

Olympic games and his superstitious reverence for the gods of Greece. I have not found many inscriptions which contradict Suetonius' account. In fact, whatever Suetonius' faults may be when he indulges his taste for gossip, it must be admitted that when he states a definite historical fact he is surprisingly accurate.

Literary rather than epigraphic sources furnish information concerning the two pseudo-Neros, and also concerning the legend of Nero as Anti-Christ and as the "Beast" of the Apocalypse.

A good modern biography of Nero—for example, that of Bernard Henderson²²—may be said to surpass Suetonius' account in many respects. Not the least of the advantages enjoyed by the modern biographer is the privilege of weighing historical facts by means of epigraphic evidence. He has access to inscriptions which were either unknown to the ancient writer or were regarded as of slight importance.

Yet Suetonius' account of Nero does not suffer when put to the test of epigraphic investigation and interpretation. On the contrary, the inscriptions which I have discussed in this article, together with others of a more general nature bearing upon the period, must, I feel sure, go far to vindicate Suetonius. A modern biographer of Nero who makes use of epigraphic evidence can approach his task, if not with complete confidence in the reliability of Suetonius, at least with renewed respect for it. The work of recovering inscriptions continues, and it may be that the last word has not yet been said concerning the life of the emperor who was the last of the Julio-Claudian line.

²² Bernard W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*: London (1905).

Notes

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NEW LIGHT ON SCALIGER

No better introduction could be desired to the life and works of the marvelous Joseph Justus Scaliger than Mr. Warren Blake's fine study (*CJ* xxxvi [Nov. 1940] 83-91), nor is any theme more timely than the story of the man who demonstrated as none other how great are the staying powers of scholarship in a world fallen upon evil times. To all existing Scaligerana, however, there remain yet a few notes to be added, from hitherto neglected sources, to correct some common misconceptions.

The Name.—It is well in holding up the image of Scaliger as a guide and inspiration to the *studiosa iuventus* to establish the proper pronunciation of his celebrated name. There is an endearing quality to "Scaliger" with a hard *g*; something catchy—almost rakish—that is missing from the universally recommended "Scaliger." The novice guilty of "Scaliger" is sure to be corrected if not rebuked by the polite insistence of his betters on the French or Italian form of the name—as colorless to our ears as the other is lively. It is with considerable satisfaction that we are able to oppose to those who pedantically insist on the soft *g* a no less pedantic and quite crushing argument for the other.

Mr. Robinson's useful collection of materials on Scaliger includes (facing page 59) a portrait of the great man "from the engraving by J. de Leeuw, made from a water-color portrait of Scaliger painted shortly before his death,"¹ in which he holds in his left hand a missive addressed "to Joseph Scaliger," while with his right he pens a reply headed *Is. Casaubono Ioseph Scaliger S. P.* Now the

¹ G. W. Robinson, *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger*: Cambridge (Mass.) (1927), 21.

note which he holds from Casaubon is addressed to Scaliger in Arabic, the name being written with exaggerated attention to phonetic values: "Yūsuf Sqāligh-r."² The *g* of the name is here rendered by Arabic *ghain*, and we are fortunate in knowing the exact sound of that letter when used by our two learned correspondents; for Scaliger explains with great exactness in a letter to his friend (*Epist.* LXII [1606]) that *ghain* is always to be pronounced as a hard *g*, never like the soft French or Italian *j* or *g*, which must be represented, he insists, by Arabic *jim* ("Gimel"):

. . . quia pronuntiatio Gimel apud Arabas in omni syllaba est, ut apud Gallos in Ge, & Gi, hoc est, mollis. Quando autem Arabes Ga volunt usurpare, utuntur 'ain cum puncto (i.e. *ghain*, as it appears in the portrait), quod est illorum *g* Germanicum . . . hoc est, durum. . .

In the portrait from the Senate Hall in the University of Leyden (the frontispiece of Robinson's book) Scaliger is shown solemnly penning an Arabic missive *upside down!* But this is a slip that could not possibly have occurred where it was a case not of copying any Arabic writing at hand, but of actually composing the text, and we may be sure that whoever it was who advised the artist or supplied him with the writing—and it may have been Scaliger himself—knew what he was doing when he wrote the name to be pronounced in the classical Latin, or English, manner with a hard, guttural *g*.

Scaliger as Autodidactus.—It is more than a matter of idle curiosity to inquire by what procedure the most learned of mortals acquired his education. After 1555, when he was fifteen, Scaliger "never returned to school; nor did he get any regular instruction at home." At nineteen he went to Paris to study with the great Turnebus, but of that study he reports *non diu viva voce, sed potius multis magistris usus sum*, and he applies to himself Casaubon's own protestations of being *opsimathes et autodidactus* (*Epist.* xxxv [1594]). "Of the four years Scaliger spent at the University of Paris," writes Patisson after long searching, "nothing is known."³ We only just glimpse the young student for a brief mo-

² Written with long *alif* where a short one (on which the accent would fall naturally) would have done as well, and with emphatic *qaf* instead of *kaf*; the transliteration does not give the name its Arabic form, which would be *Iskalliji(ḍ)r*, but attempts only to preserve its current pronunciation. ³ Mark Pattison, *Essays*: Oxford (1889), I, 139.

ment as the door of his solitary study closes upon him, and are left with the picture—drawn by both Bernays and Patisson—of the baffled beginner, failing to comprehend the advanced lectures of Turnebus, locking himself in a garret to seize in time the crown of learning *aus eigener, autodidaktischer Machtvollkommenheit* (Bernays).⁴ Bayle in his "Dictionary" suggests a different motive for Scaliger's retirement, namely that he found Turnebus' class not too advanced but too slow and backward, and so "he shut himself up in his closet, resolving to use no master but himself." Bayle then goes on to note that after mastering Greek, Scaliger "turned his thoughts to the Hebrew tongue, which he learned by himself with great facility."⁵

Now it is definitely known that Scaliger did *not* learn Hebrew "by himself with great facility,"⁶ and yet in making the claim Bayle is taking no greater liberties than when he and others state that Scaliger was *autodidactus* in Greek, the authority for both claims being the same, namely the important "First Epistle." It is only a complete lack of documents that forces one to assume that he pursued a course of self-education with brilliant success in the more difficult field and total failure in the other. Scaliger's self-education rests simply on the argument of silence.

The silence is now broken by a few welcome words, scribbled beneath the frontispiece portrait in a book of Scaliger's *Epistolae Omnes*, now in the University of California Library, published in Frankfort in 1628 and acquired in the same year by one who signs himself Andreas Lucius, possibly of the famous Swiss family of philologists. Throughout the book Lucius has jotted down marginal notes, among them the above mentioned, which reads:

Solu(s) hic est sapiens, alii volitant velut umbrae. Hic ille est, quem in prima adhuc aetate tantopere admiratus est vir in literis maximus, Hadrianus Turnebus, ut portentosi ingenii juvenem appellare non dubitaret. Ut in epistola quadam ad Meursium scripta Jacobus Gillus Consiliarius Gallicus instatur (sic).

⁴ Jakob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*: Berlin (1855), 5; cf. Blake, *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxxvi, 85. ⁵ Under article "Scaliger" in his *Dictionary*.

⁶ Pattison, *op. cit.*, 138; Bernays, 36. We find Scaliger, very shortly after taking up the language, seeking instruction from various experts, *Scaligerana* I, art. "Tudaai": Bernays, 123 f.; Pattison, 202.

The Meursius in question is the celebrated Jan van Meurs, in whose youthful studies Scaliger had taken a lively interest.⁷ Jacques Gillot, who here reports on Scaliger, was one of those whose chief delight is to search out and cultivate the genius of others, in which generous zeal he made his home the intellectual clearing-house of the age.⁸ His keen interest in the studies of others, as well as the fact that he and Scaliger were studying the same things in Paris at the same time (they were of about the same age, Gillot perhaps somewhat older), makes him the man most likely to know the facts about Scaliger's Paris days. Certainly the picture of the young student commanding the admiration of the great professor of Greek from the first agrees far better with what is known of the man's character and accomplishments, of his policy of always taking fullest advantage of whatever instruction was available, of the zeal with which he would throw himself into the thick of any important discussion, than does the strange picture of the abashed and retiring youth which Scaliger only suggests and which his biographers have filled out. Scaliger was anything but a self-taught recluse.

Scaliger's Titles.—One of the most engaging aspects of Scaliger study is the variety of epithets which have always been attached to his name. From the hand of the enthusiastic Lucius we have witness of how even in Scaliger's own day men were intrigued by these gorgeous epithets; for that student collects them as one would stamps, and fills the fly-leaf of the book mentioned with lists of *Nomina Scaligero a doctissimis hominibus data*, much as Robinson has chosen a number of such epithets as the opening words of his book. Lucius' collection, which includes where possible the names of the inventors of the various "blurbs" is worth citing:

Abyssus eruditionis, Scientiarum mare, sol doctorum, patris divini divina

⁷ Scaliger was greatly angered that one of Meursius' early promise should have been spoiled by too much success, *Scaligerana*, art. "Meursius"; Bayle writes (*Dict.* art. "Meursius"): "We learn from Vossius's 114th Letter that Scaliger had many strokes against them (i.e. his *epistolae*) against Meursius, whose name was suppressed in the impetuosity by substituting an asterisk." Cf. Eyssenhardt in *Allgem. deutsche Biographie*, art. "Meursius"; and Michaud, *Biographie Universelle* xxviii, 155-157.

⁸ Michaud, *op. cit.*, xvi, 464f. It was at Gillot's house that the authors of the *Sept Menippeae* "were united in a veritable cult of the absent Scaliger." Pattison, *Index Casaubon*: Oxford (1892), 115.

taboles, genus Deorum, Perpetuus literarum dictator, Hercules Musarum (Casaub.), Unicum saeculi decus (Cas.), Daemonium hominis (Lips.), Literarum Rex (Lips.), Illustrissimum ingenium huius (?) aevi (Lips.), Magnus filiarum Mnemosynes Antipes (Lips.), Divini ingenii vir (Florens Christianus), Maximum naturae opus & miraculum, Extremus naturae conatus, Aquila in nubibus (Lips.), Unus, cui tota Musarum sacris operatorum cohors assurgit, cui principes Musici coetus fasces submitunt (Casaub.), Sol unicus doctrinarum & eruditionis (Cas.), Mirificus vir, & quem Homeri verbis iure appelles: *δαίφρονα ποικιλομήτην* (Lips.).

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THE CLASSICS IN THE POETRY OF HOUSMAN

In an autobiographical note sent to a French translator of some of his poems, A. E. Housman writes of the influences in his poetry as follows:

"Reader of the Greek Anthology" is not a good name for me. Of course I have read it, or most of it, but with no special heed; and my favorite Greek poet is Aeschylus. No doubt I have unconsciously been influenced by the Greeks and Latins, but I was surprised when critics spoke of my poetry as "classical." Its chief sources of which I am conscious are Shakespeare's songs, The Scotch Border Ballads, and Heine.¹

Investigation of Housman's poetry reveals a somewhat wider influence of the classical poets² than one would be led to expect from the author's statement. In *More Poems*, XLVIII, the title, "Alta Quies," which Miss Brown (*C.J.* xxxvii, 225) traces to *Aeneid* vi, 522:

dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti,

appears as "Parta Quies"³ in *The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman*. The editor explains the change in a note on the text (p. 251): "... the original text and the title (from Virgil, *Aeneid* iii, 495) have been restored from the 1881 printing in *Waifs and Strays* (Vol. II, No. vi, Oxford, Blackwell)."⁴ A further instance of Hous-

¹ Quoted by Laurence Housman, *Memories of A. E. Housman*, the *Saturday Review* of Literature, Sept. 19, 1936, p. 15. ² Cf. *C. J.* xxxvii, 34, 96 f.

³ New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1940), 211. Cf. *Aeneid* iii, 495: *Vobis parta quies + dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti*.

⁴ Quoted with the permission of Henry Holt and Co. and of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., the present American publisher of *More Poems*, included in *The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman*.