213–14; S. Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1880* (Genève: Droz, 1988), p. 60.
38. P. des Maizeaux, ed., *Scaligerana, Thuana, Derroniana, Phitoeana et Colomeniana* (Amsterdam, 1740).
39. I. de Conihout, "Jean et André Hurault," p. 116: "Les huit Ms. hébreux JHB figurent tous dans l'inventaire de Scaliger, probablement antérieur à son départ en 1593, conservé dans les papiers des Dupuy (Dupuy 395 f. 178–179)." Van der Heide is more cautious stating that "The list in MS Dupuy may have been compiled whilst Scaliger was still in France," in *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 10.
40. Several researchers are working on the reconstruction of the library of Hurault de Boistaillé: M-P. Lafitte (BNF) on the books that entered the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and I. de Conihout (Bibliothèque Mazarine) on the collections outside the BNF.
41. Letter to Casaubon written September 20, 1605 cited in Robinson, p. 48.
42. Balayé, p. 49.
43. P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger* (Agen/Paris, 1879), pp. 133–36.
44. Shelfmark Leiden University Library 871 G 20.
45. P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger* (Agen/Paris, 1879), p. 334.
46. The last French letter of Scaliger to De Thou is dated 28 August 1608. See P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger* (Agen/Paris, 1879), pp. 374–75.
47. W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1931), p. 41. Four editions by the *Typographia Medicea* are to be found in the collection of Scaliger, such as the *Alphabetum Arabicum* of 1592 and an edition of Euclid (1594).
48. *Épîtres françaises des personnages illustres et doctes à Monsr. Joseph Juste de la Scala, mises en lumière par Jacques de Reves* (Harderwijk, 1624), p. 326.
49. *Épîtres françaises des personnages illustres*, p. 56: "Et ne saudray d'escrire a Rome au Seigneur Rucelay, & le supplier de me faire tenir l'*Avicenna* Arabic & Euclide aussi arabic, tous entiers comme desirez, ensemble d'auteurs livres, qu'on aura

imprimez en la mesme langue, comme me mandrez." The edition of Euclid (1594) and Avicenna (1593) printed by the *Typographia Medicea* are now in the Scaliger collection under shelfmarks 878 A 4 and 845 A 9. All together four editions by the *Typographia Medicea* are to be found in the collection of Scaliger.

50. *Épîtres françoises des personnages illustres*, letters 86 and 88, pp. 161–64; 165–67.
51. *Épîtres françoises des personnages illustres*, letter 38, pp. 243–44. There is an edition of *Sefer kol bō* (Venice, 1567) in the Scaliger collection with shelfmark 876 B 24.
52. *Lettres françaises inédites de Scaliger*, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris/Agen, 1879), nos. 32, 33, 36.
53. L. Jarry and Pierre Daniel, *avocat au parlement de Paris et les érudits de son temps d'après les documents de la bibliothèque de Berne* (Orléans, 1876).
54. Vergilius, *Aeneas*, I.568. "Nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe."
55. Letter by Josephus Justus Scaliger to Pierre Daniel, Basle 1 July 1574 (UBL BPL 885, pp. 2–3).
56. Letter by Josephus Justus Scaliger to Pierre Daniel, Basle 24 July 1574 (UBL BPL 885, p. 1).
57. Ms Dupuy 838, f. 110.
58. Ms Dupuy 838, f. 113.
59. P.C. Molhuysen, *De komst van Scaliger in Leiden*, and especially P.L.M. Grootens, *Dominicus Baudius. Een levensschets uit het Leidse humanistenmilieu 1561–1613* (Nijmegen/Utrecht: Dekker en van De Vegt, 1942), pp. 50–82.
60. Scaliger, however, seems to have received a copy of the *Syntagma Epigrammatum & Poematorum veterum* (Paris 1590) from the collector Paulus Petau in Touraine in July 1593, which seems to have been a gift before travelling to the Netherlands. The inscription reads "Josepho Scaligero, viro supra dignitatem, libellum hunc Paulus Petav., cultor ejus devotissimus et in suprema Curia Consilarius, L.M.D.D. [libens merito dono dedit] Augustae Turonum kalendris Juliis an. 1593." This copy is now in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna. Cf. K.A. de Meyier, *Paul en Alexandre Petau en de geschiedenis van hun handschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 1947), p. 7.
61. I. de Conihout, "Jean et André Hurault," p. 116.
62. Shelfmarks Leiden University Library Manuscripts GF 17, GQ 57, GQ 66, GF 8; GO 1; GF 40; GF 35; GF 65; GF 58; VLF 14; VLQ 3; VLQ 4; VLQ 100 and probably VLQ 46.
63. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus," pp. 557–91, and Hamilton, "Franciscus Raphaelengius," pp. 105–17. See the descriptions of MS Or. 221 (Hebr. 96) and Or. 4732 (Scal 15.).

64. Y. Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book. Listing of Books Printed in Hebrew Letters since the Beginning of Hebrew Printing circa 1469 through 1869* (Jerusalem, 1993–1995).
65. M. Roest, *Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek* (Amsterdam, 1875).
66. This book is bound in a so-called “eikeltjesband.” See: M.J. Husung, “Zur Praxis und zur Psychologie der älteren Bunchbinder. Nach Einbänden in der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Münster,” in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, Hrsg. v. G. Witkowski. Neue Folge 10 Jahrgang (1918–1919), pp. 183–93.
67. “Cotte” or *cote* in modern French is an alphabetical or numeral mark for classifying a book or document.
68. The descriptions of the manuscripts are, with permission of Prof. Dr. J.J. Witkam (Universiteit Leiden), taken from the online *Inventories of Collections of Oriental Manuscripts. Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of Leiden University*. Vol. 1–5 (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007). See <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/index.html>. See also van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts*.
69. The question marks are not the sign of missing information but translate the fact that pagination is difficult to establish.
70. For extensive descriptions of the Greek manuscripts, see Molhuysen, *Codices Scaligerani*, pp. 16–18.