

The Correspondence of
René Descartes
1643

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Quaestiones Infnitae

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PREFACE

There is little disagreement that the standard edition of Descartes by Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (known as AT) should be redone, in any case as far as the correspondence is concerned. The reason is not only that its chronology is defective and that in its latest reprint the edition is difficult to handle even for expert readers, but also that, after more than hundred years, the problems raised by the correspondence deserve a fresh examination. A grant by the Netherlands Organisation of scientific Research (NWO), 'Towards a new critical edition of Descartes', allowed me, not only to direct three Ph.D. theses (on Descartes' correspondence with Regius by Erik-Jan Bos, on the Latin translation of the *Discours* and the 'essais' by Corinna Vermeulen and on the publication history of Descartes' works in the 17th century by Matthijs van Otegem), which can be seen as pilot studies for any new edition of Descartes' works, but more specifically to lay the foundations for a new critical edition of Descartes' correspondence. Together with Erik-Jan Bos, Matthijs van Otegem and Corinna Vermeulen and helped by an assistant (Hanneke Wit, Hans Diepenveen, Roeland Roelofs and Maarten van Houte successively) we worked through the correspondence, starting with vol. 1 of AT, noting our remarks, questions, our findings and amassing a vast amount of data, which were consigned to a data-base. In 2002 a grant of my department allowed me to continue this work with two post-docs, Erik-Jan Bos and Jeroen van de Ven. Another Ph.D. student, Mark Aalderink, joined the group in October 2003. Drawing on what was achieved during all those years, we now present as a first specimen an edition of the correspondence of the year 1643, meant, not only to show that we can make a difference, but also to see whether the format we have chosen is the right one.

The year 1643 was chosen first of all because it is highly representative of Descartes' correspondence as a whole. It comprises letters written in French, Latin and even Dutch. The material on which the edition is based consists of all kinds of sources: autograph letters, manuscript copies, minutes printed by Clerselier and abstracts published by Baillet. It is also a very interesting year in Descartes' life, situated as it is between the publication of his two main works, the *Meditationes* (1641) and the *Principia* (1644). It is also a year of much agitation. The Utrecht Crisis, which seemed to be buried with the Judgment of March 1642 was reanimated by Descartes in his *Epistola ad Dinetum*, published as an appendix to the second edition of the *Meditations* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1642), which in turn led to new developments in Utrecht, culminating with the publication of *Admiranda methodus* (1643) by Martinus Schoock, closely followed by Descartes' own *Epistola ad Voetium*. Finally, in the correspondence of that year Descartes deals with a great variety of subjects, philosophical, medical, physical and mathematical.

The present edition is typically the work of a team. Even so, each of the team had his/her own responsibility. The introduction was written by Erik-Jan Bos and me. The edition of the letters was largely done by Erik-Jan Bos, with for

some letters the help of Corinna Vermeulen (Letters 15, 25, 26, 33, 34, 39). My colleagues Henk Bos (Utrecht University, history of mathematics) and Carla Rita Palmerino (Radboud University, Nijmegen, history of physics) made important contributions to the commentary of Letters 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 58, 59, 61. Henk Bos also wrote Appendix 3. The biographical lexicon was compiled by Jeroen van de Ven. Technical help was provided by Xander Schrijen. Apart from bearing the final responsibility for the whole, I wrote and compiled the calendar and appendices 1 and 2.

Utrecht, December 2003

Theo Verbeek

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ABBREVIATIONS

Editions of Descartes' works and correspondence

- AM R. Descartes, *Correspondance*, eds. Ch. Adam and G. Milhaud, 8 vols. (Paris: Alcan/PUF, 1936–1963).
- AT *Œuvres de Descartes*, eds. Ch. Adam and P. Tannery, 11 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1897–1913. New edition. Paris: Vrin, 1964–1971. Reprint. Paris: Vrin, 1996).
- Baillet A. Baillet, *La vie de Monsieur Des-Cartes*, 2 vols. (Paris: Horthemels, 1691).
- Bos *The Correspondence between Descartes and Regius*, ed. E.-J. Bos, Ph.D. Diss. Utrecht, 2002.
- Cle *Lettres de Mr Descartes*, ed. Cl. Clerselier, 3 vols. (Paris: Angot, 1657–1667).
- CM *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne, religieux minime*, eds. C. de Waard, P. Tannery and A. Beaulieu, 17 vols. (Paris: PUF/CNRS, 1945–1986).
- Querelle* Descartes/Schoock, *La Querelle d'Utrecht*, ed. Th. Verbeek (Paris: Les impressions nouvelles, 1988).
- Roth *Correspondence of Descartes and Huygens 1635–1647*, ed. L. Roth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926).

Reference works

- Aengevangen procedueren* — [P. Voet], *Aengevangen procedueren tot Wrecht tegens Renatus Des Cartes ter oorsaecke van twee sijne Diffamatoire gheschriften of fameuse libellen. Vergadert door een liefhebber der Waerheydt* (Utrecht: Strick, [1644]).
- Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius* — A.C. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1897–1915. Reprint. Leiden: Groen, 1989).
- Van Dijck, *Bossche optimaten* — G. van Dijck, *De Bossche optimaten. Geschiedenis van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwebroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318–1973* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1973).
- Kernkamp — G.W. Kernkamp (ed.), *Acta et decreta senatus. Vroedschapsresolutiën en andere bescheiden betreffende de Utrechtsche Academie*, 3 vols. (Utrecht: Broekhoff, 1936–1940).
- Grotius, *Briefwisseling* — H. Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, eds. P.C. Molhuysen, et al. (The Hague: Nijhoff (vols. 1–11)/Van Gorcum (vol. 12), 1928–2001).
- Huygens, *Briefwisseling* — C. Huygens, *Briefwisseling (1608–1687)*, ed. J.A. Worp, 6 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1911–1917).
- Huygens, *Dagboek* — C. Huygens, *Dagboek*, ed. J.H.W. Unger (Amsterdam: Binger, 1885).
- Livre synodal* — *Livre synodal contenant les articles résolus dans les synodes des églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1896).
- Nauta, *Maresius* — D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1935).
- NNBW — *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, et al., 10 vols. (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911–1937).
- Van Otegem — M. van Otegem, *A bibliography of the works of Descartes (1637–1704)*, 2 vols., Ph.D. Diss. Utrecht, 2002.
- Testimonium* — *Testimonium Academiae Ultrajectinae, et Narratio Historica* (Utrecht: Strick, 1643).
- Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch* — Th. Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch. Early reactions to Cartesian philosophy* (Carbondale–Edwardsville: Southern Illinois U.P., 1992).
- Voetius, *Disputationes theol. sel.* — G. Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, 5 vols. (Utrecht–Amsterdam, 1648–1669).

Other abbreviations

- BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- ALS autograph letter signed

Contributors

- CRP Carla Rita Palmerino
- HB Henk Bos

INTRODUCTION

The first modern editor of Descartes' correspondence was Victor Cousin (1792–1869), in whose general edition in 11 volumes (Paris: Levrault, 1824–1826) the correspondence occupies vols. 6–10. His edition was followed by the edition of Descartes' works by Charles Adam and Paul Tannery, in 12 volumes (vol. 12 containing Descartes' biography by Charles Adam), followed by a *Supplément* (1897–1913). The correspondence occupies vols. 1–5 but there are also letters in other volumes. Although this edition (usually referred to as AT) is as yet the only critical one, it is, as far as the correspondence is concerned, far from satisfactory, among other things because it was made before the publication of Descartes' correspondence with Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687). This correspondence (113 letters to and from Descartes), which almost completely survives in autograph, is carefully dated most of the time and therefore provides a chronological backbone for the correspondence as a whole.¹ For Charles Adam this was a reason to entirely revise his own work and propose a new chronology, first in an article in 1933², then, together with Gérard Milhaud, in a new edition of the correspondence (Descartes, *Correspondance*, 8 vols., Paris: Alcan/PUF, 1936–1963. Reprint. Liechtenstein: Krauss, 1970). But although this edition (known as AM) is in some respects better than AT, it cannot be used without it. For not only is it not critical, it also lacks all annotation.

When in the early sixties of the last century the original edition of AT was sold out and it became difficult to find complete copies of AM (whose publication had been interrupted by the Second World War), AT was reprinted (1964–1974; latest reprint Paris: Vrin, 1996) with at the end of each volume 'nouvelles additions', which most of the time amount to a simple photographic reprint of material as it was published after 1913 (whenever the text was newly set it is full of mistakes). An appendix with critical remarks, often based on the *Correspondance de Mersenne* (ed. Cornelis de Waard, et al., 17 vols., Paris: Beauchesne/PUF/CNRS, 1932–1988) completes each volume (but it is not unusual to find a second appendix in one of the later volumes). Finally, on top of the indices already given in the original, there is a new index of names for the 'nouvelles additions'. Needless to say that the result is unmanageable, especially for those who are not familiar with the history of this edition. But even expert readers easily get lost. For not only is the chronological order of the letters radically broken, the new dates suggested in the appendices are sometimes a source of confusion.

Lack of chronological accuracy may be the most important but is not the only failure of AT. First of all, the editors print as correspondence, for example, a contract (AT I, 1), or the text of a conversation (with Burman, AT V, 146–179).³ Another peculiarity is the idiosyncratic way AT deal with spelling and grammar,

¹ *Correspondence of Descartes and Huygens 1635–1647*, ed. L. Roth (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926).

² 'Correspondance de Descartes: nouveau classement', *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger*, 115 (1933), 373–401.

³ All references are to the latest reprint of the AT edition in 11 volumes (Paris: Vrin, 1996).

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which are generally reconstructed and ‘corrected’ on the basis of what is presumed to be Descartes’ authentic spelling (AT I, lxxix–cv). AT usually do not have a clear policy if there is more than one version of the text—and often have it wrong. Finally, AT contains much information which is redundant or erratic or is printed in places where one would not expect it, whereas essential information, on Dutch personalities and events in particular, is often lacking. Indeed, anybody that ever used AT will agree that it needs to be redone completely and fundamentally.⁴

The aim of the present publication is to provide a historical and critical edition of Descartes’ correspondence over 1643, that is, letters and parts of letters as they were actually sent, as well as drafts, copies and written enclosures.⁵ Sources can be distinguished in:

1. ‘Autographs’—any letter written and actually sent or meant to be sent by the author.
2. ‘Minutes’—any other manuscript version of a letter made by the author or a secretary (draft letter, copy, neat copy for publication, etc).
3. ‘Copies’—any manuscript version of the letter made without the supervision of the author on the basis of another manuscript version (autograph, other copy) of the same letter.
4. ‘Editions’—any printed version of the letter (critical or non-critical edition, abstract, summary, etc).

The total number of letters is almost 800, c.280 of which are autographs; there are no minutes by Descartes at all (only editions after minutes) and some copies. In most cases it is clear what version of the text should form the basis of the edition. If there is an autograph that is usually the autograph; if there is no autograph but only a minute (or a printed version of the minute) it is the minute; and, if there is neither, it is the copy or edition closest to the autograph. Of course it is there that problems begin. Moreover, if there is, not only an autograph, but also a minute (or a printed version of a minute) or a copy, these should be accounted for in the critical apparatus. In any case, the reader must be confident that the editor has seen all versions of the text that are possibly relevant. That is what we have done most of the time—if for some reason we have not it is carefully indicated.

The relevant editions and printed versions on the other hand—‘relevant’ because they are based on texts that are lost now—mainly date from the 17th century:

⁴ That it is impossible to rearrange the material as it was originally given becomes clear if one looks at the various digital versions which became available in the past ten years.

⁵ Although it is difficult to produce a fully satisfactory definition of ‘letter’ and ‘correspondence’ there can usually be little disagreement about what should or should not be included. Thus, we exclude the *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643), which is a book having the form of a letter and, if the occasion is there, we would also exclude the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* (1642) or the ‘Objections and replies’ that have the form of a letter—if only because their natural place (to use that un-Cartesian phrase) would be in an edition of the *Meditationes*.

Introduction

1. *Lettres de Monsieur Descartes*, 3 vols., Paris: Angot (for the first two volumes Angot and Le Gras), 1657–1667.
2. *Renati Descartes Epistolae*, vols. 1–2, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1668; vol. 3, Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1683.
3. Adrien Baillet, *Vie de Mr Des-Cartes*, 2 vols., Paris: Horthemels, 1691.

In the following we briefly review these sources, after a summary of what we managed to know on the history of Descartes' manuscripts (especially the correspondence) until the end of the 17th century.

The Leiden Suitcase

Before leaving the Low Countries in the autumn of 1649, Descartes entrusted his Leiden friend Cornelis van Hogelande (1590–1662) with a suitcase ('coffre' or 'malle') containing letters and papers.⁶ In an accompanying letter, which survives only in Baillet, Descartes explains:

... there is nothing secret in any of the letters I left in the suitcase. Even so, there may be a chance that in some of them there are things the people who wrote them might not want to be read by anybody, so I believe the best would be to burn them all, except those of Voetius to Father Mersenne, which you will find inserted in the lid and which I want to be preserved as a protection against his calumnies. You may read all the others or have them read by discrete friends before burning them or indeed burn only those you find fit, for I leave all that to your discretion.⁷

But if one reads Baillet's report carefully it becomes clear that the suitcase contained a second letter to Van Hogelande, dated like the other 30 August 1649:

In another letter, *which he had locked in the suitcase* [Descartes] told [Van Hogelande] that he had not made a will, so as not to give rise to disputes, but left his heirs whatever they could find in France to belong to him. From this he excepted only three annuities, which he had transported to the abbé Picot two years earlier and which therefore were no longer his.⁸ He specifically left them the estate of his maternal uncle, who died one year earlier, but denied that they could raise any claim in Holland, where, so he said, he did not leave anything worth a penny.⁹

⁶ 'Il disposa deux coffres de ses hardes et de ses papiers pour la Suede; et du reste il fit une malle, qu'il envoya en dépôt à Leyde chez M. de Hooghelande avec une lettre du 30. Août, pour le prier de faire ouvrir la malle en sa présence et en celle de M. de Berghen, aux premieres nouvelles certaines qu'il recevrait de sa mort'. Baillet II, 386. 'M. de Berghen' is Anthony Studler van Zurck, Lord of Bergen (see below).

⁷ Descartes to Van Hogelande, 30 August 1649, AT V, 410 (Baillet, I, xxviii–xxix).

⁸ This had been settled in Rennes on 26 July 1647 in the presence of Descartes, his family and Picot; cf. Baillet, II, 325 (AT V, 66–67). See also Descartes to Picot, 30 August 1649, AT V, 406, 409.

⁹ 'Il luy marquoit dans une autre lettre qu'il avoit enfermée dans la malle, qu'il n'avoit pas voulu faire de testament, pour ne donner lieu à aucune dispute; mais qu'il laissoit à ses héritiers tout ce

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So Descartes' suitcase contained in any case: 1) a letter to Van Hogelande of 30 August 1649, which took the place of a will and completed the instructions already given in Descartes' separate letter to Van Hogelande of the same date; 2) letters to Descartes; 3) letters of Voetius to Mersenne.

One can be brief on the letters of Voetius to Mersenne. Descartes obtained five letters from Mersenne. He sent copies to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* in June 1645, alleging they were slanderous and confirmed the points he, Descartes, made about Voetius in *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643).¹⁰ One of these letters is quoted in a letter to the French Ambassador (1644), a second in the *Lettre apologétique* (1647) and that is all we know about them.¹¹

With respect to Descartes' own correspondence the question is whether Van Hogelande really burned it. Baillet is suspicious. Quoting a letter of the theologian Van Limborch (1633–1712) he suggests that Van Hogelande consulted Johannes de Raey (1622–1702). Moreover, he accuses De Raey of having kept things for himself—which De Raey in turn denied claiming that 'the papers in the suitcase were few in number and of little interest because Descartes had taken the more important ones with him to Sweden'.¹² That not all letters were burned is in fact certain. According to a note on the envelope that covered Descartes' correspondence with Huygens when it turned up for auction at the beginning of the 19th century Huygens' letters were restituted to their author by Van Hogelande on 21 July 1650¹³—so presumably they had been in the suitcase. Although it is reasonable to suppose that Van Hogelande dealt with all letters in the same way there is no certainty.

Finally, what can be said of the letters to Van Hogelande? In fact, what is most intriguing about them is that they were known to Baillet—despite the fact that by 1690 Van Hogelande had already been dead for thirty years and that they were not published by Clerselier. So what happened presumably on 4 March

qu'ils pourroient trouver en France qui luy appartenoit. Il en exceptoit seulement trois contrats de constitution de rente, qu'il avoit transportés à l'Abbé Picot depuis deux ans, et qui pour cette raison ne luy appartenoint plus. Il leur abandonnoit nommément la succession de son oncle maternel mort depuis un an: mais il leur fit dire qu'ils n'avoient rien à prétendre de luy dans toute la Hollande, leur declarant qu'il n'y laissoit rien qui fût à luy de la valeur d'un teston', Baillet, II, 386 (this letter is not mentioned or published in AT). The 'maternal uncle' is René Brochard, sieur des Fontaines, who died in August 1648: 'N'ayant point laissé d'enfans, M. Descartes, par un accord fait avec M. de la Bretailliére [Descartes' eldest brother] et M. du Crevis [his brother in law] recueillit seul sa succession, qui n'auroit pas été médiocre si M. des Fontaines n'eût pas fait une donation de tous ses acquêts et de tous ses meubles aux enfans de sa femme et à sa femme même. Ce qui absorba tellement son bien, que les héritiers de nôtre Philosophe, qui ne vécût que dix-huit mois depuis, n'y trouverent presque rien a sa mort'. Baillet, II, 348; cf. II, p. 461.

¹⁰ Descartes to Huygens, 4 August 1645, AT IV, 261 (781); cf. Kernkamp, I, 219.

¹¹ Descartes to La Thuillierie, 22 January 1644, AT IV, 88 (Voetius' letter probably dates from April 1642, cf. E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 39–73, esp. p. 73); *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 205–206/CM X, 164. Two other letters to Mersenne, which survive in autograph and date from 1639/1640, were presumably not forwarded to Descartes (CM VIII, 433–435; IX, 69–72). Cf. E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum I', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 78 (1998), 184–198. Voetius confirmed that Descartes showed his letters to Mersenne to various dignitaries in The Hague in 1644/1645, see 'Epistolarium Voetianum II'.

¹² Baillet, I, xxviii–xxix.

¹³ Cf. *Correspondence*, ed. Roth, p. xxxv (not in AT). The envelope is now lost; cf. p. xlv.

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1650, when the suitcase was opened, is that an official report (signed by a notary and three witnesses—see below) was made, which together with an authorized copy of the letters to Van Hogelande was sent to Descartes' legitimate heirs: his elder brother Pierre Descartes de La Bretallière (1591–1660) and his half-brother Joachim Descartes de Chavagnes (c.1602–1680), whose children in turn, Joachim Descartes de Kerlau (1627–1700), the eldest son of Pierre, or Joachim Descartes de Chavagnes (1635–1718), the eldest son of Joachim, gave or showed all those documents to Baillet.¹⁴

Again, Descartes' suitcase was opened on 4 March 1650. This was done at the request of Anthony Studler van Zurck (c.1608–1666), whom, according to Baillet, Descartes owed a considerable sum of money—9,000 pounds in Dutch money, that is, more than 10,500 pounds in French money.¹⁵ Given this debt Van Zurck may have had a claim on the contents of the suitcase but in any case Descartes had explicitly asked Van Hogelande to have it opened in his presence.¹⁶ According to Baillet this was done before a Leiden notary, François Doude (c.1617–1664), and three witnesses: Louis de la Voyette (described as a 'gentilhomme français'—which means that Baillet knows absolutely nothing about him), Johannes de Raey and Frans van Schooten.¹⁷ La Voyette was a member of the Walloon Church (so he was francophone and presumably of French extraction) and an officer in the States' Army. He was born in the garrison town of Heusden (Brabant), so presumably his father was also an officer. He was a friend of Huygens and in 1650 participated in a burlesque poetic exchange on Scarron (1610–1660), which also involved Charles d'Aumale de Haucourt, a French infantry colonel who was also in Dutch service.¹⁸ He later went into

¹⁴ On Descartes' brothers and nephews see Frédéric Saulnier, *Le Parlement de Bretagne 1554–1790, Répertoire alphabétique et biographique de tous les membres de la Cour*, 2 vols., Mayenne: Imprimerie de la Manutention, 1991 (Rennes: Plihon/Hommay, 1909), vol. 1, pp. 297–298.

¹⁵ Descartes to Picot, 30 August 1649, AT V, 407. It is impossible to say what those sums amount to in modern figures; indeed, the notion of 'pound' (as a monetary unit) was little used in the Netherlands. If 'pound' stands for 'guilder' the indicated sum would be the equivalent of nine years' salary of a university professor (or twenty years' salary of a preacher).

¹⁶ Baillet, II, 386. It is not clear how Descartes had settled his accounts with Van Zurck. Apparently there were two annuities, together amounting to 10,400 pounds (AT V, 407, l. 27) in French money. Both had been transported earlier to Picot. Moreover one of those, of a nominal value of 4,000 pounds (407, l. 16), had been released by Descartes paying 4,800 pounds (the sum with interest) to Picot's procurator, Claude du Bouexic de la Chapelle, who however had lent most of that money to friends. So Picot, 'par l'amitié qui est entre nous', is asked to sell it and send it to Van Zurck. All this seems to have been laid down in a document deposited with a notary but so far we have found no trace of that.

¹⁷ Baillet, II, 429; cf. I, xxviii. François Doude was also the notary before whom Descartes appointed Jacques Bouexic de la Villeneuve (1590–1658) as his procurator in the succession of his father. Witnesses here were Studler van Zurck and Van Hogelande; cf. Gustave Cohen, *Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris/The Hague: Champion/Nijhoff, 1921), pp. 526–527. In 1644 Doude furthermore registered a marriage contract between Helena Jansdr van der Strom, the mother of Descartes' daughter Francine, and Jan van Wel, an inhabitant of Egmond, which contract Descartes signed as a witness. See J. van de Ven, 'Données nouvelles sur Helena Jans', in *Bulletin cartésien*, 2004 (forthcoming).

¹⁸ He is mentioned in a letter of Huygens to the Count of Dohna of 24 July 1653: 'Monsieur de la Voyette trouvera icy s'il vous plait les assurances reciproques de la parfaite estime que je fais de son merite et de son amitié'. *Briefwisseling*, V, 181. For the poems concerning Scarron (also that by La Voyette) see Huygens, *Gedichten* IV, 209–214 (also <http://www.etcl.nl/huygens/>).

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Swedish service and died in combat in 1659. Frans van Schooten is not the father (as Baillet believes), for he died in 1645, but the son (1615–1660), who translated Descartes' *Géométrie* into Latin and illustrated most of his works. He did have a few Cartesian papers and documents, which almost certainly came from Descartes himself—among them a copy of the *Compendium musicae*.¹⁹ The only witness still alive when Baillet wrote his biography was Johannes de Raey. In 1650 he was a young doctor in medicine and a master in philosophy, who like other young doctors without a position earned a living presumably by tutoring students. He knew Descartes personally and possessed a copy of Descartes' exchange with Le Conte on the *Principia* but refused all co-operation with the French.²⁰ The fact finally that it was Van Hogelande who returned Huygens' letters to their author suggests that he was given the authority to act as executor. So if any of the papers in the Leiden suitcase were dispersed or destroyed, it was by Van Hogelande.

The Leiden suitcase re-emerges briefly in 1691. Baillet engaged his friend the abbé Claude Nicaise (1623–1701) to ask his Dutch correspondents for information on Descartes' life and letters. Although this intervention (which to a large extent can be reconstructed from independent sources—see below) gave Baillet the disposal of a number of printed sources, it probably produced no new correspondence. Still, in February 1691 (when Baillet's *Life of Descartes* is already being printed) there is some intriguing information in a letter of Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) to Nicaise:

I learned that one could find letters and papers on this famous philosopher [Descartes] in Alkmaar (a town in North-Holland) in the house of a nobleman who used to be one of his friends. If it were not winter I would go there myself to find out.²¹

The identity of 'Descartes' friend' is revealed in the next letter, written the 1st of May:

I would be glad to contribute something either to the Life of Descartes or to the knowledge of his correspondence but there does not seem to be any chance. The gentleman who at the request of an important person had offered to let someone search a suitcase with papers of Descartes, and who is called Mr. van Bergen ('Mr de Bergue'), has taken offence because in Paris his offers were received in an uncivil manner, so there is no chance of obtaining anything from him.²²

¹⁹ The Van Schooten collection is now in the manuscript department of Groningen University Library.

²⁰ Baillet, 'préface,' xxxi–xxxii. He possessed Descartes' exchange with Le Conte (AT IV, 475–485), which by that time however was already published.

²¹ 'J'ai appris que l'on pourroit trouver à Alkmaar, qui est une ville de Northollande, diverses lettres et papiers concernant cet illustre Philosophe [Descartes], chez un Gentil-homme qui a été de ses amis. Si nous n'étions pas en hiver, j'y serois peut être allé, pour découvrir ce que c'est', Jean Le Clerc to Nicaise, 8 February 1691, in: Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ed. Sina, 4 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1987–1992), vol. 2, p. 48.

²² 'Je voudrais bien contribuer quelque chose ou à la vie de Descartes, ou à l'augmentation de ses

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The ‘Mr de Bergue’ Le Clerc has in mind is undoubtedly Anthony Studler van Zurck, who in 1642 became ‘Lord of Sweijland and Bergen’. He was a friend of Descartes and, as we already saw, was present at the opening of the ‘Leiden suitcase’. However, he died in 1666, so in 1691 the Lord of Bergen must have been, either his eldest son Adriaan, or his second son Antonis—indeed, Adriaan died that very year (precise date unknown) without leaving any children and the title and the estate passed to his brother. An inventory was made on 30 June 1692 in the presence of the Alkmaar notary Cornelis Heijmenbergh, which in fact mentions a bag or envelope with ‘papers of Mr Descartes’.²³ It is not clear what those papers are. What we do know is that Van Zurck (the father) possessed a copy of Descartes’ *Traité de l’homme* (acquired around 1641).²⁴ He may have had other texts as well—but nothing is certain. From Antonis the estate went to his only daughter, Susanna Cornelia, who, born in Alkmaar on 4 June 1685, married Lodewijk Adriaan van Nassau-Woudenberg (1670–1742).²⁵ This does not necessarily mean that the Descartes papers, if by that time they were still there, came into the possession of the Nassau family. Indeed, the ‘Bergen’ part of the estate (the ‘Bergense boedel’) was put under a trust that was lifted only in 1815.²⁶ What remained after liquidation went (by their mother Anna Petronella, countess of Nassau) to Jacob-Adriaan, Willem-Jan and Frederik-Christiaan Mulert van de Leemcule.²⁷ It is from there that all traces are lost.

In sum it is almost certain that, apart from the letters of Huygens to Descartes and the letters of Descartes to Van Hogelande, there is no letter of which one can be confident that it goes back to the ‘Leiden suitcase’—although obviously there are a few (Regius’ letters to Descartes) of which this may be presumed.²⁸ But there was yet another suitcase, the one Descartes took with him to Sweden, which after his death came into the possession of Hector-Pierre Chanut (1600–1662), the French ambassador in Sweden.

lettres, mais il n’y a pas d’apparence. Celui qui avoit offert à la priere d’une personne de considération, de laisser fouiller dans un coffre où il y a quelques papiers de Descartes, et qui se nomme Mr de Bergue, s’est choqué de ce que l’on a reçu à Paris ses offres d’une manière très-desobligeante, de sorte qu’il n’y a plus d’apparence de rien obtenir de lui’. Le Clerc to Nicaise, 1 May 1691, *Epistolario*, vol. 2, p. 53.

²³ Regionaal Archief Alkmaar, Notarieel Archief, vol. 211, no. 101, sq. The existence of this document was first signalled in a note in *De Navorscher*, 96 (1953/54), pp. 43–44.

²⁴ Van Zurck’s text was used for the Latin translation of the *Traité de l’homme*, published in 1662 by Florentius Schuyt: ‘Pudori meo deinde succurrit et ad Opusculum absolvendum atque in lucem edendum impulit Authoritas Viri [?] Anthonius Stutler van Surck [?] qui nativa sua benevolentia Ectypum a sese ex Authoris nostri Autographo quam accuratissime delineatum in hunc finem mihi lubens concessit’, ‘Ad lectorem’, AT XI, vii. One may deduce from this that Van Zurck is one of the persons alluded to by Descartes in his letter to Mersenne of 23 November 1646, AT IV, 566–567/CM XIV, 624.

²⁵ Lodewijk-Adriaan came from a bastard branch of the Orange family, his great-grandfather being Maurits of Nassau (1567–1625) and his great-grandmother the Roman Catholic Margaretha van Mechelen (1580–1662). She gave Maurits three sons: Willem, Lodewijk (Lodewijk-Adriaan’s grandfather) and Maurits, who were the only ‘official’ bastards (Maurits had eight natural children with five different wives).

²⁶ The reason for this trust may have been the debts caused by the gambling habits of Lodewijk-Adriaan’s father, Willem-Adriaan van Nassau-Odiijk (1632–1705).

²⁷ Cf. *Nederlands Adelsboek*, 42 (1949), p. 187.

²⁸ Cf. Bos, xx–xxii.

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The Stockholm Inventory

According to Baillet Descartes sorted out his papers after Queen Christina asked him to ‘establish some order among his unpublished writings’. But, allegedly, Descartes found nothing finished or publishable.²⁹ Still, after Descartes’ death papers and letters were found which, after an inventory was made almost immediately, would come into the possession of Chanut, who in turn sent them to Clerselier (1614–1684).³⁰ After a much troubled journey, involving a shipwreck and ignorant servants, the papers arrived in Paris in 1653, where they came to form the basis of editions, not only of Descartes’ correspondence, but also of several posthumous works.³¹

A few things do not match. First of all, if one reads Baillet’s report carefully it emerges that Descartes’ goods were inventoried on two occasions:

The day after the funeral, which was on 13 February, the Queen of Sweden (at the request of the Ambassador who did not like making an inventory of the goods that had belonged to the deceased on his own and was even less inclined to let the Officers of Justice work on it in his House) sent the First Gentleman of Her Chamber to be present on behalf of Her Majesty. That was Erric Sparre, Baron of Croneberg, Lord of Haffnenne and Dudderae and President of the Court of Justice in Abo in Finland. Present at that inventory were also Father Viogué, Mr. Picques and Henry Schlüter, the deceased’s valet.³²

Again, the fact that Baillet knows those details no less than the erratic way in which he spells the names of the officials involved may be the most important aspect of this story—indeed it suggests that he has seen an official act or report which was sent to Descartes’ legitimate heirs.³³ Apparently, though, the conclusion of this first inventory was that there was nothing of value.³⁴ Next day there was another inspection:

Next day an inspection was made of the trunk, the papers and the writings of the deceased. The few books which *the inventory of the*

²⁹ Baillet, II, 397.

³⁰ Baillet, I, x–xi.

³¹ Baillet, II, 428; cf. II, 402.

³² ‘Le jour d’après les funérailles, qui étoit le treizième de Février, la reine de Suède, à la prière de M. l’Ambassadeur, qui n’étoit pas bien aise que l’Inventaire des choses qui avoient appartenu au défunt se fist par luy seul, et moins encore que les Officiers de justice y travaillassent dans son hôtel, envoya le premier Gentil-Homme de sa Chambre, pour y estre présent au nom de sa Majesté. C’étoit le Sieur Erric Sparre Baron de Croneberg, Seigneur de Haffnenne Président de la Cour de Justice d’Abo en Finlande. Les personnes qui assistèrent à cet Inventaire outre l’Ambassadeur de France et ce Seigneur Suédois, furent le Père Viogué, M. Picques, et Henry Schlüter valet de chambre du défunt’. Baillet, II, 427 (AT X, 1). François Viogué was chaplain to the French embassy and assisted Descartes in his last hours. He is the author of an attest and a memoir on Descartes’ religious feelings (Baillet, II, 548–552). Picques was secretary of the embassy.

³³ ‘Seigneur de Haffnenne’ is obviously the mangled version of ‘D(ux) Haffniensis’ (Duke of Copenhagen)—Baillet has read ‘D’ as ‘Dominus’. The person referred to may be Ture Eriksson Sparre (1593–1664), who was Lord of Croneberg since 1647. Cf. *Svenskt biografiskt handlexicon*, vol. II, p. 490.

³⁴ Baillet, II, 428.

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day before had brought to light, as well as family papers, were put aside for his heirs. But the scientific writings were taken care of by the Ambassador. He took his time to examine them at ease and since *the proprietary rights had been handed over to him by whoever enjoyed them*, he gave them to Mr. Clerselier, his brother-in-law.³⁵

So before Chanut went about to examine Descartes' papers there already was an inventory, which cannot be our 'Stockholm Inventory'—indeed, it must rather be the one Baillet refers to as 'Inventaire de Monsieur Descartes'.³⁶ In any case, the 'Stockholm Inventory' was not part of an official inquest—if it was made in Stockholm at all it was after the first inventory. The fact that Chanut kept Descartes' papers 'to examine them at ease' also makes it unlikely that the 'Stockholm Inventory' was made immediately—Chanut would probably need more than one evening to judge that a manuscript of sixty-nine leaves, 'dont la suite est interrompue en plusieurs endroits,' contains 'la doctrine de ses Principes en françois et non entierement conformes à l'imprimé latin'.³⁷ We may safely conclude therefore that the 'Inventaire de Stockholm' was made quite a bit later.

Chanut's first intention was to make a small publication of Descartes' correspondence with Queen Christina, Princess Elizabeth and himself—a plan which to a certain extent was also entertained by Descartes himself, possibly at the instigation of Chanut.³⁸ This becomes clear from Chanut's letters to Princess Elizabeth. The first is of 19 February 1650:

Since [Descartes] did me the honour to live under my roof I was obliged to take care of what he left and have an inventory made of whatever was found in his luggage. Amongst his papers there were quite some letters Your Highness honoured him with, which were very dear to him indeed—as is seen from the fact that they were carefully locked away with his most important papers. I have put them aside and taken them from the suitcase *without including them in the inventory*. I am in no doubt, Madam, that your reputation will be enhanced if it is known that you had learned conversations with the greatest man since many centuries. Indeed, I learned from Mr Descartes that your letters were so full of your enlightened spirit that they would honour you if generally known. Nonetheless I think I owe it to my respect for Your Royal Highness and to my loyalty towards my friend not to read them, nor to allow them to fall into foreign hands without Your Royal Highness's permission, which I await, together with the orders I beg Her to honour me with.³⁹

³⁵ 'Le lendemain se fit la visite du coffre, des papiers et des écrits du défunt. Le peu de livres qui s'étoient trouvez par l'*Inventaire de la veille*, et les papiers concernant les affaires domestiques, furent mis à l'écart, pour être rendus à ses héritiers. Mais pour les écrits concernant les sciences, M. l'Ambassadeur les prit sous sa protection particulière. Il les repassa à son plaisir; *et la propriété luy en ayant été abandonnée par ceux à qui elle pouvoit appartenir*, il en fit un présent quelque têmes après à M. Clerselier son beau-frère' Baillet, II, 428 (AT X, 1).

³⁶ Baillet, II, 156, 315, 317, 349, 458, 461.

³⁷ AT X, 12 (X); see also items B, C, D, etc.

³⁸ Descartes to Elizabeth [31 March 1649], AT V, 331; cf. Descartes to Chanut, 20 November 1647, AT V, 86.

³⁹ 'Entre ses [Descartes'] papiers, il s'est rencontré quantité de lettres que votre Altesse Royale luy

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But apparently the Princess refused for in a second letter Chanut writes:

I obey the order Your Royal Highness was pleased to give me and I put into the hands of His Excellency the Ambassador of Brandenburg this package, in which I enclose all the letters of Your Royal Highness that were found among the late Mr. Descartes' papers, in the same confused order in which they were found and without allowing myself to see or touch them except to fold them in such a way that they could easily be packed.⁴⁰

Chanut goes on to explain that he regrets the lost opportunity and hopes that Elizabeth will change her mind, especially because Descartes' letters to her, of which 'he is sure to find the minutes among Descartes' papers', are not really intelligible without her part of the correspondence—a covert threat undoubtedly. Indeed, that Chanut really did not 'see nor touch' any of the letters of Elizabeth appears to be in conflict with the fact that we do have a manuscript copy of Elizabeth's letters.⁴¹ That much is certain: 1) Descartes took Elizabeth's letters with him to Sweden; 2) the original letters were given back to Elizabeth.

After representing France in Sweden Chanut became ambassador in Lübeck and, in 1653, in The Hague.⁴² A letter of Constantijn Huygens to Princess Elizabeth of 31 December 1653 contains some details:

Mr. Chanut, who has all the papers of the deceased and wants to publish a selection of his letters, wishes to go over it with my Archimedes, to see whether there still is something philosophical or mathematical that could be given to the public. In my opinion anything written by that marvellous hand deserves it.⁴³

'My Archimedes' is Constantijn's second son Christiaan (1629–1695), the famous physicist and mathematician, of whom earlier in his letter Huygens had

a fait l'honneur de luy escrire, qu'il tenoit bien precieuses, quelques unes estant soigneusement serrées avec ses plus importans papiers. Je les ay toutes mises a part, et les ay tirées du coffre sans les comprendre dans l'inventaire. Je ne doute point, Madame, qu'il ne fust avantageux a vostre reputation que l'on connust que vous avéz eu des entretiens serieux et sçavans avec le plus habile homme qui ayt vescu depuis plusieurs siecles; et j'ay sceu de Monsieur Descartes mesme que vos lettres estoient si plaines de lumiere et d'esprit, qu'il ne vous peut estre que glorieux qu'elles soient veues. Et neantmoins j'ay pensé qu'il estoit de mon respect envers votre Altesse Royale, et de ma fidélité envers mon amy defunct, de n'en lire aucune, et ne permettre pas qu'elles tombent entre les mains de qui que ce soit, que par l'ordre et la permission de Vostre Altesse Royale, que j'attendray avec ses commandemens, dont je la supplie tres humblement de m'honorer'. Chanut to Elizabeth, 19 February 1650, AT V, 471. This letter was first published by Count Boulay de la Meurthe, 'Monuments funéraires de Descartes', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, 23 (1873), 37–42.

⁴⁰ Chanut to Elizabeth, 16 April 1650, AT V, 472.

⁴¹ See below, p. xxxiiff, esp. p. xxxv.

⁴² There was a short visit in July; cf. Huygens to Dohna, 24 July 1653, *Briefwisseling*, V, 181.

⁴³ 'Monsieur Chanut, qui possede tous les papiers du defunct et pretend d'en faire imprimer quelques lettres d'eslite, desire feuilleter le tout avecq mondit Archimede, pour voir ce qu'il y a encor de philosophique ou de mathematique dont on pourroit faire part au public, n'(y) ayant point de brouillon de ceste merveilleuse main, à mon advis, qui ne le merite', Huygens to Elizabeth, 31 December 1653, *Briefwisseling*, V, 194 (quoted AT X, 3).

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said that Descartes ‘le chérissait d’une affection tres-ardente’.⁴⁴ So by the very end of 1653 Christiaan is still helping Chanut to sort out the papers—which if there already were an inventory would be inexplicable. Moreover, the papers and letters were still in Chanut’s possession and were as yet not sent to Paris.

Some additional information can be found in a correspondence of Andreas Colvius (1594–1671), a Walloon minister and a correspondent of Descartes, with his cousin Johan de Witt (1625–1672), the famous ‘raadpensionaris’ (secretary of state) of Holland.⁴⁵ To a letter of 29 December 1653, Colvius added the following postscript: ‘I am told that the Ambassador Chanut has the manuscripts of Mr. de Cartes, which I am sure deserve to be seen by all: a word of you could encourage him’.⁴⁶ On 3 January 1654 De Witt writes back:

I talked with the ambassador, Mr. Chanut, on the works of Mr. de Cartes and his manuscripts, which as you write are in his possession. And this gentleman told me that several letters of Mr. Descartes to various learned people on diverse matters are already being printed. Also that those manuscripts are nothing but fragments on all sorts of matters, which could never be published before being sifted and ordered.⁴⁷

So, apparently, Chanut has already disposed of some letters but is still working on ‘fragments’. In reaction Colvius offers some of the letters still in his possession:

Since I understand that Mr. Chanut will publish letters of Mr. des Cartes I have searched among mine to see whether they are worth the trouble. They are not the only ones I have of Descartes but since I judge that those others contain personal controversy I believe they are better left out.⁴⁸ In case you and the ambassador believe that these letters should be published, you are free to do so. I would wish, though,

⁴⁴ Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, V, 193.

⁴⁵ The correspondence (that is, the letters written by Colvius and the minutes of the letters of De Witt) is in the Nationaal Archief in The Hague (the letters of De Witt as they were copied by a secretary and sent to Colvius are in Leiden University Library). They were published in C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, ‘Andreas Colvius: een correspondent van Descartes’, in: *Uit de Republiek der letteren* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 67–89.

⁴⁶ ‘L’on m’a dit que Mr. l’Ambassadeur Chanut a entre ces mains les manuscrits de Mr. de Cartes. Lesquels meritent sans doubte de voir la lumière. Un mot de vostre bouche le pourroit animer à cela’.

⁴⁷ ‘Ick hebbe met den Heere Ambassadeur Chanut discours gehadt over de wercken van Mr. de Cartes ende desselfs manu scripta, die U.E. schrijft dat onder syn Ed. berustende waeren, waerop den selven Heere mij te kennen gaf, dat albereijts eenige brieven bij Mr. de Cartes aen verscheiden geleerde persoonagien gesonden ende diversche materien verhandelende onder de persse sijn, dan dat de vordere manu scripta niet en sijn als eenige fragmenta confusselijck van alderhande saecken tracterende, die niet bequameyck int’ licht gegeven cunnen werden, sonder vooraf in een goede ordre gebracht te sijn’. This letter was earlier published in French translation by François Combes, in ‘Correspondance française du grand pensionnaire Jean de Witt’, *Mélanges historiques* (Paris, 1873).

⁴⁸ Possibly the letters of 20 April 1643 (Letter 15) and of 5 July 1643 (Letter 34), which deal with Descartes’ controversy with Voetius (which Colvius deplored).

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that you send them back given the fact that learned manuscripts take no small place in my collection.⁴⁹

But his offer is turned down on 16 January:

As far as those letters are concerned I have examined and read them and would certainly have spoken of them with the ambassador Mr. Chanut, had I not understood that the only letters His Excellency is going to publish are those which Monsieur des Cartes kept with him and, when still alive, arranged in such a way that it is fairly clear that he intended to publish them at some time, but not any of the other letters or works. So if it were the intention of Mr. Descartes that the letters written to you would also be published then His Excellency would already have included them. If however they were not, than Mr. Chanut is undoubtedly not prepared to publish them at all, this being against the presumed intention and will of the deceased. I am confident that none of the letters written to you are among those published now, except perhaps the one on purple rain, for I don't find anything in them that is of sufficient weight and importance to be published as a writing of the said deceased. Accordingly I send them back as your excellency requires.⁵⁰

Again, although much is wanting, these letters contain remarkable information. First of all, they confirm that Chanut is still travelling with Descartes' papers—he has Descartes' manuscripts 'entre ses mains'. It is also clear that Chanut has made up his mind about the letters—indeed, according to De Witt

⁴⁹ 'Alsoo verstaen dat d'Heer Chanut, eenige brieven in het licht sal brengen van Mr. des Cartes; soo hebbe opgesocht onder de mijne die mij dachte dat eenige matiere inhielden. Ich hebbe wel meer andere van voornoemde de Cartes: maer die oordele, alsoo eenige *personalia eristica* tracteren, dat beter gesupprimeert sijn. Ingevallen dat U.Ed. ende voornoemde Heer Ambassadeur oordeelen dat dese bijgaende brieven het licht soude mede mogen aenschouwen, stelle t'selve aen U.Ed. goetvinden. Wenste oock wel dat de principaelen oock wederom mij mochten behandicht werden: Alsoo geleerde luijden manuscripta in *gazophylacio meo* geen cleijne plaetse bewaren'. Colvius had a great collection of books and manuscripts.

⁵⁰ 'Aengaende de voors. brieven, hebbe ick deselve gevisiteerd ende doorlesen, ende soude daerover met den Heere Ambassadeur Chanut gesproocken hebben, ten waere ick wt deselve hadde verstaen dat syn Excellentie geene brieven van Monsieur des Cartes hadde doen in't licht geven als die denselven Monsieur des Cartes onder hem gelaeten, ende in sijn leven soodaenich bij den anderen gevoecht hadde, dat daeruijt wel affgenomen conde werden dat sijne intentie was geweest die t'eenigen tijde t'licht te laeten sien, sonder eenige andere brieven ofte geschriften daer bij gevoecht te hebben; weshalven, bij soo verre meergenoemde Monsieur des Cartes van intentie is geweest dat de voors. brieven aen U.E. geschreven ofte eenigen vandien, mede t'eenigen tijde int' licht souden werden gebracht, soo sal sijn E. deselve mede nevens voorgeroerde andere brieven hebben gevoecht, edoch in cas deselve daeronder niet en werden bevonden, soo soude den Heere Chanut ontwijfelijk geene genegentheijt hebben omme die, buyten de gepresumeerde intentie ende wille vanden overleden, nevens d'anderen door den druck int' licht te brengen. Ende vertrouwe ick vastelijck dat geene van de voors. brieven aen U.E. ges[onden] onder 't getal van die gene die nu int' licht staen te comen, bevonden sullen worden, ten waere alleenlijck die gene vanden purpuren regen is spreekende als niet vindende inde selve eenige materie ofte substantie waerdich omme als een schrift van den voorn. overleden int' licht te werden gebracht ende gaen oversulx de voors. brieven oock hiernevens, volgende U.E. ordre, weder te rugge'. This document allows to identify the addressee of Descartes' letter of [5 October 1646], AT IV, 516–519; cf. C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1954), pp. 569–572.

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some are already ‘being printed’ (*onder de persse*). Furthermore, Chanut’s edition would include those letters only which Descartes prepared for publication—one may think of, for example, the exchanges with Plemp, Fromondus, Morin and others concerning the *Discours* and indeed the correspondence with Princess Elizabeth.⁵¹ Finally, the ‘manuscripts’ (as distinguished from the letters) are still in a state of confusion—indeed, we already know that Chanut wants the help of Christiaan Huygens to sort them out.

All this confirms that the ‘Stockholm inventory’ cannot date from 1650. In fact, it is likely that it was made in The Hague, with the help of Christiaan Huygens, somewhere at the end of 1653 or the beginning of 1654, that is, almost four years after Descartes’ papers came into Chanut’s possession.

Lettres de Monsieur Descartes (1657–1667)

There is no meeting between Clerselier and Descartes on record before the summer of 1644, when, during Descartes’ visit to France, Clerselier told him that he had translated the *Meditations*.⁵² The correspondence that followed shows that Clerselier developed a great enthusiasm for Descartes’ philosophy and a great attachment to his person. Despite the fact that it was seen as a *mésalliance* he married off one of his daughters to Jacques Rohault (c.1618–1672), one of France’s leading Cartesians. After Descartes’ death Clerselier spared neither time nor money to honour his memory. Thus he provided editions, not only of Descartes’ correspondence, but also of *Le monde* (1677) and *Traité de l’homme* (1664). Finally, he let Leibniz (1646–1716) and Tschirnhaus (1651–1708) make copies of unpublished material, including the *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* and the *Recherche de la vérité*.⁵³ Realizing the inadequacy of his efforts he approached a Dutch publisher—apparently, the French publishers were no longer interested—to produce another volume but his death in 1684 made that impossible.⁵⁴

As far as the edition of the letters is concerned, it would be important to know when exactly Clerselier came into the possession of the Chanut collection. On that point the evidence already reviewed can be completed with a letter of Clerselier to Tobias Andreae (1604–1676)—also a friend and a correspondent of Descartes. On the basis of material uncovered by Dibon the exchange between Andreae and Clerselier can be reconstructed as follows.⁵⁵ In the first half of 1654 Andreae offered Clerselier manuscripts and letters of Descartes. The letter in which that offer was made is lost. But we do have the answer of Clerselier, or

51 Descartes offered a copy of that exchange to Huygens in January 1639 but, on the advice of Huygens gave up the idea of publishing it; Descartes to Huygens, 29 January 1639, AT II, 675–676; 6 May 1639, AT II, 677–678; Huygens to Descartes, 15 May 1639, AT II, 678–679.

52 Baillet, II, 241.

53 See the edition of Descartes’ *Recherche de la vérité* by E.-J. Bos (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2002), pp. xliii–xliv.

54 *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

55 Paul Dibon, ‘Clerselier, éditeur de la correspondance de Descartes’ (1984) in: *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d’Or* (Naples: Vivarium, 1990), pp. 495–522.

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at least the minute (which unfortunately is undated but for reasons that will become clear must be well before 12 July 1654).⁵⁶ Clerselier sent Andreae a copy of what is now known as the ‘Stockholm Inventory’, on which he marked the items already in his possession—so by that time that document had finally come into existence. Andreae offered the *Traité de l’homme*, a letter on love (presumably the letter to Queen Christina) and letters to Chanut and to ‘several others’ (*alios aliquot*). Presumably Clerselier’s answer never reached its destination. In any case Andreae sent a copy of his first letter, which in turn prompted a reaction by Clerselier on 12 July 1654.⁵⁷ According to that letter Clerselier works ‘avec assiduité’ on the letters of Descartes and will publish them ‘dans peu de temps’. It costs him a lot of trouble ‘because [he] works only on the drafts [*brouillons*] which [Descartes] kept, and these are full of deletions and omissions and are not written with care’. As a result, he would be happy to receive any letters of Descartes, but he assures Andreae that he has good copies of the letters to princess Elizabeth and Chanut. Finally, he tells Andreae that he will also write to Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665), whose essays on the prejudices of childhood he has translated in order to include them in his edition.⁵⁸ Accordingly, even in July 1654 Clerselier’s documentation is not yet complete. He has a few items that are well written, in particular the letters to Elizabeth and Chanut—probably the same Chanut believed to be ready for publication. On the other hand there is no mention of the famous shipwreck, which according to Baillet has done so much damage, particularly to the correspondence—on the contrary Clerselier finds the difficulty of his task perfectly explicable.

In sum, the Stockholm inventory was made somewhere between the end of 1653 and the early spring of 1654, presumably in The Hague and with the assistance of Christiaan Huygens. Chanut forwarded a part of the letters to Clerselier, namely, those he believed Descartes himself had made ready for publication. He kept several other items because he was not sure that they should be published at all. The point to be underscored is that the nature of the editorial project as it was envisaged by Chanut profoundly changed under the hands of Clerselier—indeed, Clerselier wants to publish more than just the letters singled out for publication by Descartes himself. This explains, not only his interest in ‘brouillons’ but also the fact that he actively tries to interest correspondents of Descartes that are still living (like Andreae and Clauberg).

Clerselier’s *Lettres de Monsieur Descartes* are the first collective edition of the correspondence. It contains a total of 382 (119 + 128 + 125) letters. They are not always dated, the correspondent is not always identified (or is identified in the vaguest possible way, for example, as ‘a Jesuit’) and in the second volume Latin texts are translated into French. Although most of the time it is quite obvious what is the basis of Clerselier’s edition there are sometimes considerable problems. This becomes clear whenever the autograph of the same letter is also available—as, for example, in the case of the letters to Mersenne and to Huygens.

⁵⁶ Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 4730.

⁵⁷ The Hague, Royal Library, MS Dept. 73B34. It was first published by Dibon.

⁵⁸ That plan was never realized.

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Sometimes it is also possible to use other historical evidence—as in the case of Regius—to prove that Clerselier misdated letters or pasted together drafts that do not belong to the same letter.⁵⁹

Some of the philological and historical work already done in the 17th century (by Legrand, presumably, and in view of a new and more complete edition of Descartes' correspondence) was consigned to a copy of Clerselier's edition, which is now known as the 'Exemplaire de l'Institut'.⁶⁰ Although its importance is sometimes exaggerated, it is important enough to count as a separate source, because the notes are sometimes based on autographs that are lost now—sometimes, though, they amount to simple conjectures without any precise foundation in facts.

Renati Descartes Epistolae (1668)

In 1668 the Amsterdam publisher Daniël Elzevier (a nephew of Louis) published the first two volumes of Descartes' correspondence in a Latin edition (the third volume was published by Blaeu in 1683), which is basically a translation of Clerselier's *Lettres*. So far it has not been possible to establish the identity of the editor.⁶¹ The question is not unimportant for in a number of cases it is obvious that the anonymous editor had a different text at his disposal. This sometimes leads AT to prefer the version of the *Epistolae*, especially when Clerselier indicates that he gives a translation. Their choice is certainly too hasty, given the fact that in at least one case we managed to establish that the Latin text of the *Epistolae* was not the original text but simply a Latin translation of Clerselier's version (Letter 66). Inversely, it is also possible that the *Epistolae* provide a better text even if Clerselier does not indicate that he supplies a version (cf. Letter 67). It means that each case must be judged separately. General indications are, for example, the presence of a full signature: if a letter in Clerselier ends with a formula like 'je suis, etc.', whereas the same letter in the *Epistolae* ends with, for example, 'Tuus Renatus Des-Cartes' one may presume that the editors of the *Epistolae* had access to a different version of the text (cf. Letters 67 and 68). If that is the case one may also presume that Descartes' correspondent was Dutch—indeed, it is hard to see how a Dutch editor could have access to a text that was inaccessible to Clerselier unless the original letter circulated in the Netherlands. But, again, it has been our experience that each letter raises its own problems, which are not always easily disposed of.

⁵⁹ See E.-J. Bos, *The correspondence between Descartes and Regius* (Ph.D. diss. Utrecht University, 2002).

⁶⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MSS 4469, 4470, 4471. Background information on the *Exemplaire* is found in AT I, xlviiii–liii, lxii–lxv, and Bos, xxxviii–xl.

⁶¹ AT's claim that this edition was prepared by Johannes de Raey and Frans van Schooten is based on a confusion with the *praefatiuncula* to Elzevier's edition of the *Opera omnia* (1656). In any case, neither De Raey nor Van Schooten are mentioned in any of the editions of the *Epistolae* that we know of. Moreover, Van Schooten died in 1660.

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La Vie de Mr Des-Cartes (1691)

Adrien Baillet (1649–1706) was born 13 June in 1649 at Neuville (hence the pseudonym ‘M. de Neuville’), a small town between Beauvais and Clermont.⁶² He was educated at the Beauvais Collège, where he also became a teacher of humanities. In 1676 he was ordained priest of the Diocese of Beauvais and in 1680 he moved to Paris to become librarian to the Président de Lamoignon. He was a prolific writer, who published not only erudite compilations and bibliographies like *Jugements des savants sur les principaux auteurs* (1685) and *Des auteurs déguisés* (1690) but also historical works like *Histoire de Hollande* (1690) and *Histoire des démêlés du Pape Boniface VIII avec Philippe le Bel* (published posthumously in 1718) as well as books on devotion and piety like *Dévotion à la Vierge et le culte qui lui est dû* (Paris 1694) and *Les vies des saints* (Paris 1701). These last works came under criticism from the Church because in her eyes Baillet was playing into the hands of anti-Catholics. His Jansenist sympathies were frequently blamed for this. He died in Paris 21 January 1706.

Although the *Vie de Monsieur Des-Cartes* is an important source for our knowledge of Descartes, its genesis has been little studied.⁶³ According to Baillet’s biographer it was the Abbé Legrand who, ‘avec quelques autres intéressés’, engaged Baillet ‘à ranger par ordre les mémoires qu’il [Legrand] avoit recueillis sur la Vie et la Philosophie du célèbre Philosophe de nos jours Mr. Descartes’.⁶⁴ Allegedly, that was in 1690—one year before the publication of Descartes’ *Life*. It means that Baillet has worked very hard for the work (two volumes of c.500 pages each) was, still according to Baillet’s biographer, ready to be printed on 19 February 1691. This is compatible with what we know on the basis of independent sources, more specifically a letter of Baillet to the abbé Nicaise of April–May 1689, in which Legrand is still presented as the one who prepares a history of Descartes’ life and of Cartesianism.⁶⁵ And even as late as April 1690 Legrand wrote about the biographical project without mentioning Baillet.⁶⁶ It is also compatible with what Baillet claims himself about the genesis of his work.

⁶² For all details concerning Baillet’s life see ‘Abrégé de la vie de M. Baillet’, written by La Monnoye as an introduction to the new edition of Baillet’s *Jugements des Savants* (Paris, 1722. Amsterdam, 1725).

⁶³ Virtually the only article on this subject is that by Gregor Sebba, ‘Adrien Baillet and the Genesis of his *Vie de M. Des-Cartes*’, in: *Problems of Cartesianism*, eds. Th.M. Lennon, J.M. Nicholas, J.W. Davis (Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1982), pp. 9–60.

⁶⁴ B. La Monnoye, ‘Abrégé de la vie de M. Baillet’, in Baillet, *Jugemens des ouvrages des savants* (new edn. Amsterdam, 1725), vol. 1.

⁶⁵ Baillet to Nicaise [April–May 1689], Paris, BnF, f.fr. 9361, fos. 172r–173r.

⁶⁶ Legrand to Jean-Robert Chouet (1642–1731) in Geneva, 10 April 1690. The letter is partly quoted in AT I, xlvi, without further references. We are much obliged to Mr N. Turrettini for providing us with a xerox of Legrand’s letter, which is in the private archives of the Turrettini family. In his letter Legrand thanks Chouet for his effort to contact the family of Alphonse Pollot. He regrets that Descartes’ letters to Pollot are not found, but he would be grateful for any information on Pollot’s life. Legrand furthermore announces that after Descartes’ *Life* has been written, he will work on a history of Cartesianism and its spread throughout Europe. He implores Chouet’s help for an account of the reception of Cartesianism in Switzerland. Although Chouet did not succeed in recovering the letters to Pollot, they were not irretrievably lost: In 1868 Eugène de Budé published them from a 17th century manuscript copy (see Letter 43, p. 126).

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According to the preface he accepted his task reluctantly and after much pressure: ‘I had enough force to resist them but none to defend me against their authority’—which may be an allusion to the role of Chrétien-François de Lamoignon (1644–1709), his patron.⁶⁷ His own role on the other hand would only have been to present ‘the truth of the matter with some order or method’, that is, ‘to give the facts the order which they have held in the life of the philosopher, after verifying them’—in any case it is likely that Baillet worked on material provided by Legrand.

Who was Jean-Baptiste Legrand? Virtually all we know is that Clerselier designated him as his successor. More specifically Legrand would make available those works of Descartes which remained unpublished so far. Clerselier even left Legrand the sum of 500 pounds to finish his work.⁶⁸ According to a letter of Legrand to Chouet of 10 April 1690, he possessed ‘all manuscripts of Mr Descartes which were not yet printed, on top of 120 letters, which I have collected from various persons’.⁶⁹ According to Baillet Legrand retrieved not only the letters of Regius, but also those to Picot, to Clerselier, to Tobias Andreae ‘and others’, as well as testimonies on Descartes’ life from Chevalier Terlon, Princess Elizabeth, Chanut and ‘various private persons’.⁷⁰ But despite his many years of editorial labor, Legrand never managed to send anything to the printer. After his death in 1704 all manuscripts he had received from Clerselier and those which he had collected himself were lost.

Others who supplied material for Descartes’ *Life* were the still living members of the Descartes family: Joachim Descartes de Kerlau (1627–1700), the eldest son of Descartes’ brother Pierre, Joachim Descartes de Chavagnes (1635–1718), the eldest son of Descartes’ half-brother Joachim, and ‘Mademoiselle Descartes’, that is, Catherine Descartes (1637–1706), a daughter of Pierre, who became known as a poetess and *bel esprit*.⁷¹ They provided Legrand with genealogical and other information on Descartes’ family as well as copies of the

⁶⁷ This is the opinion of Sebba. The fact that the work was eventually dedicated to Lamoignon gives some support to that hypothesis, but it must be pointed out that the evidence is very small.

⁶⁸ We did not find Clerselier’s testament but the conditions for research in the French National Archives are unfavourable (and will remain so until 2005). We did manage to see the inventory made after Clerselier’s death on 10 and 11 January 1685 (Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier central des notaires de Paris, Étude 39 (Pasquier), liasse 159). It contains no trace of this settlement. So either it was arranged between Clerselier and Legrand before Clerselier died, or it was settled in Clerselier’s will—500 pounds is presumably too large a sum to be left out of the estate.

⁶⁹ ‘Je vous diray pour votre consolation, Monsieur, que tous les manuscrits de Mr Descartes qui n’ont point encore été imprimez sont en ma possession, outre 120 lettres que j’ay receuillies de diverses personnes, sans parler des memoires qui me sont venues de la part de la famille qui subsiste encore avec éclat dans le parlement de Bretagne’, Legrand to Chouet, 10 April 1690, see note 66 above.

⁷⁰ Baillet, I, xxii. Chevalier Hugues de Terlon (c.1620–1690) was French ambassador in Sweden. In 1666–1667 he organized the transport of Descartes’ body to France.

⁷¹ Baillet, I, xxiii. On both Joachims see Frédéric Saulnier, *Le Parlement de Bretagne 1554–1790, Répertoire alphabétique et biographique de tous les membres de la Cour*, 2 vols. (Rennes: Plihon/Hommay, 1909. 2nd edn., Mayenne: Imprimerie de la manutention, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 297–298. In 1657 Joachim III married Prudence Sanguin, who died in 1675. After he had settled his daughters in marriage he took holy orders. He died in the chateau of Piré and was buried in the church of the village.

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letters Descartes had written to his brother and father.⁷² Presumably they are also the source of the various contracts which are cited by Baillet.

Baillet also cites ‘M. de la Barre, président au bureau des finances de Tours et ancien ami du philosophe’. Presumably this is Jean de La Barre, sieur de Fontenay, of noble family (their armscoat was ‘d’azur à la bande d’or accostée de deux croissants montants d’or’).⁷³ His main contribution may have been that he directed Baillet to a local historian Pierre Carreau (1631–1708), who ever since 1675 had been busy collecting material for a history of Tours.⁷⁴ Baillet also thanks, the ‘abbé Chanut’, that is, Martial Chanut, son of the Chanut who was French ambassador in Sweden⁷⁵; ‘M. Clerselier Desnoyers’, that is, François, the eldest son of Claude Clerselier; and various other people who are hard to identify and whose contribution to Baillet’s *Life* cannot easily be retraced.

It should also be underlined that neither Baillet nor Legrand intervened directly—indeed, a pivotal role was played by Nicaise, who took the trouble of writing, not only to Rome and Geneva, but also to the Low Countries—to Graevius, Le Clerc, De Witt, Bayle and Basnage de Beauval. Graevius apparently sent a few books and pamphlets, but they had trouble reaching their destination.⁷⁶ De Witt—who is no other than the son of Jan de Witt, the pensionary of Holland—sent a few pamphlets as well, which were forwarded by Basnage de Beauval, but basically excused himself: ‘si mes livres estoient en ordre, je vous aurois pu envoyer tout ce que vous souhaitiez par vostre Memoire⁷⁷; mais ma Bi-

⁷² See n. 69.

⁷³ Baillet, I, xxiii. For genealogical information on the La Barre family see P. Robert, *Familles de Touraine et alliances XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles—Approches par tableaux généalogiques*, 1re série (2 fasc), (Centre généalogique de Touraine, 1989); 3e série, (Centre généalogique de Touraine, 1993). The dates of La Barre are unknown, except that he was still alive in 1691. On other members of this family, see J.-L. Chalmel, *Histoire de Touraine*, 4 vols. (Paris/Tours: Fournier, 1828), vol. 4, pp. 257–258.

⁷⁴ In 1690 he published a *Dessein et Histoire du Pays et du Duché de Touraine* (7 pages, no date, no publisher; BnF, Rés. LK2-1763), to ask the public, and especially the nobility, to provide further archeological or genealogical information if they had any. In 1697 the work was ready. After Carreau’s death his work was used, copied and augmented by the Benedictines for their *Histoire générale de la France* (especially vols. 23 and 24 by Dom Housseau), and finally plagiarized by Jean-Louis Chalmel; see Boulay de la Meurthe, *Pierre Carreau et les travaux sur l’histoire de Touraine jusqu’à Chalmel* (Tours: Mame, 1919).

⁷⁵ Baillet, I, xxiv. Martial Chanut (1631–1695) was chaplain of Anna of Austria (the mother of Louis XIV), and general visitor of the French Carmelite nuns. In 1666 he supported the initiative of reburial of Descartes’ remains in France and testified of his belief in the sincerity of Descartes’ Christian sentiments by depositing a sworn declaration; Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23.114. He translated the Acts of the Council of Trent (1674) as well as St Theresa’s autobiography (1691).

⁷⁶ Johannes Graevius (1632–1703) in Utrecht wrote to Nicaise on 7 June 1689 (BnF, f.fr. 9359, fos. 291–292) and 26 February 1690 (ibid., fo. 241), basically to tell him that he could not be of much help, not only because most of the pamphlets he had asked were already lost, but also because none of Descartes’ contemporaries were still alive—except Johannes de Raey, who refuses all co-operation because ‘cum semper fuerit morosior, aetas grandis iam ipsum reddidit morosissimum’. Bayle to Nicaise [date unknown], ibid. fos. 358–359. The books were forwarded by a ‘Mr Vroesen’, that is, Jan Vroesen, son of an important Rotterdam family, who regularly traveled to France. He was the (anonymous) author of the clandestine manuscript *Traité des trois imposteurs*; cf. Silvia Berti, ‘Jan Vroesen, autore del *Traité des trois imposteurs*’, *Rivista storica italiana*, 53 (1991), 528–543. See also Berti’s edition of that work: *Trattato dei tre impostori. La vita e lo spirito del signor Benedetto de Spinoza* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994).

⁷⁷ Apparently Nicaise had sent a list of titles he wanted to have, as he had done to other Dutch

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bliothèque et tout ce qui [*sic*] i'ay ramassé pendant mes Voyages est dans un plus grand desordre que celle de Mr Maljabechi a Florence?⁷⁸ Apart from Le Clerc (see above) nobody mentions letters or manuscripts. Accordingly, it is likely that no new letters came in the possession of Baillet after 1690.

THE PRESENT EDITION

New sources and texts, new dates and rejected letters

Not everything one would like to know is as yet known and in any case one should be wary of hasty conclusions. In the present edition, which covers no more than one year of the correspondence, we managed to arrive at a satisfactory solution in most cases, even if a few points remain unsettled. Still, we do hope that the advantages of this new edition are not limited to a clearer presentation of the text but will also show that to arrive at any conclusion at all it is necessary to go back to the sources, to reassess the material and to have a fresh look at the evidence.

Our study of the sources of Descartes' correspondence of 1643 has yielded several new texts. We have found the autograph of Descartes' letter to Mersenne of 2 February 1643 (Letter 9), for whose text AT and CM had recourse to a manuscript copy and to Clerselier's edition. We made a new transcription of the autograph letter to Huygens dated 10 July 1643 (Letter 37), which had already been published by Foucher de Careil, but who did not personally consult the autograph himself. The letter, which was assumed to be lost since the second half of the 19th century, is being kept in Uppsala. Unfortunately, we also have to report the definite loss of an autograph letter: Descartes' letter to Colvius dated 5 September 1643 (Letter 39) was destroyed during WW II. On the level of manuscript copies, we are happy to announce the rediscovery of the codex containing the 26 letters of Princess Elizabeth to Descartes and one letter by Queen Christina to Descartes. After the restoration of the castle Rosendael in the 1980s, the manuscript appeared to be missing, and many scholars have been searching for it in vain. Informed of our project Johan Carel Bierens de Haan was able to retrace the manuscript, and our study of it has certainly improved the earlier editions by Foucher de Careil and AT.⁷⁹ Unknown copies of letters to Elizabeth were found in the British Library, enabling us next to replacing the known texts (published by Clerselier) to append a precise date to one of the letters as well (Letters 58 and 61). An unknown copy of another letter to Elizabeth, 21 May 1643, turned up in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague (Letter 19). Furthermore, on an indication of Aza Goudriaan we found the undoubtedly original text of Descartes' letter to Van Buitendijck (Letter 66), published by Tobias Andreae in a defence of Cartesianism in 1653.⁸⁰ Finally, the comparison between

correspondents.

⁷⁸ De Witt to Nicaise, 27 October 1689, Letters to Nicaise, vol. 5, Paris, BnF, f.fr. 9362, fo. 112v.

⁷⁹ A description of the manuscript is given below, p. xxxiiff.

⁸⁰ Jacobus Revius, *A theological examination of Cartesian philosophy*, ed. A. Goudriaan (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2002), pp. 48–49.

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Clerselier's edition and the Latin *Epistolae* resulted on one occasion in a different source text (Letter 67).⁸¹

Our new collation of the sources means a genuine improvement of the existing editions. Although a significant number of mistakes in previous editions could be corrected, they are in general of minor importance. It is our observation that for the 1643 letters to Mersenne, the edition of AT is to be preferred above CM, except of course in case CM presents an autograph letter for the first time.

We have been able to give a more precise date to a fair number of letters. The most notable shift is probably Descartes' letter to an unknown inhabitant of Utrecht, which AT places in March 1642, but in fact must have been written in September 1643 (Letter 40). Three letters by Regius, which are dated 'Summer 1642' in AT, have been moved to 1643, following the edition of Bos (Letters 1–3). Further mention should be made of Letters 15, 43, 57, 58 and 61. Letters 66–68 are dated [1643?] in AT, which in our view is too narrow. The letters are nevertheless incorporated in the 1643 edition because '1643' is still a good possibility and there are no alternative dates. It is our policy not to remove a letter from its traditional place unless upon compelling evidence. Such evidence exists for two letters.

The first one is the letter usually assigned to 1643 in which Descartes writes about a 'perfect keyboard' the correspondent wishes to have built for his little daughter. The letter is published in Clerselier giving neither date nor addressee (AT IV, 678–680). AT conjectures that it is directed to Huygens and possibly written in 1646.⁸² Cornelis de Waard proposes the hypothesis that the addressee is Colvius, and gives the precise date 6 July 1643.⁸³ De Waard makes a connection between the letter and a Cartesian text in a manuscript by Colvius now in Leiden University Library. The text from the manuscript entitled *Adversaria V.C. Andree Colvii* contains an outline of Descartes' division of the keyboard (AT IV, 722–725). According to De Waard the text is the 'systeme de musique' referred to in the letter. For Colvius did have a musically gifted daughter, who was ten years old in 1643, and as the letter refers to an earlier letter to the same addressee written 'on Sunday evening', De Waard conjectures that the preceding letter is the letter to Colvius of Sunday 5 July 1643 (Letter 34), the letter under discussion and the text on the harmonic system therefore being written on 6 July 1643.⁸⁴

⁸¹ During our research we have uncovered much more manuscript material pertaining to Descartes' correspondence, including 19 autograph letters, most of which were never seen by the editors of AT and CM. We hope to make all this material available in the future. The crown of our efforts is the discovery of two completely unknown Descartes letters. The first, to Joachim de Wicquefort dd. 2 October 1640, is published in E.-J. Bos and C. Vermeulen, 'An unknown autograph letter of Descartes to Joachim de Wicquefort', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 34 (2002), 100–109. The second letter, in which Descartes gives his final judgment on Comenius' *Pansophia* (1639), will be published by J. van de Ven and E.-J. Bos in the *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*.

⁸² In 1933 Charles Adam suggested that the letter may be written to De Wilhem, dating from 1640, cf. 'Correspondance de Descartes. Nouveau classement', *Revue Philosophique de la France et l'étranger*, 65 (1933), 373–401, esp. pp. 396–397.

⁸³ C. de Waard, 'Sur le destinaire et la date à attribuer à une lettre de Descartes sur une épinette parfaite', *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*, 3 (1950), 251. Cf. AT IV, 803.

⁸⁴ 'Je ne receus vostre derniere que lundy matin, une heure apres avoir envoye celle que ie vous

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Now, some things do not add up. First, Descartes' reference to 'Monday morning' renders it rather unlikely that the letter itself is written on Monday as well; presumably it is some day later in the week. Second, Descartes writes that he will not send his 'system', which rules out that both texts were dispatched together. There being no clear connection between the two texts, except for the fact that both deal with Descartes' division of the octave, the argument that the addressee is Colvius loses its force. The question of the letter's date and addressee still remain to be settled, and there is no reason to include it in the present edition. It should be noted, however, that Descartes' division of the octave as discussed in both texts is not found in the *Musicae compendium* (1618), but appears to be developed in 1638. In January 1638 Johannes Albertus Bannius (1598–1644) wrote that he discussed the building of a perfect keyboard with Descartes, who subsequently 'tradidit mihi systema Diapason ac divisionem octavae'.⁸⁵ This 'systema' appears to be the system referred to in the letter and may be the text uncovered by De Waard.

The second item that we do not incorporate in the 1643 edition is from the correspondence between Descartes and Regius. Baillet's inseparable references to Regius' letters 23 and 24 are dated 'Summer 1642' in AT but are redated 'late July or August 1643' in Bos.⁸⁶ Bos' argument rests primarily on the assumption that the anti-Cartesian pamphlet by a certain Theophilus Cosmopolita (1643) is actually mentioned in Regius' letters, but this is by no means certain. What seems to be the case is that it is Baillet who attributes the pamphlet to Voetius, not Regius. It is Baillet's own claim that the style of the pamphlet is Voetian, which is presumably the reason that he refers to Regius' letters. Regius in turn appears to have made an allusion to the *Admiranda methodus*, which was being written in the autumn of 1642, so the date of the letters 23 and 24 should be between July and December 1642.⁸⁷

Annotation

Earlier we observed that AT contains much information which is redundant or erratic or is printed in places where one would not expect it, whereas essential information, on Dutch personalities and events in particular, is often lacking. Our approach to the annotation of the correspondence is as follows. Short historical notes on persons and events whenever this is necessary for the understanding of the text are placed below the text. For these notes we could draw on research

écrivis dimanche au soir, ce qui est cause que ie n'y adioûtay point mon systeme pour faire un instrument de Musique qui soit parfait', AT IV, 678–679. For a recent discussion on the contents of both the letter and the text on the harmonic system, see R. Rasch, 'Why were enharmonic keyboards built?—From Nicola Vicentio (1655) to Michael Bulyowsky (1699)', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 22 (2002), 35–93.

⁸⁵ Bannius to William Boswell, 15 January 1638, CM VII, 2–3.

⁸⁶ Baillet, II, 177, 178–179, 204–205; AT III, 571–572, 572–573, and AT VIII B, 337, note c; Bos, 167–169.

⁸⁷ For the printing history of the *Admiranda methodus* (Utrecht 1643) and its authorship, see Appendix 1.

that has been done since the first publication of AT, as well as our own research related to Descartes' correspondence. As examples of both categories may serve the identification of a medical work read by Descartes and referred to in a letter to Vorstius (Letter 28), and the identification of the 'inventeur de la vis', who is mentioned in the correspondence between Descartes and Huygens, and who met with both to discuss his invention (see especially Letter 55). At times however a topic raised in a letter needs a more elaborate commentary than can be given in a footnote. Such commentaries are found behind each letter. This policy is already adopted in AT and was further developed in CM, but whereas such digressions in CM especially contain primary material without much elucidation or seem to be written for specialists in the history of mathematics and physics etc. alone, in-depth annotation ought to be accessible to the general reader of Descartes. The contributions by Carla Rita Palmerino and Henk Bos may serve as examples.

Recurring themes in the correspondence have been addressed with a separate essay on the topic in question, and these are found in the Appendices. The subject of the Utrecht Crisis—the history of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium*, its reception by the Utrecht *Vroedschap* and the consequences of their condemnation of the work—is touched upon in practically every letter written in 1643. To assist the reader in keeping track of the developments in the Utrecht Crisis and to avoid both the scattering of background information as well as being repetitive, the important aspects of the affair are assembled and commented upon in Appendix 1. The same holds true, although they do not dominate the correspondence to the same extent as the Utrecht Crisis, for the affair of the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' of 's-Hertogenbosch (Appendix 2) and the mathematical problem Descartes proposed to Elizabeth (Appendix 3).

As we remarked above (p. x) discussion is possible on what exactly can be considered to be a letter and should have a place in the correspondence; on the other hand, there is little disagreement that material like contracts or entries in *alba amicorum* do not pertain to a correspondence. We put the latter kind of material—and texts relative to Descartes in general—in a Calendar of Descartes' life. It contains, for example, the text of the condemnation by the Utrecht *Vroedschap* or the statement by someone that he met Descartes a week ago. To be sure, the Calendar serves more than one purpose, but the material it contains should, first, be precisely dated, and second, have any relevance to Descartes biographically. The Calendar is in fact meant as a *chronicle*: it supplies the factual knowledge we have of Descartes' life. The Hobbes chronicle published by Karl Schuhmann serves as our example.⁸⁸

A biographical dictionary completes this edition. It supplies the bio-bibliographical data of Descartes' correspondents and the persons referred to in the letters. It relates not just their relation to the French philosopher, but also discloses their mutual family ties, friendships and correspondence networks. The research done in this part of the edition has revealed the identity of some persons who remained unknown till now, as for example the 'inventeur de la vis' men-

⁸⁸ K. Schuhmann, *Hobbes. Une chronique* (Paris: Vrin, 1998).

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tioned above (Simeon Hulsebos), and has improved and extended our knowledge of many others.

Manuscript sources

Manuscript sources of the correspondence of 1643 are found in the institutions given below.

Arnhem
Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen
Letters 18, 27, 32, 59

Brussels
Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
Letter 9

Florence
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
Letter 22

The Hague
Koninklijke Bibliotheek
Letters 19, 24

Leiden
Universiteitsbibliotheek
Letters 15, 19, 25, 28, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 53

Lille
Bibliothèque municipale
Letter 12

London
British Library
Letters 58, 61

Paris
Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
Letter 4, 13

Paris
Bibliothèque nationale de France
Letters 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 54, 55, 60

Uppsala
Universitetsbibliotek
Letter 37

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Description of the main collections

The edition of Descartes' correspondence ideally contains a description of the main collections of letters in manuscript. Whereas the description of a single letter in a collection can sufficiently be dealt with in the introductory remarks preceding every letter in this edition, a collection of letters often shares common features and have a provenance of importance for the history of Descartes' correspondence in general. From the outset it was clear that it would be impossible to have the present edition of 1643 preceded by descriptions of this kind. This is the reason why for this edition we concentrate on the Van Pallandt collection, the letters of Queen Christina and Princess Elizabeth to Descartes. It is, however, inevitable that we start with some remarks on the La Hire collection—at present a more definitive description of the collection cannot be given.

The La Hire Collection

After the death of Mersenne a collection of about 85 letters of Descartes to Mersenne came into the possession of Gilles Personne de Roberval (1602–1675). Roberval bequathed his mathematical papers among which the letters to the Académie des Sciences. The collection remained in the Académie des Sciences (after the Revolution in the Institut de France) until the first half of the 19th century, when they were stolen and sold by the genius in forgery and theft of valuable manuscripts, Guglielmo Libri. The letters were dispersed but large portions have found their way back to the Institut de France and the BnF. The remaining letters either still remain hidden in private collections or are in various libraries and musea all over the world.

Whereas Clerselier was not able to use them for his edition of the correspondence—he complained about Roberval's refusal and implied that he had more or less stolen them (AT V, 777).⁸⁹ By contrast, Baillet had access to the collection and used them for his biography, and, perhaps more importantly, so did the annotators of the *Exemplaire de l'Institut*. They collated the existing edition of the letters in the Clerselier edition with the autographs, carefully noting the differences, they completed letters, supplied dates and indicated Clerselier's errors in the division or patching together of parts of letters. For several letters the notes in the *Exemplaire de l'Institut* are the only source. It is generally assumed, although it should be underscored that this still needs to be proven, that this editorial labor is primarily the work of Clerselier's successor Legrand. In his preface Baillet thanks Philippe de La Hire (1640–1718), a member of the Académie des Sciences, for allowing Legrand and him to use the collection.

All letters formerly in the La Hire collection have the same kind of notes and marks on the first folio recto, and in this edition they are described in the introduction to each letter. The letters were numbered several times. The most

⁸⁹ The truth is presumably that Mersenne confided them to Roberval shortly before his death. See A. Gabbey, 'Mersenne et Roberval', *Actes du colloque "1588–1988. Quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Marin Mersenne"*, J.-M. Constant and A. Fillon (eds.) (Maine 1994), pp. 93–111.

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ancient numbering is found in the left bottom of each letter, which numbering is labelled the 'original' La Hire numbering by AT. The number is often followed by the letter 'C', as for example in Letter 9, which has the number 35 C. The meaning of the letter 'C' is unknown. Remarkably, the 'original' numbering has a reversed chronological order. A second numbering, called the 'definitive' La Hire list by AT, is found in the notes of the *Exemplaire de l'Institut*. They often supply both the 'original' (which number is usually crossed out) and the 'definitive' number. The letters were numbered a third time by Germain Poirier (1724–1803) towards the end of the 18th century. His numbering is usually found in the right upper corner and is put between brackets. Poirier also appears to be the author of a note in the left margin giving the date of the letter, again between brackets, followed by the abbreviation 'v.d.' (vraie date). It is supplied only if the letter is dated by Descartes. Finally, in the left upper corner one usually finds an ink note in an unidentified 17th century hand that gives the place of the letter in the edition of Clerselier.⁹⁰

The Van Pallandt Collection (Arnhem)

Manuscript copy. iii+81+iv fos. (210x160 mm). c.1700–1730.

Title: *Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes* (p. 1).

Paper. c.17 [15–18] lines. Late 19th-century or early 20th-century pagination with pencil, one hand (1–158). Signature formula: 1–2², 22⁴, 23². Watermarks: a) coat of arms of the city of Amsterdam, monogrammed AJ (=Abraham Janssen (1656–1710, Dutch factor at Angoulême, Puymoyen mill), 1700–1710; b) like a), monogrammed DA; c) Pro patria; d) flower, below letter R. Contemporary endpapers.

Early 18th-century italic. Written by one hand. Contemporary marginal notes in ink (pp. 9, 40, 66, 71, 95, 99, 112, 125, 132, 139, 144), French (references to Descartes' letters to Elizabeth in vols. I and III of Clerselier). 19th-century marginal notes (pp. 3 and 34, references to Clerselier) and numbering of Elizabeth's letters (erratic) in pencil. Contemporary pasteboard binding, damaged (210x160x15 mm). Gatherings sewn on three parchment bands.

Contents (pagenumber, description, number of the letter in the manuscript (missing numbers given between square brackets), AT number, number in the 1643 edition if available):

1	<i>Title: Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes</i>		
3–5	<i>Christina to Descartes</i>		AT 532
5	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [1]	AT 499
9	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [2]	AT 461
18–22	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [3]	AT 519

⁹⁰ For further details on the La Hire collection, see AT I, li–lxi, and AT II, v–xix.

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22	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [4]	AT 526	
28	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [5]	AT 402	
34–40	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [6]	AT 406	
40–47	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [7]	AT 473	
47	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [8]	AT 522	
53	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 9	AT 414	
57	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [10]	AT 578	
61	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 11	AT 469	
66	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 12	AT 389	
71–80	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [13]	AT 409	
80	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 14	AT 400	
85	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 15	AT 384	
89–92	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 16	AT 311	
92	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [17]	AT 327	Letter 59
95	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 18	AT 301	Letter 18
99–104	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [19]	AT 308	Letter 27
104	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [20]	AT 377	
112	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 21	AT 450	
125–132	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [22]	AT 487	
132	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 23	AT 431	
139	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 24	AT 353	
144–149	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. 25	AT 412	
149	<i>Elizabeth to Descartes</i>	no. [26]	AT 441	
152–158	<i>Christina to [Chanut]. Header: Lettre de la Reine de Suede à Mr Descartes écrite à Upsal le 27me fev. 1654 Incipit: Je vous ay rendu conte</i>			

Provenance

The manuscript was discovered (around 1875) by the antiquarian bookseller Frederik Muller (1817–1881) in the library of the castle of Rosendael (near Arnhem), then the property of Baron Reinhardt J.C. van Pallandt (1826–1899).⁹¹ Muller notified Foucher de Careil, whom had asked him ‘about 20 years ago’ to keep him informed on any new finds relative to Descartes.⁹² In 1879 Foucher de Careil published the 26 letters of Princess Elizabeth to Descartes and the two letters by Queen Christina of Sweden, one to Descartes, the second, as Foucher de Careil conjectured, to Chanut. The manuscript has subsequently been consulted by Adam and Tannery, and, according to his own saying, also by Jacques Chevalier.⁹³ None of the editors has addressed the question of the provenance,

⁹¹ Muller announced his discovery in a short article, ‘27 onuitgegeven brieven aan Descartes’, *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1876, pp. 336–339.

⁹² A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la Princesse Élisabeth, et la Reine Christine d’après des lettres inédites* (Paris/Amsterdam: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879), p. iii.

⁹³ R. Descartes, *Lettres sur la morale*, ed. J. Chevalier (Paris: Boivin, [1935]).

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and there is admittedly little to go on. More or less certain is, however, the period during which the copy was made. The watermarks date the manuscript in the early 18th century, which renders Foucher de Careil's remark that the hand of the scribe is 17th century obsolete. Apparently, the manuscript was not acquired by R. van Pallandt himself, neither Muller nor Foucher de Careil indicate this. A remarkable fact in the history of the castle is that it changed hands by sale only once; since 1579 it remained in the hands of the allied families Van Dorth/Van Arnhem (1579–1721), Torck (1721–1902), and finally Van Pallandt (1902–1977).⁹⁴ This happy circumstance ensured the persistence of the library, which was dispersed only in 1949–1950, when the valuable items were auctioned (the letters of Elizabeth not being one of them).⁹⁶ The auction catalogues show that the residents of Rosendael took a genuine interest in science and philosophy. Descartes' works are very well presented: 9 works of Descartes, all printed before 1700, among which the first edition of the *Passions de l'ame* (1649) and the complete Clerselier edition of the correspondence. Other *cartesiana* are works by De la Forge, Wittich and De Raey. An inventory of the library made around 1930 mentions moreover the abridged version of Baillet's *Vie* (1693).⁹⁷ We may conclude that the manuscript with the letters to Descartes was not an isolated item in the library. Clearly someone (if we are talking of just one person) in the second half of the 17th century was much interested in the philosophy of Descartes, and this person would have considered the manuscript a welcome addition on his *cartesiana* sometime between c.1700 and 1730. He or she took the trouble to refer, in the margin of Elizabeth's letters, to Descartes' answers in the Clerselier edition. Could it be the 'J.P. Torck' whose *ex libris*, according to the 1930 inventory, is found in the copy of Descartes *Passions*? So far we have not been able to identify this person.

According to a note on the wrapper that protects the manuscript the letters were copied 'sur les originales'.⁹⁸ This appears to be impossible, given the fact that the copy was made in the early 18th century and the fact that the original letters of Elizabeth were returned to her. The final letter in the manuscript

⁹⁴ Information on the history of the castle and its inhabitants is based on J.C. Bierens de Haan, *Rosendael, Groen Hemeltjen op Aerd. Kasteel, tuinen en bewoners sedert 1579* (Zutphen: Walburg pers, 1994).

⁹⁵ *Bibliotheek kasteel Rosendael bij Arnhem*, 1⁹⁶ deel, Verkoopung Juni 1949, door A.J. Huffel's Antiquariaat, F.W.G. Théonville, Utrecht; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek van het kasteel Rosendael* (tweede gedeelte), Verkoopung: 25–28 april 1950, door A.J. Huffel's Antiquariaat, F.W.G. Théonville, Utrecht. A copy of these catalogues with notes by the former owner of the library, W.F.T. baron van Pallandt, confirm the provenance of the works mentioned above (Collection Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Arnhem).

⁹⁷ 'Bibliotheek Kasteel Rosendael', 2 vols., c.1930 (Collection Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Arnhem), vol. 1, fos. 8v–9.

⁹⁸ The ink note is written in a late 19th century hand and reads: 'Receuil de quelques lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes par la Reine de Suède et la Princesse de Bohème. Copiées sur les originales. 2 lettres de Christine et 26 d'Elizabeth, 1640–60, du temps de Gérard van Arnhem. On est prié de conserver les lettres intactes, de n'y jamais faire faire des changements. Elles ont une grande valeur. En 1879 Monsieur le Comte A. Foucher de Careil les a fait imprimer et communiquer au public avec l'agrément de Br van Pallandt, Seigneur de Rozendael, propriétaire de ce recueil [sic]'. Gerard van Arnhem (1598–1648) never lived at Rosendael but his library (without any works by Descartes) went to the castle after his death.

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gives an indication of the real background of the material in the manuscript. It is written by Christina (27 February 1654) and erroneously addressed to Descartes. Foucher de Careil conjectures that it was actually addressed to Chanut, and this can now be confirmed; other copies of the same letter in which Christina amplifies her reasons for abdication exist and all identify Chanut as the addressee.⁹⁹ Now, after Descartes' death Chanut came into the possession of both the letter by Christina to Descartes (the first letter in the collection) and the letters by Elizabeth. He returned the letters to Elizabeth, but apparently only after he had them copied—despite his insistence that he had not touched them (see above, p. xviii). As Elizabeth stayed with her refusal to have her letters made public, Chanut lost his interest in publishing Descartes' correspondence with Christina, Elizabeth and himself, and left the project to Clerselier. He did however not send his copy of Elizabeth's letters to his son-in-law—indeed, no one was to know he had them copied. That Chanut had Elizabeth's letters copied cannot be proven, but it is difficult to explain the existence of a copy of her letters otherwise. In any case, the Rosendael manuscript is not Chanut's copy (to which the copies of Christina's letters were added later) but it is at its very best a copy from Chanut's copy.

Our knowledge of the provenance of the Rosendael manuscript has many gaps and is shrouded in mist. We do not know who acquired the manuscript nor when it became part of the library of Rosendael. And more intriguing perhaps, why is it the only known copy of Elizabeth's letters, and if Chanut is its original source, what is the fate of his personal copy? However, one problem has been solved: that of the apparent loss of the manuscript. Over the last decades scholars have in vainly attempted to locate the manuscript at the Gelders Archief in Arnhem where the private archives of the castle are being kept. In fact, it was never part of the private archives but of the library. The remnants of the library were temporarily relocated during the castle's renovation between 1985 and 1990; the books returned to their original place, but not the few manuscripts, among which the letters to Elizabeth. These were safely stored in the offices of the present custodian of the castle, the Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen in Arnhem.¹⁰⁰

EDITORIAL METHODS

Choice of copy text

The autograph letter signed (abbreviated ALS) is the primary source for the text of a letter, and for the year 1643 we have the happy circumstance that no less

⁹⁹ BnF, n.a.f. 5371, fos. 40–41; BnF, MS Collection Rothschild; Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Per Q 5, fos. 140–143. See also J.-F. de Raymond, *Descartes et Christine de Suède* (Paris: Lettres Modernes: 1993), pp. 123–125.

¹⁰⁰ After the death of W.F.T. Baron van Pallandt (†1977) the castle was bequeathed to the Stichting Het Geldersch Landschap. Since 1982 the Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen holds the castle in long lease.

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than 27 autograph letters have survived and are in the public domain. When the ALS is lost or otherwise inaccessible, one needs to take secondary sources into consideration. The best alternative after the ALS itself is a manuscript copy or a printed version of the text directly from the ALS. Examples of the latter kind are the letter to Van Beverwijck published by Van Beverwijck himself (Letter 33), and the published photograph of the ALS of Letter 47—the ALS is probably still extant but its present location is unknown. The ALS of Letter 39 perished during WO II, and its transcription in AT is now the only source. The ‘minute’ of a letter, that is a draft version or a copy kept by the author, forms another source for the text of the letter. Manuscript material of this kind is rare in Descartes’ correspondence, the only example in 1643 being Colvius’ draft for a letter to Descartes (Letter 25). By contrast, printed versions of drafts and of copies are abundant. The Budé collection consisting of copies of Descartes’ letters to Pollot was not available to us, so the AT edition of these copies must be our principal source (see Letter 43). However, the most important source with printed drafts and copies is the three volume edition of Descartes’ correspondence by Clerselier. Finally, there may be references to, abstracts of or quotations from a letter. The best known source for this kind of material is the biography by Baillet, but another publication containing relevant material for the correspondence of 1643 is a work by Samuel Maresius (Letters 23, 31, 52, 63 and 65).

Clerselier’s edition presents the problem that the first volume was reprinted two times (in 1663 and 1667) and the second volume once (1666). There are differences between the various editions, not only qua spelling but there are also textual changes. Adam and Tannery prefer, without much of an argument, the latest edition of every volume (cf. AT I, civ–cv). We use the first edition for two reasons. First, in most cases the textual changes appear to be stylistic improvements by Clerselier himself, which do not originate from a new study of the source material.¹⁰¹ Second, during every reprint the printer made mistakes in copying the earlier edition. If there are significant differences between the various editions they are indicated in the critical apparatus. Irrelevant variants between Clerselier and other sources are not mentioned in the critical apparatus. Compared to Descartes’ own usage, Clerselier usually writes numerals and abbreviations in full (‘trois’ instead of ‘3’, ‘Monsieur’ instead of ‘M^r’, and so on). These expansions are not mentioned in the apparatus.

Presentation of the letters

The header to each letter gives the number in the edition, the author of the letter, the addressee, the place of writing and the place the letter was sent to, and finally the date of the letter. Conjectures are placed between square brackets. We then give information on the source(s), edition(s), and at the end of the introduction a summary of the contents of the letter.

¹⁰¹ Exception to this are Descartes’ letters to Regius, which Clerselier revised in the second edition of the first volume, and the correspondence with More (see the note by A. Gabbey in AT V, 668–677).

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Source(s). Manuscript material is dealt with differently from printed material. The kind of manuscript is indicated: ALS, draft, or copy. By copy we understand a copy of the ALS. Drafts and copies can be autograph documents as well, and if that is the case, it is indicated. Subsequently follow the location of the manuscript and shelfmark. If a manuscript constitutes the principal source for the text of the letter, a concise description is given, i.e. the number of (folded) sheets, the size of the first page, the number of written pages with their foliation, and the presence or absence of an address and/or seal. In case there is more than one source, the sources are listed in order of importance; the principal source, whose text is followed, being the first.

Edition(s). In case of a manuscript source, its first publication is mentioned. If there is more than one manuscript source, the first publication of the most important source is mentioned (which is usually the ALS). Then follow the places in the standard editions of Descartes' correspondence (AT, AM, CM) and other relevant editions (for example, the Roth edition of the Descartes–Huygens correspondence, the edition of Huygens' correspondence by J. Worp). If there is more than one source, it is indicated which source is used in which edition. For example, prior to the publication of the ALS by Roth Letter 11 (to Huygens, 18 February 1643) was known via the draft published in Clerselier (Cle). This is indicated as follows: 'AT III, 617–630 (Cle); AT III, 805–814 (Roth); AM V, 257–264; CM XII, 57–67 (ALS)'. Because AM is not a critical edition, its source will not be indicated (AM generally adopts the AT text or Roth).

After the section dealing with sources and editions, space is reserved for a short discussion of problems relating to the author of the letter, the addressee, date, the history of the text and the choice of the copy text.

In the right margin we indicate the folio or page numbers of the source, or, in case there is more than one source, of the source mentioned first in the header (the folio or page breaks are indicated in the text by a vertical line), and the volume and page numbers of AT, and, if applicable, of CM as well (page breaks are not indicated).

In case a letter is known only in fragments or references, the various fragments and/or references are indicated by a letter of the alphabet (ABC, etc.). To contrast testimonies with actual letters, the former are printed in a smaller font. When it is unambiguously clear that a direct quotation from the letter is given, this is printed in the normal font size. Baillet's notes in the margin of his *Vie* are inserted in the main text between square brackets, preceded by the abbreviation *i.m.* (*in margine*).

There are three sequences of notes. Below the text are found textual notes, listed by line number, and short explanatory notes, keyed to superscript numbers. More elaborated annotation, also keyed to superscript letters, is found after the letter. See also above, pp. xxix–xxx.

Principles of transcription

Most manuscript sources have been collated anew, but there are some notable

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exceptions. Letters 12 (Lille), 22 (Florence), and 37 (Uppsala) were transcribed from high quality xeroxes only, or, as in the last case, from a photograph as well as a high resolution color scan. The 15 letters from the Buxton collection (the Descartes–Huygens correspondence published by Roth) have not been studied from the source itself in the BnF. We limited ourselves to transcribing the microfilm. For some letters the film was of too inferior quality to make a reliable transcription, in which case we checked our collation to Roth's edition (which we have found to be very dependable). Permission to study the original letters is, understandably, not easily given, and we prefer to study the complete collection at one single occasion.

In the transcription of manuscripts and printed sources alike the following principles have been observed. The original lineation has not been adhered to, except for the signature and the address. If a paragraph was inserted by the editor this is indicated. The spelling of the long *s*, and of *u/v* has been made conform to modern usage. The distribution of *i/j* follows the sources, with two exceptions. First, when *j* is used before a consonant, for example, *jmpossible* has been changed into *impossible*. Second, if there is no system at all in the distribution of *i/j* we prefer the spelling most frequently used in the letter (so if *Ie* and *Je* are used interchangeably, we have changed *Je* into *Ie* if *Ie* is used more frequently, and viceversa). The ampersand (&) is always replaced by *et*.¹⁰² In Latin texts the ligatures *æ/œ* are resolved into *ae/oe*. Insignificant contractions and abbreviations have been silently expanded. Not expanded are abbreviations that are still in use (for example, *etc.*), abbreviated titles (Mr, Rev.) and names of months (Ian.). Unusual abbreviations are expanded (e.g. Amb<assadeur>). When only an initial is given, the full name is added between angle brackets if there is no doubt about the identity of the person meant (e.g. St<ampioen>). Accents are reproduced as they appear in the original, except for the accents on *là*, *à* and *où*, which are supplied if absent. A cedilla is added before *a*, *o* and *u*. Huygens' dotting of the letter *y* is not reproduced. Emphasis in the original (underlining or written/printed in a different style) is rendered by italics. Words and passages in a different language are silently italicized even if they are not emphasized in the original. In general, original punctuation is respected, except when this causes confusion (for example in detailed discussions of experiments in letters to Mersenne). After each full stop the first letter of the new sentence is set in capitals. The first letter after the salutation has also been set in capital. Apart from that, the original capitalisation is respected, except when it is erratic.

For manuscripts the following additional rules apply. Apostrophes are silently added; if an apostrophe is deleted this is noted in the critical apparatus (see for example, Letter 13, p. 47, l. 52). Words written as one in the original are been separated if modern usage demands it (*ilya*). Similarly words separated in the original are writtten as one following modern usage. Exception to these rules are combinations of words which are nowadays written as one, but for which there was no general rule in the 17th century (*par ce que*, etc.); in those cases the

¹⁰² It should be noted that AT in their transcription of Descartes' autographs adopts the contrary approach: in most cases they change *et* into an ampersand.

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original text is respected. The use of hyphens between words is not normalised according to modern usage (*cy devant*, etc.).

In printed sources, evident printing errors are silently corrected. In the French texts of Clerselier and Baillet the use of the acute accent has been normalised according to modern French usage. The acute has thus been suppressed or changed into an accent grave (*cét* into *cet*, *pièce* into *pièce*).

Critical apparatus

In the critical apparatus variant readings are indicated, corrections and conjectures justified, and, if the primary source is a manuscript, details concerning the constitution of the text mentioned. The source of a variant reading is indicated by a siglum, unless the variant reading is from the primary source. Indeed, any text in the critical apparatus without siglum is from the primary source. If more than a single manuscript source is available, the different sources are represented by the sigla defined in the introduction to every letter (usually the first letter of the name of the collection). If necessary, a numeral is added (e.g. *B1*, *B2*).

If the main text is based on a manuscript, deletions and additions in the source are indicated as follows:

- <– a) *a* was deleted
- <a>>b) *a* was changed into *b* (via deletion and addition or conversion)
- <+ a) *a* was added (the exact place of the addition—above, in the margin, etc.—is not indicated for small additions)
- <a ≠ b) *a* was corrected into *b* during writing

A combination of different textual notes is possible. For example, ‘<(dont)>>ou] dont *Cle*’ explains that in the manuscript ‘dont’ was changed into ‘ou’, while Clerselier gives ‘dont’.

Sigla

Next to the abbreviations *AT*, *CM* and *Cle* (see p. viii) the following sigla are used:

<i>Bev</i>	Van Beverwijck
<i>Bor</i>	Borel
<i>E</i>	editor
<i>Epp</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
<i>FdC</i>	Foucher de Careil
<i>add.</i>	added
<i>conj.</i>	conjecture
<i>corr.</i>	corrected
<i>om.</i>	omitted
<i>par. E</i>	new paragraph inserted by the editor

The Correspondence of
René Descartes
1643

Henricus Regius, [Utrecht], to Descartes, [Endegeest]
[between December 1642 and May 1643]

Source

Baillet, II, 157 (A), 177 (B), 184–185 (C).

Editions

AT III, 562; AM V, 189–190 (A); AT III, 571; AM V, 206–207 (B); AT VIII B, 195–196 (C, partly); Bos, 157–160.

Baillet does not mention the date of letter, which has no. 25 in the collection of Regius' letters. The date *ante quem* is the publication of *Epistola ad Voetium* in May 1643. Text C contains references to several events of a known date: a) the interdiction of Leemans' pamphlet *Retorsio calumniarum* by the 's-Hertogenbosch magistrate on 6 November 1642 NS; b) the letters by the same magistrate to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* (14 November 1642 NS), the Provincial States of Utrecht and Voetius (both 19 November 1642 NS).

Adam and Tannery take letters 21 to 26 in the collection of Regius' letters together, indicating the difficulty of listing them separately (AT III, 570). Their compilation is dated 'Summer 1642', with the reservation that some of the letters may actually date from 1643. Although references to some of the letters are indeed inseparable, it is not necessary to stack them indiscriminately (see Bos, 151). Two letters belong to Descartes' correspondence of 1643: no. 25, between December 1642 and May 1643 (Letter 1), and no. 26, before May 1643 (Letter 2).

Summary

Little can be said with certainty about the contents of the letter, as Baillet ties in connections between events and letters from both 1642 and 1643. From text A we gather that one of Voetius' students, a 'renegade monk', went to Leiden to have a refutation of Regius' *Responsio* printed. Golius however supposedly prevented the student from executing his plan. Text B concerns Descartes' mistake about the identity of the author of the *Admiranda methodus*. According to text C, Regius wrote Descartes that a pamphlet against Maresius had been prohibited; that Voetius' work against Maresius was canceled by order from the Utrecht magistrate (which was in fact not the case); and finally, that Voetius' decision to publish his work despite protests from the 's-Hertogenbosch magistrate enraged the governor of the city, Brederode.

[A]

Pour ce qui est de la réfutation que Voetius avoit entreprise contre la Réponse de M. Regius¹ à ses thèses par le ministère de ses étudiants, [*i.m.*: Lettr. 25. Ms. de Regius] l'on peut dire qu'elle échoïa entre les mains d'un Moine renégat, ou fugitif, comme l'appelle M. Regius, pour avoir voulu dissimuler qu'il en fût l'auteur.² Pour éloigner le Public encore davan-

¹ After his appointment as professor of theoretical medicine and botany at Utrecht University in 1638, Henricus Regius (1598–1679) became a regular correspondent of Descartes. The opposition against his overt defence of the New Philosophy came to a climax after publishing, with Descartes' help, a reply to a series of disputations by the Utrecht theologian Gisbertus *Voetius (1589–1678), entitled *Responsio, sive Notae in Appendicem ad Corollaria Theologico-Philosophica ... D. Gisberti Voetii* (Utrecht: Van Doorn, 1642).

² In April 1642, Lambertus vanden Waterlaet (c.1619–1678), Voetius' student who had defended the disputations against the New Philosophy in December 1641, published a reply to Regius' *Responsio* (Baillet's claim that it did not appear is mistaken, cf. Bos, 147–148). The work published by the defrocked monk Vanden Waterlaet, *Prodromus sive Examen tutelare orthodoxae*

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

5 tage de cette pensée, il avoit confié l'écrit à ce Moine pour l'aller faire imprimer à Leyde, afin qu'il parût que Messieurs Descartes et Regius avoient encore des ennemis ailleurs qu'à Utrecht. [...]³ Mais le Recteur de l'Université de Leyde qui étoit M. Golius ayant été averti de ce qui se passoit, [*i.m.*:Lettre 20. Ms. de Reg.⁴] se transporta incontinent chez l'Imprimeur de cette Réfutation, et fit faire en sa présence une information de cette entreprise.⁵ [*i.m.*:
10 Item. lettr. 25. Ms.] L'Imprimeur la rejetta toute sur le Moine, qui se trouva heureusement absent de l'Imprimerie, et qui prit la fuite pour aller à Utrecht donner avis à Voetius de ce qui étoit arrivé à son ouvrage, et lui rendre conte de sa commission.

[B]

Jusques-là Voetius n'avoit point fait difficulté de mettre son nom à tous les libelles qu'il avoit publiez en forme de thèses contre sa philosophie, et dont le nombre montoit jusqu'à sept différens écrits, en comprenant les thèses de son fils sur les formes substantielles, et le Jugement Académique de l'Université d'Utrecht qui étoit aussi de sa composition.⁶ Mais
5 pour ne point dégoûter le Public de son nom, et pour faire croire que M. Descartes avoit encore d'autres ennemis que lui, il voulut que Schoockius mît son nom à la tête du livre, comme s'il en eût été le véritable père, ou l'unique auteur.⁷ C'étoit un artifice propre à tirer Voetius d'embarras, au cas que le succès du livre ne fût pas heureux. Mais comme cet artifice ne parut qu'à la fin de l'édition du livre, où l'on réserve ordinairement à tirer la feuille du
10 titre et la préface, M. Descartes y fut trompé. [*i.m.*: Lettr. 25. Ms. de Reg.] Car ayant appris que le livre qu'on disoit être composé par Voetius s'imprimoit à Utrecht par ses soins, et en ayant reçu les six premières feuilles, sans qu'il y fût fait mention de Schoockius, et sans même qu'on eût encore ouy parler de ce jeune homme: [*i.m.*: Epist. ad celeberr. Voet. pag. 78, 79, 80, et passim.⁸] et ayant voulu le réfuter à mesure qu'on l'imprimoit, sans attendre la fin de
15 l'édition; il fut surpris de voir que l'adversaire qu'il avoit apostrophé dans sa Réponse à face découverte ne lui parût plus qu'un masque dans la suite.⁹

philosophiae principiorum (Leiden: Christiaens, 1642), consists of two clearly distinct parts, the latter of which appears to be by another author. See Th. Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 94–95; Th. Verbeek, 'Descartes et Regius: 'Juin 1642', autour de la lettre CCLXXX', in J.-R. Armogathe et al. (eds), *La biografia intellettuale di René Descartes attraverso la corrispondance* (Napels: Vivarium, 1999), pp. 98–101; Bos, 145.

3 In the passage omitted Baillet paraphrases Descartes' letter to Regius from early April 1642, supplying him details on Vanden Waterlaet's forthcoming reply (AT III, 559/Bos, 144).

4 Regius to Descartes, 4 April 1642 (AT III, 562/Bos, 146–147).

5 Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), professor of Arabic and mathematics at Leiden and a close friend of Descartes, was rector of Leiden university from February 1642 till February 1643. There is no independent evidence for Baillet's claim that Golius intervened in the printing process of the *Prodromus*. However, there existed a decree by the Senate prohibiting students to publish without permission of the Senate. As Vanden Waterlaet had matriculated at Leiden University in February 1642, Golius may have started an investigation.

6 Baillet's source is without question Descartes' *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 210.

7 The reference is the *Admiranda methodus* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1643) by the Groningen professor Martin *Schoock (1614–1669), a former student of Voetius. For its publishing history, see Appendix 1.

8 *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 55–56.

9 For the publishing history of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1643), see Appendix 1.

1. Regius to Descartes, December 1642–May 1643

[C]

Les honnêtetez de M. Desmarets¹⁰ ne servirent qu'à irriter cet esprit intraitable [Voetius], comme avoient fait celles que M. Regius avoit employées dans sa Réponse à ses thèses des formes substantielles. Peu de jours après il dressa tumultuairement un libelle de peu de feuillets contre le livre de Desmarets, et il eut l'effronterie de le faire paroître sous le nom
5 supposé d'un Ministre de Boisleduc et sous le titre de *Retorsio Calumniarum quas Tertullus Societatis Marianaë Advocatus, etc.*¹¹ [*i.m.*: Allusion à ce Tertullus Avocat contre S. Paul.¹²] Mais il fut condamné incontinent par le Magistrat de la police, [*i.m.*: Lettr. 25. Ms. de Reg.] comme un libelle diffamatoire, rempli de mensonges et d'impostures, et propre à exciter des séditions: sa lecture fut défenduë par les crieurs publics au son du tambour* [*i.m.*: *Ou de
10 la cloche ou du tocsin.] et de la trompette, [*i.m.*: *sono tubarum et tympanorum*, pag. 420 de Confraternit. Marian.¹³] comme Voetius même a eû soin de le faire sçavoir à la postérité.¹⁴

Le libelle diffamatoire du prétendu Ministre de Boisleduc contre le livre de Desmarets n'étoit que l'avant-coureur d'un juste volume que Voetius entreprit à la hâte pour fronder la confrairie de Nôtre-Dame de Boisleduc. Les Magistrats de cette ville en eurent avis: et
15 s'étant assemblez pour délibérer des moyens de réprimer l'insolence de ce broüillon, ils en écrivirent en corps aux Etats de la province d'Utrecht, et aux Magistrats de la ville.¹⁵ Voetius se vanta même depuis, [*i.m.*: Pag. 421. de Confrat. Marian.] qu'ils lui firent l'honneur de lui écrire en particulier, pour lui faire tomber la plume des mains; mais que ce fut en vain.¹⁶ Car encore que le Magistrat d'Utrecht eût arrêté l'impression de ce nouveau livre, [*i.m.*:
20 Lettr. 25. Ms. de Reg.] et qu'il eût défendu à Voetius de la continuer pour satisfaire aux ordres des Etats de la province,¹⁷ [*i.m.*: Tom. 2. des lettr. de Desc. pag. 541.¹⁸] il ne laissa

¹⁰ In August 1642, the Walloon minister and rector of the Latin school at 's-Hertogenbosch, Samuel *Maresius (1599–1673), forwarded a copy of his *Defensio pietatis* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Van Doccum, 1642) to Voetius, together with a letter, put in most friendly terms, in which he expressed his hope that the work would take away Voetius' misunderstanding regarding the Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch. See Appendix 2.

¹¹ Baillet's source is the sixth part of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium*, devoted to the Brotherhood affair, in which Descartes attributes the pamphlet to Voetius (AT VIII B, 75–76). The author of the pamphlet *Retorsio calumniarum* (Amsterdam: Broers, 1642) is the 's-Hertogenbosch minister Cornelis Leemans, or Lemannus (c.1599–1668), a fact which Descartes came to know afterwards (cf. *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 235).

¹² Acts 24:1–2.

¹³ Baillet's source is, once more, the *Epistola ad Voetium* (cf. AT VIII B, 77).

¹⁴ Leemans' pamphlet was prohibited on 6 November 1642 NS, cf. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 113; Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, 174; Van Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, 337. The text of the sentence is in S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), p. 324, and partly in the *Epistola ad Voetium* as well (AT VIII B, 77).

¹⁵ A copy of the letter to the States of Utrecht, dated 19 November 1642 NS, is kept in HUA, Archief van de Staten, inv. no. 471. The letter to the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, dated 14 November NS, is in P. Burman, *Trajectum eruditum* (Utrecht 1738), pp. 404–408.

¹⁶ The text of the letter, dated 19 November NS, is in Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, 332–334; Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, appendix xxxvii. Voetius' reply to the *Vroedschap* of 's-Hertogenbosch is lost, but it is outlined in the anonymous pamphlet *Kort ende oprecht verhael* (n.p., 1645), 11; Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, 326; Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, III, 352. Cf. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 116.

¹⁷ Baillet is mistaken here: on 26 November/6 December 1642 the *Vroedschap* decided that Voetius' response to Maresius ought to be published (Kernkamp, I, 164–165).

¹⁸ Reference to Descartes' letter to Maresius, see Letter 8 below, p. 22, ll. 18–19. In Baillet, this marginal reference is accidentally exchanged with the next one; the correct order has been restored.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

point d'agir secrètement pendant les mois de Novembre et de Décembre, s'étant contenté de changer l'Imprimeur et la forme du livre, qui d'in-viii^o devint in-xii^o, afin qu'il pût le faire voir [*i.m.*: Argum. Ep. ad celeb. Voet.¹⁹] au Synode *Gallo-Belgique* qui devoit s'assembler à la Haye en 1643; [*i.m.*: Lettr. 25. Ms. de Reg.] et que se relevant de l'obéissance qu'il devoit aux Magistrats laïcs par l'autorité ecclésiastique du Synode auquel Messieurs de Boisleduc avoient bien voulu s'en rapporter pour décider de leur confrairie, il trouvât moyen d'y rendre sa cause triomphante.²⁰ Messieurs de Boisleduc furent avertis du peu de soumission qu'il témoignoit pour | ses supérieurs. Quelques-uns en furent indignez, et entre autres 185
30 M. Brederodius²¹ Protestant, [*i.m.*: Ibid. lettr. 25.] personnage qualifié, qui étoit de la confrairie, et qui fit menacer Voetius de lui faire donner les écrivains. [*i.m.*: Item lettr. 26. Ms. de Reg.²²] Mais les autres aimant mieux le mépriser, jugèrent plus à propos de l'abandonner à ses propres inquiétudes.²³ Il parut que Voetius avoit trop présumé de la faveur des Ministres des sept Provinces unies qui se trouvèrent au Synode *Gallo-Belgique*. [*i.m.*: Art. 24. Synodi Gallo-Belg. ann. 1643.²⁴] Malgré le zèle qu'ils avoient tous à détruire jusqu'aux moindres vestiges de l'ancienne Religion, ils se crurent obligez d'approuver la conduite de Messieurs de Boisleduc, et de blâmer celle de leur confrère Voetius. Il n'y eut que la considération du ministère qu'ils honoroient dans eux-mêmes, et l'appréhension de donner sujet aux Catholiques de les remercier, qui arrêta leur censure.

¹⁹ *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 6.

²⁰ The Walloon Synod was held in The Hague in April 1643 (the resolutions are dated 15 April). Against the Voetians, who claimed that the Synod decided in their favor, Descartes argues that, while the Synod disapproved of Maresius' defence of the Brotherhood without the Synod's consent, the Synod implicitly condemned Voetius as well for publishing slander without the Synod's approval (*Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 8–10). In a letter to Rivet, Maresius denied he had given the Synod's proceedings to Descartes (see Letter 31A). Van Dijck (Van Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, 360) mentions David le Leu de *Wilhem as a possible source for Descartes' knowledge of the proceedings, but their correspondence does not contain any indication to this effect. A more likely candidate is the Walloon minister and chaplain of the French regiments in the Dutch army Abraham de *Mory (c.1600–1645), a close friend of Huygens', who attended the Synod. On 22 May 1643, Descartes sent De Mory and De Wilhem a copy of the *Epistola ad Voetium* via Huygens (Letter 20). For the Brotherhood affair and the Walloon Synod, see Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 71–131; Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, 172–183; Van Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, 322–381. The acts/resolutions of the Synod are published in *Livre synodal*, I, 439–444.

²¹ After the seizure of 's-Hertogenbosch by Frederik Hendrik in 1629, Johan Wolfert van *Brederode (1599–1655) became governor of the city and the Meierij. In July 1642 he was appointed field-marshal, after to the Stadholder the highest in command of the Dutch army.

²² Regius to Descartes, Letter 2 below.

²³ Baillet concludes the paragraph outlining the Synod's decisions. While Descartes states that Voetius was at least implicitly condemned (see n. 20), Baillet, whose only source is the *Epistola ad Voetium*, wrongly claims that membership of the Brotherhood was condoned, and Voetius blamed for his interference.

²⁴ *Livre synodal*, I, 442–443; also in AT VIII B, 8, n. b.

Henricus Regius, [Utrecht], to Descartes, [Endegeest]
[before May 1643]

Source

Baillet, II, 179.

Editions

AT III, 573; AM V, 209; Bos, 163–164.

Baillet does not mention the date of letter no. 26 in the collection of Regius' letters, but in any case it was written after the publication of the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* in May 1642 (cf. ll. 5–6). The *Epistola ad Voetium* not being mentioned, the letter probably predates its publication in May 1643. If the letter is also a reminder to conceal Regius' assistance in composing the *Epistola ad Voetium*, this would place the letter after November 1642, when Descartes started working on his second attack on Voetius. A reference to letter 26 is found in Letter 1, text C, as well.

Summary

The reference to letter 26 appears to be linked solely to the observation that Voetius suspected Regius of being Descartes' informer for his *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*. The subsequent remarks on Regius in peril of losing his chair, stem from another letter of Descartes and from the *Lettre apologétique*, as the second and third of Baillet's marginal references indicate. In the present letter, Regius may have asked Descartes to conceal his source, in order to avoid the same accusations by Voetius after the publication of *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*.

M. Regius se trouvoit enveloppé dans la fortune de M. Descartes: mais quoique le gros de l'orage parût détourné de sa tête par la grande diversion que l'Épître au P. Dinet avoit fait faire sur M. Descartes, il paroissoit néanmoins plus à plaindre que lui, parcequ'il étoit justiciable du tribunal que Voetius assiégeoit par ses amis et ses intrigues. [*I.m.*: letr. Ms. de Regius 26.] Voetius avoit remarqué que la plupart des vérités que M. Descartes avoit débitées de lui au P. Dinet ne pouvoient lui avoir été révélées que par M. Regius.¹ Il ne se trompoit point; mais c'étoit par une nouvelle injustice qu'il prétendoit le poursuivre dorénavant comme un traître, ne l'ayant regardé jusques-là que comme un novateur, un broüillon et un ennemi de l'Aristote des écoles. [*I.m.*: Tom. 3. des letr. pag. 390, 391.²] Il ne

¹ Descartes attempted to safeguard Regius from similar accusations after the publication of the *Epistola ad Voetium*. According to Descartes, he asked the Utrecht professor for additional information on the Utrecht crisis, but he received a short answer that he could not discuss these matters with Descartes. Someone else told Descartes that a member of the magistrate had accused Regius of being Descartes' informer on the things he wrote about Voetius in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* (AT VIII B, 29–30). Given Baillet's testimony on Regius' letters 1 and 3 in the present volume, Regius' reply is obviously an invention, which, moreover, failed to avert new allegations (cf. p. 121, n. 5).

² The reference to the page numbers is probably a misprint, as it points to a letter to Mersenne of 27 May 1638 (AT II, 135–153/CM VII, 225–242), which even predates Descartes' acquaintance with Regius. Adam and Tannery silently correct Baillet's reference into 590 and 591, this being a letter to [Pollot] of [March 1642] (AT III, 550–551), in which Descartes mentions the rumour that Regius has been dismissed. Adam and Tannery's emendation is acceptable, but the date of the letter is probably September 1643 (Letter 40 below).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

- 10 sollicitoit rien moins que son abdication, et l'on parloit déjà tout communément de la perte de sa Chaire, comme de l'histoire d'un fait arrivé.³ De sorte qu'on ne le considéroit plus que comme la victime de l'Université et le *premier Martyr* de la secte cartésienne. [*L.m.*: Pag. 6. du 3. vol.⁴]

³ The rumour of Regius' dismissal circulated in September 1643, see Descartes to an Unknown, September 1643 (Letter 40), and Descartes to Huygens, 20 September 1643, (Letter 41 [AT IV, 750–751]). Huygens contradicts the rumour in his reply to Descartes of 5 October (Letter 42 [AT IV, 755]).

⁴ 'le ne parle point de ce qui s'est passé pendant ces années-là au regard de Monsieur Regius, qu'on pensoit enseigner mes opinions touchant la Philosophie, et qui a esté en hazard d'en estre le premier Martyr', *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIIIB, 208.

Henricus Regius, [Utrecht], to Descartes, [Endegeest]
[between December 1642 and May 1643]

Source

Baillet, II, 155 (A), 188–189 (B).

Editions

Other Editions: AT III, 557–558 (A); AM V, 184–185 (A); Bos, 165–166.

The date of letter, which has no. 36 in the collection of Regius' letters, is not given in Baillet. Because the letter is closely connected to Descartes' preparations for his *Epistola ad Voetium*, it can be dated between early December 1642, when Descartes got hold of the first quires of *Admiranda methodus*, and May 1643, when the *Epistola ad Voetium* appeared. Text A is not listed separately in AT but it is imbedded between references to Regius' letter to Descartes from [21/] 31 March 1642; text B is omitted in AT.

Summary

Baillet contains two references to Regius' letter no. 36. The first reference (text A) is connected to an enumeration of the Utrecht professors who subscribed the judgement of Regius' *Responsio* by the Academic Senate in March 1642, and of those who refused to sign. The second reference (text B) has to do with the fact that Regius could not find certain works by Voetius in the Utrecht bookshops. Apparently, Descartes had asked to him to send him Voetius' books and pamphlets for the purpose of his *Epistola ad Voetium*.

[A]

Il n'y eut que huit Professeurs qui eurent part à ce jugement.¹ [*I.m.*: lettr. 36. Ms. de Reg. à Desc.] Sc. G. Voetius, Ch. Dematius,² M. Schotanus,³ A. Mathaeus,⁴ G. Stratenus,⁵ J. Liraeus,⁶ Arn. Senguerdus,⁷ et Dan. Berckringer,⁸ qui prononcèrent contre la Réponse de M. Regius à Voetius et contre la Philosophie nouvelle. Les autres furent honteux de suivre la passion de
5 Voetius, mais ils étoient les plus foibles.⁹ Il n'y eut que M. Emilius qui forma opposition à ce jugement, et M. Cyprien* [*i.m.*: *Cyprianus Regneri qui ne connoissoit point M. Descartes et n'étoit point ami particulier de Regius.] Professeur en Droit qui protesta de nullité, voyant que l'on n'alléguoit aucune raison recevable pour rendre ce jugement valide. Il voulut même

¹ The judgement by the Utrecht Academic Senate of Regius' *Responsio*, condemning Cartesian philosophy, was issued on 17/27 March 1642. The text is reprinted in *Testimonium* (cf. n. 10 below), 65–67/ *Querelle*, 121–122, and in Descartes' *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 590–593 (with the mistaken date 16/26 March); also in AT III, 551–553.

² Carolus Dematius, or De Maets (1597–1651), professor of theology.

³ Meinardus Schotanus, or Van Schooten (1593–1644), professor of theology.

⁴ Antonius Matthaëus (1601–1654), professor of law.

⁵ Willem van der Straaten, or Statenus (1593–1681), professor of medicine.

⁶ Justus Liraeus (Lyraeus), or Van Liere (c.1578–1646), professor of humanities.

⁷ Arnoldus Senguerd(ius) (1610–1667), professor of physics.

⁸ Daniel Berckringer (1598–1667), professor of moral philosophy.

⁹ Baillet appears to be mistaken here, because all members of the Senate, except Aemilius and Regneri ab Oosterga, agreed with Voetius. The two associate professors, Jacobus Ravensberger, or Ravensperger (1615–1650), professor of mathematics, and Paulus Voet, had no seat on the Senate.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

10 qu'il fût fait mention de son opposition dans l'acte du jugement, et qu'on le nommât pour
n'être point confondu mal à propos avec les auteurs d'une action si peu raisonnable sous le
nom général des Professeurs de l'Université.¹⁰ [*I.m.*: Narrat. histor.]

[B]

Peu de jours après de sa publication¹¹ l'on vid paroître à Amsterdam chez Elzevier la Ré-
ponse de M. Descartes sous le titre d'*Epistola Ren. Descartes ad celeberrimum virum D. Gis-*
bertum Voetium, in quâ examinantur duo libri nuper pro Voetio Ultrajecti simul editi; unus de
*confraternitate Marianâ, alter de Philosophiâ Cartesianâ.*¹² [*I.m.*: En Latin et en Flamand.]
5 [...] ¹³ La seconde et la septième [parties] sont une espèce d'information particulière que l'on
fait de la conduite de Voetius; et la qua- | trième est un jugement de ses livres et de sa 189
doctrine, d'où il faut excepter ceux qu'il avoit écrits contre l'Eglise Romaine, et quelques
autres que M. Regius n'avoit pû trouver chez les Libraires d'Utrecht.¹⁴ [*I.m.*: lettr. 36. Ms. de
Regius.]

¹⁰ Baillet refers to *Testimonium Academiae Ultrajectinae, et Narratio historica qua defensae, qua ex-*
terminatae novae Philosophiae (Utrecht: Strick, 1643), the official account by the Academic Sen-
ate of the crisis over Cartesianism at Utrecht University, but nothing to this extent is found there.
Descartes' letter to Regius from April 1642 makes it clear that the Utrecht professor mentioned
the opposition of aemilius and Regneri ab Oosterga in his previous letter from [21/] 31 March
1642 (AT III, 559). Without doubt, Regius repeated the fact in the present letter as well. In the
Epistola ad Patrem Dinet Descartes recounts that Regneri demanded that his opposition be ex-
pressly stated (AT VII, 590). Moreover, in the *Epistola ad Voetium* Descartes relates how Regneri
demanded proof of the judgement's accusation that the New Philosophy was false, absurd, and
contrary to orthodox theology (AT VIII B, 34).

¹¹ Schoock's *Admiranda methodus*, published in March 1643 (cf. Appendix 1, p. 185ff).

¹² On 22 May 1643 Descartes sent Huygens several copies of the *Epistola ad Voetium* (Roth, 199/AT
III, 815). A Dutch translation appeared in the summer of 1643.

¹³ In the omitted passage and in the second part of text B, Baillet summarises the contents of the
Epistola ad Voetium, taken from Descartes' *Argumentum* to the work (AT VIII B, 11–12).

¹⁴ For Descartes' discussion of Voetius' works, see AT VIII B, 36, 53–55, 62–63, 64–107, 149–150, 166–
167, 171, 176, 182. The works 'against the Roman Church' are probably Voetius' writings in his
polemic in the first half of the 1630s with the Leuven professor of theology and since 1636 bishop
of Ieper, Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638). Voetius' polemic with Jansenius is indirectly referred
to in the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 179–180). For this polemic on the question whether or
not the Dutch ministers (among whom Voetius) had a legitimate mission in the captured town of
's-Hertogenbosch, see Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, I, 337–348; M. Lambrigts, 'Voetius versus Janse-
nius', in J. van Oort et al. (eds), *De onbekende Voetius* (Kampen: Kok, 1989), 148–167; J. Orcibal,
Jansenius d'Ypres (1585–1638), Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1989, 193–205.

Descartes, [Endegeest], to Marin Mersenne, Paris

4 January 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 2001, fos. 30r–31v. Single sheet folded into two (228x170 mm). Text on fos. 30r–31r; address on fo. 31v. No seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: P. Tannery, 'Encore trois lettres inédites de Descartes à Mersenne', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 5 (1892), 473–476.

Other editions: AT III, 607–611; AM V, 243–246; CM XII, 1–5; J.-A. Emery, *Pensées de Descartes sur la morale et la religion* (Paris 1811) (partly).

The Poirier number (43) is in the right upper corner of fo. 30r; a so-called original La Hire number, c 35, is found in the lower left corner.

Summary

Descartes thanks Mersenne for sending him his letter to Voetius, but he will not publish it, as he had intended. Instead, he will send it to Huygens with the request to forward it to Voetius. Descartes hopes that Voetius will not abandon his plan to publish his work against him. A letter forwarded by Mersenne is from Father Dinet, who has met Father Charlet in Rome. Charlet promised to write, but Descartes has not yet received a letter. Comments on Mersenne's experiments on the proportional weight of air and water.

Mon Reverend Pere,

30r

5 Ie vous remercie de la letre que vous avez voulu prendre la peine d'escrire à mon occasion, mais vous y parlez si avantageusement de moy, que ie ne l'ay pû lire sans honte, et ie n'aurois garde aussy, pour ce suiet, de la faire imprimer, encore
10 que i'en pourrois tirer copie de celuy à qui elle s'adresse, ce que ie ne croy pas que personne pust obtenir de luy.¹ Ce que i'ay pensé est de l'envoyer à M^r de Zuylichem, et le prier de dire qu'il l'a reçeuë de vous, et laisser à sa discretion de la fermer et l'envoyer tout droit à Voetius, ou bien de la faire voir auparavant à diverses personnes;² et ie m'assure que c'est ce qu'il fera, car ie ne pense pas
15 qu'il ayme Voetius, au moins n'en a t il pas de suiet. Et ie ne croy pas qu'il y ait aucun mal, s'il dit que vous luy avez envoyé cete letre ouverte, affin qu'il vist en quels termes vous écrivez de moy, et mesme qu'il l'envoie ainsy ouverte à Voetius, ce qui vaudra autant ou plus que si elle estoit imprimée, car on en tirera copie et tous ceux qui la voudront voir la verront, et Voetius ne peut se plaindre en cela de vous. Quand vous verrez ce qu'il fait imprimer, vous admirerez qu'un homme si impertinent ait passé icy pour docte; son livre ne sera pas meilleur que

AT III, 608

CM XII, 2

1 Mersenne being mentioned as an opponent of Cartesianism in the first quires of the *Admiranda methodus*, which Descartes had been able to procure, Descartes suggested that Mersenne compose an 'open' letter to rebuke Voetius, which Descartes would subsequently publish. See Descartes to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 599–601/CM XI, 364–367. For Mersenne's letter, dated 13 December 1642, see AT III, 602–604/CM XI, 372–377.

2 Cf. Descartes to Huygens, 5 January 1643, Letter 5 below.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ce Pentalogos³ que vous avez vû il y a un an ou deux, mesme il sera pire à cause qu'il sera beaucoup plus gros. I'en ay desia vû une partie et ie ne crains autre chose, sinon qu'il ait quelque ami qui luy conseille de le supprimer | avant qu'il soit achevé, et ainsy qu'il me face perdre 5 ou 6 feuilles de papier que i'ay desia brouillées, non pas pour luy respondre, car il ne dit rien qui merite response, mais pour faire connoistre sa probité et sa doctrine. 30v
AT III, 609

La lettre que vous m'avez envoyée vient du P. Dinet⁴ qui me mande qu'il est hureusement arrivé à Rome, qu'il a fait voir ma derniere lettre au P. Charlet,⁵ qui me cherit et estime que cete lettre est digne de moy et de ma generosité, et que le P. Charlet m'escrira ses sentimens touchant mes estudes et mes affections pour luy et pour eux. Voylà tout ce qu'elle contient et pour ce qu'elle n'est accompagnée d'aucune lettre du P. Charlet, ie iuge qu'ils ne se veulent point declarer ny pour ny contre, iusques à ce que ma Philosophie soit publiée, en quoy ie les louë. CM XII, 3

30 Ie vous remercie de vostre experience et ie veux bien croire que vous l'avez faite fort iustement, mais il y a beaucoup de choses à considerer avant que d'en pouvoir deduire la proportion qui est entre la pesanteur de l'air et de l'eau. Il faudroit peser une lame de cuivre aussy grande que vostre poire, mais qui ne fust point creuse, et voir si, estant esgalement chaudes, leur pesanteur demeurera égale, car si cela est, l'air enfermé dans la poire ne pese rien, au moins qui soit sensible. Et en effet, ie voudrois que vous m'eussiez mandé la pesanteur de cete poire, car elle ne peut, ce me semble, estre si legere que la difference d'un grain ou deux s'y puisse remarquer. Il faut aussy prendre garde en la chauffant, qu'il ne s'y attache point de cendres qui la rendent plus pesante. Et le principal est que la chaleur de cete poire, eschauffant aussy tout autour l'air de dehors qui l'environne, le rend plus rare, au moyen de quoy elle est plus pesante, ce que ie n'ose toutefois bien assurer sans examen, car cet air montant en haut en l'autre | 40 air, semble ne faire qu'un cors avec elle et ainsy la rendre legere.^a AT III, 610
CM XII, 4
31r

45 Il faudroit que M^r le Cardinal⁶ vous eust laissé deux ou 3 de ses millions pour pouvoir faire toutes les experiences qui seroient necessaires pour decouvrir la nature particuliere de chasque cors, et ie ne doute point qu'on ne pust venir à de grandes connoissances qui seroient bien plus utiles au public que toutes les victoires qu'on peut gagner en faisant la guerre.

50 L'observation que vous avez faite, que la poire estant fort chaude ne tire point d'eau iusques à ce qu'elle se soit rafroidie iusques à certain degré, est fort notable et merite d'estre reiterée; et mesme peut estre qu'on trouvera, estant fort chaude, au lieu de tirer de l'eau, qu'il en sortira un peu d'air au commence-

26 ses corr. AT] ces 44 par. E 49 par. E

3 Mercurius Cosmopolita, *Pentalogos in libri cujusdam Gallico idiomate evulgati quattor discursuum, De la Methode; Dioptrique; Metéorique; et Geometrique* (The Hague: Spruit, 1640). It is one of the first publications against Descartes in the Netherlands, written by an unknown proponent of Hermetic philosophy. Descartes was very indignant about the work, see for example his letter to Mersenne, 3 December 1640, AT III, 249/CM X, 297–298. Cf. Letter 13, p. 48, ll. 70–71.

4 Jacques Dinet SJ (1584–1653) was provincial of the Jesuits in Paris between 1639 and 1642.

5 Étienne Charlet SJ (1570–1652) was rector of La Flèche at the time Descartes studied there. In 1627 he was appointed assistant to the Jesuit superior in Rome, which position he held till 1646.

6 Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) died from pneumonia on 4 December 1642.

4. Descartes to Mersenne, 4 January 1643

ment qu'elle se rafroidira; ainsy que l'eau qui se condense, à mesure qu'elle
se rafroidist, quand elle n'est pas encore parvenue iusques à certain degré de
55 froideur, se dilate par apres, en se rafroidissant davantage, avant que de se glacer,
comme i'ay escrit en mes Meteores.⁷ Pour vostre doute, sçavoir si la poire ne tire
point plus d'eau qu'il n'est sorti d'air, il est aysé à soudre, car si elle en tire trop, il
en resortira de soy mesme incontinant apres; et ie croy bien que cela pourroit ar-
river, si on la faisoit refroidir fort promptement en la ietant l'hyver dans de l'eau
60 bien froide et l'en retirant iustement au point qu'elle cesseroit d'attirer l'eau, en
sorte qu'on l'en verroit resortir. Mais en la laissant refroidir tout doucement, ie
ne croy pas que cela soit sensible. Ie ne croy point aussy que cete invention puisse
servir pour la medecine, car si l'empeschement de l'urine ne peut estre osté par
le moyen de la canule qu'on met dans le conduit, il ne le pourra estre non plus
65 par cete attraction. Et i'ay ouy dire qu'ouvrant les cors de ceux qui sont morts
de cete sorte, on leur a quelquefois trouvé la vessie toute vuide, en sorte qu'ils
meurent plutost à cause que l'urine ne peut entrer en la vessie, qu'à cause qu'elle
n'en peut sortir.⁸ Ie suis,

Vostre tres obeissant serviteur, Descartes

70 Du 4^e iour de l'an 1643,
que ie vous souhaite hureux.

Au Reverend Pere
Le Reverend Pere Mercenne
à Paris

31v

a — p. 12, l. 43. Descartes is here, and again in the last paragraph, commenting with some skepticism the result of an experiment performed by Mersenne with the aim of determining the ratio between the weight of air and that of water. The leather pear used by Mersenne is a sort of *aeolipyle*, an instrument that was first described by Heron in his *Pneumatica* and that was supposed to be able to turn water into air. The aeolipyle was a round vase made of a heat resistant material and containing only a very small opening through which it could be filled with water. If the aeolipyle was put on the fire, the water contained in it would come to boil and would be vehemently expelled from the vase in the form of vapour. At the beginning of the fourth *discours* of his *Meteores*, Descartes explains the cause of winds by analogy with the behaviour of 'ces boules nommées des Aeolipiles', where 'un peu d'eau s'exhalant en vapeur fait un vent assés grand et assés fort, à raison du peu de matiere dont il se compose' (AT VI, 265).

The aeolipyle makes its first appearance in the correspondence between Mersenne and Descartes in 1630. In a letter dated 25 February 1630, Descartes writes to the Minim: 'Ce que vous voyez sortir des Eolipiles, est semblable à ce que vous voyez dans les vapeurs ou

67 <quelle>>que) 67–68 elle n'en peut sortir] elle n'en peut plus sortir AT,CM

⁷ AT VI, 238.

⁸ In the *Cogitata* (Paris 1644), Mersenne lists among the various medical applications of the aeopile, one for the urinary passages as well (*De hydrolico-pneumaticis phaenomenis. Propositio XXX. Organorum quibus per aër condensatur, vel rarefit, tam medicos quàm alios usus indicare*, pp. 144–146).

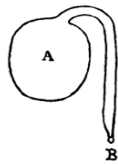
Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

fumées qui sortent de l'eau estant mise auprès du feu. Pour le vent, ce n'est autre chose que l'émotion de cette vapeur. Et quand vostre experience eust reüssi, vous n'auriez pas encore trouvé la proportion de l'air avec l'eau; car le vent peut estre quelquefois d'un air fort épais, et quelquefois d'un autre beaucoup plus rare' (AT I, 118–119/CM II, 394–395). Although he draws attention to the fact that water vapours do not always have the same degree of rarefaction, Descartes does not object here to Mersenne's assumption that, upon boiling, the water contained in the aeolipyle turns into air. This hypothesis is rejected instead by Isaac Beeckman who in a letter to Mersenne dated 30 April 1630 writes: 'Rarefactio aquae sane non sufficit ad aërem constituendum. Vapor enim nec est aër neque ex vapore aër fieri potest; aqua enim et aër essentiâ omnino differunt' (CM II, 459).

Beeckman's argument must have convinced Mersenne, who on 1 September 1631 wrote to John Rey: 'Quant aux experiences de l'aeolipyle, dont vous parlés au Chapitre VII [of the *Essays sur la recherché de la cause pour laquelle l'estain et le plomb augmentent de poids quand on les calcine* (1630)], je les ay faites. Mais c'est une fausse imagination de croire que l'eau qui en sort se tourne en air: elle demeure tousjours eau, qui revient après en sa nature' (CM III, 189).

Mersenne, however, did not give up the idea of using the aeolipyle to determine the ratio between the weight of air and that of water. The experiment which Descartes is commenting upon in the present letter is likely to be similar to the one recorded in the *Phenomena hydraulico-pneumatica*, a section of Mersenne's *Cogitata physico mathematica* (1644). In the XXIXth proposition of the *Phenomena*, Mersenne reports having verified, by weighing a bronze aeolipyle in three different situations (first at room temperature, then after heating it, and finally after having immersed it in water) that cool air is heavier than rarefied air and that water has a specific weight 1356 times superior to that of cool air.

This ratio must have looked very implausible to Descartes, who in a letter to the Minim of 19 January 1642, has described an analogous experiment that seemed to indicate that water was only 145 times heavier than air. For his own experiment Descartes has used 'une petite fiole de verre, fort legere (...) et n'ayant qu'une petite ouverture, à passer un cheveu, en l'extrémité de son bec B' (see the figure below). Descartes, like Mersenne, reports having weighed the glass ampoule three times: first when it was cold, than after having heated it and finally after having let it cool down with the opening B immersed in water.



The ampoule was found to weigh $78\frac{1}{2}$ 'grains' the first time, 78 'grains' the second time and $150\frac{1}{2}$ 'grains' the third time. Starting from the assumption that when the ampoule was immersed in water 'l'air se condensant à mesure qu'elle se refroidissoit, il est entré dedans autant d'eau que la chaleur en avoit chassé d'air auparavant', Descartes came to the conclusion that the weight of air was to the weight of water as $\frac{1}{2}$ to $72\frac{1}{2}$, that is to say as 1 to 145 (AT III, 483–484/CM XI, 13).⁹

Descartes' experiment was, in turn, similar to one described in the first day of the *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche intorno a due nuove scienze* (1638) by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), who had fixed the ratio between weight of water and weight of air at 400 to 1.¹⁰ In his letter to Mersenne of 11 October 1638, Descartes had commented Galileo's experiment in the following way: 'Sa façon de peser l'air n'est pas mauvaise, si tant est que la pesanteur en soit si notable qu'on la puisse appercevoir par ce moyen; mais i'en doute' (AT II, 385/CM VIII, 100).

Note that the real ratio between the absolute weight of water and the absolute weight of air is 773:1. [CRP].

⁹ The result of Descartes' experiment is recorded by Mersenne in a marginal note of his *De l'utilité de l'Harmonie universelle*, in M. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, Harmonie universelle contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique* (3 vols., Paris: Cramoisy, 1636), facsimile edition of Mersenne's annotated copy (Paris: CNRS, 1963), vol. III, p. 4.

¹⁰ See *Le Opere di Galileo Galilei*, A. Favero (ed.), 20 vols. (Florence, 1890–1909), vol. VIII, pp. 122–124.

Descartes, Endegeest, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]

5 January 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 155r–156v. Single sheet folded into two (215x160 mm); top and edges gilt. Text on fo. 155. No address; no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 183–185.

Other editions: AT III, 799–801 (Roth); AM V, 247–248; CM XII, 6–7 (partly).

Summary

Descartes forwards a letter from Mersenne to Voetius regarding the publication of *Admiranda methodus*, requesting Huygens to send it to Voetius in order to conceal that it passed through Descartes' hands. The printing of *Admiranda methodus* is interrupted and priority is given to Voetius' book against the Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady. Descartes hopes that his reply against Voetius will not delay the printing of his *Principia*. Starting to write on the problem of the magnet, Descartes asks Huygens to send him Kircher's *Magnes sive de arte magnetica*.

Monsieur,

155r

Le pere Mercenne m'ayant cy devant mandé que M^r Voetius faisoit un livre
 contre moy,¹ comme pensant m'en avertir le premier, ie luy escrivis² que i'en
 avois desia vû les premieres feuilles et que l'Auteur a mis en la page 44 que ie
 5 recherche l'amitié des Iesuites: *quo ab iis defendi possim contra doctissimum*
Mercennum aliosque Theologos et Philosophos Gallos a quibus inflictas plagas
pertinacius persentisco quam ut dissimulare queam. Sur quoy il a voulu pren-
 dre occasion d'escire la letre icy iointe, et me l'a envoyée ouverte, affin que
 l'ayant leuë ie l'adressasse à M^r Voetius.³ Mais pourceque cela luy pourroit faire
 10 querelle si l'autre sçavoit qu'elle eust passé par mes mains, ie prens la liberté de
 la metre dans les vostres, et vous supplier de vouloir supposer que c'est le p. Mer-
 cenne qui vous l'a envoyée immédiatement de Paris et l'a recommandée à vostre
 courtoisie.⁴ Mais ie vous priois de la metre au feu si ie pensois qu'elle pust de-
 tourner M^r Voetius d'achever son beau livre, duquel i'apprens qu'il a fait cesser

AT III, 800

9 adressasse *corr.* Roth] adessasse

1 M. Schoock, *Admiranda methodus novae philosophiae Renati des Cartes* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1643). Initially Descartes assumed that Voetius was the author, see Appendix 1.

2 Descartes to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 598–599/CM XI, 364–366. Mersenne's letter to Descartes is lost.

3 Descartes himself had requested Mersenne to write the letter (cf. to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 600/CM XI, 366–367). For Mersenne's letter to Voetius, dated 13 December 1642, see AT III, 602–604/CM XI, 372–377. Mersenne had sent a letter to Voetius via Descartes once before, allowing the latter to take notice of its contents (cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 11 November 1640, AT III, 231/CM X, 224).

4 Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 4 January 1643 (Letter 4), and Huygens to Descartes, 7 January 1643 (Letter 6).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 l'impression depuis quelque tems pour faire place à sa response contre Maresius
qui occupe maintenant la presse de son libraire et sera grosse de 20 feuilles.⁵ | Je
20 prens plaisir à lire quelquefois le soir les declamations qu'il fait contre moy, ou
plutost contre la chimere à qui il donne mon nom, et ie ne me plains que de ce
que sa profession de Theologien m'empesche de railler avec luy; ce qui rendra
25 ma response plus froide, mais elle ne luy sera peutestre pas plus avantageuse, et
i'espere qu'elle ne retardera point l'impression de ma Philosophie, en laquelle
i'approche de l'endroit où ie dooy traiter de l'aymant.⁶ Si vous iugez que le gros
livre que vous avez de cete matiere, duquel ie ne sçay point le nom,⁷ m'y puisse
servir, et qu'il vous plaise de me l'envoyer, ie vous en auray obligation,^a et ie
seray toute ma vie,

155v
AT III, 801

Monsieur,

Votre tres obeissant et
tres passioné serviteur,

Des Cartes

30 D'Endegeest, le 5 Ian. 1643

a — p. 16, l. 24. The correspondence between Descartes and Huygens of January 1643, for the first time published by Roth, proves that Descartes had not seen Kircher's *Magnes sive arte magnetica* before 1643. Adam and Tannery's view that Huygens sent the work to Descartes in January 1642 is therefore to be corrected (AT III, 524–525). The work in question, a manuscript which Huygens had received from Mersenne (cf. Roth, 162/AT III, 778), has not been identified, but the editors of CM suggest that it contained a description of an invention by Jacques Grandamy SJ. The invention, a compass-needle without variation, is discussed in Descartes' letter to Mersenne of 30 May 1643 as well (Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 13–26, with comment). Descartes' reading of *Magnes* in 1643 dates his extant excerpts from the work in the same year (AT XI, 635–639).

⁵ G. Voetius, *Specimen assertionum* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1643). For the problematic printing of Schoock's *Admiranda methodus* and Voetius' *Specimen assertionum*, see Appendix 1.

⁶ *Principia*, pt. IV, art. 133–183; AT VIIIA, 275–311.

⁷ The work in question is *Magnes sive de arte magnetica* (Rome: Scheus, 1641; Cologne: Kalckhoven, 1643; Rome: Deversin and Masotti, 1654) from Athanasius Kircher SJ (1601–1680). Cf. Huygens to Descartes, 7 January 1643 (Letter 6), and Descartes to Huygens, 14 January 1643 (Letter 7).

Constantijn Huygens, The Hague, to Descartes, [Endegeest]

7 January 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 157r–158v. Single sheet folded into two (305x210 mm). Text on fo. 157r; the postscript is written lengthways in the left margin. No address; no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 185–187.
AT III, 801–803 (Roth); AM V, 249–250; CM XII, 10–11 (partly).

Summary

Reply to the preceding. Huygens will forward Mersenne's letter to Voetius, concealing the fact that Descartes has seen it. Huygens sends not only the requested book of Kircher, but also a work by Gassendi. In the postscript he asks Descartes' thoughts on the observed variations in magnetic declination.

Monsieur,

157r

J'ay trouvé la lettre du P. Mersenne trop bonne à confondre ce Philosophe importun dans sa levée de bouclier qu'il prepare il ne sçait contre qui, pour la luy détenir.¹ Elle part doncq dès demain par l'ordinaire, dans une couverte de ma main, qui l'empeschera bien de soupçonner qu'elle ayt passé par les vostres.²

AT III, 802

5 Voicy d'ailleurs l'Aymant de Kircherus, où vous trouverez plus de grimace que de bonne estoffe, qui est l'ordinaire des Jesuites.³ Ces escrivasseurs pourtant vous peuvent servir en des choses *quae facti sunt, non juris*. Ils sont plus de loisir que vous à se pourveoir d'experiences: on se peut prevaloir au besoin de leurs rapports.

10 Ces autres pieces sont de Gassendus, que le P. Mersenne me presse sans fin de vous prester.⁴ C'est à quoy je m'employe fort mal volontiers; et vous prie de me renvoyer vistement mes livres. Vous n'en sçauriez rien apprendre, et par consequent n'en debvriez point manier qu'apres avoir escrit tout ce que vous avez dessein de produire. Les sottises des ignorans prennent autant de temps à lire, que les bonnes choses des doctes. Desembarrassez vous de ces ordures, pour agir librement, et aveq ce que nous souhaittons de promptitude; sur tous,

Monsieur,

¹ Mersenne's letter to Voetius, which Descartes asked Huygens to forward to Utrecht. See the preceding letter.

² The covering note is extant. Cf. Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 364.

³ Cf. Letter 5, n. 7.

⁴ It is not clear which work of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) is meant. It is *De motu impresso a motore translato epistolae duae* (Paris: Heuqueville, 1642), and/or *De apparente magnitudine solis humilis et sublimis epistolae quatuor* (Paris: Heuqueville, 1642; both works are also in Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, 6 vols. (Lyon: Anisson and Devenet, 1658; reprint: Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1964), III, 478–563, 420–477 resp.). Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 23 February 1643, Letter 12, pp. 40–41.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

20 Vostre tres humble et
ob^t serv^r,
C. Huygens

A la Haye, ce 7^e de Janv^r 1643

25 On m'a voulu soustenir, que vous mesprisez les observations de la variation
de l'Aymant variée depuis quelques années. Je seray bien ayse de sçavoir en trois
mots ce qui en est.⁵ AT III, 803

⁵ Cf. Descartes' reply, pp. 19–20 (Letter 7).

Descartes, Endegeest, to Constantijn Huygens, The Hague
14 January 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 159r–160v. Single sheet folded into two (215x160 mm); top and edges gilt. Text on fo. 159; address on fo. 160v. Two seals with strands of yellow silk are preserved.
2. Cle II, 562.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 187–188.
Other editions: AT III, 803–804 (Roth); AT V, 548–549 (Cle); AM V, 251–252; CM XII, 29–30 (ALS); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 294–295 (Cle).

Cle publishes the draft as the second part of a letter that consists of four distinct fragments without giving date or addressee. AT rightly conjectures the addressee, but the date (1642?) is not correct.

Summary

Reply to the preceding. Descartes sends the works by Kircher and Gassendi back. He gives his own explanation for the deviation of the magnet.

Monsieur,

159r

Le sçay bien que vous n'avez point affaire de ces gros livres, mais affin que vous ne me blasmez pas d'employer trop de tems à les lire, ie ne les ay pas voulu garder d'avantage.¹ I'ay eu assez de patience pour les feuilleter, et ie croy avoir vû tout ce qu'ils contiennent, bien que ie n'en aye gueres leu que les titres et les marges . Le Iesuite a quantité de forfanteries, il est plus Charletan que sçavant. Il parle entre autres choses d'une matiere, qu'il dit avoir euë d'un marchand Arabe, qui tourne nuit et iour vers le soleil.² Si cela estoit vray la chose seroit curieuse, mais il n'explique point quelle est cete matiere. Le pere Mercenne m'a escrit autrefois, il y a environ 8 ans, que c'estoit de la graine d'Heliotropium, ce que ie ne croy pas, si ce n'est que cete graine ait plus de force en Arabie qu'en ce país, car ie fus assez de loysir pour en faire l'experience, mais elle ne reussit point.³ Pour la variation de l'aymant, i'ay tousiours creu qu'elle ne procedoit que des inegalitez de la terre, en sorte que l'aiguille se tourne vers le costé où il y a le plus de la matiere qui est propre à l'attirer: et pourceque cete matiere peut changer de lieu dans le fonds de la mer ou dans les concavitez de la terre sans que les

AT III, 804

159v

4–6 I'ay eu ... marges] Il est vray que ie ne les ay pas tous lûs, mais ie croy neantmoins avoir vû tout ce qu'ils contiennent Cle 6 Le Iesuite] Ledit N. Cle 6 forfanteries] farfanteries Roth 6 il] et Cle 9–10 m'a escrit ... ans] m'a autresfois mandé Cle 11 pas] veritable *add. Cle*

¹ Kircher's *Magnes sive de arte magnetica* and one or more works by Gassendi. Cf. the previous letter.

² *Magnes* (Rome 1641), pp. 736–739; (Cologne 1643), pp. 645–647; (Rome 1654), pp. 508–510.

³ Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 22 July 1633, AT I, 268/CM III, 459.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

hommes le puissent sçavoir, il m'a semblé que ce changement de variation qui a
esté observé à Londres, et aussy en quelques autres endroits, ainsy que raporte
vostre Kircherus, estoit seulement une question de fait, et que la Philosophie n'y
20 avoit pas grand droit.⁴ Je vous remercie tres humblement de ce qu'il vous a pleu
que la letre du Pere Mercenne passast par vos mains. ⁵ Je m'assure que celuy à
qui elle s'adresse ne sera pas si fasché de la voir, que de sçavoir que vous l'avez
veuë, et qu'elle a un tesmoin si illustre que vous. Je suis,

Monsieur,

25

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

D'Endegeest, le 14 Ianvier 1643

30 A Monsieur
Monsieur de Zuylichem
Chevalier, Conseiller et
Secretaire de son Altesse
à la Haye

160v

20–33 Je vous ... Haye *not in Cle*

⁴ Kircher, *Magnes* (Cologne 1643), pp. 418–430. In a letter to Mersenne of [1 April 1640] Descartes offered the same explanation of the variation of magnetic declination, recently observed in England (AT III, 46–47/CM IX, 262–263; cf. the comments on the letter in both editions). Cf. *Principia*, pt. IV, art. 168–169 (AT VIII A, 301–302).

⁵ Mersenne's letter to Voetius. Cf. Letters 4 to 6.

Descartes, [Endegeest], to [Samuel Maresius], [’s-Hertogenbosch]
[late January or early February 1643]

Source

Cle II, 540–541.

Editions

AT III, 605–607; AM V, 241–242.

Clerselier prints the text as an integral part of another letter (Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643), without mentioning date or addressee. The *Exemplaire de l’Institut* separates the text from the letter to Huygens, mentions ‘Desmarets’ as its addressee and dates the letter ‘April 1643’. The identification of the addressee is no matter of dispute, but the suggested date cannot be correct and seems to be founded on Descartes’ mentioning the month of May (l. 4).

There are two elements to date the letter. First, it predates the publication of Voetius’ work against Maresius, *Specimen assertionum*, which appeared in early March 1643. Second, it is in reply to a letter by Maresius (now lost), written one month before the present letter (cf. ll. 1 and 6). Maresius’ letter postdates his acceptance of a chair in theology in Groningen and the honourable discharge from his duties at ’s-Hertogenbosch in mid-December 1642, but it is written before his departure to Groningen on 7 January 1643. Descartes’ reply, being a month later, dates from late January or early February 1643.

Summary

Descartes sends a handwritten copy of the first three quires of Voetius’ work against Maresius and the ’s-Hertogenbosch Brotherhood (*Specimen assertionum*). There has been a change of printer, and Voetius’ work is now being printed at the same press as the book against Descartes (*Admiranda methodus*). Priority is given to the work against Maresius, which Descartes will discuss in his reply to Voetius (*Epistola ad Voetium*); this will appear both in Latin and in a Dutch translation.

La lettre que vous m’avez fait la faveur de m’écrire,¹ m’eust mis en doute que vous seriez peut-estre allé à Groningue; mais cela m’a fait differer iusques à ce iour, que i’ay veu M^r H(oolck)² qui m’a dit qu’il ne doutoit point que vous ne fussiez encore à B(ois le Duc) iusques en May;³ ainsi vous recevrez s’il vous plaist

AT III 606

¹ Maresius’ letter to Descartes, from late December 1642 or early January 1643, is lost.

² Both initials in the text are completed in the *Exemplaire de l’Institut*. That Van der Hoolck would have informed Descartes of Maresius’ whereabouts is possible, although he does not seem to have been involved in either the latter’s appointment at Groningen University, or the affair of the ’s-Hertogenbosch Brotherhood. Another possible candidate is Huygens, who at times corresponded with Maresius (cf. Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, vols. 2–4), and whose cousin Jacob Zuerius (1587–1673) was deeply involved in the Brotherhood affair (cf. Appendix 2).

³ Being offered the chair in theology at the university of Groningen, Maresius received honourable discharge from his duties in ’s-Hertogenbosch around 17 December. On 22 December he wrote to André Rivet (1572–1651), that he would soon go to Groningen in order to deliver his inaugural oration. He departed on 7 January 1643, and he delivered his inaugural oration on 20/30 January (*De usu et abusu rationis in rebus theologicis et fidei* (Groningen: Sas, 1643). Immediately he returned to ’s-Hertogenbosch, and left again in the last days of March, first to participate in the Walloon Synod at The Hague. He arrived with his family in Groningen on 1 May 1643 (Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, 190–194, 198–200).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

5 la copie des trois premières feuilles de ce qui s'imprime contre vous, car puis que
vous ne les aviez point encore veuës il y a un mois, ie iuge que vous ne les avez pas
veuës depuis. | On m'a mandé qu'il est impossible d'en tirer aucune copie du Li- Cle II, 541
braire, et mesme l'on m'a redemandé avec tant d'instance l'imprimé de ces trois
feuilles, que i'ay gardé icy quelques semaines entre mes mains, qu'il me l'a fallu
10 renvoyer, et il ne m'en est resté que cette copie, laquelle ie vous prie de ne point
faire voir à d'autres, à cause que ie ne voudrois pas qu'on en reconnust l'écriture,
ni qu'on sceust d'où elle m'est venuë; et ie vous puis dire en verité que ie ne le
sçay pas moy-mesme. Si vous avez dessein d'y répondre, il est bon que vous voyez
dés à present le biais qu'on a pris à vous attaquer. Ces trois feuilles estoient *in*
15 *octavo*, et sont venuës de ie ne sçay où; mais depuis on a retiré soigneusement
tous les exemplaires, et on l'imprime maintenant *in duodecimo* chez un autre Li-
braire que celuy de l'Université, où s'imprime aussi le livre contre moy, sans que
ie sçache la cause de ce changement, sinon que ie coniecture de là que Messieurs
de la Ville ne veulent pas autoriser cette impression.⁴ I'ay appris que ce livre
20 contre vous contiendra environ vingt feuilles; ce que i'admirerois, si ie pensois
que l'Auteur n'y voulust mettre que de bonnes choses; mais sçachant combien
il est abondant en ce genre d'écrire, ie ne m'en estonne aucunement. Je ne puis
encore assurer ce que ie feray, à cause que ie ne veux rien déterminer, que ie
n'aye veu la conclusion du livre contre moy, et on m'assure qu'il ne s'achevera
25 point, que celuy qui est contre vous ne soit publié. Mais à cause que ie croy qu'ils
se suivront l'un l'autre de fort prés, mon opinion est que i'employeray deux ou
trois pages en ma réponse, pour dire mon avis de vostre different, puis que vous
ne l'avez pas desagreable; et ce qui m'y oblige le plus, est, que ce que i'écriray
sera publié en Latin, et en Flamend, car ie croy qu'il est à propos que le peuple
30 soit desabusé de la trop bonne opinion qu'il a de cet homme.⁵

⁴ In fact, the Utrecht *Vroedschap* granted Voetius the right to publish against the Brotherhood, but the change from the university printer Gilles Roman to Johannes van *Waesberge (c.1600–after 1681), who also printed Schoock's *Admiranda methodus*, may have been due to the *Vroedschap*'s wish not to give the publication an official approval. Cf. Appendix 2, p. 197.

⁵ The Dutch translation of the *Epistola ad Voetium, Brief van Rene Des Cartes aen den vermaerden D. Gisbertus Voetius* (Amsterdam: Van Baardt, 1643), appeared in the summer of 1643.

Descartes, [Endegeest], to Marin Mersenne, [Paris]

2 February 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Brussels, Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Fonds Baron de Stassart, Autographes, n° 1533. Single sheet folded in two (196x148 mm). Text on fos. 1r–2r. No address; no seal.
2. MS copy. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 10556, fos. 49v–50r (MS Vicq d’Azyr).
3. Cle II, 514–516.

Editions

The ALS was not previously published.

Other publications: AT III, 612–615 (MS copy); AM V, 253–255; CM XII, 38–41 (MS copy); P. Borel, *Vitae Renati Cartesii ... compendium* (Paris: Billaine and Dupuis, 1656), p. 42 (fragments in Latin translation, ll. 2–12, and 24–31 (till ‘... ce soufflet’)).

Printed in Cle as the second part of another letter to Mersenne (7 December 1642). The *Exemplaire de l’Institut* notes that it is another letter, no. 50 in the La Hire collection, and dates it 2 February 1643. The BnF holds a copy of the letter, which is the principal source text for AT and CM. The ALS was acquired by G.J.A. Baron de Stassart (1780–1854), Belgian politician and president of the Académie Royale de Belgique, who bequeathed his library and autograph collection to the Académie. Mentioned in P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. III (Leiden: Brill, 1983), p. 88. Fo. 1r of the ALS shows the following notes and marks: in the upper right corner the Poirier no. ‘(44)’ is given two times, one being corrected from ‘42’ into ‘44’; Poirier’s date is found in the left margin: ‘(2 fevrier 1643 v.d.)’. In the left upper corner in an unidentified 17th c. hand: ‘Derniere partie de la lettre 109^e du 2^e tome, page 514’. The original La Hire no. ‘34 C’ in the left bottom corner (no. 50 on the definitive list). On fo. 2v, in a modern hand (pencil), the addressee ‘Au Père Mersenne’.

Summary

Reply to two letters from Mersenne (lost). Further discussion of Mersenne’s experiments on the proportional weight of air and water. Descartes comments on some mechanical experiments, and gives permission to publish parts of his tract on the subject. He has no desire to see Fermat’s recent work in geometry. The printing of the *Principia* will start this summer.

Mon Reverend Pere,

1r

5 Il suis bien ayse de ce que vous m’avez appris qu’une lame de cuivre ne pese
 chaude que froide, car c’est le principal point de toute vostre
 experience touchant l’Eolipile, et duquel il faut estre bien assuré; car, cela estant,
 10 il n’y a point de doute que ce qui la rend plus legere de 4 ou 5 grains estant
 chaude que froide, est la seule rarefaction de l’air qui est dedans, et ainsy que le
 moyen de peser l’air est trouvé. Je voudrois bien aussy que vous prissiez garde
 si, lorsque l’Eolipile est extremement chaude, elle attire de l’eau si tost que son
 bout est mis dedans, ou bien si elle attend quelque tems ainsy que vous m’aviez
 mandé, ce qui se peut voir fort aysement en la tenant en equilibre en la balance,

CM XII, 39

2 bien] tres Cle

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

car si elle attire elle s'enfoncera incontinant plus avant dans l'eau à cause qu'elle deviendra plus pesant(e).^a

15 Le ne puis deviner si l'air ordinaire se peut plus rarefier que condenser par les forces naturelles, car c'est une question purement de fait, mais par une force
 20 Angelique ou surnaturelle il est certain qu'il peut estre rarefié à l'infini, au lieu qu'il ne peut estre condensé que iusques à ce qu'il n'ait plus de pores et que toute la matiere subtile qui les remplit en soit chassée. Le ne sçay aussy en quelle proportion doit estre augmentée la force pour le condenser de plus en plus, si non
 25 que c'est le mesme qu'à bander un arc, excepté qu'il peut y avoir des applications plus faciles pour | condenser l'air, en ce qu'on n'a pas besoin de repousser tout l'air desia condensé mais seulement une petite partie, au lieu qu'à chasque moment qu'on veut plier un arc plus qu'il n'est desia plié, il faut avoir toute la force qu'on a euë à le plier iusques là, pour le retenir en ce mesme point et quelque chose de plus pour le plier davantage.

25 Le croy que deux cors de diverse matiere poussez de bas en haut et commenceans à monter de mesme vitesse n'iront iamais si haut l'un que l'autre, car l'air resistera tousiours davantage au plus leger.

30 Ce qui fait qu'un soufflet s'emplit d'air lors qu'on l'ouvre, c'est qu'en l'ouvrant on chasse l'air du lieu où entre le dessus du soufflet qu'on hausse, et que cet air ne trouve aucune place où aller en tout le reste du monde sinon qu'il entre au dedans de ce soufflet, car *ex suppositione* il n'y a point de vuide pour recevoir cet air en aucun autre lieu du monde.^b

35 Je viens à vostre seconde letre que i'ay receuë quasi aussy tost que l'autre, et premierement pour ce qu'il vous plaist d'employer en vos escrits quelque chose de ce que i'ay escrit des mechaniques, ie m'en remets entierement à vostre discretion, et vous avez pouvoir d'en faire tout ainsy qu'il vous plaira. Plusieurs l'ont desia vû en ce païs, et mesme en ont eu copie.^c Or la raison qui fait que ie reprends ceux qui se servent de la vitesse pour expliquer la force du levier et autres semblables, n'est pas que ie nie que la mesme proportion de vitesse ne s'y rencontre tousiours, | mais pourceque cete vitesse ne comprend pas la raison pour laquelle la force augmente ou diminue, comme fait la quantité de l'espace, et qu'il y a plusieurs autres choses à considerer touchant la vitesse qui ne sont pas aysées à expliquer. Comme pour ce que vous dites qu'une force qui pourra elever un

40 pois d'A en F en un moment, le pourra aussy elever en un moment d'A en G si elle est doublée, ie n'en voy nullement la raison, et ie croy que vous pourrez aysement experimenter le contraire, si ayant une balance en equilibre vous mettez dedans le moindre poids qui la puisse faire trebuscher, car alors elle trebuschera fort lentement, au lieu que si vous y mettez le double de ce mesme poids elle trebuschera bien plus de deux fois aussy viste. Et au contraire, prenant un evantail en vostre main, vous le pourrez hausser ou baisser de la mesme vitesse qu'il pourroit descendre de soy mesme dans l'air si vous le laissiez tomber, sans qu'il vous y faille employer aucune force excepté celle qu'il faut pour le soustenir; mais pour le hausser ou baisser deux fois plus

55

13 par. E 25 par. E 28 par. E 32 autre om. Cle 34 premierement] principalement Cle

9. Descartes to Mersenne, 2 February 1643

viste, il vous y faudra employer quelque force qui sera plus que double de l'autre puisqu'elle estoit nulle.^d

60 Le n'ay point besoin pour maintenant de voir la Geometrie de M^r Fermat.¹ AT III, 615
 Pour ma Philosophie, ie commenceray à la faire imprimer cet esté mais ie ne puis dire quand on la pourra voir, car cela depend des libraires et vous sçavez que la Dioptrique fut plus d'un an sous la presse.² Je suis,

Mon revnd Pere,

Vostre tres obeissant
 et tres affectionné serviteur,

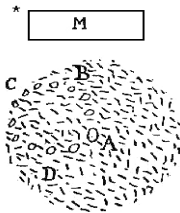
65

Des Cartes

Du 2 Fev. 1643

a — p. 24, l. 12. In the letter of 4 January 1643 (Letter 4) Descartes had asked some supplementary information about an experiment Mersenne had performed with a leather aeolipyle with the intention of determining the ratio between the weight of air and the weight of water. More precisely, Descartes wanted Mersenne to verify whether a sheet of leather did not become lighter upon being heated. Having been assured that this is not the case, Descartes is now forced to admit that the variation in weight that Mersenne has detected is only due to the rarefaction of the air contained in the aeolipyle. [CRP].

b — p. 24, l. 32. Both in his correspondence and in his published works, Descartes repeatedly maintains that the displacement of a physical object must always cause the circular motion of the bodies surrounding it. This idea, which resembles the Platonic theory of *anti-peristasis* (see *Timaeus* 79b, 79e, 80a–c, 90d), stems from Descartes' denial of the possibility of a vacuum: 'N'y ayant point de vuide en la nature—Descartes writes in a letter to Mersenne of 16 October 1639—il ne se peut faire aucun mouvement, qu'il n'y ait tout un cercle de cors qui se meuve en mesme tems' (AT II, 588/CM VIII, 540). In a letter of 11 June 1640, Descartes illustrates his hypothesis by means of a drawing that shows that if a stone is pushed from A to



B the particles of the air surrounding it will move according to the circles BCD (AT III, 76/CM IX, 396) In the fourth chapter of his *Le Monde*, Descartes claims that many experiences have convinced him of the fact that 'tous le mouvemens qui se font au Monde sont en quelque façon circulaires: c'est à dire que, quand un corps quitte sa place, il entre toujours en celle d'un autre, et celuy-cy en celle d'un autre, et ainsi de suite jusques au dernier, qui occupe au mesme instant le lieu délaissé par le premier; en sorte qu'il ne se trouve pas d'avantage de

58 *par. E* 62–66 Mon ... 1643 *not in Cle*

- 1 On 13 January 1643 Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665) informed Mersenne that he had sent his *Isagoge ad locos ad superficiem* to Pierre Carcavi (1600–1684), who would show it to Mersenne (CM XII, 24). Printed in P. Tannery and Ch. Henry (eds.), *Œuvres de Fermat*, I, 1891, 111–117.
- 2 The actual printing of the *Principia* did not start before the end of 1643, see Descartes to Pollot, 1 January 1644, AT IV, 73. The work was ready on 10 July 1644. Cf. Van Otegem, I, 255. Descartes' remark on the printing of the *Dioptrique* is exaggerated. The printing started in the first half of September 1636, and it was nearly done towards the end of October. However, problems with the cutting of the figures for the *Meteores* and *Geometrie*, and the difficulties in obtaining the French privilege delayed the publication till June 1637. Cf. Van Otegem, I, 6–12.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

vuide parmy eux, lors qu'ils remuent, que lors qu'ils sont arrestez' (AT XI, 19; see also Descartes to Reneri, 2 June 1631, AT I, 205–208; Descartes to Reneri, 2 July 1634, AT I, 300–302). [CRP].

c — p. 24, l. 37. It is not clear whether Descartes is here referring to the *Explication des engins par l'aide desquels on peut avec une petite force lever un fardeau fort pesant*, which he had sent to Constantijn Huygens on 5 October 1637, or to the *Examen de la question savoir si un corps pèse plus ou moins, étant proche du centre de la terre qu'en étant loin* of 1638, which was included in a long letter sent to the Minim on 13 July 1638. Descartes' claim that many people in Holland have seen the work has led Adam and Tannery to opt for the first hypothesis; some copies of the *Explication* are in fact still extant in Holland. As the editors of Mersenne's *Correspondence* point out (CM XII, 42) it was however from the *Examen de la question geostatique* that Mersenne borrowed material for his *Cogitata physico-mathematica* of 1644. Mersenne would have liked to print the *Examen* already in 1638, but Descartes stopped him from doing so: 'Pour mon Examen de la question Geostatique, il ne sera point imprimé, s'il vous plaist: car ie ne l'ay pas écrit à ce dessein, et il n'est pas assez achevé ny assez complet pour aller seul. (...) Et si mon écrit contient quelque chose qui vaille la peine qu'on le voye, ie croy qu'il pourra mieux estre inseré dans le Recueil des Objections qu'on m'a faites, ou qu'on me fera cy-après' (AT II, 392/CM VIII, 107). [CRP].

d — p. 25, l. 57. Among those 'qui se servent de la vitesse pour expliquer la force du levier' there was Galileo, whose early work on mechanics was translated by Mersenne in 1634.³ In a letter to the Minim, dated 12 September 1638, Descartes had already criticized those who 'ont coutume de confondre la consideration de l'espace avec celle du tems ou de la vitesse (...); car ce n'est point la difference de la vitesse qui fait que ces poids doivent estre l'un double de l'autre, mais la difference de l'espace, comme il paroist de ce que, pour lever, par exemple, le poids F avec la main iusques à G, il n'y faut point employer une force qui soit iustement double de celle qu'on y aura employée le premier coup, si on le veut lever deux fois plus viste; mais il y en faut employer une qui soit plus ou moins grande que la double, selon la diverse proportion que peut avoir cete vitesse avec les causes qui luy resistent' (AT II, 353–354/CM VIII, 72). Two months later, Descartes returned to the same subject, this time explicitly criticizing Galileo's explanation of simple machines: 'Pour ce qu'a écrit Galilée touchant la balance et le levier, il explique fort bien *quod ita sit*, mais non pas *cur ita sit*, comme ie fais par mon Principe. Et pour ceux qui disent que ie devois considerer la vitesse, comme Galilée, plutost que l'espace, pour rendre raison des Machines, ie croy, entre nous, que ce sont des gens qui n'en parlent que par fantaisie, sans entendre rien en cette matiere' (Descartes to Mersenne, 15 November 1638, AT II, 433/CM VIII, 197–198).

Descartes' decision to exclude speed from his consideration of simple machines has been the object of many different scholarly interpretations. According to Duhem, Descartes took displacement rather than speed as his fundamental quantity because he wanted to render statics autonomous from the Aristotelian dynamics, which was based on the false assumption that speeds are proportional to motive forces.⁴

Shea believes instead that Descartes' insistence on displacement may have been 'prompted by his reluctance to get involved in a discussion of velocity, a notion that presupposed a consideration of weight and, hence, in his system, a full account of the action of interlocking whirlpools of matter'. Whatever its motivation, Descartes' distinction between velocity and displacement produced, according to Shea, 'a major step forward in conceptual clarity'. For Galileo had not realized that the proportionality between velocities and displacements does not hold for all simple machines, but only 'for the lever and analogous instances in which a mechanical connection ensures that each body moves for the same time,

³ *Les Mécaniques de Galilée ... avec plusieurs additions rares et nouvelles ... traduites de l'italien par le Père Marin Mersenne* (Paris: Guenon, 1634).

⁴ P. Duhem, *Les Origines de la statique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hermann, 1905–1906), vol. I, pp. 342–348; vol. II, pp. 291–296.

9. *Descartes to Mersenne, 2 February 1643*

and in which, because of equilibrium, the motion involved is virtual motion, not accelerated motion'.⁵

Recently Sophie Roux has put forward the hypothesis that Descartes' main reason for excluding speed might have been his dependence on the Archimedean tradition. Before Descartes, Stevin and other Archimedean adversaries of the Aristotelian school had in fact already expressed the conviction that virtual motions cannot be the true cause of an equilibrium, that is of an absence of motion. To this, Roux adds the fact that in Descartes' system of the world the natural speed of a body, which in the present letter is defined as that with which the fan 'pourroit descendre de soy mesme dans l'air sy vous le laissez tomber' (ll. 52–53) depends on too many variables to be mathematically calculated.⁶ [CRP].

⁵ W. Shea, 'Descartes as Critic of Galileo', in R.E. Butts and J.C. Pitt (eds.), *New Perspectives on Galileo* (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1978), pp. 139–159, esp. pp. 155–157.

⁶ S. Roux, 'Cartesian Mechanics', in C.R. Palmerino and J.M.M.H. Thijssen (eds.), *The Reception of the Galilean Science of Motion in Europe* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003 (forthcoming)).

Descartes, [Endegeest], to Claude Picot, [Paris]

[02] February 1643

Source

Baillet, II, 198–199.

Editions

AT III, 615–616; AM V, 256.

By mistake, Baillet supplies two dates, 2 February in the running text, and 7 February in the margin. AT prefers the former date, as the letters to Paris are usually dated on a Sunday, Monday or Tuesday, and the letter would have been sent together with the letter to Mersenne of Monday 2 February. AT's argument is plausible but not conclusive.

Summary

In the quotation from the letter given by Baillet, Descartes comments on Picot's intention to acquire an estate in Touraine. The appending text, which seems to be a summary of the remainder of the letter, mentions Descartes' plan to move to Egmond aan den Hoef and to make a journey to France in 1644.

Dès le commencement de l'année, ou sur la fin de la précédente, l'Abbé Picot, qui l'étoit venu voir avec l'Abbé de Touchelaye, Gentil-homme de la ville de Tours, frère de son amy, l'avoit quitté pour retourner en France;¹ et sur ce qu'il luy avoit communiqué le dessein qu'il avoit de faire un voyage en Touraine pour y acheter une terre, M. Descartes luy récrivit le 2 jour de Février en ces termes: [*i.m.*: letr. Ms. de Desc. 7 Février 1643.] "Je souhaite que vous puissiez trouver en Touraine une terre à vôtre contentement. C'est un beau païs: mais je crains que la menuë Noblesse n'y soit importune, comme elle est presque par toute la France. Pour mon humeur, je choisirois plutôt d'acquérir du bien en un mauvais païs qu'en un bon, à cause que pour le même argent j'aurois une étenduë de terre beaucoup plus grande, et ainsi je ne serois pas si aisément incommodé de mes voisins. Mais c'est d'ailleurs une grande douceur d'en avoir qui soient honnêtes gens; et je vous allégueray pour exemple M. de *Touchelaye*, dont le voisinage vous seroit sans doute fort agréable." Il luy communiqua à son tour les desseins qu'il a- | voit de faire imprimer premièrement sa Philosophie, c'est-à-dire ses Principes de Physique pendant l'année qu'il devoit passer dans la maison qu'il venoit de

AT III, 616
199

¹ Claude *Picot (1601–1668), who translated Descartes' *Principia* into French (Paris 1647), visited the Netherlands from May 1641 till autumn 1642, staying in Leiden and Utrecht, but mostly with Descartes at Endegeest. Virtually nothing is known of the two Touchelaye brothers. According to Baillet, both were Descartes' friends, but it was the younger brother who accompanied Picot to the Netherlands. They were clerics and had a prebend at Tours (Baillet, II, 176/AT III, 390). In the summer of 1644 Descartes stayed at the house of the younger brother in Tours (Baillet, II, 217–218/AT IV, 129). During his visit to Paris in 1648 he took up residence in the vicinity of the elder (Baillet, II, 340/AT V, 140). The elder brother died in 1649 (Baillet, II, 364/AT V, 279).

10. Descartes to Picot, [02] February 1643

loüer à Egmond du Hoef;² et au bout de l'an, dont le terme pour le loüage devoit expirer le I de May de 1644, de venir en France, pour tâcher de sortir d'affaire avec M. de la Bretaillière son frère aîné, dont Monsieur Picot connoissoit les dispositions peu favorables.³

² On 20 April 1643 Descartes wrote to Andreas *Colvius that he was about to move to Egmond aan den Hoef, where he rented a house (Letter 15). The first letters dated from Egmond are of 21 May to Elizabeth (if the date is reliable) and of 22 May to Huygens (Letters 19 and 20). On the printing of the *Principia*, see Letter 9, p. 25, n. 2.

³ Descartes would leave Egmond aan den Hoef on 1 May 1644 (cf. Baillet, II, 211/AT IV, 108), and embarked for France at the beginning of June. After their father's death in 1640, Descartes argued with his elder brother Pierre Descartes de la Bretaillière (1591–1660) over the inheritance. The question was settled during Descartes' visit to his family in 1644. Cf. the letters to Pierre Descartes of 3 December 1640, 28 December 1641, and to Picot of 29 July 1644 (AT III, 252; AT III, 471–472; AT IV, 129–130).

Descartes, Endegeest, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]

18 February 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 161r–165v. Three sheets folded into two (200x145 mm). Text of the letter on fo. 161. Text of the problem on fos. 162r–165r. No address; no seals.
2. Cle II, 540, 542–552.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 189–198.

Other editions: AT III, 617–630 (Cle); AT III, 805–814 (Roth); AM V, 257–264; CM XII, 57–67 (ALS); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 370 (Cle; letter only).

First printed by Clerselier as letter no. 115 of the second volume (1659), without date or addressee. Clerselier's text is a curious amalgam of four different pieces. First, the letter to Huygens (II, 540). Second, a letter to [Maresius] (pp. 540–541; Letter 8 above). Next follows the text of Descartes' solution to a certain problem (II, 542–549), sent together with the letter to Huygens. And finally, a piece which is evidently an earlier and abandoned version of the solution (II, 549–552; printed below as 11*bis*, pp. 35–36).

Summary

Descartes' solution to a question concerning a problem of hydraulics posed to Descartes by Mersenne through Huygens' mediation.

Monsieur,

161r

I'ay differé de respondre à la question que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'envoyer, affin de rendre veritable l'opinion que le pere Mercenne a eue de moy, à sçavoir que i'y respondrois en vostre consideration le plus exactement que ie pourrois.¹ Et pour ce que ie ne me fie gueres aux experiences que ie n'ay pas faites moy mesme, i'ay fait faire un tuyau de 12 pieds pour ce suiet. Mais i'ay si peu de mains, et les artisans font si mal ce qu'on leur commande, que ie n'en ay pû apprendre autre chose sinon que, pour faire sauter l'eau aussy haut que dit le pere Mercenne, le trou par où elle sort ne doit avoir qu'environ le diametre d'une ligne; en sorte que, s'il est beaucoup plus etroit ou beaucoup plus large, elle saute beaucoup moins haut. Sur quoy i'ay fondé les raisonnemens que vous verrez icy, lesquels me semblent si vrais, que si ie pensois que le mouvement

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AT III, 806

2–3 m'envoyer] me proposer Cle 5 pas] point Cle 10 beaucoup om. Cle on both occurrences
11 saute beaucoup moins] ne saut pas si Cle 12 lesquels] et qui Cle

¹ See the letters to Mersenne of 20 October 1642 (AT III, 590/CM XI, 306), 23 February and 23 March 1643, p. 42, ll. 104–109, and pp. 46–47, ll. 30–54 below. Huygens' letter conveying Mersenne's question is lost. Mersenne asked for an explanation of the results of hydraulical experiments, that the vertical jet of water leaving a vessel is proportional to the height of the water column, whereas the horizontal jet is proportional to the square root of the height of the column. Mersenne also consulted Gassendi on this matter (cf. CM XII, 13–23). For earlier discussions on hydraulics between Descartes and Mersenne, see the references given in CM XI, 306.

11. Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643

perpetuel de l'homme d'Amsterdam | le fust autant, ie ne douterois point qu'il
 15 ne luy pust faire gagner les 15 ou 20 petis millions d'escus dont ie crains qu'il aura
 encore besoin pour l'achever.^b I'ay receu depuis 10 ou 12 iours un autre paquet
 du pere Mercenne avec la superscription de vostre main,² dont ie vous remercie
 tres humblement, et ie suis,

Monsieur,

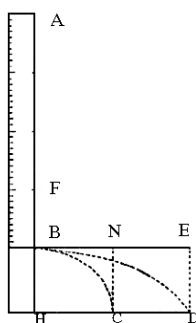
20

Vostre tres humble et
 tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

D'Endegeest, le 18 Fev. 1643

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Soit le tuyau AB long de 4 pieds, et que sa quatriesme
 partie soit BF. On a trouvé par experience que lorsqu'il est
 plein d'eau iusques au haut, son iet horizontal est BD, et
 lorsqu'il n'est plein que iusques à F ce iet horizontal est BC;
 en sorte que, BH estant perpendiculaire à l'horizon, HD est
 double de HC. On a trouvé aussy que le iet vertical de B vers
 A est de 8 pouces lorsque le tuyau n'est plein que iusques à
 F, mais qu'il est de 3 pieds et $\frac{1}{4}$ lorsqu'il est tout plein. Et on
 en demande la raison.^c

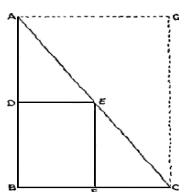
162r
 AT III, 807

Sur quoy ie considere que la nature du mouvement est
 telle que lorsqu'un cors a commencé à se mouvoir, cela suffit
 pour faire qu'il continue tousiours apres avec mesme vitesse,
 et en mesme ligne droite, iusques à ce qu'il soit aresté ou détourné par quelque
 autre cause.

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Ie considere aussy touchant la pesanteur, qu'elle augmente la vitesse des
 cors qu'elle fait descendre presque en mesme raison que sont les tems pendant
 lesquels ils descendent; en sorte que, si une goutte d'eau descend pendant 2 mi-
 nutes d'heure, elle va presque 2 fois aussy viste à la fin de la seconde, qu'à la fin
 de la premiere. D'où il suit que le chemin qu'elle fait est presque en raison double

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du tems, c'est à dire, que si pendant la premiere minute elle
 descend de la hauteur d'un pied, pendant la premiere et la
 seconde ensemble elle doit descendre de la hauteur de 4
 pieds. Ce qui s'explique aysement par le triangle ABC³ [ex-
 cusez un peu de confusion qui se trouvera dans le discours à
 cause que i'ay employé les mesmes lettres en ces deux figures,
 au lieu que i'y en devois metre d'autres pour les distinguer],

14 de l'homme om. Cle 14 il] celui qui en est l'Autheur Cle 14-15 ne luy ... gagner] n'eust bien
 tost trouvé Cle 15 petis] chetifs Cle 16-23 I'ay receu ... 1643 not in Cle 24 et que] dont Cle
 24 sa] la Cle 26 soit] est Cle 31 le tuyau] ce tuyau Cle 32 il] ce tuyau Cle 35 a (-s) commencé
 42 heure] heures Cle 48-51 excusez ... distinguer note added in right margin MS not in Cle

² Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 23 February 1643, Letter 12, p. 39, ll. 4-5.

³ This figure appears again at the top of fo. 162v.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

où le costé AD represente la premiere minute, le costé DE la vitesse qu'a l'eau à la fin de cete premiere | minute, et l'espace ADE represente le chemin qu'elle fait cependant qui est de la longueur d'un pied. Puis DB represente la seconde
55 minute, BC la vitesse de l'eau à la fin de cete seconde minute qui est double de la precedente, et l'espace DECB le chemin qui est triple du precedent. On y peut aussy remarquer que, si cete goutte d'eau continuoit à se mouvoir vers quelque autre costé par la vitesse qu'elle a acquise pendant la premiere minute par sa descente d'un pied de haut, sans que sa pesanteur luy aydast apres cela, elle feroit pendant une minute le chemin représenté par le parallelograme DEFB qui
60 est de deux pieds; mais que, si elle continuoit pendant 2 minutes avec la vitesse qu'elle a acquise en descendant de 4 pieds, elle feroit le chemin représenté par le parallelograme ABCG qui est de 8 pieds.

De plus, ie considere que, puis que une goutte d'eau apres estre descenduë
65 de 4 pieds a le double de la vitesse qu'elle a n'estant descendue que d'un pied, l'eau qui sort par B, du tuyau AB, en doit sortir deux fois aussy viste quand il est tout plein que quand il n'est plein que iusques à F. Car il n'y a point de doute que les premieres gouttes de cete eau ne sortent aussy viste que les suivantes, pourvû qu'on suppose que le tuyau demeure tousiours cependant egalement plein: et
70 si on prend garde que, lorsque l'eau sort de ce tuyau par le trou B, il n'est pas besoin que toute celle qu'il contient se meuve pour ce suiet, mais seulement que toutes les gouttes qui composent un petit cylindre dont la baze est le trou B et qui | s'estend iusques au haut du tuyau, descendent l'une apres l'autre, on concevra aysement que la goutte qui est maintenant au point A, estant parvenue iusques
75 à B, aura acquis par sa descente, d'A à B, le double de la vitesse qu'elle auroit acquise si elle n'estoit descenduë que d'F, et par consequent que, lorsqu'elle sort par B, elle se meut deux fois aussy viste quand le tuyau est plein à la hauteur de 4 pieds que quand il n'est plein qu'à la hauteur d'un pied, et que c'est le mesme de toutes les autres gouttes, puisque elles se meuvent toutes en mesme sorte.

En suite de quoy, ie remarque aussy que les cylindres d'eau, ou de quelque autre matiere que ce soit, des le premier moment qu'ils commencent à descendre se meuvent d'autant plus viste qu'ils sont plus longs, et ce en raison sousdouble de leur longueur, c'est à dire qu'un cylindre de 4 pieds aura deux fois autant de vitesse, qu'un d'un pied, et un de 9 pieds en aura 3 fois autant. Et le mesme se
85 peut entendre à proportion de tous les autres cors, que plus qu'ils ont de hauteur ou d'epaisseur selon le sens qu'ils descendent, plus ils descendent viste. Car lorsque la premiere goutte d'eau sort par le trou B, tout le cylindre d'eau AB ou FB descend en mesme tems, et cetuy cy descend deux fois moins viste que cetuy là. Ce qui ne trouble pourtant point les proportions du triangle que i'ay tantost proposé, mais seulement, au lieu de le considerer comme une simple superficie, on luy doit attribuer une epaisseur comme AI ou BK qui represente
90

AT III, 808
162v

AT III, 809

163r

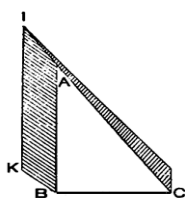
AT III, 810

52 <dont>>où] dont *Cle* 54 de *om.* *Cle* 55 <en>>à la fin de] en *Cle* 56 On] Et on *Cle* 58 par] avec *Cle* 58 pendant la premiere minute] after de haut *Cle* 61 que *om.* *Cle* 61 continuoit] à se mouvoir *add.* *Cle* 63 <rectangle>>parallelograme] rectangle *Cle* 65 de *om.* *Cle* 72 dont *corr. Roth*] d'ont 74 maintenant *om.* *Cle* 75 par sa descente] en descendant *Cle* 75 d'A à B] d'A iusques à B *Cle* 79 gouttes *om.* *Cle* 79 en] de *Cle* 79 sorte] force *Cle* 82 et ce *om.* *Cle* 85–86 hauteur ou d'epaisseur] Diametre *Cle* 87–88 AB ou FB] FB, ou AB *Cle* 88 <plus>>moins] plus *Cle* 89 cetuy] celuy *Cle* 89 pourtant *om.* *Cle*

11. Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643

la vitesse qu'a chasque cors au premier moment qu'il commence à descendre. | 163v

95



100

En sorte que, si ce cors est un cylindre qui ait 4 pieds de longueur, il faut faire le costé AI deux fois aussy long que si ce cylindre n'avoit qu'un pied, et penser qu'en tout le tems qu'il descend il fait tousiours deux fois autant de chemin qu'il ferait n'ayant qu'un pied de longueur. Et c'est le mesme d'une goutte d'eau dont le diametre est quadruple d'une autre, à sçavoir qu'elle descend deux fois aussy viste que cete autre.

Enfin, ie considere touchant la nature de l'eau, que ses parties ont quelque liaison entre elles qui fait qu'elle ne peut passer par un trou fort estroit sans perdre beaucoup de sa vitesse; et qui fait aussy qu'elles se ramassent en petites boules toutes rondes, plus ou moins grosses à raison des mouvemens qu'elles ont, mais qui ne passent pas toutefois certaine grosseur; et que le trou B estant assez estroit, bienque l'eau en sorte en forme d'un petit cylindre, ce cylindre se divise incontinant apres en plusieurs gouttes qui sont plus ou moins grosses selon que le trou est plus ou moins large, bienque cela ne paroisse à l'œil que lorsqu'elles se meuvent assez lentement, car allant fort viste elles semblent tousiours estre un cylindre. I'adiousterois aussy que les proportions que i'ay tantost déterminées ne sont pas entierement iustes, à cause que l'action de la pesanteur diminuë à mesure que les cors se meuvent plus viste, et aussy à cause que l'air leur resiste davantage. Mais ie croy que la difference que cela peut causer en la descente de l'eau dans un tuyau de 4 ou 5 pieds n'est gueres sensible.

Ces choses posées, ie calcule ainsy le iet horizontal du tuyau AB. Puisque chasque goutte d'eau sort deux fois aussy viste par le trou B quand le tuyau est tout plein | que quand il n'est plein que iusques à F, estant conduite de B vers E par la situation de ce trou elle doit continuer par apres à se mouvoir deux fois aussy viste en ce sens là. De façon que, si par ce mouvement elle arrive par exemple au point E au bout d'une minute quand le tuyau est tout plein, elle arrivera iustement au point N, qui est la moitié de la ligne BE, au bout de la mesme minute, si le tuyau n'est plein que iusques à F. Mais avec cela elle a aussy un autre mouvement que luy donne sa pesanteur, et qui fait que pendant cete minute elle descend de la longueur de la ligne BH, sans que la vitesse ou tardiveté de son premier mouvement change rien en cetuy cy; c'est pourquoy ces deux mouvemens la feront arriver au point D au bout d'une minute quand le tuyau est tout plein, et au point C quand il n'est plein que iusques à F. Et mesme, à cause que la pesanteur luy fait faire plus de chemin pendant les dernieres parties de cete minute que pendant les premieres, et ce en raison double des tems, de là vient que les lignes BC et BD ne sont pas droites, mais ont la courbure d'une parabole, ainsy que Galilée a fort bien remarqué. Et ie ne voy rien qui puisse changer sensiblement cete proportion double du iet horizontal, sinon que peustestre le trou B, estant fort estroit, oste davantage de la vitesse de l'eau quand elle ne vient que d'un pied de haut que quand elle vient de quatre pieds, et ainsy peut rendre la ligne HC plus courte que CD. De quoy ie n'ay point fait toutefois d'experience.

97 en] pendant Cle 98-99 qu'il ... longueur om. Cle 105 qu'elles ont] qui les divisent ou qui les rejoignent Cle 106 le trou] si le trou Cle 106 estant] est Cle 112 entierement om. Cle 120 aussy] plus add. Cle

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Le calcule aussy le iet vertical en considerant les | deux mesmes mouvemens 164v
 en chasque goutte d'eau, à sçavoir celuy de la vitesse qu'elle a en sortant de B à
 cause de la hauteur du lieu d'où elle vient, et qui la fait mouvoir egalement de bas
 140 en haut, avec celuy de sa pesanteur qui la fait cependant descendre inegalement
 de haut en bas. En sorte qu'elle monte tousiours pendant que la vitesse que luy
 donne sa pesanteur est moindre que celle de son autre mouvement; mais qu'elle
 commence à redescendre si tost que cete vitesse surpasse l'autre; et que le plus
 haut point iusques auquel elle monte est celuy où elles sont egales. Ainsy donc
 145 quand le tuyau n'est plein que iusques à F, elle a en sortant par le trou B la vitesse
 représentée cy dessus par la ligne DE, laquelle estant conduite de B vers A par
 la situation du trou, luy fait faire, en montant pendant une minute, le chemin
 représenté par le parallelograme DEFB qui est de 2 pieds. Mais pendant cete
 mesme minute sa pesanteur luy fait faire en descendant le chemin représenté par
 150 le triangle ADE, qui est d'un pied, lequel estant deduit des deux pieds qu'elle
 monte, il reste encore un pied, dont elle se trouve haussée pendant cete minute,
 au bout de laquelle sa pesanteur luy donne iustement la vitesse représentée par
 la ligne DE, c'est à dire egale à son autre vitesse qui la faisoit monter, et elle
 l'augmente tousiours par apres; c'est pourquoy elle ne peut monter plus haut
 155 qu'un pied. Mais elle peut bien ne monter pas si haut pour d'autres raisons que
 nous considererons cy apres. Tout de mesme, quand le tuyau de 4 pieds est tout
 plein, chasque goutte d'eau qui en sort par le trou B montant egalement avec la
 vitesse représentée par la ligne BC fait en 2 minutes le chemin représenté par le
 parallelograme ABCG qui est de 8 pieds, et pendant ces deux mesmes minutes sa
 160 pesanteur luy fait faire en descendant le chemin représenté par le triangle ABC
 qui est de quatre pieds, lesquels estans deduits des 8 qu'elle monte, il en reste 4
 dont elle se trouve haussée en ces deux minutes, au bout desquelles sa pesanteur
 luy donne iustement la vitesse représentée par la ligne BC, de façon qu'elle ne
 monte pas plus outre. Et par ce calcul le iet vertical | se trouve tousiours egal à 165r
 165 la hauteur de l'eau qui est dans le tuyau. Mais il en faut necessairement rabatre
 quelque chose à cause de la nature de l'eau, car on peut faire le trou B si estroit,
 que l'eau, perdant quasi toute sa vitesse en passant par dedans, ne iaillira qu'à la
 hauteur d'un pied ou deux quand ce tuyau sera tout plein, et qu'elle ne iaillira
 qu'un pouce ou deux, ou mesme point du tout, mais coulera seulement peu à peu
 170 quand il ne sera plein que iusques à F. Comme au contraire on le peut faire si
 large que chasque goutte d'eau qui en sort, estant fort grosse, ou mesme toute
 l'eau estant iointe ensemble comme une masse, aura une pesanteur beaucoup
 plus grande que celle que i'ay supposée en ce calcul, proportionnée à la vitesse
 dont elle monte, ce qui l'empeschera de monter si haut. Et au lieu que l'autre
 175 raison diminuë plus le iet d'un pied que celuy de 4 pieds, celle cy diminuë l'un et
 l'autre en mesme proportion. Et si on fait le trou de mediocre grandeur, bienque
 chascune de ces deux raisons agissent moins, elles ne laissent pas d'agir fort sensi-
 blement à cause qu'elles concourent toutes deux ensemble à diminuer la hauteur
 AT III, 813
 AT III, 814

138–139 qu'elle ... à cause de] que luy donne *Cle* 139 et qui] lequel *Cle* 139 mouvoir] monter
Cle 146–152 par la ligne DE ... représentée (–par la ligne DE ce) *added in the left margin*
MS 153 (+elle)] *om. Cle* 155 pas] du tout *add. Cle* 155–156 que ... apres *om. Cle* 156 (+cy)
 162 en] pendant *Cle* 163–164 ne ... outre] cesse de monter *Cle* 165 de l'eau qui est] que l'eau a
Cle 168 (le))ce)] le *Cle* 169 peu à peu] goutte à goutte *Cle* 177 agissent] agisse *Cle*

11. Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643

180 des iets. D'où ie conclus qu'en l'experience proposée où le iet venant de 4 pieds
s'est trouvé de 3 pieds et $\frac{1}{4}$ qui font 39 pouces, le iet venant d'un pied eust esté de
9 pouces et $\frac{3}{4}$ si la petitesse du trou B ne l'eust diminué d'un pouce et $\frac{3}{4}$ plus que
l'autre. Il est aysé de calculer en mesme façon tous les autres iets d'eau inclinez
sur l'horizon et de trouver les lignes courbes qu'ils descrivent, mais on ne m'en a
pas tant demandé.⁴

11 bis

The abandoned draft of a solution to the problem of hydraulics, the final version of which is given above, pp. 31–35. Its only source is Cle II, 549–552 (cf. the introduction to Letter 11, p. 30).

Premierement, pour le iet horizontal, ie ne considere autre chose, sinon que, lors que le tuyau est tout plein, l'eau en sort communement deux fois aussi viste par le trou B, que lors qu'il n'est plein que iusques à F, et que le mouvement qu'elle a, en sortant ainsi par ce trou, la porte de BH vers E D ou NC, sans empescher
5 celui de sa pesanteur, qui la porte de BE vers HD. D'où il est evident que, puis que l'eau employe autant de temps à descendre de BE iusques à HD, qu'elle fait à aller de BH iusques à NC, en sorte que ces deux mouvemens ioints ensemble la portent de B à C, lors qu'il sera tout plein, elle ne doit employer ny plus ny moins de temps qu'auparavant à descendre de BE iusques à HD, à cause qu'elle
10 n'a que la mesme pesanteur; mais que, pendant ce mesme temps, elle doit aller deux fois aussi loin de BH vers ED, à cause qu'elle se meut deux fois aussi viste en ce sens-là, et ainsi que ces deux mouvemens la doivent porter de B à D.

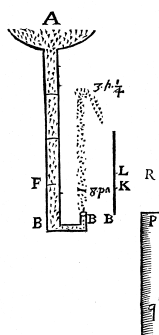
Puis, pour le iet vertical, ie considere, en mesme façon, que la force dont l'eau sort par le trou B, la fait monter environ deux fois aussi viste de B vers
15 A, quand le tuyau est | tout plein, que quand il n'est plein que iusques à F, et que cependant sa pesanteur la fait descendre, sans que ces deux mouvemens se confondent. Mais ie considere, outre cela, que sa pesanteur ne la meut pas tousiours également viste, et qu'elle augmente par degrez la vitesse qu'elle luy donne; en sorte que si, par exemple, en une minute de temps elle luy donne dix
20 degrez de vitesse, en deux minutes elle luy en doit donner vingt. Cela posé, pour bien entendre l'effet de ses deux mouvemens, ie compare celui qui fait monter chaque goutte d'eau de B vers A, et qui n'est pas plus viste ny plus lent au commencement qu'à la fin, avec celui dont on peut hausser le baston PQ vers R, et

179 venant *om. Cle* 180 qui font] ou de *Cle* 180 pouces] seulement *add. Cle* 180 venant *om. Cle* 182–183 inclinez sur l'horizon] qui sont moyens entre le vertical et l'horizontal *Cle*

⁴ Here the MS ends. Clerselier adds what is evidently an earlier draft of the same reply, see the appendix.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

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la pesanteur, qui fait cependant descendre cette goutte d'eau, d'A vers B, d'une vitesse inégale et plus grande à la fin qu'au commencement, avec celui qu'on peut imaginer qu'aurait une fourmy qui marcheroit le long de ce baston de P vers Q, au mesme temps qu'on le hausseroit vers R. Car si cette fourmy descendoit tousiours de mesme vitesse le long de ce baston, et que sa vitesse fust égale à celle dont on hausseroit le baston, il est évident que ces deux mouvemens feroient que la fourmy demeureroit tousiours vis à vis du point B; et que, si sa vitesse est moindre que celle du baston, elle monteroit tousiours vers R; et enfin que, si sa vitesse estoit plus grande que celle du baston, elle descendroit tousiours au | dessous de B. Mais en

Cle II, 551
AT III, 629

la supposant inégale, en sorte que, par exemple, au premier pas que fait cette fourmy, elle n'a qu'un degré de vitesse, au second deux, au troisieme trois, etc., pendant qu'elle se meut moins viste que le baston, il la fait tousiours hausser vers R, et au point où elle commence à se mouvoir plus viste, elle commence à descendre, comme fait aussi chaque goutte d'eau.

Maintenant, pour deviner quelle doit estre la proportion de ces deux mouvemens, pour faire que la fourmy, augmentant tousiours sa vitesse de mesme façon, ne monte que iusques à huit pouces, pendant que le baston sera haussé lentement, et qu'elle monte iusques à trois pieds et $\frac{1}{4}$, lors qu'il sera haussé deux fois aussi viste, ie me sers d'un peu d'Algebre; et ie pose huit pouces plus x pour la ligne BL, à la hauteur de laquelle i' imagine qu'on élève le baston PQ pendant une minute de temps; pendant laquelle minute la fourmy descend de P vers Q de la longueur de la ligne LK, que ie nomme x , en augmentant tousiours sa vitesse; en sorte qu'au bout de cette minute, elle descend iustement aussi viste que le baston monte, et incontinent après elle descend plus viste. C'est pourquoy elle ne monte point au de là du point K, que ie suppose estre éloigné de B de huit pouces. Après cela, ie raisonne ainsi: puisque le baston, estant haussé lentement, a monté à la longueur de huit pouces plus x en une minute, lors qu'il sera haussé deux fois aussi viste, il doit monter seize pouces plus deux x pendant une minute, et trente-deux pouces plus quatre x pendant deux minutes. Et puis que la fourmy a employé une minute de temps, pour acquerir une vitesse égale à celle dont le baston estoit haussé auparavant, et qu'elle est descenduë cependant de la longueur de la ligne x , elle doit employer deux minutes pour en acquerir une égale à celle dont il est meü maintenant, qui est double de la precedente, et pendant ces deux minutes, elle doit descendre à la longueur de $4x$. Car, puisque sa vitesse s'augmente en | cette façon, elle doit faire trois fois autant de chemin en la seconde minute, qu'en la premiere. Ie suis,

Cle II, 552

65
Monsieur,
Vostre tres humble, et tres-
obeissant serviteur, DESCARTES

39 la corr. AT] l'a Cle 52 K Cle (1659)] R Cle (1663)

11. Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643

a — p. 31, l. 16. Previous editors refer to Huygens' letter of 26 May 1642, in which certain Amsterdam inventors of a hydraulical machine are mentioned. The indication is, however, doubtful, for Huygens discusses a serious technological invention and there is no mention of any 'perpetual motion' (AT III, 790). There is a more plausible candidate for Descartes' allusion. During his visit to Amsterdam in early July 1642, Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) revealed his theory on perpetual motion to Johann Moriaen (c.1592–1668) and a certain Budaeus († 1642). Moriaen and Budaeus started to work on a machine, a model of which they tested later that month without success. A few months later, Budaeus died, and Moriaen abandoned the project.⁵ Given the context in which Descartes mentions the perpetual motion, it is probable that the machine was supposed to work with water. As the possibility of a *perpetuum mobile* seems not to have been discussed when Descartes and Comenius met in July 1642, the likely source on the Amsterdam project is Huygens, whose interest in the subject is shown by the fact that he received a copy of a short tract on perpetual motion by Comenius from the English ambassador William Boswell in October 1642. Huygens' copy of *De arte spontanei motus quem perpetuum vocant*, kept at the Royal Library in The Hague, is published in Comenius' *Opera omnia*, vol. 12 (Prague: Academia, 1978), together with other material on perpetual motion. On Comenius' visit to Endegeest, see C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse U.M., 1954; repr. Utrecht: HES, 1989), p. 615.

b — p. 31, l. 33. The question of how fast water flows from vertical vessels is found discussed in the correspondence between Descartes and Mersenne as from 1638 (see Descartes to Mersenne, 15 November 1638, AT III, 422–424/CM VIII, 186–187). Mersenne seems to have performed experiments that led him to the right conclusion that the speed of water flowing from a water tank is proportional to the square root of the height from which the fluid descended: 'Vostre experience, que le tuyau quadruple en hauteur ne donne que le double de l'eau, est la plus belle et plus utile de toutes, et ie vous en remercie' (Descartes to Mersenne, 9 February 1639, AT III, 504/CM VIII, 300). After having asked in vain for Descartes' opinion concerning some new experiments he has performed (see Descartes to Mersenne, 15 September 1640, AT III, 176/CM X, 101; 17 November 1641, AT III, 453/CM X, 784; 20 October 1642, AT III, 590/CM XI, 306) Mersenne begged Huygens to act as an intermediary between himself and Descartes. The latter promptly replies to Huygens, and adds to the letter an appendix for Mersenne.

In the appendix, Descartes confirms the validity of the law that Mersenne has experimentally derived three years earlier. This law is generally ascribed to Torricelli, who demonstrated it in his *Opera geometrica* of 1644.⁶

In the appendix, Descartes first anticipates the results he has obtained by performing experiments with two different water-pipes (ll. 23–33); then he goes on to formulate the principle of conservation of uniform, rectilinear motion (ll. 34–38) and the law of free fall (ll. 38–63); finally, he goes back to his experiments, and explains how water flows from pipes of different sizes and shapes (ll. 63–184).

What is particularly striking about this letter is the fact that in it Descartes subscribes to Galileo's laws of free fall and projectile motion, which he harshly criticizes in many other letters to Mersenne.⁷ At the beginning of the appendix Descartes claims, in agreement with

⁵ See J.T. Young, *Faith, medical alchemy and natural philosophy: Johann Moriaen, reformed intelligencer, and the Hartlib Circle* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 134–135. Cf. G.H. Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1947), p. 366, and M. Blekastad, *Unbekannte Briefen des Comenius und seiner Freunde 1641–1661* (Kastellaun: Henn Verlag, 1976), pp. 17, 18, 132, 134, 139.

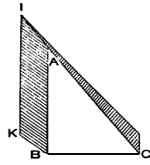
⁶ See *Opere di Evangelista Torricelli*, G. Loria and G. Vassura (eds.), 4 vols. (vols. 1–3, Faenza, 1919; vol. 4, Faenza, 1944), vol. III, pp. 185–197.

⁷ See, for example, Descartes to Mersenne, 11 October 1638, AT II, 399/CM VIII, 114; 29 January 1640, AT III, 9–10/CM IX, 89; 11 March 1640, AT III, 39/CM IX, 193; mid-November 1642, AT III, 593/CM IX, 349–350. These letters are discussed in C.R. Palmerino, 'Infinite degrees of speed:

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Galileo, that the spaces traversed by a falling body grow almost as the squares of the times and even represents acceleration by means of a diagram that shows the proportionality between speed of fall and time elapsed (Il. 38–63); and further down in the text he explains that the lines BC and BD, which are respectively described by the water descending from A to B and to F to B, ‘ne sont pas droites, mais ont la courbure d’une parabole, ainsy que Galilée a fort bien remarqué’ (Il. 131–132).

Antonio Nardi, who has devoted to this letter an article called ‘Descartes “presque” galiléen: 18 fevrier 1643’,⁸ has observed that in spite of his striking adhesion to Galileo’s theory of motion, Descartes deviates from the latter concerning one crucial point. For he claims the speed of the falling body to be proportional to its weight, and adds to



Galileo’s triangle of speed a third dimension, namely ‘une espaisseur comme AI ou BK qui represente la vitesse qu’a chasque cors au premier moment qu’il commence à descendre. En sorte que, si ce cors est un cylindre qui ait 4 pieds de longueur, il faut faire le costé AI deux fois aussy long que si ce cylindre n’avoit qu’un pied’ (Il. 91–97). According to Nardi, by introducing weight as an additional variable, Descartes wants to give a dynamical foundation to the law of water flow. [CRP].

Marin Mersenne and the debate over Galileo’s law of free fall’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 4 (1999), 269–328, esp. pp. 282–295.

⁸ *Revue d’Histoire des Sciences*, 39 (1986), 3–16.

Descartes, Endegeest, to [Marin Mersenne], [Paris]

23 February 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Dubrunfaut collection, MS 857 (Rigaux 986), folio 728. One sheet folded into two (230x170 mm). Text on fos. 1r–2v; no address, no seals.
2. MS copy. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 10556, fo. 50 (MS Vicq d’Azyr).
3. Cle II, 506–510.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: CM XII, 69–75.

Other editions: AT III, 631–637 (MS copy), cf. AT X, 580–581; AM V, 265–269.

Clerselier printed the draft as letter no. 108 of the second volume (1659), without mention of the date. The last part of no. 108, however, consists of three paragraphs from another letter to Mersenne (30 May 1643, Letter 22 below). The first complete edition of the autograph is in CM (variants between Cle and the copy, and the autograph are also found in AT X). The following notes are found on the first recto side of the autograph: the folio number ‘728’ and the Poirier number (45) in the upper right corner; in the upper left corner the remark ‘lettre 108^e du 2^e tome, page 506’, and beneath that in pencil ‘1643 23 fev.’. In the left margin Poirier’s dating ‘(23 fevrier 1643, v.d.)’, and in pencil a note ‘G.Ch. 1877, f 190’ (dealer’s mark of Gabriel Charavay (1818–1879)?). Finally the original La Hire no. ‘33 C’ in the left bottom corner, corresponding to no. 51 in the definitive list.

Summary

Descartes acknowledges receipt of several letters of Mersenne and Picot. Discussion of various experiments.

Mon Reverend Pere,

1r

5 Ie ne sçay comment vous datez vos letres, mais i’en ay receu une, il y a 8 iours,
 du 10 Fevrier et aujourd’huy une autre du premier en laquelle il y en avoit une
 autre de M^r Picot. Et il y a 15 iours que M^r de Zuylichem m’a envoyé le dessein
 10 des iardins, duquel ie vous remercie, et i’en remercie aussy tres humblement M^r
 Hardy,¹ qui, comme i’apprens par vostre letre, en a daigné prendre le soin en
 l’absence de M^r Picot; quand nous aurons encore l’autre dessein, que vous me
 faites esperer, nous en aurons autant que nous en desirons. Mais ie vous prie de
 sçavoir de ceux qui les ont faits, qui sont le iardinier de Luxembourg et celuy des
 Tuilleries, à quel prix ils les mettent, et leur dire qu’ils n’en prenent point d’argent
 que de vous, car si tost que ie sçauray ce qu’il leur faut, ie ne manqueray de vous

CM XII, 70

AT III, 632

4 autre *om. Cle*

¹ Claude Hardy (1604–1678), mathematician and renowned linguist, living in Paris. According to Baillet, his cousin was married to a sister of Picot (Baillet, II, 147).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

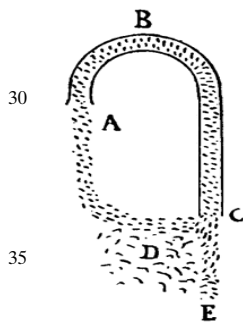
l'envoyer; ou bien, si M^r Picot les a desia payez, ie seray bien ayse de sçavoir ce que ie luy doy par ce moyen.²

L'eau monte le long d'une lisiere de drap, tout de mesme que dans un tuyau
 15 courbé, car on trempe premierement tout ce drap dans l'eau, et il ne pourroit
 servir de philtre sans cela; mais les parties exterieures de l'eau dont il est mouillé,
 s'engagent tellement entre ses filets, qu'elles y font comme une petite peau par
 laquelle l'air ne peut entrer, et cependant les interieures, se suivant les unes les
 autres, coulent vers le costé du drap qui descend le plus bas en mesme façon que
 20 dans | un tuyau.³ Mais si vous demandez comment le mesme arrive dans un tuyau,
 il faut seulement considerer que, n'y ayant point de vuide, tous les mouvemens
 sont circulaires, c'est à dire que si un cors se meut, il entre en la place d'un autre,
 et cetuy cy en la place d'un autre et ainsy de suite; en sorte que le dernier entre
 en la place du premier, et qu'il y a tout un cercle de cors qui se meut en mesme
 25 tems.³ Comme, quand le tuyau ABC est tout plein d'eau des deux costez, il est

CM XII, 71
 1v

aysé à entendre que cete eau doit descendre par C, en considé-
 rant tout le cercle ABCD, dont la partie ABC est composée
 d'eau et l'autre CDA est composée d'air, et dont toutes les parties
 se meuvent ensemble. Car y ayant plus d'eau en la moitié
 de ce cercle BCD qu'en l'autre moitié BAD, il doit tourner
 suivant l'ordre des lettres ABC plutost que suivant l'ordre des
 lettres CBA, au moyen de quoy l'eau coule par C; car chasque
 goutte de cete eau, estant sortie du tuyau, descend tout droit
 vers E, et il va de l'air en sa place pour parfaire le cercle du
 mouvement, lequel air va dans la partie du tuyau AB. Mais ce
 n'est pas de mesme d'une apreste de pain ny du sucre, dans

AT III, 633



lesquels l'eau monte, à cause que ses parties sont en perpetuelle agitation, et que
 leurs pores sont tellement disposez, que l'air en sort plus aysement qu'il n'y ren-
 40 tre, et l'eau au contraire y entre plus aysement qu'elle n'en sort, ainsy que monte
 un espi de bled le long du bras, quand on le met en sa manche la pointe en bas.

CM XII, 72

Ie ne suis pas curieux de voir les escrits de l'Anglois.⁴ I'ay eu icy quelques
 iours les epitres de M^r Gassendy, mais ie n'en ay quasi leu que l'index qu'il a
 mis au commencement, duquel i'ay appris qu'il ne traitoit d'aucune matiere que

13 par ce moyen pour cela Cle 15 tout] fort Cle 38 ses] ces Cle 42 par. E

2 On 17 November 1641 Descartes requested Mersenne to send him the work by Jacques Boyceau de la Barauderie, *Traité du iardinage selon les raisons de la nature et de l'art* (Paris: Vanlochom, 1638), AT III, 450/AM V, 73/CM X, 781–782. After receiving the book in 1642 (cf. AT III, 792–794), Descartes apparently asked two additional maps to be made by the gardeners of the Jardin de Luxembourg and the Tuileries. Descartes acknowledged receipt of the first map to Huygens as coming 'depuis 10 ou 12 iours' on 18 February (Letter 11, p. 31, l. 16). The horticultural items were requested on behalf of Anthony Studler van Zurck, who intended to lay out a garden presumably on the estate he had bought at Bergen in 1642.

3 The idea that whenever an object is displaced there is a whole circle of bodies that is set in motion was already expressed by Descartes in his letter to Mersenne of 2 February 1643 (Letter 9, p. 24, ll. 27–32, with comment).

4 Descartes' usual allusion to Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). The work referred to is probably Hobbes' critique of *De mundo dialogi tres* by Thomas White (Paris: Moreau, 1642), which Mersenne offered to send to Descartes. Descartes did in fact receive the part of the work on tides, see pp. 57 and 58–59.

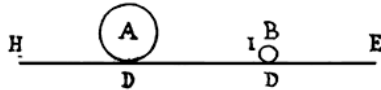
12. Descartes to [Mersenne], 23 February 1643

45 i'eusse besoin de lire.⁵ Il me semble que vous m'avez autrefois mandé qu'il a AT III, 634
 la bonne lunete de Galilée; ie voudrois bien sçavoir si elle est si excellente que
 Galilée a voulu faire croire, et comment paroissent maintenant les satellites de
 Saturne par son moyen.^b

50 Je vous remercie de l'experiance de l'air pesé dans une arquebuse à vent
 lorsqu'il y est condensé, mais ie croy que c'est plutost l'eau meslée parmi l'air
 ainsy condensé, qui pese tant, que non pas l'air mesme.^c

Pour les boules de mail dont vous parlez en vostre autre letre du 10^e | de
 Fevrier, vostre 1^{ere} difficulté est sur ce qu'une petite boule de mail estant frappée
 55 par une plus grosse, il arrive souvant que le mouvement de cete plus grosse
 s'amortist et que l'autre va par apres assez viste. Mais la raison en est aisée et
 ne repugne aucunement à ce que i'ay escrit cy devant,⁶ car elle depend de ce que
 ces boules ne sont point parfaitement dures, ny le plan où elles sont parfaitement
 uni, qui sont deux choses que i'avois exceptées. Soit donc B arestée sur le plan

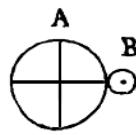
60 D où elle est un peu enfoncée dans le sable,
 et considerons premierement que la boule
 A, venant vers elle avec grande vitesse, la
 touche au point I, qui est plus haut que son



65 qu'elle l'enfonce encore plus avant dans le sable D, et que cependant l'une et
 l'autre de ces boules se replient un peu en dedans, ce qui fait perdre peu à peu
 le mouvement de la boule A, iusques à ce que B, estant pressée entre A et le
 plan D, en sorte avec force, ainsy qu'un noyau de cerise pressé entre deux doigts,
 ce qui luy donne beaucoup de vitesse. Et si A perd toute sa force avant que B

70 puisse sortir du lieu où il est, les parties de ces 2 boules, estant repliées en dedans
 au point où elles s'entretouchent, tendent à se remettre comme un arc en leur
 premiere figure, au moyen de quoy elles chassent A vers H et B vers E, mais B
 plus viste que A, à cause qu'il est plus aysé à mouvoir. Et B estant chassé avant
 que A ait perdu toute sa force, il arrivera que la boule A ira encore vers E mais
 75 plus lentement, ou bien qu'elle s'arestera tout à fait.^d Il est certain que le noyau
 de cerise qui sort d'entre les doigts, se meut plus viste que ces doigts, à cause
 qu'il en sort obliquement; et quand on dit que le cors qui en meut un autre doit
 avoir autant de vitesse qu'il en donne à cet autre, cela ne s'entend que des mou-

80 vemens en mesme ligne droite. Mais ie voy en tout cecy que vous
 ne distinguez pas le mouvement de la vitesse, et que vos difficultez
 ne viennent que de là; car bien que le noyau de cerise ait plus de
 vitesse que les doigts qui le chassent, il n'a pas toutefois autant de
 mouvement; et la boule A estant quadruple de B, si elles se meuvent



49 par. E 52 par. E 58 B] la boule add. Cle 61 considerons] considerez Cle 66 (+peu à peu)
 68 (+pressé) 68 deux] les deux Cle 70 il] elle Cle 73 A] corrected from H in main text following
 D.'s note in margine il faut que A 77 (ils)il 77 (sortent)sort 78 (que celui)qu'il

5 It is Gassendi's *De motu impresso*, and/or *De apparente magnitudine solis*, cf. Huygens to
 Descartes, Letter 6, p. 17. Both works are preceded by an analytical table of contents.

6 Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 28 October 1640 (AT III, 209–211/CM X, 171–173), 17 November
 1641 (AT III, 450–452/CM X, 782–784), 19 January, 17 November and 7 December 1642 (AT III,
 481–482, 592–594, 601/CM XI, 11, 349–351, 367).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

85 ensemble, l'une a autant de vitesse qu l'autre, mais la quadruple a quatre fois
autant de mouvement.

Pour l'opinion de ceux qui | croient que plus on est de tems à imprimer
le mouvement, plus ce mouvement est grand, elle n'est veritable que, lorsqu'au
bout de ce tems, le cors meu acquert une plus grande vitesse; car s'il se meut
90 également viste, il a tousiours autant de mouvement par quelque cause que ce
mouvement ait esté imprimé en luy; et on ne sçauroit ieter de la main une bale
aussy loin qu'avec un pistolet, si ce n'est qu'on l'eleve plus haut, à cause que le
iet horizontal du pistolet ne va pas si loin que le iet de 30 ou 45 degrez fait avec
la main.

95 Enfin l'impression et le mouvement et la vitesse considerez en un mesme
cors, ne sont qu'une mesme chose; mais en deux cors differens, le mouvement
ou l'impression sont differens de la vitesse. Car si ces deux cors font autant de
chemin l'un que l'autre en mesme tems, on dit qu'ils ont autant de vitesse; mais
celuy qui contient le plus de matiere, soit à cause qu'il est plus solide, soit à cause
100 qu'il est plus grand, a besoin de plus d'impression et de mouvement pour aller
aussy viste que l'autre. Mais il ne se trouve point de medium qui n'empesche le
mouvement des cors, si ce n'est pour certaine vitesse seulement, et ainsy on ne le
peut supposer au regard de divers cors, comme un de moëlle de sureau, l'autre de
plomb; car le medium qui ne resiste point à l'un, resiste necessairement à l'autre.

105 Au reste, i'ay à me pleindre de vous de ce que, voulant sçavoir mon opinion
touchant les iets de l'eau, vous vous estes adressé à M^r de Zuylichem plutost qu'à
moy, comme si vous n'aviez pas autant ou plus de pouvoir sur moy qu'aucun
autre. Il y a 4 ou 5 iours que ie luy en ay mandé assez au long mon opinion; vous
verrez si elle vous satisfiera.⁷ Et ie suis,

110

Mon Reverend Pere,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

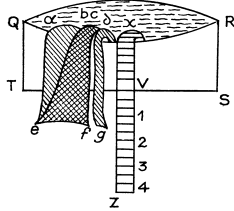
d'Endegeest, ce 23 Fev. 1643

85 <double>quadruple) 87 par. E 89 bout] regard Cle 89 <s'ils>s'il 91 et on] et l'on Cle
95 par. E 103 l'autre] et l'autre Cle 106 de l'eau] d'eau Cle 109–114 Et ie suis ... 1643 not in
Cle; Cle continues with fragments from Descartes to Mersenne, 30 May 1643 (Letter 22)

7 See Letter 11. For Mersenne's reaction, cf. Letter 13, p. 46, ll. 22–24.

12. Descartes to [Mersenne], 23 February 1643

a — p. 40, l. 20. As the editors of CM duly explain, the Minim must have asked Descartes' opinion concerning an experiment which he was to describe in the *Phaenomena pneumatica*, a section of the *Cogitata* of 1644.⁸ The experiment shows that if three cloths of equal



length, but of different breadth are let hung from a basin full of water into which one of their ends is immersed, they all absorb the same quantity of fluid. In the *Phaenomena pneumatica* Mersenne compares this phenomenon to the functioning of a siphon and rejects any explanation based on the concept of a *horror vacui* (Cf. CM XII, 76–77). As for Descartes, he unifies the two possible explanations taken into account by Mersenne: like the Minim, he draws an analogy between the behaviour of the cloths and that of a siphon, but then explains the functioning of the siphon as a result of the impossibility of a void. [CRP].

b — p. 41, l. 48. In a letter to Belisario Vinta dated 30 July 1610, Galileo announced that, 5 days before, he had discovered with his telescope that the planet of Saturn was made of a big star touched by two smaller stars, of which one was on the left and the other on the right side.⁹ In successive letters and in his published works, Galileo was to give many different descriptions of the shape of Saturn, which appeared at times 'solitary' and at times accompanied by two other bodies, which he called either stars, or ears, or mitres, or globules.¹⁰ After he had rendered public his first observations of Saturn, Galileo received many letters by people who complained that their telescopes were not powerful enough to show these three stars.¹¹ Gassendi had Peiresc ask Galileo on January 1634 if he could borrow one of his telescopes, so as to be able to observe Jupiter, Venus and Saturn better.¹² In July of the same year, Galileo sent to Elia Diodati, in Paris, lenses for Gassendi.¹³ In the second of his *Epistolae duae de motu impresso a motore translato*, written in 1640 and published in 1642, Gassendi reported that Saturn appeared to be surrounded by two *ansulae*, which appeared to resemble Jupiter's satellites.¹⁴ Gassendi continued to make telescopic observations of Saturn until the end of his life, but he never dared formulating a hypothesis concerning the nature of the *ansulae*.¹⁵ In *Le Monde* (AT XI, 72) Descartes assumed that Saturn had two satellites, which assumption he repeated, albeit more cautiously, in the *Principia* (AT VIIIA, 195, 200). The mystery of Saturn was solved in 1659 by Christiaan Huygens, who published a *Systema Saturnium sive de causis mirandorum Saturni phenomenon*, in which he revealed that the body of the planet was surrounded by a ring.¹⁶ [CRP].

c — p. 41, l. 51. In the letters of 4 January 1643 and 2 February 1643 (Letters 4 and 9), Descartes commented upon Mersenne's attempt to determine the ratio between the weight of air and that of water by weighing an eolypile in different situations. Here he refers to

⁸ Mersenne, *Cogitata physico-mathematica* (Paris 1644), *Phaenomena pneumatica*, pp. 164–165.

⁹ Galilei, *Opere*, X, 410.

¹⁰ See the description of the different appearances of Saturn given by Galileo in his letter to Benedetto Castelli of 28 August 1640 (Galilei, *Opere*, XVIII, 238–239).

¹¹ See, e.g., Kepler to Galilei, 28–30 March 1611 (Galilei, *Opere*, X, 78); Benedetto Castelli to Galilei, 3 April 1611 (Galilei, *Opere*, X, 82).

¹² See Peiresc to Galilei, 26 January 1634 (Galilei, *Opere*, XVI, 28).

¹³ See Galilei to Elia Diodati, 25 July 1634 (Galilei, *Opere*, XVI, 117–118); Elia Diodati to Pierre Gassendi, 10 November 1634 (*ibid.*, p. 153); Elia Diodati to Nicolas-Claude de Peiresc, 10 November 1634 (*ibid.*, p. 154).

¹⁴ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, III, 510a.

¹⁵ All the data collected by Gassendi are recorded in the *Commentarii de rebus coelestibus seu observationes coelestes ab anno 1618 ad annum 1655*, a diary of astronomic observations published in Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, IV, 75–498, esp. 438–480.

¹⁶ Cf. A. van Helden, 'Saturn and his anses', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 5 (1974), 105–121; id., 'Annulo cingitur: The Solution of the Problem of Saturn', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 5 (1974), 155–174.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

another experiment, which the Minim was to describe in the section *Hydraulica-pneumatica phaenomena* of his *Cogitata* of 1644 and which consists in weighing a wind-gun first when it contains only air at ordinary pressure, and then when it is filled with compressed air. Descartes suggests that the big increase in weight detected by the Minim may be due to the presence of some particles of water in the condensed air. This remark must have appeared plausible to Mersenne, who in the *Hydraulica-pneumatica* adumbrates the possibility that the 60 grains of additional weight may be due, for 35 grains, to air and for 25 grains to some ‘humor oleoginosus’ that was contained in the pneumatic pump used to inflate the wind-gun.¹⁷ [CRP].

d — p. 41, l. 75. In his correspondence with Mersenne, Descartes often uses the example of colliding balls to illustrate the principle of conservation of the total quantity of motion. The belief in this principle constituted Descartes’ main reason for rejecting the Galilean law of fall and its basic assumption that a falling body had to pass through an infinite number of degrees of speed. The principle of the conservation of the quantity of motion implied that the loss of motion on the part of the moving body was being compensated instantaneously by an equal acquisition of motion on the part of the body moved. Assuming that heavy bodies were pushed downward by subtle matter (or by some other force acting by contact), it was necessary to conclude, according to Descartes, that they could not pass through infinite degrees of speed but had to begin their motion with a determined velocity.¹⁸ On 29 January 1640 Descartes wrote to the Minim: ‘Je viens de revoir mes Notes sur Galilée, où ie n’ay veritablement pas dit que les cors qui descendent ne passent pas par tous les degrez de tardiveté; mais i’ay dit que cela ne se peut determiner sans sçavoir ce que c’est que la pesanteur, ce qui signifie la mesme. (...) Et quand on frappe une boule avec un mail, ie ne croy pas que vous pensiez que cette boule, au commencement qu’elle se meut, aille moins viste que le mail; ny enfin que tous les cors qui sont poussez par d’autres, manquent à se mouvoir, dès le premier moment, d’une vitesse proportionnée à celle des cors qui les meuvent. Or est-il que, selon moy, la pesanteur n’est autre chose, sinon que les cors terrestres sont poussez reellement vers le centre de la Terre par la matiere subtile, d’où vous voyez aisément la conclusion. Mais il ne faut pas penser, pour cela, que ces cors se meuvent au commencement si viste que cette matiere subtile; car elle ne les pousse qu’obliquement, et ils sont beaucoup empeschez par l’air, principalement les plus legers’, (AT III, 9–10/CM IX, 89). In successive years Descartes was to invoke the case of colliding balls again and again (see, for example, his letters to Mersenne dated 28 October 1640, AT III, 209/CM X, 171; 17 November 1641, AT III, 452/CM X, 783–784; 17 [November] 1642, AT III, 592–593/CM XI, 349–350). In his letter of 10 February 1642, which Descartes mentions here, Mersenne must have asked why a small body that has been hit by a bigger body, can sometimes move faster than the latter. Descartes answers that this can only happen when the impact between the two bodies takes place according to an oblique line. At first sight this statement could appear to be in contradiction with the last passage of the letter of January 1640, quoted above, where Descartes claims that subtle matter, when colliding obliquely with heavy bodies, imparts to them a speed that is *inferior* to the speed it would impart to them in a straight collision. But in fact the two cases are different. For the volume of subtle matter pushing the body toward the earth is perfectly equal to the volume of the body itself and not smaller as in the case discussed here. Note also that in a letter of April 1643, Descartes reiterates the claim that a moving ball colliding obliquely with a smaller ball makes the latter move faster than it itself moves (Letter 17, p. 63, ll. 58–65). [CRP].

¹⁷ See Mersenne, *Hydraulica-pneumatica phaenomena, Cogitata physico-mathematica* (1644), pp. 149–151, summarized and partially quoted in CM XII, 78–79.

¹⁸ For Descartes’ critique of Galileo’s theory of free fall, see C.R. Palmerino, ‘Infinite degrees of speed: Marin Mersenne and the debate over Galileo’s law of free fall’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 4 (1999), 269–328, esp. 282–295.

Descartes, Endegeest, to Marin Mersenne, [Paris]

23 March 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 2001, fos. 32r–33v. Single sheet folded into two (195x147 mm). No address; no seals.
2. Cle II, 552–553 (fragments).

Editions

The ALS was first published in: G. Libri, 'Des manuscrits inédits de Fermat', *Journal des savants*, Septembre 1839, pp. 555–558.

Other editions: AT III, 637–645; AM V, 270–275; CM XII, 102–110.

Fragments of what was obviously a draft version of the letter (ll. 1–16, ll. 37–54, ll. 82–86 and ll. 126–129) were printed in Cle as the first part of letter no. 116 of the second volume; the second part is Descartes' answer to two unknown Parisians (Letter 17, sent via Mersenne). Fo. 1r of the ALS shows the following notes and marks: in the upper right corner the Poirier no. '(46)' is given two times, one being corrected from '42' into '44'; Poirier's date is found in the left margin: '(23 mars 1643 v.d.)'. The original La Hire no. '32 c' in the left bottom corner (no. 52 on the definitive list).

Summary

Acknowledgement of the receipt of three letters from Mersenne; several of Descartes' letters appear to have been lost. Discussion of several experiments. Giving in to his friends' wish to see Voetius discredited, Descartes will reply to the *Admiranda methodus*.

Mon Reverend Pere,

32r

I'ay receu trois de vos lettres depuis 8 iours, l'une datée du 15 Fev., l'autre du 7 de Mars, l'autre du 14. Vous me mandez en la premiere que le pere Vatier¹ vous a escrit que ie ne luy avois point fait response, dont ie m'etonne, car il y a environ
 5 2 mois que ie receu une lettre de sa part, que vous mandiez ne sçavoir dont elle venoit; ie vous envoyay au mesme voyage une lettre pour luy, et vous escrivis que celle que vous m'aviez envoyée estoit de luy. Je vous prie de vous souvenir si vous avez receu ce paquet, car il y avoit aussy, ce me semble, des lettres pour M^r de la Villeneuve² à Rennes, duquel ie n'ay point eu response, et si ces lettres

AT III, 638

CM XII, 103

2 l'une] dont l'une est Cle 2–3 de Mars om. Cle 3 14] Mars add. Cle 4 response] de réponse Cle 5 ie] i'ay Cle 5 dont] de qui Cle 6 escrivis] manday Cle 7 celle] la Lettre Cle 7 estoit de luy] venoit de sa part Cle 7 de vous souvenir] de tâcher de vous souvenir Cle 8 avez receu] l'avez receue Cle 8 ce paquet om. Cle 8–9 car ... Rennes] et me le mander. Il faudroit que ceux de Paris l'eussent retenuë sans luy envoyer; et ie crois que ie vous avois adressé aussi au mesme voyage des Lettres pour Rennes Cle 9 duquel] dont Cle 9 response] aussi de réponse Cle 9–10 et si ... perduës] si ie pensois qu'elles n'eussent point esté adressées Cle

¹ Antoine Vatier SJ (1591–1659), teacher at La Flèche and from 1642 till 1646 apparently living in Orléans (cf. Descartes to [Vatier], [17 November 1642], AT III, 594–597).

² Jacques Bouexic de la Villeneuve (1590–1658), Descartes' legal representative at Rennes, appointed after the death of his father in 1640. Cf. G. Cohen, *Écrivains français en Hollande* (Paris: Champion, 1920), pp. 526–527.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

10 avoient esté perduës, il m'en faudroit escrire d'autres.³ Si cependant vous avez
occasion, ie seray bien ayse que le pere Vatieur sçache que ie l'estime et honore
beaucoup et que ie luy ay fait response. Si tost que ie sçauray assurément que le
p. Dinet est de retour, ie ne manqueray aussy de luy escrire.⁴ Ie iuge bien qu'on
a imposé silence au P. Bourdin pour attendre ma Philosophie;⁵ ce qu'il nomme le
15 plan de ma Philosophie n'est autre chose que le titre des parties que i'ay escrit
dans une letre au P. Dinet,⁶ ce qui n'est d'aucune importance.⁷ AT III, 639

Vostre experience du poids de l'air dans l'arquebuse à vent est fort belle,
mais ie ne voy pas qu'elle puisse servir à peser l'air, à cause qu'on ne peut pas
sçavoir aysement la quantité d'air pressé qu'elle contient. Quand vous aurez fait
20 celle de l'arc, ie seray bien ayse de l'apprendre.⁸ Ie ne manqueray de vous en-
voyer le Ciceron et les Med. pour M^r Hardy à la premiere occasion par mer, ce
qui tardera peut estre long tems, comme vous sçavez.⁹ Ie suis bien ayse que ce
que i'avois envoyé à M^r de Zuylichem, touchant le iet des eaux, se rencontre
avec vos pensées.¹⁰ Si on me fait l'honneur de me prendre pour arbitre ou iuge,
25 comme vous dites, ie ne respondray rien que ie ne | tasche de bien prouver.¹¹ 32v

Ie voudrois bien pouvoir respondre exactement à la question que vous me
proposez comme la principale de vostre letre, pour determiner la portée hori-
zontale d'une arme à feu, en ayant la verticale, mais c'est chose que ie ne puis et
mesme que ie ne croy pas possible, si on ne suppose d'autres *data*.^a AT III, 640

30 Ie voudrois bien aussy vous determiner le iet d'eau de 45 degrez, lequel,
sans aucun calcul, ie croy estre une parabole: à sçavoir, en ne supposant que les
principes mis en mon escrit, sans considerer la resistance de l'air ny la diminution
CM XII, 105

10–16 Si ... importance] Si vous voyez par hazard le P. B. vous le pourrez assurer s'il vous plaist, que
ie suis veritablement homme de parole, mais que ie ne sçache point luy avoir rien promis *Cle* cf. *the*
postscript which is also in Cle 17–37 Vostre ... question *not in Cle* 26 par. E 30 par. E

3 Immediately after receiving Mersenne's letter and Vatieur's, about two months earlier, Descartes
replied to both and included several letters to Villeneuve in the package to Mersenne as well. None
of these letters have been preserved. AT and CM identify the letter to Vatieur with Descartes' let-
ter to Vatieur from [17 November 1642], but Monchamp points out that that letter was written four
months earlier, and not two; moreover, Descartes knew that Mersenne had received his letter to
the Minim from 17 November 1642 (cf. to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 601). Cf. G. Mon-
champ, *Notes sur Descartes* (Liège 1913), p. 37.

4 Dinet was in Rome, see Letter 4, p. 12.

5 Cf. Letter 4, p. 12. See also the postscript below.

6 Unknown letter; the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* is not meant.

7 Clerselier inserted the following remark at the end of the paragraph: 'Cette figure qui suit, sert
pour le jet incliné sur l'horizon'; it refers to the figure on p. 47 below. The notice is necessary, as the
second paragraph in *Cle* starts immediately with the example of the board ABCD. The paragraphs
in-between are absent in *Cle*.

8 Descartes had already expressed doubts concerning the reliability of Mersenne's experiment with
the wind-gun in a letter of 23 February 1643 (Letter 12, p. 41, ll. 48–51, with comment). As the
editors of CM notice, the experiment was instead appreciated by Robert Boyle, who in a letter to
Hartlib, of March 1646 or 1647, praised the idea of using the wind-gun to discover the weight of
air (see CM XII, 110–111).

9 Undoubtedly the 1642 edition by the Leiden Elzeviers of Cicero's works, and the 1642 edition of
the *Meditationes*.

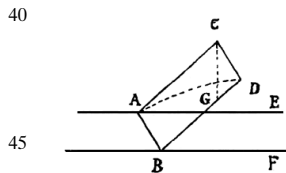
10 See Letter 11.

11 After Descartes' agreement to act as the arbiter in a scientific dispute between two as yet uniden-
tified Paris gentlemen, Mersenne sent him the text of the dispute, which is dated April 4 (Letter
14). Descartes communicated his judgement to Mersenne on 26 April (Letter 16).

13. Descartes to Mersenne, 23 March 1643

de la force qui cause la pesanteur.^b Mais pour le demonstrier et en trouver l'axe
 et la grandeur il m'y faudroit peut estre plus de tems que ie n'en ay avant que
 35 le messenger parte, qui sera à ce soir; c'est pourquoy ie n'en puis faire le calcul,
 mais tous ceux qui sçavent un peu l'algebre le peuvent faire aysement, en leur
 proposant ainsy la question.

Soit ABCD une planche de bois, ou autre matiere, ABCD inclinée de 45
 degrez sur l'horizon AE ou BF, et qu'on l'imagine estre haussée d'AB vers CD



40 toujours d'egale vitesse, et gardant tousiours la mesme
 inclination sur l'horizon, pendant qu'une fourmi marche
 dessus d'un pas inegal et augmentant sa vitesse en mesme
 45 raison que les cors pesans qui descendent en l'air libre,
 et que cete fourmi marche suivant la ligne CG perpen-
 diculaire sur l'horizon, en sorte que, lorsque le bout de

la planche CD estoit où est maintenant l'autre bout AB, la fourmi qui estoit au
 point C a commence à se mouvoir vers G. Et pour ce que son mouvement estoit
 au commencement plus tardif que celui de la planche qui est tousiours égal, elle
 50 a esté quelque tems sur l'horizon; mais pour ce qu'il est devenu par apres plus
 viste, elle a deu descendre par | apres, et ainsy les deux mouvemens d'elle et de la
 planche luy ont fait descrire la ligne courbe AD. Vous demandez quelle est cete
 ligne, car c'est la mesme que des iets d'eau, et il ne faut que sçavoir le calcul pour
 la trouver. M^r Roberval ou quelque autre la trouvera facilement.^c

55 Pour le dragon de Ruel, ie ne puis comprendre comment vous determinez
 que l'eau est 2 secondes minutes à descendre, car cela depend de la hauteur de la
 source de l'eau, laquelle vous ne determinez point; car, selon que l'eau vient de
 plus haut, elle sort plus viste, et ainsy est d'autant moins de tems à couler par 30
 60 pieds.¹²

Ie n'ay pas loisir d'examiner ce que vous me mandez de l'helice et de la
 parabole,¹³ mais si on avoit trouvé une ligne droite egale à une hyperbole, comme
 vous avez escrit à M^r de Zuylichem, ie le trouverois bien plus admirable.^d Assurez
 vous que M^r Huygens n'a nullement pensé à vous pervertir en vous envoyant ses

AT III, 641

CM XII, 106

33r

AT III, 642

CM XII, 107

38 *par. E* 38 ou autre matiere *om. Cle* 38–39 inclinée ... BF] inclinée sur l'horison AE, ou BF, de quarante-cinq degrez *Cle* 39 et qu'on l'] laquelle on *Cle* 41 egale] une mesme *Cle* 41 gardant tousiours] qu'elle garde tousiours cependant *Cle* 42 sur l'horizon *om. Cle* 42 pendant qu'une] et que pendant qu'elle est ainsi haussée, il y a dessus une *Cle* 42–43 marche dessus] qui descend de C vers G, perpendiculairement sur l'horison, et marchant *Cle* 44 qui ... libre *om. Cle* 45–46 cete ... en sorte que *om. Cle* 46–47 le bout ... CD] CD, l'extrémité de cette planche *Cle* 47 l'autre bout *om. Cle* 47 qui *om. Cle* 48 a ... mouvoir] et commençoit à descendre *Cle* 48–49 Et ... égal] Mais pource qu'au commencement elle ne descendoit pas si viste que la planche montoit *Cle* 50 esté] demeuré *Cle* 50–51 mais ... apres *om. Cle* 51 (il)la four[mij])elle) 51 et ainsy les] et ces *Cle* 51–52 d'elle ... planche *om. Cle* 52 Vous demandez] On demande *Cle* 52 quelle E] qu'elle 53 car ... et *om. Cle* 54 la trouver] le trouver *Cle* 54–82 M^r Roberval ... Tuileries *not in Cle* 55 *par. E* 60 *par. E*

¹² Subject of discussion is a dragon shaped fountain at the chateau of Richelieu at Reuil, west of Paris. Cf. Mersenne, *Cogitata physico-mathematica*, 85, 131; CM XII, 112.

¹³ In the *Cogitata* Mersenne reports that Roberval had demonstrated the equality of the arc of the Archimedean spiral to a parabola. Descartes may further allude to Hobbes' mistaken rectification of the spiral. Cf. Mersenne, *Cogitata physico-mathematica*, 129–131; CM XII, 54–56. See also D.M. Jeseph, *Squaring the circle: The war between Hobbes and Wallis* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 117–125. Mersenne's letter to Huygens is lost.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

65 vers; s'il en a touché quelque mot, ce n'aura esté que par gayeté d'esprit, et pour
rire, sans penser que vous l'avez deu prendre serieusement.¹⁴

Vous verrez peut estre, par ce qui reussira du livre que Voetius a fait contre
moy sous le nom de ce badin de Groningue,¹⁵ que les Catholiques ne sont point
70 hais en ce païs. Ce livre est extremement infame et plein d'iniures sans aucune
apparence de verité ny de raison, et il ne vaut pas mieux la peine d'estre leu que
ce Pentalogos¹⁶ que vous vistes il y a 2 ou 3 ans, mais il est 10 fois plus gros. Je n'y
ferois pas un mot de response, si ce n'estoit que pour mon interest, mais pour ce
que i'ay des amis à qui il importe que Voetius soit decredité, ie fais imprimer une
response contre luy, qui ne le chatouillera pas.

AT III, 643

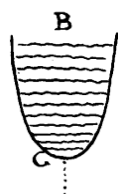
75 Le titre du livre de Voetius contre moy est *Admiranda Methodus novae
Philosophiae Renati des Cartes*, et au dessus de toutes les pages il a fait metre
Philosophia Cartesiana, ce qu'il a fait pour faire vendre le livre sous mon nom.
Et ie vous en avertis, affin que vous puissiez detromper ceux qui, ayant vu ce
titre, pourroient croire que ce fust quelque chose de moy. Je vous prie derechef
80 de sçavoir, si vous pouvez, ce qu'ont cousté les 2 plans de iardins que vous nous
avez envoyez; ceux qui les ont faits sont les iardiniers de Luxembourg et des
Tuileries.¹⁷

Pour les cylindres de bois, dont l'un soit 4 fois plus long que l'autre, ie ne
puis croire qu'ils descendent esgalement viste, pourvu qu'ils descendent tous-
85 iours ayant un bout en bas et l'autre en haut; mais pour ce que cela peut varier
en l'air, on feroit mieux l'experience avec 2 boules de bois, l'une fort grosse et

CM XII, 108

l'autre fort petite, | dont le diametre ne soit que le quart de l'autre,
90 et sa pesanteur soit la soixante quatriesme partie de celle de la
grosse; car ie croy que cete petite employera deux fois autant de
tems à descendre que cete plus grosse. Et bien que la premiere
goutte d'eau qui descend du vaisseau BC par le trou C ne soit pas
venue de B, au moins apres qu'il est sorti hors de ce vaisseau un
cylindre d'eau de la longueur de la ligne BC et de la grosseur du trou

33v



95 C, les gouttes d'eau qui suivent par apres viennent veritablement de B, et celles
cy, n'allant pas plus viste que la premiere, on la peut considerer comme si elle en
venoit aussy.^e

AT III, 644

La grande vitesse horizontale empesche la descente des cors, à cause de l'air
dont les parties ne peuvent ceder si promptement; car par exemple la bale A,
100 estant poussée fort viste vers B, demeure si peu sur chasque partie de l'air C qui

CM XII, 109

65 (+en) 67 par. E 75–82 (+Le titre ... Tuileries) written lenghtways in the right margin
83 bois] ou autre matiere Cle 83 plus] aussi Cle 84 descendent] tombent Cle 85 cela peut
varier] ils peuvent varier estant Cle 86 air] et que le mesme doit arriver aux cors d'autres figures,
etc. add. Cle, followed by the note deest reliquam 86–126 on feroit ... ce 23 Mars 1643 not in Cle
98 (+horizontale)

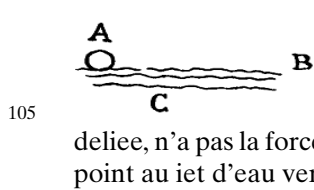
14 Unidentified poem. Huygens did compose a poem on Mersenne ('Maxime de Minimis') in 1644,
which was published in the same year in Huygens' *Momenta desultoria* (J. Worp (ed.), *Gedichten
van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 3 (Groningen: Wolters, 1893), pp. 317–318).

15 M. Schoock, *Admiranda methodus*, which work had apparently just been published, as Descartes
gives its full tittle below. On Schoock's work and Descartes' reply, the *Epistola ad Voetium*, see
the appendix 1.

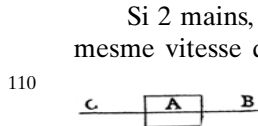
16 Cf. Letter 4, p. 12, l. 17.

17 See Letter 12, pp. 39–40, ll. 4–13.

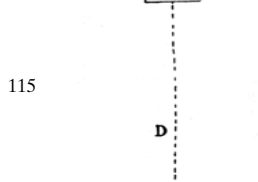
13. Descartes to Mersenne, 23 March 1643



est entre deux, qu'elle n'a pas le tems ny la force de les faire ceder à sa pesanteur; car plus elle va viste, moins elle pese sur chasque partie de cet air, et vous sçavez qu'un cors qui pese fort peu, comme une feuille d'or fort deliee, n'a pas la force d'enfoncer l'air. Or cet empeschement de l'air ne se trouve point au iet d'eau vertical.¹⁸



Si 2 mains, l'une en B, l'autre en C, poussent la pierre A vers D avec une mesme vitesse que pourroit faire une seule, elles ne la feront point aller plus viste, mais aussy chascune d'elles ne pourra employer, à cete action, que la moitié d'autant de force que si elle estoit seule.



Rien ne contraint l'eau qui sort du siphon à faire un cercle, sinon qu'il n'y a point de vuide où elle puisse entrer en sortant du siphon; mais elle entre en un lieu où il y avoit de l'air, et cet air va en un autre lieu où il y avoit d'autre air, et ainsy de suite; mais pour ce que cela ne se fait à l'infini, il faut enfin que cet air puisse rentrer en la place de l'eau, et c'est

cela que ie nomme un cercle. Mais si le vase où est le siphon est tout ferme, en sorte que ce cercle ne se puisse faire, l'eau ne coulera point par le siphon.¹⁹ Ie n'ay plus de papier que pour vous dire que ie suis,

Mon. Revnd Pere,

Vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

D'Endegeest, ce 23 Mars 1643

Le p. Bourdin ne semble pas fort sage et ie n'ay rien à respondre à son billet, car ie ne luy ay rien promis, et si i'ay fait quelques offres aux siens, pendant qu'ils ne les ont point acceptez, ie ne leur suis point engagé de parole.²⁰

117–118 <à l'infini iusques a ce>>de suite; mais pour ce que cela ne se fait à l'infini, il faut enfin)
127–129 Le p. Bourdin ... parole written in the lower left margin 127 Bourdin] N. Cle 127 fort sage] tout à fait iuste Cle

18 Upon reading the letter of 18 February (Letter 11), Mersenne must have been surprised to see that, for once, Descartes was ready to admit the validity of Galileo's law of fall. These lines reveal that the Minim asked his correspondent why he did not think that the resistance of the air disturbed the flow of water.

19 For the Cartesian circle, see Letter 9, p. 24, ll. 27–32, with comment.

20 Clerselier's text continues with Letter 17.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

a — p. 46, l. 29. Cf. Mersenne in his *Phaenomena ballistica* (in the *Cogitata* of 1644), p. 65, Prop. 21: ‘Datâ verticali ejaculatione, dare inclinam et horizontalem; datâque horizontali dare verticalem’. Mersenne’s demonstration is on pp. 65–68. See also Prop. 22: ‘Datâ horizontali jaculatione, sagittariique super horizontem altitudine, dare velocitatem sagittae, vel alterius projecti; datisque velocitate, et super horizontem altitudine, jaculationem horizontalem invenire; ubi etiam de duratione jactuum’ (pp. 68–71). [note from CM]

b — p. 47, l. 33. In the letter to Huygens of 18 February 1643, Descartes had claimed that the jets of water flowing from a vase ‘ont la courbure d’une Parabole, ainsi que Galilée a fort bien remarqué’ (Letter 11, p. 33ll. 131–132). Here he specifies that this is only true if one neglects the resistance of the air and the decrease of the force causing heaviness. Note, however, that precisely these two factors are invoked by Descartes, in other letters to Mersenne, to prove that the Galilean laws of motion are pure abstractions that do not describe the real behavior of physical bodies: ‘Car cette proportion d’augmentation selon les nombres impairs 1, 3, 5, 7 etc., qui est dans Galilée’, so we read in a letter written by Descartes to Mersenne probably in 1635, ‘(...) ne peut estre vraye (...) qu’en supposant deux ou trois choses qui sont fausses. Dont l’une est que le mouvement croisse par degrez depuis le plus lent ainsi que juge Galilée, et l’autre que la resistance de l’air n’empesche point’ (CM V, 581). It should be added what Descartes wrote in two successive letters to Mersenne, dated 11 March 1640 and 11 June 1640, respectively: ‘La matiere subtile pousse au premier moment le cors qui descend, et luy donne un degré de vitesse; puis au second moment elle pousse un peu moins, et luy donne encore presque un degré de vitesse, et ainsi des autres; ce qui fait *ferè rationem duplicatam*, au commencement que les cors descendent. Mais cette proportion se perd entierement lors qu’ils ont descendu plusieurs toises, et la vitesse ne s’augmente plus, ou presque plus’ (AT III, 37–38/CM IX, 191–192); ‘La raison qui me fait dire que les cors qui descendent sont moins poussez par la matiere subtile à la fin de leur mouvement qu’au commencement, n’est autre sinon qu’il y a moins d’inegalité entre leur vitesse et celle de cete matiere subtile’ (AT III, 79/CM IX, 398). According to Descartes, a decrease in the difference between the respective speeds of the pushing and the pushed bodies implies a concomitant decrease in the ability of the first to act on the second.²¹ This is why in the present letter he speaks of ‘la diminution de la force qui cause la pesanteur’. [CRP].

c — p. 47, l. 54. In 1643 Mersenne asked the opinion of several people concerning the speed and trajectory of water jets (see Descartes to Huygens, 18 February 1643, Letter 11). As the editors of CM duly explain, one of the problems he raised had to do with the different range of horizontal and vertical jets (see CM XII, 17). An articulated answer to this question came from Theodore Deschamps, who in a letter dated 1 March 1643 explained to Mersenne that ‘les jets doivent estre semblable pour juger de leurs raisons, et ne peuvent les jets estre semblables si les lignes, par lesquelles ilz se font, ne le sont aussi. Or au dessus de l’horizon les jets sont semblables qui se font verticalement (...). Et pareillement lorsqu’ilz font esgal angle sur l’horizon, qui sont obliques et leurs lignes paraboliques, ausquelz y a deux distances à considerer, assavoir leur eslevation selon la ligne verticale, et leur portée selon l’horizontale. La verticale est d’autant moindre que le jet est oblique, mais la portée sur l’horizon est plus grande en l’angle de 45 degrés, et esgalle en esgalle inclination au dessus ou au dessous d’iceluy. De sorte que le jet vertical et l’horizontal, en estants esgallement distants, comme le jet vertical retombe en soy-mesme, n’avanceant rien sur l’horizon, de mesme l’horizontal qui ne soustient aucunement le missile, n’ayant point de force aucunement opposée à la pesanteur d’iceluy, le jet en touche l’horizon en un point seulement, estant tout au dessous

²¹ See C.R. Palmerino, ‘Infinite degrees of speed: Marin Mersenne and the debate over Galileo’s law of free fall’, *Early Science and Medicine*, 4 (1999), 269–328, esp. 288–293. Descartes explains why subtle matter has a decreasing action on falling bodies in a manuscript written also in 1635 and published in the *Excerpta anatomica* (AT XI, 621–634). For a discussion of this manuscript, see P. Damerow, G. Freudenthal, P. McLaughlin and J. Renn, *Exploring the limits of preclassical mechanics* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1991), pp. 41–44.

13. Descartes to Mersenne, 23 March 1643

d'iceluy, figuré en demi parabole. Pour donc faire que les jets soyent semblables, il faut que leur eslevation sur l'horizon soit proportionnelle à la longueur des tuyaux; et vous trouverés qu'ilz seront en mesme raison que les verticaux' (CM XII, 86–87). It is possible that, after receiving Deschamps' letter, Mersenne wrote to Descartes asking his opinion concerning the shape and range of water jets having an inclination of 45 degrees. The example of the ant walking on the wooden board, an example that Descartes had already used in a draft of the letter to Huygens of 18 February 1643 to explain the behavior of vertical jets (see above, pp. 35–36), was, however, not enough to satisfy Mersenne's curiosity. Its purpose was just to show what the trajectory of the oblique water jet must have looked like, and not to determine its shape, let alone its range. [CRP].

d — p. 47, l. 62. In his *Geometrie* Descartes had stated his belief that the ratio between curved and straight lines was unknown and would always remain unknown to mankind (AT VI, 412). In fact this conviction was one of the cornerstones of his demarcation between what he called 'geometrical' and 'mechanical' curves, the former to be accepted in, and the latter rejected from, true geometry.²² The case of the (Archimedean) spiral and the parabola strictly does not contradict Descartes' conviction, because it concerns a ratio between (the lengths of) two curves rather than between a curve and a straight line. In 1638 Descartes had written to Mersenne about a spiral (he had in mind the curve now known as the logarithmic spiral) with the property that its arc length (from the centre to a given point on the spiral) is proportional to the radius (from the centre to the point).²³ He did not mention at that occasion that this result implied the possibility to find a straight line equal in length to a given arc of the spiral. Perhaps at that time he had become less convinced of his earlier opinion; on the other hand, the case was not strictly in contradiction with that opinion, because the spiral in question is a 'mechanical' rather than a 'geometrical' curve. If, however, a straight line could be constructed equal to the arc length of a hyperbola between two given points on it, his opinion about the ratio of straight and curved lines would be proved wrong, because the hyperbola, in his view, was a truly geometrical curve. This explains his qualification here of such a result as 'admirable'. In the late 1650's such results were indeed found (be it not for the hyperbola but for other 'geometrical' curves) by Neile, Van Heuraet, and Fermat.²⁴ [HB].

e — p. 48, l. 97. In the letter sent to Mersenne through Huygens on 18 February 1643 (Letter 11), Descartes had maintained that the speed of a falling body, and also that of a fluid flowing from a vase, was dependent on its weight, in such a way that a cylinder of water 'de 4 pieds aura deux fois autant de vitesse, qu'un d'un pied, et un de 9 pieds en aura 3 fois autant' (p. 32, ll. 83–84). To this Mersenne must have objected that if two wooden cylinders, of which one was four times longer than the other, are dropped simultaneously, they touch the ground almost at the same time. Descartes rejects the Minim's observation and claims that if the experiment is performed, not with two cylinders, but with two wooden balls, the diameter of one of which is four times bigger than that of the other and which is therefore 64 times heavier, the small ball will fall twice more slowly than the big ball. As Antonio Nardi has observed, Descartes is here using the Proposition 18, Book XII of Euclid's *Elements*, where it is demonstrated that the volumes of two spheres are to one another as the cubes of their diameters. The fact that in this passage Descartes indicates a mathematical ratio governing the fall of bodies of different weight is fairly surprising. For although he often maintains, both in his works and in his correspondence, that the weight of a body does affect the speed of fall, he also claims that this speed depends on too many variables to be mathematically calculated. [CRP].

²² Cf. H.J.M. Bos, *Redefining geometrical exactness. Descartes' transformation of the early modern concept of construction* (New York: Springer, 2001), pp. 341–342.

²³ Descartes to Mersenne, 12 September 1638, AT II, 360/CM VIII, 77–78.

²⁴ Cf. M.E. Baron, *The origins of the infinitesimal calculus* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1969), pp. 223–228, and J.G. Yoder, *Unrolling time. Christiaan Huygens and the mathematization of nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1988), pp. 116–126.

[Unknown], Paris, to Descartes, [Endegeest]

4 April 1643

Source

MS copy. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 5160, fos. 61r–64v (foliation in red ink). Two sheets folded separately into two (resp. 370x230 and 360x230 mm). Text of the dispute on fos. 61r–61v (Letter 14); Descartes' solution on fos. 61v–63r (Letter 17); fos. 63v–64v are blank.

Editions

First published in: P. Tannery, 'Neuf lettres inédites de Descartes à Mersenne', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 4 (1891), 543–545.

Other editions: AT III, 654–655; AM V, 278–279; CM XII, 131–133.

Mersenne, who acted as the intermediary between two Parisian scientists and Descartes, kept a copy of both the text of the dispute and Descartes' solution. The copy is made by an unidentified copyist, but both parts are headed in Mersenne's handwriting: '3 Questions proposées' on fo. 61r and 'Respons aux 3 questions' on fo. 61v respectively. Next to the definitive foliation in red ink, there is an older foliation in pencil (fos. 55–57, first three folios only). In the right upper corner the Poirier no. '(75)', and Poirier's date just above the middle of the left margin '(26 avril 1643 v.d.)'. In the left upper corner again the date in pencil '1643, 26 avril', and finally in the left bottom corner the original La Hire no. '30 C' (no. 54 on the definitive list, see the introduction to Letter 17).

Summary

Text of a dispute between two unknown Parisians submitted to Descartes, who had earlier agreed to act as judge (Letter 13, p. 46). It was forwarded to Descartes by Mersenne. Descartes' solution is dated 26 April (Letter 17). In his covering letter to Mersenne, Descartes mentions the case but not the authors of the text below (Letter 16, pp. 56–57). The dispute concentrates on three problems in mechanics, which concern the laws of collision and the theory of impetus.

Après avoir considéré que nous ne pouvons tomber d'accord des trois difficultez 61r
suivantes, quelque consideration que nous y ayons peu apporter, et apres avoir
gagé et convenu de bonne foy que nous nous tiendrions à ce qu'en diroit M^r des
Cartes, nous les avons icy mis intelligiblement comme il suit.

5 Sçavoir, si deux missilles esgaux en toutes choses, c'est à dire en matiere, CM XII, 132
grandeur et figure, partant de mesme vitesse, dans un mesme air par une mesme
ligne, doibvent necessairement aller aussi loing l'un que l'autre. Sur quoy l'un
soustient qu'il se peut fere que l'un aille plus loing, comme il pretend, lorsque
l'impression qu'on luy a donnée a esté plus long temps à s'imprimer, ce qui ar-
10 rive à un grand arcq qui, pour avoir esté bandé plus loing, quoyqu'avec moins de
force, envoie la flesche beaucoup plus loing qu'un arcq plus petit, qui se bande
neantmoins avecq beaucoup plus de force. L'autre, qu'il est impossible que deux
vitesses esgalles, de quelque part et par quelque impression qu'elles se puissent
engendrer dans un mesme ou esgal missille, allant par le mesme air et par la

9 ce qui *corr. AT*] et qu'il

14. *Unknown to Descartes, 4 April 1643*

15 mesme ligne, c'est a dire a mesme eslevation sur le plan horizontal, face des ef-
fects differens, c'est à dire que l'une des flesches aille plus loing l'une que l'autre.¹

La seconde, assçavoir s'il est necessaire que le corps qui imprime un mou-
vement à un autre corps, se meuve aussy viste que celuy auquel il imprime ce
mouvement. Par exemples, soient les deux boules A et B, parfaitement dures,
20 dont la plus grosse A roule sur un plan bien poly, et que la moindre B, estant
de repos, soit rencontrée par la grosse A, ou bien que ce rencontre se fasse dans
l'air libre. L'un dict qu'il est impossible que la grosse A, bien qu'elle fust cent fois
plus grosse que B, donne à B plus de vitesse que celle avecq laquelle elle roule,
puisqu'elle ne peut donner ce qu'elle n'a pas. L'autre maintient que plusieurs
25 observations monstrent le contraire, et croit que cela arrive à cause que plusieurs
parties d'une mesme vitesse, esbandues dans la grosse, se ramassent dans la pe-
tite, et que, | comme 2 et 2 font 4, 2 et 2 degrez de vitesse de la plus grosse A
mettent 4 degrez de vitesse dans la petite.²

La 3. difficulté est sçavoir si l'impression par laquelle on iette un missile
30 periroit peu à peu, quoy que l'air n'empeschast en aucune façon le missile et que
la terre ne l'attirast point à soy. L'un soutient qu'il y a deux sortes de qualitez, les
unes qui ne perissent point, comme celle par laquelle la pierre va vers le centre,
et le cœur bat, les autres qui perissent, comme chaleur produitte dans l'eau et
dans le fer par le feu, et que l'impression donnée aux missiles est de cette nature.

35 L'autre, que le mouvement ou l'impression estant donnée au missile, ne peut
perir, quoy qu'elle soit *minimae Entitatis*, pour parler avec les Philosophes, si
quelque contraire ne luy oste cette impression.³ Quoy qu'il en soit, nous nous en
tiendrons à ce qu'en iugera M^r des Cartes, lequel nous prions d'en faire l'examen
à son loisir, en foy de quoy nous mettons icy nos seings,⁴

40 ce 4^e Apvril 1643, à Paris.

61v
CM XII, 133

AT III, 655

19 parfaitement dures *coni. AT*] et parfaitement dures; *placed after poly (l. 20); cf. Letter 17, ll. 53, 55 and 63* 22 L'un *corr. AT*] Luy 27 et que *corr. AT*] et qui

1 See Letter 17, p. 62, ll. 27–52, with comment.

2 See Letter 17, p. 62, ll. 52–88, with comment.

3 See Letter 17, p. 63, ll. 88–92, with comment.

4 There are no signatures on the copy.

Descartes, Endegeest, to Andreas Colvius, Dordrecht

20 April 1643

Source

ALS. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, PAP 2. One sheet folded into two (298x195 mm). Text on fo. 1r, address on fo. 2v. Two seals 'RC'.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: V. Cousin, *Fragments philosophiques* (3rd edn., Paris: Ladrange, 1838), II, 148–149.

Other editions: AT III, 646–647; AM V, 276–277.

This letter has been incorrectly dated 23 April 1643 by AT, followed by AM. The date on the autograph reads '20'.

Summary

Descartes replies to a letter, now lost, in which Colvius had written that Schyrle de Rheita had discovered five new satellites around Jupiter. However, Descartes has heard since that Gassendi proved that Rheita was mistaken. Descartes has interrupted writing the third part of the *Principia* to prepare for his move to Egmond aan den Hoef and to write the *Epistola ad Voetium*.

Monsieur,

1r

Les nouvelles du ciel que vous m'avez fait la faveur de m'escire m'ont extreme-
ment obligé, elles m'ont esté extrêmement nouvelles, et ie n'en avois point ouy
parler auparavant, mais on m'a escrit depuis de Paris que M^r Gassendi, qui est
5 heritier de la bonne et celebre lunete de Galilée,¹ ayant voulu chercher par son
ayde ces 5 nouvelles planetes autour de Iupiter, a iugé que ce n'estoient que des
estailles fixes que le bon pere Capuchin aura pris pour des planetes.² De quoy on
pourra aysement decouvrir la verité, et les 4 planetes desia cy devant découvertes
autour de Iupiter³ ont donné tant d'admiration que les cinq autres ne la peuvent
10 gueres augmenter. I'estois en la description du ciel et particulierement des pla-
netes⁴ lorsque vostre letre m'a esté renduë, mais estant sur le point de deloger

AT III, 647

¹ See p. 41, ll. 45–48, with comment.

² The news of the discovery made by the Capuchin Antonius Maria *Schyrle de Rheita (1597–1660) of five new satellites revolving around Jupiter, first divulged in Rheita's letter to Erycius Puteanus dated 6 January 1643, had spread rapidly through France and the Netherlands (see CM XII, 8 and *passim*). Gassendi refuted Rheita's claim in a letter to Gabriel Naudé dated 4 April, which he published together with Rheita's letter under the title *Novem stellae circa Jovem visae, et de eisdem P. Gassendi iudicium* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1643; Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, IV, 511–522). Before 4 April, Gassendi had already told Mersenne and others that the discovery was false.

³ Jupiter's four satellites were discovered by Galileo in 1610. See G. Galilei, *Sidereus Nuncius or The Sidereal Messenger*. Trans. with introduction, conclusion, and notes A. van Helden (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁴ *Principia*, pt. III: 'De mundo adspectabili', esp. art. 140–148 (AT VIIIA, 192–197).

15. Descartes to Colvius, 20 April 1643

d'icy pour aller demeurer aupres d'Alcmaer *op de hoef* où i'ay loué une maison,⁵
et ayant entre les mains un mauvais livre *de Philosophia Cartesiana* que vous
aurez peuteestre vû et dont on dit que M^r Voetius est l'Autheur,⁶ i'ay quitté le
15 ciel pour quelques iours, et ay brouillé un peu de papier⁷ pour tascher à me de-
fendre des iniures qu'on me fait en terre. Et ie m'assure que tous ceux qui ont
de l'honneur et de la conscience trouveront ma cause si iuste, que ie ne crain-
dray pas de la soumettre à vostre iugement,⁸ bienque i'aye affaire à un homme de
vostre profession,⁹ et ie vous supplie de me croyre,

20

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble
et obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

D'Endegeest, ce 20 Avril 1643

25 A Monsieur
Monsieur Colvius
Ministre de la parole de Dieu
à Dordrecht

2v

⁵ Egmond aan den Hoef (or Egmond op den Hoef, as it was known in the seventeenth century) is a small village west of Alkmaar in North Holland. The word 'hoef' (court or courtyard) is thought to refer to the castle of the counts of Egmond, which was destroyed in 1574. Descartes rented a house in this village from 1 May 1643 to 1 May 1644. Cf. Letter 10, pp. 28–29, ll. 15–17.

⁶ On the *Admiranda methodus* and its authorship, see Appendix 1.

⁷ On the *Epistola ad Voetium*, see Appendix 1.

⁸ Descartes was to send Colvius a complimentary copy. He mailed copies from Amsterdam on 30 May (see Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 33–35). Colvius' reaction, dated 9 June, has been preserved: see Letter 25.

⁹ The very fact that Colvius was also a minister made his judgment all the more important to Descartes, as is apparent from the preface to the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 6–11). Colvius was a friend of Maresius' (see D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius, passim*), and a delegate to the Synod of the Walloon Church held in The Hague on 15 April 1643, which is mentioned in the *Epistola's* preface.

Descartes, [Endegeist], to [Marin Mersenne], [Paris]

26 April 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 5160, fos. 29r–30v (foliation in red ink). Single sheet folded into two (215x160 mm). Text on fos. 29r–30r. No address; no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: P. Tannery, 'Neuf lettres inédites de Descartes à Mersenne', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 4 (1891), 540–543.

Other editions: AT III, 655–659, AM V, 283–286; CM XII, 163–167.

In the right upper corner of fo. 29r the Poirier no. '(47)'; Poirier's date in the middle of the left margin: '26 avril 1643 v.d.'. In the left upper corner the date in pencil '1643, 26 avril'. In the lower left margin the original La Hire no. 31 (no. 53 in the definitive list). Older foliation in pencil: 22–23.

Summary

Covering letter to Descartes' solution of the scientific dispute between two Parisians (Letter 17), in which the philosopher gives supplementary explanation on Mersenne's experiments with arches. Descartes also comments on an experiment with a sword, and on a mathematical question posed by a certain Mr de Vitry-la-Ville.

Mon Reverend Pere,

29r

Le vous remercie de ce que vous avez encore fait l'experience de peser une lame de cuivre à mon occasion, puisqu'elle ne se trouve point plus legere chaude que froide, et qu'une poire de cuivre se trouve plus legere, c'est une marque tres assurée que cela vient de l'air enfermé dans la poire, lequel est pesant en depit des peripateticiens.¹

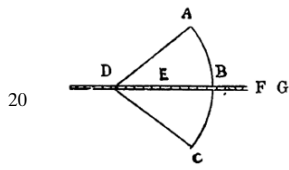
Vous trouverez ma response à ce que vous demandez des arcs de bois et d'acier dans le papier de la gageure.² Ou, si ie ne me suis pas assez expliqué, ie repeteray encore icy les deux raisons que i'y ay mises, l'une que la fleche du grand arc estant plus grande et plus legere à proportion, elle ne descend pas si viste, l'autre que si on se servoit d'une fleche aussy legere en l'arc d'acier qu'en celui de bois, la grande force dont cete fleche seroit frapée feroit que le bout proche de la chorde iroit plus viste que l'autre, auquel l'air fait de la resistance. Sit l'arc ABC, ie dis que la chorde pousse le bout de la fleche D avec tant de vitesse que l'air qui est autour de F fait de la resistance et empesche que ce bout

7 par. E

¹ Cf. the commentaries to Letter 4 (pp. 13–14) and Letter 9 (p. 25).

² Reference to Descartes' solution (Letter 17), sent along with the present letter, to the dispute between two unknown Parisians (Letter 14). Cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 4 March 1641, AT III, 327/CM X, 529, and Letter 13, p. 46, ll. 19–20. In his *De ballistica*, part of the *Cogitata* (Paris 1644), Mersenne discusses numerous experiments with arrows and arches, some of which were presumably put to Descartes in 1643 (cf. CM XII, 111).

16. Descartes to [Mersenne], 26 April 1643



20

F ne s'avance si promptement vers G, de façon que si cete fleche est de bois leger et poreux elle se raccourcist, et incontinant apres qu'elle n'est plus touchée de la corde elle se rallonge vers D, ce | qui luy oste beaucoup de sa vitesse; mais une qui est de bois plus dur et plus solide sort veritablement plus viste de l'arc d'acier que ne fait l'autre de

29v

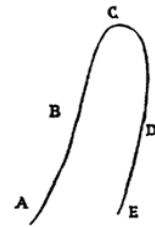
l'arc de bois, et elle a aussy beaucoup plus de force à une mediocre distance, mais elle ne va pas plus loin, à cause qu'estant plus pesante elle a plus d'inclination à descendre.

AT III, 657

25

Quand une fleche monte en l'air elle va plus viste au commencement qu'à la fin, et au contraire en descendant elle va plus viste à la fin qu'au commencement; mais cete proportion n'est pas egale, car en montant sa vitesse diminue tousiours de mesme façon, et en descendant son augmentation est plus grande

30



35

au commencement qu'à la fin. Par exemple, une fleche qui monte d'A vers C va extremement viste d'A iusques à B et beaucoup plus lentement de B iusques à C, mais en descendant de C iusques à D elle augmente quasi sa vitesse en raison double des tems, mais depuis D iusques à E elle l'augmente beaucoup moins, d'où il suit que si la fleche monte fort haut, comme d'A vers C, elle doit employer beaucoup moins de tems à monter qu'à descendre; mais si elle monte moins, comme de B, ie ne doute point qu'elle n'employe tousiours un peu moins de tems à monter, mais la difference ne sera pas si grande.^a

CM XII, 165

40

Je n'ay rien trouvé de ce que vous me mandes du flus et reflux, tiré des escrits de l'anglois, qui soit à mon usage, sinon qu'il dit que *habente lunâ latitudinem Borealem citius implentur tempora quam habente Australem*, ce que i'avois iugé devoir estre vray il y a long tems, mais ie n'avois point sceu qu'on en eust fait aucune experience.^b

AT III, 658

45

Pour la plus grande force d'une espee, ie ne doute point qu'elle ne | fust au centre de gravité si en donnant le coup on la laissoit aller de la main, et au contraire qu'elle ne fust tout au bout de l'espee si on la tenoit parfaitement ferme, car ce bout est meu plus viste que le reste; mais pource qu'on ne la tient iamais extremement ferme et aussy qu'on ne la laisse pas aller tout à fait, cete plus grande force est entre le centre de gravité et le bout de l'espee, et aproche plus ou moins de l'un que de l'autre selon que celui qui s'en sert a la main plus ferme.³

30r
CM XII, 166

50

Je ne sçay pas ce que me demande M^r de Vitry-la-Ville⁴ touchant les grandeurs inexplicables, car il est certain que toutes celles qui sont comprises dans les equations s'expliquent par quelques signes, puisque l'equation mesme qui les contient est une façon de les exprimer. Mais outre celles là, il y en a une infinité d'autres qui ne peuvent pas mesme estre comprises en aucune equation,

55

26 par. E 46 par. E 53 par. E

³ For an earlier discussion of the subject, see Descartes to Mersenne, 15 September 1640, AT III, 180/CM X, 105–106, and the note in CM X, 106–107. Mersenne examines the same question in the *Tractatus mechanicus*, as part of his *Cogitata* (1644), pp. 84–85. Cf. CM XII, 168–169.

⁴ Unidentified.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

et entre celles qui sont comprises dans les equations, il y en a qui ne peuvent
estre expliquées par les signes $\sqrt{\quad}$ ou $\sqrt[3]{\quad}$, c'est à dire racine quarée ou racine
60 cubique, hors de l'équation, comme si i'ay un cube egal à trois racines plus trois,
ie ne sçaurais exprimer la valeur de cete racine par les signes de racine quarée
ou cubique, et toutefois elle n'est pas plus incommensurable que celles qui s'y
expliquent.^c

Il y a 10 ou 12 iours que le Ciceron pour M^r Hardy est parti par mer et ie
65 vous l'ay adressé sans lettre, à cause que ie n'avois pas alors loysir d'escire; vous
l'aurez peut estre avant celley.⁵ Je suis,

AT III, 659
CM XII, 167

Mon Reverend Pere,

Vostre tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur,

70

Des Cartes

du 26 Avril 1643

a — p. 57, l. 40. According to René Dugas, Galileo's identification of a body's tendency to fall with its resistance to rise was in itself sufficient to destroy the Aristotelian distinction between the intrinsic principle of the motion of fall and the extrinsic principle of projectile motion.⁶ The case of Descartes shows, however, that the converse is not necessarily true: although he attributes an external cause to both free fall and projectile motion, Descartes is unwilling to accept the Galilean equation between downward acceleration and upward deceleration. In these lines he expresses the conviction that an arrow uses up less time to rise from A to C than to descend from C to E. The reason for this asymmetry lays for him in the fact that the deceleration of the arrow between A and C is uniform while its renewed acceleration from C to E is not, as the speed of fall increases more rapidly from C to D than from D to E. As Descartes already explained in his letter to Mersenne of 23 March 1643 (Letter 13, ll. 32–33), the force causing acceleration has a decreasing effect on the falling body. [CRP].

b — p. 57, l. 45. Despite Descartes' lack of interest (cf. Letter 12, p. 40, ll. 41–42), Mersenne did send him extracts from Hobbes' *De motu*, a critique of Thomas White's (1593–1676) *De mundo dialogi tres* (Paris: Moreau, 1642). In *De mundo*, a discussion of Galileo's in 1632 published *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo*, White tries to reconcile traditional Aristotelian philosophy with crucial tenets of the Copernican hypothesis. In chapters 16 to 18 Hobbes refutes White's critique against the causes of the tides as proposed by Galileo, not without rectifying the latter's hypotheses as well. Descartes quotes from chapter 16, 'Mare à littoribus ad littora moveri': '... tempora aestuum exactissimè congruant cum temporibus lunae, nisi quod in noviluniis et pleniluniis aestus lunam antevortat, et quòd habente luna latitudinem borealem, citiùs aliquanto incipiunt impleri tempora quàm cum latitudinem habeat australem. Londini enim quo tempore aqua altissima est, eo tempore luna est in medio loco inter austrum et occidentem, vel inter aquilonem et orientem, idque semper et constantissimè, nisi, ut dixi ante, in noviluniis et pleniluniis, tunc enim aestus citiùs contingit, quàm luna ad eum locum perveniat. Quod autem dico inter austrum et occidentem, vel

64 *par. E*

⁵ Cf. Letter 13, p. 46, ll. 20–22.

⁶ R. Dugas, *La mécanique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Dunod, 1954), p. 67.

16. Descartes to [Mersenne], 26 April 1643

aquilonem et orientem, ita intelligendum est ut si aestus fiat tempore diurno, existente luna inter austrum et occidentem, tunc noctu post horas 12, erit aestus quo tempore luna est inter aquilonem et orientem. Et quod de Londino dictum est, idem observatum est in caeteris maris portibus, aestus scilicet semper fieri cum iisdem lunae verticalibus', Hobbes, *De motu*, published as *Critique du De mundo de Thomas White*, by J. Jacquot and H.W. Jones (eds.) (Paris: Vrin/CNRS, 1973), p. 210 (emphasis added). Descartes' own explanation of the tides is found in *Le monde* (AT XI, 80–83; cf. to Mersenne, 6 August 1640, AT III, 144–146/CM IX, 547–550), and in the *Principia* (AT IXB, 227–231), however, without mention of the phenomenon pointed out above. For Descartes' opinion of White's *De mundo*, see his letters to Huygens from 10 October and to Mersenne from 13 October 1642 (AT III, 796; AT III, 582/CM XI, 299).

c — p. 58, l. 63. Evidently Descartes intended to give an example of a cubic equation whose real root or roots could not be expressed by means of square and/or cubic root signs. Descartes was aware that such cases occurred in connection with Cardano's method of solving cubic equations. For certain equations (the so-called *casus irreducibilis*) this method leads to an expression of the root involving square roots of a negative quantity and such square roots were at the time not accepted.

However, the equation in the letter provides no example of this phenomenon. The corresponding formula is $x^3 = 3x + 3$, and Cardano's method leads to the following expression of its root:

$$x = \sqrt[3]{\frac{3+\sqrt{5}}{2}} + \sqrt[3]{\frac{3-\sqrt{5}}{2}},$$

which involves no uninterpretable square roots. We may therefore assume that we have to do with a writing error.

Tannery has suggested equations which Descartes might have intended here, namely $x^3 = 3x + 1$ and $x^3 = ax + 3$ for any number a larger or equal to 4, but not equal to 8 or 10.⁷ Apparently Tannery collected examples of the *casus irreducibilis* which differed from Descartes' equation in the factor of x or the constant term (but not both), leaving the order of the terms and the signs = and + unchanged. Tannery did not suggest a reason why Descartes should have chosen one of precisely these equations as example to instruct M. de Vitry-la-Ville; especially his second equation seems, in this respect, contrived.

Searching for an equation which Descartes might more naturally have intended, one notes that the one he wrote down is very similar to the general equation of the trisection of an angle:

$$x^3 = 3x - q,$$

in which q is the chord of the given angle within a circle with radius 1 (and therefore $0 < q < 2$), and x is the chord of the third part of that angle. Descartes discussed the geometrical construction of the three real roots of this equation in his *Geometrie* (AT VI, 470), and he was well aware that these roots could not be expressed by cubic and square roots. Indeed Cardano's procedure in this case leads to

$$x = \sqrt[3]{\frac{-q}{2} - \frac{1}{2}\sqrt{q^2 - 4}} + \sqrt[3]{\frac{-q}{2} + \frac{1}{2}\sqrt{q^2 - 4}},$$

in which, because $q^2 < 4$, the quantities under the square root signs are negative.

It is likely, then, that Descartes would choose a trisection equation as example, the simplest of which is

⁷ AT III, 659. Tannery's note was adopted without further comment by the editors of CM (CM XII, 169).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

$$x^3 = 3x - 1 ,$$

corresponding to the trisection of an angle of 60 degrees. The equation in the letter differs from this equation only in its last term, 'plus trois' in stead of 'moins un', a quite natural *lapsus calami*, given that the 'trois' occurred in the previous term. [HB].

Descartes, Endegeest, to [Unknown], [Paris]

26 April 1643

Sources

1. MS copy. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 5160, fos. 61r–64v (foliation in red ink). Two sheets folded into two (resp. 370x230 and 360x230 mm), separately attached to a paper strip and bound in the codex n.a.f. 5160. Text of the dispute on fos. 61r–61v (Letter 14); Descartes' solution on fos. 61v–63r (Letter 17); fos. 63v–64v are blank.
2. Cle II, 553–557.

Editions

AT III, 648–653; AM V, 278–282; CM XII, 155–160.

Printed by Clerselier as letter no. 116 of the second volume, being the second part; the first part is Descartes to Mersenne, 23 March 1643 (Letter 13). A copy of the letter, made for Mersenne, is kept at the BnF, and is headed by a note in Mersenne's handwriting 'Respons aux 3 questions' (fo. 61v). The letter has the Poirier no. (75), and the original La Hire no. 30 (see the introduction to Letter 14). The *Exemplaire de l'Institut* indicates in the margin of the first of the letter that it is no. 54 in the collection of La Hire: 'cet ainea jusqu'a la fin de la lettre est une reponse de M. desc. a des objections qui luy avait envoyées Le P. Mers. Voyez la (xx)54^e des Ms de MF de la Hire'.

Summary

Descartes' solution to the dispute between two unknown Parisians (see Letter 14). After establishing two principles, first, of the rejection of real qualities, and second, of inertia, Descartes gives his own explanation of the three points of the dispute.

Mon opinion touchant ces questions¹ depend de deux principes de Physique, lesquels ie dois icy establir avant que de la pouvoir expliquer. Le premier est, que ie ne suppose aucunes qualitez reelles en la nature qui soient adjoustées à la substance, comme des petites ames à leurs corps, et qui en puissent estre separées par la puissance divine; et ainsy ie n'attribue point plus de realité au mouvement, ny à toutes ces autres varietez de la substance, qu'on nomme des qualitez, que communement les Philosophes en attribuent à la figure, laquelle ils ne nomment pas *qualitatem realem*, mais seulement *modum*. La principale raison qui me faict reietter ces qualitez reelles, est que ie ne veoid pas que l'Esprit humain ayt en soy aucune notion, ou Idée eparticuliere, pour les concevoir; de façon qu'en les nommant et en assurant qu'il y en a, on assure une chose qu'on ne conçoit pas, et on ne s'entend pas soy mesme. La seconde raison est, que les Philosophes n'ont supposé ces qualitez reelles qu'à cause qu'ils ont | crue ne pouvoir expliquer autrement tous les phainomenes de la nature, et moy ie trouve au contraire qu'on peut bien mieux les explicquer sans elles.

L'autre principe est, que tout ce qui est ou existe, demeure tousjours en l'estat qu'il est si quelque cause exterieure ne le change;² en sorte que ie ne crois

1 ces questions] les questions que vous me proposez Cle 4 des] de Cle 5 ainsy Cle] ainsy que
10 Idée] aucune idée Cle

1 The three questions proposed by two unknown Parisians in Letter 14 from 4 April. Descartes' covering letter to Mersenne is Letter 16.

2 This principle is Descartes' first law of nature in the *Principia*, pt. II, art. 37 (AT VIIIA, 62–63).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

pas qu'il puisse y avoir aucune qualité ou *mode* qui perisse de soy mesme. Et, comme un corps qui a quelque figure ne la pert iamais si elle ne luy est ostée
20 par la rencontre de quelque autre corps, ainsy, ayant quelque mouvement, il le doit tousjours retenir si quelque cause qui vienne d'ailleurs ne l'empesche. Ce que ie prouve par la Metaphysique: Car Dieu, qui est autheur de toutes choses, estant tout parfait et immuable, il me semble repugner qu'aucune chose simple
25 sa destruction. Et la chaleur, les sons, ou autres telles qualitez, ne me donnent aucune difficulté, car ce ne sont que des mouvements qui se font dans l'air, où ils trouvent divers obstacles qui les arrestent.

Or le mouvement n'estant point une qualité réelle mais seulement un *mode*, on ne peut pas concevoir qu'il soit autre chose que le changement par lequel un
30 corps s'esloigne de quelques autres, et il n'y a en luy que deux varietez a considerer, l'une qu'il peut estre plus ou moins viste, et l'autre qu'il peut estre déterminé vers divers costez. Car, bien que ce changement puisse proceder de diverses causes, il est toutesfois impossible si ces causes le determinent vers mesme costé, et le rendent esgallement viste, qu'elles luy donnent aucune diversité de nature.
35 C'est pourquoy ie ne croy pas que deux missiles esgaux en matiere, grandeur et figure, partant de mesme vitesse, dans un mesme air, par une mesme ligne (c'est à dire vers le mesme costé, car si l'un commençoit son mouvement à un bout de cette ligne, et l'autre à l'autre, ils ne partiroient pas dans un mesme air) puissent aller plus loing l'un que l'autre. Et l'experience des arcs³ ne me donne aucune difficulté, car la flesche qui est poussée par un grand arc de bois, estant plus grande
40 et plus legere que celle qui est poussée par un petit arc d'acier, peut aller plus loing, encore qu'elle ne parte pas si viste, à cause que sa pesanteur ne la presse pas tant de descendere. Mais si on demande pourquoy cette grande flesche poussée par le petit arc ira moins loing | que poussée par le grand, ie responds que cela
45 vient de ce qu'estant poussée trop viste, elle n'acquiert pas un esgal mouvement en toutes ses parties. Car le bois dont elle est composée n'estant point parfaitement dur, la grande violence dont celuy de ses bouts qui touche la chorde est poussée, le fait rentrer un peu en dedans, et ainsi, la flesche s'accourcissant, il va plus viste que l'autre bout; et pour ce que la chorde le quitte avant que cet
50 autre bout ait acquis la mesme vitesse, il se trouve incontinent apres deux divers mouvements en la flesche, l'un qui la porte en avant, l'autre par lequel elle se rallonge; et pour ce que ce dernier est contraire à l'autre, il le retarde.^a

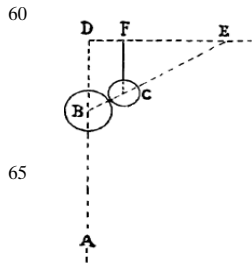
Ie croy aussy qu'il est impossible qu'une boulle parfaitement dure, tant grosse qu'elle puisse estre, en rencontrant en ligne droicte une plus petite, aussy
55 parfaitement dure, la puisse mouvoir suivant la mesme ligne droicte, plus viste

18 perisse] perisse iamais *Cle* 18–21 Et ... empesche *MS*] *after* destruction *l.* 25 *Cle* 20 ayant] quand il y a *Cle* 21 qui vienne d'ailleurs] *extérieure Cle* 22 autheur] l'Autheur *Cle* 24 qui ... autheur] que Dieu ayt creé *Cle* 25 ou] et *Cle* 26 car] à cause que *Cle* 27 obstacles] empeschemens *Cle* 30 et ... luy] et dans lequel il n'y a *Cle* 30 varietez] proprieté *Cle* 31 peut estre] se peut faire *Cle* 31 et *om.* *Cle* 31–32 peut estre déterminé] se peut faire *Cle* 32 Car] Et *Cle* 33 si] que *Cle* 33 determinent] determinant *Cle* 33 mesme costé] un mesme costé *Cle* 34 rendent] rendant *Cle* 34 qu'elles *om.* *Cle* 36 (c'est *parenthesis before* car si *Cle* 47 celuy ... bouts] le bout *Cle* 48 poussée *corr. AT*] poussé *MS* 50 incontinent apres *om.* *Cle* 52 ce dernier ... retarde] cettuy cy est contraire au premier, il l'empesche *Cle* 53 dure *corr. AT*] dur *MS* 54 puisse estre] soit *Cle*

3 Cf. Letter 16, pp. 56–57.

17. Descartes to Unknown, 26 April 1643

qu'elle ne se meut elle mesme; mais i'adjouste que ces deux boules se doibvent rencontrer en ligne droicte, c'est à dire que les centres de l'une et de l'autre doibvent estre en la mesme ligne droicte, suivant laquelle se fait le mouvement. Car,

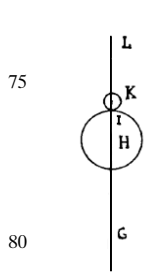


par exemple, si la grosse boule B, venant en ligne droicte d'A vers D, rencontre de costé la petite boule C qu'elle fera mouvoir vers E, il n'y a point de doubte, qu'encores que ces boules seroient parfaitement dures, la petite debvroit partir plus viste que la grosse ne se mouveroit apres l'avoir rencontrée; et faisant les angles ADE et CFE droicts, la proportion qui est entre les lignes CF et CE, est la mesme qui seroit entre la vitesse des boules B et C. Notez que ie suppose que les centres de ces boules en un mesme plan, et ainsi que ie

CM XII, 159

AT III, 652

ne les image pas rouller sur la terre, mais se rencontrer en l'air libre. I'adjouste aussy que ces boules doibvent estre parfaitement dures, car estants de bois, ou autre matiere flexible, comme sont toutes celles que nous avons sur la terre, il est



certain que si la grosse H, venant de G, rencontre la petite K en ligne droicte, et qu'elle trouve en elle de la resistance, ces deux boules se replient quelque peu en dedans au point I, où elles se touchent avant que le centre de la boule K commence à se mouvoir, et ainsy elles font comme deux petits arcs qui, se debandants aussytost apres, peuvent pousser la petite K plus viste que la grosse ne se mouvoit. Car H estant, par exemple, dix fois plus grosse que K, et ayant dix degrez de mouvement, un desquels suffit à K pour la faire mouvoir aussy viste que H si elle communique tous ces dix degrez à ces petits arcs,

AT III, 653

CM XII, 160

et qu'ils le communiquent apres à K, la boule K ira dix fois aussy viste qu'alloit H, laquelle H s'arrestera entierement, ce qui ne peut pas moralement arriver; mais il arrive bien qu'elle en communique 6 ou 7 à ces petits arcs, qui en donnent deux ou 3 à la petite boule, et en laissant ou rendent 7 ou 8 à la grosse, avecq lesquels elle continue vers L, ou retourne vers G, selon que ce qu'elles luy laissent de mouvement est plus ou moins que ce qu'elles luy rendent; et 8 degrez en la grosse boule la font aller beaucoup plus lentement que 2 en la petite.^b

63r

Pour le troisieme poinct, assçavoir que le mouvement ne peut perir, s'il n'est destruit par quelque cause exterieure (ou plustost s'il n'est changé, car ie ne croy pas qu'il y ayt iamais rien qui le destruisse), ie l'ay desia cy devant posé pour un principe; c'est pourquoy ie n'ay pas besoin d'en dire davantage.^c

A Endegeest proche de Leyde, le 26 Avril 1643

56 ne om. Cle 58 suivant] selon Cle 61 D] B Cle 61 fera] fait Cle 63 seroient] fussent Cle 67-69 Notez ... libre added by Mersenne in the left margin 67 que om. Cle 68 en un mesme plan] sont en un mesme plan conj. AT 68-69 que ... rouller] qu'elles ne roulent pas Cle 69 se rencontrer] qu'elles se rencontrent Cle 69 libre om. Cle 75 (trouvent))touchent) 79 (K))H) 81 que H] qu'H Cle 81 tous MS] om. Cle 82 le] les Cle 83 pas om. Cle 86 elles] ils Cle 87 elles] ils Cle 89 peut] sçauroit Cle 90 destruit] ou plustost changé add. Cle 90 ou ... changé om. Cle 91 iamais rien] aucune Cle 91 destruisse] entierement add. Cle 91 cy devant posé] étably cy-devant Cle 91 pour] comme Cle 92 davantage.] Je suis add. Cle 93 A Endegeest ... 1643 om. Cle

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

a — p. 62, l. 52. Descartes has been asked whether two identical missiles ‘partant de mesme vitesse, dans un mesme air par une mesme ligne, doibvent necessairement aller aussi loing l’un que l’autre’ (Letter 14, p. 52, ll. 6–7), or whether their behaviour can depend on the time during which they have been in contact with the moving force. Descartes admits that the latter may be the case, but only if the moving body is made of a material, which is not perfectly hard. [CRP].

b — p. 63, l. 88. The question Descartes is answering here is whether a body that impresses a motion to another body must after the impact move as fast as the latter. More specifically, he has been invited to discuss the case in which a ball A, which is perfectly hard and is either rolling on a polished plane or moving freely in the air, hits upon a smaller ball B, which is equally hard and is at rest. In his letter to Mersenne of 23 February 1643 (Letter 12, p. 41) Descartes has already discussed a similar case, maintaining that only two reasons can cause the small ball to move faster than the big one: The first is that the balls are not perfectly hard; the second is that the impact does not take place according to a straight line. Here Descartes reiterates his conviction and shows, by means of a figure, that if a big ball B hits a smaller ball C according to an oblique line, then even if the balls are perfectly hard, the little one ought to move more quickly than the big one. Peter Damerow, Gideon Freudenthal, Peter McLaughlin and Jürgen Renn have interpreted Descartes’ diagram as follows: ‘We assume that Descartes meant to say that the lines CF and CE also represent the actual paths along which the two balls move after collision. We also assume that the line CE is the line of direct opposition between the two bodies, i.e., the normal through their centers of gravity. Both assumptions are suggested by Descartes’ illustration. Although Descartes does not explicitly mention determinations in this passage, it can be seen that they do indeed play a role; and the relation of determinations to motion was directly thematized one page earlier in the letter. While the *length* of the line CF represents the speed of the larger ball B after collision, the line CF itself can be taken to represent not only the actual determination of B but also the vertical component determination of C. Thus, although the speed of C is greater than that of B, their determinations in B’s original direction are equal. Thus B transfers enough motion to C to make it move with the same vertical determination as B has but in the direction determined by the line of direct opposition, i.e., along CE. The proportion between CF and CE, which Descartes says is also the proportion between the speeds of B and C, expresses the cosine of the angle FCE, which is equal to angle ACG, the angle of incidence of ball B. Thus the ratio of the two speeds after collision is a function of the angle of incidence. The speeds can then be calculated.⁴ Upon calculating the speeds of the ball B before and after collision, the authors come to the conclusion that in this case, which is the only one in which Descartes deals mathematically with an oblique collision, the principle of the conservation of motion is not violated. [CRP].

c — p. 63, l. 92. The third question Descartes was asked to answer was whether any other factor, apart from air resistance, could cause the consumption of the motion that had been impressed in a missile. Descartes’ belief in the principle of the conservation of motion leads him to answer this question in the negative. [CRP].

⁴ P. Damerow, G. Freudenthal, P. McLaughlin and J. Renn, *Exploring the Limits of Preclassical Mechanics* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1991), p. 122.

Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
6 May [1643]

Source

MS copy. Arnhem, Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Library Rosendael Castle, *Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes*, no. 18. pp. 95–98.

Editions

First published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la Princesse Élisabeth, et la Reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites* (Paris/Amsterdam: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879), pp. 47–48.

Other editions: AT III, 660–662; AM V, 287–288.

The upper right corner of p. 95 of the *Recueil* bears the note in contemporary writing in ink 'La reponse à cet le(ttre) cy est la 29. du 1 vol. p. 110', which is a reference to Descartes' reply of 21 May, printed in Cle I, no. 29, pp. 110–114 (Letter 19). AT argues that the date is in Old Style, because it is unlikely that Descartes would have deferred his reply for two weeks. However, as Elizabeth certainly dates her letters from July 1st onwards in New Style, it is improbable that the dates of this letter and of Elizabeth's next letter (10 June) would be in Old Style.

Summary

The first letter of Princess Elizabeth to Descartes. Elizabeth regrets that Descartes' intended visit to her had to be canceled. For Regius, whose work she read, had referred her to Descartes when she asked him for an explanation of a specific point in Cartesian philosophy. She thus puts the question to him how the human soul can determine man's voluntary actions, given that the soul is an immaterial substance, whereas bodily spirits are material.

Monsieur Descartes,

95

I'ay appris avec beaucoup de ioye et de regret l'intention que vous avez eu de me voir passé quelques iours, touchée également de vostre charité de vous vouloir communiquer à une personne ignorante et indocile, et du malheur qui
5 m'a detourné d'une conversation si profitable. M^r Pallotti¹ a fort augmenté cette
derniere passion en me repetant les solutions que vous luy avez donné des obscurités
contenues dans la physique de M^r Rhegius,² desquelles i'aurois esté mieux
instruite de vostre bouche comme aussi d'une question que ie proposay au dit
10 professeur lors qu'il fut en cette ville | dont il me renvoya à vous pour en recevoir
la satisfaction requise. La honte de vous montrer un style si déréglé m'a
empeché iusqu'icy de vous demander cette faveur par lettre, mais auiourd'huy
M^r Palotti m'a donné tant d'assurance de vostre bonté pour chacun et particulièrement
pour moy, que i'ay chassé toute autre consideration de l'esprit hors

⁹⁶
AT III, 661

5 detourné d'une *corr. FdC*] detourné une

¹ Alphonse *Pollot.

² The work referred to is probably Regius' *Physiologia sive cognitio sanitatis* (Utrecht: Roman, 1641). Descartes' communication on Regius' work to Pollot is unknown, but the relevant correspondence with Regius has been partly preserved. See Bos 2002, which also contains an edition of the *Physiologia* and a list of studies on the work.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

celle de m'en prevaloir en vous priant de me dire, comment l'ame de l'homme
15 peut determiner les esprits du corps pour faire les actions volontaires (n'estant
qu'une substance pensante); car il semble que toute determination de mouve- 97
ment se fait par la pulsion | de la chose meüe, la maniere dont elle est poussée
par celle qui la meut, ou bien par la qualification et figure de la superficie de cette
derniere. L'attouchement est requis aux deux premieres conditions et l'extension
20 à la troisieme. Vous excludez entierement celle cy de la notion que vous avez de
l'ame, et celuy là me paroît incompatible avec une chose immaterielle. Pourquoi
ie vous demande une definition de l'ame plus particuliere qu'en vostre Meta-
physique, c'est à dire de sa substance separée de son action de la pensée. Car
25 encore que nous les supposions inseparables (qui toutesfois est difficile à prouver 98
dans le ventre de la mere et les grands éva- | nouissemens), comme les attributs
de Dieu, nous pouvons en les considerant à part en acquerir une idée plus par-
faite. Vous cognoissant le meilleur medecin pour la mienne, ie vous découvre
si librement les foiblesses de ses speculations et espere qu'observant le serment
30 d'Hipocrates vous y apporterez des remedes sans les publier, ce que ie vous prie
de faire comme de souffrir ces importunités de,

Monsieur Descartes,

Vostre tres affectionnée amie
à vous servir,

Elisabeth

35 ce 6 de May

17 la maniere conj. AT] à maniere 18 par conj. AT (or supply depend after ou bien conj. AT)] de

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague]
[21] May 1643

Sources

1. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA 47, fos. 74r–76r.
2. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293B, fos. 85r–86v (B).
3. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Per Q 5, fos. 81r–85v (P).
4. Cle I (1657), 110–114.
5. Cle I (1663), 89–92.

Editions

AT III, 663–668; AM V, 289–292; P. Borel, *Vitae Renati Cartesii ... compendium* (Paris: Billaine and Dupuis, 1656), 1656, pp. 51–55.

The letter was first published by Pierre Borel in a Latin translation, probably drawing on manuscripts in Clerselier's possession. Clerselier published the original French text in 1657, without signature or date, reprinted with several changes and additions in 1663. Three manuscript copies have been preserved, one in The Hague and two in Leiden. The copy in The Hague (K) was unknown to AT. It is part of a large volume containing notes and essays on various subjects collected by Constantijn Huygens. The copy of Descartes' letter is in the hand of an unidentified scribe, but the following note at the head of fo. 74r is in the handwriting of Huygens: 'M. des Cartes à Madame la Princesse de Boheme, d'Egmond op de Hoef, le 21^e May 1643'. The catchwords appear to be Huygens' as well. Compared to the other manuscripts, K is the most reliable source, and is preferred to Cle as it is undoubtedly based on the original letter sent. As concerns the date, since the letter is in reply to Elizabeth's letter of 6 May 1643, both the date given by Borel (7 May 1643) and the date found on the copy labelled 'B' (2 May 1644) cannot be correct. The date found on the copies K and P, 21 May 1643, poses no problem.

Summary

In reply to the question posed by Elizabeth (Letter 18), Descartes explains how he conceives the union of the soul and the body and how the soul has the power to move the body. The key to solve the problem is the proper distinction between the primitive notions of the body (extension), the soul (thought), and of of body and soul together (the notion of their union). Descartes kindly invites the Princess to continue the conversation.

Madame,

74r

La faveur dont V. A. m'a honoré en me faisant recevoir ses commandements par
 escrit, est plus grande que je n'eusse jamais osé esperer, et elle soulage mieux mes
 defaux, que celle que j'avois souhaitée aveq passion, de les recevoir de bouche,
 5 si j'eusse pu estre admis à l'honneur de vous faire la reverence, et vous offrir mes
 tres-humbles services lors que j'estois dernièrement à la Haye. Car j'aurois eu
 trop de merveilles à admirer en mesme temps, et voyant sortir des discours plus
 qu'humains d'un corps si semblable à ceux que les Peintres attribuent aux Anges.
 J'eusse esté ravi de mesme façon que me semblent devoir estre ceux qui venans
 10 de la terre entrent nouvellement dans le Ciel. Ce qui m'eust rendu moins capable

AT III, 664

2 ses] ces B 4 passion] qui estoit *add. Cle* 5 de] de *add. Cle* 6 aurois] avois B 7 des K] de
 9 me semblent *K,B*] me *om. P* me semble *Cle*

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

de respondre à V. A. qui sans doubte a desià remarqué en moy ce defaut lors que j'ay eu cydevant l'honneur de luy parler, et vostre clemence l'a voulu soulager en me laissant les traces de vos pensées sur un papier, ou les relisant plusieurs fois, et m'accoustumant à les considerer, j'en suis veritablement moins esblouy, mais je n'en ay que d'autant plus d'admiration, remarquant qu'elles ne paroissent pas seulement tres-ingenieuses à l'abord, mais aussi d'autant plus judicieuses et solides que plus on les examine.

Et je puis dire aveq verité, que la question que V. A. propose, me semble estre celle qu'on me peut demander aveq le plus de raison, en suite | des escrits 74v
que j'ay publiez. Car y ayant deux choses en l'ame humaine desquelles depend toute la connoissance que nous pouvons avoir de sa nature, l'une qu'elle pense, l'autre qu'estant unie au corps, elle peut agir et patir aveq luy, je n'ay quasi rien dit de cette derniere, et me suis seulement estudié à faire bien entendre la premiere, à cause que mon principal desseing estoit de prouver la distinction qui est entre l'ame et le corps, à quoy celle-cy seule a pu servir, et l'autre y auroit esté nuisible. Mais par ce que V. A. voit si clair qu'on ne luy peut dissimuler aucune chose, je tascheray icy d'expliquer la façon dont je conçoÿ l'union de l'ame aveq le corps, et comment elle a la force de le mouvoir. AT III, 665

Premierement je considere qu'il y a en nous certaines notions primitives, qui sont comme des originaulx, sur le patron des quels nous formons toutes nos autres connoissances; et il n'y a que fort peu de telles notions, car apres les plus generales, de l'estre, du nombre, de la durée etc., nous n'avons pour le corps que la notion de l'extension, de laquelle suivent celles de la figure, et du mouvement. Et pour l'ame seule nous n'avons que celle de la pensée, en laquelle sont comprises les perceptions de l'entendement et les inclinations de la volonté. En fin, pour l'ame et le corps ensemble nous n'avons que celle de leur union, de laquelle depend celle de la force qu'a l'ame de mouvoir le corps, et le corps d'agir sur l'ame, en causant ses sentiments et ses passions.

Je considere aussy que toute la science des hommes ne consiste qu'à bien distinguer ces notions, et à n'attribuer chascune d'elles qu'aux choses auxquelles elle appartient. Car lors que nous voulons expliquer quelque difficulté par le moyen d'une notion, qui ne luy appartient pas, nous ne pouvons manquer de nous meprendre, comme aussy lors que nous voulons expliquer | une de ces notions par une autre; car estant primitives, chascune d'elles ne peut estre entendüe que par elle mesme. Et d'autant que l'usage des sens nous a rendu les notions de l'extension, des figures, et des mouvemens beaucoup plus familiares que les autres, la principale cause de nos erreurs consiste en ce que nous nous voulons ordinairement servir de ces notions pour expliquer les choses à qui elles n'appartiennent pas: comme lors qu'on se veut servir de l'imagination, pour concevoir la nature de l'ame, ou bien lors qu'on veut concevoir la façon dont l'ame meut le corps, par celle dont un corps est meü par un autre corps. 75r

16 tres *om. Cle* 18 *par. E* 21 l'une] desquelles est *add. Cle* 25 seule *K,P*] seulement y *B* seulement *Cle* 29 *par. E* 29 notions] actions *P* 32 durée] qui conviennent à tout ce que nous pouvons concevoir *add. Cle (1663)* 32 corps] en particulier *add. Cle (1663)* 33 notion] motion *P* 35 perceptions *K,Cle*] preceptions *B,P* 38 ses ... ses] ces ... ces *B* 39 *par. E* 41 elle appartient] elles apartiennent *Cle* 44 une autre *K,Cle*] un autre *B,P* 45 elle] celle *K* 47 consiste *K,P*] est *B,Cle* 47 nous nous] nous *Cle* 48 servir] nous servir *Cle* 51 un autre corps] un autre *P*

19. Descartes to Elizabeth, [21] May 1643

C'est pourquoy, puis que dans les meditations que V. A. a daigné lire, j'ay
 tasché de faire concevoir les notions qui appartiennent à l'ame seule, en les dis-
 tinguant de celles qui appartiennent au corps seul. La premiere chose que je
 55 doibs expliquer en suite, est la façon de concevoir celles qui appartiennent à
 l'union de l'ame avec le corps, sans celles qui appartiennent au corps seul, ou à
 l'ame seule. A quoy il me semble que peut servir ce que j'ay escrit à la fin de
 ma responce aux sixiesmes objections (p. 490. de l'edition d'Amsterdam), car
 nous ne pouvons chercher ces notions simples ailleurs qu'en nostre ame, qui les a
 60 toutes en soy par sa nature, mais qui ne les distingue pas tousjours assez les unes
 des autres, ou bien ne les attribue pas aux objects auxquels on les doit attribuer.

Ainsy je croy que nous avons cy devant confondu la notion de la force dont
 l'ame agit dans le corps, aveq celle dont un corps agist dans un autre; et que nous
 avons attribué l'une et l'autre, non pas à l'ame, car nous ne la cognoissons pas
 65 encore, mais aux diverses qualités des corps, comme à la pesanteur, à la chaleur,
 et aux autres, que nous avons imaginées estre reelles; c'est à dire, avoir une ex-
 istence distincte de celle du corps, et par consequent estre des substances, bien
 que nous les ayons nommées des | qualitez. Et nous nous sommes servis pour
 75 les concevoir, tantost des notions qui sont en nous, pour connoistre le corps, et
 tantost de celles qui y sont pour connoistre l'ame, selon que ce que nous leur
 avons attribué à esté materiel ou immateriel. Par exemple, en supposant que la
 pesanteur est une qualité réelle dont nous n'avons point d'autre connoissance,
 sinon qu'elle a la force de mouvoir le corps dans lequel elle est vers le centre de
 la terre, nous n'avons pas de peine à concevoir, comment elle meut ce corps, ny
 75 comment elle luy est jointe. Et nous ne pensons point que cela se face par un
 attouchement reel d'une superficie contre une autre. Car nous experimentons en
 nous mesmes que nous avons une notion particuliere pour concevoir cela, et je
 croy que nous usons mal de ceste notion en l'appliquant à la pesanteur qui n'est
 rien de reellement distingué du corps, comme j'espere monstrier en la Physique,
 80 mais qu'elle nous a esté donnée pour concevoir la façon dont l'ame meut le corps.

Je tesmoignerois ne pas assez connoistre l'incomparable esprit de V. A., si
 j'employois d'avantage de paroles à m'expliquer. Et je serois trop presomptueux,
 si j'osois penser que ma responce luy doive entierement satisfaire: mais je
 85 tascheray d'éviter l'un et l'autre, en n'adjoustant rien icy de plus, si non que si
 je suis capable d'escire ou dire quelque chose qui luy puisse agreer, je tiendray
 tousjours à tres-grande faveur de prendre la plume ou d'aller à la Haye pour ce
 subject; et qu'il n'y a rien au monde qui me soit si cher, que de pouvoir obeir
 à ses commandements. Mais je ne puis icy trouver place à l'observation du ser-
 ment d'Hippocrate qu'elle m'enjoinct, puis qu'elle ne m'a rien communiqué qui
 90 ne merite d'estre veu et | admiré de tous les hommes. Seulement puis je dire sur
 ce subject qu'estimant infiniment la lettre que j'ay receüe, j'en useray comme les

52 par. E 53–54 (+à l'ame ... appartiennent)] 53 seule] seulement B 53 en om. B, Cle
 58 sixiesmes] six Cle 58 p. 490 ... Amsterdam] page 384 de l'edition Française Cle (1663)
 58 p. 490] page 409 Cle (1657) 60 sa] la P 61 bien] combien K 62 par. E 64 avons om. K
 64 cognoissons P, Cle] cognoissons B, K 69 des] de P 69–70 le corps ... connoistre om. P 70 que
 om. P 71 esté] estre P 72 n'avons] avons P 76 attouchement] atachement ou add. Cle 76 une
 autre K, Cle] un autre B, P 79 de om. K 81 par. E 82 de paroles] des paroles P 82 je serois]
 il seroit K 83 ma] me P 83 luy] la Cle 84 en] et B 84–85 si je suis] je suis B 85 dire K, P] de
 dire B, Cle 88 ses] ces B 89 Hippocrate] Harpocrate Cle 91 ce K, Cle] se B, P 91 lettre] vostre
 Cle

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

avares font de leurs tresors, lesquels ils cachent d'autant plus qu'ils les estiment,
et en enviant la veüe au reste du monde, ils mettent leur souverain contentement à
les regarder: ainsy je seray bien ayse de jouir seul du bien de la veoir, et ma plus
95 grande ambition est de me pouvoir dire, et d'estre veritablement,

Madame,

De V. A.,

Le tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur,

100

Des Cartes

D'Egmond op de Hoef, le 21^e May 1643¹

92 de *om. K* 94 la veoir] l'avoir *B* 95 d'estre] estre *P* 95 veritablement ... 1643] Madame etc. *K*
Madame, De Vostre Altesse, La tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur Des Cartes. D'Egmont op de
Hoef, le 21 may 43 *P Mde*, De V. A., Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur, Des Cartes. D'Egmont
op de Hoef, le ij May 1644 *B* etc *Cle* Serenissima Princeps, Humillimus tuus ac obedientissimus
servus, Descartes. Egmund. 7. Maij 1643 *Bor*

¹ Date and place are taken from the note on fo. 74r of *K*.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]
22 May 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 167r–168v. Single sheet folded into two (310x210 mm). Text on fo. 167r. No adress; no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 198–199.

Other editions: AT III, 814–815 (Roth); AM V, 293–294; CM XII, 29–30 (ALS).

Summary

Descartes offers Huygens a copy of his *Epistola ad Voetium*, requesting him to forward two other copies to De Wilhem and De Mory. As a reminder of Huygens' own attempt to justify himself, Descartes also sends the copy he made of Huygens' reply to Saumaise.

Monsieur,

167r

Vous verrez icy le livre¹ où ie me plains des calomnies pour lesquelles le Pere Mercenne a desia condanné les auteurs à faire l'amende honorable la corde au col.² Je ne suis pas du tout si rigoureux que luy, mais neanmoins ie ne leur pardonne pas, et si vous prenez la peine de lire la derniere partie de mon escrit,³ vous verrez que i'y fais leur proces en peu de mots, non pas que ie me soucie de ce qui leur en aviendra, mais à cause qu'il me semble que mon honneur m'oblige de faire sçavoir à la posterité que i'employe tout ce qui est en mon pouvoir pour tirer raison de ce qu'ils m'ont accusé d'enseigner icy secretement l'Athéisme. Car s'ils ont pû escrire cela de moy impunement, il n'y a point de crime si estrange qu'ils ne puissent imposer à qui que ce soit, et ainsi M^r Voetius et ses disciples sont les maistres absolus de l'honneur et de la bonne renommée de qui que ce soit. Je suis bien ayse d'estre deschargé de la peine d'escrire pour un si mauvais suiet, et i'ay honte d'en avoir tant escrit, mais l'abondance de la matiere m'y a contraint. I'espere que vous me le pardonnerez en revoyant ce que vous avez autrefois escrit touchant une letre de M^r de Saumaise, que ie vous envoie, car vous avez tesmoigné par là que vous ne desapprouvez pas les iustes defenses.⁴ Je suis,

AT III, 815

Monsieur,

10 ont *corr. Roth*] on

¹ The *Epistola ad Voetium*, printed by the Amsterdam Elzeviers. For detailed commentary on Schoock's *Admiranda methodus*, to which it is a reply, and on the reception Descartes' work in Utrecht, see Appendix 1.

² Cf. Letter 4, pp. 11–12, and Letter 5, p. 15.

³ The ninth and final chapter 'Pars ultima: de quarta sectione libri *De Philosophia Cartesiana*, simulque de meritis eius Authorum' (AT VIII B, 169–194/*Querelle*, 388–399).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

20

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

D'Egmond sur le Hoeff, le 22 May 1643

25 Je vous prie d'excuser la liberté que ie prens d'enfermer deux livres en ce
pacquet, l'un pour Monsieur de Wilhelm, l'autre pour Monsieur de Mori.⁴

a — p. 71, l. 17. In 1639 Huygens was caught up in the notorious dispute between the two Leiden professors Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Claude Saumaise (1588–1653). Saumaise blamed Huygens for appending a laudatory poem to one of Heinsius' books, and defended his reaction in a letter to André Rivet from late October 1639.⁵ Rivet showed the letter to Huygens, who subsequently wrote a defence against Saumaise's allegations. Descartes, eager to read it, asked for the manuscript and returned it after he had made a copy. It is this copy which Descartes sends to Huygens on 22 May 1643. Huygens decided to keep the copy in Descartes' hand himself, and provided Descartes with another copy (see Letter 24, p. 82, ll. 7–14). The copy in Descartes' hand is being kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, and is published in Roth, 311–333/AT III, 837–859.⁶

⁴ Cf. Letter 1, p. 6, n. 20.

⁵ Published in Roth as part of Huygens' defence (see below), and from another manuscript copy in Claude Saumaise and André Rivet, *Correspondance echangée entre 1632 et 1648*, P. Leroy and H. Bots (eds.) (Amsterdam/Maarssen: APA-Holland U.P., 1987), pp. 146–148.

⁶ See Appendix H in Roth (pp. 310–337/AT III, 836–863) for the references to Huygens' dispute with Saumaise in the Descartes-Huygens correspondence.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]
24 May 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 169r–170v. Text on fos. 169r–170r (230x170 mm). No address; no seals.
2. Cle III, 605–607.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 199–202.
Other editions: AT III, 669–672 (Cle); AT III, 815–818 (Roth); AM V, 295–297; CM XII, 172–174 (ALS); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 383 (Cle).

The draft is printed by Clerselier without date or addressee, but with two additional figures not found on the autograph. The autograph, published by Roth, confirms AT's conjecture that the letter is addressed to Huygens and written towards the end of May 1643.

Summary

Descartes forwards a letter from Mersenne addressed to Huygens, which he has read because it was unsealed. Mersenne's letter deals primarily with magnetism and Descartes adds his own, quite extensive, explanation of the phenomenon.

Monsieur,

169r

Il semble, ie croy, au P. Mercenne que ie suis encore soldat et que ie doy suivre l'armée avec vous, puisqu'il m'adresse les lettres qu'il vous escrit.¹ Celle que vous trouverez icy a esté 8 iours à venir de Leyde, et si vous estes parti de la Haye,² comme la gazette me fait croire, ie ne sçay quand elle vous pourra ataindre. Le principal est qu'il n'y a rien dedans d'importance, car m'ayant esté envoyée ouverte i'ay eu le privilege de la lire, et pour ce qu'il y philosophe principalement de l'aymant, ie ioindry icy mes speculations aux siennes affin que cete lettre ne soit pas entierement vide.

AT III, 816

10 Ie croy vous avoir desia dit que i'explique toutes les proprietz de l'aymant par le moyen d'une certaine matiere fort subtile et imperceptible qui, sortant continuellement de la terre non seulement par le pole, mais aussy par tous les autres endroits de l'hemisphere Boreal, passe de là vers l'Austral^a | par tous les endroits du quel elle entre derechef dans la terre, et d'une autre pareille matiere

169v

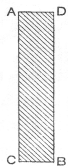
2 suis] sois *Cle* 2 doy suivre] suive *Cle* 3 avec vous *om. Cle* 4 icy] avec celle-cy *Cle* 4 Leyde] icy *add. Cle* 5 comme] ainsi que *Cle* 8 l'aymant] la propriété de l'Ayman *Cle* 8 mes ... siennes] mon avis au sien *Cle* 8 cete] ma *Cle* 10 *par. E* 10 *sketch added Cle* 13 l'Austral] l'hemisphere Austral *Cle*

- 1 Received together with a letter by Mersenne to Descartes himself from 9 May, see Descartes' reply to Mersenne of 30 May, Letter 22, pp. 76–77, ll. 6–12. Arriving in Leiden on 17 May (see below), the letters, which are both lost, were redirected to Descartes' new address at Egmond aan den Hoef.
- 2 Huygens left The Hague with the Stadholder's retinue on 26 May to go to the fortress of Voorn (Huygens, *Dagboek*, 40; cf. Letter 24, p. 83, n. 6).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 qui sort de la terre par l'hémisphère Austral et y rentre par le Boreal, à cause que
 les parties de ces deux matières sont de telles figures que les pores de l'air, de
 l'eau et de plusieurs autres cors ne les reçoivent pas aisement, et que les pores de
 la terre et de l'aymant par où peuvent passer celles qui viennent d'un hémisphère
 ne peuvent donner passage à celles qui viennent de l'autre hémisphère; ainsy que
 20 ie pense démontrer en ma Physique³ où i'explique l'origine de ces matières sub-
 tiles et les figures de leurs parties qui sont longues et entortillées en forme de
 vis, les Boreales au contraire des Australes.^b Or ce qui cause la déclinaison des
 aiguilles quand elles sont parallèles à l'horizon est que la matière subtile qui les
 fait mouvoir venant des parties de la terre assez éloignées de là par sa superficie
 25 qui est inégale, cete inégalité est cause qu'elle ne vient pas tousiours si abondan-
 nement du pôle que des lieux qui en déclinent quelque peu.^a Laquelle cause cesse
 en partie lorsque les aiguilles sont perpendiculaires sur l'horizon, car alors elles
 sont principalement dressées par la matière subtile qui | sort de l'endroit de la 170r
 terre où elles sont. Mais à cause que l'autre matière subtile qui vient du pôle
 30 opposé ayde aussy à les dresser, ie croy bien qu'elles ne doivent pas tant décliner
 que les autres, mais non pas qu'elles ne déclinent point du tout, et ie seray bien
 ayse de voir par l'expérience si i'auray en cela bien coniecturé.

Pour la raison qui fait que ces aiguilles perpendiculaires se tournent tousiours
 vers le mesme costé, ie l'explique quasi comme le P. Mercenne, car ie croy
 35 qu'elle depend de ce que le fer a quelque latitude et que la matière subtile qui
 passe par dedans ne monte pas tout droit de bas en haut, mais prend son cours
 en déclinant en cet hémisphère du pôle Boreal vers l'Austral. Comme
 si l'aiguille est ACBD, la matière subtile qui sort de la terre se forme
 40 des pores dans cete aiguille qui sont panchez de B vers A; et l'acier
 est de telle nature que ses pores peuvent ainsy estre disposez par
 l'attouchement d'une pierre d'aimant, pource qu'il y a tousiours grande
 45 abondance de cete matière subtile autour de l'aimant, et l'acier ayant
 receu cete disposition de ses pores, il la retient par apres. Ie crains de vous en-
 nuyer. Ie suis avec passion,^c



Monsieur,
 Vostre tres humble
 et tres obeissant serviteur,
 Des Cartes

50 Du Hoeff, le 24 May 1643

15 <que>cause 16–17 les pores ... et que *om. Cle* 18 et] ou *Cle* 18 l'aymant] ou du fer touché de l'ayman *Cle* 19 celles *Cle*] celle 19 ainsy que] comme *Cle* 20 en] dans *Cle* 20 ces] deux *add. Cle* 22 Or] *sketch added Cle* 23 quand elles] qui *Cle* 24 venant] sortant *Cle* 24–26 par sa ... peu] vient quelquefois plus abondamment des lieux un peu éloignez des poles, que des poles mesmes *Cle* 30 ne ... tant] doivent moins *Cle* 31–32 ie seray ... coniecturé] si l'expérience exacte s'en peut faire, ie seray bien ayse de la sçavoir *Cle* 33 *par. E* 35 depend] vient *Cle* 38 en cet hémisphère] *after l'Austral Cle* 38 <comse [?]>comme 41 disposez] à recevoir cette matière subtile *add. Cle* 42–44 pource qu'il ... apres] et qu'ils retiennent apres cette disposition *Cle* 44 Ie crains] Mon papier finit, et ie crains *Cle* 45–50 avec ... 1643 *not in Cle*

3 Cf. *Principia*, pt. IV, art. 133 (AT VIII A, 275–278). See also the comment below.

21. Descartes to Huygens, 24 May 1643

a — p. 73, l. 13 and p. 74, l. 26. Clerselier inserted at these points the figures below, which are not found in the ALS.

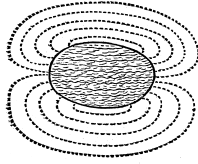


Figure 1 (l. 13)

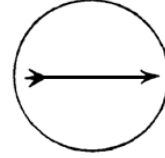


Figure 2 (l. 26)

b — p. 74, l. 22. As Richard Westfall has observed, magnetism represented a crucial case for the mechanical philosophers, who all felt obliged to invent mechanisms that would permit to explain away this phenomenon without recourse to the occult.⁴ In the passage above we find an anticipation of the hypothesis put forward in the *Principia philosophiae* (1644), pt. IV, art. 133ff, where Descartes describes the agents of magnetic attraction as screw-shaped particles emitted by the loadstone and by the Earth (itself a big loadstone), which correspond to similarly shaped pores in the iron. The existence of two different magnetic poles is explained by Descartes with the fact that some screws are left-handed and some are right-handed (see AT VIII, 275ff; AT IX, 271ff).

The remainder of the letter is probably meant as an explanation of the result of a magnetic experiment performed by the Jesuit J. Grandamy, which is also discussed in the letters by Descartes to Huygens of 31 January 1642, and by Descartes to Mersenne of 30 May 1643 (see below, Letter 22, ll. 13–26 with comment). [CRP].

c — p. 74, l. 45. In their commentary on the letter, the editors of CM cite an interesting passage from a letter of the Nijmegen minister and archeologist Johannes Smetius, or Smith (1590–1651), to Huygens from 12/22 August 1644.⁵ After reading Descartes' explanation of magnetism, supplied by Huygens, Smetius points out that a similar account had already been given by Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637), as the recently published extracts from the latter's *Journal*⁶ show: '*Magnetica* Cartesii tuo nuper beneficio Zutphaniae legi,⁷ sed ab illo tempore *Centuriam* vidi *Meditationum mathematico-physicarum*,⁸ A^o 1628 scriptam, recens hoc anno typis editam, Isaaci Beekmanni, Dordraceni paedagogiarcae, in quibus, quae numero 36, 77, 81 et 83 est, ostendit non Cartesio ista corpuscula primum in mentem venisse'. The description *Magnetica Cartesii* is too imprecise to identify it with Descartes' letter to Huygens of 24 May, as the editors of CM do, but it cannot in any case refer to the *Principia*, which had not yet been published.⁹

⁴ R.S. Westfall, *The construction of modern science: Mechanisms and mechanics* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1977), p. 36.

⁵ Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 47

⁶ *Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634*, C. de Waard (ed.), 4 vols. (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1939–1953); for Beeckman's explanation of magnetism, see vol. I, pp. 36 (1615), 101–102 (1616), 309 (1619); vol. II, pp. 119 (1620), 229 (1623), 339–340 (1626); vol. III, pp. 17 and 26 (1627).

⁷ Huygens stayed at Zutphen between 14 and 26 April 1644 (Huygens, *Dagboek*, 41).

⁸ Beeckman, *Mathematico-physicarum meditationum, quaestionum, solutionum centuria* (Utrecht: Sloot, 1644).

⁹ CM XII, 176.

Descartes, Amsterdam, to [Marin Mersenne], [Paris]

30 May 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Gonnelli 11, 17. One sheet folded into two (230x170 mm). Text on fos. 1r–2r. No address; no seals.
2. MS copy. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 10556 (MS Vicq d’Azyr), fo. 48.
3. Cle II, 510–511.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: CM XII, 196–199.

Other editions: AT III, 672–675 (MS copy/Cle); AM V, 298–300; P. Borel, *Vitae Renati Cartesii ... compendium* (Paris: Billaine and Dupuis, 1656), p. 40 (two fragments).

Pierre Borel published two extracts from the letter in a Latin translation, headed *Ex alia Epistola ad eundem [Mersenne], data Amstelod. 1643 mense maio*. These fragments run from ‘Je vous remercie ...’ (l. 13) to ‘decliner’ (l. 15), and from ‘L’experience ...’ (l. 27) to ‘meridien’ (l. 33). Clerselier published, without mentioning the date, the draft as the last part of letter no. 108 in the second volume (in continuation of Letter 12). AT uses both Cle and the MS copy, but gives the principal variants with the resurfaced ALS in AT III, 879. The ALS is published in CM, however, with numerous, albeit minor, errors. Fo. 1r of the ALS shows the following notes and marks: in the upper right corner the Poirier no. ‘(48)’, and Poirier’s date in the left margin: ‘(30 may 1643 v.d.)’. In the left upper corner in an unidentified 17th c. hand: ‘Voiez la fin de la lettre 108 du 3^e [sic] tome page 510’. The original La Hire no. ‘29 C’ in the left bottom corner (no. 55 on the definitive list).

Summary

Descartes acknowledges the receipt of two letters from Mersenne as well as of other letters sent via the Minim—a change of address caused some delay. Descartes comments upon Grandamy’s invention of a compass without variation. He would like to have more details of an experiment with a pendulum, so he can repeat it himself. The printer Elzevier will send six copies of the *Epistola ad Voetium* to Mersenne; one of these is for Picot. Mersenne should address his letters to Descartes via Elzevier in Amsterdam.

Mon Revnd Pere,

1r

Il y a 4 ou 5 semaines que ie ne vous ay escrit,¹ dont la raison a esté que i’ay changé de demeure,² et ie suis maintenant en un quartier un peu plus esloigné et où ie ne reçoÿ les lettres que vous adressez à Leyde que 8 iours apres qu’elles y sont arrivées. C’est pourquoy ie vous prieray de me les adresser dorenavant par Amsterdam, mais ie ne sçay encore à qui.³ I’ay bien receu vos lettres du 9 May et 25 Avril, avec des lettres de Bretagne⁴ et une lettre de change, dont ie vous

CM XII, 197

1–12 Mon ... envoyer *not in Cle*

¹ Descartes to Mersenne, 26 April 1643 (Letter 16).

² Cf. Letter 10, ll. 15–17.

³ See below, ll. 33–39.

⁴ Possibly containing a reply by Bouexic de la Villeneuve, cf. Letter 13, p. 45, ll. 8–9.

22. Descartes to [Mersenne], 30 May 1643

remercie; i'estois à la Haye lorsque ie receu celle cy mais sur le point d'en partir;⁵ AT III, 673
ce qui fut cause que ie ne vous escrivis point, et ie n'ay receu l'autre⁶ que cete
10 semaine, ce qui sera cause que celle que vous escriviez à M^r de Zuylichem ne luy
sera peutestre rendue de long tems, car ie croy qu'il estoit parti de la Haye pour
aller à l'armée avant que i'aye pû luy envoyer.⁷

15 Ie vous remercie de l'invention du pere Grandami pour faire une aiguille
qui ne decline point, et la raison me persuade qu'elle doit beaucoup moins de-
cliner que les autres, mais non pas qu'elle ne doit point du tout decliner. Ie seray
bien ayse d'en apprendre l'experience, affin de voir si elle s'accordera avec mes
raisons, ou plutost mes coniectures, | qui sont que la vertu de l'aymant qui est 1v
en toute la masse de la terre, se communique en partie suivant sa superficie des
20 poles vers l'equateur, et en partie aussy suivant des lignes qui viennent du centre
vers la circonference. Or la declinaison de l'aiguille parallele à l'horizon est
causée par la vertu qui se communique suivant la superficie de la terre, à cause
que cete superficie estant inegale, cete vertu y est plus forte vers un lieu que vers
un autre. Mais l'aiguille qui regarde vers le centre, estant principalement tournée
25 vers le pole par la vertu qui vient de ce centre, ne reçoit aucune declinaison, et
elle ne declineroit point du tout si la vertu qui vient de la superficie n'agissoit
aussy quelque peu contre elle.^a

L'experience du poids qui va du midy au septentrion est fort remarquable
et s'accorde fort bien avec mes speculations touchant le flux et reflux; mais ie
voudrois sçavoir de combien de pieds le filet a esté long auquel ce poids estoit
30 suspendu, affin de sçavoir si i'en pourrois faire icy l'experience, car ie iuge qu'il
doit avoir esté fort long. Ie voudrois aussy sçavoir le tems qu'il va vers le nort ou
vers le midy; si mes coniectures sont bonnes, ce doit estre environ le tems que la
lune s'approche ou se recule de nostre meridien.^b

I'acheve cete letre estant à Amsterdam, d'où ie pensois vous envoyer ma
35 response au mauvais livre contre moy que vous avez vû, mais i'ay crue qu'elle ne
meritoit pas d'estre envoyée par la poste et i'ay prié le libraire de vous en envoyer
par mer au plutost, ce qu'il m'a | promis, et aussy de m'envoyer soigneusement 2r
vos lettres si tost qu'elles seront arrivées icy. C'est pourquoy ie vous prie de les
adresser dorenavant à M^r Louys Elzevier, marchand libraire à Amsterdam. M^r
40 Hardy me demande ce qu'a cousté son Ciceron, ce que ie n'ay pas daigné luy
escrire, car c'est si peu de chose que cela n'en vaut pas la peine.⁸ Toutefois, s'il
le veut sçavoir à toute force, vous luy pourrez dire qu'il a cousté 12 francs et
demi, ce qu'il rendra, s'il luy plaist, à vostre portier pour payer le port des lettres
45 dont ie vous importune, affin qu'il soit plus libre à m'employer une autre fois que
peutestre il ne seroit, si ie refusois de luy faire sçavoir ce qu'a cousté ce livre. Ie
suis,

13 *par. E* 18 sa] la *Cle* 21 (+la) superficie 28 reflux] le reflux *Cle* 29–30 estoit sus-
pendu] a esté suspendu *Cle* 34–39 l'acheve ... Amsterdam *not in Cle* 38–39 (me≠les) adresser
39 (Alc[kmaer]≠Amsterdam) 40 son Ciceron] un Ciceron *Cle* 43–44 ce qu'il ... importune *be-*
tween brackets Cle 43 luy] vous *Cle* 44 importune] charge *Cle*

⁵ Cf. Letter 18, p. 65, ll. 2–5.

⁶ Mersenne's letter from 9 May.

⁷ See Letter 21.

⁸ Cf. Letter 13, p. 46, n. 9.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Mon Reverend Pere,

Vostre tres humble
et tres affectionné serviteur,

Des Cartes

50

Amsterdam, ce 30 May 1643

J'ay dit à Elzevier qu'il vous envoyast 6 exemplaires de ma response à Voetius, dont l'un sera, s'il vous plaist, pour M^r Picot.

a — p. 77, l. 26. In 1641 Jacques Grandamy (1588–1672), rector of the Jesuit college of Rouen, made an observation concerning the behaviour of a spherical loadstone, which he interpreted as a proof of the earth's rest. The experiment, which was described in detail in a small treatise published by the Jesuit in 1645, showed that if the loadstone was placed with its axis perpendicular with respect to the horizon, a certain point of its equator would naturally turn towards the pole of the world.⁹ Grandamy was most probably the author of a manuscript tract to which Descartes referred in a letter to Constantijn Huygens dated 31 January 1642: 'Je ne me repens pas, non plus que vous, d'avoir leu le traité de l'aymant, bien que il n'y ait aucune de ses raisons qui vaille, et que ie n'y aye trouvé qu'une seule experience qui soit nouvelle, à sçavoir que, l'aissieu de l'aymant estant perpendiculaire sur l'horizon, il y a un certain point de son Equateur qui se tourne naturellement vers le pole du monde, et que c'est tousiours le mesme point qui regarde ainsy le pole, encore que la pierre soit portée en divers lieux. Mais cete seule experience vaut beaucoup, principalement s'il est vray, comme il assure, que ce point ne decline point du tout du pole, ainsy que sont les aiguilles, ce que i'ay beaucoup de peine à croyre. Et si ie sçavois où trouver des aymans spheriques, ie tascherois d'en dechiffrer la verité' (AT III, 521–522/CM XI, 28–29). In the letter to Huygens of 24 May 1643, Descartes had explained the phenomenon observed by Grandamy as the result of the fact that 'lorsque les aiguilles sont perpendiculaires sur l'horizon (...) elles sont principalement dressées par la matiere subtile qui sort de l'endroit de la terre où elles sont' (Letter 21, p. 74, ll. 27–29). Note, however, that only one month later Descartes was to put in doubt the veracity of Grandamy's experiment (see Descartes to Huygens, 26 Juin 1643, Letter 29). [CRP].

b — p. 77, l. 33. The experiment to which Descartes refers in these lines was performed by the French engineer Alexandre Calignon (1589–1656), who interpreted it as a proof of the earth's motion. Having suspended from a height of 30 feet a long thread with a metal point, which dangled directly above a needle that was itself grounded in the earth, Calignon observed that the thread oscillated above the needle 'for six hours northward, for six hours southward'. Given that this motion, just like that of the sea waters, had a period of 24 hours, Calignon thought to have found an empirical confirmation of the validity of the Galilean proof of the earth's motion, derived from the phenomenon of the tides. Calignon's experiment was widely discussed in France in the 1640's. Pierre Gassendi described and commented it first in the post-scriptum of his *Novem stellae circa Iovem visae*, a brief treatise dated 4 April 1643 and addressed to his friend Gabriel Naudé, and subsequently in a letter

47–53 Mon ... Picot *not in Cle*

⁹ J. Grandamy, *Nova demonstratio immobilitatis Terrae petita ex virtute magnetica* (La Flèche: Griveau and Henricaeus, 1645), p. 45.

22. Descartes to [Mersenne], 30 May 1643

sent to Joseph Gaultier on 10 August 1643.¹⁰ In his letter to Gaultier, Gassendi pronounced himself with greater certainty on Calignon's experience, which he had in the meantime personally replicated. He explained how he had effectively observed in the first days small oscillations of the pendulum; and how he had subsequently become aware that the cause of these oscillations was the metal point of this pendulum, which, not being perfectly aligned with the thread, set the latter into circular motion. It had in fact sufficed to 'set up this little metal point in such a way that it did not deviate at all from the line of the thread' so as to eliminate any oscillation whatsoever.¹¹ Gassendi added that these precautions had been suggested by Mersenne.

In a letter written on 2 November 1643 Descartes asks Constantijn Huygens news of 'un imprimé de M. Gassendi touchant l'observation d'un poids pendu à un filet, que le Pere Mercenne m'a mandé vous avoir envoyé il y a trois ou quatre mois (...) car ie n'ay sceu cete observation qu'à demi, et ie voudrois voir si elle s'accorde avec mes speculations' (Letter 49, p. 136, ll. 14–17). According to Bernard Rochot (CM XII, 357), it is to Calignon's experiment that Descartes alludes in the *Principia* when he writes that he has not yet seen any empirical proof for the existence of particular causes capable of changing the direction of heaviness (See AT VIII, 216; AT IX, 214). [CRP].

Daniel Lipstorp (1631–1684), Descartes' first biographer, reports that Descartes repeated the experiment himself, but there is no independent evidence of this: 'Et hinc nostrae assertioni suffragantem quoque producimus Nobiliss. et Excellentissimum Philosophum Dn. Renatum Cartesium, quem pro suo discendi fervore accepimus ante paucos annos hic in Bataviâ prope Lugdunum in antiquâ turri pene collapsâ hujus rei experimentâ collegisse, et negativam fuisse tutatum [*read testatum?*]'.¹² Further particulars on place and time are lacking.

¹⁰ This letter was published in 1649 by M. de Neuré with the title *Petri Gassendi Apologia in Jo. Bap. Morini Librum, cui titulus Alae Telluris fractae. Epistola IV De Motu impresso a motore translato. Una cum tribus Galilaei Epistolis de conciliatione Scripturae S. cum systemate Telluris mobilis ... M. Neuraei cura prodeunt* (Lyon: Barbier, 1649). The letter is printed in Gassendi's *Opera Omnia* (vol. III, pp. 478–520) as *Epistola tertia de motu impresso a motore translato*.

¹¹ Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, III, 536: 'cuspidulam ita constituere, ut a linea fili descisceret nihil'.

¹² D. Lipstorp, *Specimina philosophiae cartesianae* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1653), pp. 206–207.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Samuel Maresius, [Groningen]
[May–June 1643]

Source

S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata à D. G. Voetio* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 402–403.

In his *Ultima patientia* Maresius summarises part of his correspondence with Descartes, referring to three letters from Descartes—two of which are dated—and his own replies in between (there is no answer to Descartes' last letter). Maresius' references to these five letters in *Ultima patientia* are the sole evidence of their existence. AT pays attention to the passage in which these references occur in an annexe to the *Lettre apologétique* (AT VIII B, 319–324). The passage is given here in extenso, in order not to obscure the context of the references. The first letter mentioned in *Ultima patientia* is Descartes' letter accompanying a copy of the *Epistola ad Voetium*, which dates it late May/early June 1643 (Letter 23). The date of Maresius' reply is not mentioned, but it was undoubtedly written shortly afterwards, and has therefore been labelled June (Letter 31). According to Maresius, Descartes' second letter is from 7 November 1643 (Letter 52); Maresius' answer thus dates from November/December 1643 (Letter 63). Finally, Descartes' third letter referred to dates from 12 December 1643 (Letter 65).

Summary

Being accused of prejudice, Maresius summarises his correspondence with Descartes in *Ultima patientia*, alleging that he had limited contacts with him, and that the lawsuit against Schoock was entirely Descartes' initiative. The following five letters are referred to:

Letter 23: Descartes to Maresius, [May/June 1643]. Descartes sends a copy of the *Epistola ad Voetium*, and asks Maresius to present copies to the curators of the university of Groningen on his behalf.

Letter 31: Maresius to Descartes, [June 1643]. Maresius thanks Descartes for the copy of his work against Voetius, but refuses to present other copies to the curators in his name, telling that he left this to the bookseller to whom additional copies were sent.

Letter 52: Descartes to Maresius, 7 November 1643. Descartes intends to take Schoock to court unless he declares that Voetius is the genius behind the *Admiranda methodus*. He asks Maresius to advise him in these matters.

Letter 63: Maresius to Descartes, [November/December 1643]. Maresius advises against any legal steps against Schoock: Descartes should avenge himself on his Utrecht adversaries in another way. But if he persists in his plans, Maresius does not want to be involved.

Letter 65: Descartes to Maresius, 12 December 1643. Descartes thanks Maresius for his frankness, and has decided not to pursue the matter in Groningen; he will indeed take a different approach. He still regards Maresius as a friend, even if their correspondence is brought to a close.

Quod verò dicor Cl. D. Magistrum Schoockium seduxisse ut D. Voetij Mysteria Eleusina retereret in iudicio, tantundem habet veritatis: cum certum sit, et ex Actis publicis liqueat, C. D. Schoockium, proprio motu et ex conscientiae officio, in jus citatum à Nob. Cartesio, ista omnia declarasse.¹ Quam verò ab hac Camarina movenda procul fuerim, inde liquet,

¹ In April 1645, Schoock renounced the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* before an official committee of inquiry at Groningen University, instituted at Descartes' request (cf. AT IV, 177–180).

23. Descartes to Maresius, May–June 1643

5 primò quod cum ipse D. Cartesius me rogasset ut quaedam exemplaria Epistolae suae contra
D. Voetium, oppositae Admirandae Methodo Philosophiae Cartesianae, vellem suo nomine
offerre Nobiliss. p.t. Academiae nostrae Curatoribus, id nolui facere, ne turbas quaerere
viderer, sed illi Bibliopolae ad quem missa fuerant peragendum reliqui.² Secundò quod cum
10 7 Nov. 1643 Nob. Cartesius ad me scripsisset, sibi in animo esse C. D. Schoockium in jus tra-
here et seriò contra illum agere, nisi ultro declararet se Voetio instigatore et authore scrip-
sisse, vellem itaque vel hoc posterius tentare cujus jam specimina aliunde haberet, vel saltem
se submonere quâ viâ rem hîc aggredi deberet, ego ipsum dehortatus sum ab omni litigio.
Indicavi non videri mihi verosimile, C. D. Schoockium qui dicebatur seipsum ultrò onerasse
15 ut ali- | um sublevaret, aliquid contra facturum; consului ut vel contemptu generoso se de Ul-
trajectinis ulcisceretur, vel proprijs armis, scripto nempe aliquo, se tueretur; rogavi ut, si quid
moliri decrevisset, pateretur me esse planè extra partes, et alium quaereret cujus opera utere-
tur;³ esse enim D. Schoockium caput Academiae nostrae (erat tunc Rector Magnificus⁴), et
pacem inter collegas vigere, quam turbatam nollem; me quidem mihi gratulari, quod causam
20 eam quam defenderam, idoneam judicasset suae promovendae, sed diversa cum fuerint con-
silia nostra, absque invidia non futurum, si suorum particeps fierem. Quibus sic acquievit
Nobilissimus ille Vir, litteris scriptis 12 Dec. 1643, laudato etiam meo candore, ut declararet
noluisse rem ita transactam uti primò petierat; alia se nunc consequutum majoris momenti,
aliâ quoque viâ instituturum; mansurum tamen mihi amicum, etsi abrupto inter nos omni
litterarum commercio; prout revera ab illo tempore, nec ego ad eum scripsi, nec is ad me; et
25 quae agitare consilia, nescivi.⁵

Schoock pointed to Voetius and his accomplices as being responsible for the offensive character of the work. A copy of the official report was sent to Descartes (Roth, 299–308/AT IV, 792–801). Voetius in turn accused Schoock of perjury and had him arrested in the summer of 1645. The affair led to a violent exchange of pamphlets between Paulus Voet and Maresius, who as rector of Groningen University had presided over the proceedings, but according to Voet was also a party in the conflict. Descartes discusses these facts at length in his *Lettre apologétique*. For a presentation of the affair, see Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 30–33.

² For another reference to this letter in *Ultima patientia*, see Letter 31, p. 100.

³ Descartes eventually found in the Groningen professor of Greek, Tobias Andreae (1604–1676), a supporter for his case against Schoock. See his letters to Andreae from 1644 and 1645, AT IV, 123, 155, 195–199, 214–215, and 245–247.

⁴ Schoock was rector from August 1643 till August 1644. He was succeeded by Maresius.

⁵ The end of the correspondence is confirmed by Descartes (*Lettre apologétique*, AT VIIIB, 247).

Constantijn Huygens, Voorn, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]

6 June 1643

Sources

1. ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 171r–172v. Single sheet folded into two (305x205 mm). Text on fos. 171r–172r. No address; no seals. The addressee's name in minute writing at the left bottom corner of fo. 171r ('M. Descartes').
2. MS copy. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA 49-2, p. 137. (K)

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 202–205.

Other editions: AT III, 676–679 (MS copy); AT III, 818–821 (Roth); AM V, 301–303; CM XII, 210–211 (partly); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 386–387 (MS copy).

Summary

In reply to Descartes' letters from 22 and 24 May (Letters 20 and 21). Huygens approves Descartes' defence (the *Epistola ad Voetium*) against Voetius and Schoock. Huygens thanks Descartes for his explanation of magnetism, and ordered by Mersenne supplies further details on the Calignon experiment.

Monsieur,

171r

Si ce n'estoit la consideration des importunitez qu'on vous donne à mon subject, je seroy ravi de l'erreur qui porte le P. Mersenne à vous charger, comme soldat, de l'adresse de mes paquets. Mais il est temps que nous l'en detrompions. Pour
 5 moy, je sçay trop bien ce que valent les moindres momens de vostre loisir, pour souffrir que ceux qui ne les considerent pas si bien en abusent, mesmes à mon avantage. Ce mesme respect, Monsieur, m'a faict veoir aveq un peu d'indignation
 10 que vous ayez prins la peine de copier mes povres defenses contre M. de Saulmaise.¹ Et d'ailleurs j'avouë en avoir tiré tant de vanité à par moy, que malgré que vous en puissiez avoir, j'ay resolu de me garder ceste copie aveq le mesme
 15 soin et reverence que je defere à tout petit papier de vostre main. J'espere que vous aurez assez de complaisance pour aggreer l'eschange de ceste Copie à une autre, qui ne sera pas moins exacte; si encor l'envie vous demeure de laisser place à ceste mauvaise piece dans vostre Cabinet.

AT III, 819

J'ay veu tout du long des chemins que nous avons fait jusques icy, la bonne justice que vous rendez à Voetius et à son ayde de Camp.² Ainsi fault il bien appeller vostre escrit; car ils ont doublement merité le fouët que vous leur donnez. | Quelqu'un des plus sensez d'entre Messieurs les Estats d'Utrecht,³ qui est icy,
 20 m'en jugea de mesme hier, et que cest homme (ce sont ses paroles) commence à puïr en leur Ville; n'y ayant plus que les femmelettes et quelques autres imbecilles qui en fassent cas. Cependant je m'asseure qu'il remuera toute pierre

171v

20 puïr] püer *K* 20 autres *om. K*

¹ Cf. Letter 20, p. 71, ll. 15–17.

² The *Epistola ad Voetium*, Descartes' reply to Voetius and Schoock.

³ Not identified.

24. Huygens to Descartes, 6 June 1643

pour se revenger de ce que vous luy faictes souffrir d'une main si vigoureuse; qui, à tout prendre, ne s'est employé qu'aveq ce qu'il fault de ressentiment en une tres-juste defense contre la plus noire calomnie dont un Gentilh^e Chrestien
25 puisse estre entaché.

Vous disputez sagement contre l'impertinence des Predicat^{rs} descrians sans retenue les pechez du peuple ou du magistrat en chaire. Mais cela en alarmera beaucoup d'autres aveq Voetius contre vous. Un homme estourdi me fit un jour une plaisante comparaison, disant, que les Theologiens estoyent semblables aux
30 porceaux; qui, quand on en tire un par la queue, tous crient. Cela vous arrivera de la part de gens de mesme farine: mais les discrets vous sçauront gré, ou de les avoir confirmez en leur opinion, ou de les avoir obligez d'une leçon d'importance. Quoy qui advienne, Monsieur, soit icy la fin de ces ordures; et ne prodiguez plus vos bonnes heures à respondre aux mauvaiz en leur folie. Vous avez, comme
35 vous dites, employé tout ce qui est en vostre pouvoir pour tirer raison de leurs | accusations, et la posterité le sçaura. C'est la satisfaction pleniére que vous vous debuez. *Si pergunt latrare*, rejetez tout aveq douceur et modestie, et vous offrez à tout honest homme à l'esclaircir de ce qu'il ne peut avouër ou complaindre en vostre Philosophie.

40 Je vous rends graces tres-humbles de ce que vous avez prins la peine de me raissonner sur les mouvemens de l'Aymant, et ce qui en depend.⁴ Tout cela ne fait que m'agacer l'appetit davantage à veoir toute vostre Physique en corps: sans quoy nous flottons dans des incertitudes fascheuses, et en suite vous attribbons tous les jours des positions, qui ne sont rien moins que vostres, comme
45 vous l'avez desia trop esprouvé. Sur ce propos de l'Aymant et le mouvement du reflux qui nous y a porté, j'adjouste icy, par ordre du P. Mersenne, un extrait de sa lettre portant quelques nouvelles particularitéz du mouvement du filet perpendiculaire, dont l'experience est si aysé à faire à la longueur de 5 ou 6 pieds, au travers de quelque serbatane ou autre tuyau, aveq quelque piece de mauvais
50 verre en bas, pour exclurre tout mouvement exterieur, que je m'asseuré que vous y voudrez porter la main, pour philosopher dessus aveq plus d'assurance.⁵ Dont il me tardera extremement de veoir les *pronunciata*, comme tousiours de rencontrer les occasions de vous pouvoir tesmoigner combien veritablement je suis,

Monsieur,

55 Vostre tres-humble et tres-acquis
serv^r,

C. Huygens

Au fort de Voorn,⁶ le 6^e de Juin 1643

30 qui] que *K* 52 les *om.* *K* 52–58 tousiours ... 1643 *written lengthways in the margin* 54–58 Monsieur ... 1643] Voorn, 6 Juin 1643 *K*

4 Cf. Letter 21.

5 For the experiment of Calignon, see Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 27–33 with comment. Mersenne's letter referred to needs to be the letter Descartes had forwarded to Huygens on 24 May, although the allusion is somewhat obscure (cf. Letter 22, ll. 13–26).

6 The fortress De Voorn situated between the rivers Maas and Waal (near Heerewaarden) was built by Prince Maurits in 1590, and in 1673 destroyed by French troops. Huygens arrived at the fortress on June 3, where he stayed for three days.

Andreas Colvius, Dordrecht, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]

9 June 1643

Source

Autograph draft. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, PAP 2. One sheet, not folded, 320x203 mm. Text on fo. 1r. No address, signature or seal.

Editions

First published in: V. Cousin, *Fragments philosophiques* (3rd edn., Paris: Ladrangé, 1838), II, 149–151.

Other editions: AT III, 680–682; AM V, 304–307.

In the left upper corner of the sheet is a note, probably in Colvius' handwriting: 'D. Cartesio'. At the bottom left: '<M>anus ANDREAE COLVII'. This letter was probably sent together with Van Beverwijck's letter dated 10 June (Letter 26), since Colvius was the intermediary in Van Beverwijck's correspondence with Descartes, who replied to both letters on 5 July.

Summary

Descartes has sent Colvius a complimentary copy of his *Epistola ad Voetium* (Letter 15). Colvius now gives his opinion of the work: he is dismayed that two of his friends, and such great men at that, are accusing one another of atheism. He wishes that they would show each other the brotherly love demanded by the Bible. If Voetius were the fiend that Descartes describes, he could not be tolerated as a minister or as a professor. Writings like the *Epistola* harm the *res publica litterarum*.

Nobilissime Vir,

Accepi Apologeticum scriptum tuum,¹ legi illud, et dolui. Quid enim aliud potui in acerrimo certamine amicorum meorum? quorum unum semper propter eminentem cognitionem in Philosophicis, alterum propter Theologica aestimavi.
 5 Hactenus vos fuistis antistites Dei et naturae qui optima et facillima via nos ad summum ens, illiusque proprietates ducere debent genus humanum.² Quam vero horrendum, utrumque Atheismi crimine accusari, idque ab ijs qui atheismum maxime detestantur. Ille te atheum [*i.m.*: Oveni. versus. f. 64.³] speculativum

4 <+cognitionem> 4 <(in)>propter 4 <(Theologicis)>Theologica 5 <+Dei et naturae>

¹ The *Epistola ad Voetium*; cf. Letter 15.

² *Genus humanum* (l. 6) is in apposition to *nos*.

³ John Owen, *Epigrammata* III, epigram 16:

De Atheo.

Insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus, inquit.

Dixit; at hoc nullus credidit insipiens.

Insipiens negat esse Deum si nemo, quis ergo

Atheus est? Nullum qui cupit esse Deum.

Colvius used the Leiden Elzevier edition of 1628. He may have copied the entire epigram in the definitive letter. The epigram is quoted in Voetius' second disputation *De atheismo* (see the following note).

25. Colvius to Descartes, 9 June 1643

(*quales nullos revera esse ipse affirmat*)⁴ probare conatur sed sine ratione et charitate quae saltem non cogitat malum⁵ nec est suspicax. Tu illum conaris probare atheum practicum (horresco referens⁶), hominem futilem, perfidum, mendacissimum et diabolicum. Si talis, quomodo iam cathedram aut suggestum conscendere audebit? Quomodo magistratus eum amplius tolerare poterit? Quomodo ex ipsius ore populus et studiosa iuventus sacra haurire poterit? Ad quid haec scripta prosunt, nisi ut omnis eruditio omnibus risui exponatur, et doctos quam maxime insanire omnes revera judicent qui nihil sapiunt in propria causa? Vereor ne in respondendo leges charitatis D. Voetio praescriptas⁷ non observaveris. Non enim solum neminem primo laedere nec factis nec verbis, nec scriptis debemus: sed nec reddere malum pro malo⁸ ad explendam vindictam. Et quaecumque a malevolo animo procedunt plus auctorem quam alium laedere solent. Quae a voluntate procedunt ut vere ais revera nostra sunt.⁹

AT III, 681

Quanto praestaret utrumque certare pro gloria Dei, ostendendo nobis ejus potentiam, sapientiam et bonitatem ex libro naturae, et veritatem, iustitiam et misericordiam ex libro S. Scripturae.

Cur autem tantum vitia, infirmitates in oculos et mentem vestram incurrun: et virtutes egregiasque dotes non videtis, aut videre non vultis. Cur ille in te non videt subtile et vere mathematicum ingenium, in scribendo modestiam sine alicuius offensione, promissa maxima,¹⁰ quae elicere, aut saltem patienter nobiscum expectare debuit? Cur tu non laudas in eo diligentiam indefessam, multijugam cognitionem linguarum et rerum, vitae modestiam, quae infensissimi hostes eius in eo fatentur? Charitas coperit multitudinem peccatorum;¹¹ sine ea sumus aquilae et serpentes¹² in aliorum vitijis intuendis; et tamen sine charitate nihil sumus.¹³ Quaeso Vir summe, da mundo quae tamdiu promisisti, et omitte rixas

12 <c≠s>uggestum 14 <audebit≠poterit> 14 <+Ad> 17 non observaveris *conj. E*] observaveris 18 <+primo> 19 <reddre>reddere) 19 <quand≠quaecumque> 20–21 <+quae ... sunt> 25 <tanta>tantum) 27 <+et vere mathematicum> 29 <vides≠laudas> 30 <+multijugam cognitionem linguarum et rerum> 30 <quam>quae) 30 <+infensissimi> 31 <+in eo>

4 'Speculative nulli sunt Athei, qui certo persuasi sunt non esse Deum', G. Voetius, *De atheismo*, II, iv (Utrecht: Roman, 1639)/*Disputationes theologicae selectae*, vol. I, p. 144. According to Descartes, the disputations on atheism marked the beginning of Voetius' campaign against him (AT VIII B, 204–205). Although Voetius claims that there are no speculative atheists, he is convinced that there are practical and indirect atheists. The difference between the latter two is, that practical atheists disobey God's law, whereas indirect atheists hold ideas which imply atheism. See Th. Verbeek, 'From "learned ignorance" to scepticism: Descartes and Calvinist orthodoxy', in R.H. Popkin and A. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Scepticism and irreligion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 31–45.

5 1 Cor. 13:5. Descartes uses this text against Voetius in the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 129).

6 Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 204.

7 In the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 111–114), Descartes had used 1 Cor. 13 against Voetius, claiming that a lack of brotherly love was especially shameful in a minister.

8 1 Thess. 5:15: 'Videte ne quis malum pro malo alicui reddat'.

9 Cf. *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 184.

10 Colvius may mean the publication of *Le Monde*, the contents of which Descartes had described in part V of the *Discours de la méthode* (AT VI, 40–60), or the promise of mastery over Nature made in part VI (AT VI, 60–78).

11 1 Pt. 4:8: 'Caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum'.

12 Horace, *Serm.* I, 3, 25–27: cum tua tu videas oculis mala lippus inunctis, cur in amicorum vitijis tam cernis acutum quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius?

13 1 Cor. 13:2: '[Si] caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum'.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

35 illas tetricas, quae ingenia praeclarissima inficere solent, et sunt remorae bonae
mentis. Vides quam haec procedant ab animo vacuo ab omni malevolentia, ut AT III, 682
me arctiori affectu constringas. Vale.

Dordraci, 9. Juny 1643.

Johannes van Beverwijck, Dordrecht, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
10 June 1643

Source

J. van Beverwijck, *Epistolicae quaestiones, cum doctorum responsis. Accedit ejusdem, nec non Erasmi, Cardani, Melanchthonis, Medicinae Encomium* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1644), p. 118.

Editions

Cle I, 437; AT III, 682; AM V, 308.

This letter was in all probability sent through Colvius (see p. 84). Descartes' answer has been preserved (Letter 33). Descartes subsequently sent his correspondence with Plemp from 1638 to Van Beverwijck (cf. p. 105, n. 3), who published them in his *Epistolicae* preceded by his own correspondence with Descartes. Clerselier, using the *Epistolicae*, gives a French translation of all letters concerned without the dates (Cle I, 437–474; cf. AT V, 752).

Summary

The Dordrecht physician and author Johannes van Beverwijck (1594–1647) asks Descartes for (a Latin version of) his demonstration of the circulation of the blood for his *Epistolicae quaestiones*.

Renato Des Cartes,
viro natalibus et eruditione nobili,
Ioh. Beverovicus S. D.

Nobillissime, et eruditissime vir,

5 Immenso desiderio videre optem mechanicas demonstrationes, quibus audio te
plane stabilire Circulationem sanguinis, omnemque in ista doctrina omnibus
ansam dubitandi praecidere:¹ quas ut, commodo tuo, communicare mecum
digneris, vehementer abs te peto. Editurus Epistolicas Quaestiones cum mag-
norum virorum responsis,² inter illa et tuum de circulatione lectum iri voveo,
10 simulque ut diu, Vir integerrime, foeliciter apud nos vivas honorificus Bataviae
civis, ac disciplinarum instaurator. Vale.

Dordrecht, X. Iun. MDCXLIII.

¹ In part V of the *Discours de la méthode* (AT VI, 46–55), Descartes had explained his theory of blood circulation (in which he agreed with Harvey) and the movement of the heart (which he explained in an entirely different way). See R. French, 'Harvey in Holland: Circulation and the Calvinists', in R. French and A. Wear (eds.), *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1989), pp. 46–86; M. Grene, 'The Heart and Blood: Descartes, Plemp, and Harvey', in S. Voss (ed.), *Essays on the Philosophy and Science of René Descartes* (New York/Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1993), pp. 324–336.

² J. van Beverwijck, *Epistolicae quaestiones* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1644).

Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
10 June [1643]

Source

MS copy. Arnhem, Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Library Rosendael Castle, *Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes*, no. [19]. pp. 99–104.

Editions

First published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la Princesse Élisabeth, et la Reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites* (Paris/Amsterdam: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879), pp. 49–51.

Other editions: AT III, 683–685; AM V, 315–317.

Note in right upper corner margin: 'Celcey est la reponse à la 29^{mé} de M^r Descartes du I vol. Et M^r Descartes repond a celcey par la 30. du I vol. p. 115'.

Summary

In reply to Descartes' letter from 21 May (Letter 19). Puzzled by Descartes' answer, Elizabeth requests further elucidation on how we are to understand the capacity of the soul to move, and be moved by, the body.

Monsieur Descartes,

99

Vostre bonté ne paroît pas seulement en montrant et corrigeant les defauts de mon raisonnement, comme ie l'avois attendu, mais aussi que pour me rendre leur cognoissance moins facheuse, vous tachez de m'en consoler au preiudice
5 de vostre iugement par de fausses louanges, qui auroient esté necessaires pour m'encourager de travailler au remede, si ma nourriture en un lieu, où la fasson ordinaire de converser m'a accoutumé d'en entendre des personnes incapables d'en donner de veritables, ne m'avoit fait presumer ne pouvoir faillir en croiant le contraire de leur discours, et par là rendu la consideration de mes imperfections
10 si fami- | liere qu'elle ne me donne plus qu'autant d'emotion qu'il m'en faut pour le desir de m'en défaire. 100

Cela me fait confesser sans honte d'avoir trouvé en moy toutes les causes d'erreur que vous remarquez en vostre lettre, et de ne les pouvoir encore ban-
nir entierement, puisque la vie que ie suis contrainte de mener ne me laisse la
15 disposition d'assés de tems pour acquerir une habitude de meditation selon vos regles. Tantot les interets de ma maison que ie ne dois negliger, tantôt des entretiens et complaisances que ie ne peux eviter, m'abatent si fort ce foible esprit de facherie ou d'ennuy, qu'il se rend pour long tems apres inutile à tout | autre
20 chose; qui servira, comme i'espere, d'excuse à ma stupidité de ne pouvoir comprendre l'idée par laquelle nous devons iuger comment l'ame (non etenduë et immaterielle) peut mouvoir le corps, par celle que vous avez eu autrefois de la pesanteur;¹ ni pourquoy cette puissance, que vous luy avez alors, sous le nom

3 aussi que] aussi en ce que conj. AT 12 par. E

1 See Letter 19, p. 69, l. 71ff.

27. *Elizabeth to Descartes, 10 June 1643*

d'une qualité faussement attribuée, de porter le corps vers le centre de la terre, nous doit plustot persuader qu'un corps peut estre poussé par quelque chose
25 d'immatériel, que la demonstration d'une verité contraire (que vous promettez en vostre physique) nous confirmer dans l'opinion de son impossibilité. Principalement puis- | que cette idée (ne pouvant pretendre à la meme perfection et
102 realité objective que celle de Dieu) peut estre feinte par l'ignorance de ce qui veritablement meut ces corps vers le centre. Et puisque nulle cause materielle
30 ne se presentoit aux sens, on l'auroit attribué à son contraire l'immatériel, ce que neantmoins ie n'ay iamais pu concevoir que comme une negation de la matiere qui ne peut avoir aucune communication avec elle.

Et i'avouë qu'il me seroit plus facile de conceder la matiere et l'extension
à l'ame que la capacité de mouvoir un corps et d'en estre emeu, à un estre im-
35 materiel. Car si le premier se faisoit par information, il faudroit que les esprits qui font le mou- | vement fussent intelligens, ce que vous n'accordez à rien de
103 corporel; et encore qu'en vos Meditations Metaphysiques vous montrez la possibilité du second,² il est pourtant tres difficile à comprendre qu'une ame, comme vous l'avez décrite, apres avoir eu la faculté et l'habitude de bien raisonner, peut
40 perdre tout cela par quelques vapeurs, et que pouvant subsister sans le corps et n'ayant rien de commun avec luy, elle en soit tellement regie.

Mais depuis que vous avez entrepris de m'instruire, ie n'entretiens ces senti-
mens que comme des amis que ie ne crois point conserver, m'assurant que vous
m'expliquerez aussi bien la nature d'une substance immaterielle et la maniere
45 de ses acti- | ons et passions dans le corps, que toutes les autres choses que vous
104 avez voulu enseigner. Je vous prie aussi de croire que vous ne pouvez faire cette charité à personne qui soit plus sensible de l'obligation qu'elle vous en a que,

Monsieur Descartes,

Vostre tres affectionnée amie,

50 Elisabeth

Ce 10^{me} de juin.³

33 *par. E* 42 *par. E*

² AT VII, 78.

³ See the Calendar (1643/06/10) for an interesting account by Samuel Sorbière (1615–1670) of his meeting with Elizabeth on June 10.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Adolphus Vorstius, [Leiden]

19 June 1643

Source

MS copy. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293 B, fos. 95r–96v. Single sheet folded into two (325x210 mm). Text on fos. 95r–96r; traces of seal on fo. 96v.

Editions

First published in: AT III, 686–689.

Other edition: AM V, 309–314.

Summary

At Vorstius' request, Descartes expounds his opinion on bodily 'spirits'. Vorstius is thanked for standing up for Descartes' cause. Descartes returns a work on rabies with some comments on it.

Clarissimo Viro,
D. Adolpho Vorstio,¹ Medicinae Professori
dignissimo, R. Des Cartes
S. D.

95r

5 Iam praemonuerat Dominus Van Berghen² te aliquid literarum ad me missurum,
sed nihil de ipsarum argumento significaverat; idcirco hae quas nunc accipio, non
modò mihi sunt pergratae, sed etiam expectatae; ac quia ex illis intelligo te quam-
primùm scire velle quae sit mea opinio de Spiritibus in humano corpore contentis,
10 illam paucis hic exponam. Nosti me in Physica nihil aliud considerare quàm mag-
nitudines, figuras, situs et motus particularum ex quibus corpora constant; nam
quamvis omne corpus sit divisibile in infinitum, non tamen dubium est quin sint
quaedam eius partes in quas facilius dividi potest quam in alias. Quod optimè
norunt Medici qui dicere solent, quaedam corpora esse tenuiorum partium, alia
15 crassiorum etc.³ Nosti etiam me, ex eo quod nullum vacuum dari possit, et tamen
in omnibus corporibus terrestribus multi exigui meatus appareant, concludere
istos meatus materia quadam subtili repleti; ac nullam aliam ponere differen-
tiam inter materiam istam subtilem et corpora terrestria, quam quod constet parti-
20 culis multò minoribus, et quae sibi mutuò non adhaerentes celerrimè semper
moventur; unde fit ut transeundo per corporum terrestrium meatus, et in parti-
culas ex quibus corpora ista componuntur impingendo, saepe illas concutiant, vel

AT III, 687

8 <-(con<stitu>)tentis> <+contentis>

1 Adolphus *Vorstius (1597–1663), professor of medicine at Leiden University. He devoted a medical disputation to the subject of the letter, bodily spirits, on [24] October 1643, which however does not have any trace of Descartes' exposé here (*De spiritibus*, Leiden: Lopes de Haro, 1643).

2 Anthony Studler van *Zurck.

3 The common distinction in medicine between 'hard' and 'soft' parts, e.g. bones and bloodvessels as opposed to blood and spirits, goes back to Aristotle (*De partibus animalium*, II, 647b).

28. *Descartes to Vorstius, 19 June 1643*

etiam ab invicem separent, ac quasdam secum abripiant. Atque illae quae sic a materia subtili abripiuntur, componunt aerem, Spiritus, et flammam. Magna autem differentia est inter aerem et flammam, in eo quod particulae terrestres quae flammam componunt, multò celerius agantur quam illae quae aerem conflant; sed Spiritus sunt quid medium inter utrumque, maior enim in ipsis agitatio esse intelligitur | quam in aëre quieto et minor quàm in flamma. Et quoniam a motu tardo ad velociorem transitur per infinita media, omne corpus constans ex particulis terrestribus, materiae subtili innatantibus, et magis agitatibus quàm quae aerem componunt, sed minus quam quae flammam, Spiritus dici potest.

30 Quod autem sint multi tales Spiritus in humano corpore facile demonstratur. Nam primo in ventriculo fit ciborum solutio ope caloris, calor autem nihil aliud est quam agitatio particularum materiae maior solito, ut in Meteoris explicui,⁴ et Spiritus fiunt ex illis particulis corporum terrestrium quae omnium facillimè solvuntur; ac proinde necesse est multos Spiritus ex cibis in ventriculo contentis, simul cum chylo in venas transire, qui Spiritus dicuntur naturales; augenturque in hepate et in venis a calore, hoc est, ab agitatione quae ibi fit et cuius ope dum chylus in Sanguinem elaboratur plures eius particulae ab invicem separantur, atque ita plures in eo Spiritus generantur. Deinde ille sanguis in cor incidens a calore, qui ibi maior est quàm in venis, subito rarefit et intumescit, unde oritur cordis et arteriarum omnium pulsatio, atque haec rarefactio multas rursus Sanguinis particulas a se mutuo seiungit, et ita ipsas in Spiritus convertit, qui Spiritus dicuntur à Medicis vitales.

Denique sanguinis e corde egredientis per magnam arteriam particulae, quàm maximè agitatae, recta pergunt per arterias carotides versus medium cerebri, eiusque cavitates ingrediuntur, ubi a reliquo sanguine separatae Spiritus animales componunt. Nec aliam causam esse existimo cur ibi a reliquo sanguine separentur quam quod meatus per quos cerebrum ingrediuntur, sint tam angusti ut reliquo sanguini transitum praebere non possint.

Hi autem Spiritus animales a cavitatibus cerebri per nervos in omnes corporis musculos fluunt, ubi movendis membris inserviunt. Et tandem per insensibilem transpirationem ex corpore discedunt, non tantùm ii qui transierunt per nervos, sed alii etiam qui tantum versati sunt in arteriis aut venis. Quippe id omne quod per insensibilem transpirationem ex animalis corpore discedit, hoc ipso Spiritus formam habet.⁵ Atque idcirco admodum miror aliquem esse qui neget dari Spiritus in animalibus, nisi forsitan disputet de nomine, ac nolit particulas corporum terrestrium, a se mutuo seiunctas et celerrimè agitas, Spiritus vocari.

Haec sunt quae de illorum ortu et motu nunc occurrunt, unde eorum varietas et vires et usus facilè colliguntur. Nempe nulla fere est diversitas inter naturalem et vitalem, nec illi duo à Sanguine sunt seiuncti; solus animalis purus est, sed variae in eo sunt vires pro diversitate particularum ex quibus componi-

30 *par. E* 39 (quae) qui 43 *par. E* 49 *par. E* 58 *par. E*

⁴ AT VI, 236.

⁵ The quantitative significance of insensible perspiration was demonstrated by the professor of medicine at Padua Santorio Santorii (1561–1636) in his *De statica medicina* (Venice: Polus, 1614).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

tur. Hinc Spiritus ex vino elicti et nimia copia in cerebrum ascendentes causant ebrietatem, ex opio somnum, et sic de caeteris. Haec autem forte clariora fient Caput primum, secundum et quartum tractatus mei de Meteoris legenti;⁶ quae enim ibi scripsi de vaporibus, exhalationibus, et ventis facilè ad Spiritus referri possunt.

Ago maximas gratias quod meam causam contra obtrectatores peramicè defenderis, quod mihi iam ante ab aliis fuerat nunciatum.⁷ Legi libellum quem remitto, nihilque in eo notavi nisi rabiem putari ab authore esse anginae speciem, quod non parvae esset utilitatis ad inveniendam eius curationem, si esset verum, sed mihi non fit verisimile, quia interdum nonnulli rabie vexati mentis compotes fuerunt, atque hi facile significare potuissent se anginâ laborare, sicque id iam vulgò esset notum.⁸ Rogo ut me tibi addictissimum amare pergas. Vale.

19 Iunii 1643.

62 vino corr. AT] vivo 62 (minuta))nimia) 67 par. E

⁶ AT VI, 231–264.

⁷ Lacking further evidence, the interpretation of the sentence remains difficult, but a connection to Descartes' recently published *Epistola ad Voetium* seems likely. Van Zurck, mentioned in l. 5, is without doubt one of those who informed Descartes of Vorstius' defence.

⁸ Probably a reference to Giuseppe degli Aromatari's (1587–1660) *Disputatio de rabie contagiosa cui praeposita est Epistola de generatione plantarum ex seminibus* (Venice: Sarcina, 1625; repr. Frankfurt: Beyer, 1626), in which work the author localises rabies in the throat, defending the thesis that the disease is a form of angina (cf. J. Théodoridès, *Histoire de la rage* (Paris: Masson, 1986), pp. 81–82, 90–91). Aromatari is remembered today for his hypothesis of the preformation of the germ, as expounded in his *Epistola* (cf. *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vol. 1, pp. 293–294).

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, at the army
26 June 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 173r–174v. Single sheet folded into two (350x220 mm). Text on fo. 173. No address, no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 205–208.

Other editions: AT III, 821–824 ; AM V, 318–321.

The right-hand edge of fo. 173r is very frayed with the result that some letters at the end of a line are illegible. Roth's conjectures are given between angle brackets.

Summary

Descartes informs Huygens of the publication by the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, issued after receiving the *Epistola ad Voetium*. Although stupefied and puzzled by the unusual step of publicly summoning him to Utrecht, Descartes interprets the placard positively: the *Vroedschap* appears to be moving towards the expulsion of Voetius. He asks Huygens for advice on how to reply, suggesting that Huygens may inform the Stadholder.

Monsieur,

173r

Vous me mandiez dernièrement que i'avois rendu bonne iustice à Voetius,¹ mais vous verrez icy par la copie² d'un imprimé que M^{rs} d'Utrecht ont fait afficher ces iours en leur ville quelle ils me la ren<dent>.³ Si i'avois commis quelque grand crime, et que ie fusse un fugitif et un vagabond, ils n'auroient sceu proceder contre moy d'une façon plus extraordinaire; car feignant ignorer le lieu de ma demeure ils m'aiournent à comparoistre devant eux pour verifïer ce que i'ay escrit contre un ministre de leur ville, en laquelle ils ont fait publier cet aiournement au son de la cloche, et afficher aux carrefours. En quoy ie remarque premiere-ment qu'ils n'ont pu ignorer ma demeure, sinon volontairement, à cause que mon livre a esté présenté en mon nom aux deux Bourgmaistres par des personnes de condition de qui ils l'eussent pû apprendre s'ils eussent voulu.⁴ Puis ie remarque aussy qu'ils ne dis<ent> point m'aiourner à la requeste de Voetius, mais que c'est

AT III, 822

4 quelle *corr. Roth*] qu'elle

1 Letter 24, p. 82, ll. 14–16.

2 The copy sent to Huygens, in Descartes' hand, is still preserved (BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 244; cf. Roth, 298).

3 Upon receiving the *Epistola ad Voetium* (see n. 4) the Utrecht *Vroedschap* left it to a special committee to advise them in this matter. The committee asked Descartes, by way of a placard published on 13/23 June, to come to Utrecht within three weeks to substantiate his accusations. For a full presentation of the reception of the *Epistola ad Voetium* in Utrecht, see Appendix 1. The text of the placard is found in the Calendar (1643/06/23).

4 According to Baillet, Gijsbert van der *Hoolck and Peter van *Leeuwen offered copies to the Burgomasters (Frederik *Ruysch and Johan van *Weede) on behalf of Descartes (Baillet, II, 190). Cf. *Lettre Apologétique*, AT VIII B, 214–215.

de leur propre mouvement, de façon qu'ils se déclarent mes parties ou mes ad-
15 versaires, et par consequent ne doivent pas estre mes iuges. Ce qui me donne, ce
me semble, occasion de me pouvoir adresser à M^{rs} les Estats generaux pour me
plaindre de cete procedure extrordinaire, et ensemble du livre de Schoock im-
primé à Utrecht par le soin de Voetius où ie suis accusé d'enseigner l'Atheisme,
20 et aussy du iugement publié au nom de l'Academie d'Utrecht lorsque Voetius
en estoit Recteur, où mes opinions furent condamnées comme nuisibles à la reli-
gion, sans que toutefois on en ait pu donner aucune preuve.⁵ Si ie m'adressois à
M^{rs} les Estats de cete province ce ne pourroit estre que pour me defendre, à cause
qu'ils n'ont point de iurisdiction sur mes parties, et ainsy ie ne pourrois avoir au-
cune raison des iniures receues. En examinant le procedé de M^{rs} d'Utrecht, il me
25 semble bien qu'ils tiennent le vray chemin pour se defaire de Voetius: car ils ont
porté l'affaire à un point où il faut necessairement que Voetius ou moy soyons
condamnez, et sçachant bien que ie n'ay rien escrit qui ne soit tres vray, et mesme
qui ne soit desia sceu et approuvé de tous les honnestes gens de leur ville, ie ne
croy pas qu'ils osassent me condamner, encore mesme | que ie serois si negligent
30 que de manquer à me defendre; car toute l'affaire ne consistant qu'en des escrits
imprimez, ils ne seront pas seuls qui en iugeront. Mais ils eussent bien pû se
passer de faire afficher et publier mon nom dans leur ville comme si i'estois fort
criminel, de quoy Voetius se vante sans doute maintenant et l'escrit en France.⁶
Cela m'apprend que ie ne doy en aucune façon me metre en leur pouvoir, crainte
35 qu'ils ne voulussent satisfaire à la devotion de leur peuple à mes depens.

Au reste, Monsieur, vous sçavez combien vous avez esté autrefois impor-
tuné par moy pour ma brouillerie avec Stampion,⁷ et la patience avec laquelle
vous l'avez souffert m'a rendu assez impudent pour vous oser dire que vous le
serez encore plus à cete fois, si ce n'est qu'il vous plaise y metre ordre de bonne
40 heure, en me donnant tel conseil et secours que l'affaire se termine comme elle
doit et promptement. Mon dessein est de ne rien commencer et mesme de ne
point partir d'icy de 7 ou 8 iours, apres lesquels ie me propose d'aller voir à la
Haye chez M^r de Wilhelm s'il n'aura point de vos nouvelles pour moy.⁸ Si ie suis
si hureux que d'en trouver, ie me regleray entierement suivant vos ordres; et si i'y
45 trouve aussy quelques letres de faveur pour ceux à qui vous iugerez à propos que
ie m'adresse, ie vous en auray tres grande obligation. Ie n'oserois vous suplier
d'en vouloir parler à son Altesse, car le desir que i'ay tousiours eu de luy ren-
dre service n'ayant iamais esté suivi d'aucun effect, ie sçay bien ne point meriter

36 par. E

5 As a reaction to Regius' *Responsio* (see p. 3, n. 1), the Senate of Utrecht University published an official condemnation of Cartesian philosophy. For the text of the *Judicium Senatus Academici Inclytiae Academiae Ultrajectinae de Libello ... titulo Responsionis*, see AT III, 551–553; *Querelle*, 121–122.

6 In April 1642 Voetius had sent a copy of the *Judicium* (cf. n. 5) to Mersenne (cf. E.J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 73), and Descartes now seems to anticipate a similar action. There is no evidence that Voetius indeed notified Mersenne.

7 Reference to the so-called Stampioen affair (1638–1640), when Descartes challenged the mathematical competence of Johan *Stampioen de Jonge (1610–1653). For an outline of the affair, see the biographical record of Stampioen.

8 See Descartes' letters to De Wilhem and Huygens from 10 July (Letters 36 and 37).

29. Descartes to Huygens, 26 June 1643

50 que sa faveur s'employe pour moy. Mais d'autant que ma cause est aucunement
iointe à celle de M^r de Brederode,⁹ laquelle auroit esté mal defendue par moy si
mon livre estoit déclaré menteur, vous iugerez peut estre à propos de l'en avertir,
et sans qu'il use de son pouvoir il me peut assez maintenir *nutu quo coelum tem-*
*pestatesque serenat.*¹⁰ S'il est besoin d'attendre *molles aditus* pour ce suiet, quoy
55 que ie n'escrive point à M^r de Pollot ie m'assure tant sur son amitié que ie ne
doute pas qu'il ne m'oblige en cela de tout son pouvoir.

60 Le n'ay point encore appris qu'aucun ministre ait blasmé ce que i'ay escrit
contre Voetius, et au contraire on m'a assuré que ceux d'Utrecht en sont bien
aises. Le n'ay encore sceu voir l'experience du poids pendu à un filet qui se meut
de 6 en 6 heures.¹¹ Je n'ay sceu aussy m'assurer de celle de l'aiguille aimantée qui
ne décline point, mais il me semble avoir vû que ce n'est qu'une fausse opinion
du Iesuite qui l'a imaginée sans en avoir fait espreuve.¹² I'attendray à vous faire
souvenir de la copie de vostre escrit touchant M^r de Saumaise iusques à ce que
vous soyez de retour, mais ie serois marry que cete piece manquast à ma biblio-
65 theque, et ie tiens à honneur qu'il vous plaise garder celle que i'ay escrite en la
vostre.¹³ Je suis tousiours vostre redevable, et

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

70 du Hoeff, le 26 Iuin 1643

56 *par. E*

9 Governor of 's-Hertogenbosch and a member of the Brotherhood of the Holy Virgin (cf. Letter 1, p. 6, n. 21).

10 Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*. I, 255.

11 Cf. Letter 24, p. 83, ll. 45–51. For the experiment of Calignon, see Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 27–33, with comment.

12 For the experiment of Grandamy, see Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 13–26, with comment.

13 Cf. Letter 24, p. 82, ll. 7–14.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague]

28 June 1643

Sources

1. MS copy. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293B, fos. 87r–88v. Single sheet folded into two (310x205 mm). Text on fos. 87r–88r. On fo. 88v the note: ‘Lettre 2^e, sur le mesme sujet’ (the copy is the second in a pair of copies in the same unidentified hand, the first one being a copy of Letter 19 (BPL 293B, fos. 85r–86v), with on fo. 86v the note: ‘L(ett)r(e) 1^{re}. L’opinion de Mons. Descartes touchant l’union de l’ame avec le c(orps et com)ment elle a la force de mouvoir’). (B1)
2. MS copy. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293B, fos. 89r–90v. (B2)
3. MS copy. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Per Q 5, fos. 86r–90v. (P)
4. Cle I, 115–120

Editions

AT, III, 690–695; AM, V, 322–325; P. Borel, *Vitae Renati Cartesii ... compendium* (Paris: Billaine and Dupuis, 1656), pp. 55–59.

The letter is printed in Cle without signature or date. Both elements are found in three manuscript copies which are being kept at the university library in Leiden. Contrary to AT priority is given to the copies in this edition. The completeness of the copies indicates that they ultimately derive from the actual letter sent. The source text is B1; B2 and P are in comparison inferior transcripts, whose irrelevant copying mistakes are not mentioned in the apparatus. Borel is mentioned where he deviates from Cle, that is in the signature.

Summary

In reply to Letter 27. Descartes attempts to clarify the difficulties raised by Elizabeth on the interaction between and the union of the soul and the body. The news that he is being summoned before the magistrates of Utrecht prevents him from writing at greater length.

Madame,

87r

J’ai très grande obligation à Votre Altesse de ce que, après avoir éprouvé que je me suis mal expliqué en mes précédentes,¹ touchant la question qu’il lui a plu me proposer, elle daigne avoir encore la patience de m’entendre sur le même
 5 sujet, et me donner occasion de remarquer les choses que j’avois omises. Dont les principales me semblent être, qu’après avoir distingué trois genres d’idées ou notions primitives qui se connoissent chacune d’une façon particulière et non par la comparaison l’une de l’autre, à savoir la notion que nous avons de l’âme, celle
 10 du corps, et celle de l’union qui est entre l’âme et le corps, je devois expliquer la différence qui est entre ces trois sortes de notions, et entre les opérations de l’âme par lesquelles nous les avons, et dire les moyens de nous rendre chacune d’elles familière et facile; puis ensuite, ayant dit pourquoi je m’étois servi de la

AT III, 691

4 avoir encore] encore avoir Cle 7 notions] de notions Cle 8 comparaison l’une de l’autre] comparaison de l’une à l’autre Cle 10 notions] idées B2

¹ Letter 19.

30. Descartes to Elizabeth, 28 June 1643

comparaison de la pesanteur, faire voir que, bien qu'on veuille concevoir l'âme
comme matérielle (ce qui est proprement concevoir son union avec le corps), on
15 ne laisse pas de connaître, par après, qu'elle en est séparable. Ce qui est, je crois,
toute la matière que Votre Altesse m'a ici prescrite.

Premièrement, donc, je remarque une grande différence entre ces trois
sortes de notions, en ce que l'âme ne se conçoit que par l'entendement pur; le
corps, c'est-à-dire l'extension, les figures et les mouvements, se peuvent aussi
20 connaître par l'entendement seul, mais beaucoup mieux par l'entendement aidé
de l'imagination; et enfin, les choses qui appartiennent à l'union de l'âme et du
corps, ne se connoissent qu'obscurément par l'entendement seul, ni même par
l'entendement aidé de l'imagination; mais elles se connoissent très clairement
par les sens. D'où vient que ceux qui ne philosophent jamais, et qui ne se servent
25 que de leurs sens, ne doutent point que l'âme ne meuve le corps, et que le corps
n'agisse sur l'âme; mais ils considèrent l'un et l'autre comme une seule chose,
c'est-à-dire, ils conçoivent leur union; car concevoir l'union qui est entre deux
choses, c'est les concevoir comme une seule. Or les pensées métaphysiques, qui
exercent l'entendement pur, servent à nous rendre la notion de l'âme familière;
30 et l'étude des mathématiques, qui exerce principalement l'imagination en la con-
sidération des figures et des mouvements, nous accoutume à former des notions
du corps bien distinctes; et enfin, c'est en usant seulement de la vie et des con-
versations ordinaires, et en s'abstenant de méditer et d'étudier aux choses qui
exercent l'imagination, qu'on apprend à concevoir l'union de l'âme et du corps.

J'ai quasi peur que Votre Altesse ne pense que je ne parle pas ici sérieuse-
ment; mais cela seroit contraire au respect que je lui dois, et que je ne manquerai
jamais de lui rendre. Et je puis dire, avec vérité, que la principale règle que j'ai
toujours observée en mes études, et celle que je crois m'avoir le plus servi pour
acquérir quelque connoissance, a été que je n'ai jamais employé que fort peu
40 d'heures, par jour, aux pensées qui occupent l'imagination, et fort peu d'heures,
par an, à celles qui occupent l'entendement seul, et que j'ai donné tout le reste
de mon temps au relâche des sens et au repos de l'esprit; même je compte, en-
tre les exercices de l'imagination, toutes les conversations sérieuses, et tout ce à
quoi il faut avoir de l'attention. C'est ce qui m'a fait | retirer aux champs; car en-
45 core que, dans la vie la plus occupée des villes, je pourrois avoir autant d'heures
à moi, que j'en emploie maintenant à l'étude, je ne pourrois pas toutefois les
y employer si utilement, lorsque mon esprit seroit lassé par l'attention que re-
quiert le tracas de la vie.² Ce que je prends la liberté d'écrire ici à Votre Altesse,
pour lui témoigner que j'admire véritablement que, parmi les affaires et les soins
50 qui ne manquent jamais aux personnes qui sont ensemble de grand esprit et de
grande naissance, elle ait pu vaquer aux méditations qui sont requises pour bien
connaître la distinction qui est entre l'âme et le corps.

15 je crois *B1,B2*] comme je crois *P,Cle* 17 une grande différence *Cle*] grande différence 18–
19 le corps] et le corps *P* 21 de *B1,Cle*] par *B2,P* 21 de l'âme] et de l'âme *P* 24 qui *om. B1,P*
25 leurs *B2,Cle*] leur *B1,P* 28 c'est *B2,Cle*] est *B1,P* 28 Or] Et *Cle* 43 conversations sérieuses]
sérieuses occupations *P* 45 vie] ville *Cle* 45 des villes] du monde *Cle* 46 à l'étude] aux études
P 49 soins] devis *P* 51 bien] faire *B2*

2 For an opposite evaluation of city life in comparison to life on the countryside, see Descartes' letter to Balzac, [5 May 1631], AT I, 202–204.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

55 Mais j'ai jugé que c'estoyent ces méditations, plutôt que les pensées qui re-
quièrent moins d'attention, qui lui ont fait trouver de l'obscurité en la notion que
nous avons de leur union; ne me semblant pas que l'esprit humain soit capable
de concevoir bien distinctement, et en même temps, la distinction entre l'âme et
le corps, et leur union; à cause qu'il faut, pour cela, les concevoir comme deux, ce
qui se contrarie. Et pour ce sujet, supposant que Votre Altesse avoit encore les
60 raisons qui prouvent la distinction de l'âme et du corps fort présentes à son es-
prit, et ne voulant point la supplier de s'en défaire, pour se représenter la notion
de l'union que chacun éprouve toujours en soi-même sans philosopher; à savoir
qu'il est une seule personne, qui a ensemble un corps et une pensée, lesquels sont
de telle nature que cette pensée peut mouvoir le corps, et sentir les accidents
65 et des autres qualités que nous imaginons communément être unies à quelques
corps,³ ainsi que la pensée est unie au nôtre; et je ne me suis pas soucié que cette
comparaison clochât en cela que ces qualités ne sont pas réelles, ainsi qu'on les
imagine, à cause que j'ai cru que Votre Altesse étoit déjà entièrement persuadée
que l'âme est une substance distincte du corps.

70 Mais, puis que Votre Altesse remarque qu'il est plus facile d'attribuer de la
matière et de l'extension à l'âme, que de lui attribuer la capacité de mouvoir un
corps et d'en être mue, sans avoir de matière, je la supplie de vouloir librement
attribuer cette matière et cette extension à l'âme; car cela n'est autre chose que la
concevoir unie au corps. Et après avoir bien conçu cela, et l'avoir éprouvé en soi-
75 même, il lui sera aisé de considérer que la matière qu'elle aura attribuée à cette
pensée, n'est pas la pensée même, et que l'extension de cette matière est d'autre
nature que l'extension de cette pensée, en ce que la première est déterminée
à certain lieu, duquel elle exclut toute autre extension de corps, ce que ne fait
pas la deuxième. Et ainsi Votre Altesse ne lairra pas de revenir aisément à la
80 connaissance de la distinction de l'âme et du corps, nonobstant qu'elle aye conçu
leur union.

Enfin, comme je crois qu'il est très nécessaire d'avoir bien compris, une fois
en sa vie, les principes de la métaphysique, à cause que ce sont eux qui nous don-
nent la connaissance de Dieu et de notre âme, je crois aussi qu'il seroit très nui-
85 sible d'occuper | souvent son entendement à les méditer, à cause qu'il ne pourroit
si bien vaquer aux fonctions de l'imagination et des sens; mais que le meilleur est
de se contenter de retenir en sa mémoire et en sa créance les conclusions qu'on
en a une fois tirées, puis employer le reste du temps qu'on a pour l'étude, aux
pensées où l'entendement agit avec l'imagination et les sens.

90 L'extrême dévotion que j'ai au service de Votre Altesse, me fait espérer que
ma franchise ne lui sera pas désagréable, et elle m'auroit engagé ici en un plus
long discours, où j'eusse tâché d'effacer éclaircir à cette fois toutes les difficultés

53 c'estoyent *B1,P*] c'étoit *B2,Cle* 56 entre] d'entre *Cle* 58–64 supposant ... arrivent *between*
parentheses Cle 64 luy *B2*] leur *B1,Cle* y *P* 64 cy devant servi *B2,P*] si devant servi *B1* servi
ci-devant *Cle* 70 puis *om. B1,P* 78 à certain lieu] à un certain lieu *P* 78 de corps] du corps *P*
79 lairra *B1,P*] laissera *B2,Cle* 80 aye *B1,P*] ait *B2,Cle* 89 les sens *P,Cle*] le sens *B1,B2* 90 au]
pour le *B2* 92 effacer] éclaircir *Cle*

3 Letter 19, p. 69, l. 71ff.

30. *Descartes to Elizabeth, 28 June 1643*

de la question proposée; mais une fâcheuse nouvelle que je viens d'apprendre
d'Utrecht, où le Magistrat me cite, pour vérifier ce que j'ai écrit d'un de leurs
95 ministres,⁴ (combien que ce soit un homme qui m'a calomnié très indignement,
et que ce que j'ai écrit de lui, pour ma juste défense, ne soit que trop notoire à
tout le monde), me contraint de finir ici, pour aller consulter les moyens de me
tirer, le plus tôt que je pourrai, de ces chicaneries. Je suis,

Mad^e,

100

De V.A.

Le tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur,

Des Cartes

Du Hoef en Egmond, le 28 Juin 1643.

94 leurs] leur *BI* 95–97 (combien ... monde) *no parentheses Cle* 99–104 Mad^e ... 1643 *BI,P]*
Madame, De vostre Altesse, Le tres humble et tres-obeissant, serviteur, Des Cartes, D'Egmont op de
Hoef, le 28 Iuin 1643 *B2 om. Cle* Serenissima Princeps, Excellentiae Tuæ, Humillimus et obsequen-
tissimus servus, Descartes *Bor*

4 Cf. p. 93, n. 3.

Samuel Maresius, [Groningen], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
[June 1643]

Source

S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata à D. G. Voetio* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 399–400 (A), 402 (B).

Editions

AT VIII B, 320 (A), 321 (B); Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, 508 (A).

The existence of the letter is shown by two references in Maresius' *Ultima patientia*. The first reference is found in an extract of a letter by Maresius to André Rivet, dated 22 July 1643. The second reference is part of Maresius' summary of his correspondence with Descartes, for which see Letter 23.

Summary

In reply to Letter 23. Maresius thanks Descartes for the copy of his work against Voetius, but refuses to present other copies to the curators in his name, telling that he left this to the bookseller to whom additional copies were sent.

[A]

Deum enim omnium testem et iudicem testor, me illius scriptionis¹ consilium D. Descartes, homini antequam illud cepisset mihi solum de nomine noto, nec directè | nec indirectè sug- 400
gessisse; nullamque materiam vel mediatè vel immediatè ad illam ipsi contulisse, aut eam mihi
visam antequam excuderetur.² Et qui potuerim ego Acta Synodica nupera illi communicasse,
5 ut ea traheret in rem suam, cum nec mihi ipsa ea visa sint nisi diu postquam huc veni? unde
nonnisi semel ad eum scripsi, gratias acturus pro libri sui exemplari ad me transmissio; et tum
sane primum mirari subijt, quod etiam illum non latuissent quae in Synodo transacta fuerant;
adeo (ex conscientia loquor) me inscio haec illi innotuerunt et ab eo promulgata sunt.

[B]

See Letter 23.

¹ *Sc. Epistola ad Voetium.*

² Maresius replies to a letter by Rivet, dated 10 July 1643, in which Rivet mentions the general view that Maresius had supplied Descartes with extracts from the acts of the Walloon Synod (cf. Letter 1, p. 6, n. 20).

Elizabeth, [The Hague], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
1 July [1643]

Source

MS copy. Arnhem, Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Library Rosendael Castle, *Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes*, no. 16, pp. 89–92.

Editions

First published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la Princesse Élisabeth, et la Reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites* (Paris/Amsterdam: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879), pp. 52–53
AT IV, 1–3; AM VI, 1–2.

Summary

In reply to Letter 30. Descartes' letter still has not adequately answered Elizabeth's question how the immaterial mind can act upon the body. She asks the philosopher for further elucidation.

Monsieur,

89

L'aprehende que vous ne receviez autant d'incommodité par mon estime de vos instructions et le desir de m'en prevaloir, que par l'ingratitude de ceux qui s'en privent eux mêmes et en voudroient priver le genre humain;¹ et ne vous aurois
5 envoyé un nouvel effet de mon ignorance avant que ie vous seusse déchargé de ceux de leur opiniâtreté, si le sieur van Bergen ne m'y eust obligé plustot par sa civilité de vouloir demeurer en cette ville iusqu'à ce que ie luy donnerois une
reponse à vostre lettre du 28^{me} de juin,² qui me fait voir clairement les trois sortes
de notions que nous avons, leurs obiets, et comment on s'en doit servir.

10 Le trouve aussi que les sens me mon- | trent que l'âme meut le corps, mais 90
ne m'enseignent point (non plus que l'Entendement et l'Imagination) la fasson
dont elle le fait, et pour cela ie pense qu'il y a des propriétés de l'ame qui nous
sont inconnuës, qui pourront peut estre renverser ce que vos Meditations Meta-
physiques m'ont persuadée, par de si bonnes raisons, de l'inextention de l'ame.
15 Et ce doute semble estre fondé sur la regle que vous y donnez en parlant du vray
et du faux, et que toute l'erreur nous vient de former des iugemens de ce que
nous ne percevons assés. Quoyque l'extension n'est necessaire à la pensée, n'y
repugnant point, elle pourra duire à quelque autre fonction | de l'ame qui ne 91
luy est moins essentielle. Du moins elle fait choir la contradiction des Schola-

9 leurs E] leur 10 par. E 11 enseignent corr. FdC] enseignant 14 persuadée corr. AT] persuadé
19 des E] de

1 Allusion to the publication by the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, ordering Descartes to appear before a special committee of inquiry to give evidence of his accusations against Voetius in the *Epistola ad Voetium*. See Letter 30, p. 99, and Letter 29.

2 Letter 30, apparently delivered by Van Zurck.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

20 stiques qu'elle est toute en tout le corps et toute en chacune de ses parties.³ Je
ne m'excuse point de confondre la notion de l'ame avec celle du corps par la
même raison que le vulgaire, mais cela ne m'ôte point le premier doute et ie des-
espereray de trouver de la certitude en chose du monde, si vous ne m'en donnez
qui m'avez seul empeché d'estre Sceptique, à quoy mon premier raisonnement AT IV,3
25 me portoit.

Encore que ie vous doive cette confession pour vous en rendre grace, ie la
croirois fort imprudente, si ie ne connoissois vostre bonté et generosité égale 92
au reste de vos merites, autant par l'experience que i'en ay | déia euë que par
reputation. Vous ne la pouvez temoigner d'une fasson plus obligeante que par
30 les éclaircissemens et conseils dont vous me faites part, que ie prise au dessus des
plus grands tresors que pourroit posseder,

M^r Descartes,

Vostre tres affectionnée amie
à vous servir, Elisabeth

35 Ce 1 de Iuillet.

26 *par. E*

³ For example, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I, q. 76, a. 8. Cf. Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme*, art. 30–31/AT XI, 351–352. For a discussion of the topic, see the studies by D. Des Chene, *Life's form. Late Aristotelian conceptions of the soul* (Ithaca/London: Cornell U.P., 2000), ch. 9, pp. 171–190, and *Spirits and clocks. Machine and organism in Descartes* (Ithaca/London: Cornell U.P., 2000), ch. 6, pp. 116–152, esp. pp. 144–152.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Johannes van Beverwijck, [Dordrecht]
5 July 1643

Sources

1. J. van Beverwijck, *Epistolicae quaestiones, cum doctorum responsis. Accedit ejusdem, nec non Erasmi, Cardani, Melanchthonis, Medicinae Encomium* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1644), pp. 118–121. (Bev)
2. MS copy. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 191 AK, fos. 1r–2v. (B)

Editions

Cle I, 438–441; *Epistolae* I, 262–263; AT IV, 3–6; AM VI, 3–7.

This letter is the reply to Van Beverwijck's letter dated 10 June (Letter 26); it was in all likelihood sent through Colvius (see p. 84). The manuscript copy in Leiden is part of a copy-book containing letters, most of them to Van Beverwijck, and various writings on the history of Dordrecht; entirely in the hand of Antonius Matthaëus (1635–1710), historian and professor of law at the universities of Utrecht and Leiden. It was consulted by Charles Adam in 1894, but disregarded in AT for reasons unknown. The copy is, however, a (direct?) transcription of the original letter sent. Clerselier published a French translation after the *Epistolicae* (cf. p. 87); Van Beverwijck's edition is also the basis of the text in the *Epistolae*.

Summary

As requested, Descartes gives a brief exposition of his views concerning blood circulation and the movement of the heart, referring to the more elaborate version in the *Discours* and offering Van Beverwijck copies of his correspondence with Plemp on the subject.

Iohanni Beverovicio,
Medicinae Doctori,
R. Des Cartes. S. D.

Clarissime, et praestantissime vir,

- 5 Perhonorificum mihi esse puto, quod, cum varia | magnorum virorum responsa 119
velis colligere, a me, in quo nihil magni est, symbolam petas: et vereor ne non AT IV,4
sim satis multi aeris ad eam conferendam; quicquid enim habui de quaestione
quam proponis, ante aliquod annos in dissertatione de Methodo Gallice edita¹
jam dedi, atque ibi omnem motum sanguinis ex solo cordis calore ac vasorum
10 conformatione deduxi. Quippe quamvis circa sanguinis circulationem cum Her-
vaeo² plane consentiam, ipsumque ut praestantissimi illius inventi, quo nullum

1–4 Iohanni ... vir] Clarissimo et Praestantissimo Viro I. Beverovicio Medicinae Doctori Renatus
Des Cartes S. D. B 6 petas ... ne] petas [petis?], vereor enim, ne B 8 de Methodo om. B 11 ut
corr. AT] et 11 inventi] des petits passages par où le sang coule des arteres dans les veines add. Cle

¹ *Discours de la methode* (1637), AT VI, 46–55.

² On William Harvey (1578–1657), author of the revolutionary work on the movement of the heart and the circulation of the blood, *Exercitatio de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus* (1628), see the *Dictionary of scientific discovery*, vol. 3, pp. 150–162.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 majus et utilius in medicina esse puto, primum authorem suspiciam: tamen circa motum cordis omnino ab eo dissentio. Vult enim, si bene memini, cor in diastole se extendendo sanguinem in se admittere, ac in systole se comprimendo illum emittere. Ego autem rem omnem ita explico.

Cum cor sanguine vacuum est, necessario novus sanguis in ejus dextrum ventriculum per venam cavam, et in sinistrum per arteriam venosam delabatur; necessario inquam: cum enim sit fluidus, et orificia istorum vasorum, quae corrugata auriculas cordis componunt, sint latissima, et valvulae quibus muniuntur sint tunc
20 apertae, nisi miraculo sistatur, debet in cor incidere. Deinde postquam aliquid sanguinis hoc pacto in utrumque cordis ventriculum incidit, ibi plus caloris inveni-
25 ens quam in venis ex quibus delapsus est, necessario dilatatur, et multo plus loci quam prius desiderat; necessario inquam, quia talis est ejus natura, ut fa- | cile 120
est experiri in eo quod dum frigemus omnes venae nostri corporis contrahantur,
et vix appareant, cum autem postea incalescimus adeo turgescant ut sanguis in
30 ijs contentus decuplo plus spatij quam prius occupare videatur. Cum autem san-
guis in corde sic dilatatur, subito et cum impetu omnes ejus ventriculorum pari-
etes circumquaque propellit, quo fit ut claudantur valvulae quibus orificia venae
35 cavae et arteriae venosae muniuntur, atque aperiantur illae quae sunt in orificijs
venae arteriosae et arteriae magnae; ea enim est fabrica istarum valvularum, ut
necessario iuxta leges Mechanicae ex hoc solo sanguinis impetu hae aperiantur
et illae claudantur: atque haec sanguinis dilatatio facit cordis diastolen. Sed et
idem sanguis illo ipso momento quo in corde dilatatus aperit valvulas venae arte-
40 riosae et arteriae magnae, omnem alium sanguinem in arterijs contentum etiam
propellit, quo fit earum diastole. Postea ille idem sanguis eodem impetu quo
se dilatavit arterias ingreditur, sicque cor vacuatur, et in hoc consistit eius sys-
tole. Sanguisque in corde dilatatus cum ad arterias devenit rursus condensatur,
quia non tantus ibi est calor, et in hoc consistit arteriarum systole, quae tem-
45 pore vix differt a systole cordis. In fine autem huius systoles sanguis in arterijs
contentus (venam arteriosam pro arteria, et arteriam venosam pro vena sem-
per sumo) relabitur versus cor, sed eius ventriculos non ingreditur, quia talis est
50 fabrica | valvularum in earum orificijs existentium ut hoc sanguinis relapsu nec-
essario claudantur. Contra autem valvulae quae sunt in orificijs venarum sponte
aperiuntur corde detumescente, sicque novus sanguis ex venis in cor labitur, et
nova incipit diastole. Quae omnia revera sunt mechanica, ut etiam Mechanica
sunt experimenta quibus probatur esse varias anastomoses venarum et arteri-
arum per quas sanguis ex his in illas fluit: qualia sunt de situ valvularum in venis,
de ligatura brachij ad venae sectionem, de egressu totius sanguinis ex corpore per
unicam venam vel arteriam apertam, etc.

Nec mihi de hac re plura occurrunt relatu digna: tam manifesta enim et tam certa mihi videtur, ut eam pluribus argumentis probare supervacuum putem. Sed nonnullae obiectiones ad ipsam pertinentes mihi missae sunt Lovanio ante sex

14 illum] illam B 16 par. E 20 incidere] evadere B 24 in] ex B 29 et arteriae venosae om. B 29 muniuntur] ambiuntur B 30 istarum] illarum B 37 devenit B] decrevit Bev pervenit Epp 42 earum om. B 44 ex] e B 45 omnia] autem B 49 etc.] et plusieurs autres, sont autant d'experiences qui prouvent ces Anastomoses add. Cle 50 par. E 52 Lovanio E] Leovanio Bev

33. *Descartes to Van Beverwijck, 5 July 1643*

annos ad quas tunc temporis respondi,³ et quia earum author meas responsiones
malà fide distortas et mutilatas in lucem edidit,⁴ ipsas ut a me revera scriptae sunt
55 libenter mittam, si vel nutu significes tibi gratas fore; omnique alià in re quantum
in me erit voluntati tuae ac perhonestis studijs obsequar. Vale.

Egmondiae op de Hoef, 5 Iulij 1643.

³ Vopiscus Fortunatus *Plemp (1601–1671), professor of medicine at Leuven and an old acquaintance of Descartes', had sent objections against Descartes' theory of the heart's movement as explained in *Discours V* (Plemp to Descartes, [January 1638], AT I, 496–499). See also Descartes to Plemp, 15 February 1638, AT I, 521–536 (reply to Plemp's objections); Plemp to Descartes, [end of February–first half of March 1638], AT II, 52–54 (Plemp's *instantiae*); Descartes to Plemp, 23 March 1638, AT II, 62–69 (reply to Plemp's *instantiae*). Descartes sent copies of these letters to Van Beverwijck (see Letter 39), who published them in his *Epistolicae* preceded by his own correspondence with Descartes. Descartes' correspondence with Plemp is discussed in É. Gilson, *Études sur le rôle de la pensée médiévale dans la formation du système cartésien* (Paris: Vrin, 1930), pp. 51–101; M. Grene, 'The Heart and Blood: Descartes, Plemp, and Harvey', in S. Voss (ed.), *Essays on the philosophy and science of René Descartes* (New York/Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1993), pp. 324–336; R. French, 'Harvey in Holland. Circulation and the Calvinists', in R. French and A. Wear (eds.), *The medical revolution of the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1989), pp. 46–86 (esp. pp. 72–81).

⁴ Plemp had published his objections against Descartes' theory of the movement of the heart in his *De fundamentis medicinae libri sex* (Leuven: Zegers, 1638) together with mere abstracts from his correspondent's replies, and a new version of his own *instantiae* that explained his arguments more clearly and was rather rude to Descartes (*De fundamentis medicinae* II, vi, 5, 262–267). Plemp had this text printed unbeknownst to Descartes in March 1638; his book was published in September. The philosopher did not know about Plemp's publication until Regius told him in 1640 (and then he assumed that the book had only just been printed). Regius subsequently exposed Plemp in a disputation (AT III, 732), and Plemp grudgingly gave the full text of Descartes' letters in his second edition (*Fundamenta medicinae* (Leuven: Zegers, 1644)). See Regius to Descartes, [early 1640], Bos, 32–36; Descartes to Regius, [24 May 1640], Bos, 43.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Andreas Colvius, Dordrecht
5 July 1643

Source

ALS. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, PAP 2. One sheet folded in two (306x206 mm). Text on fo. 1r, address on fo. 2v. No seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: V. Cousin, *Fragments philosophiques* (3rd edn., Paris: Ladrange, 1838), II, 151–152.

Other editions: AT IV, 7–8; AM, VI, 8–10.

The lower part of fo. 2 has been torn off. Marked on fo. 1r with the numbers ‘5’ (left upper corner) and ‘2’ (right upper corner), both in brown ink.

Summary

Descartes replies to Colvius’ letter dated 9 June (Letter 25). He politely rejects his correspondent’s criticism of the *Epistola ad Voetium*. Colvius mentioned Voetius’ future as a minister and professor: Descartes claims that the Utrecht *Vroedschap* is indeed reconsidering Voetius’ position, as Colvius may have read in the ‘famous’ summons of 13/23 June. Descartes sends Colvius a copy of his reply to the Utrecht *Vroedschap*.

Clarissimo et praestantissimo viro
A. Colvio Theologiae Doctori
R. Des Cartes S. D.

1r

5 Non ita mihi complaceo ut nihil a me fieri existimem quod merito possit reprehendi; et tanta teneor cupiditate errores meos cognoscendi, ut etiam iniuste reprehendentes, quibus non est animus malus, mihi soleant esse pergrati. Et sane dubitare non debes quin literae quas a te accepi summopere me tibi devinciant: etsi enim in illis quaedam mea reprehendas in quibus non mihi videor valde peccasse, ac me componas cum homine a quo quam maxime differre velim, quia tamen ab animo peramico, simulque ingenuo et pio profectas esse animadverto, non modo illas libenter legi, sed etiam reprehensionibus tuis assensus sum. Dolendum est quod non omnes homines commodis publicis inserviant, et aliqui sibi mutuo nocere conentur: At iustam defensionem meae famae suscipere cogebat, et uni forsitan nocere ut pluribus prodessem. Transgressus sum leges
10 charitatis: At credidi me ad eas erga illum non magis teneri, quam erga Ethnicum et publicanum, quia audiebam ipsum nec fratrum suorum nec etiam Magistratum precibus flecti potuisse.¹ Non celebraui eius egregias dotes, vel non vidi: Nam indefessos labores, memoriam, et qualemcunque doctrinam² tanquam instrumenta vitiorum timenda in eo esse putavi, non laudanda, vitae vero probi-

¹ See Matt. 18:15–17. Descartes also uses these texts against Voetius in the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 114–115).

² Descartes denies Voetius the quality of *doctrina* in the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 42).

34. *Descartes to Colvius, 5 July 1643*

20 tatem et modestiam prorsus non vidi. Petis etiam cui bono:³ Ego bonum pacis
quaesivi, nimis enim multi adversarii quotidie in me insurgerent, si nullasunquam AT IV, 8
iniurias propulsarem. Non dico quid de eo iam fiet, neque enim scio; sed eius do-
mini super hac re videntur velle deliberare, ut ex celebri eorum programme
forte notasti;⁴ quid vero ad illud respondeam in chartis hîc adiunctis si placet
25 leges,⁵ et scies, eo pluris me facere virtutes tuas, quo aliorum vitia magis aversor.
Vale.

Egmundae op de Hoef, 5 Iulii 1643

A Monsieur
Monsieur Colvius
30 Ministre de la parole
de Dieu
à Dordrecht

2v

24 <charta>>chartis>

³ Cicero, *Pro Milone* 12, 32.

⁴ See the Calendar (1643/06/23).

⁵ See Letter 35.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht,
6 July 1643

Source

R. Descartes, *Antwoordt van den Wel-Eedelen Heer René des Cartes, Heere du Perron, Op het ghepubliceerde vande Heeren vande Vroetschap der Stadt Wtrecht den 13/23 Junii des Iaers 1643. Uyt de Fransche tale overgheset* (Amsterdam: Van Baardt, 1643). Broadsheet (380x280 mm).

Editions

AT IV, 9–12 (transl. AT IV, 646–648); AM VI, 11–16; R. Descartes, *Brief van Rene des Cartes aen den vermaerden D. Gisbertus Voetius*, Amsterdam: R.D. van Baardt, 1643, pp. 119–120; [P. Voet], *Aengevangen procedueren* (Utrecht: Strick, [1644]), pp. 17–21. A.-C. Duker, *Schoolgezag en eigen-onderzoek. Studie van den strijd tusschen Voetius en Descartes* (Leiden: Noothoven van Goor, 1861), pp. 222–225.

Descartes' original letter in French was received on 1/11 July 1643, together with a set of copies of the printed Dutch translation (Calendar, 1643/07/11). The French letter is lost, but a unique copy of the broadsheet is kept at the BnF in Paris, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 246 (cf. Roth, 299). This copy was sent to Huygens by Descartes on 10 July 1643 (see Letter 37). Descartes had the Dutch text reprinted in the Dutch translation of his *Epistola ad Voetium*, and it also appeared in P. Voet's *Aengevangen procedueren*. The latter source is the basis of the text in Duker's study, which in turn is reprinted in AT.

As is shown by the letter to Colvius (Letter 34, p. 107, ll. 24–25), Descartes had a draft of his reply to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* ready on 5 July. After conferring with De Wilhem and others in The Hague, he hurried to Amsterdam to have the Dutch translation printed (see Letter 36). From Amsterdam he sent the letter and a set of broadsheets to the *Vroedschap*, as well as copies to De Wilhem and Huygens on 10 July.

Summary

In reply to a publication of the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, summoning Descartes to Utrecht in order to give further evidence of his accusations against Voetius (see the Calendar, 1643/06/23). Descartes thanks the *Vroedschap* for examining his complaints on a man who is in public service of the city. Descartes judges that his presence in Utrecht is not required, for having founded himself solely on Voetius' published writings, all relevant evidence is found in his *Epistola ad Voetium*. Descartes asks the *Vroedschap* to investigate the true authorship of *Admiranda methodus*, a work commonly ascribed to Voetius. He furthermore expresses his surprise of the *Vroedschap*'s pretense not to know Descartes' whereabouts. If the *Vroedschap* wishes further elucidation on any detail in his writings, he will gladly be of service.

Myn Heeren,

Ick hebbe reden U. Ed. te bedancken, dat mijne rechtveerdighe klachten haer beweeght hebben te ondersoecken het leven van eenen man die zijnde in publijcquen dienst van uwe Stadt, my ten hoochsten heeft veronghelijckt; als oock dat
5 het U. Ed. ghelieft heeft my daer van te verwittighen, om haer nochmaels van bericht te kunnen dienen, *sulcx als ick sal oordelen tot mijne intentie dienstich te wesen*,¹ by aldien ick eenighe bewijs-redenen passende op 't geen ick van hem

¹ Cf. the publication of the Utrecht *Vroedschap* of 13/23 June. See the Calendar, 1643/06/23.

35. *Descartes to the Utrecht Vroedschap, 6 July 1643*

gheschreven hebbe, mochte naegelaeten hebben. Ende by dese ghelegenthey
soudede ick my tot Wtrecht laeten vinden om U. Ed. daer in te helpen ende ten
10 dienste te zijn nae mijn vermoghen, by soo verre ick konde oordelen, dat mijne
teghenwoordicheyt daer toe nodigh ware; ende dat mijn voornemen ware hem
voor U. Ed. in rechte te betrecken. Maer soo als ick van hem in 't openbaer ben
veronghelijckt, alsoo hebbe ick mijne saeck in 't openbaer bepleyt, als dat be-
taemde. Ende hebbende voorghenomen den redelijcken Leser te voldoen ende
15 te vernoeghen, is met voordacht het laest ghedruckte, waer van het opschrift
hout: *Epistola Renati des Cartes ad celeberrimum virum etc.* in sulcker voeghen
in-ghestelt, dat de bewijzen die vereyst worden tot verificatie van 't geen ick van
dien man gheschreven hebbe alomme daer by worden ghevonden, soo veel men
de selve met reden van my soude kunnen vereyschen. Wt welcker insichte ick
20 achter-weghen ghelaten hebbe verscheyden van sijne bysondere actien die my
bekent zijn, om niet ghehouden te zijn daer toe ghetuyghen voor te brengen,
hebbende maer aengheroert eenighe van sijne actien die voorghevallen zijn in 't
openbaer ofte ommers in 't byweesen van personen die by U. Ed. zijn in publike
bedieninghen, door de welcke sy de waerheyte kunnen weten soo daer aen wort
25 ghetwijffelt. Maer ick hebbe my voornaementlijck bemoeyt met sijne schriften
te ondersoecken, sulcx dat men maer heeft nae te sien de plaetsen die door my
worden aengheweesen ende daer by ghemelt om te weten met wat recht ick hem
daer over bestraft hebbe. Ende schoon ghenomen dat hy niet te verantwoor-
den en hadde de lasteringen van het schandelijck boeck dat onlanghs in uwe
30 Stadt ghedrukt is met den tijtel van *Admiranda Methodus novae Philosophiae
Renati des Cartes*, ofte *Philosophia Cartesiana*, daer van hy hem soo my bericht
wort, soeckt te ontschuldighen, U. Ed. sullen daer beneven verscheyde andere
dinghen vinden, die ick klaerlijck bewesen hebbe, alleen uyt de gheschriften die
sijnen naem voeren, ende van hem niet kunnen ghelochent worden, om daer
35 uyt te verstaen 't geen U. Ed. ghelieven te ondersoecken, naementlijck of hy
sijner ampten weerdigh is. In voeghen dat *de onpartydighe ende hun des ver-
staende mannen die gheoordeelt hebben dat sodaenighe persoon in humeur ende
conditie daer by beschreven niet alleen onnut, maer oock ten hoogsten schaede-
lijck soude wesen in eenighe publike bedieninghe soo vande Academie als vande*
40 *Kercke,*² hem veroordeelt ende sijn vonnisse schijnen ghevelt te hebben: Want
ick hebbe by-na doorgaens niet als mijne redenen by ghebracht, laetende den
Leser sijne vrijheyte om daer uyt te besluyten 't geen daer uyt komt te volgen:
Sulcx dat desen man sich selven niet en sal kunnen suyveren van 't geen de on-
partijdighe teghens hem hebben besloten, ten zy hy mijne redenen wederlegghe
45 door andere soo bondighe redenen, dat ick de selve niet en sal kunnen bewijzen
krachteloos te zijn, ende dat de on-partijdighe Lesers het tegen-deel daer uyt
kunnen besluyten. Maer niet-te-min dewijl al de Werelt oordeelt dat hy de voor-
naemste autheur is vande lasteringhen die in het ghemelt fameux boeck teghens
my worden ghevonden, versoeck ick U. Ed. de waerheyte daer van te willen on-
50 dersoecken, die men lichtelijck sal kunnen weten uyt den Boeck-drucker ofte

2 A passage from the same document mentioned in n. 1.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

andere, ende niet te willen ghedooghen dat desen man U. Ed. soeck te misleyden
in een saecke die soo klaer is. Ick verwachtte dit niet alleen van uwe heushey;
maer oock van wegen mijn goet recht: Want soo U. Ed. wel insien 't geen ick
desen aengaende gheschreven hebbe, sy sullen bevinden dat ick nevens de recht-
55 matighe verdedinghe van mijn eere, voornaementlijck ghetracht hebbe dienst te
doen aen het ghemeyne beste, ende de weerde van haere Stadt ende Academie
te hant-haeven. Waerom ick my verwondere over de wijze die U. Ed. ghebruyckt
hebben om my haere meyninghe te laeten weten, als of ick soo weynigh bekend
waere in dese Provincien ende besonderlijck in haere Stadt, dat men heeft willen
60 schijnen mijne woon-plaetse niet te weten, ofte dat ick yets ghedaen hadde dat
niet loflijk en waere, ofte eyndelijck dat U. Ed. eenigh recht over my waeren
hebbende, 't welck ick hier ghenootsaeckt ben te ontkennen, ende soo U. Ed. AT IV, 12
deshalven yets aennemen daer over te protesteren van onghelijck. Maer ick en
verwachte niet dierghelijcx van uwe voorsichtigheyt, ende ick neme het alleen
65 daer voor dat U. Ed. daer mede hebben willen te kennen geven dat sy niet als
tot haer groot leet-wesen ghenootsaeckt zijn te ondersoecken de zeden ende het
leven van desen man: Ende dat haere meyninghe is, ghelijck al het verschil 't
welck ick met hem ghehadt hebbe vervat is in ghedruckte boecken, dat al het
geen naemaels soude moghen voor vallen mede door den druck werde ghemeyn
70 ghemaect, op dat al de Werelt daer van mach oordelen. Oversulcx indien in
mijne gheschriften yet van besondere aenmerkinghe wort bevonden, daer op
U. Ed. naeder onderrichtinghe souden begeren, sal ick seer geerne haer de selve
op sodaenighen wijze laeten toekomen, ende daer by betonen hoe veel ick haer
achte, ende hoe waerlijck ick ben,

75 Myn Heeren,

Uwe Ed.

Ootmoedighsten ende gheneyghsten dienaer, Des Cartes

Van Egmond op de Hoef, den 6. Iulii, *stylo novo*, 1643.

Descartes, Amsterdam, to [David de Wilhem], [The Hague]
10 July 1643

Source

ALS. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293B, fos. 68r–69v. Single sheet folded into two (305x207 mm). Text on fo. 68r. No address; no seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand, 1860), vol. II, p. 28.

Other editions: AT IV, 16–17; AM VI, 19.

The letter was transferred from the Rijksarchief at The Hague to the library of Leiden University in 1862. Stamps of both institutions on fo. 68r.

Summary

Descartes forwards the printed Dutch translation of his reply to the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, asking him to pass it on to Huygens.

Monsieur,

68r

Vous ne verrez icy que ce que vous avez desia vû, car l'avocat¹ que M^r Parmen-
tier² prit la peine de venir consulter avec moy nous ayant assurez que le papier de
Messieurs d'Utrecht ne m'obligeoit à aucune chose, ie pensay que cecy suffiroit
5 pour y respondre.³ Et i'espere que s'ils sçavent ce qu'on dit partout de leur pro-
cedure, ils n'en voudront plus faire de semblables, et qu'ils me lairront en repos,
qui est tout ce que ie leur demande. Vous ferez part, s'il vous plaist, de mon im-
primé à M^r de Zuylichem.⁴ La haste que i'eu mercredy⁵ de venir icy pour le faire
promptement publier empescha que ie ne pusse avoir l'honneur de vous revoir,
10 pour vous remercier, et vous assurer que ie suis passionnement,

AT IV, 17

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

15 D'Amsterdam, le 10 Iuillet 1643

¹ Paul *Vanpeene (1590–1656), advocate at the Court of Holland. He is mentioned in De Wilhem's letter to Huygens from 12 July (see 4 below).

² Probably Charles Anthony *Parmentier (c.1603–1665), member of the States of Utrecht. Baillet lists him among Descartes' friends in Utrecht (Baillet, II, 35, 216).

³ Descartes went to The Hague on 6 or 7 July to learn Huygens' advice from De Wilhem (cf. Letter 29, p. 94, ll. 41–43). Descartes had already drawn up a concept of a reply to the *Vroedschap*, which he discussed with De Wilhem and did not change after consulting an advocate, who assured him that he need not comply with the summons by the Utrecht *Vroedschap*. Descartes subsequently hurried to Amsterdam to have a Dutch translation of his reply printed (Letter 35).

⁴ De Wilhem forwarded the broadsheet and Descartes' covering letter (Letter 37) to Huygens on 12 July (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 405; see the Calendar, 1643/07/12).

⁵ 8 July.

Descartes, Amsterdam, to Constantijn Huygens, at the army
10 July 1643

Source

ALS. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Waller Autograph Collection, Waller Ms fr. Single sheet folded into two (305x207 mm). Text on fo. 1r. No address; no seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand, 1860), vol. II, pp. 26–27.

Other editions: AT IV, 13–14; AM VI, 17–18; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 404; Roth, 209–210 (AT IV, 749–750); M. Beretta, *A History of Non-Printed Science. A Select Catalogue of The Waller Collection*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1993), pp. 92, 94 (facsimile).

The letter was forwarded by De Wilhem from The Hague on 12 July—for the covering note, see the Calendar—and received by Huygens at Assenede (Flanders) on 15 July, as is shown by Huygens' note at the left upper corner of fo. 1r: 'R. Assen. 15 Jul. 43.'

Contrary to the information supplied by Foucher de Careil, the letter was never part of the collection of Descartes' letters at the Rijksarchief at The Hague. Indeed, unlike the Letters 36 and 54, the ALS does not have a stamp of the Rijksarchief. The actual owner at the time was the Dutch politician Lodewijk Caspar Luzac (1786–1861), who after being approached by Foucher de Careil promised to send him a transcript of the letter (letters to Luzac, dated August 1859, are kept at the Amsterdam University Library, shelfmark 46 D 1, 2). Foucher de Careil's haste to publish the second volume of his *Œuvres inédites de Descartes* (cf. p. i), caused him to mistake not only the identity of the owner of the letter, but also the identity of the addressee, who is evidently Huygens and not De Wilhem. In view of this, Foucher de Careil's mention of two seals and strands of yellow silk—at present there is no trace of those on the ALS—is presumably fictitious.

Luzac's collection was sold on 20 December 1872 (*Catalogue de la collection precieuse d'autographes, de quelques manuscrits historiques, albums, etc. délaissée par Mr Louis Caspar Luzac* (Amsterdam: Muller, 1872), p. 52, no. 444). The letter resurfaced at the auction of the collection of Count Ludwig Paar (1817–1893; Austrian diplomat) in 1893 (*Katalog einer werthvollen Sammlung von Autographen und historischen Dokumenten aus dem Besitz ... des verstorbenen Ludwig Graf Paar* (Berlin: Cohn, 1893), p. 120, no. 981). The letter was finally acquired by the Swedish scientist and collector Erik Waller (1875–1955). Uppsala University Library purchased Waller's vast collection of manuscripts in 1955 (two stamps of library on fo. 1r). The folder in which Waller put the Descartes letter also contains a single, detached signature of Descartes on parchment (20x43 mm). Its provenance is unknown.

Summary

Descartes thanks Huygens for his advice, which corroborated his own analysis of the situation. But there has been a change of plans, which rendered the advice superfluous. Huygens can judge the result by the copy of Descartes' printed letter to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* sent along.

37. Descartes to Huygens, 10 July 1643

Monsieur,

1r

La consultation que vous m'avez fait la faveur de m'envoyer ne pouvoit arriver plus à propos qu'elle a fait, et ie ne l'avois point attendue plutost.¹ Elle m'a entierement mis hors de peine, et m'a fait croire assurément ce dont ie m'estois desia douté, bienque contre l'opinion commune, à sçavoir, que ie n'ay pas tant
5 suiet de me plaindre que de remercier M^{rs} d'Utrecht de ce qu'ils me veulent faire iustice de mon adversaire. C'est pourquoy, ayant desia auparavant dressé la letre que vous verrez icy en Flamend,² i'ay pensé qu'elle pourroit tenir la place de la
10 requeste que vous me conseilliez, et qui ne pourroit estre preparée à tems; aussy que ie ne sçay point de quel avocat ie me pourrois servir, et ie desire sur tout eviter le proces. Le voy tant de personnes qui desapprouvent la procedure de ces M^{rs} que ie ne me puis persuader qu'ils continuent à en faire de semblables. Toutefois, à cause qu'on peut seulement iuger de ce que doivent et non pas de ce que peuvent faire les hommes, ie ne me puis assurer de rien, excepte du soin
15 et de la diligence que vous employez à m'obliger, de laquelle i'ay des preuves si fraisches et si certaines que ie n'en puis douter; aussy suis ie tres assurément et tres passionnement,

AT IV, 14

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble
et tres obeissant serviteur,

20

Des Cartes

D'Amsterdam, le 10 Iuillet 1643

1 The advice was requested by Descartes on 26 June (Letter 29) and written at Assenede on 5 July. On 8 July De Wilhem acknowledged that he had handed it over to Descartes, already mentioning that it was not needed anymore (see the Calendar). For the text of the advice, see the Calendar (1643/07/05).

2 The copy sent to Huygens is the only known copy of the Dutch translation of Descartes' letter to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* (see Letter 35).

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Geeraert Brandt, Amsterdam

18 July 1643

Source

ALS. Leiden, University Library, PAP 2. Single sheet (300x188 mm). Text on the recto; address on the verso. Two seals, damaged, are preserved.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: J. van Vlotten, 'Hollandsch briefjen van Descartes', *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode*, 1853, I, 4.

Other editions: AT IV, 17–18; AM VI, 20–21; V. Cousin, *Fragments Philosophiques* (Paris 1838), vol. I, pp. 152–153 (French translation only); G. Monchamp, *Le Flamand et Descartes* (Saint-Trond 1889), pp. 40–41.

At the top of the verso is a note in 17th c. handwriting (unidentified): 'tusschen maert en octob. 1643' ('between March and October 1643'). This is the only letter known from Descartes that is entirely in Dutch.

Summary

Descartes sends his clock to the Amsterdam clockmaker Geeraert *Brandt (1594–1659) to have it repaired. An allusion is made to an earlier personal conversation.

Monsieur Gerrit Brandt,

1r

Ick sende u.E. myn Horologie, om u.E. te bidden de ketting te willen laeten
maecken, ende deselve aen te stellen, geliick wy met malkanderen gesproken
hebben,¹ behalven dat ick hadde geseyt van een ketting van 12 elen, welcke ick
5 vreesse dat te lang wesende, sie soude te veel moeyte geven om te stellen, ende
lichterverwerren. Daerom ick meine dat het sal beter wesen dat men se maer de
halve so lang maeckt, te weten so langhe als de touwe welcke ick hebbe by de
horologie gelaten. Ick sende oock de gewichten, ende de katerrol aen de wel-
cke het kleinste gewicht moet hanghen. Excuseert my dat ick soo quaet Duytsch
10 schriive. Ick ben,

AT IV,18

u.E.

Seer goedwilligen
vriendt Des Cartes

15 Van Egmond op de Hoeff,
den 18 Iulii 1643

8 gelaten ⟨-met⟩⟨+Ick sende oock⟩

¹ On 8 July Descartes left The Hague to go to Amsterdam, from which he wrote De Wilhem and Huygens on 10 July (see Letters 36 and 37). During his stay in Amsterdam he visited the clockmaker Brandt to discuss the repair of his clock.

38. *Descartes to Brandt, 18 July 1643*

Aen Monsieur
Monsieur Gerrit Brandt
In de twaelf uren
op het Rockinne by de
20 beurse
Tot Amsterdam
Port is betaelt

1v

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Andreas Colvius, [Dordrecht]

5 September 1643

Source

AT IV, 717–718.

Editions

AM VI, 22–23.

The autograph was in the collection of baron De Vos van Steenwijk at Windesheim and was lost when the castle was bombed by the Allies in October 1944. The text in AT—now our only source—is based upon a transcript provided by the then keeper of manuscripts of Leiden University Library, P.C. Molhuysen.

Summary

The letter to which Descartes replies is lost. He sends Colvius his replies to Plempl for Van Beverwijck, after having revised them, and gives some instructions for publication. He has omitted Plempl's name because he prefers to ignore him. Descartes gives his opinion on a book by Kircher and on Wendelinus' *Arcanorum coelestium lampas*.

Monsieur,

Vous verrez icy un insigne effect de ma negligense, en ce que, depuis trois semaines que i'ay receu celle que vous m'avez fait la faveur de m'escire, ie n'ay sceu obtenir de moy le loysir de relire les papiers que i'avois promis à Monsieur Beverovicus.¹ Enfin vous les trouverez avec cete letre, et m'obligerez, s'il vous plaist, de les luy donner, et l'assurer de mon tres humble service. I'ay effacé le nom du medecin de Louvain; car ayant esté desobligé par luy, i'eusse deu luy donner quelque trait de plume en passant, et i'ayme mieux le mespriser.² I'ay adiousté quelques mots à la marge en un endroit, lesquels doivent estre distingués du reste, affin qu'on ne puisse dire que i'aye changé aucun mot en ma response,³ ainsi qu'a fait le medecin de Louvain, qui l'a fait imprimer entierement falsifiée.⁴ AT IV, 718

Il y a long temps que i'ay parcouru Kirkerus; mais ie n'y ay rien trouvé de solide. Il n'a que des forfanteries à l'italiene, quoy qu'il soit Allemand de nation.⁵

¹ See Letter 33.

² In the *Epistolicae quaestiones*, Plempl is referred to as 'Medicus quidam Lovaniensis'.

³ Van Beverwijck did not comply with Descartes' wish: the addition was integrated into the text (*Epistolicae quaestiones*, 132–133; AT I, 527–528, note).

⁴ See p. 105, n. 4.

⁵ Probably Kircher's *Magnes sive de arte magnetica*, which Huygens sent to Descartes in January 1643 (see Letters 5 and 6). Descartes gave Huygens a similar estimation of the work (Letter 7).

39. *Descartes to Colvius, 5 September 1643*

15 J'avois aussi desia vu la lampe de Vendelinus; mais elle ne m'a point éclairé.⁶
Je suis,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble
et tres fidelle serviteur,

20 Des Cartes

Du Hoeff, le 5 Sept. 1643.

[*address:*]
A Monsieur,
Monsieur Colvius, etc.

⁶ Godefridus Wendelinus (1580–1667), *Arcanorum caelestium lampas tetráluchnos, quatuor obvelata hexametris, quae totidem velut umbrae sunt: quatuor anagrammatismis revelata, quae totidem lumina, omnibus ... mathematicis ac physicis traditur* (Brussels: Mommartius, 1643). This booklet of 24 pages in duodecimo had appeared in May (see Wendelinus to Gassendi, 2 July 1643 (Gassendi, *Opera omnia*, VI, 455)).

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Unknown, [Utrecht]
[between 15 and 23 September]

Source

Cle III, 590–591.

Editions

AT III, 550–551; AM V, 179–180.

Published without the name of the addressee nor the date in Cle. Concerning the date, it is certainly not March 1642, as AT suggest, for in ll. 20–22 Descartes does not refer to the judgement of the Utrecht academic Senate against Regius' *Responsio* issued on 17/27 March 1642, but to the promulgation of the university's new statutes on 5/15 September 1643. Moreover, Descartes writes that the Utrecht magistrates have not condemned his book, which is a clear reference to the *Epistola ad Voetium* (l. 19). The *Epistola ad Voetium* being censured, however, on 13/23 September 1643, the date of the letter lies between 15 and 23 September. An indication that the letter might be prior to the letter to Huygens of 20 September (Letter 41) is that in the present letter Descartes mentions the rumour that Regius was dismissed, adding that he cannot believe it, whereas in the letter to Huygens, having received further information on the situation in Utrecht, Descartes fears for Regius' position but knows he has not yet been expelled. The identity of the addressee remains unknown. It is clearly someone from Utrecht, who is close to Regius and in a position to do something for Descartes. AT conjecture Pollot, which is doubtful, as he resided in The Hague, being 'gentilhomme de la chambre' of the stadholder (cf. the address given in Letter 44). Other more likely candidates are the former Burgomaster Van der Hoolck, Godefroot van Haestrecht (1592/3–1659; on him see AM II, 377 and Bos, 250), or the unnamed friend of Van Zurck mentioned in Letter 44 (cf. p. 129, l. 20).

Summary

According to sources in Leiden, Regius has lost his chair, but Descartes refuses to believe it. He asks his correspondent to assure Regius of his support. Descartes thinks that there is still a chance that the Utrecht magistrates will turn against Voetius. Descartes asks his correspondent to send him a copy of the new university law containing an article against all non-Aristotelian philosophy.

Monsieur,

Les nouvelles que i'apprens de divers lieux, touchant ce qui se passe à Utrech(t),
me donnent beaucoup de sujet d'admiration, quoy qu'elles ne m'estonnent ny ne
me faschent en aucune façon, sinon en tant qu'elles touchent Monsieur le Roy.
5 Car on ne dit rien moins à Leyde, sinon qu'il est desia demis de sa Profession; ce
que ie ne puis toutesfois croire, ny mesme m'imaginer que cela puisse iamais ar-
river; et ie ne voy pas quel pretexte ses ennemis auroient pû forger pour luy nuire.
Mais quoy qu'il arrive, ie vous prie de l'assurer de ma part, que ie m'employeray
pour luy en tout ce que ie pourray, plus que ie ne ferois pour moy-mesme; et qu'il
10 ne se doit nullement fascher, pour ce que cette cause est si celebre, et si connuë
de tout le monde, qu'il ne s'y peut commettre aucune injustice, qui ne tourne en-
tierement au desavantage de ceux qui la commettroient, et à la gloire, et mesme

40. Descartes to Unknown, 15–23 September 1643

peut-estre avec le temps au profit de ceux qui la souffriroient. Pour moy, iusques
icy, en ne iugeant que des choses que ie sçay assurément, ie ne puis | tant blasmer
15 Messieurs d'Utrech(t), comme ie voy que tout le monde les blasme, et il semble
que ce qu'ils ont fait peut aisément tourner à bien, et faire qu'ils soient louiez
de tout le monde, en cas qu'ils se veüillent défaire de leur Pedagogue pretendu,¹
lequel, à ce qu'on me dit encore à present, se mesle de prescher contre eux, à
cause qu'ils n'ont pas défendu mon Livre;² car pour ces derniers bruits, qui sont
20 que Monsieur le Roy est demis, ie ne les croy point. Mais on m'a assuré qu'ils ont
fait une Loy en leur Academie, par laquelle ils deffendent expressément qu'on
n'y enseigne aucune autre Philosophie que celle d'Aristote.³ Je seray bien-aise
d'en avoir copie, s'il est possible; ce que ie ne demanderois pas, si ie pensois
qu'ils le trouvasent mauvais; mais puis qu'ils l'ont publiée, ie croy qu'ils veulent
25 bien qu'on la sçache, et qu'ils sont trop sages pour suivre les impertinentes re-
gles d'un homme qui me nomme *in alienâ Republicâ curiosus*,⁴ et qui se plaint
de tous ceux qui osent écrire les fautes qu'il ose faire en public. Toutesfois ie ne
voudrois pas que mes amis m'écrivissent aucune chose, qui ne pust estre veuë de
tous, comme ie n'écris rien que ie ne veuille bien que tout le monde voye. Et sur
30 tout ie vous prie de ne vous faire aucuns ennemis à mon occasion: ie vous suis
desia trop obligé sans cela, et cela ne me serviroit point. Je suis,

Cle III, 591

AT III, 551

1 Sc. Voetius.

2 The *Epistola ad Voetium*.

3 On 5/15 September the academic Senate, including Regius, adopted the 'Leges et statuta Academiae Ultraiectinae', which established the laws and privileges of the university. The statutes forbade the teaching of any philosophy deviating from Aristotle. See the Calendar for the complete text. The States of Utrecht initially refused to approve the statutes. See below, Letter 56, p. 153, n. 4.

4 *Admiranda methodus*, Paralipomena ad praefationem, p. [73]/*Querelle*, 178. Cf. *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 191–193.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]
20 September 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 175r–176v. Single sheet folded into two (310x205 mm). Text on fos. 175r–176r. No address, no seals.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 210–214.
Other editions: AT IV, 750–754 (Roth); AM VI, 24–27.

Summary

Descartes is worried about the situation in Utrecht. The Utrecht *Vroedschap* appears to take steps against him, and Regius is in serious trouble. Regius and Descartes' other friends in Utrecht dare not write him on these matters. Voetius is collecting evidence against Descartes' claim that he is behind *Admiranda methodus*, which may induce the *Vroedschap* to turn against Descartes. Most Utrecht ministers and the principal members of the *Vroedschap* are against Voetius, but they are outnumbered by those who understand nothing of the affair. Schoock prepares a letter in which he declares that he is sole author of *Admiranda methodus*, to which Descartes will reply unless his friends advise otherwise. Perhaps Descartes should make complaints to the States of Groningen. Van Schooten will visit Descartes that week to discuss the engravings for the *Principia*.

Monsieur,

175r

5 l'ay esté bien ayse d'apprendre auiourdhuy par les gazettes que vous estes de
retour de l'armée,¹ tant à cause que vous serez plus à vostre commodité à la
Haye, qu'aussy à cause que par ce moyen ie pense avoir mon secours plus pres de
10 moy que lorsque vous estiez esloigné. Car il semble que M^{rs} d'Utrecht ont encore
envie de m'attaquer, et on m'assure de bonne part que *aliquid monstri alunt*.² Par
avance on dit qu'ils veulent oster la profession au pauvre M^r de Roy, qui sera le
premier martyr de ma Philosophie si cela arrive;³ et ce qui me donne opinion qu'il
10 peut arriver, c'est qu'ils ont fait depuis peu de nouvelles lois en leur Academie,
entre lesquelles il y en a une qui deffend qu'on n'y enseigne d'autres opinions
en Philosophie que celles d'Aristote, car par ce moyen De Roy, qui ne les peut
approuver, leur est inutile.⁴ Je sçay aussy que les Bourgmaistres l'ont fait appeler
par un huissier, et l'ont interrogé comme un criminel, et qu'ils luy ont fait des

AT IV, 751

7 on *corr. Roth*] ont

1 In fact, on the 20th of September Huygens was still at his residence at Zuylichem; see Letter 42, p. 124, ll. 2–4.

2 Terence, *Andria*, vs. 250.

3 In his reply Huygens contradicts the rumour that Regius is in peril of loosing his chair (Letter 42, p. 124, ll. 16–18). In the *Lettre apologétique* Descartes nevertheless repeated that Regius had almost become the first martyr of Cartesianism (AT VIII B, 208).

4 Cf. Letter 40, p. 119, n. 3.

41. Descartes to Huygens, 20 September 1643

15 questions qui l'ont fort troublé, mais ie ne sçay point quelles elles sont;⁵ et au lieu
que ie pensois cy devant que ces provinces fussent libres, ie voy que l'inquisition
est si rigoureuse à Utrecht que non seulement M^r de Roy n'ose m'escire, mais
mesme les autres amis que i'ay là en font scrupule, ou s'ils m'escrivent ils n'osent
faire mention de ce qui touche Voetius en leurs lettres, de peur qu'on ne les accuse
20 d'avoir revelé *secreta Reipublicae*, et ie n'ay appris tout cecy que de bouche d'un
homme qui est venu icy d'Utrecht expres pour m'avertir de ce qui s'y passoit à
mon desavantage. Tout le crime que nous pouvons imaginer qu'ils obiectent à
De Roy est d'avoir communiqué avec moy, et m'avoir averti de quelques parti-
cularitez que i'ay escrites en ma lettre au pere Dinet. Et on m'assure que Voetius
25 a trouvé des tesmoins pour prouver qu'il n'a point vû le livre de *Philosophiâ
Cartesianâ* avant qu'il fust imprimé, et qu'il a pris des attestations de l'Academie
et de la Classe des | Ministres d'Utrecht, lesquelles on imprime avec une lettre
adressée à moy par son avocat Scoock, qui le defend, et se declare seul auteur
du livre contre moy, en suite de quoy on pense que M^{rs} d'Utrecht feront leurs
30 declarations.⁶ Nonobstant cela, en quelque façon que ie face mon calcul suivant
les regles de mon Algebre, ie trouve tousiours que tout le mal doit enfin tomber
sur Voetius, et ie sçay que, quelques uns du Magistrat ayant demandé aux mini-
stres une attestation contre moy, ils s'en sont excusez, et on m'a dit aussy que le
tesmoignage de la Classe ne contient rien à mon preiudice. Je sçay que la plus
35 part des Ministres sont contre luy, et ie croy le mesme des principaux du Mag-
istrat, car ie vous diray (mais c'est à vous seul s'il vous plaist), qu'avant que de
commencer à escrire ie les en ay fait avertir, et assurer que ie ne l'entreprendrois
point si cela ne leur estoit agreable, et que ie n'ay suivi que les conseils que i'ay
creu venir de leur part;⁷ mais ceux là sont surpassez en nombre par certaines gens
40 qui ne considerent rien de l'affaire, sinon que ie suis papiste et Voetius ministre.
Au reste, ie ne crains pas qu'ils me facent grand mal, car ie ne suis pas entre leurs
mains, et encore mesme que leur pieté les portast à suborner de faux tesmoins
contre moy, pensant que tout ce qui se fait en faveur d'un homme si necessaire à
l'eglise comme le prophete Voetius est œuvre pie, la cause est desia si publique
et elle a tant esté iugée en ma faveur par tous les honnestes gens du païs, qu'ils

175v
AT IV, 752

5 On 7/17 August Regius was summoned before a committee of inquiry, instituted by the Utrecht *Vroedschap* (cf. p. 93, n. 3), that wished to interrogate him because Descartes appealed to the Utrecht professor in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and the *Epistola ad Voetium*. Regius' excuses not to appear caused the *Vroedschap*'s resentment, calling him again on 6/16 September. The 'crime' of which Regius could be accused is that he communicated to Descartes details of a confidential meeting of the Senate, which Descartes in turn published in his *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* (AT VII, 586–587, 590; cf. below, ll. 21–23). See the Calendar, 1643/08/17.

6 The testimonies in favour of Voetius by the university Senate and the church council—and not the *classis*, a regional assembly of churchmen, as Descartes has it—were in fact requested by the *Vroedschap* and read on 7/17 August (see the Calendar). On 29 June 1643 Schoock wrote Voetius that his reply to Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* was ready (cf. p. Voet, *Tribunal iniquum*, Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1646, p. 99). In this work, entitled *Epistola ad Renatum des Cartes*, Schoock once again claimed the authorship of the *Admirande methodus*, making an exception, however, for the *paralipomena* to the preface, and the passages concerning Regius in the same preface. See also below, Letter 56, p. 153, n. 6.

7 In a letter to Mersenne Descartes stated that he wrote the *Epistola ad Voetium* more or less on behalf of certain Utrecht dignitaries (7 December 1642, AT III, 599/CM XI, 365).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

45 ne la sçauroient faire changer. Tout ce que ie crains est qu'ils ne facent quelque
chose pour me desobliger, et ainsy que i'aye toute une ville pour ennemie, car
on est tousiours plus haÿ par ceux de qui on a receu quelque iniure, que par ceus
qu'on a offensez. Et pour ce que plusieurs sont desia pour moy, peuestre que
50 cela se pourroit aysement empescher. Si tost que ie pourray avoir l'imprimé de
Scoock, ie ne manqueray pas d'y respondre par une seconde letre *ad Cele berri-*
imum virum etc., si ce n'est qu'on me le deconseille; et il me semble que le droit
du ieu seroit qu'à mesme tems ie me plaingnisse à M^{rs} de Groningue des calomnies
de leur professeur et leur en demandasse iustice. Mais ie ne connois pas un seul
176r homme en toute cete | province là, excepté M^r des Marets, de sorte que ie ne puis
55 sçavoir ny s'ils l'auroient agreable ny de quel avocat ie me pourrois servir.⁸ Que
si cela se pouvoit faire par une requeste imprimée, ainsy que sont desia toutes
les pieces du procez, ce me seroit le plus commode, car les libraires sont bien
plus à mon commandement que les procureurs, et ie crains merueilleusement la
chiquane. Mais ce qui me semble le plus necessaire est que M^{rs} de Boisleduc se
60 plaignent de Voetius au Synode qui se tient ou se doit tenir bien tost à Utrecht,
car sans doute que s'ils le font il y sera condamné, et cela aydera beaucoup à
deciller les yeux à ces M^{rs} du Vroetschap qui croient en luy.⁹

Pardonnez moy de ce que ie vous entretiens de ces vetilles, et aussy de ce
que ie m'y areste moy mesme. Ie vous assure qu'elles ne me touchent gueres,
65 et ne m'ont point enmaigri, comme Voetius, à qui on dit qu'elles ont osté treze
livres de chair, mais non pas de graisse, à cause qu'il n'en eut iamais tant.

Et cela n'empesche pas que ie n'attende icy cete semaine le fils du professeur
Schooten, qui a tracé les figures de ma Dioptrique, pour luy faire tracer celles de
ma Philosophie, que le libraire m'a promis d'avoir achevée avant Pasques.¹⁰ Cela
70 ne me fait point oublier aussy la promesse qu'il vous a pleu me faire de me donner
une copie bien escrite de la main de quelqu'un de vos gens, en la place d'une fort
mal escrite de ma main que vous avez;¹¹ et ie suis,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

Du Hoef, le 20 sep. 1643

⁸ See Descartes' letter to Maresius from 7 November 1643, Letter 52.

⁹ Descartes apparently refers to the provincial synod of Utrecht which had the authority to disuss a complaint against Voetius. The synod in question had in fact already been held in Utrecht (8–12 September NS), and the issue of the 's-Hertogenbosch Brotherhood was not on the agenda. The Walloon synod had gathered in Utrecht as well, between 26 and 28 August, during which meeting the churchmen expressed their annoyance over the publication of two of the articles of the last Synod in Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium*, severely warning the person responsible. See the Calendar (1643/08/26–28).

¹⁰ Frans van Schooten the younger (1615–1660), who succeeded his father's chair in mathematics at the engineering school connected with Leiden in 1646. He is responsible for the engravings in the *Dioptrique* and *Principia*, and translated the *Geometrie* into Latin (*Geometria*, Leiden: Maire, 1649). The *Principia* appeared well after Easter 1644 (27 March), see p. 25, n. 2.

¹¹ Cf. Letter 29, p. 95, ll. 61–65, and Letter 20, p. 71, ll. 15–17, with comment.

41. *Descartes to Huygens, 20 September 1643*

80 Ceux qui me font la faveur de m'escire adressent leurs lettres aen Gelain Adriaenssen, schuytvoerder op de Hoef, tot Alckmar,¹² ou bien à Leyde à M^r Hogeland.¹³

¹² Geleyn *Adriaensz († before 1654), skipper at Alkmaar, with a regular service on Egmond aan den Hoef.

¹³ Cornelis van Hogelande, or Hoog(h)elande (1590–1676), was an intimate friend of Descartes, who practiced as a physician in Leiden. In 1646 he published a tract on mechanical physiology that reflected Descartes' views very closely (*Cogitationes quibus Dei existentia, item animae spiritualitas, et possibilis cum corpore unio demonstrantur*, Amsterdam: Elsevier). Van Hogelande acted as an intermediate of Descartes' correspondence, forwarding and redirecting his letters. Upon moving to Sweden, Descartes left him with a trunk of manuscripts, the contents of which have been lost, except for Huygens' letters to Descartes that were restituted to Huygens by Van Hogelande (cf. Baillet, II, 428–429; Roth, xxxv; Bos, xx–xxii).

Constantijn Huygens, The Hague, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]

5 October 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 177r–178v. Single sheet folded into two (310x205 mm). Text on fos. 177r–178r; address on fo. 178v. One seal (obliterated) is preserved.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 214–216.

Other editions: AT IV, 754–756 (Roth); AM VI, 28–30.

The letter was redirected from Leiden by Van Hogelande (cf. ll. 46–47).

Summary

In reply to Letter 41 (20 September 1643). By condemning Descartes' works, the Utrecht *Vroedschap* has brought them to everybody's attention. Descartes may now retreat from the battlefield, and leave the final judgement to the general public. Regius is in no particular danger. To avoid further trouble, Huygens advises against Descartes' idea to address the Groningen magistrate in a public letter; he had better use Maresius as an intermediary.

Monsieur,

177r

Je n'ay pas esté si tost à la Haye que la Gazette vous l'a fait imaginer. Au sortir de la Campagne S.A. m'a permis de jouir d'un repos de 6 ou 7 jours, et du plaisir de la dernière verdure à Zuylichem.¹ Au retour de là j'ay trouvé celle qu'il vous
 5 a pleu m'escire le 20^e de Septemb. et veu comme vous apprehendiez *ne quid monstri alerent Ultrajectini*.² C'est ce que je croy que vous tenez maintenant pour
 esclous, par la defense qu'ils ont faicte de vostre livre,³ c'est à dire par l'envie qu'ils
 10 ont donnée à tout le monde d'en veoir et examiner le contenue. Si donques ils n'ont pas de plus forts coups à ruer, *tutò et impunè contemnantur*. Et, à tout prendre, quel subject ont ils de vous faire autre mal, et quel moyen? Il n'y a rien de si
 aysé ny de si plaisant, que de se descharger devant le monde de ce qu'on estime
 luy estre utile ou necessaire, et de se rapporter *ad captum lectoris* de l'estat que
 chascun en veut faire ou non: *functus es parte viri probi et honesti*; aille comme
 15 il voudra de l'accueil qu'on faict à vos bons offices; que vous importe? C'est ma
 Philosophie, Monsieur, *salvo justo calculo* de la vostre, à qui je me soubmets |
 177v
libens meritòque. Pour le Professeur Regius, on me dit qu'il ne court pas tout le
 hazard que vous apprehendez, la couronne du martire n'estant pas si preste pour
 luy. Aussi me semble qu'il luy est bien aysé de se sauver la vie s'il veult, de mesme
 qu'à d'autres Profess^{rs} à Leiden, qui en particulier ne se retienent pas de louer

AT IV, 755

177v

¹ Huygens returned to The Hague on 23 September. According to his diary he actually spent 13 days at Zuylichem (Huygens, *Dagboek*, p. 41).

² Cf. Letter 41, p. 120, ll. 5–6.

³ The Utrecht *Vroedschap* had condemned Descartes' *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and *Epistola ad Voetium* on 23 September (see the Calendar).

42. Huygens to Descartes, 5 October 1643

20 haultement vostre Philosophie, quoy qu'y contredisans publiquement selon les
loix Aristoteliques de l'université.⁴

Je suis marry seulement de ce qu'on a donné quelque prise à ceux d'Utrecht
en escrivant directement contre Voetius, qui trouve moyen de declarer qu'il n'est
ni autheur ni coadjuteur de l'escrit de Schoockius, sur quoy maintenant se fonde
25 toute l'action *ex lege diffamari*. Pour Groninghe, à mon advis, vous feriez mieux
de vous y adresser aux magistrats par entremise de M. des Marets que par let-
tre publique,⁵ de peur qu'on n'en prenne nouveau subject de caviller, et qu'on
ne die *aliquid te etiam in illa rep(ublica) turbare velle*. Si la plainte de ceux de
Boisleduq vient à esclatter au Synode d'Utrecht, c'est ce qui me semble devoir
30 porter le plus de coup;⁶ et pour moy je voudroy qu'ainsy faisant le proces sortist
peu à peu de vos mains, et que d'Advocat on vous laissast redevenir Philosophe.
Neque enim tantum tibi à te vacare decet, au gré de je ne sçay quelles gens. Qu'est
ce qu'on me veut dire de ce que vous retrencheriez quelque partie de vostre
Physique quand elle viendra?⁷

AT III, 756

35 J'escris à bastons rompus comme vous voyez, interrompu par 7 fois sur ceste
seule lettre. La copie de vostre copie ne sera pas oubliée.⁸ Elle ne vault pas vostre
crainte, non plus que moy l'honneur de vostre amitié, à qui il doibt suffire que
me croyiez,

Monsieur,

40

Vostre tres-humble serv^r,

C. Huygens

A la Haye, le 5 d'octob. 1643.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur Descartes,
45 Ten Huyse van
J^{re} van Hoogelande tot
Leiden⁹
P(ort)

178v

4 On 13 December 1641 Leiden University accepted new guidelines for the teaching of philosophy, which were basically Aristotelian. See P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit* (7 vols., The Hague: Nijhoff, 1913–1924), vol. II, pp. 337*–339*. Leiden professors with sympathy for Cartesian philosophy were Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), professor of Eastern languages and mathematics and a friend of Descartes, and perhaps Vorstius (cf. Letter 28, p. 92, ll. 66–68). Adriaan Heereboord (1613–1661), professor of philosophy, held disputations against Cartesianism in 1643, but was converted by 1644.

5 Descartes wrote Maresius on 7 November 1643, see Letter 52.

6 Cf. p. 122, n. 9

7 See Huygens' letter to Descartes from 23 November 1643, Letter 60, pp. 161–162, ll. 10–14.

8 Cf. Letter 41, p. 122, ll. 69–72.

9 Cf. Letter 41, p. 123, ll. 77–80.

Descartes, Leiden, to Anthony Studler van Zurck, The Hague

[13 October 1643]

Source

AT IV, 31–32.

Editions

First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), pp. 16–17.

Other edition: AM VI, 42.

The letter has no. 7 in the so-called collection Budé, a codex which comprises copies of 17 letters with a few exceptions all addressed to Pollot. The codex is entitled *Copie de quelques lettres de Monsr DesCartes à Monsr Pollot, qui ne sont pas imprimées*, this headline being written in the hand of François Turretini (1623–1687), a Genevan theologian, whose mother-in-law, Lucrece de Masse de Chauvet, was a sister of Pollot (cf. Budé, *Lettres inédites*, p. x; Ch. Adam, *Vie et œuvres de Descartes* (Paris: Cerf, 1910), p. 574. The manuscript, first published by Eugène de Budé, was re-examined by Adam and Tannery; at present the manuscript appears to be missing and AT is therefore the source of the text below.

The date poses a problem as Descartes only mentions ‘De Leyde, en passant, le mardy à midy’ (l. 18). AT assume that the Budé collection has a strict chronological order, and they fix the date at 27 October, which is the first Tuesday after 23 October, the date of letter no. 6 in the collection (to Pollot, Letter 48). AT offer, however, no explanation for Descartes’ remark ‘en passant’. Now, as the letter was destined for The Hague, it is obvious that Descartes himself was not heading for The Hague. He indicates, moreover, that he met Pollot and possibly Brasset as well in The Hague last Sunday (ll. 11–13). It would thus seem that Descartes passed through Leiden on his way back from The Hague to Egmond aan den Hoef. Descartes’ presence in The Hague is attested for on Sunday 11 October (see the Calendar, 1643/10/12). In view of this, we conjecture that the date of the letter is 13 October, which is the Tuesday after 11 October. This new setting explains why the plan for a personal intervention of the Stadholder is being discussed, not only in this letter, but also in the subsequent letters 44 and 45: Descartes no longer feels safe in Holland—he could be prosecuted in Holland for a penalty sentenced in Utrecht—and the Stadholder is the highest authority in both provinces.

A note in the manuscript addresses the letter to Van Surck (‘A M. Van Surck, à la Haye.’); there is little reason to doubt this attribution. The new date renders AT’s suggestion that the letter could also be addressed to Graswinckel obsolete, for Descartes wrote Graswinckel for the first time on 17 October (Letter 45).

Summary

Descartes has received a second letter warning him that there exists a treaty between the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, which means that he may be prosecuted in Holland for penalties sentenced in Utrecht. Moreover, the Court of Holland would have received a request to this extent from Utrecht, and law enforcers may thus come to Egmond to seize and burn his papers. Descartes asks Van Zurck to meet with Pollot, and subsequently alert Henri Brasset, who had promised to ask the Stadholder to intervene.

43. Descartes to Van Zurck, [13 October 1643]

Monsieur,

Après la lettre de femme que vous avez veue, i'en ay encore trouvé icy une d'un
homme, et d'un homme qui ne s'épouvante pas aisement,¹ en laquelle il repete la
mesme chose, et qu'il y a un accord, entre les Provinces d'Utrecht et de Holande,
5 que les sentences qui se font là, se peuvent executer icy. On me dit, de plus, qu'ils
ont escrit pour cella à la Cour de Holande, de façon que, s'ils y obtiennent ce
qu'ils desirent, il pourroit arriver que, sans que i'y pensasse, on viendroit à Hoef
saisir mes papiers, qui est tout le bien qu'ils pourroyent saisir, et brusler cette
malheureuse philosophie, qui est cause de toute leur aigreur. Et il ne se faut pas
10 reposer sur ce que, selon les formes, on doit encore attendre quelques defauts;
car ils sont resolu de faire tout contre les formes. C'est pourquoy ie vous prie
de voir M^r de Pollot et lui communiquer cette lettre, pour le prier de voir M^r
Brasset² et faire qu'il³ continue le dessein qu'il avoit dimanche, de supplier son
Altesse qu'il luy plaise en faire escrire, de sa part, au provost d'Utrecht, pour
15 faire cesser ces procedures.⁴

Je suis, etc.

Descartes

De Leyde, en passant, le mardy à midy.

¹ The letters are lost and the identity of both writers remains unknown. Descartes apparently received the second letter in Leiden. AT's suggestion that the author of the second letter may be De Wilhem seems unfounded (cf. Letter 53, p. 143, n. 1).

² Henri *Brasset (1591–after 1657), secretary to the French Embassy in The Hague.

³ It is not clear whether Pollot is meant here or Brasset.

⁴ On Sunday 11 October Descartes was in The Hague, meeting among others Pollot and probably Brasset as well (see the Calendar, 1643/10/12). During these meetings the possibility to inform the Stadholder had already been raised, probably due to the first anonymous letter (cf. l. 2). Having received a second letter which confirms the first one, Descartes wishes to have the plan executed immediately.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Alphonse Pollot, The Hague
17 October 1643

Source

AT IV, 23–25

Editions

AM VI, 34–35.

The ALS is first mentioned in the *Catalogue of the collection of autographs and historical documents formed between 1865 and 1882 by Alfred Morrison* (A.W. Thibaudau (ed.) (London 1883), vol. II, p. 32), and was published in AT. The letter was sold to N. Charavay for 12 GBP in 1917 (*The Alfred Morrison collection of autograph letters and manuscripts*, vol. I (London 1917); a copy with prices and buyers' names is kept in Cambridge University Library (A.N.L. Munby collection)). In 1974 the letter resurfaced at an auction in Los Angeles, being sold for 7,500 USD (Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, catalogue no. 235, item no. 55). Its present location being unknown, the source of the text is AT.

Summary

Following Pollot's advice Descartes writes to Graswinckel and the French ambassador. Both, or Graswinckel and Brassset, should inform the Stadholder of Descartes' situation. If necessary, Descartes will come to The Hague, but he would rather stay at Egmond as he is expecting news from Utrecht.

Monsieur,

Encore que les brouilleries d'Utrecht me deplaisent, et que i'aye de l'indignation
de me voir criminel pour une action en laquelle ie croy avoir obligé le public
et mérité des remerciemens, cela toutefois ne me fasche pas tant comme les
5 preuues que vous me rendez de vostre affection me consolent. I'escris à M^r de
Graswinckel,¹ suivant vostre avis, et i'escris aussy à M^r l'Ambassadeur,² que M^r
de Graswinckel l'ira trouver, pour luy dire en quoy i'ay besoin de sa faveur, et
pour aller aussy avec luy, ou avec M^r Brassset, représenter l'estat de la cause à son
10 d'Altesse. Si cela me peut metre en seureté, ie seray bien ayse d'attendre à partir
d'icy, iusques à ce que ma presence soit necessaire à la Haye, pour me iustifier;
mais s'il reste le moindre doute, ie m'y en iray incontinant que ie le sçauray; et
ie partirois des maintenant, sinon que i'attens des nouvelles d'Utrecht, et que ie
ne puis encore croire que l'affaire soit si pressée.³ Mais ie vous prie d'avertir M^r

1 Letter 45. In reply to Letter 43, which Van Zurck communicated to Pollot, the latter apparently advised Descartes—in a letter lost—to ask Dirk *Graswinckel (1600/01–1666), legal adviser of the Stadholder, to see the French Ambassador urging him to ask the Stadholder to intervene.

2 A letter lost. Gaspar de Coignet de *La Thuillierie (1594–1653) was ambassador of France to the Republic between 1640 and 1648.

3 From Letter 47, p. 132, ll. 2–4, it follows that Descartes did pay a short visit to The Hague between 17 and 21 October.

44. *Descartes to Pollot, 17 October 1643*

15 de Graswinckel, qu'en parlant à M^r l'Ambassadeur et à son Altesse, il (la) leur
represente comme fort pressée et fort difficile, affin qu'ils la negligent moins.

 Je vous remercie tous tres humblement des logemens que vous m'offrez, et
pourceque i'ay desia celuy de la Ville de Tours, qui est assez commode, ie ne vous
en importuneray pas.

20 Je ne sçay point de voye, pour avoir copie de ce qui s'est passé à Utrecht, si
vous ne l'obtenez de M^r vander Hoolck; il y a bien un ami de M^r van Surck, qui
me la promet, mais ie ne m'en assure pas.⁴ Enfin ie me remets de tout en vous, et
i'attendray encore icy vos commandemens. Et ie suis avec passion, AT IV, 25

Monsieur,

25 Vostre tres obeissant
et tres obligé serviteur,

Descartes

Du Hoef, le 17 Oct. 1643.

[*address:*]

30 A Monsieur,
Monsieur de Pollot,
Gentilhomme de la Chambre
de son Altesse
A la Haye.

14 Il la leur *E*] il leur *AT*

4 Apparently, Descartes still has no copy of the publication in which the Utrecht *Vroedschap* condemned his *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and *Epistola ad Voetium*. The friend of Van Zurck has not been identified—he may be the addressee of Letter 40.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to [Dirk Graswinckel], [The Hague]
17 October 1643

Source

AT IV, 19

Editions

First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), pp. 10–11.

Other edition: AM VI, 31–33.

The letter has no. 5 in the collection Budé—for a description of the collection and the choice to take AT as the source for the text see the introduction to Letter 43. A note in the manuscript addresses the letter to Van Zurck ('Cette lettre est adressée à M. Van Sureck.'), which cannot be correct as the addressee is apparently not a close friend of Descartes'. AT point out that Letter 44 indicates Graswinckel as the recipient of the letter, which is confirmed in Letter 46 to Huygens published by Roth.

Summary

Descartes thanks Graswinckel for his benevolence, and asks him to meet the French ambassador and subsequently implore the Stadholder's intervention.

Monsieur,

15
5
10
15
10
15

Je vous considere comme un bon Ange, que Dieu a envoyé du ciel pour me secourir; et pource que c'est vostre seule vertu qui vous a fait avoir pitié de mon innocence, avant mesme que vous m'eussiez iamais vû, ie me tiens plus assuré de vostre bienveillance, que si ie l'avois acquise d'autre façon. C'est pourquoi ie prens icy la liberté de vous supplier trez humblement, puisque vous iugez qu'il n'y a que l'autorité de son Altesse, meüe par l'intercession de M. l'Ambassadeur, qui me puisse tirer hors des pieges qu'on m'a tendus, de me vouloir tant obliger que d'en parler à l'un et à l'autre, pour leur faire entendre l'estat de l'affaire et le grand besoin que i'ay de leur aide, et aussy combien il est equitable qu'ils me secourent. I'en escris particulièrement à M. l'Ambassadeur,¹ et luy mande que vous le verrez, et irez avec lui, s'il luy plaist, chez son Altesse; car M. de Pollot m'a fait esperer que vous ne me refuserez pas cette faveur. Et ie seray toute ma vie, Monsieur, etc.

Descartes

Du Hoef en Egmond, le 17^e Octobre 1643.

¹ The letter to La Thuillerie is lost.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, The Hague
17 October 1643

Source

ALS, Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fos. 179r–180v. Single sheet folded into two (305x210 mm). Text on fo. 179r; address on fo. 180v. Two seals bearing the initials RC with strands of silk are preserved.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 216–217.

Other editions: AT IV, 756–757 (Roth); AM VI, 36.

Summary

Descartes has second thoughts about a new technique in drainage methods. The developments in the Utrecht affair necessitate him to write the French Ambassador and Graswinckel, asking them to inform the Stadholder. Pollot can supply further details.

Monsieur,

179r

En repensant de sens froid à l'invention de la vis, ie ne la trouve plus si bonne que ie faisois à l'abord, car encore qu'elle tourne fort viste, elle ne fera monter l'eau que lentement, et la fera beaucoup tourner; c'est pourquoy i'ay peur qu'elle ne vaille moins que l'autre.¹ Au reste, on m'apprent que mon affaire d'Utrecht est en pire estat que ie n'eusse pû imaginer, et ie voy que les formes du droit peuvent souvant aussy bien servir à faire iniustice qu'à l'empescher. I'en escriis à M^r l'Ambassadeur² et à M^r de Graswinckel³ que ie prie d'en vouloir dire son opinion à son Altesse, suivant l'avis de M^r de Pollot, lequel vous pourra dire le reste. Ie suis,

AT IV, 757

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

15 Du Hoef, le 17 Oct. 1643

A Monsieur
Monsieur de Zuylichem
Chevalier, Conseiller et
Secretaire de son Altesse
20 À la Haye

180v

¹ During his visit to The Hague around 11 October Huygens had presumably brought the invention of a new technique in drainage, developed by Simeon *Hulsebos and financed by Huygens' brother-in-law Johan van *Baerle, to Descartes' attention. Hulsebos and Van Baerle visited Descartes on 8 November to demonstrate models of the invention, on which Descartes supplies further comments in his letter to Huygens of 15 November (see Letter 55, with comment).

² The letter to La Thuillerie is lost.

³ Letter 45.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Alphonse Pollot, The Hague
21 October 1643

Source

Facsimile of fo. 1r of the ALS, published in *Précieux autographes composant la collection du président Robert Schuman, première partie* (Paris 1965), no. 59. Single sheet. Text on fo. 1r; address on fo. 1v.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: V. Egger, 'Lettre inédite de Descartes', *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 3 (1881), 190–191.
Other editions: AT IV, 25–27; AM VI, 37–38.

First published by Egger from the ALS in the collection of the marquis Auguste Queux de Saint-Hilaire (1837–1889). The autograph was still part of the same collection when AT made their transcription. The collection was dispersed, and the letter came into the possession of Robert Schuman (1886–1963). The text below is a transcript from the facsimile of fo. 1r in the Schuman auction catalogue; the address is after AT. The present location of the autograph is unknown.

Summary

Returning from a short visit to The Hague, Descartes writes a letter of thanks to Pollot. Within a few days he will write and thank Van der Hoolck and Brasset as well. Descartes is curious after Van der Hoolck's plans to put an end to the affair. Voetius should in any case suffer the consequences of his actions against him and the magistrates of 's-Hertogenbosch. Descartes regrets that he posed such a difficult mathematical problem to Princess Elizabeth. He has received the news from Utrecht that a letter by Van Reede van Renswoude to the *Vroedschap* has calmed the storm.

Monsieur,

1r

I'ay bien fait de ne demeurer point davantage à la Haye,¹ car ie n'eusse pû avoir tant de soin de mes propres affaires que vous en avez eu, et i'aurois bien moins effectué. Je n'ay point de paroles pour exprimer le resentiment que i'ay des obligations que ie vous ay, mais ie vous assure qu'il est extreme, et que ie le conserveray toute ma vie. I'escriray dans 3 ou 4 iours à M^r vander Hoolck et à M^r Brasset pour les remercier.² Et encore que vous iugiez que ie n'ay plus rien à faire à la Haye, ie suis toutefois fort tenté d'y retourner dans quelques iours pour aboucher M^r vander Hoolck, et entendre plus particulièrement les biais qu'il a proposez pour terminer mon affaire; car i'ay peur qu'ils ne craignent trop le ministre, et en le craignant, ils luy donnent des forces. Selon toutes les regles de mon algebre, apres l'eclat qu'ils ont fait, ils ne se peuvent exempter de blasme, s'ils ne le chastient, non pas de ce qu'il a fait contre moy, car ie n'en vaux pas la peine, et ie ne suis pas assez en leur bonnes graces, mais de ce qu'il a fait contre M^{rs}

AT IV, 26

¹ Cf. Letter 44, p. 128, ll. 9–13.

² See Letter 48.

47. *Descartes to Pollot, 21 October 1643*

15 de Boisleduc; en quoy tous les faux tesmoins qu'il sçauroit produire ne sont pas
suffisans pour l'excuser de medisanse, de menterie et de calomnie; car ses pro-
pres escrits le convainquent. Au reste, i'ay bien du remors de ce que ie proposay
dernierement la question des 3 cercles à M^e la princesse de Boheme,³ car elle est
si difficile, qu'il me semble qu'un Ange, qui n'auroit point eu d'autres instructions
20 d'Algebre que celles que St(ampioen)⁴ luy auroit données, n'en pourroit venir à
bout sans miracle. Je suis, AT IV, 27

Monsieur,

Vostre tres obeissant et
tres passionné serviteur,

25

Des Cartes

Du Hoef, le mercredy 21 Oct. 1643

Il y a desia 8 iours qu'on m'a mandé d'Utrecht qu'on n'avoit plus de peur
pour moy, et que le nom de son Altesse, dans les lettres de M^r de Rynswoud,⁵ avoit
calmé toute la tempeste.⁶ C'est la principale ioye que i'ay ressentie, de voir que ce
30 nom soit reveré, sinon comme il doit, au moins assez pour empescher l'iniustice,
en une ville encline à la mutination et où domine l'esprit rebelle de Voetius.

A Monsieur
Monsieur de Pollot
Gentilhomme de la Chambre de son Altesse
35 à la Haye

1v

³ Descartes probably posed the famous mathematical problem by Apollonius to Princess Elizabeth when he was in The Hague around 11 October (see the Calendar, 1643/10/12). Elizabeth's solution and Descartes' own are extensively discussed in Letters 58, 59 and 61. For an analysis of the discussion, see Appendix 3.

⁴ Johan *Stampioen seems to have been a renowned instructor of mathematics in the Hague courtly circles; he also tutored the children of Constantijn Huygens. Influences of Stampioen's algebra can be traced in Descartes' discussion of Elizabeth's solution. See Appendix 3.

⁵ Johan van *Reede van Renswoude (1593–1682), deputy of the States of Utrecht to the States General in The Hague. His letter to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* appears to be lost. Apparently, the letter contained the implicit threat that the Stadholder would be informed and be likely to intervene should the *Vroedschap* pursue their case against Descartes.

⁶ AT remark that if Descartes received this news a week earlier, on 14 October, it is difficult to explain his alarm in the letters written on 17 October. AT's suggestion to read '3 iours' instead of '8 iours' (AT IV, 652) is rejected by Paul Dibon, pointing out that Descartes most likely refers to the date of dispatch from Utrecht, which Dibon however erroneously fixes on 13 October (AT V, 667). Dibon's explanation is plausible but it entails that Descartes went to The Hague without having yet received the letter on 18 or 19 October, which is an unusually long interval.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Alphonse Pollot, [The Hague]

23 October 1643

Source

AT IV, 28–30.

Editions

First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), pp. 12–15.

Other edition: AM VI, 39–41.

The letter has no. 6 in the collection Budé—for a description of the collection and the choice to take AT as the source for the text see the introduction to Letter 43.

Summary

Descartes hesitates in writing a letter of thanks to Van der Hoolck. He does not doubt his sincerity, but he believes that Van der Hoolck will put the interest of the city of Utrecht above his. If it is Van der Hoolck's intention to have the sentence in his case postponed indefinitely, Descartes cannot agree. He asks further elucidation on Van der Hoolck's precise plans.

Monsieur,

I'ay eu trois fois la plume à la main pour escrire à M. Vander Hoolck, et trois fois ie me suis retenu; car en relisant les lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire,¹ ie ne me trouve point encore hors de scrupule; et quoique ie ne doute point que M. Vander (Hoolck) ne me veuille du bien, et qu'il ne soit trez honneste homme, ie ne laisse pas de craindre que, pour sauver l'honneur de sa Ville, il ne veuille conduire les choses d'un biais qui ne me soit pas avantageux. Car vous me mandés qu'on a trouvé des expediens, pour faire que la cause ne se termine point par Sentence; et pour moy, de l'humeur que ie suis, i'aimerois mieux qu'ils me condamnassent, et qu'ils fissent tout le pis qu'ils pourroient, pourveu que ie ne fusse pas entre leurs mains, que non pas que la chose demeurast indecise. Car, cela estant, il seroit tousiours en leur pouvoir de la renouveler, quand ils voudroyent; et ainsy ie ne serois iamais assuré. Outre qu'ils m'ont desia diffamé, en condamnant mon livre comme fameux, et me faisant citer par l'Escoutete, en l'absence duquel mardy, qui estoit le iour de l'assignation, son procureur demanda deffaut et prise de corps contre moy; sur quoy les iuges n'ordonnerent rien, mais remirent l'affaire à une autre fois.² Les choses estant en ces termes, ie ne voy point d'expedient pour me tirer du pair, que de prendre à partie l'Escoutete et les Magistrats, qui m'ont desia condamné sans avoir aucun pouvoir sur moy, et employer le credit de M^r l'Ambassadeur, pour demander à son Altesse que ie puisse avoir des iuges non suspects, qui decident l'affaire.

AT IV, 29

¹ A letter lost, probably in reply to Letter 47.

² In the citation of the Utrecht bailiff the date mentioned by Descartes (20 October NS) is not found (see the Calendar, 1643/10/03).

48. *Descartes to Pollot, 23 October 1643*

C'est chose qu'on ne peut refuser, et cette cause a desia esté iugée, en ma faveur, par tant de milliers d'hommes qui ont leu les livres de part et d'autre, que des iuges qui auront, tant soit peu, leur honneur en recommandation, n'oseroyent
25 manquer de me faire iustice. Je sçay bien que cela me donneroit de la peine; mais ie sçay bien aussi qu'en quelque façon que la chose tournast, elle seroit grandement au deshonneur de M^{rs} d'Utrecht; et selon toutes les regles de mon Algebre, ie ne voy pas qu'ils se puissent exempter de blasme, si ce n'est qu'ils veuillent
30 eux-mesmes ouvrir les yeux, pour reconnoistre les impostures et calomnies de V<oetius>, et qu'en le condamnant, ils m'absolvent et declarent qu'ils avoyent esté mal informés. Ce qui seroit fort aisé, s'ils le vouloyent; car toute leur action contre moy estant fondée, à ce que i'entens, sur ce que V<oetius> declare n'estre
point complice du livre de Schoock, pour peu qu'ils s'en veuillent enquerir, ils
35 trouveront aisement le contraire; et puisqu'il a demandé d'eux une si rigoureuse punition des calomnies qu'il pretend que i'ai escrites contre luy, par ces mesmes loys ils auront droit de le chastier, pour celles qu'il a fait escrire contre moy. Ou bien, si ie ne vaux pas la peine qu'ils me fassent iustice en cela, s'ils veulent seulement avoir égard à ce qu'il a fait contre M^{rs} de Boisleduc, ils ne trouveront que
trop de suiet pour le condamner.

40 Ie vous diray donc icy, entre nous, que si M^r Vander Hooleck medite quelque chose de semblable, et qu'il se promette d'en pouvoir venir à bout avec le temps, ie seray bien aise de temporiser, et de faire cependant tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour y contribuer. Mais, s'il veut seulement tascher d'assoupir les choses, affin qu'on n'en parle plus, c'est ce que ie ne desire en façon du monde;³ et
45 plutost que de m'attendre à cella, ie me propose d'aller demeurer à la Haye, pour y solliciter et demander iustice, iusques à ce qu'elle m'ayt esté rendue ou refusée. C'est pourquoy i'ose vous supplier de vouloir un peu plus particulierement sçavoir son dessein, s'il est possible; ie suis desia si accoutumé à vous donner de la peine, qu'il me semble avoir droit de vous en donner encor davantage, et toute-
50 fois ie ne sçaurois estre plus que ie suis, Monsieur, V.

Du Hoef, le vendredy 23^e Octobre 1643.

³ This was, however, Van der Hoolck's approach to put an end to the affair; cf. Letter 54, p. 147, ll. 27–30, and Letter 62, p. 167.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, The Hague
2 November 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 181r–182v. Single sheet folded into two (225x170 mm). Text on fo. 181r; address on fo. 182v. Two seals bearing the initials RC with strands of silk are preserved.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 218–219.

Other editions: AT IV, 758–759(Roth); AM VI, 43–44.

Summary

Descartes thanks Huygens for taking care that he will not be surprised by a subpoena. He needs Huygens' help more than ever as his enemies prove to be more violent and sly than imagined. Despite the situation, Descartes is working on the question of gravity. He asks Huygens to send him a work by Gassendi.

Monsieur,

181r

I'ay appris de M^r de Pollot¹ que vous et luy m'avez fait la faveur d'avoir soin que ie ne puisse estre surpris par des lettres d'attache,² de quoy ie vous ay tres grande obligation, et ie vous supplie tres humblement de vouloir continuer en ce soin, car i'en ay plus besoin que iamais, mes ennemis ne dorment pas, ils sont plus violens et plus artificieux qu'on ne scauroit imaginer; et maintenant que i'entens parler de prise de cors, ie ne me tiendrois plus icy en seureté, si ie ne m'assurois entierement sur vostre amitié. Mais cependant affin que vous sçachiez que *mihi etiam vacat in viciniâ mortis carmen facere*,³ et que ces brouilleries n'empeschent pas mes divertissemens ordinaires, ie vous diray que ie suis maintenant à l'explication de la pesanteur,⁴ et pour ce que ie trouve diverses raisons pour lesquelles il me semble que les cors pesans ne doivent pas tousiours tendre vers un mesme point, si vous pouviez rencontrer sans peine entre vos papiers un imprimé de M^r Gassendi touchant l'observation d'un poids pendu à un filet, que le p. Mercenne m'a mandé vous avoir envoyé il y a 3 ou 4 mois,⁵ vous m'obligeriez, car ie n'ay sceu cete observation qu'à demi, et ie voudrois voir si elle s'accorde avec mes speculations. Je suis,

AT IV, 759

¹ Probably in reply to Letter 48.

² It is not clear whether Huygens and Pollot actually prevented a subpoena to be delivered to Descartes or simply warned him not to accept it should it be delivered. The subpoena would be part of Voetius' civil lawsuit against Descartes. See Huygens to Descartes, 2 November (Letter 50), and Descartes to De Wilhem, 7 November (Letter 53, with comment).

³ Cf. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 115 (after Plato, *Phaedo*, 60c–61b; 84e–85b). Similar references in Descartes to Huygens, 17 February 1645, Roth, 236/AT IV, 776; and to Elizabeth, [22 February 1649], AT V, 281.

⁴ *Principia*, pt. IV, art. 20–27 (AT VIII A, 212–217).

⁵ Descartes refers to Calignon's experiment discussed in Gassendi's *Novem stellae circa Iovem visae* (1643). Cf. Descartes to Huygens, 24 May 1643, Letter 21, p. 74, l. 22ff with comment; to Mersenne, 30 May 1643, Letter 22, p. 77, ll. 13–26 with comment.

49. *Descartes to Huygens, 2 November 1643*

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

20

Du Hoef, le 2 Nov. 1643.

A Monsieur
Monsieur de Zuylichem, Chevalier
Conseiller et Secretaire de
son Altesse.
A la Haye

25

182v

Constantijn Huygens, The Hague, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
2 November 1643

Source

ALS, Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 183r–184v. Single sheet folded into two (305x205 mm). Text on fos. 183r–184r; no address or seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 219–221.

Other editions: AT IV, 759–761 (Roth); AM VI, 45–46.

Summary

In reply to Letter 46 of 17 October. Huygens forwards a packet from Mersenne. He assumes that De Wilhem has given Descartes ample information on Voetius' new line of action against him. If Descartes wishes to proceed against the Utrecht theologian, he must found himself upon indisputable evidence. The inventor Hulsebos has visited Huygens and will shortly contact Descartes to discuss his inventions.

Monsieur,

183r

Je me descharge promptement d'un paquet que le P. Mersenne m'envoye pour vous aveq les quatre lignes y jointes,¹ sans que de long temps j'en aye eu autre nouvelle, et me rapporte du subject à la cognoissance qu'il semble que vous en debvez avoir.

5 Ce que mon Beaufrere vous aura communiqué de la lettre du doct^r Voetius,² vous aura fait veoir, comme de part et d'autre, vous vous plaignez de mesme sorte, de ce que par la surceance des procedures qui ont roulé jusques ores, vos honneurs demeurent mal satisfaits ou garentis. Pour vous, Monsieur, j'en suis
10 autant d'avis, que vous le pourriez estre. Mais puis que S. A. a esté employée à procurer ceste surceance, qui a esté toute l'instance de M. l'Ambass^r de France, je ne sçay si vous pourrez trouver raisonnable de desfaire ce que ses devoirs
15 y ont fait, nommement à cest heure que vous appercevez | que les aigreurs de cest homme, et les remuemens qu'il minute de nouveau, vous donneront assez de subject de rentrer en cause, à toutes les fois qu'il vous plaira. Que si vous y
20 rentrez, je vous prie de songer à vous munir de preuves et vérifications formelles des deux, ou au moins de l'une des deux grandes injures que Voetius est accusé de vous avoir faites, je dis d'avoir eu la main au libelle de Schoockius, ou de vous avoir qualifié Athée. Sans ces pieces il se jouera tousiours comme il fait, et fera mouvoir la machine, sans paroistre, ny recevoir aucun des coups que vous ruerez.

AT IV, 760

183v

¹ Containing a pamphlet by Antoine Arnauld against the Jesuits, see Descartes' reply to Huygens, Letter 55, p. 149.

² The letter by Huygens' brother-in-law De Wilhem is lost, but Descartes' reply furnishes enough information to outline the new development in the Utrecht affair (see Letter 53 of 7 November, with comment).

50. Huygens to Descartes, 2 November 1643

L'Inventeur de la vis ne veult trouver aucune difficulté dans l'objection que vous y faictes.³ Il m'a esté veoir aveq deux modelles, dont l'un represente la vis droicte, l'autre la couchée, travaillant à divers filets opposites, qui ramassant leurs eaux les font sortir, *quà data porta*, en abondance. Il vous en ira faire communication au premier | jour.⁴ Je vous supplie de considerer meurement le tout, et nommement ceste derniere invention, qu'il trouve meilleure en théorie, mais plus difficile en pratique, à cause que les rouës qui l'agiteront doibvent travailler sous l'eau, en quoy l'usage du bois ne seroit pas si propre. Il me tardera de sçavoir les arrests de vostre grand jugement sur ces choses, qui en ces païs icy sont de l'importance que vous sçavez, et moy tousiours plus que vous ne sçavez,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble serv^r,

C. Huygens

A la Haye, le
2^e de Nov. 1643.

³ See Letter 46.

⁴ The inventor Hulsebos visited Descartes on 8 November, see Letter 55 to Huygens.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Claude Picot, [Paris]

7 November 1643

Source

Baillet, II, 194 (A), 197 (B).

Editions

AT IV, 36–37; AM VI, 50–51.

Summary

In the letter Descartes outlined the Utrecht affair to his correspondent, which affair showed that he had numerous friends in the United Provinces and yielded him a great number of new friends. As a result, Descartes' main activity in October and November would have been writing 'hundreds letters of thanks' (text B, ll. 11–12)—an extravagant exaggeration by either Descartes or Baillet.

[A]

[...] depuis la réponse qu'il [Descartes] y avoit faite le sixième de Juillet,¹ on avoit entièrement changé de stile dans la procédure; et [...] ses ennemis avoient eu autant de soin d'empêcher que ce qu'ils préparoient contre luy ne fût sçû, que s'il avoit été question de surprendre quelque ville ennemie.² Ils avoient voulu néanmoins observer quelques formes: et pour ce sujet la sentence qu'ils avoient obtenuë des Magistrats avoit été lûë dans la Maison de ville, mais à une heure ordinaire, après d'autres écrits, et lors qu'on se fut aperçû de l'absence de ceux qu'on jugeoit capables d'en avertir M. Descartes. [*l.m.*: Du bourreau.] Pour les citations de l'Officier de Justice, qui devoient suivre la sentence, ils ne s'étoient point souciez de prendre tant de précautions, croyant que M. Descartes, éloigné des lieux comme il étoit, ne pourroit point en être averti assez tôt pour y apporter du remède. [*l.m.*: V. la lettr. Ms. de Desc. à Picot du 7 de Novembre 1643.] En effet ses livres étant déjà condamnez, et luy-même cité en personne, ils se doutoient bien qu'il ne comparoîtroit pas, et que la sentence seroit donnée par défaut. Ils étoient assûrez que cette sentence n'iroit pas moins qu'à le condamner à de grosses amendes, à le bannir des Provinces unies, et à faire brûler ses livres: et l'on prétendoit que Voetius avoit déjà transigé avec le bourreau pour faire un feu d'une hauteur demesurée, et dont on pût faire mention dans l'histoire comme d'une chose extraordinaire.

[B]

Cette affaire acheva de perdre la réputation de Voetius parmy les honnêtes gens de sa Religion. [*l.m.*: lettr. Ms. à Mers. du 11 de Décembre 1643.³] Elle couvrit de confusion les Magistrats d'Utrecht, dont plusieurs tâchèrent de s'excuser sur ce que n'ayant pas étudié,

¹ Descartes to the Utrecht *Vroedschap*, Letter 35.

² With minor differences, text A closely follows Descartes' *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 218–219, as Baillet himself indicates in a marginal note at the top of page 194.

³ Letter 64.

51. *Descartes to Picot, 7 November 1643*

et ne sachant pas quels pouvoient être les différens des gens de Lettres, ils s'étoient crus
5 obligez de prendre les intérêts de leur Ministre et de leur Théologien contre un Catholique
étranger, estimant que le zèle pour leur Religion rectifieroit suffisamment leur ignorance et
leurs procédures les moins régulières. [*L.m.*: Lettr. Ms. à Picot du 7. Novemb.] Elle servit
aussi à faire connoître la multitude des amis que M. Descartes avoit à la Haye, à Leyde, à
Amsterdam, et généralement par toutes les Provinces-unies, et à luy en acquérir un grand
10 nombre de nouveaux, qui blâmèrent hautement les procédures d'Utrecht, dès qu'elles devin-
rent publiques: de sorte que la principale occupation de M. Descartes pendant les mois
d'Octobre et de Novembre, fut d'écrire des lettres de remercimens par centaines. Diver-
tisement moins odieux, mais aussi nuisible à ses occupations que les sollicitations de son
procez.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Samuel Maresius, [Groningen]
7 November 1643

Source

S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata à D. G. Voetio* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 402–403.

Summary

Descartes intends to take Schoock to court unless he declares that Voetius is the genius behind the *Admiranda methodus*. He asks Maresius to advise him in these matters.

See Letter 23.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to David de Wilhem, The Hague
7 November 1643

Source

ALS. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 293B, fo. 66r–67v. Single sheet folded into two (223x172 mm). Two seals with strands of silk are preserved. Text on fo. 66r–67r; address on fo. 67v.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand, 1860), vol. II, pp. 22–25.

Other editions: AT IV, 33–35; AM VI, 47–49.

The letter was transferred from the Rijksarchief at The Hague to the library of Leiden University in 1862. Stamps of both institutions are found on fos. 66r, 66v and 67v.

Summary

In reply to a letter by De Wilhem (lost), in which he informed Descartes of Voetius' intention to start a legal procedure himself, and to have Descartes arrested. Descartes is not familiar with the custom law Voetius appeals to, and he does not know how serious the threat is or what exactly would be the consequences of an arrest. But should he be arrested, then he would rather be arrested in The Hague than anywhere else.

Monsieur,

66r

I'ay leu avec attention la letre que vous m'avez fait la faveur de m'escire et ie vous en suis extremement obligé.¹ Je ne sçay si l'article de la coustume sur lequel mon adversaire se fonde se peut entendre de ceux qui ne sont point sous leur
5 iurisdiction, car si cela estoit, il ny auroit personne en lieu du monde sur lequel ils ne peussent estendre leur puissance, en faisant faire des livres contre luy remplis de toute sorte d'iniures et calomnies, puis s'il ose s'en plaindre en l'accusant d'estre luy mesme le calomniateur.^a De dire aussy que i'ay escrit contre la ville
10 ou l'Academie, c'est chose tres fausse et sans apparence, car i'ay eu partout plus de soin que ie ne devois de les espargner. Mais ie voy bien qu'il n'est pas question de disputer le droit, il faut seulement que i'aye soin de me garentir de la violence et de pourvoir à ma seureté, car pour mon honneur il me semble qu'ils y pourvoyent eux mesmes. Je ne voudrois pas que V(oetius) eust pouvoir de me
15 faire arester en quelque mauvaise hostellerie, ny mesme en quelque lieu que ce fust, à cause que, cela estant, ie serois obligé | d'entreprendre un proces, et c'est
à quoy ie ne me resoudray que le plus tard qu'il me sera possible. Mais ie n'ay point dessein d'aller plus loin que d'icy à la Haye iusques à ce que l'affaire soit
en autre estat qu'elle n'est, et ie ne sçay si en cete province il me pourroit faire

66v

3 l(a))e)quel

¹ A letter lost, already referred to by Huygens on 2 November (Letter 50), thus dating from late October of early November.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ainsy arester, et si en ce cas ce ne seroit pas devant les iuges du lieu ou ie serois
20 ainsy aresté que la cause devoit estre disputée, si cela est ie ne croy pas qu'il
l'entrepenne. Mais si m'ayant fait arester icy il pouvoit continuer ses procedures
à Utrecht, i'aymerois mieux aller à la Haye affin que, s'il me veut faire arester,
ce soit plutost là qu'ailleurs. Cependant ie vous remercie de tout mon coeur de
25 l'avis que vous m'avez fait la faveur de me donner, et i'espere encore vous en
aller remercier à la Haye lorsqu'il sera tems que i'y aille. Je suis,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

30 Du Hoef, le 7 Nov. 1643

Monsieur,

67r

Depuis ma letre escrite i'ay receu et leu le *testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae*
que V(oetius) mandoit estre sous la presse.² Je ne trouve pas qu'il face beaucoup
pour luy ny contre moy. Toute leur *Narratio historica* qui le suit ne me touche
35 point et se peut accorder avec la miene, et mesme peut servir pour la confirmer
à cause qu'ils ne nient pas les faits, mais seulement y donnent d'autres interpre-
tations qui ne sont point si croyables que les miennes. Et en leur *testimonium*
ils ne m'accusent que de trois poins. Le premier est d'avoir escrit que *quidam*
ex Collegis Regii eum sibi praeferrere advertentes, manifeste ipsi inviderunt, ce qui
40 ne se raporte pas à V(oetius) et ce n'est pas un crime d'avoir dit que quelqu'un
porte envie a un autre, et bienque ils le puissent nier, leurs actions toute fois le
tesmoignent.³ Le 2 est qu'ils nomment *improbam coniecturam*,⁴ à cause que par-
lant de *supplasionibus*, i'ay dit *eas non dico a Theologo per amicos fuisse excitatas*
neque enim scio, sed antea non fiebant,⁵ ce qui ne me semble pas aussy estre suf-
45 fisant pour fonder une action d'iniures. Enfin la derniere qu'ils nomment *man-*
ifestam calumniam est que i'ay dit que V(oetius) estoit le principal auther du
iugement qu'ils ont fait contre moy, en le *nommant mordacem et seditio sum Rec-*
torem, et ils veulent tous en estre complices en quoy ils se font plus de tort que
ie n'ay fait, et ie ne voy point encore en cela qu'il y ait de crime, au contraire,

48 (-point) plus

2 In 1642, in reply to Descartes' *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, the Academic Senate drew up an official account of the crisis over Cartesianism at Utrecht University. The *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae, et Narratio historica qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae Philosophiae* (Utrecht: Strick) was ready in March 1643, but was not published before October (the note to the reader is dated 28 September/8 October). A French translation of the pamphlet is in *Querelle*, 77–123.

3 *Testimonium*, pp. 3–4/*Querelle*, 80. Cf. *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 583.

4 *Testimonium*, p. 4/*Querelle*, 80.

5 *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 585.

53. Descartes to De Wilhem, 7 November 1643

50 ils m'en devoient remercier s'ils avoient de l'honneur.⁶ Mais ils nomment mal ce
jugement de *retinenda vetere Philosophia*, car il a esté de *condemmandâ novâ ut
orthodoxae theologiae adversâ*, bienqu'elle leur fust entierement inconnuë.

A Monsieur
Monsieur de Wilhelm
55 Conseiller de son Altesse et
du Conseil de Brabant
à la Haye

67v

a — p. 143, l. 8. By the end of October it had become clear that the judgement in the process against Descartes in Utrecht was suspended for an indefinite time, thus putting an end, as far as the Utrecht authorities were concerned, to the affair. Apparently, Van der Hoolck's plan had been effective (see Letter 48). The outcome was neither to Descartes' nor to Voetius' liking. The latter seems to have thought that he could still start a civil procedure against Descartes himself. Voetius' intention is discussed in Letters 49, 50 and 53, their source being a letter by Voetius himself. The letter is mentioned by Huygens, according to whom De Wilhem had given Descartes further details (Letter 50). The letter itself not being extant, we cannot be sure of Voetius' precise plans, nor do we know to whom his letter was actually sent. In any case, Descartes' discussion of his opponent's move in his reply to De Wilhem (Letter 53) contains sufficient information on Voetius' intentions. He apparently explored the possibility to start a lawsuit against Descartes, based upon custom law. The aim would be to have Descartes arrested and brought before a court; which court exactly remained to be decided. Naturally Voetius would prefer Utrecht, but that would make it necessary to have Descartes arrested and extradited to Utrecht or, pending the lawsuit, to have him placed into custody. Another possibility would be to start a lawsuit in Descartes' place of residence, that is, Egmond, which explains why Descartes would rather be in The Hague if there was any serious risk of being arrested. If Voetius would indeed succeed in having a case against Descartes either in Holland or Utrecht, a subpoena addressed to Descartes would be a first step, hence the warning by Pollot and Huygens (see Letter 49). In any case, the matter is not being discussed after 7 November, which suggests that Voetius could not carry out his plan. Later events show that the Utrecht theologian had little hesitations in taking his opponents to court. In 1644 he investigated the possibility to have Descartes arrested in Groningen should the philosopher go there because of his case against Schoock, and later Voetius actually had Schoock arrested in Utrecht during his own lawsuit against the Groningen professor.⁷

6 *Testimonium*, p. 5/*Querelle*, 80. Cf. *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 590. The judgement referred to is the official condemnation of Regius' *Responsio* (1642) and Cartesian philosophy by the Academic Senate in March 1642, *Judicium Senatus Academici Inclutae Ultrajectinae de Libello ... titulo Responsionis* (reprinted in *Testimonium*, 65–67/*Querelle*, 121–123 and in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 590–593).

7 Cf. E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 51; Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, III, 238.

Henri Brasset, [The Hague], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
10 November 1643

Source

MS copy. Paris, BnF, f.fr. 17895, fo. 375v–376v.

Editions

First published in: AT IV, 653–654.

Other edition: AM VI, 58–59.

F.fr. 17895 is a copy book of Brasset's outgoing mail as secretary to the French Embassy. The addressee and the date are given at the head of fo. 375v: 'A. M. Des Cartes. Du 10 No^{bre} 1643'.

Summary

In reply to a letter of thanks by Descartes (cf. Letter 47). Henri *Brasset (1591–after 1657), secretary to the French Embassy in The Hague, assures Descartes of his and the Ambassador's support, regretting the hostility Descartes faces in The Netherlands. Pollot is devoted to Descartes' cause incessantly. Brasset has spoken to the Stadholder and the deputies of the States of Utrecht in The Hague. They promised to find a compromise, which is as Brasset admits not very satisfactory, but Voetius has a strong support in The Hague as well.

Monsieur,

375v

Vous attribuez à faveur ce que je croy devoir à vostre mérite, et quand vous remarquez le long tems que j'ay commencé de le connoistre, vous avez grande raison de vous promettre que je tascheray en toutes occasions de vous faire
5 veoyr des marques reelles de l'estime que j'en fay. Celle qui s'en est presentee depuis quelques jours me desplaist parce qu'elle vous fasche, et que ceux qui l'ont esmeüe, ne vous laissent pas la liberté de vous en demesler comme certainement vous pourriez faire avec honneur et à leur confusion.¹ Ils se prevalent des avantages que le lieu où ils sont, et leur condition leur donnent, et prenant la maxime
10 de l'ancienne Mere des Rep^{ques} ils reputent pour Barbare tout ce qui n'est pas de leur nation. M. l'Amb.² travaille à leur faire connoistre que la nostre ne doit pas estreensee pour estrangere dans leur estat, et qu'ils se font tort d'en vouloir bannir la vertu qui a voulu y prendre avec vous sa retraite. Souffrez sans offense que je vous dye que je ne serois pas mary qu'ils vous eussent obligé (plus civilement neant moins) à quitter leur pays, parce que le nostre en profiteroit en vous
15 recueillant avec autant de | joye que ces gens là ont de peine à vous veoyr avec des yeux qui ne peuvent souffrir la lumiere. Je cedde pourtant à vostre interest, et quand il s'agira soit de vostre inclination ou de vostre honneur, je ne suivray pas moins l'une que je seray tousjours prest à seconder l'autre. Mais je crains d'y
20 avoir plus de manque de force que de bonne volonté et la deffiance que j'en ay me fait dire que M. Pallot vous a donné l'ombre pour le corps, en vous faisant

376r

AT IV, 654

¹ Brasset probably refers to the publication of the *Testimonium* (cf. p. 144, n. 2).

² Gaspar de Coignet de *La Thuillerie.

54. *Brasset to Descartes, 10 November 1643*

valoir mes foibles offices. Si sa discretion l'eust permis, il auroit deub vous parler de luy mesme, car il est en continuelle et utile action pour vostre contentement, ne laissant aux autres que bien peu de place pour le seconder. Il m'en a fait ce-
25 jourdhuy des ouvertures que j'ay suivies, et puisqu'il en est l'autheur je luy en
laisse le recit.³ Tant y a, M(onsieur), que soubz l'adveu de M. l'Amb., qui prend
un singulier plaisir d'estre à tout quand il y va de vostre fait, j'ay parlé tant à
S. A. qu'à tous ceux qui representent icy la souveraineté d'Utrecht.⁴ Ils m'ont
30 promis unanimement et de bonne grace de travailler à un iuste et stable tem-
perament.⁵ Je voudrois bien pouvoir user d'un terme qui signifiast quelque chose
plus à vostre goust. Mais quoy? L'on dict aussy librement icy pour vostre partie
principale⁶ *Noli tangere christos meos*,⁷ que s'il estoit un evesque sacré. Voyons
donc ce que nous en pouvons tirer avec | cordes de soye, et croyez que jamais 376v
vous n'en aurez tant de satisfaction comme vous en souhaitez.

32 *Noli (-me) tangere*

³ Descartes thanks Pollot for his efforts in Letter 56 of 17 November.

⁴ Gijsbert van der Hoolck and Johan van Reede van Renswoude.

⁵ Cf. Letter 62, p. 167. On 6/16 November the records of the Utrecht *Vroedschap* mention that the Burgomasters were informed by the deputies of the States of Utrecht at The Hague of the Stadholder's and the French ambassador's displeasure concerning the procedures against Descartes (see the Calendar). For a general outline of the Utrecht Crisis, see Appendix 1.

⁶ Gijsbertus Voetius.

⁷ Cf. Psalm 104:15, and 1 Chron. 16:22: 'nolite tangere christos meos'. Apparently, Brasset intended to write 'noli me tangere' (John 20:17).

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Constantijn Huygens, [The Hague]

15 November 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 185r–187v. One sheet folded into two (300x215 mm.), and a second sheet pasted in-between (fo. 186). Text of the letter on fo. 185; the sketch on fo. 186r. No address; no seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 221–226.
Other editions: AT IV, 761–766 (Roth); AM VI, 60–64.

Summary

Descartes was visited a week ago by Johan van Baerle and Simeon Hulsebos to discuss the latter's invention, and he now gives Huygens his opinion. In an annexe to the letter Descartes draws a sketch of an improved Archimedean screw. The work he received from Mersenne through Huygens is by Arnauld, whose dispute with the Jesuits is outlined by Descartes.

Monsieur,

185r

Il y a huit iours que M^r de Baerle prit la peine de venir icy avec l'inventeur de la vis,¹ et i'ay differé iusques à maintenant à vous mander mon opinion touchant cete vis, affin d'y penser tout à loisir. Celle qui est couchée est gentille en theorie, mais ie ne croy pas qu'il y ait aucune apparence de s'en servir, non seulement à cause de la difficulté de metre une roue sous l'eau pour la faire tourner, mais aussy à cause que, quittant son eau des le bas, elle ne peut avoir la force de la pousser en abondance iusques à 10 ou 12 pieds de haut ainsy qu'on desire, si ce n'est qu'elle tourne avec une extreme vitesse. L'application de la droite est la plus commode et la plus simple de toutes, et de la moindre depense; mais i'y trouve encore beaucoup de difficulté, car elle ne fait monter l'eau qu'en tant que ses spirales la chassent avec impetuosité en la rencontrant de biais, et il n'y a rien qui empesche que la pesanteur de cete eau ne la face continuellement redescendre par le mesme chemin par lequel elle monte. Ce qui est fort different de la vis inclinée, en laquelle la descente de l'eau est arestée par chasque contour de sa spirale et sa pesanteur mesme ayde à la faire monter. Nonobstant cela i'ay bonne opinion de cete vis droite, et ie croy que si on peut bien trouver la iuste proportion de sa grosseur, de ses spirales, et de la vitesse dont elle doit tourner, on la rendra la meilleure de toutes les inventions pour elever de l'eau en abondance, qui ayent encore esté mises en pratique. Mais ces choses là ne se peuvent determiner que par l'experience, et tout ce que m'enseigne mon petit raisonnement, est que ie voudrois que l'inventeur, ainsy que ie luy ay desia dit, fist un modelle si petit qu'il voudroit pour ce qui seroit de la grosseur de la vis, mais qui fust assez long pour elever l'eau à la hauteur de dix pieds: et ie voudrois

AT IV, 762

¹ Johan van *Baerle and Simeon *Hulsebos; for the latter's invention, see the comment below.

55. *Descartes to Huygens, 15 November 1643*

25 que cete vis fust toute simple, c'est à dire composée d'une seule spirale, au lieu
que la siene en contient deux ou trois l'une dans l'autre |(ce n'est pas que ces 185v
deux ou trois spirales ne soient peustestre utiles, mais on pourra mieux iuger de
l'effect en une seule), et que les contours de cete spirale fussent continuez iusques
au haut du modelle, car ie ne doute point que cela n'y serve, quoy qu'ils n'aillent
30 dans celuy qu'il a fait que iusques au tiers ou à la moitié. Si l'eau monte assez
facilement dans ce modelle et sans que la vis doive tourner d'une vitesse trop
excessive, on pourra prendre là dessus ses mesures, et i'iray tres volontiers au
lieu où il sera pour y contribuer ce que ie pourray. Mais s'il ne peut faire monter
l'eau si haut sans beaucoup de difficulté, ie ne seray pas d'avis qu'on passe plus
35 outre.^a

L'imprimé que vous me fistes dernièrement la faveur de m'envoyer de la part
du P. Mercenne est un cartel contre toute la societé des Iesuites par M^r Arnaut,²
docteur en Sorbone, et petit fils de l'Avocat qui a autrefois plaidé contre eux
pour les faire chasser de France. La querelle vient de ce qu'il a depuis peu fait
40 un livre³ pour prouver qu'on ne doit pas aller à la communion qu'après avoir
fait penitence de ses pechez, et qu'il y a refuté quelque iesuite sans toutefois le
nommer;⁴ de quoy les autres qui enseignent l'opinion contraire se sont offensez,
et un pere Nouët,⁵ leur predicateur, a fait 5 ou 6 sermons de suite contre ce livre,
avertissant premierement ainsy qu'on fait à la Comedie qu'il ioueroit le dimanche
45 prochain cete piece, ce qui faisoit que le monde y accouroit de toutes pars. Sur
quoy M^r Arnaut fait derechef imprimer son livre et y adiouste cet imprimé⁶ pour
servir de preface et de response aux sermons du P. Nouët. La matiere n'est pas
à vostre usage, mais si vous prenez la peine de le lire vous verrez qu'il escrit plus
hardiment contre tout le cors des Iesuites que ie n'ay fait contre V(oetius). Il est
50 vray qu'il se targue de l'approbation de 15 Evesques et de 20 docteurs,⁷ mais si
i'avois recueilli les voix de tous ceux qui donnent le tort à mon adversaire i'en
aurois bien davantage pour moy. Et toutefois ie m'assure que M^r Arnaut ne
craint pas le traitement qu'on m'a voulu faire. Je vous ay bien de l'obligation de
ce que vous avez contribué pour l'empescher. I'attens des nouvelles d'Utrecht
55 pour escrire à M^r de Pollot.⁸ Il s'employe pour moy, ie ne diray pas comme un

2 Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), surnamed 'the Great', was the author of the fourth set of Objections against Descartes' *Meditationes*, and co-author with Pierre Nicole of *La logique ou l'art de penser* (Paris: Savreux, 1662). In 1643 he became the French leader of Jansenism and was expelled from the Sorbonne in 1656 for his Jansenist views. He was the youngest son (not grandson, as Descartes supposes) of the lawyer Antoine Arnauld (1560–1619) who in 1594 had made a famous attack on the Jesuits on the ground of their alleged disloyalty to Henri IV.

3 A. Arnauld, *De la fréquente communion* (Paris: Vitry, 1643; the privilege is dated 22 August), a statement of Jansenist principles.

4 Pierre de Sesmaisons SJ (1588–1648), whose *Question, s'il est meilleur de communier souvent que rarement* pushed Arnauld in composing *De la fréquente communion*.

5 Jacques Nouët SJ (1605–1680), since 1642 responsible for the Sunday sermons at the Jesuit church of St Louis in Paris.

6 'Advertissement sur quelques Sermons preschez à Paris contre ce livre', appended to the second edition of *De la fréquente communion* in 1643.

7 Printed in full before the *Advertissement*.

8 See Descartes to Pollot, Letter 56, p. 152, l. 11ff.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

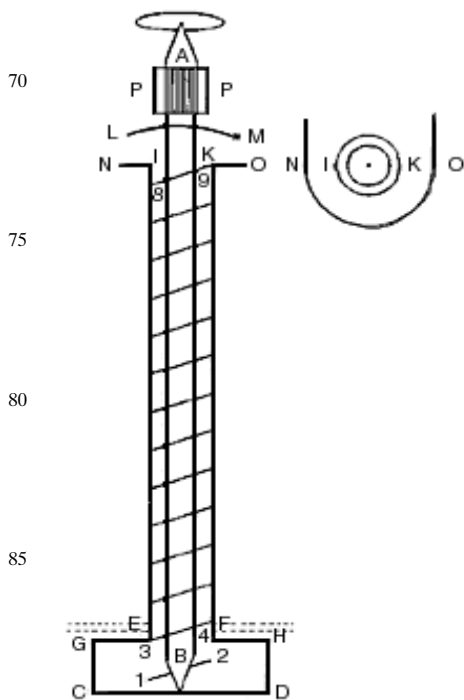
frere, car ie ne reçoÿ point de si bons offices des miens,⁹ mais comme un ami qui
 a plus de soin de ce qui me touche que ie ne pourrois avoir moy mesme. C'est
 la confiance que i'ay en vous et en luy qui est cause que ie ne suis point allé ces
 iours à la Haye, nonobstant qu'on m'eust escrit que vous iugiez à propos que i'y
 60 allasse, et que ie sois tres parfaitement,

Monsieur,

Vostre tres humble et
 tres obeissant serviteur,

Des Cartes

65 Du Hoef, le 15 Nov. 1643



AB est le pivot ou l'arbre de la vis. 186r

EI, FK est le tuyau ou le tonneau dans lequel elle tourne.

CD une des poutres qui soutienent l'arbre; et CGE, DHF une partie de celles qui soutienent le tonneau, où ie fais CG et DH assez éloigné de l'arbre affin qu'elles n'empeschent le passage de l'eau.

123489 sont les contours de la spirale qui compose la vis. Et le premier contour 123 est au dessous du tonneau, affin que l'eau y entre plus aysement. Le dernier 89 monte iusques au haut vers K.

AT IV, 766

IN, KO est le lieu où l'eau se vuide qui s'estend en rond tout autour du tonneau à cause que l'eau en sort par tous les costez de la circonference.

LM est un couvercle qui empesche que l'eau ne iaillisse plus haut vers la lanterne ou petite rouë qui fait tourner l'arbre.

59 qu'on ... 1643 written lengthways in the margin 73 éloigné] sic 77 (+123)

9 Cf. p. 29, n. 3.

55. Descartes to Huygens, 15 November 1643

a — p. 149, l. 35. The invention discussed by Descartes concerns two connected screws (made of wood) designed to lift water to higher levels. The design of this double screw, which had already been the subject of their correspondence (Descartes to Huygens, 17 October 1643, Letter 46, Huygens to Descartes, 2 November 1643, Letter 50), was made by Simeon *Hulsebos (c.1596–1648), an inventor of mechanical waterworks who was one of the first in the Low Countries to use Archimedean screws in mills.¹⁰ The capital for building this invention was most likely provided by Johan van *Baerle, Huygens' brother-in-law, with whom Hulsebos made several agreements to share the profits of other inventions. Hulsebos' invention can be described as a horizontal cylinder with a screw under water which is connected to a vertical cylinder containing a second screw, which in turn can be moved by either wind or horse-power. A cogwheel that transmits the motion of the vertical screw to the horizontal screw connects both cylinders. Rotating the horizontal screw through the motion of the vertical screw continuously pushes water to higher levels. By designing this contraption Hulsebos not only tried to improve the ordinary, inclined, Archimedean screw used in Dutch wind-mills (which could lift water 13 to 17 feet in a single stage instead of a series of three mills one behind the other) since the mid-1630s, but he also was the first to introduce the horizontal and vertical screw for drainage. On 11 February 1642 Hulsebos obtained a 25-year patent for his invention.¹¹ Presumably Descartes discussed this invention with Huygens when he was in The Hague on 10 or 11 October 1643 (see the Calendar, 1643/10/12). A visit by Hulsebos and Van Baerle (8 November 1643), mentioned in his letter to Huygens of 15 November, left Descartes sceptical. In this letter he comments on Hulsebos' invention, abstracting from the original design while considering the horizontal and vertical cylinder as separate from each other. Descartes first expresses his doubts about the horizontal cylinder, not only for the difficulties in placing a cogwheel beneath water level, but also because he is convinced that this screw can only push water to a height of ten to twelve feet in a single stage, provided the rotation in the screw is enormous. Descartes is much more positive about the vertical cylinder, which he thinks will be more effective. Descartes' main problem concerns the gravity of the water. To test this vertical cylinder Descartes recommends building another model with one single spiral. A sketch of Descartes' version of the vertical cylinder accompanied his letter to Huygens. On 23 November 1643 Huygens sent a letter of thanks to Descartes, promising him to forward a copy of his advice to Van Baerle (Letter 60, p. 161, ll. 2–5). On 22 December 1643 the States General took the decision that Hulsebos' 25-year patent on the double screw would take effect on 11 February 1644, on the condition that improvements would be made within a period of two years.¹² It is not known whether Hulsebos continued his experiments. Nor is there any evidence that his double screw was ever used.

¹⁰ For Hulsebos' other mechanical waterworks, see G. Doorman, *Octrooien voor uitvindingen in de Nederlanden uit de 16e–18e eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1940), G228, G242, G361, G400.

¹¹ Doorman, *Octrooien*, G401.

¹² Doorman, *Octrooien*, G401.

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Alphonse Pollot, [The Hague]
17 [November] 1643

Source
AT IV, 51–52.

Editions
First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), pp. 18–20.
Other edition: AM VI, 65–67.

The letter has no. 8 in the collection Budé—for a description of the collection and the choice to take AT as the source for the text see the introduction to Letter 43. The manuscript gives the date 17 May, which is evidently wrong. Descartes refers to a particular session of the States of Utrecht that took place during ‘les trois derniers iours de la semaine passée’ (l. 13). These meetings were held from Thursday 2/12 till Saturday 4/14 November, and the correct date of the letter must therefore be Tuesday 17 November.

Summary
Descartes thanks Pollot profusely for his efforts on his behalf. As the Ambassador and the Stadholder have promised to intervene, he has nothing left to fear. Descartes’ name was mentioned during recent sessions of the States of Utrecht, who have refused to confirm the statutes of the university. As a result, the *Vroedschap* is more irritated with Descartes than ever. Descartes will not reply to the *Testimonium academiae* unless advised otherwise. Schoock’s book against him will probably not see the light.

Monsieur,

Vous avez beaucoup plus fait pour moy que ie n’eusse peu faire moy mesme, voire que ie n’eusse osé entreprendre; et les recommandations que viennent de vous, ont, sans comparaison, plus de poids que celles qui viennent de moy. C’est
5 pourquoy i’attribue à mon bonheur, que ie ne me suis point trouvé ces iours à la Haye;¹ mais neanmoins ie vous promets de ne manquer pas d’y aller une autre fois, au moindre avis que i’auray de vous, ou de quelqu’autre de mes amis, qui le iuge à propos. Mais M^r l’Ambassadeur ayant déclaré qu’il entreprendroit
10 mon affaire à bon escient, et son Altesse mesme m’ayant fait la faveur d’en faire escrire et d’en parler, il ne me semble pas que ie doive rien craindre, et ie me propose d’en attendre les evenemens sans inquietude.

On m’escrit d’Utrecht que M^{ts} les Etats de la Province ont esté assemblez, les trois derniers iours de la semaine passée, et qu’ils ont disputé, avec beaucoup
15 d’animosité, touchant les privileges de leur Academie, mais que la Ville a esté contrainte de ceder aux Chanoines et aux Nobles, et de casser ce qu’elle avoit fait.² On me mande aussy qu’entr’autres propos le President³ avoit fait mention

¹ Cf. Descartes to Huygens, Letter 55, p. 150, ll. 57–60.

² These meetings were held from Thursday 2/12 till Saturday 4/14 November, see Kernkamp, I, 192–193. For the composition of the States of Utrecht, see Appendix 2, p. 199, n. 41.

³ Jacob van *Asch van Wijck (1585–1645).

56. Descartes to Pollot, 17 [November] 1643

des mauvaises procedures dont on usoit contre moy; et ce que i'admire le plus, c'est qu'on aioute que M^{rs} du Vroetschap se persuadent que c'est moy qui suis cause de ce qu'on leur a fait rompre ce qu'ils avoyent fait, et qu'ils sont d'autant plus irritez contre moy.⁴

20 Quelques uns d'eux ont tenu aussi des discours, en presence de ceux qu'ils pensoyent que i'en serois averty, qui tesmoignent qu'ils craignent que ie responde à leur *Testimonium Academiae etc.*⁵ Et en effet, si la chose en valoit la peine, il ne me faudroit qu'une apres dinée, pour faire voir bien clairement l'impertinence et la mauvaise foy de ceux qui l'ont escrit; mais vous sçavez que ie l'ay iugé indigne de response, si tost que ie l'ay veu, et mon affaire estant en si bonne main comme elle est, ie ne suis pas si indiscret que d'entreprendre aucune chose sans commandement ou permission.

25 On m'a mandé aussi qu'on avoit recommencé d'imprimer le livre de Schoock contre moy, et qu'il y a longtemps que les trois premieres feuilles sont faites, mais que le reste ne vient point, et, comme on croit, ne viendra point.⁶ C'est grand pitié que de n'aller pas le droit chemin; on est contraint de retourner souvent sur ses pas, et on prend beaucoup de peines inutiles. Je ne me remue point tant; mais, graces à Dieu, ie vay tousiours un mesme train, et ie suis tousiours, avec la mesme passion, etc.

35 Du Hoef, le 17 Novembre 1643.

29 mandé *corr. Budé*] demandé *MS* 36 Novembre *E*] May *MS*

4 The States of Utrecht refused to pass the university statutes (see p. 119, n. 3) unless sections dealing with the 'forum academicum', which granted the university Senate their own jurisdiction, were dropped (Kernkamp, I, 170–174, 195–199). The revised statutes were passed in March 1644. Cf. S. Muller, 'Het "forum academicum" der Utrechtse Hoogeschool', in R. Fruin et al. (eds.), *Rechtshistorische opstellen aangeboden aan Mr. S.J. Fockema Andreae* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1914), pp. 219–238.

5 See p. 144, n. 2.

6 Schoock's open letter to Descartes (*Epistola ad Renatum des Cartes*) in which he claimed the authorship of the *Admiranda methodus* (see also Letter 41, p. 121, n. 6). The *Vroedschap* forbade its publication on 6/16 November (see the Calendar). Part of it was already printed and is quoted in the various apologies of Voetius by his son Paulus (*Pietas in parentem* (Utrecht: Strick, 1646), pp. [91]–[93], and *Tribunal iniquum* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1646), pp. 9–10, 22, 23, 64, 77–78, 92, 94–95, 107).

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Alphonse Pollot, [The Hague]
[17 November 1643]

Source

AT IV, 43.

Editions

First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), p. 21.

Other editions: AM VI, 57.

The letter has no. 9 in the collection Budé—for a description of the collection and the choice to take AT as the source for the text see the introduction to Letter 43. It is the covering note to a letter by Descartes to Elizabeth containing the solution to the problem of the three circles (Letter 58). The text is without date or signature, which suggests that it is in fact a postscript to another letter (compare for example the postscript to Letter 53, pp. 144–000; and the postscript in Descartes to Huygens, 12 December 1639, AT II, 698–699). The letter in question needs to be Letter 56 to Pollot of 17 [November], because from Elizabeth’s reply to Descartes dated 21 November it follows that Pollot gave the solution to Elizabeth immediately.

Summary

Descartes sends his solution to the mathematical problem he recently posed to Elizabeth, fearing that she cannot not solve it by applying the method she was taught. He asks Pollot to hold it back, if Elizabeth would still prefer to find the solution herself.

Monsieur,

Sur ce que vous m’escriviez dernièrement de M^{me} la Princesse de B(oheme),¹ i’ay
pensé estre obligé de luy envoyer la solution de la question qu’elle croit avoir
trouvée, et la raison pourquoy ie ne croy pas qu’on en puisse bien venir à bout,
5 en ne supposant qu’une racine. Ce que ie fais neanmoins avec scrupule, car peut
estre qu’elle aimera mieux la chercher encore, que de voir ce que ie luy escriis; et
si cella est, ie vous prie de ne luy point donner ma lettre si tost.² Je n’y ay point
mis la datte. Peut estre aussy qu’elle a bien trouvé la solution, mais qu’elle n’en a
pas achevé les calculs, qui sont longs et ennuyeux, et en ce cas, ie seray bien aise
10 qu’elle voye ma lettre, car i’y tache à la dissuader d’y prendre cette peine, qui est
superflue.

¹ A letter lost, probably in reply to Descartes’ earlier remark that he regretted that he gave Elizabeth such a difficult mathematical problem (Letter 47, 21 October, p. 133, ll. 17–21).

² Pollot handed over Descartes’ letter containing the solution (Letter 58) immediately, see Elizabeth to Descartes, 21 November, Letter 59, p. 159, ll. 10–14. For a comprehensive account of the mathematical problem and both Descartes’ and Elizabeth’s solutions, see Appendix 3.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague]
[17 November 1643]

Sources

1. MS copy. London, British Library, Add. 4278 (Birch), fos. 150r–151v (B1). Single sheet folded into two (327x247 mm). Text on fos. 150r–151r. On fo. 151v in the left bottom the note: ‘touchant le Probleme des trois cercle donez [sic] trouver le quatrieme qui touche les trois. L(ett)re 1’.
2. MS copy. London, British Library, Add. 4278 (Birch), fos. 159r–160v (B2).
3. Cle III, 461–465.

Editions

AT IV, 38–42 (Cle); AM VI, 52–56.

The letter was not dated by Descartes on purpose (cf. Letter 57, p. 154, l. 7), but the date of the covering note to Pollot, Letter 57, is [17 November]. As for the text of the letter, next to Cle—the only source available to AT—two copies of the letter are kept in the British Library among the manuscripts collected by Thomas Birch (1705–1766). Add. 4278 contains correspondence and papers of John Pell (1610–1685), and the copies were thus made for or acquired by him. Each copy of the letter is paired to a copy of a second letter by Descartes to Elizabeth (Letter 61); each set of letters (fos. 150–151, 153–154 and fos. 157–160) is in a different and unidentified hand. In-between is the English translation of both letters by Pell (fos. 155–156; fo. 154 is blank except for two figures on fo. 154r depicting the same figures as in the letter below—possibly by Pell). Although copy B2 retains much of Descartes’ orthography, B1 is preferred here as the principal source text because it contains fewer transcription errors.

Summary

Fearing that Elizabeth will not succeed in solving the problem of the three circles by using only one unknown in her calculations, Descartes explains his reasons for preferring several unknowns. In that way, he claims, one needs only the simplest geometrical theorems in translating a geometrical problem into algebraic terms, after which all but one of the unknowns can be eliminated. Descartes illustrates this by an approach he thinks Elizabeth might have taken.

Madame,

150r

Ayant sceu de M^r de Pallot¹ que V. A. a pris la peine de chercher la question des trois cercles, et qu’elle a trouvé le moyen de la soudre en ne supposant qu’une quantité inconnüe, i’ay pensé que mon devoir m’obligeoit de mettre icy la raison
5 pourquoi j’en avois proposé plusieurs, et de quelle façon je les demesle.²

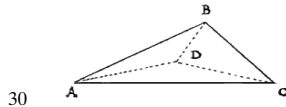
J’observe tousjours en cherchant une question de Geometrie que les lignes, dont je me sers pour la trouver, soient paralleles, ou s’entrecoupent à angles droicts le plus qu’il est possible; et je ne considere point d’autres Theoremes, si non que les costez des triangles semblables ont semblable proportion entre eux,
10 et que dans les triangles rectangles le quarré de la baze est egal aux deux quarrez

¹ Cf. Letter 57.

² For an analysis of Descartes’ approach to solve the problem of finding a circle that touches three given circles—also known as Apollonius’ problem—see Appendix 3.

des costez. Et je ne crains point de supposer plusieurs quantitez inconnües pour
 reduire la question à tels termes, qu'elle ne depende que de ces deux theoremes;
 au contraire j'aime mieux en supposer plus que moins. Car par ce moyen je voy
 plus clairement tout ce que je fay, et en les demeslant je trouve mieux les plus
 courts chemins, et m'exempte des multiplications superflues. Au lieu que, si l'on
 15 tire d'autres lignes, et qu'on se serve de quelques autres theoremes, bien qu'il
 puisse arriver par hazard, que le chemin qu'on trouvera soit plus court que le
 mien, toutefois il arrive quasi tousjours le contraire. Et on ne voit point si bien
 ce qu'on fait, si ce n'est, qu'on ait la demonstration du Theoreme dont on se sert
 20 fort presente à l'esprit, et en ce cas on trouve quasi tousjours, qu'il depend de la
 consideration de quelques triangles rectangles ou qui sont semblables entre eux,
 et ainsy on retombe dans le chemin que je tiens.

Par exemple, si on veut chercher cette question des trois cercles par l'aide
 d'un Theoreme, qui enseigne à trouver l'aire d'un triangle par ses trois costez,³ on
 25 n'a besoin de supposer qu'une quantité inconnüe.⁴ Car si A, B, C sont les centres
 des 3 cercles donnez et D le centre du cherché, les 3 costez
 du Triangle ABC sont donnez, et les 3 lignes AD, BD, CD
 sont composées des 3 rayons des cercles donnez, joints au
 rayon du cercle cherché si bien que supposant x pour ce
 rayon, on a tous les costez des triangles ABD, ACD, BCD; et par consequent on
 peut avoir leurs aires, qui jointes ensemble sont egales à l'aire du triangle donné
 ABC, et on peut par cette equation venir à la connoissance du rayon x qui seul
 est requis pour la solution de la question. Mais ce chemin me semble conduire
 35 à tant de multiplications superflues, que je ne voudrois pas entreprendre de les
 demesler en trois mois. C'est pourquoy au lieu des deux lignes obliques AB et
 BC, je mene les trois perpendiculaires BE, DG, DF, et
 posant trois quantitez inconnues, l'une pour DF, l'autre
 pour DG, et l'autre pour le rayon du cercle cherché, j'ay
 tous les costez des 3 triangles rectangles ADF, BDG, CDF,
 qui me donnent 3 equations, pource qu'en chacune d'eux le quarre de la base est
 esgal aux deux quarrez des costez.



40
 45
 50

Après avoir ainsy fait autant d'equations que j'ay supposé de quantitez in-
 connües, je considere si par chasque equation j'en puis trouver une en termes
 assez simples, et si je ne le puis, je tasche d'en venir à bout en joignant deux ou
 plusieurs equations par l'addition ou soustraction; et enfin lors que cela ne suffit
 pas, j'examine s'il ne sera point mieux de changer les termes en quelque façon,
 car en faisant cet Examen avec adresse, on rencontre aisement les plus courts
 chemins, et on peut essayer une infinité en fort peu de temps.

16 quelques *om. Cle* 20 fort *om. B2* 20 à l'esprit] en l'esprit *Cle* 21 rectangles ... sont] qui
 sont ou rectangles, ou *Cle* 29 des *B2, Cle*] de *B1* 40 le rayon ... cherché] à sçavoir x *add. i.m. B2*
 48 j'examine] seulement *add. Cle* 49 les *Cle*] le *B1* des *B2* 50 on peut] on en peut *Cle*

3 Descartes refers to the theorem of Heron assuming that Elizabeth knows it (cf. Appendix 3, pp. 207
 and 210).

4 The choice of the example, which introduces a single unknown, shows that Descartes assumes he
 is following the approach Elizabeth might have taken.

58. Descartes to Elizabeth, [17 November 1643]

Ainsy en cet exemple je suppose, que les 3 bases des triangles rectangles sont

$$\begin{aligned} AD &= a + x, \\ BD &= b + x, \\ CD &= c + x, \end{aligned}$$

et faisant $AE = d$, $BE = e$, $CE = f$, DF ou $GE = y$, DG ou $FE = z$, j'ay pour les costez des mesmes triangles: AT IV, 41

$$\begin{aligned} AF &= d - z \text{ et } FD = y, \\ BG &= e - y \text{ et } DG = z, \\ CF &= f + z \text{ et } FD = y. \end{aligned}$$

Puis faisant le quarré de chascune de ces bases esgal au quarré des deux costez, j'ay les trois equations suivantes: 151r

$$\begin{aligned} aa + 2ax + xx &= dd - 2dz + zz + yy, \\ bb + 2bx + xx &= ee - 2ey + yy + zz, \\ cc + 2cx + xx &= ff + 2fz + zz + yy. \end{aligned}$$

Et je voy que par l'une d'elles toute seule je ne puis trouver aucune des quantitez inconnues sans en tirer la racine quarrée, ce qui embarasseroit trop la question. C'est pourquoy je viens au second moyen, qui est de joindre deux equations ensemble, et i'apperçois incontinent que les termes xx , yy et zz estants semblables en toutes trois, si i'en oste une d'une autre laquelle je voudray, ils s'effaceront, et ainsy je n'auray plus de termes inconnus que x , y et z tous simples; je voy aussy que si j'oste la seconde de la premiere ou de la troisieme, j'auray tous ces 3 termes x , y et z , mais que si j'oste la premiere de la troisieme, je n'auray que x et z ; je choisis donc ce dernier chemin et je trouve

$$cc + 2cx - aa - 2ax = ff + 2fz - dd + 2dz,$$

ou bien

$$z = \frac{cc - aa + dd - ff + 2cx - 2ax}{2d + 2f},$$

ou bien

$$\frac{1}{2}d - \frac{1}{2}f + \frac{cc - aa + 2cx - 2ax}{2d + 2f}.$$

Puis ostant la seconde equation de la premiere ou de la troisieme (car l'un revient à l'autre) et au lieu de z mettant les termes que je viens de trouver, j'ay par la premiere et la seconde AT IV, 42

$$aa + 2ax - bb - 2bx = dd - 2dz - ee + 2ey,$$

57 des B2, Cle] les B1 69 estants] estant Cle 75 aa] 2a Cle 79 2ax] 2adx B2

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ou bien

85
$$2ey = ee + aa + 2ax - bb - 2bx - dd + dd - df + \frac{ccd - aad + 2cdx - 2adx}{d + f},$$

ou bien

$$y = \frac{1}{2}e - \frac{bb}{2e} - \frac{bx}{e} - \frac{df}{2e} + \frac{ccd + aaf + 2cdx + 2afx}{2ed + 2ef}.$$

Enfin retournant à l'une des 3 premieres equations et au lieu de z ou y met-
 tant les quantitez qui leur sont esgales, et les quarrez de ces quantitez pour yy
 90 et zz, on trouve une equation où il n'y a qu' x et xx inconnus de façon que le
 probleme est plan et il n'est plus besoin de passer outre; car le reste ne sert
 point pour cultiver ou recréer l'esprit, mais seulement pour exercer la patience de
 quelque calculateur laborieux. Mesme j'ay peur de m'estre rendu icy ennuyeux
 à V. A. pource que je me suis arrêté à escrire des choses qu'elle sçavoit sans
 95 doute mieux que moy, et qui sont faciles, mais qui sont neantmoins des clefs de
 mon Algebre, je la supplie tres humblement de croire que c'est la devotion que
 i'ay à l'honorer; qui m'y a porté, et que je suis,

Madame,

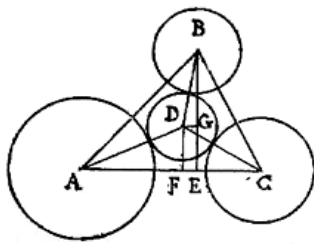
de V. A.,

100

Le tres-humble et tres- obeissant
 serviteur,

Des Cartes

a — p. 156, l. 43. Clerselier inserted in this paragraph a third figure, displaying both the tri-
 angles and the circles, which is not found in the manuscript copies. Pell provides a similar
 figure in his translation of the letter, with the note 'my scheme' (fo. 155v).



85 + dd - df + $\frac{ccd - aad + 2cdx - 2adx}{d + f}$ B1] + dd - $\frac{df + ccd - aad + 2cdx - 2adx}{d + f}$ B2 + $\frac{dd - df + ccd - aad + 2cdx - 2adx}{d + f}$ Cle
 88 z ou y] y ou de z Cle 90 inconnus Cle] incon B1 (ms damaged) inconnü B2 95 des clefs] les
 clefs Cle 100 obeissant B2, Cle] obeissa B1 (ms damaged)

Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]

21 November [1643]

Source

MS copy. Arnhem, Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen, Library Rosendael Castle, *Recueil de quelques Lettres écrites à Monsieur Descartes*, no. [17]. pp. 92–94.

Editions

First published in: A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la Princesse Élisabeth, et la Reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites* (Paris/Amsterdam: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879), pp. 54–56.

Other editions: AT IV, 44–45; AM VI, 68–69.

Summary

In reply to Descartes' letter from [17 November] (Letter 58). Elizabeth thanks Descartes for explaining his method to solve the problem of the three circles, which method she now prefers to the one she was taught. At the demand of Pollot she sends her own solution to Descartes.

Monsieur Descartes,

Si j'avois autant d'habileté à suivre vos avis que d'envie, vous trouveriez déja
 les effets de vostre charité au progres que j'aurois fait dans le raisonnement et
 dans l'Algebre, desquels à cette heure ie ne vous puis montrer que les fautes.
 5 Mais ie suis si accoutumée de vous en | faire voir qu'il m'arrive comme aux vieux 93
 pescheurs d'en perdre tout à fait la honte. Pourquoi j'avois fait dessein de vous
 envoyer la solution de la question que vous m'avez donnée par la methode qu'on
 m'a enseignée, autant pour vous obliger de m'en dire les manquements, que par
 ce que ie ne suis pas si bien versée en la vostre. Car ie remarquois bien qu'il y en
 10 avoit à ma solution, n'y voyant assez clair pour en conclure un théoreme. Mais
 ie n'en aurois iamais trouvé la raison sans vostre derniere lettre¹ qui m'y donne
 toute la satisfaction que ie demandois, et m'apprend plus que ie n'aurois fait en AT IV, 45
 six mois de mon maistre.² Je vous en suis tres redevable et n'au- | rois iamais par- 94
 donné à M^r de Palloti, s'il en eut usé selon vostre ordre.³ Toutefois il ne me l'a
 15 voulu bailler qu'à condition que ie vous enverrois ce que j'ay fait. Ne trouvez
 donc point mauvais que ie vous donne une incommodité superfluë, puisqu'il y a

⁸ enseignée (+au)<(toutefois[?])>tant] enseignée autrefois, tant conj. AT 12 aurois corr. FdC] au-
 roit

¹ Letter 58, sent through Pollot (cf. Letter 57).

² Elizabeth was taught mathematics by Johan Stampioen (see p. 133, n. 4) and her approach to the problem—attempting to derive a theorem—shows that she followed his method. Elizabeth's solution itself, which she sent along with her letter, is lost; however, the letter and Descartes answer (Letter 61) allow us to reconstruct the main characteristics of her approach, see Appendix 3.

³ Cf. Letter 57, p. 154, ll. 5–7.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

peu de choses que ie ne ferois pour obtenir ces effets de vostre bonne volonté qui
est infiniment estimée de,

20

Monsieur Descartes,

Vostre tres affectionnée
amie à vous servir,
Elisabeth

Ce 21 de 9^{bre}

Constantijn Huygens, The Hague, to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]

23 November 1643

Source

ALS. Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 23084, fo. 188r–189v. Single sheet folded into two (315x205 mm). Text on fo. 188. No addres; no seal.

Editions

The ALS was first published in: Roth, 226–228.
Other editions: AT IV, 766–769 (Roth); AM VI, 74–75.

Summary

In reply to Letter 55 (15 November). Huygens thanks Descartes for examining the invention presented by his brother-in-law. Both Huygens and Pollot deplore Descartes' intention not to incorporate the chapter on man in his *Principia*. He encourages Descartes to uncover his philosophy completely in order to prevent slander.

Monsieur,

188r

Je vous rends graces tres-humbles de la peine qu'il vous a pleu prendre à examiner la Vis que mon Beau frere avoit prins la liberté de vous représenter.¹ Je m'en vay luy envoyer le double de vostre advis, afin qu'il se resolve à rechercher le reste par experiences, qui sont tout à fait necessaires en ces matieres.

M. de Berghe² nous communiqua hier les pieces qui vous ont esté fournis de France. Toutes sont de consideration, et serviront utilement quelque jour. Mais la derniere de toutes porte le plus roide coup, à convaincre ce saint homme de fausseté tres-notoire, pourveu qu'on puisse avoir sa declaration au contraire, à quoy M. de Berghe a promis de se vouloir employer diligemment.³

AT IV, 767

M. Pollotti et moy serions bien d'advis qu'en publiant vostre Physique, vous ne la mutilassiez pas de ceste parti de l'homme, prevoyants aveq assez d'apparence que ce que vous cachez donnera tousiours de nouveaux subjects de

¹ See Letter 55.

² Anthony Studler van *Zurck, Lord of Bergen.

³ The meaning of this paragraph is not entirely clear. If 'ce saint homme' (l. 8) is a reference to Voetius, the documents Descartes received from France are probably the letters Voetius had written to Mersenne. Descartes sent copies of five letters to the Utrecht *Vroedschap* in 1645, to prove that Voetius had started writing against him before he published anything against the Utrecht theologian (AT IV, 261). In the *Lettre apologétique* Descartes quotes from a letter of Voetius to Mersenne (dd. 27 July 1640 OS), in which he asks Mersenne to refute Descartes' 'atheist' philosophy (AT VIIIB, 205–206, 285). Perhaps the 'declaration au contraire' mentioned above would consist of Voetius' denial ever having written to Mersenne, a Catholic priest. Descartes had Voetius' letters to Mersenne at his disposal at least by April 1644, when Voetius wrote to Schoock that Descartes showed them around in The Hague (cf. E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 39–73, esp. pp. 51, 54, 59, 63).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 calomnies, | comme il vous en est allé jusques à present.⁴ Si vous estiez homme à 188v
pouvoir mesme celer ceste piece à vos amis, il pourroit sembler que nos interests
nous portassent à vous la demander pour le publiq, mais osants bien faire estat
de l'obtenir de vous en particulier, nous pretendons que vous nous entendiez
parler comme pour vostre seul interest. En consideration duquel permettez moy
20 d'encor adjouster icy, que quand ceste nouvelle Edition paroistra, il me semble
que vous la debuez accompagner d'un mot de preface, par lequel vous donniez
à entendre, que celles-cy estant vos pensées, et la publication s'en faisant au gré
de ceux qui ont creu qu'elles pourroyent estre utiles au genre humain; vous serez
tousiours prest à en conferer aveq des gens d'honneur qui vous en requerront,
soit de bouche ou par escrit; mais q ue pour les envieux et mesdisans, *quorum*
25 *contumelijs nimium hactenus sit datum*, vous les mespriserez constamment, et les
lairrez perdre les peins qu'ils pretendront vous donner etc.

J'ay bonne grace de vous instruire. Pardonnez au zele inviolable que j'ay
de vous servir, et puis ces mauvaises lignes à mon occupation d'aujourd'hui, qui
est de remplacer toute l'Armée en ses Garnisons; chose d'assez d'embaras, et où
30 j'auroy quasi besoing de vostre algebre. M. de Berghe entreprint hier de vous
demander de ma part, si vous desirez veoir le livre de Gassendus par feuillets à
mesure qu'il s'imprime.⁵ J'attendray ce que vous me commanderez là dessus, et
tousiours vous obeiray comme, AT IV, 768

Monsieur,

35 Vostre tres-humble et tres-aquis
serv^r, C. Huygens

A la Haye, le 23 de Nov. 1643

26–37 perdre ... 1643 *written lengthways in the margin*

4 Huygens had already expressed his worry about Descartes retracting the part on man from the *Principia* in Letter 42 (5 October; p. 125, ll. 32–34). Descartes, however, explained in the fourth and last part of the *Principia* that he had had the intention to add a fifth part on the nature of animals and plants as well as a sixth part on man, but that he had not been able to complete them and doubted if he would have the leisure to finish them in the future (*Principia*, pt. IV, art. 188 (AT VIII A, 315)). It was not simply a matter of publishing his (unfinished) manuscript of *L'Homme* or not, as Roth supposes; it would seem that Descartes had not been able to rework *L'Homme* into the scheme of the *Principia*.

5 P. Gassendi, *Disquisitio metaphysica, seu dubitationes et instantiae adversus Renati Cartesii Metaphysicam et responsa* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1644). The opportunity of doing Descartes this service was given to Huygens by Jacob van der Burgh (1599–1659), a Dutch diplomat and poet, at this time representative of the States General at Liège. See the Calendar (1643/11/17).

Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Princess Elizabeth, [The Hague]

29 November 1643

Sources

1. MS copy. London, British Library, Add. 4278 (Birch), fos. 153r–154v (B1). Single sheet folded into two (325x252 mm). Text on fos. 153r–154r. On fo. 154v the note ‘L(ett)re 2’.
2. MS copy. London, British Library, Add. 4278 (Birch), fos. 157r–158v (B2).
3. Cle III, 465–468.

Editions

AT IV, 45–50 (Cle); AM VI, 70–73.

The letter is without date in Cle and AT, but two copies of the letter are kept in the British Library, and the second copy (B2) supplies the date 29 November 1643. The English translation of the letter by Pell gives ‘29 Maij 1643’ which is evidently wrong (Add. 4278, fo. 156v). For a description of the source and the choice to take B1 as the principal source, see the introduction to Letter 58.

Summary

In reply to Letter 59 (21 November). Descartes is much impressed by Elizabeth’s investigation of the problem of the three circles. He is pleased to see that Elizabeth’s ‘calcul’ was entirely similar to his own. He praises her patience in calculating, and her technique of representing complicated expressions by single letters. With respect to her choice of indeterminates her approach is even superior to his own. Descartes accepts Elizabeth’s aim of deriving a theorem as a valid alternative to his own aim of determining the constructability of a problem. He illustrates his ideas by elaborating a special (and much simpler) case of the problem of three circles. Because Elizabeth had been searching for a theorem, he expresses the final equation in words.

Madame,

153r

La solution qu’il a pleu à V. A. me faire l’honneur de m’envoyer¹ est si juste, qu’il ne s’y peut rien desirer davantage, et je n’ay pas seulement esté surpris d’estonnement en la voyant, mais je ne puis m’abstenir d’adjouster que j’ay esté
 5 aussy ravy de joye, et ay pris de la vanité de voir, que le calcul dont se sert V. A. est entierement semblable à celuy que j’ay proposé dans ma Geometrie. L’experience m’avoit fait cognoistre, que la pluspart des esprits, qui ont de la facilité à entendre les raisonnements de la Metaphysique, ne peuvent concevoir ceux de l’Algebre, et reciproquement que ceux, qui comprennent aisement ceux
 10 cy, sont d’ordinaire incapables des autres; et je ne voy que celuy de V. A. auquel toutes choses sont esgalement faciles. Il est vray, que j’en avois desià tant eu des preuves, que je n’en pouvois aucunement doubter, mais je craignois seulement

AT IV, 46

4–5 j’ay esté aussy] i’ay aussy esté B2 6 dans] en B2 8 ne peuvent] ne peuvent pas Cle 11 j’en avois desià tant eu] i’en avois desia tant Cle 11–12 des preuves] de preuves B2, Cle

¹ Cf. Letter 59. Elizabeth’s actual solution is lost; for its main characteristics as well as a comprehensive discussion of the present letter, see Appendix 3.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 que la patience qui est necessaire pour surmonter au commencement les difficul-
tez du calcul ne luy manquast, car c'est une qualité qui est extremement rare aux
excellents esprits et aux personnes de grande condition.

Maintenant que cette difficulté est surmontée, elle aura beaucoup plus de
plaisir au reste, et en substituant une seule lettre au lieu de plusieurs, ainsy qu'elle
a fait icy fort souvent, le calcul ne luy sera pas ennuyeux. C'est une chose qu'on
peut quasi tousjours faire, lors qu'on veut seulement voir de quelle nature est
20 une question, c'est à dire, si elle se peut soudre avec la regle et le compas, ou
s'il y faut employer quelques autres lignes courbes du premier ou second genre
etc. et quel est le chemin pour la trouver, qui est ce de quoy je me contente ordi-
nairement touchant les questions particulieres. Car il me semble, que le surplus
qui consiste à chercher la construction et la demonstration par les propositions
25 d'Euclide en cachant le proceder de l'Algebre n'est qu'un amusement pour les
petits Geometres, qui ne requiert pas beaucoup d'Esprit ny de science. Mais
lors qu'on a quelque question, | qu'on veut achever pour en former un Theo-
reme, qui serve de regle generale pour en soudre plusieurs autres semblables, il
est besoin de retenir jusques à la fin toutes les mesmes lettres qu'on a posées au
30 commencement, ou bien si on en change quelques unes pour faciliter le calcul,
il les faut remettre par apres estant à la fin, à cause qu'ordinairement plusieurs
s'effacent l'une contre l'autre, ce qui ne se peut voir lors qu'on les a changées.
Il est bon aussy alors d'observer, que les quantitez qu'on denomme par les let-
tres ayent semblable rapport les unes aux autres le plus qu'il est possible, cela
35 rend le Theoreme plus beau et plus court, pource que ce qui s'enonce de l'une de
ces quantitez, s'enonce en mesme façon des autres, et empesche, qu'on ne puisse
faillir au calcul, pource que les lettres, qui signifient des quantitez, qui ont mesme
rapport, s'y doivent trouver distribuées en mesme façon, et quand cela manque,
on reconnoist son erreur.

40 Ainsy pour trouver un Theoreme qui enseigne, quel est le rayon du qua-
triesme cercle, qui touche les trois donnez par position,^a il ne faudroit pas en cét
exemple poser les trois lettres *a*, *b*, *c*, pour les lignes AD, DC, et DB, mais pour
les lignes AB, AC et BC, pource que ces dernieres ont mesme rapport l'une que
l'autre aux trois AH, BH et CH, ce que n'ont pas les premieres. Et en suivant le
45 calcul avec ces six lettres, sans les changer ny en ajouter d'autres par le mesme
chemin qu'a pris V. A. (car il est meilleur pour cela, que celui que j'avois pro-
posé), on doit venir à une equation fort reguliere, et qui fournira un Theoreme
assez court; car les trois lettres *a*, *b*, *c*, y seront disposées en mesme façon, et
aussy les trois *d*, *e*, *f*.

50 Mais pour ce que le calcul en est ennuyeux, si V. A. a desir d'en faire l'essay,
| il luy sera plus aisé en supposant que les trois cercles donnez s'entretouchent, et
n'employant en tout le calcul que les quatre lettres *d*, *e*, *f*, *x*, qui estant les rayons
des quatre cercles ont semblable rapport l'une à l'autre. Et en premier lieu elle
trouvera

16 par. E 27 former] faire Cle 33-34 les lettres] des lettres B2 40 par. E 40-41 quatriesme
om. Cle 42 et om. Cle 43 AC corr. AT] AD 45 mesme om. Cle 46-47 no parentheses B1
48 seront] sont Cle 50 par. E

61. Descartes to Elizabeth, 29 November 1643

55 $AK = \frac{dd + df + dx - fx}{d + f}$, et $AD = \frac{dd + df + de - fe}{d + f}$,

où elle peut desjà remarquer, que x est en la ligne AK comme e en la ligne AD, pour ce qu'elle se trouve par le triangle AHC, comme l'autre par le triangle ABC. AT IV, 49
Puis enfin elle aura cette equation

60
$$\begin{array}{rcl} & ddeeff & 2deffx + 2deeffx \\ + & ddeexx & + 2deeffx + 2ddeeffx \\ + & ddffxx & = + 2ddeeffx + 2ddeeffx \\ + & eeffxx & ; \end{array}$$

de laquelle on tire pour Theoreme, que les quatre sommes, qui se produisent en multipliant ensemble les quarrez de trois de ces rayons, font le double de six, qui se produisent en multipliant deux de ces rayons l'un par l'autre, et par les quarrez des deux autres. Ce qui suffit pour servir de regle à trouver le rayon du plus grand cercle, qui puisse estre descrit entre les trois donnez qui s'entre touchent. Car si les rayons de ces trois donnez sont par exemple $\frac{d}{2}$, $\frac{e}{3}$, $\frac{f}{4}$, j'auray 576 pour $ddeeff$, et $36xx$ pour $ddeexx$, et ainsy des autres; d'où je trouveray

70
$$x = -\frac{156}{47} + \sqrt{\frac{31104}{2209}}$$
,

si je ne me suis trompé au calcul que j'en viens de faire.

Et V. A. peut voir icy deux procedures fort differentes en une mesme question selon les differents desseins qu'on se propose. Car voulant sçavoir de quelle nature est la question, et par quel biais on la peut soudre, je prends pour AT IV, 50
75 données les lignes perpendiculaires ou paralleles et suppose plusieurs quantitez inconnües, afin de ne faire aucune multiplication superflue, et voir mieux les plus courts chemins, au lieu que la voulant achever je prends pour donnez les costez du triangle, et ne suppose qu'une lettre inconnüe. Mais il y a quantité de questions, où le mesme chemin conduit à l'un et à l'autre, et je ne doute point, que
80 V. A. ne voye bientost, jusques où peut atteindre l'esprit humain en cette science. Je m'estimerois extremement heureux si j'y pouvois contribuer quelque chose, comme estant porté d'un zele tres particulier à estre,

Madame,

de V. A.,

85 Le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

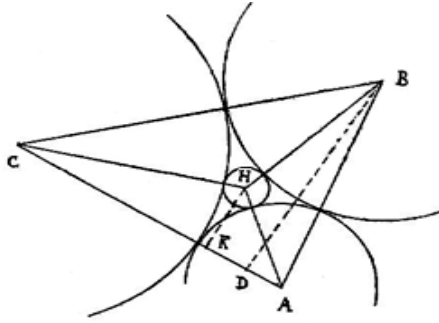
Des Cartes

du Hoef, le 29 Nov. 1643

56 en la ligne AK] dans la ligne AK Cle 56 en la ligne AD] dans la ligne AD Cle 57 ABC] ADC B2 59 ddeeff [...] 2ddeeffx] the signs + before ddeeff and 2deffx in B1,B2,Cle are omitted E 63 sommes] nommes B2 64 de six] des six B2 71 au calcul] en calcul B2 72 par. E 72 en] dans Cle 75 autres add. Cle 80 en] dans B2,Cle 82 zele B2,Cle] zeele B1 86-88 obeissant ... 1643] cut off in B1; partially damaged in B2 (ser(viteur) D(es) C(artes)); place and date in B2 only

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

a — p. 164, l. 41. Cerselier printed here the figure below which is not found in the manuscript copies, and it is therefore not been included in the main text (Cle III, 467):



Descartes, Egmond aan den Hoef, to Alphonse Pollot, [The Hague]

30 November 1643

Source

AT IV, 53–56.

Editions

First published in: E. de Budé, *Lettres inédites de Descartes* (Paris: Durand and Pedont-Lauriel, 1868), pp. 22–25.

Other edition: AM VI, 76–78.

The letter has no. 10 in the collection Budé—for a description of the collection and the choice to take AT as the source for the text see the introduction to Letter 43.

Summary

Descartes has not yet received confirmation of the move by the Utrecht deputies to end the affair. On the contrary, he has been told that the Utrecht *Vroedschap* are more hostile than ever, as they attribute the rejection of the university's new statutes by the Provincial States to him. A positive result of his 'quarrel' is that he has the honour of being known to the Prince of Orange, for which Descartes is much obliged to Pollot.

Monsieur,

Je n'avois point encore ouy ce que vous m'apprenez, à sçavoir que M^{rs} les
 Députés ont tiré parole des Bourguemaistres et Eschevins, qu'ils ne passeroient
 point outre en leur procedure contre moy.¹ Mes amis d'Utrecht ne m'ont rien
 5 escrit de semblable, mais bien, au contraire, que ces M^{rs} du Vroetschap sont
 plus animez contre moy qu'auparavant, pour ce qu'ils pensent que c'est moy
 qui suis cause qu'ilz ont esté contrainsts de revoquer les nouvelles loix de leur
 Academie;² et veritablement i'en suis cause, en tant que ça esté à dessein de me
 desobliger que mon ennemy les avoit portés à les faire, et que, s'ils ne les eussent
 10 point faites, ils n'eussent point esté forcez à les rompre.³ Mesme on m'a menacé
 depuis, de leur part, que, si ie respondois au livre intitulé *Testimonium Academiae*
etc.,⁴ où ils m'accusent d'avoir rempli mes escrits de menteries, sans toutefois
 qu'ils en puissent marquer aucune, et ils ont fait imprimer ce livre depuis que
 M^r de R(enswoude)⁵ leur eut écrit, en ma faveur, par le commandement de son

9 les faire *corr. AT*] le faire *Budé* 14 M^r de Renswoude *E*] M^r le Rierseroit *Budé AT*

1 The deputies of the States of Utrecht at the States General (*Van der Hoolck and *Reede van Renswoude) had in fact already brought the matter to completion before mid-November (see the Calender, 1643/11/16). For the part played by Brasset and the French Ambassador in settling the affair, see Letter 54. An outline of the Utrecht Crisis is found in Appendix 1.

2 See Letter 56, pp. 152–153, ll. 11–20.

3 Descartes' explanation of the rejection of the statutes of the university by the Provincial States lacks probability and testifies of his failure to understand the local political relations in Utrecht. Cf. Appendix 1, p. 191–192.

4 Cf. p. 144, n. 2.

5 Cf. p. 133, n. 5.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

15 A(ltesse); ils m'ont, dis-ie, fait menacer qu'ils se saisiroyent de certaine rente
qu'ils ont sceu que i'avois en cette Province,⁶ et ainsi ils veulent que ie me laisse
battre sans me deffendre, et estre les maistres de l'honneur et des biens d'un
homme qui n'est point leur suiet, et qui ne leur à iamais fait aucun deplaisir, sans
20 que le nom de son Altesse, ni la iustice de ma cause, ny les iugements de tous les
gens d'honneur de ce païs, qui leur donnent le tort, les en détourne. Ce qui me
fait croire qu'ils se laissent encore conduire par l'esprit violent de mon ennemy,
et que cette brouillerie n'a servy qu'à l'affermir en sa puissance. Mais ie n'ay
pas peur, pour cella, qu'ils me nuisent, et ie n'escris point cecy pour diminuer
l'obligation que i'ay à ceux qui m'ont fait la faveur de s'employer pour moy; au
25 contraire, ie l'estime d'autant plus grande, que ie vois que ceux qui me vouloyent
nuire, sont plus animez contre moy, et ie n'eusse osé rien esperer de si avantageux
que d'estre ainsi tiré, à haute lutte, hors de leurs mains par les deux principaux
membres de leurs Estats.⁷

30 Ie ne suis pas marry aussy, que cette occasion m'ait fait employer beaucoup
de personnes:⁸ c'est à faire à ceux qui sont d'humeur ingrante, de craindre d'estre
obligés à quelqu'un; pour moy, qui pense que le plus grand contentement qui
soit au monde est d'obliger, ie serois quasi assez insolent pour dire à mes amis,
qu'ils me doivent du retour, lorsque ie leur ay donné occasion de le recevoir,
en me laissant obliger par eux.⁹ Mais surtout ie pense avoir beaucoup gagné en
35 ma querelle, pour ce qu'elle est cause que i'ay l'honneur d'estre connu de son
Altesse, et de luy avoir de tres grandes obligations; car enfin, c'est à sa seule
faveur que ie doy maintenant ma seureté et mon repos, qui sont les biens que
i'estime le plus au monde. Tout ce que M^{rs} les Deputez ont fait n'a esté qu'à sa
consideration; et ie m'asseure que vous mesme, bien que ie ne doute nullement
40 de l'affection que vous m'avez touiours tesmoignée, n'auriez osé iamais tant faire
pour moy, si vous n'aviez iugé que son Altesse ne l'auroit pas desagreceable. Enfin,
comme ie croy que M^{rs} du Vroetschap d'Utrecht me veulent (du mal), à cause
qu'ils pensent m'avoir desobligé, sans que ie leur en aye donné aucun suiet, ainsi
i'ose maintenant me persuader que son Altesse me veut du bien, veu qu'elle m'en
45 a desia beaucoup fait, sans que ie l'eusse merité par aucun service. Mais, pource
que ie n'ay l'honneur d'en estre connu, que par le favorable rapport que vous et
M^r de Zuylichem lui pouvez avoir fait de moy, ie ne laisse pas, en achevant mon
calcul, de trouver que c'est encore à vous que ie dois tout. Aussy suis-ie, M^r, etc.

Du Hoef, le 30 Nov. 1643

28 leurs Estats E] leur Estat *Budé AT* 42 du mal *add. AT*

⁶ Nothing is known of financial interests of Descartes in the province of Utrecht.

⁷ By the 'two principal members of the States of Utrecht' Descartes understands the first two 'members', namely the representatives of the ecclesiastical goods and the nobility—representatives of the city of Utrecht and other towns formed the third 'member'. Cf. Appendix 2, p. 199, n. 41.

⁸ Cf. Letter 51B, p. 141, ll. 7–12.

⁹ Ll. 28–34 are very similar to a passage of a letter published by Clerselier (Cle II, 159). Date, addressee, textual integrity as well as the original language of the letter are much debated. AT give the Latin text in AT IV, 684–691 (to Boswell?, 1646?), and the French text in AT IV, 705–711 (the passage in question is on p. 710); further discussion in AT IV, 815–817. According to the editors of CM, parts of the letter are addressed to Mersenne (1635?; CM V, 579–588). See also AM I, 397–398, 404–410.

Samuel Maresius, [Groningen], to Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef]
[November–December 1643]

Source

S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata à D. G. Voetio* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 402–403.

Summary

In reply to Letter 52. Maresius advises against any legal steps against Schoock: Descartes should avenge himself on his Utrecht adversaries in another way. But if he persists in his plans, Maresius does not want to be involved.

See Letter 23.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Marin Mersenne, [Paris]

11 December 1643

Source

Baillet, II, 130 (A), 197 (B), 199–200 (C), 202 (D), 208 (E), 250 (F).

Editions

AT IV, 37 (B), 56–58 (A, C–E), 105 (F); AM VI, 51 (B), 79–81 (A, C–E), 135 (F); CM XII, 376–379 (A–C, D (incompletely), E).

The letter is exclusively known from references and two literal quotations (texts D and E) in Baillet.

Summary

Descartes acknowledges receipt of two works by Desargues (text A). The Utrecht affair has discredited Voetius, but he keeps the protection of the city magistrate (text B); Descartes in turn is backed by the Provincial States (text F). Ville-Bressieu should not come to Holland, as Descartes will be going to Paris within a few months (text C). Roberval's praise of Descartes is noteworthy (text D). According to Baillet, Descartes fears that Soly may be involved in the reprinting of the *Meditationes* by Blaeu. If Soly has sold out his edition he is no longer automatically protected by the privilege; if he desires to keep the privilege, he should print a new edition according to Descartes' wishes (text E).

[A]

Son génie [Desargues'] luy fit encore produire d'autres ouvrages dans la suite des têmes, et M. Descartes en fut toujours partagé des premiers. [*I.m.*: lettr. Mss. à Mersenne en Décembre 1643.¹ De ce nombre furent le livre de la *Perspective*, et celui de la manière de *graver en taille douce à l'eau forte*.²

[B]

See Letter 51B.

¹ The plural 'Mss' may suggest that there was more than one letter to Mersenne from December 1643, although just one is known.

² Girard Desargues (1591–1661), an architect and military engineer from Lyon, who studied conic sections and problems of perspective, introducing the principal concepts of projective geometry. Descartes thought highly of him. The first work mentioned by Baillet is *Livret de perspective adressé aux théoriciens* (Paris 1643). The second publication referred to, *La maniere universelle de M. Desargues pour pratiquer la perspective*, could not possibly have been sent in 1643, as it appeared only in 1645 (it is moreover a work by Desargues' pupil A. Bosse). Baillet presumably confused it with *La maniere universelle de M. Desargues ... pour poser l'essieu et placer les heures et autres choses aux cadrans au soleil* (Paris 1643), equally an edition by Bosse. On Desargues, see J.V. Field and J.J. Gray, *The geometrical work of Girard Desargues* (New York: Springer, 1987), and J. Dhombres and J. Sakarovitch (eds.), *Desargues et son temps* (Paris: Blanchard, 1994).

64. Descartes to Mersenne, 11 December 1643

[C]

M. de Ville-Bressieux³ tâcha de retenir sa passion pendant près d'un an: mais ayant redoublé ses instances par de nouvelles lettres, et par d'autres sollicitations, [*I.m.*: lettr. Ms. à Mer. du 11 Déc. 1643.] M. Descartes pria le P. Mersenne de luy faire sçavoir qu'il le dispensoit de ce voyage, | parcequ'il devoit aller à Paris dans quatre ou cinq mois pour ses affaires do- 200
5 mestiques. Cette raison ne fut pas assez forte pour arrêter M. de Ville-Bressieux. [*I.m.*: Borell. vit. comp. pag. 5.] Il alla trouver M. Descartes en Nort-Hollande, auprès de qui il demeura jusqu'au voyage de France, où il l'accompagna, comme nous l'apprenons de son ami M. Borel, qui témoigne qu'il ne le quitta pas même dans Paris.⁴

[D]

Il reçut encore, mais un peu plus avant dans l'année, une belle question de Géométrie de la part de Roberval, avec sa figure et sa démonstration.⁵ Quoique nous ne puissions dire maintenant quelle étoit cette question, nous sommes obligés pour l'honneur de M. de Roberval de rapporter les marques de l'estime qu'en faisoit M. Descartes. [*I.m.*: lettr. Ms. à Mers. du 11
5 Déc. 1643]. "Il y a fort long-têms, dit-il au P. Mersenne, que j'ay reçû la question de M. de Roberval avec la figure, et je pensois vous en avoir remercié, et vous avoir écrit que je la tiens pour l'une des plus belles que j'aye jamais vûës.⁶ Sa démonstration est extrêmement juste et ingénieuse. J'ay à le remercier luy-même du favorable
10 jugement qu'il fait de moy à la fin de sa lettre.⁷ A quoy j'ajoute, que je rends graces très-humbles à M. de Carcavy⁸ de m'avoir fait la faveur de m'envoyer cét écrit; ce que je n'avois pû faire auparavant, parceque vous ne m'aviez point mandé qu'il vint de luy." Ce témoignage mérite de devenir public, pour faire voir que si l'amitié de M. de Roberval avec M. Descartes étoit chancelante et sujette aux révolutions que produisoient les mouvemens divers du cœur de M. de Roberval; leur estime réciproque
15 étoit au moins toujours égale, et toujours parfaite.

³ Étienne de Ville-Bressieu (fl.1626–1656), a physician, chemist and engineer from Grenoble. Descartes befriended him in Paris during the 1620s. He visited Descartes in Amsterdam in the early 1630s and together they travelled to Germany and Denmark (cf. AT I, 212–218). For further biographical details, which are in fact scarce, see N. Hepp, *Deux amis d'Homère au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1970), pp. 47–56.

⁴ Pierre Borel just states, without giving a date: 'Amstelodamum iterum petiit, et inde Lutetiam semper cum familiari nostro Bressieo ut regis reditui adesset' (*Vitae Renati Cartesii ... compendium* (Paris: Billaine and Dupuis, 1656), p. 5). For Ville-Bressieu's longstanding plans to visit Descartes, see also Descartes to Mersenne, 7 December 1642 (AT III, 598/CM XI, 363–364). Descartes embarked for France in mid-June 1644, since Baillet reports that he arrived in Paris towards the end of June (Baillet, II, 217).

⁵ The problem in question is 'Torricelli's paradox', an infinitely long hyperbolic solid with an infinite surface area, but a finite volume (the figure is known as 'Gabriel's horn'). Cf. CM XII, 206–207; in general see P. Mancosu and E. Vaillati, 'Torricelli's infinitely long solid and its philosophical reception in the Seventeenth Century', *Isis*, 82 (1991), 50–70. In a letter to Mersenne from [July 1643], Roberval demonstrates that the volume is indeed finite (CM XII, 256–264). In the conclusion of the letter Roberval gives the following praise to Descartes: '... DD. de Fermat et Des Cartes, quorum utrumque, meo quidem iudicio, nec ipsi Archimedi jure quis postposuerit' (p. 264).

⁶ As Descartes' previous extant letter to Mersenne dates from 30 May, at least one but probably several letters are lost.

⁷ See n. 5.

⁸ Apparently Mersenne forwarded a copy of Roberval's letter at the request of the Paris geometer Pierre de Carcavi (1600–1684). For his correspondence with Descartes in 1649, see AT V, 365–367, 369–374, 391–401, and 412–422.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Outre des questions, des inventions, et des desseins, M. Descartes reçût aussi quelques livres nouveaux pendant le cours de cette année. Les principaux furent la Perspective de M. des Argues dont nous avons parlé ailleurs⁹ [*i.m.*: lettr. Ms. à Mers. du 11 Déc. 1643.] ...

[E]

Cependant il apprit que l'Imprimeur Blaew préparoit sa fonte pour mettre ses Méditations avec l'Ecrit de M. Gassendi sous ses presses.¹⁰ Mail il luy fit donner avis de n'en rien faire, parce que ses exemplaires seroient faisés en France en vertu de son privilège au profit du Libraire de Paris [*i.m.*: Soly.] qui en jouïssoit. Ce n'est pas qu'il se souciât beaucoup de l'intérêt
5 du Libraire de Hollande [*i.m.*: Blaew.]; mais selon qu'il s'en étoit expliqué au Père Mersenne dès le mois de Décembre de l'année précédente 1643, il avoit peur que le Libraire de Paris ne s'accordât avec celui de Hollande par des moyens préjudiciables à la réputation de l'Auteur. De sorte que le privilège luy paroissoit plus nuisible qu'utile entre les mains du Libraire du Paris. "Si Soly, dit-il à ce Père, a vendu son édition de mes Méditations, il me sem-
10 ble que le privilège ne devoit plus être à luy; ou s'il le retient, il en devoit faire une nouvelle avec mon consentement, à laquelle j'ajouterois ou j'ôtérois ce que je jugerois à propos, non pas en souffrir une pour aider à vendre les médisances de mes ennemis."

[F]

[*I.m.*: Lettr. Ms. de Desc. à Mers. du 11 Décembre 1643.] Les Etats de la province d'Utrecht indignez de la mauvaise conduite des Magistrats de la ville, avoient été obligez de prendre le parti de M. Descartes contre eux. [*I.m.*: Lettr. Ms. du 1 Avril 1644 à Picot.¹¹] Ils avoient arrêté leurs procédures et pour faire un exemple public de l'affront que méritent des Juges
5 qui abusent de l'autorité et de la sainteté des loix, ils avoient contraint ces Magistrats de révoquer certains privilèges ou pouvoirs qu'ils avoient donnez à leur Université en cette occasion.¹²

⁹ See text 64A above.

¹⁰ In early 1644 the Amsterdam printer Blaeu issued Gassendi's *Disquisitio metaphysica* together with a reprint, without the author's consent, of the *Meditationes*. Possibly to avoid problems in connection with the French privilege (see below) it was published as a separate booklet. Cf. Van Otegem, I, 184–185.

¹¹ AT IV, 103–106.

¹² Cf. Letter 56, pp. 152–153, ll. 11–20, and Letter 62, p. 167.

Descartes, [Egmond aan den Hoef], to Samuel Maresius, [Groningen]
12 December 1643

Source

S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata à D. G. Voetio* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), p. 403.

Summary

In reply to Letter 64. Descartes thanks Maresius for his frankness, and has decided not to pursue the matter in Groningen; he will indeed take a different approach. He still regards Maresius as a friend, even if their correspondence is brought to a close.

See Letter 23.

Descartes to Van Buitendijck
[1642–1649]

Sources

1. Tobias Andreae, *Methodi cartesianae assertio opposita Jacobi Revii ... Methodi Cartesianae Considerationi Theologicae*, vol. 1 (Groningen: Cöllén, 1653), pp. 947–948 (text A).
2. Cle II, 53–55 (text B).

Editions

Jacobus Revius, *Kartesiomania, hoc est, furiosum nugamentum, quod Tobias Andreae, sub titulo Assertionis Methodi Cartesianae, orbi literato obrusit, succincte ac solide confutatum* (Leiden: Lopez de Haro, 1654), pp. 364–367 (A); AT IV, 62–65; AM VI, 82–86.

The letter was first published by the Groningen professor of Greek Tobias Andreae (1604–1676) without date or the name of the addressee, only indicating that it is an ‘ornatissimus iuvenis N.N.’. Clerselier published a French translation of the letter, being addressed ‘A Monsieur de Buitendijck’. AT reproduce the text from the *Epistolae* (1668, vol. II, pp. 33–35, ‘Ad Dominum à Buitendijck’), wrongly assuming that that is the original Latin text. It is in fact a translation from Clerselier, as the comparison with Andreae’s text proves. Andreae does not give the complete text of the letter (text A); for the last part the translation of Clerselier is used (text B). Clerselier’s version of the first part shows that it is a faithful translation of the text given by Andreae; indeed, it cannot be excluded that Andreae, who submitted copies of the letters he received from Descartes to Clerselier, sent a copy of this letter as well (cf. P. Dibon, ‘Clerselier, éditeur de la correspondance de Descartes’, *Regards sur la Hollande du Siècle d’Or* (Napels: Vivarium, 1990), pp. 495–521, esp. pp. 497–508).

AT place the letter in 1643, as Descartes refers to his 1642 edition of the *Meditationes*, but not to his *Principia* (1644). Their conjecture is weak, and the letter may in fact date from any time after the publication of the second edition of the *Meditationes*. AT’s hypothesis that the addressee is Gosuinus van Buytendyck (c.1585–1661), minister and a curator of the Latin School at Dordrecht, can safely be excluded as ‘iuvenis ornatissimus’ is a title usually reserved for students. An outline of possible candidates is given in the comment below.

Summary

Descartes replies to the following three questions posed to him by a student. First, is it ever permissible to doubt about God? Second, is it permissible to suppose anything false in matters pertaining to God. The final question is about the motion which the student mistakenly believes Descartes regards as the soul of animals.

[A]

Tres in literis quas ad me dedisti, Iuvenis ornatissime, quaestiones invenio, quae et studium et candorem tuum ita demonstrant, ut mihi non posset non esse gratissimum ad eas respondere. Prima est, an liceat de Deo in ullo statu aut naturaliter dubitare? Ubi existimo esse distinguendum id, quod in dubitatione pertinet ad intellectum, ab eo quod pertinet ad voluntatem. Nam quantum ad intellectum quaeri non debet, an aliquid ei liceat, nec ne, quia non est facultas electiva, sed tantum an possit. Multos autem esse, quorum intellectus de Deo potest, dubitare,

¹ Iuvenis ornatissime] Monsieur Cle (on top of the letter)

66. *Descartes to Van Buitendijck, [1642–1649]*

perspicuum est, atque ex eorum numero sunt omnes qui ejus existentiam evi-
denter demonstrare nequeunt, quamvis nihilominus habeant veram fidem. Fides
10 enim est voluntatis, qua sepositâ fidelis examinare potest ratione naturali, an sit
Deus? atque ita de Deo dubitare. Quantum ad voluntatem, rursus distinguen-
dum est, inter eam quae respicit finem et inter eam quae respicit media. Nam
si quis sibi proponat dubitationem de Deo tanquam finem, ut in eâ consistat,
graviter peccat, quod de re tanti momenti manere velit incertus. Sed si quis ean-
15 dem sumat ut medium, quo possit ad clariorem veritatis cognitionem pervenire,
rem planè piam et honestam facit, quia nemo potest velle finem, nisi velit media,
et in ipsa sacrâ Scripturâ saepe invitantur homines, ad cognitionem de Deo, ra-
tione naturali sibi acquirendam. Non etiam malè facit qui in | eundem finem, ad 948
tempus omnem ex animo suo numinis cognitionem expellit; neque enim tenemur
semper attendere ad hoc, quod Deus existat, alioquin nunquam nobis dormire,
aut aliud aliquid agere nobis liceret, quia quoties aliud agimus omnem de Nu-
mine cognitionem pro eo tempore seponimus.

Altera quaestio est *an fas sit aliquid falsi de Deo supponere?* Ubi distinguen-
dum inter verum Deum clarè perceptum, et falsos Deos. Nam vero Deo clarè
25 percepto, non modo non licet sed ne fieri quidem potest, ut humanus intellectus
quicquam falsi affingat, quemadmodum in *Medit. explicui*, p. 152, 159, 269, et
aliis in locis.¹ Falsis autem Diis, id est, vel malignis geniis, vel idolis, vel quibusli-
bet Numinibus per errorem intellectus malè effictis (haec enim omnia in *S. Literis*
Deorum nomine saepe indigitantur) nec non vero Deo, sed confusè tantùm intel-
30 lecto, per hypothesin aliquid falsi affingere, bonum esse potest vel malum, prout
finis propter quem illa suppositio fit bonus est vel malus. Quicquid enim hoc
pacto per hypothesin fingitur, non ideo à voluntate affirmatur, tanquam verum,
sed intellectui tantùm exhibetur considerandum, atque ideo in se nullam con-
tinet rationem malitiae vel bonitatis, sed à fine propter quem ista consideratio
35 fit illam mutuatur. Ita ergo qui fingit Deum deceptorem etiam verum Deum,
sed nondum sibi vel illis propter quos ista fictio fit, distinctè cognitum, quique
non utitur eâ fictione ex malâ voluntate, ut aliquid falsi de Deo persuadeat, sed
tantùm ut intellectum illustret, atque ut ipsius Dei naturam clarius agnoscat, vel
40 aliis demonstret, non facit malum, ut eveniat bonum, | quia nulla in eâ re malitia 949
est, sed absolutè facit bonum, nec ab ullo nisi per calumniam potest reprehendi.

Tertia quaestio de motu, quem putas me in animae locus brutis tribuere, etc.²

[B]

La troisieme question est touchant le mouvement, que vous croyez que i'attri-
buë pour Ame aux Bestes. Mais ie ne me souviens point d'avoir iamais écrit,
que le mouvement fust l'Ame des brutes, et ie ne me suis pas encore expliqué
ouvertement là dessus. Mais dautant que par le mot d'*Ame*, nous avons coûtume
5 d'entendre une Substance, et que ma pensée est, que le mouvement est seule-

23 par. E 41 par. E

¹ AT VII, 138, 144, 233.

² The end of the text given by Andreae.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ment un Mode du Cors (au reste ie n'admets pas diverses sortes de mouvemens, mais seulement le mouvement Local, qui est commun à tous les Cors, tant animez qu'inanimez) ie ne voudrois pas dire que le mouvement fust l'Ame des brutes, mais plutost avec la sainte Ecriture, au Deuteronomie chap. 12, verset 23, *que le sang est leur Ame*.³ Car le sang est un Cors fluide, qui se meut tres-viste, duquel la partie la plus subtile s'appelle Esprit, et qui coulant continuellement des Arteres par le cerveau dans les nerfs et dans les muscles, meut toute la machine du Cors. Adieu. Je vous prie de me conter au nombre de vos serviteurs.

RENÉ DESCARTES.

Possible addressees of the letter.

The *Album studiosorum* of Leiden records the names of six students called (Van) Buitendijck. The first is Johannes Buytendyck from Utrecht who at the age of 20 entered the university to study philosophy (3 November 1627). The second is Adrianus Buytendyck, also from Utrecht, who at the age of 21 enrolled as a student in mathematics (11 May 1635). This Adrianus may be the same as Adrianus à Buytendyck from Utrecht, who matriculated in Leiden as a student in mathematics at the age of 24 (20 March 1638). Normally none of these students would still be studying at the university in the mid-1640s, and they are therefore no serious candidates for the addressee of the letter above, which is written after May 1642. The *Album studiosorum* of Leiden also records two students called Petrus Buytendyck. The first Petrus Buytendyck, from Dordrecht, entered Leiden University to study theology at the age of 19 (6 February 1644). He was a student of the 'Collège wallon' (a francophone college for the education of theology students with a close link to the Walloon Church). He may be the same as Petrus Buytendyck (1623–after 1688/89) who at the age of 20 enrolled on 27 November 1645 to study theology. According to the *Album studiosorum* he was the son of Gosuinus Buytendyck, minister of the Reformed Church of Dordrecht and a writer of popular religious works, whom AT mistakenly believe to be the addressee. In 1658 this Petrus became minister in Nieuw-Beijerland (South-Holland). The *Album studiosorum* of Leiden also mentions Samuel à Buytendich from Dordrecht who matriculated at the age of 20 on 21 June 1647, so he could be the addressee as well. Finally, the *Album studiosorum* of Franeker mentions a student called Petrus à Buitendijck (matriculating at the university to study theology on 27 April 1649, without specification of his age), who could be the same as the Petrus Buitendyck who studied in Leiden. It seems that the most likely candidate would be Petrus Buytendyck, the son of the Dordrecht minister Gosuinus.

References

Album studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585–1811, 1816–1844), eds. S.J. Fockema-Andreae and Th.J. Meyer (Franeker: Wever, 1968); *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV*, ed. W.N. du Rieu (ed.) (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975); M. Soermans, *Kerkelyk register van de plaatsen en namen der predikanten* (Haarlem 1702), p. 15; *Acta der particuliere synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621–1700*, ed. W.P.C. Knuttel, vols. 3–5 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1908–1916) (RGP 3, 5 8, 11, 15–16); F.A. van Lieburg, *Profeten en hun vaderland*. With Annex: *Repertorium van Nederlands hervormde predikanten tot 1816*, vol. 1. Ph.D. Diss. Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (n.p. [Zoetermeer]: Boekencentrum, 1996), p. 44.

³ Deut. 12:23: 'hoc solum cave ne sanguinem comedas sanguis enim eorum pro anima est et idcirco non debes animam comedere cum carnibus'.

Descartes to an unknown Jesuit

[May 1642–July 1644]

Sources

1. *Epistolae*, III, 57–58.
2. Cle III, 103–105.

Editions

AT IV, 66–67; AM VI, 87–88.

Clerselier publishes a French text of this letter, without date and as being addressed to an unnamed Jesuit. The Latin edition provides a text which is not a translation of Cle, but still without date and name of the addressee ('Ad quempiam è Societate Jesu'). The date of the letter can be fixed between the publication of Hobbes' *De Cive* (Paris, April 1642; ll. 27f)—a copy of which Huygens had received from Mersenne by 9 May 1642 (cf. CM XI, 151)—and the publication of Descartes' *Principia* (Amsterdam, July 1644; l. 26). The text in AT is taken from Cle. Nevertheless, a comparison between the two versions shows that the text in the *Epistolae* must be based on a different source. The editors of the *Epistolae* must have had access to a source text which they preferred to Clerselier's text—indeed, if there is any connection between the two versions, it is the French text which is a translation of the Latin. The *Epistolae* supplies furthermore a signature which is lacking in Cle. For these reasons we have decided to take the Latin text as the principal source. Striking differences with the Clerselier text, those which go beyond the freedom of translation, are noted in the apparatus. The addressee is a Jesuit and a mathematician of some standing, apparently living in France as he seems to know Bourdin personally (l. 10ff). According to the *French* text he stands in a family relation to Descartes via one of Descartes' brothers; the *Latin* text is less outspoken and makes it also possible that the Jesuit is a brother of a friend of Descartes' (cf. l. 3 and l. 20).

Summary

Descartes thinks that the chances of being reconciled with Bourdin—through the mediation of the addressee—are very slim, given Bourdin's unfounded animosity. For his explanation of the tides Descartes refers to the forthcoming publication of the *Principia*. Descartes believes that the author of *De Cive* is the same person who wrote the third set of objections against his *Meditationes*. The author's work in moral philosophy is better than any of his accomplishments in metaphysics or physics, which does not entail that Descartes approves his principles. On the contrary, he considers them extremely bad and quite dangerous.

Plurimum Reverende Pater,

Felicem me, plus quam rebar, reperio in eo, quod me vestrae Personae cum meritis inclytæ, tum ex Illustrissima Societate, amicitia jungi contigerit, quæque cum in aliis, tum Mathematicis præcipuè insigniter desudarit. Hanc enim ego disciplinam eo semper dignatus sum honore, ut tota animi in eam incubuerim contentione, ut cultores ejus penitiori complecterer affectu, à quibus reciprocam etiam jure expecto benevolentiam, iis saltem, qui ex professo, ut ajunt, reque ipsa Mathematici sunt; nam odisse me, meique similes, eorum nempè est, qui

3 Illustrissima *om. Cle* 3 amicitia *om. Cle* 8–10 nam ... absunt] car il n'appartient qu'à ceux qui le veulent paroistre, et ne le sont pas, de haïr ceux qui taschent à l'estre veritablement *Cle*

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

10 nomen quidem disciplinae hujus usurpant gloriose, à re tamen ipsa quam longis-
sime absunt. Id quod me attonitum reddit, cum factum Rever. Patris Bourdini in
mentem venit, cujus impotentiam animi quod palpaveris nullus dubito. Tentarem
sanè tua ope cum ipso redire in gratiam, si id ullatenus possibile esset, at quoniam
15 nulla ipsi à me ne noto quidem hactenus praestita causa, adeo me laccessiverit im-
pudenter, hinc reor me in eo ad meliorem reducendo frugem, oleum perditurum,
atque operam. Ideoque contestari volo vestrae Reverentiae, Reverendi Patris
Bourdini iniquum contra me procedendi modum, non ejus momenti esse, ut eum
idcirco vel odio prosequi, vel paribus impetere coner diceris, idque Societatis
20 vestrae cujus membrum est intuitu, quam ego plurimis demerendam | mihi sentio
obsequiis. Ac quandoquidem plus sim obligatus tibi, quam aliis è vestra Socie-
tate, idque ob affinitatem per fratrem contractam,¹ desiderarem sanè ut nancisci
occasionem possem, monstrandi mei erga te cultus, debitique in cuncta obse-
quii; nec intermitterem sanè, quin hac eadem occasione meum tibi circa fluxum
ac refluxum maris aperirem sensum, si liceret id mihi totum explicare, absque
25 praesuppositis quamplurimis, quae longe forsitan essent difficiliora assensu, quam
refluxus ipse, iis, qui mea nondum inspexerunt principia; quae tamen ego intra
breve tempus luci committam publicae, tuncque tuo ibidem satisfiet desiderio
cum in hoc, tum forsitan etiam in aliis.

Epp III, 58

Quod librum de Cive concernit, existimo authorem ejus eundem esse, qui et
tertiarum, contra meditationes meas, objectionum,² quemque ego commodiorem
30 invenio tractandis moralibus, quam Metaphysicis aut Physicis, quamvis nequeam
ullatenus approbare principia vel axiomata, quae et pessima sunt, et periculosa
etiam in eo quod supponat omnes homines esse perversos, ut ipsis saltem ansam
ad flagitia praebeat. Unicus scopus ejus est splendor Monarchicus, quod tamen
felicis, solidiusque praestare potuisset, si solidioris, virtutisque magis conentaneis
35 usus fuisset principii. Multa quoque ibidem involvit in Ecclesiae detrimentum,
Religionisque Catholicae, ita ut nisi magno alicui innitatur nomini, authorita-
tive, haud effugere valeat censuram.

Vester totus,

Descartes

10–22 Id quod ... obsequii] C'est ce qui m'a fait estonner du Reverend Pere Bourdin, duquel ie ne doute point que vous n'avez remarqué la passion. Et i'oserois vous supplier de me vouloir mettre en ses bonnes graces, si ie pensois que ce fust une chose possible; mais comme il a fait paroistre quelque animosité contre moy, sans aucune raison, et avant mesme que ie sceusse qu'il fust au monde, ansi ie ne puis quasi esperer que la raison le change. C'est pourquoy ie veux seulement vous protester, qu'en ce qui s'est passé entre luy et moy, ie ne le considere, en aucune façon, comme estant de vostre Compagnie, à laquelle i'ay une infinité d'obligations, qui ne peuvent entrer en comparaison avec le peu en quoy il m'a desobligé. Et pour ce que ie suis encore plus particulierement obligé à vous qu'aux autres, à cause de l'alliance de mon frere, ie serois ravy, si ie pouvois avoir occasion de vous témoigner combien ie vous honore et desire obeïr en toutes choses *Cle*. NB. the French translator appears to have read 'nato' in stead of 'noto' (l. 13) 23 totum om. *Cle*

1 If the claim in the French text of the letter is true, the addressee is related to Descartes through his elder brother Pierre Descartes (de la Bretaillière) or his half-brother Joachim Descartes (de Chavagne). According to Baillet and a note in the *Exemplaire de l'Institut*—both seem to be unaware of a different text in the *Epistolae*—the addressee is allied via Pierre Descartes, who was married to Marguerite Chohan (†1641). Cf. Baillet, II, 174.

2 *Elementorum philosophiae sectio tertia De Cive* (Paris: s.n., 1642), published without the author's name, only the dedication is signed 'T.H.'. He was indeed, as Descartes conjectured, the 'anonymous author' of the third set of objections against his *Meditationes* (AT VII, 171–196).

Descartes to Unknown
[1641–1644]

Sources

1. *Epistolae*, II, 400–402.
2. Cle II, 557–560.

Editions

AT V, 544–546; AM V, 175–176 (cf. AM VI, 92–94).

The letter was published by Clerselier without date and addressee but with the indication that it is a translation. The *Epistolae* provides a text which is clearly not a translation from Cle. Apparently, the editors of the *Epistolae* had access to a different source, and because the letter was originally written in Latin, as Clerselier testifies, the text found in the *Epistolae* is the principal source. Adam and Tannery divide the text into two different letters (the second letter starting at l. 21), which is a rather surprising decision if one assumes, as they did, that the editors of the *Epistolae* had another and more reliable source at their disposal. Indeed, the text as a whole does not have any internal inconsistencies indicating that it consists of two separate letters written at different dates. The text is therefore presented here as a single letter.

As concerns the date, the letter is written after the publication of the *Meditationes* (Paris 1641), but probably before the publication of the *Principia*—Descartes speaks of the motion of the earth as if he has yet not given his judgement about it in public, as he would do in the *Principia* (pt. III, art. 19).

The addressee, finally, remains unknown. Despite the salutation ‘Vir clarissime’ it could be a Jesuit father, as AT point out, for example Denis Mesland (1615–1672) who composed a summary (now lost) of the *Meditationes* (cf. AT IV, 162–163). AM suggest it may be André Jumeau de Sainte-Croix, who did advise Descartes and commented on the text of the *Meditationes* as well (cf. AT III, 387, 542).

Summary

Descartes thanks the addressee for his advice in theological matters. The difficult subject of the motion of the earth still needs to be addressed. The addressee has sent a commentary or a summary of the *Meditationes*; Descartes suggests several improvements.

Vir Clarissime,

Obruis me semper humanitate et officiis, ita ut nunquam par in respondendo esse
possim, sed gratissimum tamen est sic vinci. Monitis et praeceptis tuis, quam ac-
curatissime fieri poterit, obtemperabo, praecipue in iis quae spectant ad sacram
5 Theologiam et orthodoxam religionem, in quibus confido nihil esse, cum quo
mea Philosophia non multo facilius quadret, quam vulgaris. Quantum autem ad
illas controversias, quae ex falsa Philosophia in Theologiam adscitae sunt, non
quidem ipsis me immiscebo; sed ni fallor, sponte concident, si meae opiniones
recipiantur. Restat tantum unus scrupulus de motu terrae, de quo curavi pro me
10 consuli quendam Cardinalem,¹ qui se mihi amicum à multis annis pro- | fitetur, 401
et unus est ex ea congregatione, quae Galilaenum condemnavit; audiam ab ipso

¹ According to Baillet (I, 254), it is Francesco Barberini (1597–1679).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

quid liceat vel non liceat, et modo Romam et Sorbonam pro me habeam, vel saltem non contra me, spero me aliorum invidiae sustinendae parem fore. Contra Philosophos autem nullum plane bellum suscipio, nisi ut sit ad acquirendam
15 pacem; cum enim jam videam illos mihi clanculum male velle, insidiasque struere, malo aperto Marte illos aggredi, ut vincantur, vel vincant, quam expectare ubi ip-
sis erit commodum: nec puto meam mihi Philosophiam novum ullum inimicum
esse facturam, cum tamen interim multos novos amicos et defensores ab ipsa ex-
pectem; sed si secus eveniat, non idcirco deerit animus, nec etiam pax interna; et
20 tranquillitas eadem erit in bello, quae semper hactenus fuit in otio.

Fateor me mihi nec videri infelicem, nec scriptorum, quae in lumen edidi, poenitere, cum intelligo tales aliquos in mundo reperiri, qualem te esse tua epistola declarat; nempe, qui ea quae vulgavi studiose perlegant, accurate percipi-
ant, et gratis animis admittant. Cum autem illi rarissimi sint, merito tibi maximas
25 gratias habeo et ago, quod unus ex illis ac etiam fortasse praecipuus esse digneris. Praecipuum dico, tum propter arctissimam benevolentiam quam promittis, tum etiam propter eximiam illam lucubrationem quam epistolae tuae adjunxisti: cogitationes enim meae cum iis quas ibi expressisti tam accurate conveniunt, ut non meminerim quenkam alium mihi specimen exhibuisse, ex quo aequo certo
30 cognoscerem, illus omnia quae in meditationibus meis continentur in succum et sanguinem (ut ita loquar) convertisse. Atque ut videas quam candide ac sine fuco haec scribam, duo vel tria loca hic notabo, quae sola sunt in quibus aliquid, non à meo sensu, sed à modo loquendi, aliquantulum differre notavi. Duo sunt in
columna quarta.

Prius continetur his verbis: *neque Deus habet facultatem à se auferendi suam
existentiam*. Per facultatem enim solemus designare aliquam perfectionem; esset
autem imperfectio in Deo, posse à se auferre existentiam. Atque ideo ad prae-
cavendas cavillationes, mallet ibi scribere, *et repugnat Deum à se auferre suam
existentiam, vel aliunde eam amittere posse, etc.* Posterius est ubi ais, *Deum esse sui
40 causam,*² quod verbum quia nonnulli antehac male interpretati sunt, egere vide-
tur aliqua tali explicatione, *esse sui causam hoc est esse per se, nec aliam habere
causam quam propriam suam essentiam, quae dici potest causa formalis*. Ter-
tium denique quod notandum duxi, est versus finem in his verbis, *materia mundi
45 machina existit*. Ubi potius scripsissem, *mundum machinae instar ex materia con-
stare, vel esse easdem omnes in rebus materialibus motuum causas, atque in ma-
chinis arte factis, vel quid simile*. Ista vero talia sunt, et tam exigui momenti, |
ut multo plura soleam invenire in meis scriptis, quae velim mutata, quoties ea
relego; nunquamque possumus esse tam accurati, ut nullam argutandi materiam
vilitigatoribus relinquamus. Caeterum nihil esse puto, quod homines ad mu-
50 tuam amicitiam magis alliciat, quam similitudo cogitationum; atque idcirco, ut

21 par. E 35 par. E

² The question of God as *causa sui* was first raised by Johannes Caterus, or De Kater (1590–1655) in his objections to the *Meditationes* (AT VII, 95–96). The Dutch Calvinist theologian Jacobus Revius (1586–1658) attacked Descartes on this topic in his *Suárez repurgatus* (Leiden: Heger, 1643), and again during several disputations at Leiden University in 1646. The Leiden professor of philosophy, Adam Stuart (1591–1654), took up the question in 1647. Cf. Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, 40–43, 63.

68. *Descartes to Unknown, [1641–1644]*

non difficulter inducor ad ea credenda, quae mihi de benevolentia tua promittis, ita etiam rogo, ut de summa erga te animi mei propensione ac sincero affectu non dubites, et amare pergas tibi addictissimum

Renatum Descartes.

APPENDIX 1

The Utrecht Crisis

With the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, which was published as an appendix to the second edition of Descartes' *Meditationes* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1642), the Utrecht crisis reached a particularly violent and public stage. Whereas so far the conflict had been limited to Utrecht and had not directly involved anyone outside the University, Descartes, by including a discussion of the conflict and a vitriolic description of Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) brought the matter to the attention of virtually the entire European world. The fact that Descartes was a foreigner, that he discussed his case in a letter which was addressed to a Jesuit and that he himself was a Catholic undoubtedly aggravated things, as Descartes himself for that matter seems to have anticipated.¹ Finally, Descartes' intervention must have been, not only frustrating for those among the Utrecht authorities who had wanted to bury the whole thing and for a short while had believed to be successful, but also humiliating for the Utrecht professors, whom Descartes depicted as being manipulated and bullied by Voetius, who, according to him, was the only significant force behind the official Judgment of 1642 and whom accordingly he treated as its real author.²

Needless to say that reactions in Utrecht were not amused. Voetius in particular was deeply hurt. In letters to his former disciple Martin Schoock (1614–1669), now professor of philosophy in Groningen, he gave vent to his anger, suggesting that Schoock should mount a broad-scale attack against the French philosopher, whose *Meditationes* for that matter Schoock seems to have read almost immediately after the publication of the second edition.³ Schoock's plan to submit a series of disputations on scepticism in particular should be, according to

¹ Descartes to *Huygens, 26 April 1642, AT III, 783–784.

² *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 588–589, 596. On 15/25 March 1642 the *Vroedschap* (City Council) decreed that henceforth Regius' activities would be limited to the Medical Faculty and authorized the Senate (the assembly of professors) to formulate a judgment on Regius' *Responsio* (1642), 'op 't soetste als haer E. tot minste laesie van sijn E. Naeme, ende tot meesten dienst ende reputatie van de Academie in conscientie bevinden sullen te behooren', Kernkamp, I, 159/*Testimonium*, 63/*Querelle*, 120. The professors followed suit on 17/27 March with a Judgment containing three points: 1) they blamed Regius' way of directly attacking a colleague; 2) they also blamed Regius' way of presenting traditional philosophy; 3) they rejected 'that new philosophy', not only because it was contrary to the philosophy normally taught in most European Universities and because it made students unable to understand and discuss the literature of their discipline, but also because 'various and absurd opinions followed from it or could be deduced from it by inexperienced youths'. In the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* Descartes gave the full text of the Judgment, commenting it bit by bit and presenting it as a fabrication of Voetius who had misused his position as rector to serve his own particular interest.

³ 'Ridiculas quoque Cartesii Metaphysicas Contemplationes percurri, quartaque de scepticismo disputatione expendere studebo quantum ejus argumento de cogitatione sit tribuendum', Schoock to Voetius, 23 May 1642 (OS), quoted in P. Voet, *Tribunal iniquum* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1646), 91; *Pietas in parentem* (Utrecht: Strick, 1646), pp. 57, 97. Schoock and Voetius had been in correspondence ever since Schoock exchanged Utrecht for Deventer, where he became professor of eloquence in 1641; cf. E.-J. Bos and F. Broeyer, 'Epistolarium Voetianum I', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 78 (1998), 184–215; E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 39–73.

Voetius, an ‘excellent opportunity’ to ‘stop the mouth of this René Descartes, this man of wild and empty promises’. The things that concern the University would be taken care of by the professors themselves, but as far as himself, Voetius, was concerned ‘we are still pondering what to do. That our reaction should be one of silence is not, as far as I see, what any of my colleagues advise me to do. But by whom and how remains to be seen. There are those who think it should be me, others my son and still others you. But about that later’. In any case, and as if to prepare himself for whatever would come next, Schoock should systematically note the absurdities of Descartes and refute them with all philosophical and theological arguments available, if only to show that the question concerned the whole Christian and Academic world.⁴

The professors of Utrecht University too felt offended. On 29 June/9 July 1642 the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* was brought to the attention of the Senate, who appointed a committee of four, consisting of the rector, Antonius Matthaëus (1601–1654), professor of Law and Rector (he had succeeded Voetius on 16/26 March 1642); Meinardus Schotanus (1593–1644), professor of theology; Willem Stratenus (1593–1681), professor of medicine; and Arnoldus Senguerdus (1610–1667), professor of philosophy—so all faculties were represented. They were asked to examine the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, make a list of the things offensive to the University and if useful write a draft refutation. It was also decided that, given the public nature of Descartes’ attack, the University would issue a historical report of the events.⁵ The committee were ready on 6/16 March 1643, and submitted a *Testimonium*, in which they highlighted what in their view was false in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, as well as a *narratio historica* (factual report) on the various events up to the Judgment of 1642. All agreed on a definitive text of both. But although a majority of the Senate wanted to publish this report, it was not printed before the summer of 1643, that is, after the publication of Descartes’ *Epistola ad Voetium*.⁶

Meanwhile there were some other developments, which however must be reconstructed on the basis of the testimonies of the various parties involved in the Groningen procedures.⁷ During the summer of 1642 Schoock, who used to spend

4 Voetius to Schoock, 3/13 June 1642, quoted in S. *Maresius, *Ultima patientia* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 410–412; *Bonae fidei sacrum* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1646), pp. 28–30; M. Schoock, *Dissertatio politico-historica de bonis ecclesiasticis* (Groningen: Cöllen, 1651), p. 66.

5 ‘Hora XI relatum ad Senatam Academicum de Epistola Cartesii ad Dinetum. Nominati quatuor viri: Rector, D. Schotanus, D. Stratenus, D. Sengwerdus qui examinata epistola exciperent injurias Academiae factas, et si scripto confutandas viderentur, scriptum componerent, adhibitis pro re nata in consilium aliquibus ex collegis. Re diu deliberata placuit tandem publicum totius academiae nomine testimonium conscribendum, quo rerum gestarum veritas omnibus innotesceret’, Kernkamp, I, 160–161. Voetius already anticipated on this in his letter to Schoock of 3/13 June 1642 (see above).

6 ‘A sexta vespertina ad nonam lectum est in concessu nostro Testimonium academicum una cum narratione historica, qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae philosophiae, opponendum Epistolae Cartesii ad Dinetum. Professi sunt omnes, quantum ad historiae fidem, nihil se habere quod arguant. Typis vero edendum adjuncta narratione, conclusum plurimis suffragiis’, Kernkamp, I, 162.

7 With ‘Groningen procedures’ are meant the events following Descartes’ complaint (by the intermediary of the French Ambassador) to the States of Groningen, which eventually resulted in an academic tribunal, presided over by Maresius in April 1645. It ended with a sworn deposition of

Appendices

the summer holidays with his family-in-law in Utrecht, was invited by Voetius to a dinner party, where he also found several other Utrecht professors. After dinner—and presumably after quite a few glasses of wine—several guests took him apart, telling him that someone—he for example—should take the defence of Voetius, who was attacked so brutally and so personally by Descartes. Indeed, if Schoock wished to do that, he could have the assistance of a student, a certain Lambertus vanden Waterlaet (c.1619–1678)—the same who in the disputes of December 1642 had been in charge of defending traditional philosophy against the attacks of Regius and Descartes.⁸ While Schoock was still hesitating about this request, there was Vanden Waterlaet *sicut lupus in fabula*, with an entire scheme of the book he, Schoock, should be going to write! Early next morning, Schoock still being in bed, he was visited by Voetius. Later Johan Gotschalk van Schurman (1605–1664) offered his help in translating certain parts of Descartes' *Discours* into Dutch—Schoock apparently did not know much French.⁹ Van den Waterlaet brought him notes taken from the lectures of Regius. Schoock had been a student of Henricus Reneri (1593–1639), a good and intimate friend of Descartes, who told him much on his ideas.¹⁰

Unable to resist the pressure, Schoock immediately started work on what would be known as *Admiranda methodus* (Utrecht: Van Waesberge, 1643). He drafted an introduction in which he more particularly discussed and refuted the various allegations Descartes made against Voetius, as well as a First Part, in which he attacked Descartes' method, which according to him has mainly one point: to radically forget whatever one has learned, so as to be able, not only to philosophise at ease, but also to praise Descartes as the greatest genius ever—quite an easy task once one has effectively forgotten all claims that were made by others.

At the end of the summer Schoock returned to Groningen, leaving behind a considerable part of his projected book. Once back in Groningen he may have realized the awkward position he had got himself into. He may also have lacked

Schoock in which he declared—in highly ambiguous terms for that matter—that the true author of *Admiranda methodus* (see below) was Voetius.

⁸ Lambertus van den Waterlaet, a former Crutched Friar of the Convent of St Agatha (in Cuyk, Brabant), was born in Gemert (Brabant). After his transition to the Reformation he studied theology under Voetius in Utrecht. In 1641 he was 'respondens' in a disputation on the Roman Jubilee, which in turn became nothing but an introduction to Voetius attack on Regius (the three corollaries in which Regius was accused of indirect atheism and the so-called 'appendix' on substantial forms). In the course of 1642 he went to Leiden, where he, not only implored the financial help of Huygens and Rivet, but also published a rejoinder to Regius' *Responsio* (1642): *Prodromus sive Examen tutelare Orthodoxae Philosophiae principiorum* (Leiden: Christiani, 1642); cf. Descartes to Regius, [early April 1642], AT III, 558–560; Bos, *Correspondence*, 144–145. Later he returned to Utrecht and, after finishing his studies, became minister in Pannerden (1645), Ravenstein (1649) and Alem (1652).

⁹ Schoock, 'Corte memorie', in E.-J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 79 (1999), 39–73 (p. 70).

¹⁰ Maresius, *Bonae fidei sacrum*, p. 4. Schoock had been the first graduate ('magister artium') of Utrecht University on a dissertation on sound and echo, in which he flirts a bit with the new ideas (even if the work as a whole is fairly traditional in style and argument. The text is incorporated in a collection of echo poems: *Lusus imaginis iocosae sive echus ... accedit Martini Schoockii Dissertatio de natura soni et echus* (Utrecht: Roman, 1639).

the time to do what he really wanted, namely, to write a refutation of Descartes' philosophy. And he may even have asked some papers back to revise them. On 25 October 1642 (OS) at any rate Van den Waterlaet sends Schoock a reminder, telling him that the printer will go ahead even without the part still in the possession of Schoock: 'after all,' the printer would have said, 'it could also be completed with the assistance of Mr Voetius'.¹¹ And that in fact seems to have happened. In November it is brought to the printer: 'Your book is sweating under the press, if only because it undergoes the same pressure from all sides as we are, being at a loss what to reply if the printer asks where the other leaves are, which to its great regret dissociated themselves from its body to fly to Groningen. How could Van den Waterlaet ever give them back to you!' Schoock should keep a discussion of the details of Descartes' philosophy for another occasion. All he has to do now is 'to send back, no words or promises, but the excerpts and papers you took with you'. If something is missing 'we shall supply it'.¹²

Hardly three days later, on 7 December (NS), Descartes has already seen the first printed sheets. He tells Mersenne he is going to write a reaction: 'I would not care to react even with a single word if no more than my own interest were at stake; but he controls the ordinary people of a town where many honest men sympathize with me who would like to see his authority diminished, so I shall be forced to react on their behalf. I hope my answer can be printed as quickly as his book for it will be short, whereas his book will be voluminous and so little to the point that after having examined the first pages and used them to tell him whatever I believe I must tell him, I cannot be bothered with the rest, which is not worth the trouble'.¹³ He also asks his friend to write a short *Epistola ad Voetium*—which Descartes intended to publish—telling him that he was told that Voetius is printing a book in which he makes his readers believe that he, Mersenne, is collecting material for a book against Descartes—whereas actually Mersenne had told Voetius that there was no such book.¹⁴ The title of Voetius' book would be 'Cartesian Philosophy' (*Philosophia Cartesiana*)—something Descartes would later present as a deliberate attempt on behalf of Voetius to have the book sold under his—Descartes'—name.¹⁵

'Five or six leaves' of Descartes' answer were ready by January 1643.¹⁶ He is planning a translation because, as he says, 'I believe that the common people

¹¹ Van den Waterlaet to Schoock, 25 October 1642, in Maresius, *Bonae fidei sacrum*, pp. 30–31.

¹² Voetius to Schoock, 25 November 1642 (OS), quoted in Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 413.

¹³ '... et je ne daignerois y respondre un seul mot, si je ne regardois que mon propre interest; mais pource qu'il gouverne le menu peuple en une ville, où il y a quantité d'honnestes gens qui me veulent du bien, et qui seront bien ayses que son autorité diminuë, je seray contraint de luy respondre en leur faveur, et j'espère faire imprimer ma response aussytost que luy son livre; car elle sera courte, et son livre fort gros et si impertinent, qu'après avoir examiné les premieres feüilles, et avoir pris occasion de là de luy dire tout ce que je croy luy devoir dire, je négligeray tout le reste, comme indigne mesme que je le lise', Descartes to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 598–599/CM XI, 365.

¹⁴ The rumour that Mersenne was busy collecting material against Descartes is already mentioned by Voetius in the so-called 'appendix on substantial forms' which he had submitted at the end of 1642; cf. *Testimonium* p. 47/*Querelle* p. 112.

¹⁵ Descartes to Mersenne, 23 March 1643 (Letter 13).

¹⁶ Descartes to Mersenne, 4 January 1643 (Letter 4).

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should be told that their idea of that man is too favourable'.¹⁷ According to the *Epistola ad Voetium*—as his reaction was to be called—Descartes discovered that Voetius could not be the author only after having completed four chapters of his own *Epistola*:

So far I could have no doubt that you want to be seen as the author of this book which you inscribe 'Cartesian Philosophy'. And that not only because the six first sheets were sent to me as being written by you and because I was told that the proofs are corrected in your house but mainly because it is manifestly your style, because such and so many obscenities could come only from you and because the occasion, namely, to attack my *Letter to Father Dinet*, which is the only book quoted in those sheets, is entirely yours; no one but you would be able to reach that degree of fury because of that letter even if he was a friend of yours. And in the Senate of your university you have been proclaiming for very long, when you were still exhorting your colleagues to divulge a Judgment in the name of the University, that you would not neglect your cause, that is, that you would write something against me.¹⁸

But arriving at page 33 he discovered that the author describes himself as 'living in a remote corner of the Low Countries'—not in Utrecht accordingly.¹⁹ And on page 57 the author speaks of Voetius as his master.²⁰ That Descartes really made this discovery only that late is not likely, given the fact that in the letter to Mersenne Descartes already refers to page 44. So much is clear, Descartes' real or alleged ignorance about the identity of the author allowed him to discuss in a most elaborate manner Voetius' scholarship, his personality and his behaviour and manners. All that, as well as a discussion of the Introduction and the first three chapters of Pt I of Schoock's book are the subject of the first four chapters of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium*.

Meanwhile the printing of Schoock's book was interrupted, not so much because the text was missing, as because Voetius had more urgent matters to attend to. In September 1642 Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), professor of the 's-Hertogenbosch 'Illustrious School' and minister of the Walloon Church, had publicly defended the step taken by Johan Wolfert van *Brederode and his friends to join the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' in 's-Hertogenbosch.²¹ Voetius had been involved ever since May 1642, when the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cornelius Leemans (1599–1668) asked his advice and opinion over this question, which Voetius in turn had been only too glad to give—indeed, the question of the Brotherhood was the subject of a disputation he was going to submit within a few weeks. Voetius planned a follow-up, not only by submitting new disputations (in October), but also by publishing a pamphlet. A first version of this seems to have been finished—but as yet not published—by

¹⁷ Descartes to Maresius, January 1643 (Letter 8).

¹⁸ *Epistola ad Voetium* V, AT VIII B, 55.

¹⁹ *Admiranda methodus*, p. 33/*Querelle*, 197.

²⁰ *Admiranda methodus*, p. 57/*Querelle*, 208.

²¹ See Appendix 2.

September 1642.²² But meanwhile there was Maresius' *Defensio*, which could not remain unanswered, so Voetius revised his plans and incorporated his already printed pamphlet into a larger whole.

Before long everybody knew about it. In November the governors of 's-Hertogenbosch asked the Utrecht Municipal Administration to put pressure on Voetius to refrain from further intervention. But after asking the advice of the professors of the University the *Vroedschap* refused to intervene, claiming that Voetius should be free to publish his opinion. A similar request was made to the Provincial States of Utrecht and to Voetius personally.²³ The governors of 's-Hertogenbosch declared themselves ready to comply with the judgment of a Synod, provided Voetius would withdraw his publication.²⁴ But Voetius refused to comply. On the contrary, he interrupted the printing of Schoock's book so as to allow the printer to give priority to what would be called *Specimen assertionum partim ambiguarum aut lubricarum, partim periculosarum, ex tractatu nuperrimè scripto pro sodalitatibus B. Maria inter Reformatos ... excerptarum, quod ecclesiis Belgicis, earumque fidis pastoribus et senioribus expendendum offertur à Gisberto Voetio*—an enormous compilation against the Brotherhood in which the original shorter pamphlet was incorporated. The reason was that he wanted to have the book ready before the Walloon Synod, which was to be held in April 1643.

How Descartes was informed about all this nobody knows. He managed to lay hands, however, on the first three sheets of Voetius' work against Maresius—presumably the pamphlet as it was originally planned and printed. He offers Maresius a handwritten copy—he had to send back the printed sheets and apparently the matter is so secret that Maresius must not show his copy to others: 'I would not like them to recognize the hand nor to know from what source it came; indeed, I can tell you in truth that I do not know that myself'.²⁵ Finally, Descartes tells Maresius that he will spend a few pages to the question of the Brotherhood in his own work against Voetius: 'I believe I shall use two or three pages of my reply to give my opinion on your conflict, since you seem to want it'.²⁶ In fact, 'two or three pages' became almost sixty, by far the longest chapter of the *Epistola ad Voetium*.²⁷

Voetius' *Specimen* came from the press at the beginning of March 1643.²⁸ The printer was free to go on with Schoock's book. In fact, it was speeded up by Voetius: the rumour that Descartes had something in print—in Latin as well as in Dutch—was already spreading.²⁹ It was published in the second half of March—

²² Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 318; cf. Voetius to Rivet, 26 October 1642 in *Archief voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, 4 (1893), 295. 'Voetius faict imprimer sa replique mais pour la chose seulement, sans toucher la personne', Rivet to Sarrau, 10 November 1642, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 305.

²³ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 331 (text of the *Epistola ad Voetium* on pp. 332–334); cf. Descartes, *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 78.

²⁴ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, pp. 330–331.

²⁵ Letter 8, p. 22.

²⁶ Letter 8, p. 22.

²⁷ In the original edition chap. 6 runs from p. 91 to 153; in AT from p. 55 to 107.

²⁸ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 326.

²⁹ See the letter of Van den Waterlaet to Schoock of 3/13 July 1643, apparently in reply to Schoock's

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on 23 March it is mentioned in a letter to Mersenne.³⁰ It made Descartes add two or three chapters to *Epistola ad Voetium*.³¹ Whereas Voetius had speeded up the impression of his own *Specimen* in order to be ready *before* the Walloon Synod of 15 April, Descartes managed to insert a few remarks on that Synod in his preface.³² The book was finally ready in May: On 20 April Descartes announces it in a letter to *Colvius and on 22 May he offers a copy to Constantijn *Huygens.³³ In July it was followed by a Dutch translation. The printer was an employee of Elzevier, Rieuwert Dirckz van Baardt. The identity of the translator remains unknown.

According to Baillet two prominent Utrecht citizens, Gijsbert van der *Hoolck (1598–1680) and Peter van *Leeuwen (1592–1652) presented copies of the *Epistola ad Voetium* to the Utrecht *Vroedschap*.³⁴ On 5/15 June this body instituted a committee, consisting of François van de Pol and Peter van Leeuwen on behalf of the *Vroedschap*, and Carolus Dematius (1597–1651) and Antonius Matthaeus on behalf of the University, to examine it and advise the *Vroedschap* on further measures.³⁵ Apparently, they advised the *Vroedschap* to start a legal inquest, the argument being presumably that the accusations of Descartes were so serious that, if he were right, Voetius should be persecuted for misdemeanour, but that, if he were wrong, Descartes should be persecuted for libel. In any case, the Burgomasters sent requests to the University and the local consistory, asking information on Voetius' behaviour. They also summoned Descartes to come to Utrecht and explain himself. This was done by means of a printed pamphlet, much to the annoyance of Descartes who felt that it could have been sent by ordinary mail.³⁶

The Burgomasters' request was discussed in a meeting of the senate on 6/16 August. The professors decided to issue a 'testimonium' in favour of Voetius.³⁷ Next day it was the turn of the consistory. They too delivered a favourable testimony.³⁸ Meanwhile Descartes also reacted—against the advise of his friends who preferred a more subtle approach—by issuing a printed statement, in which he refuses to present himself in Utrecht.³⁹ Dated 6 July (and printed two days later in Amsterdam), it was delivered in Utrecht on 1/10 July. The *Vroedschap* de-

(fully justified) complaint that his book was full of printing errors; *Bonae fidei sacrum*, pp. 33–34; see also the letter of 30 June/10 July, *ibid.*, pp. 31–33.

³⁰ Letter 13.

³¹ It is possible that chap. 7 (on Voetius' merits, which contains Descartes' accusation that Voetius sins against Christian charity) was already in existence. Chap. 8 and 9 are devoted to the preface (printed after the rest) and to Sect. IV, which contains an extended parallel between Descartes and Vanini, the most famous atheist of the century.

³² The Synod was held in The Hague on 15 April 1643.

³³ Letters 15 and 20.

³⁴ Baillet, II, 190.

³⁵ Kernkamp, I, 182.

³⁶ It was dated 13/23 June 1642 and printed by A.J. van Paddenburch, Utrecht 1643 (Knuttel 5023). Reprinted as an annex to Descartes, *Brief aen den vermaerden D. Gisbertus Voetius* (Amsterdam: Van Baardt, 1643), as well as in [P. Voet], *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (Utrecht: Strick, [1644]), pp. [15]–[16].

³⁷ Kernkamp, I, 169. For the text of the *testimonium* see Calendar of Descartes' Life (1643/08/16).

³⁸ Calendar (1643/08/17).

³⁹ Letter 35.

cided not to react immediately but to await the return of the First Burgomaster.⁴⁰ In the evening of 7/17 August all these reactions—by Descartes himself, by the University, by the Consistory—were discussed in the meeting of the *Vroedschap*, who decided to call in Regius, ‘on whom Descartes from time to time bases his allegations’. A new committee is appointed to ‘censure Descartes’ writings’.⁴¹ Regius was interrogated on 5/15 September but, as the Burgomasters reported to the *Vroedschap* next day, he ‘tergiversated and refused to answer, demanding a copy and time to deliberate’.⁴² The committee on the other hand went on ‘drafting a text against Descartes’ and planning a second interview with Regius, ‘to see whether he has changed his mind since the previous interrogation and, in case he refuses again, to show their displeasure’.⁴³

Voetius—or his son Paulus (1619–1667), who became more and more involved—planned a separate publication of the testimonies of the professors and the ministers, together with an open letter of Schoock in which he claims the authorship of *Admiranda methodus*.⁴⁴ On 12/22 September the University decide to publish their own version of the events, based on the ‘narratio historica’ drafted and established in March. The Rector is authorized to write a preface and an epilogue. Those responsible for the printing are authorized ‘expungendi verba otiosa, manente rei substantia’.⁴⁵ On 13/23 September finally the *Vroedschap* declares the *Epistola ad Voetium* as well as the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* to be libellous and damaging, not only for Voetius himself but also for the town and the university.⁴⁶ The nature of the procedures changes. Whereas so far there had been no more than an inquest, there is now a criminal procedure. On 23 September (OS) the Magistrate starts a criminal procedure, which drags on, more or less inconclusively until the end of October, when at the request of the French Ambassador and the Stadholder the procedures are halted and the printing of Schoock’s letter arrested.⁴⁷ Obviously this was much against Voetius’ will who seems to have attempted to start a civil procedure against Descartes.⁴⁸ Descartes in turn did not like the outcome either and planned a procedure against Schoock, hoping that the outcome of that would fuel a new accusation against Voetius.

Although the course of the events is in itself clear enough, there is little certainty, not only on the actual involvement of Descartes’ friends, but also on the various forces that were at work in Utrecht. Descartes started to invoke the help of Huygens, De *Wilhem, *Graswinckel and others only after he received the sum-

⁴⁰ Kernkamp, I, 182.

⁴¹ Kernkamp, I, 183.

⁴² Cf. Descartes to Huygens, 20 September 1643 (Letter 41).

⁴³ Kernkamp, I, 184.

⁴⁴ That at any rate can be deduced from Descartes’ letter to Huygens of 20 September (Letter 41). The project will be halted on 6/16 November (Calendar 1643/11/16) but more or less revives in Paulus Voet’s pamphlet *Aengevangen procedueren tot Wtrecht* [1644] (minus the open letter of Schoock).

⁴⁵ Kernkamp, I, 175.

⁴⁶ Kernkamp, I, 185.

⁴⁷ Kernkamp, I, 192.

⁴⁸ That emerges from Letters 49, 50 and 53.

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mons to render himself to Utrecht and explain his allegations. Huygens as well as a lawyer consulted in The Hague—a certain Paulus *Vanpeene (1590–1656), whom Descartes visited in the company of a Utrecht friend, Charles Anthony *Parmentier (c.1603–1665)—persuaded Descartes that this did not oblige him in any way. In an obvious attempt to de-escalate the affair, Huygens on the other hand, whose very detailed advise is preserved, advised him to have a lawyer write a polite memorandum of pleading and have it handed in and explained by an ‘avocat de la religion’. He should excuse Descartes for not appearing, alleging ‘that having retired to a life of thought he does not understand legal routine and for that reason sees himself obliged to use a lawyer’.

A separate role seems to have been played by another friend of Descartes, Alphonse *Pollot (c.1602–1668), who being attached to the Court of the Stadholder, evidently moved in high circles—he was also the intermediary between Descartes and Princess *Elizabeth.⁴⁹ He may have offered to approach the French ambassador and have him speak with the Stadholder.⁵⁰ He presumably also mobilized Dirk Graswinckel (1600/01–1666), one of the highest legal officers in the Province of Holland, who seems to have reassured Descartes about the legal aspects of his case.⁵¹

Even so, it is by no means clear what actually was done, except that somewhere during the summer a prominent Utrecht nobleman, Johan van *Reede van Renswoude (1593–1682), who represented Utrecht in the States General, threatened the *Vroedschap* with an intervention by the Stadholder.⁵² This intervention is finally acknowledged in a resolution of the *Vroedschap* of 6/16 November 1642: ‘The Burgomasters having told the meeting what the delegates of this Province to the States General had heard from the French Ambassador and from His Highness the Prince of Orange with respect to the procedures instituted here against Descartes propose that a booklet by Mr Schoock, which is now again in the press to prevent it from being printed’.⁵³ So something was done both by the Stadholder and by the French Ambassador, which was communicated to the Utrecht delegates in the States General (Van Reede, Van der Hoolck), who in turn talked with the Burgomasters. Given the lack of other testimonies it must remain unsettled what exactly it was beyond some form of gentle pressure: The Stadholder did not have the formal power to intervene in the course of Law, nor was the French Ambassador accredited with the Provincial States.

Nor is it clear what exactly was the mood in Utrecht after the publication of the *Epistola ad Voetium*. So far Descartes had always had the support of the Burgomasters, especially Gijsbert van der Hoolck, who was burgomaster in 1634–1639 and again in 1641–1642. But Burgomasters (there were two of them) could change every year. Moreover, there was growing tension between the *Vroedschap* (the Municipal ‘government’) and the Provincial States (nominally the

⁴⁹ See the Biographical Lexicon.

⁵⁰ Letters 43 and 44.

⁵¹ Letter 45.

⁵² Letter 47.

⁵³ Kernkamp, I, 192 (Calendar 1643/11/16).

sovereign of the Province). These centred on two questions: 1) the new Law of the University; 2) the Ecclesiastical goods. The project of drawing up a new ‘law’ sprung from an attempt to give the University the same privileges as elsewhere, especially the *ius fori*—the right to have their own criminal court for smaller offences. A draft text was submitted towards the end of 1643. It was rejected by the States who saw it, rightly for that matter, as an intrusion on their own jurisdiction.⁵⁴ The question of the Ecclesiastical Goods has to do with the benefits from the former Church possessions.⁵⁵ After the secularisation of the Chapters with the Reformation the benefits—including political representation in the Provincial States—went to a small number of noble and patrician families, much to the horror of Voetius and other ministers, who believed that they should be used for the Church and for charities. Still, although it is likely that in this matter there was quite some antagonism between the *Vroedschap* and the States, there is little we know with certainty.

In this context it is not necessary to insist on the philosophical importance of the Utrecht Crisis.⁵⁶ As for its historical and biographical importance, these are difficult to measure. First of all Descartes must have been seriously disappointed that after a promising start the entrance of his philosophy at Utrecht University was blocked. The fact moreover that this was done by someone who enjoyed a great authority in the Protestant world must have added to his exasperation. But he must also have thought that with this crusade against Voetius he did some of his friends—in Utrecht and elsewhere—a great service. In his eyes—and undoubtedly also in the eyes of those friends—Voetius was a troublesome character, so everybody should be glad and grateful to get rid of him. However, what Descartes’ friends—people like De Wilhem, Huygens, Van der Hoolck, Parmentier—were obviously afraid of was a popular backlash. There can be no doubt that that was also realized by Descartes—indeed, it is one of the recurrent themes in his conflict with Voetius. But obviously he did not share their fears. In any case, he did not understand the Machiavellian and, although enlightened, basically conservative policy of most of the Dutch ruling class.

⁵⁴ A new proposal without the *ius fori* was accepted by the States in March 1644 but the University refused to countersign it. On this question see S. Muller, ‘Het “Forum Academicum” der Utrechtsche Hoogeschool’, in R. Fruin, et al., *Rechtshistorische Opstellen aangeboden aan Mr S.J. Fockema Andreae* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1914), pp. 219–238.

⁵⁵ For more details see Appendix 2.

⁵⁶ On that score see J.-L. Marion, ‘Préface’ in *Querelle*, 7–17; J.A. van Ruler, *The Crisis of Causality* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

APPENDIX 2

The 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' in 's-Hertogenbosch

After a siege that attracted people from all over the world, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc, also known as 'Den Bosch') was conquered on the Spaniards in 1629.¹ It was a turning point in a campaign which, restarted after a truce of twelve years (1609–1621), had not been very successful so far.² The town came under a Protestant regime and the laws and decrees of the Union were imposed. Accordingly, all public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was forbidden. Priests, including the bishop Michael van Ophoven or Ophovius (1570–1637), had to leave the town and, although nuns and beguines were allowed to stay, they were not allowed to make new recruits.³ The Reformed Church became 'dominating' Church and with the help of the armed forces houses of worship were given to Protestants. Although freedom of conscience was officially guaranteed priests, especially regular priests, became outlaws. Four protestant ministers were appointed to prepare the foundation of a local Reformed Church—among them Gisbertus Voetius.⁴

The privileges of corporations were explicitly guaranteed under the capitulation.⁵ Among those that continued to operate was an 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' (*Illustere Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap*), founded in 1318 as part of a more general effort of the Church to gain control over the worship of the Mother of God.⁶ It was organized around a miraculous wooden image of

- ¹ Pieter Bor, *Geleenthey van 's-Hertogenbosch, vierde hoofstad van Brabant: haar oorspronck, fundatie ende vergrootinge, verschyden hare belegeringen (...)* (The Hague: Meuris, 1630), pp. 107–412; Johan Hendrik van Heurn, *Historie der stad en Meyerye van 's-Hertogenbosch, alsmede van de voornaamste daaden der hertogen van Brabant*, 4 vols. (Utrecht: Van Schoonhoven, 1776–1778. Reprint 's-Hertogenbosch 1974); J.C.A. Hezenmans, *'s-Hertogenbosch van 1629 tot 1789: Historische Studiën ('s-Hertogenbosch: Provinciaal Genootschap [1899])*. For technical details of the siege see F.J.G. ten Raa/F. de Bas, *Het Staatsche Leger 1586–1795* (Breda: Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 1918), vol. 4, pp. 25–43.
- ² In 1625 the Spanish troops (under Spinola) retook Breda (reconquered in 1637 only). The loss was compensated by some smaller conquests, like Oldenzaal, by Ernst-Casimir of Nassau (Stadholder of Friesland), and Grol (Groenlo), by Frederik Hendrik, Stadholder of the other provinces and captain general of the army.
- ³ Van Ophoven was a Dominican priest. He studied theology in Bologna, became prior of the Dominican convent in Antwerp, head of the Dutch Mission, and in 1626 bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch. In 1636 the States General sent him into exile. He died in Lier (4 November 1637) and was buried in St Paul's Church in Antwerp. On him see NNBW II, 1027–1028. His diary (from 29 August 1629 till the beginning of 1632) was published by C.R. Hermans in: *Verzameling van oorkonden betrekkelijk het beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch in den jare 1629*, 4 vols. ('s-Hertogenbosch: Stokvis, 1850–1873), vol. 2. The same collection contains other documents concerning the siege. Frederik Hendrik's own memoirs were published in the 18th century: *Mémoires de Frédéric-Henri, Prince d'Orange, de 1621 jusqu'à 1646* (Amsterdam 1738).
- ⁴ W. Meindersma, *De gereformeerde gemeente te 's-Hertogenbosch 1629–1635* (Zaltbommel: Van de Garde, 1909).
- ⁵ Cf. Meindersma, *Gereformeerde gemeente*, pp. 193–200.
- ⁶ G.C.M. van Dijck, *De Bossche Optimaten. Geschiedenis van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwenbroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1973). Documents concerning the affair of the Brotherhood were published in several contemporary sources, which will be quoted in due order.

the Virgin preserved in St John's Cathedral. The Brotherhood had two types of members: ordinary members and sworn members, also called 'swan-brethren' because they used to donate a swan for the yearly banquet. Sworn members were clerics in principle; in fact they were often chosen among the nobility, the magistrates, etc.⁷ As a result, the Brotherhood also functioned as an important social network.

That may have been the reason why in 1641 the military governor of the town, Johan-Wolfert van Brederode (1599–1655), asked to be admitted despite the fact that he was a Protestant. He made the request not only for himself but for thirteen others, all Protestant. They were Brederode's right hand Philip van Thienen, town commander and deputy governor; Hendrick Bergaigne, Hendrick Kuysten, Gysbert Pieck van Tienhoven, Andries de Fresne, Adriaan Ploos van Amstel, Rutger Tullekens, Jacob van Casteren, Otto Copes, Johan Ruysch, Pieter Lus, Johan Gans van Bommenede, and Lazarus van Zonst.⁸ All were connected either with the military or with the town administration. In fact, the better half of the administration applied for membership.

Brederode's request caused much embarrassment, among Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. Catholics resented the idea, which they saw as a first step towards secularisation. Protestants on the other hand saw it as an act of idolatry. The fact that Andries de Fresne, Johan Gans and Otto Copes were Elders of the 'Walloon Church' ('Église wallonne' or French Huguenot Church), and Ploos van Amstel and Van Zonst of the Dutch Reformed Church, caused additional scandal. The Brotherhood on the other hand had little choice—rejection of Brederode's proposal would almost certainly lead to its total suppression. In spite, therefore, of the dissenting voices of an important minority (several of whom left the Brotherhood in protest) they decided that the Brotherhood would be mixed—eventually the sworn members would be half Catholic, half Protestant (even if for the moment there were still 28 Catholics against only 13 Protestants)—and would pursue its activities 'in so far as they are not contrary to the laws and religion of the United Provinces'. Roman Catholics on the other hand would not be vexed in their conscience or hindered in their private worship.⁹

The Protestant voice was articulated by Cornelius Leemans (1599–1668), minister of the Dutch Reformed Church.¹⁰ He wrote letters to two theological authorities: Godfried Udemans (1580–1649), minister in Zierikzee and author of popular theological works, and Voetius, his former professor of theology in Utrecht.¹¹ His question was twofold: 1) can a Magistrate tolerate an association

⁷ One of the more famous members had been the painter Hieronymus Bosch (c.1450–1516); cf. P. Gerlach, 'Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch en de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap', in: *Jheronimus Bosch: Bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling in 's-Hertogenbosch 1967* ('s-Hertogenbosch 1967), pp. 48–60; G.C.M. van Dijck, *Op zoek naar Jheronimus van Aken alias Bosch* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001).

⁸ Cf. Van Dijck, *Bosche Optimaten*, p. 321.

⁹ These conditions were laid down in an agreement. On 27 February Brederode and his friends were sworn in.

¹⁰ Leemans was appointed minister of the Reformed Church of Den Bosch in 1632; cf. Meindersma, *Gereformeerde gemeente*, pp. 78–79. On him see NNBW II, 797; De Bie et Loosjes V, 729–732.

¹¹ His letter of 6 May 1642 is translated in Voetius, *Specimen*, pp. 411–414 (for the full title see

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devoted to Mary; 2) is it right that a protestant participates in the activities of a brotherhood of St Mary? Udemans' answer was straightforward on both counts: 'No, never'. Voetius replied that he was astonished that the question was raised at all: 'Indeed, I think the decision should be crystal clear; in any case that is what it should be for any Reformed man. The definition and description of the Brotherhood evidently show that by its form, its object, its efficient cause, its goal, it is popish and superstitious and therefore in and through itself evil, very evil, abominable, detestable. If a Reformed man were to take part in it, that would amount to 1) a participation in the sins of others and in superstition; 2) an appearance of evil; 3) a reinforcement of idolatry and superstition; 4) a scandal'. The 'usual excuse', namely, that in this way Catholics could be motivated to convert to Calvinism was, according to Voetius, shallow: 'If that is an excuse I no longer know what would strengthen them in their superstition and allow them to wallow in their mud'.¹² To make his point Voetius sent Leemans a disputation on idolatry he planned to submit a few weeks later. The case discussed in that text was that of the Brotherhood, which without being explicitly mentioned was presented in a very recognizable way.¹³

Voetius' intervention could cause serious trouble because many considered him an authority on practical theology. The fact, moreover, that his intervention was printed meant that a secret compromise became impossible. Finally, Elders of two Churches (the Dutch and the Walloon) were involved, so the affair could lead to a division within those Churches. This was particularly true of the small Walloon Church, who saw three of its Elders join the Brotherhood. For their minister, Samuel Desmarets or *Maresius (1599–1673), this was presumably the main reason to intervene. In a pamphlet, *Defence of the piety and sincerity of the Den Bosch patricians in the affair of the Brotherhood called after the Holy Virgin*, he took the defence of the 'Den Bosch Patricians' (*optimates*) against Voetius, arguing that, although Voetius was right on the principle, he was wrong on the facts—indeed his informers (Leemans!) had undoubtedly supplied him with wrong information. If the Brotherhood were a religious and devotional foundation the people who joined it would certainly sin; but over the ages the Brotherhood had become an entirely worldly institution (comparable to, say, a hospital called after St Elisabeth or a guild called after St George). Accordingly, there was no question of either superstition or scandal.¹⁴ Maresius also empha-

below, note 34); cf. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, xxxii–xxxiii. On Udemans see NNBW X, 1065–1066; *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme* (Kampen: Kok, 1978–...), vol. 1, pp. 385–386. He had worked several times in Den Bosch on a temporary basis.

¹² *Kort ende oprecht verhael*, s.l.s.n., 1645 (Knuttel 5244), pp. 7–8; Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, xxxiii–xxxiv; Van Dijk, *Bossche Optimaten*, p. 325.

¹³ This disputation is the last of a series on 'indirect idolatry', submitted between 21 May and 14 June 1642; cf. Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, III, 234–316.

¹⁴ *Defensio pietatis et synceritatis optimatum Sylvae-ducensium, in negotio sodalitatis quae a Beata Virgine nomen habet, testibus veritate et charitate* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Van Doccum, 1642). It was published at the end of September or the beginning of October 1642 (cf. Rivet to Sarrau, 6 October 1642, *Correspondance intégrale d'André Rivet et de Claude Sarrau, 1641-1650*, ed. H. Bots and P. Leroy (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1978), vol. 1, p. 273). A clandestine reprint was made by Jan van *Waesberge, who also published Voetius' rejoinder (that is the reason why

sized Brederode's political motives: By permitting the Brotherhood to go on as it had done so far he would permit a secret channel for seditious Roman Catholic propaganda; by stipulating on the other hand that the Brotherhood should do nothing against the laws and the religion of the United Provinces he made an important contribution to the suppression of superstition. Finally, the effect of Brederode's step would be that the possessions of the Brotherhood could be used for truly pious works. In a general way Maresius blamed Voetius for choosing to discuss these things publicly, given especially that the people concerned acted in good faith. So in his eyes Voetius sinned against the precept of charity—one of the themes that would dominate Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium*.

Needless to say that not everybody agreed. Some members of the Walloon Church joined the Dutch Reformed Church in protest.¹⁵ Leemans in turn resented the insinuation that it was he who had given Voetius wrong information. Towards the end of October he published a pamphlet *Reply to the calumnies which Tertullus, the defender of the Brotherhood of Mary, addressed to C.L., minister of the Church of 's-Hertogenbosch, without naming him*.¹⁶ The tone is particularly violent, so violent and indeed seditious that on 6 November the pamphlet was publicly condemned by the Den Bosch Magistrate.¹⁷ The Council made even an attempt to have Leemans dismissed as minister. As a reaction Leemans sought the advice of various theological and juridical authorities.¹⁸ Maresius tried to gain the support of André Rivet (1572–1671), not only one of the most influential theologians of the Walloons, but also chaplain at the court of Frederik Hendrik and governor of his son, the future William II.¹⁹ But although Rivet regretted the conflict and the negative publicity, he basically agreed with Voetius.²⁰ And so did

the pagination of the first edition is maintained). A third edition of the text can be found in Maresius' own *Ultima patientia* (Groningen: Nicolai, 1645), pp. 1–83.

¹⁵ Van Dijk, *Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 472–474.

¹⁶ C.L.E.S.M. [i.e. 'Cornelius Lemannus Ecclesiae Sylvae-ducensis Minister'], *Retorsio calumniarum quas Tertullus, sodalitatibus Marianae advocatus, C. L. Ecclesiae sylvae-ducensis administro, suppresso nomine impedit, in nupera sua Defensione pietatis et synceritatis (ut vocat) optimatum N.N. in negotio fraternitatis B. Mariae Virginis* (Amsterdam: Broers, 1642). That the date of publication was towards the end of October is claimed by Maresius, according to whom it came out *octobri jam adulto* (that is, supposedly, after 21 Oct), under the sign of the Scorpion (that is, after 24 Oct); cf. *Ultima patientia*, p. 318. It is confirmed by Rivet, who mentions Leemans' pamphlet in a letter to Sarrau of 20 October (*Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 284). The name 'Tertullus' (Maresius) is explained in the Acts of the Apostles: 'And after five days Ananias the high priest descended with the elders and with a certain orator, Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul' (Acts 24:1). In the pamphlet Maresius is also called an Ismael, the son of Abraham and Hagar, of whom Scripture says that he will be 'a wild man [whose] hand will be against every man and every man's hand against him' (Gen. 16:12).

¹⁷ *Ultima patientia*, p. 324; cf. Voetius, *Specimen*, pp. 419–420; *Kort ende oprecht verhael*, p. 10; *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 77.

¹⁸ Their judgments, together with those of various synods, were published in 1645: *Oordeel van verscheyde voornaemste leeraers ende professoren der H. Theologie in de Academiën ende Hooge Schoolen der Vereenighde Nederlanden, over de mariaansche broederschappen (...). Door een liefhebber der Waerheit overgheset* (Delft: Cloeting, 1645) (Knuttel 5243).

¹⁹ Maresius to Rivet, 15 September 1642, published in Nauta, *Maresius*, pp. 483–484.

²⁰ Rivet to Voetius, 16 November 1642, in Duker, 'Eenige onuitgegeven brieven van en aan Gisbertus Voetius' *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis*, 4 (1893) 276–325. Rivet insisted on moderation: 'Mons. Voetius escrit contre luy [Desmarts] touchant les confrairies et pretend de

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others whom Maresius approached, like Vossius and *Colvius.²¹

Meanwhile Voetius prepared a rejoinder. By September 1642 two or three sheets were printed and circulated, albeit on a limited scale.²² Moreover, on 5/15 October he submitted for disputation four corollaries on the Brotherhood.²³ On 19 November the Den Bosch Magistrate asked their Utrecht colleagues to prevent the publication of Voetius' book.²⁴ A similar request was made to the Provincial States of Utrecht and to Voetius personally.²⁵ There was a small possibility of compromise. The governors of 's-Hertogenbosch declared themselves ready to comply with the judgment of a Synod, provided Voetius would withdraw his publication.²⁶

Utrecht (the town) turned out to be on Voetius' hand. After having consulted the University the *Vroedschap* answered their Den Bosch counter-parts that Voetius should be free to publish his book.²⁷ Voetius simply refused to withdraw his publication, as he wrote back on 21 November.²⁸ The attitude of the Utrecht States is less clear. According to Baillet, quoting a letter of Regius, the States stopped the printing of Voetius' book.²⁹ Whether that really is the case is not known. According to Voetius the printing of his book was interrupted, but he does not say why.³⁰ Printing was certainly resumed in December because on 26 December the Leiden theologian Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven (1568–1648), whom Maresius had asked to try and stop Voetius, told Maresius that his intervention was no longer useful: 'We are told by reliable people that a few days ago the printing of his reaction to your book was resumed, so we are no longer in a position to do anything against it'.³¹ So much is clear, the printing process was

le convaincre d'avoir mal posé le fait. Je l'ay prié d'y aller modestement', Rivet to Sarrau, 24 November 1642, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 321.

²¹ Van Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, pp. 342–345.

²² Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 318; cf. Voetius to Rivet, 26 October 1642 in *Archief voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, 4 (1893) 295. 'Voetius fait imprimer sa replique mais pour la chose seulement, sans toucher la personne', Rivet to Sarrau, 10 November 1642, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 305.

²³ For the text see *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, III, 1037; cf. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 102ⁿ; Van Dijck, *Bossche Optimaten*, p. 345.

²⁴ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 331; for the text see Petrus Burmannus, *Trajectum eruditum*, Utrecht 1738, pp. 404–408. In Van Dijck (*Bossche Optimaten*, p. 347) there is some confusion on the dates, caused by the fact that Utrecht and Den Bosch adopted different calendars (a letter sent on 19 November from Den Bosch, where the Gregorian style was adopted, could be discussed on 14 November in Utrecht, which adopted the Julian Calendar).

²⁵ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 331 (text of the letter to Voetius on pp. 332–334); cf. Descartes, *Epistola ad Voetium*, AT VIII B, 78.

²⁶ Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, pp. 330–331.

²⁷ Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 115–116; Kernkamp, I, 164–165.

²⁸ *Kort ende oprecht verhael*, p. 11; Maresius, *Ultima patientia*, p. 326; cf. Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, III, 352.

²⁹ Baillet, II, 184; cf. Regius to Descartes [December 1642–May 1643], Letter 1, p. 5. In the States' Archives no confirmation could be found for Baillet's claim, who may either have misunderstood Regius' letter or be misled by Descartes' own words in his letter to Maresius.

³⁰ According to the book Voetius received a copy of the agreement between Brederode and the Brotherhood (of February 1642) on 12 December 1642, when 'this book was already written but its printing interrupted', *Specimen*, p. 208.

³¹ 'Nous avons entendu de fort bonne part que passe quelques jours, on a commencé d'imprimer sa réponse contre votre écrit, de sorte que l'occasion d'empêcher l'édition d'icelle nous est ôté',

interrupted; there was a change of format (from in-8^o to in-12^o); and there may have been a change of the printer.

That is also the claim of Descartes at any rate, who got hold of the first three printed sheets (ready in September); then had to give them back without being allowed to make a copy and in January or February told Maresius that the printing of Voetius' book was now being resumed, not by the university printer, but by 'the same who prints the book against myself', that is, by Jan van Waesberge, who also printed *Admiranda methodus* (1643).³² If Descartes' claim is right that would mean that the first, shorter, version was printed by Aegidius (Gilles) Roman. And that could mean that the intervention of the States consisted in preventing Roman from printing Voetius' book, not in forbidding it to be printed at all.³³ In any case, Voetius' book (511 pages big) was published somewhere in March 1643 (although the *impressum* is of 1642) under the elaborate title: 'Example of the partly ambiguous and ridiculous, partly dangerous claims extracted from a treatise recently written to defend the erection and implantation among the Reformed of Brotherhoods of St Mary, under the title, etc.'³⁴ According to Descartes Voetius had speeded up the printing process so as to be in time for the Synod of the Walloon Church, which was to be held in The Hague on 15 April 1643.³⁵

As compared with his earlier publications on the same subject Voetius' book does not break new ground. Although more documents are cited and more facts reviewed his point remains the familiar one that, given the history and the ceremonies of the Brotherhood, it is not a civic but a religious association; that its practices are popish and idolatrous; that to join them is an act of participative superstition. It is at that point that Descartes intervenes in the discussion by taking the defence of Maresius, whom he does not seem to have known or met earlier.

The motives of some of the people involved remain the most puzzling aspect of this incident. First of all those of Brederode. In Maresius' *Defence* Brederode's step is presented as part of an over-all strategy of protestantisation, which should be applauded. Whether that really was his motive is not obvious—indeed, he may also have had personal motives.³⁶ That much is clear, his step was very much resented by the Den Bosch population, who saw it as a usurpation. This emerges from an interesting letter of Jacob Zweers or Zuerius (1587–1673) to his cousin

Ultima patientia, pp. 149–150; Van Dijk, *Bossche Optimaten*, p. 347.

³² Letter 8. Van Waesberge is indeed the printer whose name appears on the title page of Voetius' book, which came to be called: *Specimen assertionum partim ambiguarum aut lubricarum, partim periculosarum, ex tractatu nuperrimè scripto pro sodalitatibus B. Maria inter Reformatos (...) excerptarum, quod ecclesiis Belgicis, earumque fidis pastoribus et senioribus expendendum offertur à Gisberto Voetio.*

³³ Roman's privilege expired on 4/14 April 1643 and was not granted to another printer. After that date Van Waesberge acted as university printer *de facto*.

³⁴ It was published before 16 March 1643; see Rivet's letter of that date to Sarrau, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 423.

³⁵ Descartes, *Epistola ad Voetium, Argumentum*, AT VIII B, 6.

³⁶ Religiously Brederode seems to have been a very tolerant man. His first wife, Anna of Nassau, and second wife, Louise Christina of Solms, protected the beguines. Apart from that, several of his ancestors had also been members of the Brotherhood.

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Constantijn Huygens.³⁷ Zuerius describes the unrest in the town and the dissatisfaction of the population over their being governed by ‘foreigners, most of whom have no property in the town’. Zuerius points out how things had become worse since Brederode and his fellows joined the Brotherhood ‘by the use of threats’. He claims that the rule that the Brotherhood should conform to the laws and the religion of the Union was strictly applied: the Brethren were no longer allowed to wear their gowns when one of them was buried—something they saw as contrary to the rules of the capitulation and over which they were so furious that ‘at the first funeral of a deceased brother they left the procession in the midst of the street and did not appear at another funeral for the same reason, unwilling to go about without their signs and emblems, as if they were soldiers without a flag’. Indeed, according to Zuerius the inhabitants of Den Bosch were so infuriated ‘that they were even more inclined to believe the sweet promises of the Spaniards’.³⁸ So if Brederode’s motives were political, the real effect may have been a hardening of the relations between Protestants and Roman Catholics.³⁹

The motives of Leemans as well as Voetius are more or less understandable. They had such an aversion from Roman Catholic practices that in their eyes any compromise on that score was a superstitious act of idolatry.⁴⁰ What is less understandable is the fact that Voetius felt called upon to intervene in an affair which engaged only the citizens of another town in another province. Admittedly, ’s-Hertogenbosch (and the Province of Brabant generally) was governed by the States General on behalf of the other provinces, so technically at least Utrecht was also responsible. A motive may also have been that several of Brederode’s friends came from Utrecht or were associated with important Utrecht families. Accordingly, Voetius’ intervention could be an indirect move in his battle over the Utrecht Ecclesiastical Goods—a battle which was still in its initial stage but over the years would become more and more important.⁴¹ Indeed, Brederode himself was Dean of the (Utrecht) Chapter of Oudmunster.

³⁷ Zuerius was member of the Council of Brabant, the body instituted by the States General for the administration of North-Brabant; cf. NNBW III, 1225.

³⁸ Zuerius to Huygens, 1 August 1643, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 418–419. The ‘Meierij’ (the region around ’s-Hertogenbosch) was still disputed territory. In a later letter Zuerius reports that Don Andrea Cantelmo, an Italian general of the Spanish army, had organized a plot to attack the town; 19 August 1643, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 433.

³⁹ Of course one should not forget that Zuerius’ letter was written after the interventions of Maresius and Descartes, so the incidents he describes may have been motivated by a wish to show that the rule that the Brotherhood should operate in conformity with Dutch law was taken seriously.

⁴⁰ During the years Voetius spent in Den Bosch there was a rumour that the sight of a crucifix left behind in St John’s Cathedral so infuriated him that he died on the spot; cf. Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, vol. IV, pp. 838–843 (quoting Miguel de Lorenzana, *Relatio mirabilium signorum quae evererunt Sylvae-Ducis et poenae quam Deus Dominus noster maledictae sectae concionatoribus immisit*, Granada 1632).

⁴¹ At the Reformation the Ecclesiastical Goods (Chapters) had not been suppressed but secularised. So the Canons were lay people, who not only secured a considerable income (the Chapters were richly endowed) but also political influence, given the fact that the Ecclesiastical Goods continued to be represented in the Provincial States (they were the ‘first member’ or ‘geëligeerden’—‘elected’ by the two other ‘members’ of the States, the nobility and the towns, on the basis of a nomination made by themselves). Indeed, the president of the States was always a representative of the Ecclesiastical Goods. Voetius protested against this regime (which continued to exist until Napoleon), claiming that those goods belonged to the Church and should be used for religious and

Given the almost universal disapproval of Brederode's step in Calvinist theological circles the fact that it was defended by Maresius is actually much more surprising. It can be explained only as an attempt to prevent the disintegration of his own congregation, who were deeply divided on the subject. Still, Rivet and other prominent members of the Huguenot community were not in favour of Maresius' intervention at all. According to a letter to Claude Sarrau of 8 September 1642 Rivet had tried to dissuade Maresius.⁴² A few weeks later he implored Maresius' brother Charles, a lawyer, to intervene on his behalf—which Charles would have promised to do.⁴³ And although Rivet became more conciliatory later, admitting that on the level of the facts Maresius could be right and that the only scandalous thing about the Brotherhood was its name, he continued to distrust Maresius' way of presenting them.⁴⁴ In any case he hoped that his appointment as professor in Groningen would prevent Maresius from further action—in vain of course for on the point of hardheadedness Maresius could clearly see Voetius straight in the eyes.⁴⁵ And although the Walloon Synod of April 1643 did not explicitly dissociate itself from Maresius (a firm pronouncement on the 'question de droit' was avoided), the delegates remonstrated with him that he should not have undertaken his defence without consulting with the other Walloon Churches.⁴⁶

One can only guess why Descartes intervened, given especially his general cautiousness in matters pertaining to religion and politics. A reason could be that he was completely blinded by his hatred for Voetius, who clearly exasperated him beyond measure. Another reason could be that he wanted to broaden his case by showing that even a perfectly orthodox minister as Maresius could provoke Voetius' anger. A more political reason, finally, may have been that in that way he hoped to please those he believed to be Voetius' direct masters, the States of Utrecht. As we already saw Brederode was Dean of Oudmunster.⁴⁷ Friends of Descartes, like Studler van *Zurck and De *Wilhem, enjoyed Utrecht prebends.

charitable purposes. In 1660 feelings on this matter were running so high that two popular Utrecht ministers, Van de Velde and Teellinck, were sent into exile. Voetius himself barely escaped imprisonment; cf. Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, 326–334.

⁴² 'Je l'avoy exhorté a ne prendre point la defense de cette cause, que je trouve mauvaise', *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 243. 'Monsieur Desmarets s'attire bien de l'envie de defendre une confrairie ainsi bigamée', Rivet to Sarrau, 19 September 1642, vol. I, p. 253.

⁴³ 'Pendant ces vacances ayant rencontré Mr Desmarets avocat, ie lui ai fait honte du livre de Mr son frere pour cette pretendue confrerie mipartie: laquelle il improuve entierement et en doibt écrire à Bolduc comme il faut', Rivet to Sarrau, 26 September 1642, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 260.

⁴⁴ 'J'ay leu celui de M^f desmares et me semble que dans le fait ainsi qu'il le pose, asc[avoir] que c'est une confrairie purement seculiere pour des œuvres charitables il n'y a pas grand mal: et le seul scandale du nom est ce qui peut rester d'achoppement. Mais ie me doute qu'il deguise un peu la verité; et c'est peutetre sur quoi cet autre de la mesme ville [Leemans] le presse', Rivet to Sarrau, 1 November 1642, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 293.

⁴⁵ '... s'il m'en croid il le laissera sans replique, et fera choses plus utiles en sa nouvelle condition', Rivet to Sarrau, 16 March 1643, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 423.

⁴⁶ Rivet to Sarrau, 21 April 1643, *Correspondance intégrale*, vol. 1, p. 449; cf. *Livre synodal*, I, 439–444.

⁴⁷ In Utrecht there were five Chapters: of the 'Dom' (the main church, dedicated to St Martin and formerly the Metropolitan Cathedral of the Archbishop of Utrecht), of Oudmunster, of St John's, of St Peter's and of St Mary's.

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Among Brederode's friends *Ruysch and Ploos van Amstel came from important Utrecht families. By giving them public support against Voetius Descartes may have hoped to win their sympathy for his own case. If that was indeed the case Descartes' strategy was based on a serious misunderstanding of the delicate balance between the Town and the States (which was usually antagonistic) and of the relation between the States and the University (which, although it exercised what was seen as a sovereign right and was therefore nominally subservient to the States, was in fact governed by the Town). So much is clear, Descartes knew Maresius thanks to the intervention of a third party. This may be someone from Utrecht, like Gijsbert van der *Hoolck, who represented the Province in the States General, and may have had an interest in stirring the flames. But as long we do not certainly know the identity of this third party it must be presumed that Descartes' motives will remain more or less uncertain.

APPENDIX 3

Descartes, Elizabeth and Apollonius' Problem

The letters

On October 21 1643 Descartes' wrote to Pollot (Letter 47) that not long ago ('dernierement', p. 133, l. 18) he had suggested to the Princess Elizabeth to apply her algebraic skills to 'la question des trois cercles' (l. 18), and that he feared that the problem was too difficult for her. It appears that Pollot had informed him that Elizabeth was working on the problem and thought she had solved it 'supposing only one root' (cf. Letter 57, p. 154, l. 5). Descartes did not believe she could succeed on the basis of this assumption and he composed a letter (Letter 58) to the Princess with comments on the problem and his own solution. I will refer to it as 'Descartes' first letter'. On 17 November he sent it to Pollot in The Hague with a covering letter (Letter 57), asking Pollot to find out whether Elizabeth was willing to read his mathematical explanations or preferred to proceed with her own attempts. Pollot handed over the letter to Elizabeth, who read it and on 21 November sent to Descartes 'what she had done' ('ce que i'ay fait', p. 159, l. 15), with an elegant covering letter (Letter 59). Her solution of the problem is lost. Descartes reacted on it in a long letter (Letter 61) of 29 November, to which I will refer as 'Descartes' second letter'. There are no further references to the problem in the correspondence.

The problem

The 'problem of the three circles', more usually called the 'problem of Apollonius', concerns three given circles in the plane, and requires to find a circle that touches each of the given circles.¹ There may be up to eight such circles to three given ones. Descartes and Elizabeth tacitly assumed that the three given circles are in a triangular arrangement as in Figure 1, and that the required circle is located in the space between the three circles. With these assumptions there is only one solution to the problem.

The problem was mentioned and attributed to Apollonius by Pappus in Book VII, 11 of his *Collectio*;² the Apollonian treatise *The tangencies* in which it occurred (as final problem) is no longer extant. Pappus did not give Apollonius' solution, but his comments implied that it employed ruler and compass constructions only. The earliest known solution of the problem is by Viète who published

¹For the history of the problem see Pappus, *Book 7 of the Collection*, transl. and comm. A. Jones, 2 vols. (New York: Springer, 1986), 'The tangencies', pp. 534–538, and H. Dörrie, *100 great problems of elementary mathematics, their history and solution*, transl. from German by D. Antin (New York: Dover, 1965), pp. 154–160. Accessible introductions to the mathematics involved can be found in R. Courant and H. Robbins, *What is mathematics? An elementary approach to ideas and methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 125–127, and H.S.M. Coxeter, 'The problem of Apollonius', *American Mathematical Monthly*, 75 (1968), 5–15.

²The first printed edition is *Pappi Alexandrini mathematicae collectiones a Federico Commandino Urbinate in latinum conversae at commentariis illustratae* (Pesaro 1588); cf. Pappus, *Book 7 of the Collection*, pp. 90–95.

it in a reconstruction of Apollonius' treatise.³ Viète had earlier challenged Van Roomen to solve Apollonius' problem; but Van Roomen gave a solution by the intersection of conic sections,⁴ whereas Viète had found a solution by ruler and compass. Most geometers at the time held that constructions in geometry should preferably be by ruler and compass. Viète's solution was entirely in the classical Greek style, it did not involve algebra. Thus at the time Descartes proposed Elizabeth to solve it, the 'problem of the three circles' was well known and recognized as difficult; no algebraic solution of it had been published.

Solutions

According to the predominant view of geometrical problem solving at the time, the solution of Apollonius' problem should consist of a geometrical construction by ruler and compass, or a sequence of such constructions, producing the centre and the radius of the required tangent circle. Neither Descartes nor Elizabeth produced such a construction. This was partly because of the complexity of calculations involved, but also because the two correspondents did not adopt the above view on solutions. In Descartes' opinion it was enough for solving a geometrical problem to decide whether it could be constructed by ruler and compass or needed higher-order means of construction. To do so one only needed to determine the degree of the relevant equation; if that degree was 1 or 2 the problem could be solved by ruler and compass, otherwise not. In his *Geometrie* he had explained in general how constructions could be derived from equations. Thus this part of problem solving involved no novelty for him; for individual problems he considered the further detailed elaboration of a construction from the equation as superfluous and boring, it did not 'serve to cultivate or recreate the mind but only to exercise the patience of some laborious calculator' (p. 158, ll. 91–93).

Elizabeth's aim in solving the problem was to derive, by means of letter algebra (i.e. calculations with letters standing for given but indeterminate quantities), a theorem about the configuration of one circle touching three given circles. We may tentatively relate this approach to her mathematical training by Stampioen who devoted a brief final section of his book on algebra of 1639 to what he called the 'revelation of the proofs' (*Openbaeringhe der Vertoogen*).⁵ Here he showed how the proofs of certain theorems by Euclid and Viète could be derived by using letter algebra. The section is of interest because nowhere else in the book did Stampioen use letter algebra, always choosing explicit numbers for the given quantities in a problem. Descartes' comments on Elizabeth's work make clear that she used letter algebra as a matter of course, which shows, for the time, a considerable mastery of algebra.

³François Viète, *Apollonius Gallus seu exsuscitata Apollonii Pergaei peri epafoon geometria. Ad V.C. Adrianum Romanum Belgam* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1600).

⁴Adriaan van Roomen, *Problema Apolloniacum* (Würzburg 1596).

⁵Johan Stampioen de Jonge, *Algebra ofte nieuwe stel-regel waerdoor alles ghevonden wordt in de wis-kunst, wat vindtbaer is* (The Hague 1639).

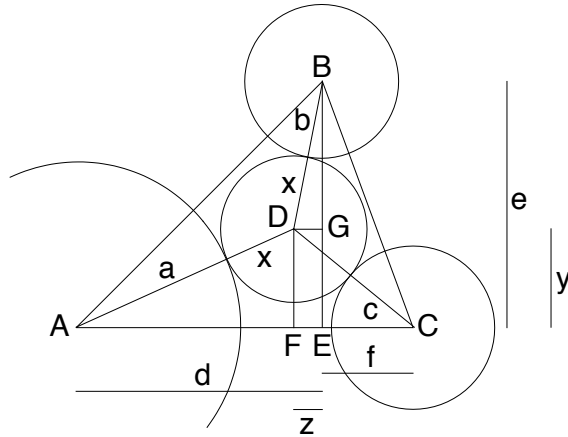


Figure 1: Descartes' approach; based on the figures in Letter 58, p. 156 (lower figure) and p. 158, emendated.

Descartes' approach

Descartes explained his approach to the problem in his first letter. I discuss it referring to figure 1, based on the Figures in Letter 58 (p. 156 (lower figure) and p. 158); the letters are the ones Descartes used in the text and the figure. A, B, C, D are the centres of the three given circles and the unknown tangent circle; the corresponding radii are a, b, c, x . DF and BE , drawn perpendicular to the base AC , are the heights of the triangles ABC and ADC respectively and DG is perpendicular to BE . The centres A, B and C are given, which means that the shape and size of triangle ABC is given too. Descartes decided to interpret this by choosing, beyond a, b and c , three more indeterminates, namely the height $e = BE$ and the two parts $d = AE$ and $f = EC$ in which E divides the basis AC .

Descartes used three unknowns in his algebraic calculations, namely the radius x of the required circle, and the segments $y = DF = GE$, and $z = DG = FE$. By applying Pythagoras' theorem to the right-angled triangles AFD, DGB and FCD he found (p. 157, ll. 63–65) the following three equations (in slightly modernized notation, but I keep to Descartes' habit of writing xx in stead of x^2 for squares).

$$aa + 2ax + xx = dd - 2dz + zz + yy, \tag{1}$$

$$bb + 2bx + xx = ee - 2ey + yy + zz, \tag{2}$$

$$cc + 2cx + xx = ff + 2fz + zz + yy. \tag{3}$$

He noted that subtracting Equation 1 from Equations 2 and 3 yields two equations without the terms xx, yy, zz , hence linear in x, y and z . He did not write

these down explicitly. They are:

$$bb - aa + 2(b - a)x = ee - dd - 2ey + 2dz, \quad (4)$$

$$cc - aa + 2(c - a)x = ff - dd + 2(f + d)z. \quad (5)$$

From these he derived expressions for z (p. 157, l. 79)) and y (p. 158, l. 87) in terms of x and the six indeterminates:

$$z = \frac{1}{2}d - \frac{1}{2}f + \frac{cc - aa + 2cx - 2ax}{2d + 2f}, \quad (6)$$

$$y = \frac{1}{2}e - \frac{bb}{2e} - \frac{bx}{e} - \frac{df}{2e} + \frac{ccd + aaf + 2cdx + 2afx}{2ed + 2ef}. \quad (7)$$

Descartes then argued that if these expressions for z and y are substituted in any of the three equations 1, 2 and 3, a second-degree equation in the one remaining unknown x will be found. This can indeed be seen directly from the form of the expressions involved, and Descartes did not actually derive the equation. The fact that it would be of second degree in x indicated that the problem was ‘plane’ (p. 158, ll. 90–91), that is, it could (in principle) be constructed by ruler and compass.

It was clear enough how one should insert the values of z and y in one of the three equations, and in his *Geometrie* Descartes had given a general method to derive a ruler and compass construction from a second-degree equation.⁶ Nevertheless his assertion that his proof of constructibility provided the essential answer to the problem obscures the fact that Descartes could hardly have derived the final equation, and even less the pertaining ruler and compass construction. Indeed the derivation of the final equation in x would be more than laborious—calculation with the computer algebra program *Mathematica* shows that this equation consists of no less than 87 terms, each of which is a product of six factors (for instance: b^4d^2 , $4a^2cdfx$, $8de^2fx^2$).⁷ It is practically impossible to apply the procedure explained in the *Geometrie* to such an equation, and even if it were, it would hardly be satisfactory as solution of a problem whose formulation is as straightforward as that of Apollonius’ problem.

⁶AT VI, 374–376.

⁷This is the equation:

$$\begin{aligned} & b^4d^2 - 2b^2c^2d^2 + c^4d^2 + a^4e^2 - 2a^2c^2e^2 + c^4e^2 - 2a^2d^2e^2 - 2b^2d^2e^2 + \\ & d^4e^2 + d^2e^4 - 2a^2b^2df + 2b^4df + 2a^2c^2df - 2b^2c^2df + 2b^2d^3f - 2c^2d^3f - \\ & 2a^2de^2f - 4b^2de^2f - 2c^2de^2f + 2d^3e^2f + 2de^4f + a^4f^2 - 2a^2b^2f^2 + b^4f^2 - \\ & 2a^2d^2f^2 + 4b^2d^2f^2 - 2c^2d^2f^2 + d^4f^2 - 2b^2e^2f^2 - 2c^2e^2f^2 + 2d^2e^2f^2 + e^4f^2 - \\ & 2a^2df^3 + 2b^2df^3 + 2d^3f^3 + 2de^2f^3 + d^2f^4 + e^2f^4 + 4b^3d^2x - 4b^2cd^2x - \\ & 4bc^2d^2x + 4c^3d^2x + 4a^3e^2x - 4a^2ce^2x - 4ac^2e^2x + 4c^3e^2x - 4ad^2e^2x - 4bd^2e^2x - \\ & 4a^2bdfx - 4ab^2dfx + 8b^3dfx + 4a^2cdfx - 4b^2cdfx + 4ac^2dfx - 4bc^2dfx + 4bd^3fx - \\ & 4cd^3fx - 4ade^2fx - 8bde^2fx - 4cde^2fx + 4a^3f^2x - 4a^2bf^2x - 4ab^2f^2x + 4b^3f^2x - \\ & 4ad^2f^2x + 8bd^2f^2x - 4cd^2f^2x - 4be^2f^2x - 4ce^2f^2x - 4adf^3x + 4bdf^3x + 4b^2d^2x^2 - \\ & 8bcd^2x^2 + 4c^2d^2x^2 + 4a^2e^2x^2 - 8ace^2x^2 + 4c^2e^2x^2 - 4d^2e^2x^2 - 8abdfx^2 + 8b^2dfx^2 + \\ & 8acdfx^2 - 8bcd^2x^2 - 8de^2fx^2 + 4a^2f^2x^2 - 8abf^2x^2 + 4b^2f^2x^2 - 4e^2f^2x^2 = 0. \end{aligned}$$

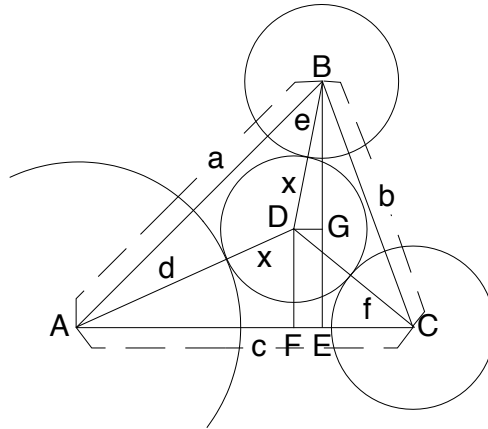


Figure 2: The previous figure with Elizabeth’s probable lettering.

Several remarks in his letters show that Descartes was aware of the algebraic complexity of the problem. Why, then, did he propose the problem to the Princess? It was not particularly suitable for raising enthusiasm for his methods in an interested amateur, however intelligent. The most likely explanation seems to be that when he proposed the problem to Elizabeth, Descartes had not really applied himself to it and only later became aware of its complexity. Such a course of events is consistent with his worries about the Princess being caught in lengthy calculations (Letter 47, p. 133, ll. 17–21).

Elizabeth’s approach

The summary of her calculations about the ‘problem of the three circles’ which Elizabeth sent to Descartes is lost, but her covering letter (Letter 59, 21 November 1643) and Descartes’ comments on her work in his second letter allow us to reconstruct the main characteristics of her approach. As mentioned above, she applied the techniques of letter algebra with some confidence and her aim was to derive ‘a theorem’ about the circle tangent to three given circles. In this she failed, because, as she wrote, her results were insufficiently clear to detect such a theorem (p. 159, l. 10).

In his second letter Descartes changed his lettering, probably taking over Elizabeth’s own (cf. p. 164, ll. 45–46, and Figures 1 and 2). Unlike Descartes, Elizabeth used only one unknown in her calculations, namely the radius of the required tangent circle; as indeterminates she chose the radii d, e, f of the three given circles, and the sides $a = AB, b = BC, c = AC$ of the triangle ABC . Then, evidently, she tried to derive an equation for the radius x of the tangent circle in terms of these indeterminates, in the hope that this equation could be interpreted geometrically as a theorem about the tangent circle of three given

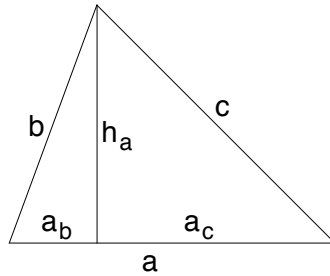


Figure 3: Triangle with altitude h_a and segments a_b and a_c along the base.

ones. The passage in Descartes' second letter in which he elaborates a simplified version of the problem claiming to follow the approach of the Princess (pp. 164–165, ll. 40–71), suggests that she reasoned along the following lines: The common shape of the two triangles ABC and ADC is represented in Figure 3 and it is not difficult to derive that:

$$a_b = \frac{a^2 + b^2 - c^2}{2a}, \tag{8}$$

$$a_c = \frac{a^2 - b^2 + c^2}{2a}, \tag{9}$$

$$h_a^2 = \frac{(a + b + c)(a + b - c)(a + c - b)(b + c - a)}{4a^2}. \tag{10}$$

These results imply that (see Figure 2) the segments AF , DF , FC , AE , BE , EC can directly be expressed in terms of a , b , c , d , e , f , and x , and the same applies, via subtraction, for the sides DG and BG of the right-angled triangle DGB , whose hypotenuse DG is equal to $e + x$. Applying the theorem of Pythagoras in this triangle will then produce an equation in x and the six indeterminates.

The relation 10 is actually equivalent to the theorem of Heron, which Descartes assumed Elizabeth knew (p. 156, l. 24), so this strategy could well have occurred to her. Could she have succeeded? The use of computer algebra shows that her strategy would lead to computational complications similar to those which Descartes would have encountered had he tried to go beyond the result that the problem was constructible by ruler and compass: the equation resulting from this line of reasoning is slightly simpler than the one Descartes' approach would yield (78 in stead of 87 terms) but the intermediate calculations are somewhat more extensive. So it is no wonder that, as she wrote, Elizabeth could not see clearly enough to detect a theorem.

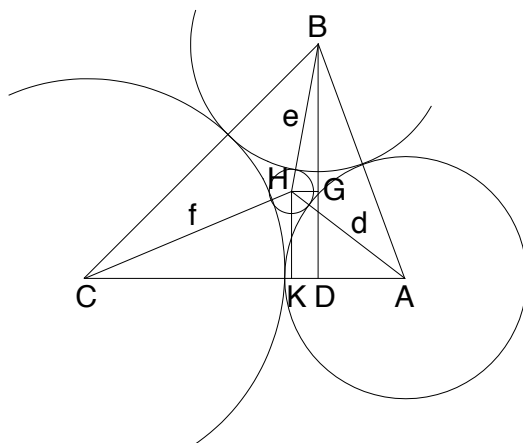


Figure 4: The special case in which the given circles touch each other.

The special case: the given circles touch each other

In his second letter Descartes then introduced a special, simpler (and geometrically appealing) case of the problem (pp. 164–165, ll. 50–71), and applied Elizabeth’s own approach to it, apparently to show that the complications she had met were not essential but merely caused by the extreme algebraic complexity of the general problem. It was the case in which the three given circles are tangent to each other (see Figure 4). In that case the sides of the triangle can be expressed in the radii of the given circles:

$$AB = a = d + e \quad , \quad (11)$$

$$CB = b = e + f \quad , \quad (12)$$

$$CA = c = f + d \quad , \quad (13)$$

so the only three indeterminates left are d , e , and f . Descartes gave two results which the Princess should find in the intermediary calculations (l. 55), namely

$$AK = \frac{dd + df + dx - fx}{d + f} \quad , \quad (14)$$

$$AD = \frac{dd + df + de - fe}{d + f} \quad , \quad (15)$$

(they result from applying equation 8 to the triangles CHA and CBA of Figure 4). Then he gave the equation which should result (ll. 59–62):⁸

⁸The equation is related to the fact, independently discovered by several nineteenth-century geometers, that the curvatures ρ_i of four mutually tangent circles satisfy the equation

$$2(\rho_1^2 + \rho_2^2 + \rho_3^2 + \rho_4^2) = (\rho_1 + \rho_2 + \rho_3 + \rho_4)^2 \quad . \quad (16)$$

$$ddef f + ddeexx + ddf fxx + eeffxx = \\ = 2def fxx + 2deeffxx + 2dde fxx + 2deeffx + 2ddeffx + 2ddeeffx. \quad (17)$$

Because Elizabeth had been searching for a ‘theorem’, Descartes expressed the meaning of the equation in words (ll. 63–66). Remarkably he did not attempt to give a geometrical meaning to these words; note particularly that, although the terms of the equation are products, he calls them ‘sums,’ and thereby avoids the problem of dimensions involved in geometrically interpreting products of six factors which are line segments. Finally he applied the theorem in a numerical example in which $d = 2$, $e = 3$ and $f = 4$ (ll. 67–71).

It is not clear how exactly Descartes arrived at equation 17.⁹

Discussions of mathematical strategies

The two letters of Descartes contain several passages on the best way to approach geometrical problems. These passages are of interest because the Princess’ efforts in solving the ‘problem of the three circles’ made Descartes change, or at least adjust his opinions. The main theme was how best to translate a geometrical problem into algebra, in particular how to choose the unknowns and the indeterminates such that the algebraic calculations would be easiest.

It appears that in their earliest discussions about geometrical problem solving Descartes had stressed the advantages of introducing more than one unknown (cf. p. 155, ll. 3–5 and p. 154, l. 5). Yet Elizabeth had used only one unknown. In his first letter, written after receiving this information through Pollot, he explained his reasons for preferring more than one unknown and also for choosing unknowns and indeterminates along two perpendicular directions (pp. 155–156, ll. 6–22). In that way, he claimed, one needed only the simplest geometrical theorems (namely similarity of triangles and Pythagoras’ theorem) in translating a geometrical problem into algebraic terms, after which all but

(The curvature of a circle is defined as the inverse of its radius. Substituting $x = 1/\rho_1$, $d = 1/\rho_2$, $e = 1/\rho_3$, $f = 1/\rho_4$ in the equation and reordering yields the result.) In 1960 A. Aeppli called attention to the relation of Equation 16 to the equation in Descartes’ second letter to Elizabeth. Since then the result on the curvatures of four mutually tangent circles is known as ‘the Descartes Circle Theorem’, although there are no indications that Descartes realized this implication of his result. Cf. D. Pedoe, ‘On a theorem in geometry’, *American Mathematical Monthly*, 74 (1967), pp. 627–640, esp. p. 634.

⁹The most direct way I have found is to express Descartes’ indeterminates d , e , f in terms of the radii a , b , c of the given circles:

$$d = \frac{a^2 + ac + ab - bc}{a + c}, \quad e = \frac{2\sqrt{abc(a + b + c)}}{a + c}, \quad f = \frac{c^2 + bc + ac - ab}{a + c}$$

(using the fact that the given circles touch each other), inserting these expressions in Descartes’ results 1–3, 6 and 7, and determining the final equation by inserting the resulting values for z and y in one of the equations 1–3. The calculations involved are considerable, but still within the range of Descartes’ power and patience. However, in his second letter Descartes gave the impression that he followed Elizabeth’s rather than his own approach and in that case the derivation of the equation is somewhat less straightforward; although still not unsurmountable.

one of these unknowns could be eliminated by straightforward algebraic techniques. Working with one unknown only, and with mutually oblique indeterminates, would involve the use of more complicated geometrical theorems in order to express the elements of the problem into algebra. Descartes was aware that the elimination techniques in the first approach were the algebraic equivalents of the more complex geometrical theorems in the second; the advantage was that the eliminating techniques were more straightforward.

Descartes illustrated these ideas in his first letter by an approach which he then probably thought Elizabeth might have taken (p. 156, ll. 23–36). This approach (see Figure 2) consisted in introducing as single unknown the radius x of the tangent circle and deriving algebraic expressions for the areas of the four triangles ABC , ADC , ADB , BDC by Heron's theorem ('un Theoreme qui enseigne à trouver l'aire d'un triangle par ses trois costez', l. 24; Descartes does not mention Heron), which asserts that a triangle with sides a , b , c has area $\sqrt{s(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)}$, with $s = \frac{1}{2}(a+b+c)$. The sides of the four triangles are easily expressed in terms of the given radii d , e , f , the given sides a , b , c of triangle ABC , and the unknown radius x of the required tangent circle. Equating the sum of the areas of the three smaller triangles to the area of triangle ABC then yields an equation involving x as only unknown. Descartes warns that this approach would lead to many 'superfluous multiplications' (l. 35). Indeed, for deriving the final equation one needs to remove four square roots, which enormously complicates the resulting equation. This difficulty did not occur in Descartes' own approach (as he could foresee without actually bringing it to an end) and the complications involved in an approach Elizabeth might possibly have chosen could well make Descartes worry about her confrontation with labyrinthine calculations.

Descartes' preference for choosing the line segments to be used in the equations along two perpendicular directions is evident in his own approach, in which (see above) he chose AE , EB and EC as indeterminates, rather than, as in the approach based on Heron's theorem, the oblique sides AB , BC , CA of the triangle ABC . (One notes that his choice is equivalent to taking the origin of a rectangular coordinate system in E ; the segments AE , EC , EB , FE , FD are in effect the coordinates of the centres of the three given and the one required circle.)

Descartes formulated the opinions mentioned above in his first letter, when the only thing he knew about Elizabeth's approach was that she had used one rather than several unknowns. When he received her letter and her report on her investigation of the problem of the three circles he was much impressed and even adjusted his view on choosing indeterminates. Indeed the second letter is different in tone from the first; Elizabeth is now addressed as a fellow mathematician rather than a prospective pupil. The letter is full of praise and positive surprise. Descartes is pleased to see that Elizabeth's 'calcul' was entirely similar to his own (p. 163, ll. 5–6). He praises her patience in calculating (ll. 12–15), and her technique of representing complicated expressions by single letters (ll. 17–18).

The letter also provides enough detail about Elizabeth's results to conclude that Descartes' positive reaction was more than due politeness in addressing a person of rank. Contrary to his expectations, he did not find Elizabeth much hampered by her choice of only one unknown. Moreover, she had chosen the sides of triangle ABC as indeterminates, a choice which Descartes had rejected because they were not along perpendicular directions. Now he realized an important advantage of that choice, namely that the resulting formulas were symmetric in a, b, c and in d, e, f respectively ('Car les trois lettres a, b, c, y sont disposées en mesme façon, et aussi les trois d, e, f ' (ll. 48–49)). This made him change his mind and he acknowledged the supremacy of her approach in this respect ('car il est meilleur, pour cela, que celui que j'avois proposé' (ll. 46–47)). Indeed the formulas in his own approach (cf. Equations 6 and 7) markedly lack symmetry because of the asymmetrical choice of his indeterminates AE, BE and CE . In his subsequent solution of the simplified problem he actually points out the symmetry of Equation 17 ('les quatre lettres d, e, f, x , qui estant les rayons des quatre cercles, ont semblables rapport l'une à l'autre' (ll. 52–53)), and Equations 14 and 15 (' x est dans la ligne AK , comme e dans la ligne AD ').

Descartes accepts Elizabeth's aim of deriving a theorem as a valid alternative to his own aim of determining the constructibility of a problem. Such a theorem, he writes, may serve as general rule for solving many problems of the same kind ('qui serve de regle generale pour en soudre plusieurs autres semblables' (l. 28)). He also explains that in deriving such a theorem one has to resubstitute expressions which for ease of calculating one has represented by single letters, whereas if one, like Descartes, only wishes to determine constructibility, such a resubstitution is not necessary. At the end of the letter he actually presents these two aims as equivalent approaches, the one best served by Elizabeth's approach with one unknown and a symmetrical choice of indeterminates, the other by his own approach with more than one unknown and indeterminates along two perpendicular directions. This final clear formulation of the two different approaches (ll. 72–78) suggests that the discussion with the Princess has contributed positively to Descartes' own understanding of the relation between the aims and the techniques of solving geometrical problems by algebra.

[HB]

A Calendar of Descartes' life for 1643

At the beginning of the year 1643 Descartes still lives at Endegeest, just outside Leiden, where he had moved at the end of March 1641. At the time the 'castle'—actually it was no more than a country house surrounded by pastures¹—was owned by Pieter van Foreest van Schouwen (†1644), then still a minor living in Rome. The lease expired on May 1st 1643, after which Descartes settled in Egmond aan den Hoef. The 'Utrecht crisis' rumbled on. The publication of the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* (March 1642) had caused *Voetius to engage (in the summer of 1642) his former student Martin *Schoock to write against Descartes and defend his honour. Before the end of the year Descartes got hold of the first printed leaves of Schoock's work (which was published in March 1643 as *Admiranda methodus*) and started writing an answer. Plans changed as soon as Descartes realized that the book was actually written by Schoock, and rechanged when he heard about Voetius' quarrel with *Maresius (Desmarts) over the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' in 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc). Eventually the *Epistola ad Voetium* was published in May 1643 (1643/05/22; 1643/05/30), followed a bit later (probably July) by a Dutch translation (see 1643/06/23). All the time Descartes worked on his *Principia* (1643/01/05), which he hoped would be printed by the summer of 1643 (1643/02/02)—actually it was not printed before June 1644 (much later than Descartes had been promised, 1643/09/20).

1643/01/05 Endegeest

Descartes asks *Huygens to forward a letter of Mersenne to Voetius: 'i'espere qu'elle [sc. ma response à Voetius] ne retardera point l'impression de ma Philosophie, en laquelle i'approche de l'endroit où ie dooy traiter de l'aymant'.² Asks Huygens to send him a 'gros livre' on that subject, whose author he can't remember (it turns out to be Kircher).

1643/01/07

Promising to forward Mersenne's letter to Voetius, Huygens (The Hague) sends Descartes *De arte magnetica* (Rome, 1641. Reprint. Cologne, 1643) by Kircher and, at the request of Mersenne, *De motu impresso a motore translato* or some other work by Gassendi.

1643/01/17 Endegeest

Letter to Huygens. Descartes sends all books (Kircher, Gassendi) back.

¹ It certainly was not the castle that it is now, which was built in the second half of the 17th century. For all details see J. Dröge, *Kasteel Endegeest: een geschiedenis van het huis, de tuin en de bewoners* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1993).

² *Principia*, IV, art. 133–183. AT VIII A, 275–314. Descartes' treatise on magnetism serves as an example of physical explanation generally and closes the *Principia*—all that follows is an explanation of the reasons why certain subjects (plants, animals, man) are not treated.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/02/02

Letters to Mersenne and *Picot. Descartes expects his 'Philosophie' (*Principia*) to be printed that summer, 'mais je ne puis dire quand on la pourra voir, car cela depend des libraires, et vous sçavez que la Dioptrique fust plus d'un an sous la presse'.

1643/02/18 Endegeest

Descartes writes to Huygens and sends him a text of several pages on physical problems.

1643/02/23 Endegeest

Descartes reacts to two letters of Mersenne, one of 1 February (received that very day) and the other of 10 February (received 'il y a 8 jours'), the first being accompanied by a letter of Picot.

1643/03/11 (1 OS)

The Rector and Senate of Utrecht University deliver a testimonium on Voetius, which will be presented to the Senate (the assembly of professors) on 6/16 March. The text was consigned to the minutebook of the Senate (now Het Utrechts Archief) and was published towards the end of September together with the 'narratio historica' (1643/09/22) in *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae et Narratio historica qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae philosophiae* (Utrecht: Strick, 1643). A Dutch translation was published in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*.³ The text reproduced here is taken from *Testimonium*.

Rector et Professores Acad. Ultrajectinae.

Lect. S.

Quamquam virtus, vitaeque integritas suffragiis aliorum non indigent, ea tamen interdum est hominum improbitas, ut confugere ad testimonia cogantur, qui vivos innocentiae suae testes circumferunt. Experti id sunt nonnulli ex collegis nostris, viri praestantissimi; qui cum vitam, mores, studia sua ita omnibus approbent, ut singulis exemplo, Academiae universae ornamento sint; tamen in epistola Renati Cartesii ad Dinetum, conviciis et contumeliis indignum in modum proscissi sunt. Ac licet non timuerint, ne per praedictam epistolam existimatio sua apud viros bonos, et rerum Academiae nostrae gnaros periclitaretur; quia tamen animadverterunt, quendam heterodoxum nuper calumnias nonnullas ex ea epistola in libellum suum transtulisse; ne idem imperiti alii facerent, neve male creduli fide historica niti putarent, quae mendaciis et calumniis oppleta sunt, testimonio Academico innocentiam suam tutandam sibi existimarunt.⁴ Nos itaque aequissimae eorum postulationi deferentes testamur, falsum esse

³ For a French translation see *Querelle*, 79–81.

⁴ A Dutch translation of Descartes' portrait of Voetius in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* was published in a pamphlet by Jean Batelier (1593–1672), a Remonstrant adversary of Voetius: *Verantwoordinge tegen Gisbert Voetii Remonstrantsche Catechisatie* (Amsterdam: Walschaert, 1643), p. 74).

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quod autor epistolae scribit (p. 175⁵) quosdam ex collegis Medicum sibi praeferi advertentes, manifeste eidem invidisse, ac persaepe a Magistratu contendisse, ut nova docendi ratio prohiberetur. Praeterquam enim quod invidiae causa nulla esset, etiam primae apud Magistratum in postulando partes non illorum fuerunt, sed aliorum, qui communi Academiae periculo movebantur: quippe cum res ipsa clamaret, non posse non veterem philosophandi rationem magno cum academiae detrimento mutari. Ac ne hi quidem persaepe, sed semel duntaxat a Magistratu id postularunt: non suoapte arbitrio, sed ex consilio et delegatione Senatus academici.⁶ Tantum autem a veritate abhorret, aut laborasse eos, qui invidisse dicuntur, per totum triennium, ut Medico nova philosophia interdiceretur; aut novam provinciam, quasi pro praemio bene navatae operae a Magistratu datam; ut intra triennium, professionem problematicam commendatione praecipua ejus Theologi, cujus latus calumnia petit, obtinuerit: nec ante mota ei controversia sit, quam disputatio ejus de circulatione sanguinis emanasset.⁷ Improbata porro divinatio est, qua autor epistolae (pag. 179⁸) suppositiones scholasticae juventutis collegis, nescimus quibus, impingere velle videtur: neque enim ulla hactenus, in quavis facultate, disputatio fervidior fuit, in qua non immodestiam disputantium auditores strepitu et suppositione pedum castigaverint. Quod autem una disputatione praeter morem Praeses ipse explodi visus sit, cum alias solis opponentibus aut defendentibus, ea procella metuatur, id prave factum fatemur: quin etiam dolori nobis est, judicandi sibi partes sumere eos, qui discendi gratia convenire: sed neque in potestate nostra fuit, id malum a praeside avertere, neque dolo cujusquam nostrum, aut consilio, factum est. Illa praeterea manifesta calumnia est, qua autor epistolae (pag. 187⁹) decretum Senatus academici de retinenda in docendo vetere philosophia, soli Rectori attribuire conatur: dum alios quidem dissentientes numero suffragiorum victos scribit, alios autem viros pacificos Rectori suo, quem mordacem novissent, contradicere noluisse fingit. Nam et omnes consensisse in decreto, libellus Amplissimo Senatui Urbano exhibitus, et ab universis subscriptus abunde arguit: et falsum est, quenquam nostrum mordacitate viri mitissimi coactum, ut aliter diceret, aliter sentiret. Unus duntaxat ex collegis fuit, qui non decreto contradixit, sed actis potius academiae inscribendum, quam typis evulgandum censuit. Adhaec potentiam Theologi, quam dicta epistola (pag. 177 et 185¹⁰) invidiose exaggerat, nullam agnoscimus, in eo collegio, in quo libertas censendi et dissentendi omnibus aequa: nisi forte pro magnis in academiam et ecclesiam meritis, aliqua existimatio atque autoritas potentia est. Eundem praeterea Theologum, cum Rectoris munere fungeretur, ipsiusque officii esset, videre

⁵ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 583.

⁶ This happened 21 February/1 March 1642; cf. *Testimonium*, p. 54.

⁷ This took place on 10/20 June 1640.

⁸ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 585.

⁹ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 589.

¹⁰ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 584, 588.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ne quid academia detrimenti caperet, et convocasse Senatum, et retulisse fatemur: in suo dolore et accusatorem et iudicem fuisse, id vero pernegamus: quippe, qui palam ediceret, suas injurias sibi curae fore; ad Senatum non nisi publicam totius academiae causam se referre. Postremo quod autor epistolae Theologum praedictum turbulentum et seditiosum, Rectorem vocat (pag. 188 et 211¹¹) in eo insignite injuriam ei fieri conquerimur. Adeo enim ille nihil turbulente, nihil seditiose gessit, toto anno quo Rectoris munere defunctus est, ut e contrario ipsius praecipue vigilantiae atque dexteritati imputemus, sopitis turbis, quietem pristinam academiae postliminio restitutam esse. Quae omnia, uti planius atque apertius intelligantur, narrationem historicam earum rerum, quae apud nos gestae sunt, exhibemus: lectorem rogantes, ut auctoris epistolae dissimilis, publico potius academiae testimonio fidem habere, quam occultis susurronum mendaciis aures praebere velit. Dab. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Kal. Mart. Anno MDCXLIII.

1643/03/16 (6 OS)

The Senate deliberates about the text of the *Testimonium* and the *Narratio*, both of which are consigned to the minute book. 'A sexta vespertina ad nonam lectum est in concessu nostro Testimonium academicum una cum narratione historica, qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae philosophiae, opponendum Epistolae Cartesii ad Dinetum. Professi sunt omnes, quantum ad historiae fidem, nihil se habere quod arguant. Typis vero edendum adjuncta narratione, conclusum plurimis suffragiis', Kernkamp, I, 162. Despite this majority decision the text will not be published before the end of September.

1643/03/23 Endegeest

Letter to Mersenne, in reaction to three letters of Mersenne, dated 15 February, 7 March and 14 March. Schoock's *Admiranda methodus* is finally published.

1643/03/30

'Schooc le [Saumaise] menace de six ou sept escrits mais je crois qu'il y pensera trois fois. Il a pris a partie Mons. des Cartes sur sa Philosophie, et s'est pris a un adversaire qui n'est pas sans repartie', Rivet to Sarrau, 30 March 1643, *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* I, 434.

1643/05/15

In The Hague the Walloon Synod meets to talk, among other things, on the affair of the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady'. The Synod blames Maresius for having taken the initiative to defend the Reformed members of the Brotherhood 'de son propre mouvement et sans en avoir demandé permission au Synode'. It is also decided that, pending a definitive judgment on this matter, members of the Brotherhood should not be elected to the consistory, although those who already belong to the consistory may remain until their term expires

¹¹ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 590, 603.

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(*Livre synodal* I, pp. 439–443). Descartes quotes those articles in the *Argumentum* of the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 7–10). See below 1643/08/26–28.

1643/04/23 Endegeest
Letter to *Colvius.

1643/04/26 Endegeest
Letter to Mersenne.

Egmond May 1643 [– May 1644]

According to Baillet Descartes settles in Egmond aan den Hoef, a small village near Alkmaar, on May 1st, 1643, but the first letter actually dated from Egmond is, either of 21 May to *Elizabeth (if the date is reliable), or of 22 May 1643 to Huygens. In any case Descartes paid a visit to The Hague in the first week of May (1643/05/06). Little is known about Descartes' Egmond accommodation, except that the house was rented (Descartes to Colvius, 23 April 1643). Descartes leaves Egmond on May 1st, 1644 to settle temporarily 'in a place with much distraction and little leisure' (Descartes to *** [Grandamy?], [2 May 1644], AT IV, 122), before leaving for France at the beginning of June. After his return he finds new accommodation in Egmond-Binnen.¹²

1643/05/00–06 The Hague

'I'ay appris avec beaucoup de ioye et de regret, l'intention que vous avez eue de me voir, passé quelques iours', Elizabeth to Descartes, 6 May 1643. This is Elizabeth's first letter to Descartes. It shows that Descartes was in The Hague 'a few days' before 6 May. This is more confirmed by Descartes' letter to Mersenne of 30 May 1643, according to which Descartes received Mersenne's letter of 25 April (to which it is a reply) in The Hague.¹³

1643/05/14

'Voetius in Cartesium stylum exercuit. Cartesius maledicta maledictis oneravit. Malle *Physicam* tandem suam ederet, et defecationibus ratiociniis ita veritatem adstrueret, ut nemo reperiretur qui in clara luce positus de tenebris quereretur', Sorbière (The Hague) to Andreae Vissonato, 14 May 1643, Paris, BnF, MS latin 10.352 (quoted AM V, 307).

¹² There are three villages called 'Egmond', all in the Alkmaar region: *Egmond aan Zee*, a fishing village situated almost on the beach; *Egmond-Binnen*, which is at the foot of the dunes; and more to the North *Egmond aan den Hoef*, which is closest to Alkmaar. It was built around the Egmond castle and in the immediate vicinity of Egmond Abbey (a Benedictine Convent, which was closed after the Reformation and refounded only, as a priory in 1935 and as an abbey in 1950). The majority of the population in this area were Roman Catholics.

¹³ Although there is no absolute certainty about the time it took a letter to arrive from Paris in the Low Countries, it must be assumed that it was at least seven days.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/05/22 Egmond

Descartes sends Huygens, De *Wilhem and De *Mory copies of the *Epistola ad Voetium*.¹⁴ He also sends back to Huygens the latter's polemics with Saumaise.¹⁵

1643/05/24 Egmond

Letter to Huygens.

1643/05/29

'Je ne veux pas achever sans vous dire que je m'estonne de tant de calomnies qu'on impose à Mr Des Cartes dans un livre qu'a fait le disciple de Mr Voetius,¹⁶ et je ne sçay comme quoy l'on peut souffrir en vostre Hollande tant de medisances contre une personne qui ne fait mal à personne, et qui n'a autre vice que de consommer ses labeurs pour le bien du public par ses doctes meditations. C'est estre bien malheureux en ce monde d'estre reputés Athées et devoir estre bruslé aprez avoir fait tout que l'on a pu pour prouver l'existence de Dieu, lequel je prie d'illuminer des personnes si medisantes, affin qu'ils viennent à repispences', Mersenne to Rivet, 29 May 1643, CM XII, 194.

1643/05/30 Amsterdam

Letter to Mersenne. 'J'acheve cette letre estant à Amsterdam, d'où je pensois vous envoyer ma response¹⁷ au mauvais livre contre moy que vous avez vû. Mais j'ay creu qu'elle ne meritoit pas d'estre envoyé par la poste, et j'ay prié le libraire de vous en envoyer par mer au plus tost, ce qu'il m'a promis, et aussy de m'envoyer soigneusement vos lettres si tost qu'elles seront arrivées icy. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de les adresser dorenavant à M. Louys Elzevier, marchand libraire à Amsterdam. (...) J'ay dit à Elzevier qu'il vous envoyast 6 exemplaires de ma response a Voetius, dont l'un sera, s'il vous plaist, pour Mr Picot'. Descartes also sends copies to Sorbière (see 1643/06/08) and Colvius.

1643/06/08

'Missa est ad me Amstelodamo Epistola Cartesii ad Voetium, quae est responsio ad injurias atrocissimas Schoockii cujusdam Professoris Groningani, Voetii discipuli, magistro suo haud sanioris. Verebar ne Cartesius vir magnus quid se indignum praestaret, hujusce modi adversarios oppugnaret, nugaces, stolidos, solis conviciis armatos. At ita quidem se gessit, ut nunc vehementer gaudeam justa indignatione expressam fuisse responsionem tam accurato judicio, tanta sagacitate perfectam'. Sorbière then transcribes Pt IV of the *Epistola* (on Voetius' use of books and scholarship), which he finds so excellent that 'vellem totam memoria tenere, adeo mihi ob eximiam ratiocinonem arridet'. Pt VII on Voetius' merits and virtues is also worth reading, because Descartes shows 'viri boni, civis et presbyteri officium, a quo quam longissime Voetius recessit'. Finally, Sorbière

¹⁴ Not all copies are distributed immediately; see 1643/05/30.

¹⁵ A copy in Descartes' hand of the exchange between Huygens and Saumaise is kept in the Royal Library in The Hague. It was published by Roth (AT III, 836–859).

¹⁶ *Admiranda methodus*, by Schoock.

¹⁷ *Epistola ad Voetium*.

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reports that the *Epistola* also contains a long discussion of Voetius' book against Maresius. Sorbière [The Hague] to Thomas Martel, 8 June 1643, Paris: BnF, MS latin 10.352 (AM V, 307).

1643/06/10

'Non est reticenda quae mihi contingit X. Junii gloria, cum a Celsissima Principe Elisabetha accersitus, tantae heroinae colloquio ferme bihorarum frui licuit (...) Sermones fuere de ratiociniis Cartesianis, quibus vehementer oblectatur, atque eorum occasione mentio facta Gassendi nostri, eruditusque postea liber de Vita Pereskii Samsono Jonssonio viro eximio, qui a sacris est Serenissimae Reginae'.¹⁸ Deplores the fact that Gassendi is not better known. 'Brevi legemus Partem Physicarum Meditationum quae Amstelodami apud Ludovicum Elzevirium excuduntur,¹⁹ unde plenius de autore judicare poterimus', Sorbière [The Hague] to Thomas Martel, 15 June 1643, Paris: BnF, MS latin 10.352, quoted AM V, 317. 10 June 1643 (the day of Sorbière's visit) is also the date of Elizabeth's second letter to Descartes.

1643/06/15 (5 OS)

An official committee is appointed to examine Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* and advise the municipal government. 'D'Heeren Mrs François van de Pol ende Peter van Leeuwen sijn versocht ende gecommiteert omme mette Heeren Professoren Dematio ende Mathaeo te examineren seecker boeckgen, uytgegeven bij D. Descartes tegens D. Voetium ende de Vroetschap te dienen van advijs'.²⁰ Kernkamp, I, 182.

1643/06/23 (13 OS)

The Utrecht Vroedschap starts a judicial inquiry and summons Descartes to come to Utrecht in order to clarify the claims made with respect to Voetius in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and the *Epistola ad Voetium*. Descartes is offered a safe-guard for three weeks.

De Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht in ervaringe gecomen sijnde, dat onlanghs is uyt-ghegeven ende verspreyt wordt, seecker Boeckgen, in dit Jaer 1643, ghedruckt tot Amsterdam, by Louijs Elsevier, geintituleert: *Epistola Renati des Cartes, ad celeberrimum Virum, etc.*²¹ ende niet langh te vorens seeckeren Brief, daer van het opschrift is: *Admodum Reverendo Patri Dineto etc.* ende dat in 't laetste uyt-ghegevene den naem van seecker Persoon, sijnde binnen dese Stadt in publijcque bedieninghe, door-gaens werdt ghespelt, ende sijne actien, leven, omme-gangh, manieren, stu-

¹⁸ Samson Jonsson (1603–1661), an English divine, was (from 1638 till 1644) chaplain to the Court of Princess Elizabeth's mother. From 1646 till 1653 he was army chaplain in Breda.

¹⁹ So, apparently, Elzevier has already started the impression of Descartes' *Principia*.

²⁰ François van de Pol and Peter van *Leeuwen were members of the Utrecht Vroedschap; Carolus Dematius was professor of theology; Antonius Matthaëus professor of Law.

²¹ Apparently, the Dutch translation of the *Epistola ad Voetium* was not yet published; otherwise it would certainly be mentioned.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

dien, leere ende institutien sulcx werden beschreven, dat nae het oordeel van onpartydighe ende hun dies verstaende Mannen, welcker advijs daer over is versocht, sodanighe Persoon in humeur ende conditie daer by beschreven, niet alleen onnut, maer oock ten hoochsten schadelick soude wesen in eenighe publijcque bedieninghe, so vande Academie, als vande Kerck. Waer-omme Wy 't selve ter herten nemende, ende overleydt hebbende, hoe de waerheydt der saecke best nae ghespeurt, de gherustheydt der Stadt, den dienst vande Kercke al-hier, mitsgaders het floreren der Academie ten hoochsten ghevordert, alle onrust, onstichtinghe ende aenstootelicheden gheweert mochten worden, goedt gevonden hebben de saecke naerder te ondersoecken: Tot welcken eynde wel van meeninghe souden sijn den voornoemden *des Cartes*, indien hy onder de Jurisdiction onser Stadt sich onthielde, te constringeren sijne voorsz. twee Tractaten, met bewijs daer toe dienende te muniëren, om den Persoon daer-inne ghementioneert daer tegens ghehoort, alsdan gedaen te worden, sulcx die acquiteyt der saecke, ende het beste der Academie ende Kercke soude vereysschen. Dan aen-ghesien den voornoemden *des Cartes* sich onthoudt buyten deser Stadts Jurisdiction, ende datmen al-hier onseecker is vande plaetse sijner residentie: Soo ist, Dat Wy goedt gevonden hebben by Publicatie bekent te maecten, dat den selven *des Cartes* sich al-hier binnen Utrecht sal moghen in-stellen binnen den tijdt van drie weecken (ghenietende ten dien fine vry acces ende reces) omme den inne-houden vande voorsz. Tractaten sulcx te verifiseren, als hy sal oordelen tot sijne intentie dienstich te wesen, ende den voornoemden Persoon daer tegens ghehoort, ende sijn bewijs ghesien, voorts ghedaen te worden naer behoren. Ende om dat den voornoemden *des Cartes* hier van te beter kennisse sal connen becomeen, hebben 't selve al-omme, sulcx men Stadts Publicatien ghewoon is, doen affigeren. Aldus gepubliceert naer voor-gaende Clock-luydinge vanden Stadt-huyse t'Utrecht, *more solito*, op den xiiij^{en} Junij 1643. By my, *C. de Ridder*.

Broadsheet (*plano*) printed by A.J. van Paddenburch, Utrecht 1643 (Knuttel 5023). Reprinted as an annex to Descartes, *Brief aen den vermaerden D. Gisbertus Voetius* (Amsterdam: Van Baardt, 1643), as well as in [P. Voet], *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (Utrecht: Strick [1644]), p. [15]–[16]. A manuscript copy in Descartes' own hand was sent to Huygens on 26 June 1643 (BnF, n.a.f. 23.084). The nature of the procedure changes in September when the Municipality declares the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and the *Epistola ad Voetium* to be diffamatory publications (see 1643/09/23). From that point Descartes will be a criminal offender—now he is still, technically at any rate, a witness.

1643/06/29

'Prodiit his diebus libellus Renati Des Cartes in Voetium, sane pro meritis eius scriptis, in quo homo Gallus, quem Voetius satis ingeniosum agnoscit, ego vero etiam non vulgariter eruditum, ipsum mendaciorum, calumniarum et hypocriseos convincit. Voetius per se sibi addictos magistratus Ultrajectini nomine proclama

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fieri curavit, quo de Cartes quasi per edictum citatur ut Ultrajecti compareat scripti sui rationem redditurus, quod ipse neque facere tenetur et iam satis scripto suo testatus est se nunquam facturum.²² Nescio quomodo ille [Voetius] magistratum Ultrajectinum ita fascinaverit ut se tam manifeste deridendum propinare in animum induxerit', Willem de Groot to Grotius, 29 June 1643, Grotius, *Briefwyseling*, XIV, 372.

1643/07/05 Egmond

Letters to Van *Beverwijck and Colvius. 'Friends of Descartes' (in fact Huygens, who is with the army at Assenede in West Flanders²³) write a 'consultation' (legal advice) on the Utrecht affair, which is shown to Descartes on 7 July. The meaning of the advice is obviously to prevent further public action on behalf of Descartes— according to Huygens apparently the matter should not become a subject of contestation between Descartes and the Utrecht Magistrate, who so far has behaved in a very civilized manner. Instead Descartes should hand in a 'Requête,' containing a more detailed report of his dealings with Voetius. Descartes will comply with this advice only to the extent that he will not personally present himself in Utrecht (see Descartes' letter to De Wilhem of 10 July). The text is preserved in the Royal Library of the Hague and was first published by AT (IV, 14–15; some corrections on p. 805):

Assenede 5 Jul. 43.

Il semble a des amis de Monsieur Descartes, qu'il n'a pas trop de subject de se plaindre de ce que Messieurs d'Utrecht viennent de publier a son egard; au contraire, que c'est M. Voetius qui en doibt estre moins satisfait, parce qu'au lieu de defendre brusquement la lecture d'un livre qui le blasme, ce qu'un ministre de sa consideration eust bien obtenu ailleurs, ils ne font qu'assurer la libre entrée et sortie a l'auteur, pour en venir verifier les assertions. Par où ceux de ladite Ville, se portans aveq moderation, non pour parties mais pour juges, et ainsi s'offrans a rendre justice, qui est tout ce qu'on peut attendre d'eux, il importe que M. Descartes se garde de songer a quelqu'autre tribunal, comme si justice lui eust esté refusée par la Ville; ce qui n'est pas jusques ores, parce qu'il ne la luy a jamais demandée; un magistrat ne pouvant faire reflexion sur des livres imprimés, qui ne se sont adressés qu'aux lecteurs.²⁴

Ensuite l'on estime que pour prevenir les effets de la contumace, il est temps que M. Descartes leur demande cette justice par Requête formelle et directe, dans laquelle, temoignant aveq modestie le déplaisir qu'il a eu de voir son nom en affiche publique, il recite nuement, comme s'estant

²² The 'proclama' is the summons of 1643/06/23.

²³ Huygens arrived with the army on 3 July and leaves Assenede on 23 August; cf. C. Huygens, *Dagboek*, ed. J.H.W. Unger (Amsterdam: Binger, 1885), p. 40.

²⁴ This is a veiled way of criticizing Descartes: if he had really wanted the magistrate to take action against Voetius he should have submitted a formal complaint instead of publishing his *Epistola ad Voetium*. As a result, Descartes' implicit complaint that the town of Utrecht has denied satisfaction to him is not correct; accordingly he should not react by starting a lawsuit (against Utrecht).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

veu courru sus, calomnié et décrié par M. Voetius, en tant qu'Athée, et enseignant l'Atheisme sous main, (a ne parler d'autres medisances de moins d'importance, au lieu des remontrances que la charité et la vocation dudit M. Voetius lui devoient faire preferer a toute autre procedure), il a creu se debvoir la satisfaction de faire cognoistre au monde et la fausseté de ceste accusation, comme de la plus atroce iniure qui puisse estre fait a un Gentilhomme Chrestien, et les qualités de son accusateur deduites aveq verité en deux Epistres qu'il en a faict imprimer expres; defense et re- crimination de la quelle voyant que leurs Seigneuries auroyent aggreable de veoir la verification plus circonstanciée, qu'il les remercie de l'oreille impartiale qu'ils semblent luy garder, et s'offre, en obéissant a leur bon plaisir, quoy que non subject a leur jurisdiction,²⁵ de prouver, par le menu et jusqua l'entiere satisfaction de tout homme raisonnable, telles positions desdites epistres qu'il leur plaira luy en noter, a condition qu'en mesme temps soit enjoint a sa partie de prouver semblablement le subject desdites accusations intentées contre luy par aggression violente; a ce que, le tout veu et examiné, justice soit rendue ainsi que de droict se trouvera convenir.

Ceste Requête, agencée de plus beau langage qu'on n'a loysir d'y employer presentement, debvroit estre tournée en bon flamand, et presentée par mains de quelque bien habile Advocat de la Religion, qui, au besoin, fust capable de la seconder de bouche, tant en publiq qu'en particulier, aupres des plus considerables du Magistrat, aveq toute vigueur, franchise et generosité, en excusant la non comparition de son maistre, sur ce que, comme personne des long temps retirée dans la vie contemplative, il n'entend aucunement la routine du Barreau, et en suite s'est trouvé obligé d'occuper par Advocat et procureur.

1643/07/06 Egmond

Date of Descartes' (printed) answer to the Vroedschap (AT IV, 8–12), receipt of which is acknowledged on 1/11 July; see 1643/07/11.²⁶

1643/07/07 The Hague

In the first week of July Descartes visits De Wilhem in The Hague to consult him on the summons from Utrecht and to hear Huygens' advice (see 1643/07/05). This visit had been announced in a letter to Huygens of 26 June 1643. Huygens' 'consultation' (see 1643/07/05) is communicated to Descartes but, apparently, it is not to his liking (despite the polite letter of thanks sent to Huygens 10 July 1643). In The Hague Descartes and *Parmentier (a friend from Utrecht) visit a lawyer, Paul *Vanpeene, who reassures him that the summons 'ne l'oblige a aucune chose' (Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643).²⁷ On 8 July De Wilhem writes

²⁵ Living in the Province of Holland (Egmond) Descartes was not subject to Utrecht jurisdiction. For serious crimes, though, a person could be extradited from one province to another (which was what Descartes feared most).

²⁶ Descartes' answer was printed in Amsterdam (see 1643/07/07).

²⁷ This opinion was shared, not only by Huygens, but also by Willem de Groot (see 1643/06/29).

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to Huygens: ‘J’ay communiqué votre advis par copie à Monsieur des Cartes, qui l’a fort trouvé a son gre. Mais en la consultation ou plustost conference avec l’advocat Paul van Penen on a prins la resolution qu’il doibve respondre par escrit en forme de lettre a Mrs du vroetschap, les remerciant du soing qu’ils ont prins et veulent prendre d’examiner la verite de ses assertions, et procurer le repos et accroissement de leur ville et academie, et qu’il aura le contentement de veoir comme ils s’en acquitteront; qu’il leur en a trace le moyen de parvenir et donne le remede pour corriger les abus, et faire en sorte que son integrite ne soit estouffee et son merite mescognu par les artifices de son adversaire. Le tout *ex officio extra judicium aleam*, en conformité de vostre advis’, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 403. Descartes leaves The Hague in the early morning of 8 July to have his answer printed in Amsterdam (1643/07/08).

1643/07/08

In the early morning (he has no time to say good-bye to De Wilhem) Descartes leaves The Hague to go to Amsterdam and have his letter to the Utrecht Vroedschap printed by *Elzevier; see Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643.

1643/07/10 Amsterdam

Letter to Huygens, which is forwarded by De Wilhem on 12 July (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 405). Descartes also writes to De Wilhem personally in a letter which clarifies some of the points in the letter to Huygens. Both Huygens and De Wilhem receive a printed copy of Descartes’ answer to the Magistrate. While in Amsterdam Descartes probably also visits his clockmaker, Geeraert *Brandt; see his letter to Brandt of 18 July 1643, in which an allusion is made to a recent conversation (‘geliick wy met malkanderen gesproken hebben’).

1643/07/11 (1 OS)

‘Is gelesen de beslote missive int françois, ondertekent Des Cartes, gedateert t’Egmond op de Hoeff, den 6 Julii stylo novo 1643, ende geadresseert aen “Mijn Heeren Burgermeesteren ende Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht” ende ’t translaet vandien in patenti gedruckt—daer van een bundel met exemplaren overgesonden was—, geïntituleert: “Antwoort van de Wel edelen Heer René des Cartes, Heere du Perron, op het gepubliceerde van de Heeren van de Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht, den 13/23 Junii des jaers 1643,” ende in advijs gehouden tot de wedercomste van de Heere eerste Burgermeester’, Kernkamp, I, 182.²⁸

‘Scire velim qua re primum Voetius, homo superbus, Descartesium offenderit’, Grotius to Willem de Groot, 11 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 393.

1643/07/12

De Wilhem forwards a letter of Descartes to Huygens (covering note in Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 405).

²⁸ Of this printed version only one copy survives (BnF, n.a.f. 23.084). The text was reprinted in [Paulus Voet], *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (Utrecht 1644). Of the manuscript letter which accompanied the broadsheet there is no trace.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/07/18 Egmond

Descartes sends his clock to Geeraert Brandt of Amsterdam to have it mended.

1643/07/20

'Voetius per se suosque Cartesium atheismi accusavit. Id ille, ut par est, aegre ferens, ulcera hominis, ut recte notas, superbi, egregie tetigit et detexit. Mitto iam ipsius responsionem ad proclama Ultrajectinum', Willem de Groot to Hugo Grotius, 20 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 414.

1643/07/31

'Vidi et Cartesii chartam contra Voetium. Miror quos Cartesius in hoc negotio habuerit adiutores', Grotius to Willem de Groot, 31 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 432.

1643/08/10

'Cartesius hic multos habet amicos, etiam in Academia Lugdunensi, non parvi nominis, et eo est ingenio et genio ut Voetio larvam suam egregie detrahere valeat, dignum ea patella operculum', Willem de Groot to Grotius, 10 August 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 462.

1643/08/16 (6 OS)

At the request of the Burgomasters (as part of the official inquiry started on 23 June) the Senate of the University (the assembly of professors) delivers a testimony in favour of Voetius. Meinardus Schotanus (1593–1644), one of the professors of theology, cannot attend the meeting because he is ill and reacts separately. This testimony of the professors should be distinguished from the one delivered in March, which is printed in *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae* (1643).

Dominis Consulibus scripto petentibus—ob injurias obvias in libro R. Descartes—sententiam singulorum Professorum—excepto D. Regio—de D. Voetii conversatione nobiscum, de usurpato in nos dominio, tempore rectoratus vel ante vel post, ut et an non sit fervidus propugnator verae reformatae religionis adversus omnes heterodoxias et superstitiones etc., pro munere suo etc., responsum fuit unanimibus praesentium suffragiis honestissimum testimonium esse perhibendum. D. Schotanus, ob morbum absens, scripto idem censuit et postea in urbem reversi D. Cyprianus Regnerus, D. Senguerdius, D. Berckringer idem professi sunt D. Secretario. Testimonii formula haec erat: "De Professoren van de Academie van Utrecht, uijtte naem vande ed. Heeren Borgermeesteren der selver Stadt, versocht sijnde attestatie te willen geven vande omganch D. Professoris Voetii onder haerlieden, ende of hy onbehoorlicken heerschappye over haer gebruyckt heeft gheduyrende sijn Rectoraet ofte oock voor of na. Item of hy niet en is een groot voorstander van de ware gereformeerde Religie jegens alle afgoderyen, superstitionen, secten ende opinien met Gods woord strijdende, volghens den eysch sijns ampts. Ver-

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claren by desen opt eerste sijn E. conversatie ende omgang onder haerlieden altyts geweest te sijn, ende noch te wesen soo eerlick, stichtelick, vrindelick ende aenghenaem als men van een Collega soude connen wenschen. Opt tweede dat hy Rectoratum deser Academie Anno 1641 weerdichlick becleedt heeft sonder sich aen te matigen over syne Collegas int ghemeyn ofte ymant van dien in't bysonder meer autoriteyts als een rector toecomt ofte betaemt, gelijk hy oock voor ofte nae niet ghetracht heeft over deselve eenige de minste Heerschappye te exerceren. Opt derde dat hy sijn Theologische professie uyttermaeten treffelijck bedient, oock de leere der ghereformeerde kercke neerstelick ende gheluckelick voorstaedt, ende de dolingen ende abuysen daer tegens strydende grondelick ende bundichlijck wederleghet, volghens den eysch sijns ampts, ghelijck sijne uytgegevene schriften ende sijne dagelickschen disputatien ende lessen claerlick bewysen. Soo dat dese Academie sich heeft een ten hoochsten te bedancken ende geluckich te achten over so een weerdich man, om wiens lang leven ende tegenwoordicheyt ten dienste vande Kercke ende Academie alhier Godt almachtich te bidden is. Aldus gedaen ende verclaert by de Heeren Professoren voorz. Den vij Augusti 1643”.

Kernkamp, I, 169 (only the Latin introduction); Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, lxiv–lxv.

1643/08/17 (7 OS)

The Utrecht consistory adopts a resolution in favour of Voetius. The text is reproduced in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. The document was signed by Andreas Suavius, one of the Utrecht ministers.

Is van D. preside ingelevert seeckere acte of memorie aen den E. Kerckenraet specterende, alsdus van woort tot woort luydende: ”Dat alsoo D. Voetius met verscheyden calumnien, injurien of diffamatien wert beswaert door publijcke geschriften op den naem van des Cartes uytgegeven, noodich geacht wort dat de E. Kerckeraet vorsz. attestatie geve aengaende de predicatien, leven ende wandel D. Voetii, ende of hy niet en is een groot voorstander van de ware gereformeerde religie, tegens alle afgoderijen, superstitionen, ende opinien tegens Gods woordt strijdende, volgens de eysch sijns ampts.” Dese acte ghelesen ende den inhoud van dien overwogen sijnde, heeft de E. Kerckenraedt daerover dese resolutie ghenomen, ende schriftelijck hare achtbaerheden toeghesonden den 7. Augusti 1643. Die resolutie luydt aldus:

Opt versoeck van de Achtbare Heeren Magistraet der Stadt Utrecht, om den Heere professor Gisbertus Voetius van sijnen dienst, leven, handel ende wandel attestatie naer waerheyt te verleenen, heeft de E. Kerckenraet der ghereformeerde Kercke binnen Utrecht, geen redenen ghevonden soodanighen ghedaenen versoeck in eeniger manieren te weijgheren, te min, dewijl men ghehouden is der waerheyt ghetuychenis te geven insonderheyt dies versocht sijnde. Getuygen derhalven, certificeren ende

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

verclaren voor de oprechte warheyt, voor alle, ende yeder een, die dese vertoont mochte werden, dat de voorz. D. Gisbertus Voetius bedienaer des evangeliums binnen Utrecht, suiijver ende gesont is in de leere der waerheyt, die daer is nae de Godtsalicheyt, overneerstich in de bedininge sijns kerckendiensts, doende dagelijcx met syne stichtelijcke predicatien seer ghroote ende ghewenschte vruchten, dies halven by de ghemeente des Heeren ende ons allen ten hoochsten aengenaem, hem daechlijcks allesins betoonende een groot ende treffelijcke voorstander vande ware Christelijcke ghereformeerde religie, ende een iverich wederstander van alle afgoderyen, superstitionen, secten, ende opinien tegens het woord des Heeren strijdende: hem daer in volgens den eysch sijns beroeps seer ghetrouwelijck quytende tot contentement van alle vromen. Ende aengaende sijn leven, handel, ende wandel, is onder ons altoos gheweest ende noch tegenwoordich soodanich, dat wy anders niet, als alle eer ende deucht, vromicheyt ende stichtelijckheidt en weten te ghetuijgen. Hem vertoont hebbende sedich ende vredsaeem in sijne conversatie soo onder sijne collegen ende medebroederen, als oock onder de gansche gemeijnte: soo dat wy alle ende yeder een van ons int bijzonder van herten wenschen jae van den Heere bidden, sijnen dienst langer in dese kercke ende stichtinghe sijn ghemeynten. Actum Utrecht in onse kerckelijcke vergaderinge den 7. Augusti, 1643.

Later that day and after taking notice of the testimonies of the professors and of the consistory the Vroedschap decides to interrogate Regius and authorizes a committee to draft a final judgment on Descartes' writings: 'Geleesen 't advijs, bij eenige der Professoren ter begeerte van de Heeren Burgermeesteren ingestelt aengaende de geschriften van Des Cartes tegens d'Heer Professor Voetius, als oock d'attestatiën soo van den Eerw. Kerckenraedt als van de Professoren deser Academie alhier aengaende D. Voetii leven, handel ende wandel, is eenstemmich goetgevonden d'Heere professorem Regium, daerop Des Cartes sich hier ende daer beroept, specialick te horen op eenige poincten ofte interrogatoriën, daertoe te concipieren. Ende sijn voorts gecommiteert omme met d'Heeren Burgermeesteren ende andere voorgaende Gecommitteerden in te stellen de censure over de voors. geschriften van Des Cartes d'Heeren Nijpoort, Eck, De Goyer ende Van der Woerdt ofte 't meerendeel, daertoe connende vaceren', Kernkamp, I, 183.

1643/08/26–28

'Sur la proposition des Eglises d'Utrecht et de Delft, à l'occasion de deux articles du Synode dernier, cités dans un livre que le Sr René Descartes a dernièrement fait imprimer,²⁹ la Compagnie se sent grandement offensée de ce qu'on a communiqué à un homme d'autre religion lesdits articles, et a déclaré que quiconque l'a fait est digne de sévère censure, et, si quelqu'un estoit à l'advenir cogneu avoir péché contre les règlements de nos Synodes, qui enjoignent le silence aux mem-

²⁹ *Epistola ad Voetium, Argumentum*, AT VIII B, 7–10.

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bres de nos Eglises, sera réputé avoir violé la fidélité due au Synode'. Articles résolus au Synode des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces unies, assemblé à Utrecht, le 26, 27 et 28 d'aoust l'an 1643, *Livre synodal*, I, p. 447.³⁰

1643/08/27

'Cartesius mihi dicitur ea esse comitate ut mirum non sit amicos ei reperiri. Sed Voetius factione praevaleret', Grotius to Willem de Groot, 27 August 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 482.

1643/09/05 'Du Hoeff'

Letter to Colvius, accompanying Descartes' contribution to a volume edited by Beverwijck.

1643/09/15

The Senate of Utrecht University adopts the text of a new 'Law' for the University, which contains an important clause: 'Philosophi ab Aristotelis Philosophia non recedunt neque publice, neque privatim; propugnatores absurdorum paradoxorum, novorum dogmatum, ab Aristotelis doctrina discrepantium, non feruntur. Profanae opiniones aut damnatae propositiones non defenduntur. Et ita Philosophia docetur ut ne doctrina Ecclesiae traducatur aut inutiles reddantur qui adspirant ad studia Superiorum Facultatum'.³¹ The text was to be submitted to the States of the Province, who however would reject it in their meeting of 2–4 November because the University's claim for the *ius fori* was interpreted as an infraction of the States' sovereignty. A modified version was adopted by the States in March 1644, which however the University refused to accept. Regius is interrogated by a committee of the Utrecht Vroedschap but refuses to comply; see 1643/09/16.

1643/09/16 (6 OS)

'Bij d'Heeren Burgermeesteren verhaelt sijnde hoe D. Professor Regio, volgens last ende resolutie vanden VIIen Augusti lestleden,³² op gisteren voorgehouden sijnde eenige interrogatoriën, hij getergiverseert ende gerecuseert hadde daerop te antwoorden, met versoek van copije ende tijdt om te delibereren. Is verstaen dat men hem geen copije geven sal, maar dat voorgaende Gecommitteerden sullen voortgaen met het concipieren van 't geschrift tegens Des Cartes volgens de voors. resolutie, oock den voorn. Regium noch eens te ontbieden ende vragen off hij sich naerder bedacht heeft op de voors. interrogatoriën ende in cas van iteratijff refuys van categorijcq antwoordt, misnoegen daerover te toonen', Kernkamp, I, 184–185.

1643/09/20 Egmond

Descartes writes a letter to Huygens. He has heard about the new statutes of

³⁰ One would suppose that Maresius communicated those articles to Descartes, but Maresius himself denied that in a letter to Rivet of 22 July 1643 (See Letter 31). An alternative candidate could be De Mory.

³¹ Kernkamp, I, 173.

³² See 1643/08/17.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Utrecht University (see 1643/09/15). Voetius is collecting testimonies.³³ All this is being printed, together with an open letter of Schoock to Descartes in which he claims the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* for himself.³⁴ Descartes is ready to publish a reply if it proves necessary and wants to lodge a complaint against Schoock in Groningen. Elsevier has promised that the *Principia* will be ready by Easter (1644, NS 27 March; OS 21 April). Letters to Descartes must be addressed to ‘Gelain *Adriaenssen, schuytvoerder op de Hoef, tot Alckmar, ou bien à Leyde, à Mr Hogeland’.

1643/09/22 (12 OS)

The Vroedschap give permission to print the *Testimonium Academicum* of March (1643/03/10) and what is called ‘relatio historica’ (that is, the *Narratio*). The Rector is instructed to write a preface and an epilogue. The ‘narratio’ will be printed after the text in the minute book. Those responsible for the printing are authorized ‘expungendi verba otiosa, manente rei substantia’.³⁵ Kernkamp, I, 175.

1643/09/23 (13 OS)

‘Is gearresteert ende aenstonts gepubliceert d’acte van de Ed. Vroetschap waerbij twee brieven van Des Cartes tot nadeel ende lesie van D. Voetii eere uytgegeven, worden verclaert diffamatoire schriften ende fameuse libellen etc; als te sien is int publicatieboeck’, Kernkamp, I, 185.³⁶ The text was published in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. Here one also finds the text of the note by which the sheriff (‘schout’), Ansem Bol tot Rijnesteijn, notified the Utrecht Court of Law, asking them to start a criminal procedure in that town, ‘*tanquam in loco consummationis et perfectionis successivi delicti* and because the injured party resides there’. It was received and acted upon on 23 September (OS) as is shown by an apostille also reproduced in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. See below 1643/10/03. This is the text of the decree:

De Vroedschap der Stadt Utrecht goet ghevonden hebbende eerst een Illustre Schoole binnen dese Stadt te funderen, ende daer na t’selve tot een Academie te doen erigeren, hadde, omme die so veel in hun was, recommandabel te maecken, naer ghenomene informatien van verscheyden gheleerde ende wel-ghequalificeerde personen sonder sucht, uitghesien nae sodaene mannen, om tot professoren te beroepen, die in gheleertheyt, Godtvruchtigheyt, ende vromicheyt van leven uysteekende

³³ To refute the first claim Jan van *Waesberge (the printer) and Lambertus vanden Waterlaet (the go between of Voetius and Schoock) gave testimony—parts of it would be used by Paulus Voet in his *Pietas in parentem* and *Tribunal iniquum*. The University (1643/03/11) and the other Utrecht ministers provided a testimony on the second point. That of the University would be printed in *Testimonium* (1643); all testimonies would be translated into Dutch in *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (1644).

³⁴ Printing was never completed but parts of it are quoted in several pamphlets of Paulus Voet.

³⁵ A comparison between the manuscript text of the minute book (now in Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht) and the printed text reveals indeed a number of differences, some of them more important than is suggested here.

³⁶ See however 1643/10/21 OS.

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waren, ende met rijpen raede ende sonderlinge circumspectie sodaene uytghevonden ende vercoren die alle (uytghesondert dat een vande selve inde sake van René des Cartes Heer van Perron ende des selfs Philosophie sich vorder heeft bemoyt als men wel ghewenscht hadde³⁷) dese Academie door haer gheleertheyt, Godtsalicheyt ende neersticheyt sonderlinghen dienst ende voordeel ghedaen hebben, ende noch sijn doende tot groot ghenoegeen vande Magistraet ende alle vromen, onder de welke *D. Gisbertus Voetius S. Theologiae Doctor et Professor necnon Ecclesiae Pastor* de minste niet en worde bevonden, als ghevende bundighe instructie, sijnde in predicatien stichtelick, in sijne disputatien scherpsinnich, detesterende, ende destruerende de Atheisterije, Libertinische ende Ketterse opinien tegen de heylighe Schrifture strijdende, vele verdoolde tot de waere religie door middel van onderwijsinghe ende exempel van een Godtvruchtich leven brengende, overgheblevende superstition ofte bijgeloven uyt der eenvoudighen herten uytroijende, sulcx van een Professor der Theologie ende Leeraer niet anders souden moghen begheert ofte ghewenscht worden, ende ghelijck alle dese goede qualiteyten hem by vrome ende Godtvruchtighe aehghenaem maecken, soo verwecken deselve bij de vijanden der waerheyt bitteren haet ende nijt teghens hem, ghelijck in verscheyden deelen ghebleeken is, ende insonderheyt door sekere twee brieven op den naem vanden voornoemden des Cartes in druck uytgegeven d'eene geschreven aen een Jesuijt Dinet ghenaemt ende d'andere gheintituleert *Epistola Renati des Cartes ad celeberrimum virum, etc.* daer by denselven des Cartes ghemelten *D. Voetium* van veele godtloosheyden, boosheyden, ende oondeuchden is beschuldigende, als dat hij sijne predicatien soude misbruycken tot leughenen, guytachtighe scheldwoorden, verweckinge van twist, sedition, infamatien van verscheyden personen, onbehorlijcke berispingen van machtighe, verachtende de hoger macht, synde een hijpocrit, hartneckich, wraeckgierich, heerschappij ghebruyckende over syne Collegas, ende t'selve soeckende te doen over alle menschen, seditieus in sijn Rectoraet vande Academie gheweest, ende inde republijcke noch zijnde, ende diergelijcke meer, vermaenende daeromme de Regierders deeser Stadt daerop te willen letten, ende hem daer over straffen, alhoewel hy des Cartes de selve taxeert, datse verboden hebben in haer E. Stadt te vercoopen Regii verantwoordinghe op seekere Theses onanghesien alle de werelt bekent was de selve verantwoordinghe seer eerlich ende sedich gheweest te sijn, van alle twelcke mijn Heeren vande Vroetschap voors. kennisse becomen hebbende, hadden (alhoewel d'innocentie *D. Voetii* een yder, die hem te recht kende, notoir was) op de xiiij Junij lest leden bij publicatienae voorgaende clockluydinge den voornoemden des Cartes bekent ghemaect, dat hy sich binnen dese Stadt mochte instellen, biennen den tijt van drie alsdoen naestcomende weecken, ghenietende vrij acces ende reces omme den inhouden vande

³⁷ This undoubtedly relates to Regius.

voor-verhaelde twee brieven sulcx te verifiëren, als hy soude oordeelen tot sijne Intentie dienstich te sijn, waer op den meergemelden des Cartes by syne missive vanden 6. Julij daeraenvolgende, stylo novo aende voorghemelde Heeren vande Vroedschap gheschreven hadde, onder anderen dattet laest ghedruckte daer van het opschrift hout, *Epistola Renati des Cartes ad celeberrimum virum, etc.* in sulcker voeghen was ingestelt, dat de bewysen die vereyscht worden tot verificatie van 't ghene hy van die man hadde geschreven, alomme daer by werden bevonden, soo veel men de selve met reden van hem soude connen eysschen, ende dat hy uyt sodanigen insichte achterwege gelaten hadde verscheyden van sijne bysondere actien, die hem bekend waren om niet gehouden te sijn getuygen daer toe voort te brengen, seggende onder anderen, in de selve Missive, dat de Vroetschap insiende t'ghene hy dien- aengaende geschreven hadde, bevinden soude, dat hy nevens de rechtmatige verdedinghe van sijne eere voornamelick getracht hadde dienst te doen aen't gemeene beste ende de weerde vande voorz. Stad ende Academie te hanthaven, welcke voorz. Missive by mijn Heeren vande Vroetschap voorz. gelesen ende geexamineert sijnde, hadden haer Ed. de selve ende de twee andere inde voorverhaelde Publicatie aengetogen door haer Ed. Gecommitteerde ende eenige andere onparteydige personen nae behoren doen visiteren ende examineren, ende uyt der selver rapport verstaen, dat den voornoemde des Cartes hem 't onrecht beclaecht van D. Voetio ten hoochsten verongelijckt te sijn, alsoo hy daer van geene 't minste bewys en is producerende, maer alleenlick consequentie treckt uyt valsche presuppusten gefundeert op onsekere gissinge ende quade presumptie daer uyt hy D. Voetio affingeert te sijn auteur, fauteur, correcteur, ofte cooperateur van verscheyden gheschriften, daer by den dick ghemelden Des Cartes vermeijnt veronghelijckt te wesen, ende dat hear E. daerenboven ghebleken was al 't selve versiert ende onwaerachtich te sijn. So dat den voornoemden Des Cartes geen oorsaecke ter werelt tegens D. Voetium gehadt hadde, om synen goeden naeme ende faeme so enormelick te ledere, maer dat het selve veel eer was smakende nae den aert der Jesuyten, welcker discipel hy bekend gheweest te sijn, ende de selve altyt meest geacht ende geeert te hebben, ende dat hy geen ander bewijs van syne vilaine ende bittere diffamatien ende schltreden by brochte als van horen seggen, ende uyt valsche rapporten van stoute onbeschaemde leugenaers, vyanden van dese regeringe, der selver Academie, ende gereformeerde religie. Ende de wijle d'onschult D. Voetii voornoemt de meerghemelde vroetschap wel bekend, ende oock (hoewel onnodich) met attestatien soo van particulieren als van verscheyden aensienlicke Collegien verতোont is. Soo ist dat de selve Vroetschap by desen verclaert de voor verhaelde twee brieven niet anderes te sijn dan diffamatoire schriften ende fameuse libellen daer by niet alleen gemelte D. Voetius enormelick in sijne goede naem ende faem wordt geledeert, maer oock de Academie geinteresseert, de Professoren in 't by sonder gediffameert, ende de regeringe deser Stad gevilipen-

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deert. Verbiendende daerom allen ende een yder de voorsz. brieven in wat taele de selve soude mogen worden bevonden binnen deser Stadt ofte de vryheyt van dien te drucken, inbrengen, vercopen, ofte distribueren directelick ofte indirectelick int heymelick ofte int openbaer op arbitrale correctie nae gelegentheyt der saecke, behoudens de Heere Officier deser Stadt tegens den voornoemden Des Cartes ter saecke van t'geene voorsz. sijn actie. Accordeert In kennisse van my, C.D. Ridder.

1643/10/03 (09/23 OS)

The Law Court starts a criminal procedure and summons Descartes to present himself in person.

'Ten versoecke van Jr Ansem Bol Heere tot Rijnestyn ende Schout deser Stadt ende uyt crachte van apostille verleent bij den E. gerechte alhier den 23. Sep. 1643. Wort by my onderz. Deurweerder verdachvaert Renatus des Cartes omme in persoon te compareren tegen den etc. ende te aenhoren alsodanigen Eysch, fine, ende conclusie als den voorsz. eyscher Jegens hem des Cartes geciteerde in persoon sal willen doen ende ghedivulgeert twee fameuse libellen, sendende oock eenige der selver aen syne vrunden alhier in dese Stadt, waer by den voornoemden des Cartes, Dominum Gisbertum Voetium Doctor et Professor inde Godtheyt ende mede predicant, soo in sijn persoon, leer, ende leven als inde ampten ende qualiteyten die hy in de Kercke ende Academie defungeert, met atroce injurien ende schandelijcke lasteringen jegens waerheyt heeft ghetraduceert den selven mede van quade feyten ende crimineuse actien insimulerende. Dat oock den selven des cartes de regieringe deser Stadt inde voorsz. geschriften fugilleerende is, ende de Academie in haer crediet eer ende luyster heeft ghequetst, ende daerdoor in disrespect ghesocht te brenghen', *Aengevangen Proce-duuren*.

1643/10/08 (09/28 OS)

Date of the preface to *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae et Narratio Historica* (Utrecht: Strick, 1643).

1643/10/12

'Il y a un grand procès entre les Srs Voetius et des Cartes. Celuy ci a fait un escrit virulent contre l'autre, qui s'est pourveu devant le Magistrat d'Utrecht, lequel a déclaré le libelle diffamatoire, et cité l'auteur publiquement pour le condamner par contumace. Il est venu ici s'en plaindre a M. l'Ambas[sadeur] qui en a parlé aux députés d'Utrecht. Il y a un livre de Gassendus contre luy sous la presse de Blaeu'.³⁸ Rivet to Sarrau, 12 October 1643, in *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* II, 112. Given the fact that the immediately precedent letter of Rivet to Sarrau

³⁸ *Disquisitio metaphysica seu dubitationes et instantiae adversus Renati Cartesii metafysica* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1644). It is the sequel to the 'Fifth Objections and replies'. Descartes was furious when eventually it was published because he had not been given the chance to reply (see also 1643/11/17 and 1643/11/23). A modern edition, with French translation, was given by Bernard Rochot (Paris: Vrin, 1962).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

is from 10 October Descartes visited the ambassador on 10 or 11 October. On the same occasion he probably talked with Huygens (see Letter 46), and certainly met Pollot and Van *Zurck (on 11 October; see Letter 43). He probably travelled back to Egmond on Tuesday, 13 October. On his way back he passed through Leiden, from where he wrote to Van Zurck (Letter 43). In The Hague he probably stayed in an inn called 'La Ville de Tours' (Letter 44).

1643/10/17 Egmond ('Du Hoef')

Descartes writes several letters to thank people (Huygens, Pollot and *Graswinckel) for their advice and intervention.

1643/10/21 Egmond

Letter to Pollot.

1643/10/23 Egmond

Letter to Pollot.

1643/11/01 (10/21 OS)

'Insgelijcx is in bedencken gehouden oft men in druck sall uytgeven de Publicatie, den XIIIen Septembris lestleden gedaen, waerbij de twee Epistolen van Renus des Cartes verclaert worden voor fameuse libellen ende diffamatoire geschriften', Kernkamp, I, 187.³⁹

1643/11/02 Egmond

Letter to Huygens. The same day Huygens writes to Descartes. 'Le Magistrat d'Utrecht tire en cause le Sr des Cartes pour un libelle publié contre Mons. Voetius, et le dit des Cartes se trouve empesché, et ne pourra éviter le diffame d'un escrit pillorisé; il est mesme en danger d'estre attaqué en sa personne par prise de corps', Rivet to Sarrau, 2 November 1643, *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* I, 126.

1643/11/02–04

Meeting of the States of Utrecht to discuss the new 'Law' of the University (see above 1643/09/15).

1643/11/08 Egmond

Descartes receives a visit of Johan van *Baerle, (Huygens' brother-in-law) and a certain *Hulsebos, inventor of a new type of screw with more power than the one usually adopted in windmills. In a letter to Huygens of 15 November Descartes comments: 'Il y a huit iours que Mr de Baerle prit la peine de venir icy avec l'inventeur de la vis'. Descartes receives a copy of the *Testimonium* and comments on it in a postscript to De Wilhem. He also writes to Picot.

1643/11/10

Brasset writes to Descartes from The Hague.

³⁹ See 1643/09/23.

Calendar

1643/11/15 Egmond
Letter to Huygens.

1643/11/16 (6 OS)
'Bij d'Heeren Burgermeesteren verhaelt sijnde wat d'Heeren Gecommitteerden deser Provincie ter vergaderinge van de Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten generael soo door d'Heer Ambassadeur van Franckrijck als sijn Hoocheyt d'Heere Prince van Orange was tegemoet gevoert aengaende de proceduren, alhier gepleecht tegens Des Cartes ende dat hier weder onder de pers is een boecxken D. Schoockii tegens de gemelten Des Cartes, is voorgelagen vant selve boecxken hier niet te laten drucken', Kernkamp, I, 192 (cf. AT IV, 52).⁴⁰

1643/11/17
'Je ne sçay, Monsieur, si vous sçavez que à Amsterdam chez Blau il s'imprime un gros livre de Gassendus contre la *Metaphysique* de Mons. Des Cartes, que l'oncle de M. Ayala⁴¹ m'a faict veoir; si vous le jugiez à propos, je croy avoir moyen d'en fournir à ce grand personnage, de jour à autre, les feuilles imprimees, si ce n'est qu'il les puisse avoir par autre voye ...', Jacob van der Burgh to Huygens, in Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 450. Van der Burgh (1599–1659) was a Dutch diplomat and poet, at this time representative of the States General at Liège. Huygens offered the service to Descartes on 23 November (see 1643/11/23).

1643/11/23
Gassendi's *Disquisitio metaphysica* is being printed and Huygens offers Descartes the opportunity to see the sheets.⁴² Descartes seems to have declined the offer. He is more disturbed by what he hears is the plan of the publisher (Blau of Amsterdam) to reprint the text of his *Meditations* as part of Gassendi's book and warns him that in that case the books would be seized in Paris, given the fact that *Soly had the French privilege. Actually Descartes fears that Soly will arrive at an agreement with Blau. Accordingly he asks Mersenne to ensure that in case Soly has already sold the first edition of the *Meditations* the privilege should be taken from him (Baillet, II, 208/AT IV, 58/CM XII, 379).

1643/11/30 Egmond
Letter to Pollot.

1643/12/00 The Hague
'Le ... M. Descartes vint voir son Excellence et dina avec lui; je fis connoissance

⁴⁰ The book by Schoock is his open letter to Descartes, in which he claims responsibility for *Admiranda methodus*. The printing was cancelled but parts of the book were quoted by Paulus Voet in the several pamphlets defending his father. The criminal procedures against Descartes had been suspended earlier, as emerges from Descartes' letter to Pollot of 23 October (Letter 48) and from Huygens' letter to Descartes of 2 November (Letter 50).

⁴¹ The person referred to, Gregorius of Ayla (†1645), was corrector in the Blau printing house. Cf. Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XII, 252.

⁴² See 1643/10/12 and 1643/11/17.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

avec lui, et il me dit le sujet de sa dispute avec le ministre Voetius d'Utrecht. Je vois qu'il ne fait pas beaucoup d'état de Mlle de Schurman; aussi est-elle fort amie, à ce qu'on m'a dit, de ce ministre', Fr. Ogier, *Journal du Congrès de Munster*, ed. Aug. Boppe (Paris: Plon, 1893), 37 (quoted AT IV, 659–660).⁴³

1643/12/11

Letter to Mersenne.

1643/12/20 The Hague

'Cartesium vidi heri, qui et te cum legato aliquo salutasse se narrat. Est vir multae humanitatis et modestiae. De doctrina res nota est', Willem de Groot to Grotius, The Hague, 21 December, 1643, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 791.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ogier was in The Hague from 11 November 1643 till 16 March 1644, accompanying Count d'Avaux (to whom he was attached as a chaplain) to the peace negotiations in Munster, so probably the date should be November or December (see 1643/12/20, which mentions a meeting with Descartes in The Hague). It is likely that when writing his defence of Balzac (1628, AT I, 7–11) Descartes kept an eye on Ogier's *Apologie pour M. de Balzac* (Paris: Loyson, 1627). The present text shows that that was without knowing Ogier personally. On the friendship between Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Voetius Descartes had written earlier to Mersenne: 'Ce Voetius a gasté aussi la Damoiselle de Schurmans; car au lieu qu'elle avoit l'esprit excellent pour la Poésie, la Peinture et autres telles gentillesses, il y a desja cinq ou six ans qu'il la possede si entierement, qu'elle ne s'occupe plus qu'aux controverses de la théologie, ce qui luy fait perdre la conversation de tous les honnestes gens', Descartes to Mersenne, 11 November 1640, CM X, 224. Ogier and d'Avaux presumably knew her name through her correspondence with Rivet on the scientific capacities of women, the text of which had been published in Paris in 1638 (*Amica dissertatio inter Annam Mariam Schurmanniam et Andream Rivetum de capacitate ingenii muliebris ad scientias*). A French translation (by Colletet) would be published in 1646 (*Question celebre, s'il est nécessaire ou non, que les filles soient sçavantes*). For an English translation see Anna Maria van Schurman, *Whether a Christian woman should be educated and other writings from her intellectual circle*, ed. and transl. by Joyce L. Irwin (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

⁴⁴ On 2 January 1644 Grotius writes back that he does not remember this meeting (*Briefwisseling*, XV, 5). The editors (H. Nellen and C. Ridderikhof) note that in 1626 in Paris Descartes had lived in the rue du Four, not far from where Grotius lived (rue Neuve-Saint-Lambert, now rue Condé).

Biographical Lexicon

Note to the reader

In this stage of the project it is still impossible to provide full biographical details on all correspondents or persons referred to in the letters. This lexicon contains 35 entries. Each entry consists of three parts: a general biography, a detailed account of the subject's relations with Descartes and a documentary section. The documentary section contains details on the subject's writings, correspondence, private library as well as references to other relevant documents and secondary literature. Listings are meant as provisional references. Most of this material is still to be explored. The subsection on correspondence is organized in the following way: a) correspondents whose letters are listed in CEN (*Catalogus Epistularum Neerlandicarum*, Internet database of letters in the collections of Dutch university libraries, website (<http://picarta.pica.nl>) maintained by the Royal Library in The Hague); b) correspondents whose letters are not listed in CEN; c) printed correspondence. Whenever details of manuscript holdings (city, archive or library, collection, inventory number or shelfmark, folio number) are known they are given (see List of abbreviations). Works that have been used more than once are mentioned in the list of abbreviations and the general bibliography. Standard reference works, like national biographies and matriculation records of universities, were invariably consulted, but are not specified under secondary literature. Details of their full titles are given in the list of abbreviations and in the general bibliography.

In the 17th century there was no standard way of spelling Dutch names. Many scholars used both common names (with variants in a local dialect) as well as a latinized form. Our policy has been to adopt the most usual form (Schoock instead of Schoockius, Maresius instead of Desmarets). In Dutch prefixes like 'de' or 'van' are not part of a family name. Thus Johan van Beverwijck is listed under Beverwijck. Patronyms (e.g. Jansz, Jansdr) are listed only as a family name (eg. Adriaensz) if there is no second name known. Names preceded by an asterisk have their own entry. Topographical names are given in their local form unless there is a more usual equivalent in English (Cologne instead of Köln). Names of Dutch institutions or terms are italicized if there is no English equivalent. All dates in the lexicon are given according to the Gregorian calendar. If the date of a letter or the identity of a person is conjectural it is put between square brackets.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Printed sources

- ADB *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Berlin: Duncker/Humboldt, 1967–1971).
- AM R. Descartes, *Correspondance*, eds. Ch. Adam and G. Milhaud, 8 vols. (Paris: Alcan/PUF, 1936–1963).
- AT *Œuvres de Descartes*, eds. Ch. Adam and P. Tannery, 11 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1897–1913. New edition. Paris: Vrin, 1964–1971. Reprint. Paris: Vrin, 1996).
- BBK *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. F.W. Bautz (microfiches, Hamm, Westfalen: Bautz, 1970–...).
- Baillet A. Baillet, *La vie de monsieur Des-Cartes*, 2 parts in 1 vol. (Paris: Horthemels, 1691. Reprints. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970; Hildesheim: Olms, 1972).
- Cle *Lettres de Mr Descartes*, ed. Cl. Clerselier, 3 vols. (Paris: Angot, 1657–1667).
- CM *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne, religieux minime*, eds. C. de Waard, P. Tannery and A. Beaulieu, 17 vols. (Paris: PUF/CNRS, 1945–1986).
- DBF *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, ed. J. Balteau, et al. (Paris: Letouzey, 1933–...).
- DSB *Dictionary of scientific biography*, eds. C.C. Gillispie and F.L. Holmes, 18 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1970–1990).
- JCBG *Jaarboek van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (en het Iconografisch Bureau)*
- MNHI *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*
- NAK *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*
- NNBW *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. P.C. Molhuysen, et al., 10 vols. (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911–1937).
- RGP Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën
- RHSA *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences et de leurs Applications*
- TNTL *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*

Libraries, archives and collections

- AvK Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland (Haarlem, North-Holland)
- AMAE Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris)
- BIUM Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine (Paris)
- Bodl Bodleian Library (Oxford)
- BL British Library (London)
- Bm Bibliothèque municipale (Municipal Library)
- BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
- BPL Bibliotheca Publica Latina (manuscript collection in Leiden, UB)
- DKB Det Kongelige Bibliotek (Copenhagen)

Biographical Lexicon

EA	Enskilda Arkiv (Stockholm, Riksarkivet)
GA	Gemeentearchief (Municipal Archive)
GArch	Gelders Archief (Arnhem, Gelderland)
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany)
HGA	Haags Gemeentearchief (The Hague)
HUA	Het Utrechts Archief (Utrecht)
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library, The Hague)
KBB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België (Royal Library, Brussels)
KHA	Koninklijk Huisarchief (Family Archive of the House of Orange-Nassau, The Hague)
MPM	Museum Plantin-Moretus (Antwerp)
NA	Nationaal Archief (The Hague) (formerly Algemeen Rijksarchief)
NHH	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hannover)
PRO	The Public Record Office (Kew, Richmond, Surrey)
RAA	Regionaal Archief Alkmaar (North-Holland)
RAr	Riksarkivet (State Archive, Stockholm)
SA	Staatsarchiv (National Archive)
SD	Stadsarchief Dordrecht (South-Holland)
SUH	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg
Tresoar	Tresoar, Frysk Histoarysk en Letterkundich Sintrum (Leeuwarden, Friesland)
UB	Universiteitsbibliotheek (Universitetsbibliotek, Universitätsbibliothek, University Library)

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ADRIAENSZ (Adriaenssen, Aerjensz), Gleyn (Gelain) — († before 1654)

Nothing is known about the life of Gleyn Adriaensz until 20 September 1643, when Descartes records him for being a skipper in Alkmaar ('schuytvoerder op de Hoef, tot Alckmar'; to *Huygens, Letter 41), who communicates his mail. Adriaensz had a service by barge on the Alkmaardermeer and the Bergermeer, between Alkmaar and Egmond aan den Hoef. His name and address in Alkmaar are mentioned in several deeds of transport kept in the Alkmaar town archives. Thus, one of these documents confirms the sale of a house and yard in Alkmaar to a tobacco seller called Lenert Symonsz (9 May 1645). This house and yard, located on a street or footpath at 'de Heul' (a part of Alkmaar, close to a water-course called 'Heul'), were situated between the properties of Gleyn Adriaensz and a certain Cornelis Popman. Adriaensz died before late February 1653, for in another document (26 February 1653) the wife of Adriaensz is mentioned as his widow. Further details about Gleyn Adriaensz life are unknown.

RAA, 'Oud-rechterlijk archief Alkmaar, 1254–1815', inv.no. 155, fo. 154, no. 16, 'Inventaris stadsarchief Alkmaar, 1254–1815', regestenlijst 1254–1810, inv.no. 1538 (cf. W.A. Fasel, *Het stadsarchief van Alkmaar, 1254–1815*, vol. 2, Alkmaar: Gemeente Alkmaar, 2001, nos. 806, 865).

ASCH VAN WIJCK, Jacob van — (1585–1645)

Jacob van Asch van Wijck was born in 1585. On 20 February 1603 he entered Leiden University as a student of philosophy. On 18 April 1613 he married Lijsbetgen Luttengh. They had at least two children: Hillegont (b.1617) and Josijn (b.1629). Van Asch van Wijck was canon (from 4 April 1611) and dean (from 13 January 1636) of the Chapter of St Peter in Utrecht. On 18 August 1618 he became one of the *Geëligeerden* (representatives of the ecclesiastical goods in the States of Utrecht). He also was president of the States of Utrecht from 1640 until his death on 11 September 1645. Van Asch van Wijck was buried in the church of St Catherine in Utrecht. Further details of his life are unknown.

According to Descartes Van Asch van Wijck, president of the Provincial States in 1643, stood up for him during a session of the States on the proposal for a new 'law' of Utrecht University (to [*Pollot], [17 November 1643], Letter 56, see also AT IV, 654–655). Nothing is known though of any personal relations between Descartes and Van Asch van Wijck.

Vande Water 1729, vol. 1, pp. 202, 252, 749; HUA, 'Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken'; 'Archief van het domkapittel', inv.no. 216, no. 187 (cf. K. Heeringa, *Inventaris van het archief van het kapittel ten dom*, Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1929, 32, no. 187).

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BAERLE, Johan (Jan, Hans) van — (c.1583–1644)

Johan van Baerle was from an Antwerp merchant family which came to Amsterdam in the late 1580s (there is no relation with the well-known Barlaeus family). He was born around 1583 presumably, the son of Jan (Hendrikz) van Baerle (c.1555–1605) and Jacomina Hoon (†c.1617). In the 1620s Van Baerle was involved with the drainage of the Heerhugowaard (North-Holland, 1631) and the marshlands near Lisse, Sassenheim and Warmond. In the early 1630s he built a manor called ‘Hemmeer’ in the reclaimed land east of Warmond. Together with Constantijn *Huygens (who would marry Van Baerle’s sister Susanna (1599–1637)), Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), Jacob Cats (1577–1660) and Johan de Knuyt (1587–1654) Van Baerle became shareholder (12 August 1626) in a company which drained Hatfield Chase (north of London). As a landowner (1,000 acres) in Hatfield Chase he was given the status of English citizen in 1630. On 28 April 1634 he entered a contract with Simeon *Hulsebos, an inventor of mechanical waterworks for the drainage of land, in which Hulsebos’ brother-in-law, Thomas Huybrechtsz, is appointed their business manager. Apparently, Van Baerle provided the capital for building the machines invented by Hulsebos and shared the profits with him. On 15 December 1639 Van Baerle and Hulsebos signed a deed of conveyance, by which they came to share the property rights of a mill with Archimedean screw on which Hulsebos had asked a patent in 1634. Two days later Van Baerle obtained from Hulsebos, for a 20-year period, all legal rights on this invention. In the early 1640s Van Baerle also became shareholder in (and director of) the ‘Hollandsche Compagnie’ (founded 1 March 1635), a daughter company of the ‘Algemene Compagnie van de 5.000 Morgen’ (launched 22 March 1631), which drained and developed the ‘Hollandsche Veld’ near Nieuwlande (Drenthe)—the idea was to drain the land and then sell the peat (the most common fuel of the age). After the ‘Hollandsche Compagnie’ was divided into four smaller companies (28 October 1643) Van Baerle came to represent the ‘Amsterdamsche Compagnie’. By 1642 his name also appears in various contracts concerning the haulage of silk stockings from Italy via Dover. To all appearances he was a rich entrepreneur. Van Baerle died in Amsterdam in the early morning of 4 June 1644 and was buried five days later (Huygens, *Dagboek* 1885, 41; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 488).

Van Baerle is first mentioned indirectly in a letter of Huygens to Descartes of 31 March 1636 (AT I, 603). Given the fact that Van Baerle did possess a manor in Warmond, it is almost certain that he is the brother-in-law mentioned by Huygens in this letter—more likely at any rate than David le Leu de *Wilhem. Van Baerle’s first personal contact with Descartes may have been on 8 November 1643 in Egmond aan den Hoef, when he and Hulsebos came to consult Descartes on an invention of a double Archimedean screw patented by Hulsebos on 11 February 1642 (Descartes to Huygens, 15 November 1643, Letter 55, with comment). By that time Hulsebos’ invention had already been the subject of a few letters to and from Huygens (Descartes to Huygens, 17 October 1643, Letter 46,

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Huygens to Descartes, 2 November 1643, Letter 49). The reason of Descartes' involvement may have been that the patent asked on this contraption would take effect on 11 February 1644, on the condition however that certain improvements would be made within two years. All further contacts (if there were any) seem to have passed through Huygens (to Descartes, 23 November 1643, Letter 60).

Correspondents

- a) Constantijn Huygens, Van Baerle to an unknown correspondent (possibly also Huygens).
- c) Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I.

Documents

Amsterdam, GA, 'Notarieel archief', inv.no. 5075/731, fo. 450 (contract of 15 December 1639); Amsterdam, Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief, 'Collection J. Velle' (documents concerning the summons against the seizure of silk between Hugh and William Forth vs. Van Baerle, 1642–1646); Assen, Drents Archief, 'Huis te Echten en de Algemene Compagnie van 5.000 morgen te Hoogeveen (1275) 1316–1952', notulenboeken, inv.nos. 877, 1234–123; Leiden, GA, 'Archief gemeente Warmond', 'Dooop-, trouw- en begraafboeken', inv.no.1; 'Secr. Arch. 1575–1851', inv.no. 7376, fo. 20;5. See also Database Merchants from the Southern Netherlands and the rise of the Amsterdam Staple Market (1578–1630), compiled by O. Gelderblom, et al. (Netherlands Historical Data Archive), Prosopography Amsterdam, no. 4103 (1606, 1610).

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BEVEROVICIUS, *see* BEVERWIJCK, Johan van

BEVERWIJCK (Beverovicus), Johan van — (1594–1647)

Johan van Beverwijck was born in Dordrecht on 17 November 1594. He was the son of Bartholomeus van Beverwijck (†1615), a textile trader, and Maria Boot van Wezel. On 25 May 1611 he matriculated at Leiden University to study arts and philosophy but switched to medicine. He is said (NNBW I, 328) to have taken his doctoral degree with a disputation on apoplexy, but this almost certainly refers to a *disputatio exercitii gratia*, a public or private disputation meant as an exercise (Lindeboom, 128). In 1615 Van Beverwijck and Cornelis van Someren (1593–1649) travelled to Caen, Paris, Orléans, Montpellier and Avignon. He also visited Rome and Siena. Meanwhile in this last town he contracted the plague. Van Beverwijck also visited Bologna and Padua, where he entered the university as a student of medicine on 14 May 1616. Under the supervision of Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente (1537–1619) he graduated on a disputation on

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the 79th Aphorism of book IV (*De calculo*) of Hippocrates. On his return journey he visited Basle and Leuven (Louvain) in the company of a Dutch physician called Buggen. In Dordrecht Van Beverwijck set up a medical practice. On 1 April 1619 he married Anna van Duverden van Voort († 1624). On 8 November 1625 he was appointed town physician of Dordrecht in succession to Jorden van Foreest (1568–1625). After the death of his wife Van Beverwijck remarried Elizabeth de Backere, from Zierikzee, on 2 December 1626. They had eight children, only three of whom, Anna (b.1631), Willem (b.1632) and Maria (b.1638), survived childhood. In 1627 Van Beverwijck became a member of the *Vroedschap* of Dordrecht. Four years later he was also chosen a member of the *Veertigraad* (a council of 40 citizens that elected both the members of the *Vroedschap* and the *Schepenbank*, the lower court of law) of Dordrecht. Van Beverwijck also sat for the States of Holland in the States General in The Hague. From 1633 to 1643 he was administrator of the city orphanage in Dordrecht. On 25 October 1634 Van Beverwijck inaugurated the anatomical theatre of Dordrecht with a speech on the necessity of anatomy (*Oratie van de nootsakelickheit der anatomie*, published 1634). He also became professor of medicine and anatomy at the Illustrious School (founded 1635) as well as librarian (since 1636) and administrator (1648) of the municipal library in succession to Jacob Cats (1577–1660). Van Beverwijck was a prolific writer, publishing several books on practical medicine in Dutch, like *Schat der gesontheit* (1635–1636) and *Schat der ongesontheit ofte genees-konste van de siekten* (1642), as well as literary works (*Spaensche Xerxes*, 1640) and essays on historical topics (*'t Begin van Hollant in Dordrecht*, 1640). In 1639 Van Beverwijck published *Van de wtneementheyt des vrouvelicken geslachts*, a collection of texts (prose and poetry) in praise of (famous) women. In 1644 he also published *Epistolicae quaestiones*, a work on several popular subjects containing the answers of great men. Van Beverwijck's friends include a wide range of intellectuals, like Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1655), Constantijn *Huygens, Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657) and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). He also corresponded with Pierre Gassendi (1592–1652) and Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), whom he met personally at the house of Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637) in 1630 (CM II, 525). When in 1644 Abraham Beeckman published *Mathematico-physicarum meditationum*, a selection of his brother Isaac's writings, he dedicated it to several prominent citizens of Dordrecht, among others to Van Beverwijck. On 19 January 1647 Van Beverwijck died in Dordrecht and was buried in the 'Grote Kerk' in the chapel of St Barbara.

Van Beverwijck and Descartes exchanged letters on one occasion only. While preparing his *Epistolicae quaestiones* Van Beverwijck invited Descartes (10 June 1643, Letter 26) to explain his view on the circulation of the blood and the movement of the heart, two topics he already discussed in *Discours* (1637) (AT VI, 46–55). On 5 July 1643 Descartes promised Van Beverwijck (Letter 33) to send the objections and replies he exchanged on that matter with Vopiscus Fortunatus *Plemp (AT I, 521–536, AT II, 62–69), who he thinks provided an incomplete and mutilated version in *Fundamenta medicinae* (AT IV, 306). Descartes

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sent his contribution to *Epistolicae quaestiones* to Van Beverwijck through Andreas *Colvius on 5 September 1643 (Letter 39). That Descartes and Van Beverwijck also met personally, in June 1644 in particular, before embarking for his trip to France, is claimed by Baillet (II, 216). They could have met personally after Descartes' return to the United Provinces, for a letter of Descartes was indeed sent to Huygens from Dordrecht on 13 November 1644 (AT IV, 773). There is no trace of Descartes' influence in Van Beverwijck's writings, which on the whole are rather traditional.

Writings

Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino, fatali an mobili (Dordrecht, 1634; other edns., 1636, 1639, 1651); *Lof der chirurgie ofte gespreck over de weerdigheyt, oudtheyt, ende nootsakelijckhey van de heel-konste* (Dordrecht, 1635); *Kort bericht om de pest voor te komen* (Dordrecht, 1636); *De calculo renum et vesicae* (Leiden, 1638); *Van de blauw-schuyt, de eygene ende gemeene sieckte van Hollandt, Zeelandt, Vrieslandt* (Dordrecht, 1642); *Autarkeia Bataviae, sive introductio ad medicinam indigenam* (Leiden, 1644); *Medicinae encomium* (Rotterdam, 1644).

Correspondents

a) Johannes Baptista Arrigo, Caspar Barlaeus, Adrianus Beverland, Arnoldus Buchelius, Petrus Cunaeus, Simon Episcopus, Grotius, Daniel Heinsius, Nicolaus Heinsius, Constantijn Huygens, Menasseh ben Israel, Gijsbert Lap van Waveren, Samuel Naeranus, André Rivet, Claude Saumaise, Anna Maria van Schurman, Johannes Franciscus Slingelant, Famiano Strada, Adolphus *Vorstius.

b) Barlaeus (HGA, 'Archief Dichtlievend Kunstgenootschap *Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt*', inv.no. 15), Jan van Foreest and his wife Josina van Segwaart (RAA, 'Familiearchief Van Foreest 1422–1979', inv.nos. 58, 71–72, five letters), Gabriel Naudé (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS 'Carte Allaci' CLXI, no. 22, cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 6, p. 189; SD, 'Collectie van handschriften', inv.no. 1901), Slingelant (SD, 'Collectie van handschriften', inv.no. 1900; Uppsala, UB, MSS 'The Waller Manuscript Collection', benl-00052, dk-01600, benl-00421, benl-00475).

c) Bartholinus 1740, vol. 1; Crucius 1642; *Praestantium ac eruditorum virorum epistolae ecclesiasticae et theologicae* (n.p., n.d.) (Episcopus); *Briefwisseling Hugo Grotius*, V; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II–III; CM III–IV, VIII–IX (Huygens, Mersenne, Lazare Meyssonier, Naudé, Patin, Rivet); Cl. Saumaise, *Interpretatio Hippocratei aphorismi LXIX Sectione IV. De calculo* (Leiden, 1640); Van Schurman 1728; G. Voetius, *Disputationes theologicae selectae*, vols. 4–5 (Utrecht–Amsterdam, 1667–1669); Vossius 1690 (Voetius, Gerardus Johannes Vossius; cf. Lem/Rademaker 1993); C.S.M. Rademaker, *Life and work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), 60. For Van Beverwijck's own correspondence, see J. van Beverwijck, *Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino*, edn. 1634 (Colvius, Jacobus Crucius, Mersenne, Abraham van der Myl, Johannes Westerburgh), edn. 1636 (Johannes Junius, Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven, Gerardus van der Laan, Justus Puteanus, De Reeck, Van Someren, Voetius); edn. 1639 (Godtschalculus Altius, Daniel Dammius, Johannes Eylichmann, Scipio a Grandimonte, Fortunatus Licetus, Naudé, Franciscus Sylvius); id., *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum de calculo ad Claudium Salmasium* (Leiden, 1641) (William Harvey, Huygens, Licetus, Mersenne, Meyssonier, Ludovicus Nonnius, Patin, Plassius, Plemp, Theodorus Screvelius, Van Someren, Nicolaas Tulp).

Documents

Amsterdam, UB (doctoral diploma); BL, MS Sloane 584, fos. 31–55b (manuscript excerpts from *Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino, fatali an mobili*); KB, MS 129 F 6 (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Johann Philip Mulheiser (1620–after 1677)).

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BRANDT (Brandtz), Geeraert (Gerrit) — (1594–1659)

Geeraert Brandt was born in Middelburg on 2 October 1594 (in ‘de Witte Hand’, a house located in a street nowadays called ‘Korte Burgt’). He was the eldest son of Gerard Brandt from Antwerp and Baille (Baïke) Jaspers. Geeraert Brandt became a clockmaker in Amsterdam. His workplace, called ‘In de twaelf uren’, was situated on the Rokin, near the Stock Exchange (‘op het Rockinne, bij de beurse’, Descartes to Brandt, 18 July 1643, Letter 38). He also may have worked in Germany (a watch in the London Billmeir Collection has the inscription ‘G. Brand Augsburg’; Zinner, 256). On 27 August 1623 Brandt married Neeltje (Cornelia) Jeroens Gysels (1589–1644). They had eight children, only one of whom survived infancy. That was Gerardt Brandt (1626–1685), who, although trained as a clockmaker and mechanic primarily, became a Remonstrant minister in Nieuwkoop and Hoorn. Brandt the son is known for his ‘History of the Reformation’ (*Historie der Reformatie*, 1671) and the ‘Life of Michiel Adriaensz de Ruyter’ (*Het leven en bedryf van den heere Michiel de Ruyter*, 1687). Being a member of the Remonstrant Brotherhood Geeraert Brandt signed the so-called ‘Volmagt’ (July or August 1628), a request for freedom of worship for the Remonstrants which 250 eminent citizens addressed to the municipality. From 1642 to 1648 Brandt was one of the six directors of the first Amsterdam theatre. After the death of his first wife he married in second wedlock Maaike Stevens in 1645. Brandt and his son Gerardt collected Latin and Dutch proverbs about time to serve as inscriptions on sundials and solids. The manuscript (1640–1670), titled *Verscheyde Sonnewijzers*, also contains (coloured) technical drawings of solids and sundials. Brandt died in Amsterdam on 4 or 24 February 1659.

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While in Amsterdam early July 1643 Descartes visited Brandt to discuss the repair of his ‘horologie,’ probably a longcase clock. In the letter that accompanied the clock to Amsterdam (to Brandt, 18 July 1643, Letter 38) Descartes asks Brandt to mend the chain. Though they seem to have agreed to fit out the clock with a chain of ‘12 elen’ (an ‘el’ being the equivalent of c.68 cm), Descartes worries about the length of the chain, adding a piece of rope to indicate its exact length. Descartes’ letter also shows that he managed to write Dutch. According to De la Rue, quoting a letter (12 July 1739) from the Remonstrant theologian Adriaan Cattenburgh (1664–1743) in *Geletterd Zeeland*, Johannes de Raey (1622–1702) would have told Cattenburgh in 1692 that Descartes visited Brandt regularly when he came to Amsterdam. De la Rue is also the source of the idea that Brandt was the first to replace ropes by chains—an idea which in turn would have been suggested to him by Descartes (De la Rue, 479–480). That is certainly wrong. Although ropes continued to be used much later, chains were in general use by the 17th century.

Mechanical works

Groningen, Noordelijk Scheepvaartmuseum, inv.no. 5.23.1 (1634, (nocturnal) sundial and compass); Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum (‘Gerardus Brandt fecit Amsterdam’, two watches); Lisbon, Museu de Marinha (Collection Royal Microscopical Society, London (diptych sundial); Moscow, State Historical Museum (diptych sundial); Oxford, Museum of the History of Science, inv.no. 42299 (‘Billmeir Collection’, inv.nos. 34 and 101: two watches, equatorial sundial and ringdial); Paris, Mercator Shop, ‘McVitty Collection’, P.B. 1/22/54-53 (oval sundial in ivory box); Stockholm, Nordiska Museet, National Museum för Kulturhistoria (inscription: ‘Gerardus Brand fecit Amstel’); Vienna, Technisches Museum (diptych sundial, hour scale from compass sundial). For Brandt’s mechanical works, see E. Zinner, *Deutsche und Niederländische astronomische Instrumente des 11.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 1956), 256; E. Morpurgo, *Nederlandse klokken- en horlogemakers vanaf 1300* (Amsterdam: Scheltema/Holkema, 1970), 18. For a poem on the repair of a clock by Brandt, see J. Six van Chandelier, *Gedichten*, ed. A.E. Jacobs (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991), vol. 1, 19, no. 17.

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BRASSET (Bracet), Henri (Jean) — (1591–after 1657)

Henri Brasset was born in Angers (Anjou), on 25 or 26 October 1591. His father was secretary of the Duke of Montpensier and treasurer in Caen. Nothing is known about Brasset's education. From 1615 to 1627 he was secretary of Péricard, the French ambassador to Brussels. In 1627 he was appointed secretary to the French Embassy in The Hague. In 1628 Brasset married in Brussels. He had six children, one of whom, Marie-Charlotte, is alluded to in a letter of Brasset to Descartes (27 November 1649, AT V, 450–451). At the request of the plenipotentiaries Claude d'Avaux (1595–1650) and Abel Servien (1593–1659) Brasset was appointed secretary of the French delegation to the Münster peace conference in 1644. On 20 July 1645 he returned to The Hague to resume his duties as permanent representative of France. On 14 April 1654 Brasset left the diplomatic service and returned to France two weeks later. He was still living in Paris in early November 1657 (Villers/Villers, 311–312). It is not known when he died.

Descartes makes his first reference to Brasset in a letter to Alphonse *Pollot on the Utrecht crisis. It shows that Descartes hoped Brasset would ask the Stadholder to intervene on his behalf (17 October 1643, Letter 44; see also Letter 43, see also AT IV, 70–75). Brasset's main role was to forward letters to and from Descartes, also after he went to Stockholm (Brasset to Picques, 29 October 1649, quoted in AT V, 444). He also informed him of interventions on his behalf of people in high places. In his first known letter to Descartes (15 May 1647, AT V, 27–28), dealing with the Leiden crisis, Brasset reassures Descartes by telling him that the matter had already been submitted to 'His Highness' (the Stadholder). On 4 October 1647 Brasset asks Descartes for advice on the treatment of François du Laurens, a young French intellectual of weak health who had settled in Alkmaar (North-Holland) (cf. Brasset to Brisacier, 14 October 1647, quoted in AT V, 80; see also AT V, 92–96, 107–109, 216–218). Brasset and Descartes certainly met frequently and dined together (Brasset to Chanut, 23 March 1647, AT IV, 701; Brasset to Descartes, 30 April 1648, AT V, 179–181). Before embarking for Sweden Descartes came to the French Embassy to bid Brasset farewell, showing off his court dress (Brasset to Chanut, 7 August 1649, quoted in AT V, 411). The last letter of their correspondence is dated 27 November 1649 (AT V, 449–451). That same letter also shows that Brasset was interested in Descartes' *Traité des passions* (1649), a copy of which he obtained through Anthony Studler van *Zurck (AT V, 450).

Published speeches

Oratie van myn heer Brasset ... gedaen ter vergaderinge vande ... Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden (n.p., 1646); *Copie de la lettre de Mr. Brasset, escrit à Mr. Malharel* (The Hague, 1651); *Escrit de monsieur Brasset ... donné a ... les Estats Generaux, le 4. Avril 1651* (n.p., 1651). See Knuttel 1889–1920, nos. 5279–5280, 6997.

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a) Constantijn *Huygens, Mazarin.

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b) Urbain de Maillé, Maréchal de Brezé (BL, MS Eg. 1691, fos. 37–47), William Trumbull (PRO, MS ‘State Papers’ 77/17, fo. 249), Gronovius (cf. Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Willem-Frederik of Nassau and Mazarin (KHA, ‘Stadhouderlijk archief’: Willem Frederik, inv.no. 360–361; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 185).

c) [Fr. Villers/Ph. Villers], *Journal d’un voyage à Paris* (Servien); AT IV (quotes from diplomatic correspondence: Chanut, Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, François du Laurens, André Rivet, Claude Saumaise, Servien and *La Thuillerie among others); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I–IV; Mazarin 1872–1906, vols. 1–2.

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BREDERODE, Johan (Jan, Hans) Wolfert van — (1599–1655)

Johan Wolfert van Brederode came from one of the most famous noble families of Holland. On 12 June 1599 he was born in Heusden the third son of Floris van Brederode (1584–1599) and Theodora van Haeften (†1630). He was brought up in the family castle of Batestein (near Vianen). On 19 June 1619 he married Anna Johanna of Nassau-Catzenellebogen (1594–1636). They had several children, but only Sophia-Dorothea (1620–1678), Juliana-Florentina (†1678), Trajectina-Anna (1629–1690) and Amelia-Margareta (†1663/65) survived childhood. After the death of his elder brother Walraven (1596/97–1620) Brederode made a military career in the States’ army. The death of Walraven also made him first member of the *Ridderschap* (the nobility) of the States of Holland. After his appointment as colonel he was second in command during the siege of ’s-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) in 1629. After this siege Brederode became military governor of ’s-Hertogenbosch and the Meierij (surrounding territories) on 17 January 1630. On 3 June 1636 he became General of the artillery. After the death of his first wife Brederode married (11 February 1638) in second wedlock Louise Christina of Solms-Braunfels (1606–1669), sister-in-law of the Prince of Orange. Together with François van Aerssen (1572–1641) and Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven (1568–1648) Brederode was sent to London in 1641 to arrange the marriage of Prince William II (1626–1650) with Mary Stuart (1667–1694). On 31 July 1642 Brederode was promoted Field Marshal of the States’ army. After 1650 he was fully in command in the absence of a Stadholder (this post being kept vacant by the States of Holland). Brederode was Count of Vianen and Ameide, Noordeloos and Kloetinge, Viscount of Utrecht, Lord of Her-

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wijnen and Velsen (since 1620). He was also dean and archdeacon of the Chapter of Oudmunster (Utrecht). In May 1649 he was decorated with the Danish Order of the Elephant. Brederode must have been one of the wealthiest people of the Netherlands, owning the domains of Kleef, Schoorl, Haarlemmerliede, Zandvoort, Voshol, Reewijk and Ter Aar, Alblasserwaard, Vianen, Meerkerk and Ameide, as well as seven castles in Holland, Gelderland and Utrecht. Brederode fell ill after a visit to Spa and died in Petersheim (near Maastricht) on 3 September 1655. On the evening of 25 October he was buried in the ‘Grote Kerk’ in Vianen. With the death of Brederode’s son Wolfert (1679) the Brederode family became extinct.

Descartes must have been aware of Brederode when he lived in Santpoort (January 1639–May 1640), given the fact that Brederode was Lord of Velsen, to which Santpoort belongs. Descartes became obviously interested in his affairs after Brederode and some other Reformed citizens of ‘s-Hertogenbosch sought to be admitted to the ‘Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady’ (Illustere Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap, see Appendix 2) in 1642. Descartes supported the step taken by Brederode. In fact, though the immediate object of his defence was Samuel *Maresius, Descartes’ main motive was to undermine the authority of Gisbertus Voetius (1598–1676). The only direct reference to Brederode in Descartes’ correspondence (to *Huygens, 26 June 1643, Letter 29) is insignificant.

Correspondents

- a) Christian II of Anhalt-Bernburg, Grotius, Constantijn Huygens, Louise Juliana of Nassau, Van *Reede, Johan de Witt.
- b) Ernst-Casimir of Nassau-Dietz and Willem-Frederik of Nassau (KHA, ‘Stadhouderlijk archief’: Ernst-Casimir, inv.no. 353, 512, cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 131, 195), Johan Huydecoper (HUA, ‘Archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459–1956’, inv.no. 67), Floris II van Pallandt (GArch, ‘Archief graven van Holland’, inv.no. 482), Axel Gustavsson Oxenstierna (RAR, EA, ‘Axel Gustavsson Oxenstiernas Brevväxling’, E574b; cf. Römelingh 1986, 158), Van *Reede (Detmold, SA, MS ‘Urkunden- und Briefarchiv Brederode der niederländischen Herrschaft Vianen-Ameide (1249–1747)’ L 3,274), Johan de Witt (NA, ‘Archief Johan de Witt’), Brederode to an unknown correspondent (KHA, MS ‘Autografen, 2de serie’, inv.no. G16–A455).
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COIGNET, *see* LA THUILLERIE, Gaspard de Coignet de

COLVIUS (Kolff), Andreas — (1594–1671)

Andreas Colvius was born in Dordrecht in April 1594. He was the son of Nicolaas Heymans and Maria van Slingelandt and was brought up by his maternal grandmother Alid (Alix) Kolff. Colvius studied theology at the universities of Leiden (matriculation 4 September 1612) and Geneva (11 November 1618, 13 May–November 1618). After his return he was appointed minister of the Walloon Church in Rijsoord (South-Holland) in 1619. From October 1622 to 1627 he worked as chaplain to a Dutch embassy (led by Johan Berck (1565–1627)) to the Republic of Venice. There he met several Italian scholars, like Johannes Diodati (1576–1649) and Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), whose 'History of the Inquisition' he translated into Latin (*Historia inquisitionis P. Pauli Veneti cui adjuncta est Confessio fidei*, 1651) and into Dutch (*Historie vande Inquisitie*, 1651). Eventually, Colvius returned to Dordrecht where he became minister of the Walloon Church (22 August 1628). In that capacity he was present at practically every Walloon synod until his retirement in September 1666. On 19 March 1630 he married Anna van der Myl, a daughter of the Arminian theologian Abraham van der Myl (1563–1637). They had two children: Nicolaas (1634–1717), who also became a Walloon minister in Dordrecht, and Agneta (known locally as a poetess under the name Colvia, b.1637). In the 1630s Colvius performed several scientific experiments with Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637). He also lent him books from his library, like William Gilbert's *De magnet* (1600) — the first book he ever purchased — and his copy of the manuscript of Galileo's *Del flusso e refluxo del mare* (c.1616) (Beeckman, vol. 3, p. 171). In 1648 Colvius became administrator of the Latin School and head of the municipal library of Dordrecht. His friends include Constantijn *Huygens and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). Presumably Colvius was a member of the literary and artistic society around Cornelis

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van Beveren (1591–1663), gathering at the castle Develstein in Dordrecht. Although Colvius never published anything, his substantial correspondence with a wide range of scholars proves him to have been a well-known person of high intellectual reputation. That also emerges from the fact that Colvius, together with Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), Johannes Westerburgh (1599–1636) and Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), made a contribution to the theological question of the term of human life in Van *Beverwijck's *Epistolica quaestio de vitae termino*. Colvius died on 1 July 1671.

It is not known how and when contacts between Colvius and Descartes were established. So much is clear, Descartes' first known letter to him of 14 June 1637 is of a rather formal nature, which in turn suggests that they knew each other only recently. The fact that it concerns the death of Isaac Beeckman suggests moreover that he had been intermediary of their friendship (AT I, 379–380). Colvius' correspondence with Descartes concerns various subjects ranging from the construction of a spinet ([1637–1650], AT IV, 678–683) to the relation between Descartes' *Cogito* and a passage in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (to Colvius, 14 November 1640, AT III, 247–248). Another letter (to Colvius, 20 April 1643, Letter 15) is of interest because it shows that Descartes was still working on the third part of his *Principia* (1644). Descartes in this letter also announces his *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643), which was indeed published a few weeks later. This work is also the subject of the only known letter of Colvius to Descartes (9 June 1643, Letter 25). Colvius' attempt to achieve a reconciliation between Descartes and Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) failed (5 July 1643, Letter 33), without, apparently, damaging his own friendship with Descartes. A letter to Colvius of 5 October 1646 concerns the attack on *Fundamenta physices* (1646) of Henricus Regius (1598–1679). In this letter he accuses Regius of plagiarism because according to Colvius he used a work (*Traité de l'homme, Tractatus de homine*, 1662) still unpublished at that time (AT IV, 515–519). A letter from Anthonij Vivien (1603–1681) to his brother-in-law Johan de Witt (1625–1672), the Pensionary (Secretary General) of the States of Holland, suggests that Descartes and Colvius kept friendly relations until early March 1648. According to this letter a new mathematical challenge published by Johan Jansz *Stampioen (sent to him by De Witt) was forwarded to Descartes by Vivien via Colvius (7 March 1648, *Brieven Johan de Witt*, vol. 1, p. 3/AT V, 574). After Descartes' death Colvius, on hearing of the plans of Hector-Pierre Chanut (1601–1662) to prepare an edition of Descartes' correspondence, offered his own correspondence with him (Colvius to De Witt, 29 December 1653, 7 January 1654, Thijssen-Schoute, 86–87). This offer was turned down however (De Witt to Colvius, 3 January 1654, Thijssen-Schoute, 87), because according to De Witt Chanut was interested only in publishing a selection (De Witt to Colvius, 16 January 1654, Thijssen-Schoute, 88–89). Colvius seems to have possessed several other manuscripts of Descartes, especially a piece on music, which survives in *Adversaria V.C. Andreae Colvii* (first published by De Waard, AT IV, 722–725).

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Correspondents

a) Moise Amyraut, Cornelis Boey, Cornelis Booth, Jacobus Coene, Henricus Colvius, Petrus Cunaeus, *Elizabeth of Bohemia, Jacob Fokkens, Frederik Hendrik, Marguerite Godewijck, Jacobus Golius, Isaac Gruterus, Johannes van Heemskerck, Adrianus Heereboord, Daniel Heinsius, Nicolaas Heinsius, Christiaan Huygens, Constantijn Huygens, Jean de Lannoy, Johannes Leusden, *Maresius, Claude d'Avaux, Samuel Naeranus, Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven, George Rataller Doubleth, Rivet, Van Schurman, Samuel Sorbière, Friedrich Spanheim, Caspar Staphorst, Vivien, Johannes van Vliet, *Vorstius, Dionysius Vossius, Gerardus Johannes Vossius (cf. Lem/Rademaker 1993), Isaac Vossius, Jacob de Witt, Johan de Witt.

b) Van Beverwijck, Jan van Foreest and his wife Josina van Segwaart (RAA, 'Familiearchief Van Foreest 1422–1979', inv.no. 58), Johannes Amos Comenius (Leiden, UB, MS PAP 2), Constantijn Huygens (BL, MS Add. 22878; cf. P. Colomesius, *Opuscula* (Utrecht, 1669), 541–542), Golius, Rivet (SUH, MSS 'Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung' 5,24, 4^o 5,5; cf. Krüger 1978, vol. 1, p. 332, vol. 2, p. 853), Gronovius (Munich, UB, MS M611, fo. 284; cf. Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Jean Antoine de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux (Leiden, UB, MS 293B), Johannes Saubert (SUH, MS 'Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung' 36,49; cf. Krüger 1978, vol. 1, p. 187), Claude Saumaise (SD, 'Collectie van handschriften', inv.no. 1852), Johannes Tronchin (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS 'Archives Tronchin', Correspondence, no. 37; cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 3, p. 115).

c) Crucius 1642; Adam 1910; Thijssen-Schoute 1989 (Elizabeth); CM XI (Heereboord); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II and V; *Correspondance Christiaan Huygens*, vols. 1–2, 22; Cl. Saumaise, *Epistola ad Andream Colvium* (Leiden, 1644); Van Schurman 1641; Vossius 1690; *Brieven Johan de Witt*, vol. 1; C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, 'Een correspondent van Descartes: Andreas Colvius', NAK, 38 (1951–1952), 245–248, Annex. Reprinted as 'Andreas Colvius. Een correspondent van Descartes', in *Uit de Republiek der letteren. Elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de Gouden Eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967), 67–89 (De Witt).

Collection of naturalia and private library

In 1655 Colvius' collection of naturalia was put up for auction. The catalogue, titled *Catalogus musaei Andreas Colvii*, was printed, but no copy could be traced. Colvius' private library was sold on 3 November 1671 (announced in *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, 29 September, 27 October 1671). For a printed catalogue of this library, see *Catalogus rarissimorum ... librorum* (Dordrecht, 1671).

Documents

KB, MS 129 F 6 (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Johann Philip Mulheiser (1620–after 1677), 5 October 1644); Leiden, UB, MS BPL 284 (*Adversaria V.C. Andreae Colvii*; cf. *Codices manuscripti*, vol. 3, Leiden: Brill, 1912, no. 284, partly published in De Waard); NA, MS I 'Coll. Aanwinsten 1891', no. 20c (*Cort verhael*, manuscript on the life of ambassador Berck, 1622–1652); SD, 'Stadsarchief; de tijd van de Republiek van de Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden', inv.no. 579 (Colvius and the Latin School of Dordrecht); Utrecht, UB, MS 843 (Buchelius on Colvius' work as chaplain in Venice).

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NNBW I, 627–629; Nauta 1978–1998, vol. 2, pp. 134–135. See also Fr. Ogier, *Éloge ou panégyrique de Monsieur d'Avaux* (Paris, 1652), 6; G.D.J. Schotel, *Kerkelijk Dordrecht*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: Van der Monde-Van Houttrijve/Bredius, 1841), pp. 320–323; *Livre synodal* 1563–1685; Beeckman 1939–1953, vols. 1, 3–4; C. de Waard, 'Sur le destinataire et la date à attribuer une lettre de Descartes sur une épipette parfaite', *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications*, 3 (1950), 251–255; Van Dijck 1973, 345, 362; Thijssen-Schoute 1989; Van Berkel 1983.

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DESMARETS, *see* MARESIUS, Samuel

ELIZABETH of Bohemia, Princess Palatine — (1618–1680)

Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, Countess of the Rhine, was born in Heidelberg on 26 December 1618. She was the eldest daughter of a grandson of William of Orange (1533–1584), the Elector Palatine Frederic V of Wittelsbach (1596–1632), and Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), daughter of James I (1603–1625) of England. Frederic V reigned over Bohemia for no more than one winter (1619–1620), which was the reason why he was called the ‘Winterking’. In the opening phase of the Thirty Years War he lost Bohemia and the Palatinate to the Catholics in the battle of the White Mountain (near Prague) (8 November 1620). In April 1621 the King finally found refuge in the United Provinces, being forced to live on the generosity of the States. He and his family lived alternately in the ‘Hof van Wassenaer’ in The Hague, the ‘Prinsenhof’ in Leiden and their summer residence in Rhenen (Utrecht). Princess Elizabeth was raised in Berlin at the court of her uncle Georg Wilhelm (1595–1640), Elector of Brandenburg, by her paternal grandmother Louise Juliana of Nassau (1576–1644) and by the Elector’s wife, Elizabeth-Charlotte (1597–1660). At the age of nine or ten Elizabeth joined her exiled parents in the United Provinces, where she received a carefully planned education, both from a German governess and from professors of Leiden University, who tutored her twice a week in Scripture, mathematics, history and Classics. Because of her knowledge of Greek Elizabeth was nicknamed ‘Signora Antica’. For the same reason her sister Sophie (1630–1714) called her ‘la Grecque’ (*Briefwechsel Herzogin Sophie*, 14). Despite Elizabeth’s reduced marriage prospects—obviously the financial position of her parents was not very bright—she refused a proposal from the King of Poland, Ladislas IV (1595–1648), because that would force her to give up her Protestant faith in favour of Roman Catholicism. In the summer of 1646 Elizabeth and her brother Karl-Ludwig (1619–1680) were sent to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich-Wilhelm (1640–1688); their younger brother Philip (1627–1650) had killed (20 June 1646) a French officer (Jacques de Courseulles, Marquess of Espinay) in The Hague for spreading the rumour that their unmarried sister Louise-Hollandine (1622–1709) was pregnant (see AT IV, 670–672; Rivet to Sarrau, 25 June 1646, *Correspondance Rivet-Sarrau*, vol. 3, p. 435). After Karl-Ludwig received back the Rhenish Palatinate undiminished at the Peace of Westphalia (1648) Elizabeth also stayed at the court of her brother in the university town of Heidelberg. There she established contacts with several intellectuals, like Johannes Frenshemius (1608–1660), who would become the personal biographer of the Queen Christina Wasa (1628–1689) of Sweden. The theologian Johannes Coccejus (1603–1669) encouraged Elizabeth to go on in her study of the Bible. In 1661 she joined the Lutheran convent of Herford (Westphalia) as assistant (1 May 1661) to her aunt Elizabeth-Louise Juliana of Pfalz-Zweibrücken (1613–1667). After the death of her aunt she was appointed abbess of the convent (27 or 30

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April 1667), a position which gave her a seat in the German Diet. In 1670 she invited Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) and his followers (among others her friend Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)) to come to Herford, but they were exiled from that place and went to Altona (Denmark) in June 1672. In 1671 Elizabeth met the Quaker William Penn (1644–1718), who would visit her again in 1677. She maintained a friendship with many prominent writers and intellectuals of that age, not only with Descartes, but also with Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715). Although she never published anything her correspondence with many scholars shows her intelligence and her interest in philosophical and scientific matters. Elizabeth died in Herford on 8 or 11 February 1680 (Huygens, *Dagboek* 1885, 83; for a comment on her illness and death, see *Briefwechsel Herzogin Sophie*). She was buried in the Münsterkirche in Herford.

Descartes' first reference to Elizabeth is found in a letter to Alphonse *Pollot of 6 October 1642 (AT III, 577–578). Not only does it show that she reads the *Meditationes* (1641), but also that Pollot told Descartes about her personal qualities. Descartes wishes to meet Elizabeth and asks Pollot to introduce her to him. Pollot in any case seems to have been Elizabeth's trusted confidant, for over the years he is not only mentioned in her letters to Descartes, but Pollot frequently mentions her in his own correspondence with Descartes (see AT IV, 26–27, 38, 43, 45, 200, 204, 207, 211, 221). So much is clear, Elizabeth and Descartes started a correspondence in the spring of 1643. Although Pollot is the most likely candidate for being their intermediary, it is also possible that Elizabeth was introduced to Descartes by his friends Henricus Regius (1598–1679) (Elizabeth to Descartes, 6 May [1643], Letter 18) or Anthony Studler van *Zurck (Elizabeth to Descartes, 1 July [1643], Letter 32). The first letter of Elizabeth to Descartes, concerning Descartes' dualism, was written on 6 May 1643, a few days after he visited The Hague (CM XII, 197) without managing to see her (Letter 18). Apparently they were already in communication for some time, for in this letter Elizabeth informs Descartes his solutions to certain problems raised by Regius' physics (probably in *Physiologia*, a series of disputations on physics and medicine published 1641) were told to her by Pollot. Descartes' first known letter to Elizabeth of 21 May 1643 clearly shows he was much honoured by her letter (Letter 19). It should be noted that the date (10 June [1643]) of Elisabeth's second letter to Descartes (Letter 27) is also the date she was visited by the French physician Samuel Sorbière (1615–1670), with whom she read Descartes' *Meditationes* (Sorbière to Martel, 15 June 1643, see Calendar, 10 June 1643). Though initially Elizabeth's correspondence with Descartes centred on mathematics, natural philosophy and metaphysics, it gradually deepened and became more personal. In 1644 Descartes honoured her with a dedication of his *Principia* (*Principia*, AT IXA, 1–4; see also Elizabeth to Descartes, [1 August 1644], AT IV, 131–134; AT V, 60). The Latin translation of *Géometrie* (1637), first published in 1649, is also dedicated to Elizabeth, not by Descartes this time, but by its translator, Frans van Schooten (1615–1660). From May 1645 the favourite subject of Elizabeth's

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correspondence with Descartes became the passions, also because Descartes attributed Elizabeth's ailments to an emotional disturbance. After a discussion of Seneca's *De vita beata* Descartes wrote what would become *Les passions de l'âme* (1649), a first draft of which he submitted to Elizabeth (25 April 1646, 15 May 1646, AT IV, 403–414). Occasionally Elizabeth's letters to Descartes also concern family matters: the conversion of her brother Edward (1625–1663) to Roman Catholicism ([30 November 1645], AT IV 335–336) and the illness of her sister Henriette-Marie (1626–1651) ([21 February 1647], AT IV, 618). Elizabeth continued her correspondence with Descartes also after she left the United Provinces. Her youngest sister Sophie (the mother of George I of England (1660–1727)) forwarded some of Descartes' letters to Elizabeth from The Hague. In any case the addressee of three letters of Descartes is almost certainly Sophie ([September] 1646, [November 1646], [December] 1646, AT IV, 495–496, 533, 592). Elizabeth and Descartes remained close friends until his death in 1650. The proposal of Hector-Pierre Chanut (1601–1662) to edit Elizabeth's correspondence with Descartes—a plan which to a certain extent was also entertained by Descartes himself (to Elizabeth, June 1649, AT IV 360)—was rejected by Elizabeth (Bailet, II, 428/AT V, 474–475). Her letters were restituted to her through the ambassador of Brandenburg in the spring of 1650 (Chanut to Elizabeth, 16 April 1650, quoted in AT V, 472–474). Still, Elizabeth's correspondence with Descartes was copied without her permission. The only known manuscript copy of these letters, made at the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century, was discovered (around 1875) by the antiquarian bookseller Frederik Muller (1817–1881) in the library of the castle of Rosendael (near Arnhem), then the property of Baron Reinhardt Jan Christiaan van Pallandt van Keppel (1826–1899). This manuscript copy is now preserved in Arnhem (Rosendael castle, Collection 'Stichting Vrienden der Geldersche Kasteelen'). Elizabeth's letters to Descartes were published after this copy by Foucher de Careil (1826–1891) in 1879.

Correspondents

a) Andreas *Colvius, Nicolaas Colvius.

b) Theodore Haak (BL, MS Add. 4365, fo. 196), Wilhelmina de Merode (Tresoar, 'Familiarchief thoe Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg', inv.nos. 1301–1302), Elizabeth Stuart (Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, UB, MS Heid. Hs. 4024). Several other letters are kept in Münster, Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv, 'Fürstabei Herford', Akten, inv.nos. 239, 247, 251, 1212 and 1319.

c) *Reliquiae Barclaianae. Correspondence of Colonel D. Barclay and Robert Barclay of Urie and his son Robert* (London: Meminisse, 1870) (Barclay, Benjamin Furly); AT V (Chanut); Adam 1910; AT VIII; Thijssen-Schoute 1989 (Andreas Colvius); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV–VI; [R. Descartes], *Lettres sur la morale; correspondance avec la princesse Élisabeth, Chanut et la reine Christine*, ed. J. Chevalier (Paris: Boivin, 1935); L.A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes, la princesse Élisabeth et la reine Christine d'après des lettres inédites*, part 3 (Paris: Germer-Baillière/Muller, 1879; 2nd edn., Paris: Alcan, 1909); A. Wendland, 'Sechs Briefe der Pfalzgräfin Elizabeth, Äbtissin von Herford an ihren Bruder den Kurfürsten Carl Ludwig von der Pfalz', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 34 (1919), 1–26; L.A. Foucher de Careil, *Correspondance de l'Electeur Palatin Charles Louis avec la princesse Elisabeth, sa soeur* (Paris, 1906) (Karl-Ludwig); K. Hauck, 'Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 15 (1908) (Karl-Ludwig, Elizabeth-Louise Juliana,

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BL, MSS Add. 18738, Add. Ch. 8477 ('confirmation of a pension to the Princess Elizabeth'). For Elizabeth's will (18 September 1671), see Hauck, 'Die Briefe der Kinder des Winterkönigs', Annex 2, 329–331, Annex 4, 332–337 (letter added to her will, 9 September 1679), Annex 5, 338–341 (Memoriale, 1 February 1680), Annex 6, 341–342 (inventory of jewels, 4 October 1679).

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BBK I, 1494–1495; *The Cambridge history of seventeenth-century philosophy*, eds. D. Garber and M. Ayers, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1424–1425. See also G.E. Guhrauer, 'Elisabeth, Pfalzgräfin bei Rhein, Äbtissin von Herford', *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 3rd series, vols. 1–2 (1850), pp. 1–150, 417–554; R. Blaze de Bury, *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine, Princess of Bohemia*, (London, 1853); Ch.J. Jeannel, *Descartes et la Princesse Palatine* (Paris: Douniol, 1869); [Sophie Electress of Hannover], *Briefwechsel der Herzogin Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz*, ed. E. Bode-mann (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1885); J. Bernard, 'Élisabeth, princesse de Bohême', *Revue des deux mondes*, 60 (1890), 93–122; E. Godfrey, *A sister of Prince Rupert: Elizabeth Princess Palatine and abbess of Herford* (New York: Lane, 1909); Adam 1910, esp. 401–431; Cohen 1912, esp. 603–651; Adam 1937, 99–130; M. Néel, *Descartes et la princesse Elisabeth* (Paris: Elzevir, 1946); R.C. Strong, *The Winter Queen. Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and her family* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1963); R. Pape (ed.), *Prinzessin Elisabeth von der Pfalz, Fürstäbtissin von Herford (1618-1680)* (Herford: Brüggemann, 1967) (exhibition catalogue on Elizabeth's life in Herford); Lindeboom 1974, R. Mattern, 'Descartes's correspondence with Elizabeth: concerning the union and distinction of mind and body', in M. Hooker (ed.), *Descartes: critical and interpretive essays* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 212–222; Thijssen-Schoute 1989; B. Zedler, 'The three Princesses', *Hypatia*, 4 (1989), 28–63; E. Harth, *Cartesian women. Versions and subversions of rational discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), esp. 67–78; *Routledge encyclopedia of philosophy*, ed. E. Craig, vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 267–269; M. Martini, 'Aspetti dell'etica nella corrispondenza con Elisabetta', in J.-R. Armogathe, et al. (eds.), *La biografia intellettuale di René Descartes attraverso la corrispondanza* (Naples: Vivarium, 1999), 526–539; D. Tollefsen, 'Princess Elisabeth and the problem of mind-body interaction', *Hypatia*, 14 (1999), 59–77; J. Broad, *Women philosophers of the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 13–25.

ELZEVIER (Elzevir), Lowijs (Louys) — (1604–1670)

Lowijs Elzevir was born in Utrecht in 1604, the eldest son of the bookseller Joost Elzevir (1575/76–1616) and Margaretha van der Woert (†1657). On 30 August

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1621 he matriculated at Leiden University as a student of philosophy. While in Leiden he took his lodgings with his uncle Matthijs Elzevier (1565–1640). Shortly afterwards he became an apprentice to the business of his nephews Bonaventura (1583–1652) and Abraham Elzevier (1592–1652), who were university printers since 1626. During his apprenticeship Elzevier travelled to France, England and Denmark (May 1632, May 1633, May 1634). In the summer of 1635 he also visited Venice and Rome. In Arcetri he met Galileo to discuss the printing of the *Discorsi* (1638). After his return in August 1636 he became a citizen of Leiden (3 December 1637) and a member of the Leiden bookseller's guild (27 February 1638). Elzevier opened a bookshop in Amsterdam on the Damrak (1638), possibly attracted by the atmosphere of religious toleration and by the Illustrious School (founded 1632). In 1640 Elzevier also set up a printing office. Before long the Amsterdam branch became the most important of all Elzevier printing offices, publishing the writings, not only of Descartes, but also of Bacon, Clauberg, Hobbes, Gassendi and Wittich. Of the books published by Elzevier between 1638 and 1655 (223 in all), some were printed by others, like Frans Heger (1631–1645) of Leiden. Elzevier's printer's device (first used in 1642) presents Minerva holding a banderol with the text *Ne extra oleas* (derived from Erasmus' *Adagia*). After 1 May 1655 Elzevier shared the responsibility for the Amsterdam office with his cousin Daniël Elzevier (1626–1680), whom he left his firm in 1664. Lowijs Elzevier spent his last years on his estate in 's-Graveland (close to Amsterdam) and died on 12 June 1670. Presumably he was buried in 's-Graveland (Willems, ccxvii).

From the second edition of Descartes' *Meditations* (1642), containing also the completed objections and replies, Elzevier became Descartes' main publisher in the United Provinces (AT III, 447–448/CM X, 779–780). He is also mentioned as the intermediary of Descartes' mail in Amsterdam in May 1643 (Descartes to Mersenne, 30 May 1643, Letter 22). The basis for this relation was laid in Haarlem during a visit to the house of Descartes' friend Johannes Albertus Bannius (1598–1644), a Roman Catholic priest and musical theorist (Huygens to Hooft, 2 April 1642, Van Vloten, 259). Presumably Descartes appreciated Elzevier's international stature as a printer. Dissatisfied with *Soly, the French publisher of the first edition of *Meditationes* (1641), who failed to assure the distribution of Descartes' work abroad (cf. to Mersenne, 17 November 1641, AT III, 448–449/CM X, 780), Descartes reacted favourably to Elzevier's advances (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 274). Still, Descartes seems to have stipulated that Elzevier would not sell that new edition in France in order to protect Soly's interests (to Mersenne, 17 November 1641, AT III, 448/CM X, 780). Apart from the French translations of *Meditationes* and *Principia* (1644; see Letter 9) the only works Elzevier did not publish after 1642 were the Dutch translation of *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) (*Brief van Rene Des Cartes aen ... Gisbertus Voetius*, 1643), his *Antwoort* (1643), both printed by Elzevier's foreman Rieuwert Dirckz van Baardt, and *Notae in programma quoddam* (1648), which was printed by Franciscus Hackius in Leiden but sold by Elzevier. Descartes' last work, *Passions de*

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l'âme (1649) was published in co-production with the Paris printer Henry Le Gras (†1662). After Descartes' death Elzevier published *Opera philosophica* (1650), a successful edition which was reprinted many times. After the liquidation of the Elzevier firm in 1681 all titles were bought by the famous cartographer and printer Johannes Blaeu (1596–1673).

Correspondents

- a) Lucas Holsten, Balthasar Moretus.
- b) Lieuwe van Aitzema (HAB, Bibl. Arch., II, MS 1.10), Charles vanden Bosch (Bruges, Algemeen Rijksarchief, 'Fonds des documents ecclésiastiques', inv. V², fo. 16, no. 3694), Gronovius (Leiden, UB, MS Gron. 144 ad.; cf. Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Henri Justel, Claude Saumaise (BnF, MSS 'Fonds français' 15209, fo. 52, 3930, fo. 53), Athanasius Kircher (Rome, Archivio della Pontifica Università Gregoriana, MS APUG 568=xiv, fo. 238r-v; cf. Begheyn 2000, Annex 2, 74–75), Balthasar Moretus (MPM, 'Ontvangen brieven', inv.no. 81, fo. 717r, 'Uitgaande brieven', inv.no. 152, fos. 250r and 317r), John Selden (Bodl, MS 'Selden Supra' 109, fo. 293).
- c) J. Meursius, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Lami, vol. 11 (Florence, 1762) (Holsten).

Trade catalogue

For a trade catalogue of Elzevier's retail stock (the first trade catalogue in duodecimo format published in Europe), see *Catalogus librorum officinae Ludovici Elzevirii* (Amsterdam, 1649); cf. Van Selm 1987, 363; Lankhorst 2000, 25. Reprints by J. Chenu (Paris, 1855) and F.L. Hoffmann (1854, 1857). Elzevier's bookshop in Amsterdam was also used for book auctions (17 April, 10 December 1663, 18 March 1664, led by Jacobus van Borreveld): *Catalogus rarissimorum* (1st and 2nd edn., The Hague, 1663); *Catalogus rarissimorum* (Leiden, 1663); *Catalogus rarissimorum* (1st and 2nd edn., The Hague, 1664).

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NNBW IX, 239–240. See also [P.C. Hooft], *Brieven*, ed. J. van Vloten, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1857); Kleerkoper/Stockum 1914–1916; P. Dupont, *Histoire de l'imprimerie* (Paris, 1854. Reprint. Westmead: Gregg, 1971), 75; J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1974) (*Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica* 6), 130, 152, 278–279, 528; Van Selm 1987, 363; Thijssen-Schoute 1989; A. Willems, *Les Elzevier. Histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussels: Nijhoff, 1880; Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1991), esp. lx–lxv, 241–299 (list of printed books), 300–338 (books printed with Daniël Elzevier); B.P.M. Dongelmans, P.G. Hoftijzer and O.S. Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000) (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse boekhandel 5).

GRASWINCKEL, Dirk (Theodorus) Johannes — (1600/01–1666)

Dirk Graswinckel was born in Delft on 1 October 1600 or 1601. He was the only child of Jan Abrahamsz Graswinckel (c.1576–1636) and Jetty (Thietta, Tiwtgen, Tyette) Jansdr Basius (b.1578/79). On 19 September 1614 Graswinckel matriculated as a student of the arts at Leiden University. From there he went to Franeker to study arts and law. On 15 December 1621 he took his oath as advocate to the Court of Holland. Graswinckel took his doctoral degree in Law (19 December 1621) at Franeker University with a disputation on testaments

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(*Theses inaugurales ex materia ultimorum voluntatum desumptae*). From 1623 to 1625 Graswinckel travelled in France, spending most of his time in Paris, where he assisted his cousin Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) with the completion of *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625). He also visited Baligny (early June 1623), Lyon (October 1624) and Bordeaux (March 1625). On his return journey he enjoyed the company of George Rataller Doubleth (1600–1655), a legal scholar. On 9 June 1626 Graswinckel settled as a lawyer in Dordrecht, where he also became city councillor. In July 1629 he married Geertrui (Geertruida, Geertruydt) van Loon (1600–1675) in the ‘Nieuwe Kerk’ in Amsterdam. The same year he donated a large sum for the construction of a church for the Remonstrant congregation in The Hague. In 1636 he became private legal adviser to Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647). Graswinckel also advised the *Gecommitteerde Raden* (the standing committee) of the Noorderkwartier (1632), the States of Holland (1633), the Amsterdam Chamber of the East Indian Company (1639) and the city of Groningen (1640). In 1646 Graswinckel became Lord of Holy (Hoogeleede, Vlaardingen-Ambacht, near Rotterdam), a domain that he inherited from his uncle Johan Basius (†1645). On 14 December 1646 Graswinckel was appointed ‘advocaat-fiscaal’ (Advocate General) of Holland. In 1652 he became secretary of the Bipartite Chamber (a body that governed the parts of Brabant under the authority of the United Provinces and Spain) in Mechelen (Malines). The government of Sweden elevated him to the peerage (10 August 1637). In his writings, which are primarily on constitutional law and political theory, Graswinckel shows himself a defender of Republican ideas. For his *Libertas Veneta* (1634), an answer to the anonymous *Squitinio* (1612) in which Venetian tradition is attacked, and *Dissertatio de jure* (1644) he was knighted by the Republic of Venice on 30 January 1645 (Rivet to Sarrau, 4 April 1644, *Correspondance Rivet–Sarrau*, vol. 2, p. 243). His friends include Constantijn *Huygens and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). On 12 October 1666 Graswinckel died in Mechelen of an apoplexy. He was buried in the church of St James (or ‘Grote Kerk’) in The Hague. Three years later his wife Geertrui erected an epitaph, carved by Rombout Verhulst (1624–1698) and Theodorus Matham (1605/06–1676), in this church.

Little is known about the contact between Graswinckel and Descartes. The only letter Descartes may have written to Graswinckel is dated 17 October 1643 (Letter 45). Descartes’ letter is a reaction to an offer of help and advice by Graswinckel himself—made either by letter or during a personal meeting—, who in turn may have acted on the instigation of Alphonse *Pollot, Constantijn *Huygens or David le Leu de *Wilhem. What kind of help Graswinckel offered Descartes is not clear, nor to what extent he supported Descartes’ attempts to obtain the Stadholder’s protection through Gaspar de Coignet de La *Thuillerie, the French ambassador. There is no trace of Descartes’ influence in Graswinckel’s writings.

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Writings

De iure maiestatis dissertatio (The Hague, 1642); *Maris liberi vindiciae* (The Hague, 1653); *Stricturae ad censuram Joannis a Felden ad libros Hugonis Grotii De jure belli ac pacis* (Amsterdam, 1654).

Correspondents

a) Caspar Barlaeus, Joan Leonardsz Blasius, Adrianus Blyenburch, Cornelis Booth, Queen Christina Wasa of Sweden, Grotius, Willem de Groot, Nicolaas Heinsius, Constantijn Huygens, De Wilhem, Philippus van Limborch, Guilielmus Nieupoort, André Rivet, Claude Saumaise, Gerardus Johannes Vossius (cf. Van der Lem/Rademaker 1993), Isaac Vossius, Johannes Wtenbogaert.

b) Charles II, King of England (AvK, 'Verzameling Van der Burch', inv.no. 139), Gronovius (cf. Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Coggeman (NA, MS 'Handschriften derde afdeling tot en met 1950', inv.no. 3.22.01.01, no. 31d); cf. J.A. Jaeger, *Handschriften [ontvangen op de] derde afdeling tot en met 1650*, The Hague: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1968, 14), Axel Gustavsson Oxenstierna (DKB, MS Thott 504 2^o, 77, 79; RAr, EA, MS 'Axel Gustavsson Oxenstiernas Brevväxling' E605; SUH, MSS 'Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung' 4^o 55,59–60, cf. Krüger 1978, vol. 1, p. 338; Uppsala, UB, 'Svensk historia före 1697', MS 'Epistolicae diplomaticae ad Axel Oxenstierna' E388a), five letters of Graswinckel to an unknown correspondent (RAR, EA, 'Skrivelser till Karl X Hollandica', MS 'Peter Spiering Silfercronas papper' E351; Uppsala, UB, MS 'Palmskiöldska Samlingen', XVI, Litterae, vol. 371; HUA, 'Archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459–1956', inv.no. 67; cf. Polak 1987, 158, no. 1062; KHA, MS 'Autografen, 2de serie', inv.no. G16–A150). For Graswinckel's letters in Swedish archives, see Römelingh 1986, 106, 159, 176, 404 (RAR), 425 (Uppsala, UB).

c) *Briefwisseling Hooft*, II–III (Barlaeus, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft); *Briefwisseling Grotius*, II–XVII; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II–IV.

Private library

Graswinckel's library was sold early November 1667 in the bookshop of Dirk (Theodorus) Duurcant (Duyrkant, 1636–1677) located in the Great Hall of the Binnenhof in The Hague. For this catalogue, see *Catalogus insignium in quavis facultate ... Theodori Graswinckel* (The Hague, 1667); cf. Van Selm 1987, 133. Two books from Graswinckel's library survived: J. Forbes, *Instructiones historico-theologicae, de doctrina Christiana et vario rerum statu* (Amsterdam, 1645). Copy: Oxford, Bodl, Ch.Ch. CHC Holdings, WH.3.7; *Pauli Montani iurisconsulti ... tractatus novus, de iure tutelarum, et curationum* (Leiden, 1597). Copy: All Soul's College Library, dd.infra 1.4.

Documents

AvK, 'Verzameling Van der Burch', inv.nos. 24–25, 121 (doctoral diploma, documents concerning his peerage); Delft, GA, 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie Graswinckel 1792–1050', inv.nos. 2–6, 18; KB, MSS 75 A 2/1, 130 E 32, 129 F 6, 131 H 26 (inscriptions in the *Alba amicorum* of Everardus Balck (1590–1628), 1619, Gronovius, 1634–1636, Johann Philip Mulheiser (1620–after 1677), 1656, Jacob Heyblocq (1623–1690), 13 September 1660); NA, 'Familiearchief Graswinckel', inv.no. 35019, Supplement, inv.no. 37008 (Graswinckel family); 'Notarieel archief', inv.no. 789, fo. 74 (Graswinckel's will). For Graswinckel's inscriptions (29 October 1659, 27 April 1662) in the *Alba amicorum* of Cornelis de Glarges (1599–1683) and Joan Leonardz Blasius (1639–1672), see Bots/Van Gemert/Rietbergen 1975, 76; Chr.L. Heesakkers, 'The Amsterdam professors and other friends of Johannes Blasius. The Album amicorum of Johannes Blasius, Amsterdam, University Library, MS V J 50', *Lias. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 9 (1982), 179–232.

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Bayle 1740, vol. 3, p. 101; NNBW X, 489–490 (with list of writings); D.P.M. Graswinckel, *Graswinckel. Geschiedenis van een Delfts brouwers- en regentengeslacht* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956). See also Saxius 1775–1803, vol. 4, p. 406; F.J.K. van Hoogstraten, *Proeve eener geschiedenis der Chambre mi-partie* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1860), 159; E. Laspeyres, *Geschichte der volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer und ihrer Literatur zur Republik* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1863), esp. 12–13; G.J. Liesker, *Die staatswissenschaftlichen Anschauungen Dirck Graswinckel's* (Freiburg in der Schweiz: Fragnière, 1901); R. Fruin, 'Uit het dagboek van een oud-Hollander', in P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller and S. Muller (eds.), *Verspreide geschriften met aantekeningen, toevoegsels en verbeteringen uit des schrijvers nalatenschap*, vol. 4 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1901), pp. 198, 203, 210–217 (Rataller Doubleth on his relations with Graswinckel); Nauta 1935; R. Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica juridica* (Brussels, 1951), 66 (Verhandelingen van Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, vol. 13/14); A. Bijl, 'De voormalige heerlijkheid Holy in Vlaardingenambacht', *JCBG*, 29 (1965), 199–232; Van Dijck 1973, 377; E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch republican thought in the seventeenth century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980), 77–119 (Graswinckel on Venetian Liberty); K. van der Horst, 'A "Vita Casparis Barlaei" written by himself', *Lias. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 9 (1982), 83; Van Westrienen 1983; T.J. Veen, P.C. Kop and C.H.N. Kwanten, *Zestig juristen. Bijdragen tot een beeld van de geschiedenis der Nederlandse rechtswetenschap* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1987), 16; Dibon 1990, 254, 438; Willems 1990, 141, no. 573, 171, nos. 694–695; F. Postma and J. van Sluis, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1995).

HOOLCK (Holck, Hooleck, Hoolick), Gijsbert (Gijsbrecht) (van der) — (1598–1680)

Gijsbert van der Hoolck was born in Utrecht or in Amsterdam, on 18 April 1598. He was the son of Gerrit (Gerard) Jansz van den Hoolck (†1635?), who was treasurer of the city of Utrecht. Van der Hoolck matriculated two times at Leiden University (2 May 1615, 26 June 1617). From 1620 to 1623 he travelled in Europe with his cousin Adolphus *Vorstius. Somewhere between 1623 and 1629 Van der Hoolck married Johanna Margaretha (Margarita) van Coenen (Coene), who gave him three daughters: Catharina (b.1629), Dorothea Margriet (b.1633) and Susanna Andrea (b.1635). A prominent man of high social status Van der Hoolck was a member of the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht (1626, 1629, 1633) and Burgomaster (1630–1631, 1634–1639, 1641–1642, with Frederik *Ruysch), as well as a member of the consistory of the Reformed Church (1640). Following a decision of the *Vroedschap* (15 January 1634) Van der Hoolck and Johannes van der Nijpoort (†1662) approached Henricus Reneri (1593–1639), professor of philosophy in Deventer, and Antonius Matthaëus (1601–1654) about a professorship at the Illustrious School in Utrecht. As First Burgomaster Van der Hoolck also promoted the elevation of the Illustrious School to 'Academy' or University (1636). After the death of his wife Van der Hoolck married (10 October 1661) in second wedlock Maria van Aelst (†1674). As a deputy to the States General for the States of Utrecht (since 1643) he was present at the signing of the Treaty of Münster in April 1648. Van der Hoolck was opposed to the so-called 'Acte van Harmonie'

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(December 1667), by which the States General not only accepted the ‘Acte van Seclusie’ (Holland’s ratification of the peace treaty with England (4 May 1654)), but also agreed on the appointment in future of a politically safe Field Marshal of the States’ army. Van der Hoolck refused the oath and resigned from his offices in October 1668. On 16 April 1674 he completely left politics and gave up his position in the States General. Van der Hoolck died in The Hague early October 1680. He was buried in the church of St Nicholas in Utrecht.

Presumably Van der Hoolck came to know Descartes in 1635, when the latter settled in Utrecht to join his friend Reneri. It is thanks to Van der Hoolck’s influence that Henricus Regius (1598–1679) was appointed professor extraordinary of medicine (1638) in Utrecht. In *Lettre apologétique* Descartes implicitly alleges Van der Hoolck’s initiative to explain that the funeral oration for Reneri (28 March 1639), held by Antonius Aemilius (1589–1660), was in fact a eulogy for himself (AT VIII B, 203/Bos 1996, 76). In any case relations between Van der Hoolck and Descartes seem to have been on a firm footing in November 1641, when Descartes asks Regius to congratulate Van der Hoolck on his behalf for his reappointment as Burgomaster (to Regius, November 1641, AT III, 443–447/Bos 2002, 86–89, no. 28). Descartes’ good relation with van der Hoolck (Descartes to Regius, [late January 1642], AT III, 491–520/Bos 2002, 98–109, no. 31) proved to be extremely helpful during the Utrecht crisis, when Van der Hoolck managed to persuade the Theological Faculty to tone down their judgment of Regius’ idea that man is an accidental being (Verbeek 1988, 99; AT III, 534–542/Bos 2002, 126–136). According to Baillet (II, 190) Van der Hoolck and Peter van *Leeuwen, another member of the *Vroedschap*, offered a copy of *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) to the Burgomasters Johan van *Weede and Frederik *Ruysch (cf. Letter 29; *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 214; Bos 1996, 86). Although Van der Hoolck’s personal sympathies were clearly with Descartes and Regius, he seems to have urged both Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and Regius to find some common ground. In fact his main concerns was the good future of the university and the city of Utrecht, which had nothing to gain by an open conflict between professors. That is also what caused Descartes to distrust him later (Descartes to *Pollot, 23 October 1643, Letter 48), despite the fact that he had earlier relied upon him (Descartes to Regius, March 1642, AT III, 535–542/Bos 2002, 130–136; 10–25 March 1642, AT III, 528–533/Bos 2002, 137–138; to Pollot, 21 October 1643, Letter 47). It could also explain why there is no trace of any further contacts between Descartes and Van der Hoolck after 1643.

Writings

G. van der Hoolck, et al., *Verhael van ’t gepasseerde in de zeeslach tusschen de vlooten van Engelandt ende van de Vereenighde Nederlanden* (The Hague, 1666). See Knuttel 1889–1920, no. 9295.

Correspondents

- a) *Gecommitteerde Raden* of Holland, Cornelis Booth, Gilles van Hogendorp.
- b) Booth (HUA, ‘Inventaris stukken van de leden van de familie Booth (1414) 1544–1760’; cf. A. Pietersma, *Inventaris van stukken van leden van de familie Booth (1414) 1544–1760*,

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Utrecht: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1994, 14, no. 11), *Vroedschap* of Utrecht (NA, 'Archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland 1595–1795', 'Archief van Johan de Wit', Stukken betreffende de introductie van de prins van Oranje in de Raad van State, 1670; HUA, 'Inventaris van het stadsbestuur 1577–1795', inv.no. 702–1,165 (political affairs, 1642–1654)); Willem-Frederik of Nassau (Tresoar, 'Nadere toegang', inv.nos. 9b; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 457).

c) J.A. Grothe, 'Stukken betreffende den oorlog met Frankrijk in 1672', *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap*, 14 (1858), 73–130 (States of Utrecht, Booth).

Documents

Vande Water 1729, vol. 1, p. 174, vol. 3, p. 184; HUA, 'Doo-, trouw- en begraafboeken'; 'Registers van transporten en plechten 1578–1792', inv.no. 702,17, no. 3243. See also Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1.

References

Duker 1989, vols. 2–3; Perlot 2000.

HULSEBOS (Hulsbosch, Hulsbos), Simeon (Symen, Symon) — (c.1596–1648)

Simeon Hulsebos was born in Amsterdam around 1596, the son of Jacob Jansz and Erm Symonsdr. He was trained as a goldsmith in Amsterdam and Leiden. On 17 May 1620 he married Elisabeth Willemsdr (†1635). From 12 October 1635 to 1 January 1636 he worked as a 'sieckentrooster' (someone to read prayers with the sick) in Leiden. After the death of his first wife Hulsebos remarried twice: first with Aaltie Albertz Sas (10 May 1637), then with Jannetie Pieters (18 September 1639). Shortly after his third marriage he left for Brasil where he was again employed as 'sieckentrooster' (by the Dutch West Indian Company presumably). By late 1641 or early 1642 he returned to the United Provinces (cf. Doorman, G401). Hulsebos was an inventor, especially of mechanical waterworks. On 8 December 1623 he obtained a 15-year patent on a 'slochter' (a fan moved either by wind or horsepower to convey water, see Doorman, G228; see also G400). On 27 December 1624 he was granted a patent for ten years on a 'hellend scheprad' (an inclined hollow water wheel) (Doorman, G242; see also G400). On 25 April 1634 Hulsebos took out an 11-year patent on a mill with Archimedean screw, which is described as an inclined open semi-circular gutter containing a tight-fitting screw with double coil (Doorman, G361). In doing so he was one of the first in the Low Countries to use Archimedean screws in mills. An invention—discussed in the correspondence between Descartes and Constantijn *Huygens—which concerns an enclosed horizontal screw under water connected with a vertical cylinder containing a second screw received a 25-year patent on 11 February 1642 (Doorman, G401; see also Letter 55, with comment). Several of these projects were most likely financed by Huygens' brother-in-law Johan van *Baerle, a rich entrepreneur from Amsterdam, with whom Hulsebos made several agreements to share the profits. A document of 15 November 1646 shows that the invention Hulsebos patented in 1634 was used by the famous Jan Adriaansz Leeghwater (1575–1650) to reclaim the Starnmeer and Kamerhop (North-

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Holland) in 1643. The disagreement that arose between Hulsebos and the estate of Van Baerle over the profits of this project was finally solved in a settlement (8 January 1647) in virtue of which both parties received 460 Carolus guilders. Hulsebos was buried in the 'Westerkerk' in Amsterdam on 12 August 1648.

Hulsebos' design of a double screw for which he obtained a patent in 1642 is mentioned for the first time in a letter of Descartes to Huygens of 17 October 1643 (Letter 46). Presumably Descartes had discussed this invention with Huygens when he was in The Hague on 10 or 11 October 1643 (see Calendar, 12 October 1643). A visit by Hulsebos and Van Baerle to Descartes (8 November 1643), mentioned in his letter to Huygens of 15 November 1643 (Letter 55), left him sceptical. Descartes' suggestion that Hulsebos should build a model however is enigmatic in view of the fact that a model had already been made (Huygens to Descartes, 2 November 1643, Letter 50). The sketch that accompanies Descartes' letter to Huygens should probably be seen as an improved version of the vertical part of this contraption. On 23 November 1643 Huygens thanks Descartes and promises him to forward two copies of his advice to Van Baerle (Letter 60).

Correspondents

a) Hulsebos to an unknown correspondent, possibly Constantijn Huygens.

Documents

Amsterdam, GA, 'Notarieel archief', inv.nos. 5075/733B, 5075/734 (agreement between Hulsebos and Van Baerle, 8 January 1647); HUA, 'Archief der Staten van Utrecht 1375–1813', inv.no. 635–165 (22 December 1643); Leiden, GA, 'Archief van de kerkeraad van de N.H. Gemeente', attestatieboeken Hooglandse kerk; 'Archieven van de gilden', inv.no. 603A; 'Archieven van de kerken', inv.no. 1208, fo. 252; 'Register kerckelijke saecken', vol. C, fo. 125; NA, MS 'Actenboeken der Staten-Generaal', inv. 1.01.06, no. 12306, fos. 226r–227r, no. 12307, fo. 93 (patents of 11 February 1642 and 22 December 1643).

References

J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1929–1974), vol. 3, p. 474 (RGP 144); G. Doorman, *Octrooien voor uitvindingen in de Nederlanden uit de 16e–18e eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1940); P.J.M. de Baar, 'Symon Jacobsz Hulsbos. Uitvinder van de vijzel', *Jaarboekje Rijnlandse Molensichting*, (1980), 40–58.

HUYGENS, Constantijn — (1596–1687)

Constantijn Huygens was born in The Hague on 4 September 1596, the son of Christiaan Huygens (1551–1624), a former secretary of Prince William of Orange (1533–1584) and member of the State Council (1584), and Susanna Hoefnagel (1561–1633). Huygens received a carefully planned education, both from his father and from private tutors, like Johan Dedel (1589–1665) who would become president of the Court of Holland. Huygens was taught to play the viola da gamba and the lute, learned several languages (for which his father wrote the

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textbooks) and was trained in mathematics. On 20 May 1616 Constantijn and his elder brother Maurits (1595–1642) entered Leiden University as students in law. Huygens never graduated, but in July 1617, before leaving the university, he held a public disputation (*disputatio exercitii gratia*), presumably on sureties (for Huygens' disputation (printed, but no copy survives), see Van der Vliet, Ahs-mann, 278–279; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 10–11, 14, 29). Early June 1618 Huygens visited England with Sir Dudley Carleton (1572–1632), British ambassador to Holland and member of the Dutch State Council. The position of Huygens' father almost predestined his son also to play a role in the official life of the United Provinces. From the spring of 1620 Huygens embarked upon a diplomatic career and worked as secretary to a Dutch embassy to the Republic of Venice (led by François van Aerssen (1572–1641)). From 1621 to 1624 he worked at the Dutch Embassy in London. There he was invited to the homes of many noble households and met British musicians, philosophers and scientists, like Francis Bacon (1561–1626) (for a comment on Bacon, see Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 69, 253–254). In Eltham Palace Huygens frequently visited Cornelis Drebbel (1572–1633), a Dutch alchemist and inventor (of a microscope, a thermometer, a submarine, etc.) who experimented with machines for grinding lenses (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 76–77, 89, 91; see also [C. Huygens], *Mijn leven verteld*, vol. 1, pp. 128–129). From Drebbel he acquired a camera obscura and a microscope (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 89, 94). It was thanks to his good contacts with Drebbel that Huygens maintained a lifelong interest in optics. On 6 April 1627 Huygens married Susanna van Baerle (1599–1637), the sister of Johan van *Baerle (his business partner in a company which drained Hatfield Chase, north of London). Five children were born: Constantijn (1628–1697), Lodewijk (1631–1699), Philips (1633–1657), Susanna (1637–1725) and Christiaan (1629–1695), the greatest mathematical genius and physicist between Galileo and Newton. On 18 June 1625 Huygens had become personal secretary to Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647), whom he accompanied on many military campaigns. Though this post gave him no formal power, it certainly made him immensely influential and very rich. In addition to a salary of 500 guilders a year he received many emoluments, like 1,000 guilders a year for his membership of the *Nassause Domeinraad* (a body responsible for the finances of the Nassau Domains and the Court of the Stadholder). After the death of Frederik Hendrik (14 March 1647) his son William II (1626–1650) reappointed Huygens as secretary but the relations with the new Stadholder were less good. During the Stadholderless period (1650–1672) Huygens did not play any official role. He continued however to make himself useful for the Orange family, who for example sent him to Paris to negotiate with Louis XIV (1638–1715) on the return of the French principality and town of Orange (1661–1665). When William III (1650–1715) came into power (1672) Huygens obtained the honorary position of president of the *Nassause Domeinraad*. Huygens' eldest son Constantijn now became the Stadholder's secretary. Apart from having a British knighthood (27 October 1622) Huygens was Knight of the French order of St Michael (1633). He was Lord of Zuylichem (a domain with castle on the river Waal, near Zaltbommel), Zeelhem

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(near Diest, Flanders) and Monnikenland (Gelderland). On 28 March 1687 Huygens died in The Hague at the age of 91. A week later he was buried with much ceremony in the church of St James (or ‘Grote Kerk’), next to his wife.

Huygens is best seen as a Renaissance virtuoso. He was poet (several hundred poems), composer (*Pathodia sacra et profana*, a volume of songs, was published in 1647), musician, collector and patron of the arts. He also wrote a ballet (*Dessein de l'entrée du ballet présenté à la reine Bohème*, 1624) to honour the Elector Palatine, Frederic V (1596–1632) and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662). Because of his knowledge of the arts and his contacts with many artists Huygens was asked to advise on the building (after 1645) of the ‘Sael van Oranje’ (nowadays the Royal Palace ‘Huis ten Bosch’) outside The Hague, the new summer residence of Frederik Hendrik and his wife Amalia of Solms (1602–1675), which was designed by the Stadholder’s architect Pieter Post (1608–1669). After the death of the Stadholder Amalia commissioned the Dutch classicist architect Jacob van Campen (1595–1657) to dedicate the ‘Oranjezaal’ (the central hall of this residence) to the memory of her husband. Huygens drew up a list of artists for the decoration of the Oranjezaal and designed the concepts of the allegorical paintings by Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) (presenting the various incidents of Frederik Hendrik’s life as mythological scenes). Huygens made the plans for his own house in The Hague on the ‘Plaats’ (a piece of land Frederik Hendrik gave him in 1634). He also designed (1639–1642) his own country house in Voorburg (close to The Hague), called ‘Hofwijck’ or ‘Vitaulium’ (literally a place to escape from court life). It is a small country house in new classicistic style, the plan of which is based on Vitruvius. These houses are the subject of two of Huygens’ literary works: *Domus*, an unfinished work he wrote for his children (1639), and the poem *Vitaulium. Hofwijck* (1653). It was thanks to his position as the Stadholder’s secretary that Huygens was able to build a large network of relations with a wide circle of politicians, intellectuals, writers and artists. Throughout his life he kept a vast correspondence with many of these people. Not only did he use his network of relations to serve the Orange family, but he also mobilized it for his friends and relatives (see Bots, 184–187, 276–277, 366–367). Two of Constantijn Huygens’ sisters, Geertruyd (1599–1680) and Constantia (1602–1677), married powerful men of high social status: Philips Doublet (1590–1660), Receiver General of the United Provinces, and David le Leu de *Wilhem respectively. In 1823 Huygens’ manuscripts remains were acquired by the Dutch state with the support of King William I (1772–1843). The greater part of his manuscripts and correspondence were given to the Royal Academy, which in 1937 gave them for loan to the Royal Library in The Hague. Most of Huygens’ voluminous correspondence (more than 8,000 letters preserved) was published by Worp in the early 20th century.

If we assume that a letter of Henricus Reneri (1593–1639) was addressed to Huygens (28 March 1629, AT X, 542), Huygens presumably met Descartes in the spring of 1629. Descartes is the most likely candidate at any rate for being the *nobilis ille Gallus* interested in optics who is mentioned in Reneri’s

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letter. So much is clear, Huygens and Descartes were in direct communication in the spring of 1632, given the way Descartes is mentioned in Huygens' correspondence with Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), professor of oriental languages and mathematics in Leiden (to Golius, 7 and 16 April 1632, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 348–349). Indeed, Huygens' letter of 7 April 1632 strongly suggests he also met Descartes in Leiden. Two other letters to Golius show that Huygens was much impressed by Descartes' achievements in optics and wanted him to publish his results (to Golius, 21 October 1632, Golius to Huygens, 1 November 1632, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 368, 371–375). Meanwhile in his own correspondence Descartes refers to Huygens for the first time in a letter to De Wilhem (23 May 1632, AT I, 253). Contacts between Huygens and Descartes intensified in any case in the spring of 1635. The manuscript of *Compendium musicae* in the Huygens Collection of Leiden University is dated March 1635. Between 29 March and 6 April 1635 Huygens met Descartes in Amsterdam (possibly referred to in a letter of Descartes to Huygens of 1 November 1635, see AT I, 591). In Amsterdam Huygens was part of a group to whom Descartes presented portions of *Dioptrique* (Descartes to Golius, 16 April 1635, AT I, 315–316). Although some letters certainly preceded (De Wilhem to Huygens, 4 June 1632, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, 353; cf. Descartes to De Wilhem, 23 May 1632, AT I, 253), the first known letter of Descartes' correspondence with Huygens—forwarded by Anthony Studler van *Zurck—was written on 25 April 1635. It deals with the *Dioptrique*, a part of which he had sent at the request of Huygens on an earlier occasion (AT I, 585–586). The subject of the letter is Descartes' design of a machine for grinding hyperbolic lenses (*Dioptrique*, Discours 10, AT VI, 216–223). This remained the subject of their letters (see AT I, 520–521, 590, 592–601, 605–611, 641–642, 644–645, 650–651, 655–656), but Huygens also made himself useful in many other ways. He encourages him to publish his *Discours* (5 December 1635, AT I, 594–595), proposes a publisher and advises him on the typographic design (28 October 1635, AT I, 589). Huygens allows him to use the diplomatic bag to dispatch the *Dioptrique* and the *Meditationes* to Paris (to Huygens, 5 January 1637, AT I, 616; see also AT III, 792–793, AT IV, 773), with his wife corrects the proofs of *Discours* (to Huygens, [3 March 1637], 29 March 1637, 20 April 1637, AT I, 623–624, 628–630) and forwards the French privilege (2 June 1637, AT I, 635). He also hopes that Descartes let him know *Le monde* (published 1664) (Huygens to Descartes, 31 March 1636, AT I, 604) and insists that Descartes comes back on his decision never to publish anything (AT I, 604, 626, AT II, 678, 680–681). Huygens' encouragement stimulated Descartes to publish the *Discours* (1637) as a collection of specimens of his philosophical and scientific work. In August 1640 Huygens sent Descartes the manuscript of his 'Use and non-use of the organ in the churches of the United Provinces' (*Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, published 1641) (14 August 1640, AT III, 756–757). Apparently Descartes was much pleased by this contribution to the controversy (led by Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676)) over the use of the organ during services and secular concerts. Descartes' reaction also shows that he managed to read Dutch (to Huygens, 25 August 1640, AT III, 757–759).

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When Descartes was preparing the *Meditationes* (1641) Huygens provided special messengers for the delivery of the manuscript and the proofs (to Descartes, 17 July 1641, 25 January 1642, AT III, 769, 777, to Huygens, 29 July 1641, AT III, 771). From 1642 Huygens advised Descartes in the Utrecht crisis, although his role was rather behind the scene (see AT III, 184–185, 783–784, 786, 799, Letters 20, 24 and Letter 41, see also AT IV, 779 and 781; CM XI, 100–101). Thus he writes for him a legal ‘consultation’ (to Huygens, 10 July 1643, Letter 37, see also AT IV, 14–15)—which apparently was not to Descartes’ liking—and brings his case under the attention of the Stadholder (to Huygens, 17 October 1643, Letter 46, to Descartes, 2 November 1643, Letter 50). Relations between Huygens and Descartes were close, even if they were respectful rather than warm. They remained close friends until Descartes’ death. Huygens collected copies of Descartes’ manuscripts, like *Compendium musicae*. In September or October 1637 Descartes wrote for him a treatise on mechanics called *Explication des engins* (*Explication*, AT I, 435–448; see also AT I, 506–509, 642–643, 645–646, 648–649), which would be published as *Traité de la mécanique* in 1668. Huygens also asked Descartes to write a similar piece on medicine (AT I, 648–649). Although Descartes was working on an ‘abrégé de médecine’ (which some identify with *Excerpta anatomica* (AT XI, 549–634, esp. 587–594) and *Remedia et vires medicamentorum* (AT XI, 641–644)) (to Huygens, 4 December 1637, AT I, 649), he never sent it to Huygens. There is no evidence that Huygens was ever influenced by Descartes’ philosophical ideas, let alone that there would be any reason to see him as a ‘Cartesian’. Thus Hendrick Bruno (1617–1664), who tutored Huygens’ children in physics, was instructed to use, not Descartes’ *Principia* (1644), but a scholastic textbook by Franco Petri Burgersdijck (1590–1635) (Bruno to Huygens, 21 August 1644, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 44). In mathematics Huygens’ sons were trained by Johan Jansz *Stampioen, whom Descartes saw as a windbag (a factor may have been that Stampioen also tutored Prince William II). Huygens’ correspondence with Descartes as well as other ‘Cartesiana’ (like the *Explication des engins*) allowed his son Christiaan to complete Baillet’s biography (Annex to a letter from Chr. Huygens to Bayle, 26 February 1693, *Correspondance Chr. Huygens*, vol. 10, pp. 399–406). According to Huygens’ own testimony (Roth 1926, xxxv) his letters to Descartes were returned by Cornelis van Hogelande (1590–1662) (for the history of the collection, see Roth 1926, xxxv–lxiv). It was discovered in 1905 among the family papers of Harry Wilmot Buxton (c.1818–1880), an English barrister with an interest in mathematics. The letters are now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS ‘Nouvelles additions françaises’ 23084). Huygens’ letters to and from Descartes are of great importance, not only because of the number (46 letters of Huygens, 63 letters of Descartes), but also because most letters are exactly dated. This in turn allows us to redate other letters in the correspondence of Descartes. Their correspondence also adds important historical evidence to some of Descartes’ works, particularly the publishing history of the *Discours* and *Meditationes*. The correspondence was published by Roth in 1926.

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Writings

Batava tempe, dat is 't Voor-hout van 'sGraven-hage (n.p., 1622; 2nd edn. 1623); *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van 't orgel in de kercken der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (Leiden, 1641; several modern reprints). The book was also translated in English: *Use and nonuse of the organ in the churches of the United Netherlands*, ed. E. Smit-Vanrotte (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1964); *Heilighe daghen. Nieuwe-jaers-gift aen vrouw Leonore Hellemans* (The Hague: 1647; many reprints); *Eufrasia: ooghen-troost, aen Parthenine, bejaerde maeghd* (Leiden, 1647; other edns. 1650, 1651, 1653); *Koren-bloemen* (The Hague, 1658; many reprints). For an English anthology, see *A selection of the poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens*, eds. P. Davidson and A. van der Weel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996). Most of his poems (for example on *Cogito ergo sum* and Descartes' death; see AT IV, 772) are available on the Internet (website maintained by Leiden University, Faculty of Arts).

Correspondents

a) Correspondence with various people, among others Van Baerle, Bannius, Van *Beverwijck, *Brasset, *Brederode, Hector-Pierre Chanut, *Colvius, *Elizabeth of Bohemia, Gronovius (see also Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Frederik Hendrik, Van Hogelande, *Graswinckel, Grotius, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, *Maresius, Mersenne, *Pollot, *Reede, Reneri, Rivet, Claude Saumaise, Anna Maria van Schurman, Voetius, De Wilhem, *Wendelinus, Van Zurck.

b) Antonius van Baerle, Philip Thomas Howard, Cornelis Hendrickz de Vroom (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Dept. of Literary and Historical Manuscripts, MS 'Collection of Autograph Letters and Manuscripts', MA 1346–21 (Van Baerle); cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 5, p. 341), Eliza Calverley (Lawrence, University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, MS P531), John Conway, Carleton (PRO, MSS 'State Papers' 81/30, fo. 101, 84/100 (=Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland), fo. 180), Janus Dousa, Frederik Hendrik, Henricus Hondius (Edinburgh, UB, MS 'Laing Manuscripts', Laing II, 653,11; cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 4, p. 24), Johannes Cabeljauw, Golius, Robertus Keuchenius, Daniel Morhofius, Theodorus Rijcken, Johannes Smithius (Edinburgh, The National Library of Scotland, MS Adv.MS.81.1.15), Huygens to his sons (BL, MS Add. 21524, MS Add. 21527, MS Eg. 1857), Jan van Foreest (RAA, 'Familiearchief Van Foreest 1422–1979', inv.no. 72, seven letters), Jan van Genderen (HGA, MS 'Archief Dichtlievend Genootschap Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt', inv.no. 30), Johannes Georgius Graevius (DKB, MS 'Thott' 1262 4^o), Cyriacus Lentulus (SUH, inv.no. 1914.4240), Johannes Tronchin (Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS 'Archives Tronchin', Correspondence, no. 2855; cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 5, p. 116), Van Beverwijck, Johannes Isacius Pontanus, Antonie van Leeuwenhoek, Huygens to an unknown correspondent (Uppsala, UB, MSS 'The Waller Manuscript Collection', benl-00052, dk-01600, benl-00475, dk-01600, benl-00421), Willem Frederik of Nassau (KHA, 'Stadhouderlijk archief': Willem Frederik, inv.no. 11; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 362), two letters to Huygens from two unknown correspondents (BL, MS Add. 23100; St Petersburg, Public Library, MS 'Sobranie Dubrovskogo', p. 50, no. 73, cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 5, p. 196).

c) A. Alciatus, *Tractatus contra vitam monasticam* (Leiden, 1708); S. Groenveld, "'C'est le père qui parle". Patronage bij Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687)', *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau Museum*, (1988), 52–107, Annex 1 (Amalia of Solms); 'Brieven van Huygens aan Cats', TNTL, 4 (1893), 177–190; P.C. Molhuysen, 'Nog eens een brief van Huygens aan Cats', TNTL, 29 (1910), 101–102; *A collection of letters and poems: written by several persons of honour and learning, upon divers important subjects, to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle* (London, 1678) (William Cavendish); [R. Descartes/C. Huygens], *Correspondence 1635–1647*, ed. L. Roth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926); *Briefwisseling P.C. Hooft*, I–III; P. Franciscus, *Posthuma* (Amsterdam, 1706); [C. Huygens], *Briefwisseling (1608–1687)*, ed. J. A. Worp, 6 vols. (The Hague, Nijhoff) (RGP 15, 19, 21, 24, 28, 32); [C. Huygens/P. Corneille], *Lettres*, ed. J.A. Worp (Paris–Groningen, 1890); *Briefwisseling Hugo Grotius*, I–II, IV–V, VII–XVI; *Correspondance Christiaan Huygens*, vols. 1–8, 22; M. de Haas, 'Een vijftiental brieven van

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Maurits Huygens aan zijn broer Constantijn (van 20 mei 1622 tot 7 juni 1624)', *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 50 (1929), 1–40; J.A. Worp, 'Constantijn Huygens en J.L. Guez de Balzac', *Oud-Holland*, 14 (1896), 147; CM VII–XIII, XVI (Bannius, Louis Bouterne, Van Beverwijck, Antoine Boësset, Jean-Louis Calandrini, Valentin Conrart, Godefroy Louis d'Estrades, Johan van Euskercken, Mersenne, Rivet, Jan (?) van Santen, Van Schurman, Philip Ernst Vegilin van Claerbergen, Wendelinus, Van Zurck); J. Papy, 'Some unpublished Latin verses and letters by Jacobus Wallius SJ (1599–1690) to Fredericus Marslaricus, and one unknown letter to Constantijn Huygens', *Lias. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 26 (1999), 22–56; *Lettres de J. de Wicquefort, avec les réponses de G. Barlée* (Amsterdam, 1696); W. Hüskens, 'Drie onbekende brieven van Constantijn Huygens aan Jacques Wyts', in G. van Gemeren and F. Willaert (eds.), *'t Ondersoek leert'* (Leuven: Acco, 1988), 283–291.

Private library

Huygens' library (about 8,000 to 10,000 books) was partly put up for auction (from 15 March 1688). The sale included a copy of Descartes' *Meditationes* (Blauw, 1644), *Geometria* (Maire, 1649), *Principia* (Elzevier, 1647) and some works on Cartesianism. For a catalogue of this sale, see *Catalogus variorum ... librorum* (The Hague, 1688). Reprinted as *Catalogus der bibliotheek van Constantyn Huygens*, ed. W.P. van Stockum (The Hague: Van Stockum, 1903). Another part of Huygens' library was sold together with the books of Huygens' son Constantijn on 26 September 1701. See *Bibliotheca magna et elegantissima Zuylichemiana*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1701). For the history of Huygens' private library, see A. Leerintveld, "'Magnificent paper": the library of Constantijn Huygens', *Quaerendo. A quarterly journal from the Low Countries devoted to manuscripts and printed books*, 28 (1998), 165–184. See also Van Selm 1987, esp. 130–131.

Documents

BL, MSS Add. Ch. 12777 (patent of English knighthood, 1622), Add. 22954 ('Constantini Hugenii de vita propria sermonum inter liberos libri duo'; 7 October 1678: 'an autobiography, in Latin verse, autograph, with a corrected transcript'), Add 23105, fo. 43 (inscriptions in the *Album amicorum* of Cornelis de Glarges (1599–1683), 6 October 1640; cf. Bots/Van Gemert/Rietbergen 1975, 46–47); Edinburgh, The National Library of Scotland, MS Adv.MS.81.1.15 (manuscript of *Meteorologicae*, 1636, laudatory letters (see correspondence) and poems; KB, MS 130 E 32, 131 H 7, 131 H 26 (inscriptions in the *Alba amicorum* of Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671), 22 June 1622, Johannes van Heemskerck (1597–1656), 5 April 1639, and Jacob Heyblocq (1623–1690), 21 September 1660). For a list of inventories of the manuscripts of Huygens' writings, see Bots, 460.

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[C. Huygens], *Dagboek*, ed. J.H.W. Unger (Amsterdam: Binger, 1884–1885); NNBW I, 1186–1190; [C. Huygens], *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen*, ed. F.R.E. Blom, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bakker, 2003) (Huygens' autobiography, in Latin, with a translation in Dutch). The life and works of Huygens are the subject of many studies. To indicate the most important studies, see for instance [C. Huygens], *Musique et musiciens au XVIIe siècle. Correspondance et oeuvre musicale*, eds. W.J.A. Jonckbloet and J.P.N. Land (Leiden: Brill, 1882); Korteweg 1888; J. van der Vliet, 'De promotie van Constantijn Huygens', *Oud-Holland*, 14 (1896), 129–146; Korthals Altes 1924; R. Dugas, 'Sur le Cartesianisme de Huygens', *RHSA*, 8 (1954), 22–33; R. Colie, 'The cosmology of Constantijn Huygens: A study of Daghwerck', *The Germanic Review*, 30 (1955), 101–109; id., 'Some thankfulness to Constantine': a study of English influence upon the early works of Constantijn Huygens (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956); A.G.H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain 1596–1687: a pattern of cultural exchange* (Leiden: University Press, 1962); H. Bots (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens. Zijn plaats in geleerd Europa* (Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam, 1973) (with lists of

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studies); A.G.H. Bachrach, 'The role of the Huygens family in seventeenth-century Dutch culture', in H.J.M. Bos, et al., *Studies on Christiaan Huygens* (Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1980), 27–52; H.A. Hofman, *Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687). Een christelijk-humanistisch bourgeois-gentilhomme in dienst van het Oranjehuis*. Ph.D. Diss. Utrecht (Utrecht: HES, 1983) (with list of studies); *Huygens herdacht* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1987) (exhibition catalogue, The Hague, KB, 26 March–9 May 1987; with bibliography of Huygens' writings); Thijssen-Schoute 1989; M. Ahsmann, *Collegia en colleges* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Forsten, 1990); P. Dibon, 'Constantin Huygens et le Discours de la méthode', in Dibon 1990, 485–494; F.R.E. Blom, "'What has been my weight on earth': the autobiography of Constantijn Huygens", in K.A.E. Enenkel, et al., *Modelling the individual. Biography and portrait in the Renaissance* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 197–216; F.R.E. Blom, et al. (eds.), *Domus. Het huis van Constantijn Huygens in Den Haag* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999).

LA THUILLERIE (Tuillerie), Gaspard de Coignet de — (1594–1653)

Gaspard de Coignet, Count of Courson and La Thuillerie, was born in St Germain-l'Auxerrois (Paris, Île-de-France) on 11 September 1594. He was the son of Mathieu de Coignet de la Thuillerie, chamberlain at the court of King Henry IV (1589–1610), and Marguerite Hue. On 27 August 1618 La Thuillerie became a councillor in the *Parlement de Paris*. On 23 December 1624 he was appointed 'maître des requêtes'. He was also governor of Angoumois, Saintonge and the district of Aunis. After Cardinal Richelieu resolved to crush the Huguenots at La Rochelle (1628) he entrusted La Thuillerie with the demolition of the fortifications and the restoration of Roman Catholicism in that city. After two earlier marriages he married Anne de l'Escalopier (†1633), probably in 1625. Until 1632 La Thuillerie was responsible for the King's finances. That same year he was appointed French ambassador to the Republic of Venice, in 1637 to Mantua, and on 17 September 1640 to the States General in The Hague. According to the Swedish resident Petter Spiring Silfvercrona (c.1600–1652) La Thuillerie returned to France in November 1642 in the company of Godefroy Louis d'Estrades (1607–1686) (Silfvercrona to Grotius, 10 November 1642, *Briefwisseling Grotius*, XIII, 513). After his return to The Hague he resumed diplomatic service on 25 March 1643. On 27 February 1644 La Thuillerie was asked to mediate in the military conflict between Denmark and Sweden. He left the United Provinces early April 1644. On 9 September 1645 he was replaced, for reasons of health (he suffered from gout), by Hector-Pierre Chanut (1601–1662), whom he presented to the Queen of Sweden, Christina Wasa (1628–1689), on 31 December. In early February 1646 La Thuillerie made a trip to France with Imbert Porlier (†1694), returning to the United Provinces on 15 April. In the autumn of 1646 he travelled to Sweden for the second time, returning to The Hague on 11 July 1647. He held his farewell audience on 23 May 1648 and returned to France one week later. La Thuillerie died in Paris on 14 August 1653.

In October 1643 Descartes and his friends considered the possibility to ask the Stadholder through La Thuillerie to intervene on Descartes' behalf in the

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lawsuit started by the city of Utrecht (to *Huygens, 17 October 1643, Letter 46; to [*Graswinckel], 17 October 1643, Letter 45; to *Pollot, 17 October 1643, Letter 44; see also *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIIIB, 217). Earlier Descartes seems to have spoken with La Thuillierie in person (Rivet to Saumaise, 12 October 1643, *Correspondance Rivet–Sarrau*, vol. 2, p. 112). The ambassador seems indeed to have spoken with the Prince almost immediately (Brasset to Descartes, 10 November 1643, Letter 54). La Thuillierie's help was successful, for on 16 November 1643 the Prince of Orange instructed the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht to halt the procedures (Descartes to Pollot, [17 November 1643], Letter 57; Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1, p. 192). Late January 1644 Descartes asked La Thuillierie's assistance for the second time against Martin *Schoock (22 January 1644, AT IV, 84–96; see also AT IV 76). Again La Thuillierie complied and wrote a letter to the States of Groningen (15 March 1644, AT IV, 96). La Thuillierie and Descartes seem to have kept friendly relations until the end of 1646 (Descartes to Chanut, 1 November 1646, AT IV, 535–536), but no further details are known.

Published speeches

Propositie gedaen door den heer de La Thuillerye ... den 8 augustij 1646 (Paris, 1646); *Harangue de mons. de la Thuillerye ... le 23. octobre 1647* (Utrecht, 1647); *Propositien, gedaen ter vergaderinghe van ... d'heeren Staten Generael ... den 28. octobre 1647* (Utrecht, 1647); *Twee propositien gedaen door den heer de La Thullerie ... op den 3 mart, den tweeden op den 17 mart 1648* (Utrecht, 1648); *Proposition faicte par monsieur de La Thuillerie ... le 18 de mars, 1648* (Schiedam, 1648). See Knuttel 1889–1920, nos. 5281–5285, 5490–5491, 5695–5698.

Correspondents

b) Diplomatic correspondence with various people, among others: Chanut (AMAE, 'Correspondance politique Suède', 1646–1654, vol. 10), Axel Gustavsson Oxenstierna (Rar, MSS 'Det odelade kansliet Riksregistraturet' 225, fos. 247, 260–261, 230, fos. 2, 151, 168, 186, 208, 230, 233, 243, 237, fo. 61, 'Diplomatica Danica' 33), Henri de la Thuillierie (Thuillierie's son) (Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 444), Ole Worm (DKB, MSS GKS 3119 4^o a 322, 323, 347, 356, 371–372), correspondence with Paris (AMAE, MS 'Correspondance politique Hollande', 26 (May 1643–April 1644)).

c) J.L. Guez de Balzac, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1665. Reprint. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), vol. 1; AT IV (Brasset); Groen van Prinsterer 1841–1861, vol. 4 (Anne of Austria, Mazarin and Servien); Mazarin 1872–1906, vols. 1–2.

Private library

Two books survived from La Thuillierie's private library: the first edition of Georg Braun's *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Washington, Georgetown University, Lauinger Library Special Collections, 77VB2) and a manuscript called *Aerarium historicum* (KB, MS 7C2). For this manuscript, see P.C. Boeren, *Catalogus van de handschriften van het Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum* (The Hague: Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum/Staatsuitgeverij, 1979), 223.

Documents

Carpentras, Bm, MS 1798.

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DBF, vol. 9, 146–147. See also Hoefler 1852–1866, vol. 11, p. 74; A. Waddington, *La République des Provinces-Unies: la France et les Pays-Bas Espagnols de 1630 à 1650*, 2 vols.

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(Paris: Masson, 1895–1897) (*Annales de l'Université de Lyon*); Adam 1910, 118; *Briefwisseling Hugo Grotius*, XV; Heringa 1961; Schutte 1983, 7, 11–12; J.-Fr. Raymond, *Pierre Chanut, ami de Descartes. Un diplomate philosophe* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1999).

LEEUVEN (der Leeuw), Peter van — (1592–1652)

Peter van Leeuwen was born in Utrecht presumably, in 1592. On 15 March 1628 he matriculated at Leiden University as a student of philosophy. In October 1640 he became a member of the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht. On 26 September 1647 Van Leeuwen married Geertruyd ten Grootenhuys (1625–1698) in Amsterdam. They had three children: Dideric (†1648), Geertruijt (b.1649) and Henderika Joanna (b.1651). On 13 June 1648 Van Leeuwen made his will in Utrecht before a notary public, Gerrit Houtman. Together with Frederik *Ruysch Van Leeuwen was Burgomaster of Utrecht from 1651 to 1652. He was also a deputy of the States of Utrecht to the States General in The Hague. On 27 September 1652 Van Leeuwen died in Utrecht. He was buried in the 'Domkerk'.

Whether there were any personal relations between Van Leeuwen and Descartes is not known. The fact however that Van Leeuwen and Gijsbert van der *Hoolck offered a copy of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) to the Burgomasters Johan van *Weede and Ruysch (Baillet, II, 190; *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 214; Bos 1996, 86) suggests that there were. In that case Van Leeuwen's appointment to a formal committee to examine Descartes' accusations against Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) was probably meant to ensure some form of impartiality. The person referred to as 'V.L.' in a letter by Descartes to Henricus Regius (1598–1679) is not Van Leeuwen, as was mistakenly suggested by Baillet (II, 153), but almost certainly Gijsbert van der Hoolck, one of the two Burgomasters during the Utrecht crisis (late January 1642, *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 106). According to Baillet (II, 216) Van Leeuwen also figures in a letter of Regius to Descartes (4 June 1644, *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 174).

Documents

Vande Water 1729, vol. 3, p. 185; HUA, 'Doo-, trouw- en begraafboeken'; 'Registers van transporten en plechten 1578–1792', inv.no. 702,17, no. 3243.

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Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1; Elias 1963, vol. 1, p. 276; Duker 1989, vol. 2, pp. 156, 190, xxi, vol. 3, pp. 149, lxiii.

LEU DE WILHEM, *see* WILHEM, David le Leu de

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MARESIUS (Desmare(t)s, Desmarest, Des Mareis), Samuel — (1599–1673)

Samuel Maresius was born in Oisemont (Picardy) on 9 August 1599, the son of David des Marets (†1649), Lord of Féret, and Magdelaine (Madelaine) Vaucquet (†1659). He received his formal education in the humanities from the Reformed minister of Oisemont Esaïe Blanchard. In the summer of 1612 Maresius was sent to Paris to study humanities at the ‘Collège des Grassins’ and the ‘Collège royal’. From 1616 to 1618 he studied theology in Saumur (under Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641) and Louis Cappel (1585–1658)) and in Geneva. In April 1620 he became minister of the Protestant Church in Laon (Picardy). In May 1624 he was moved to Falaise (Champagne) after a failed attempt on his life (13 December 1623, possibly committed because of Maresius’ criticism of the conversion of the wife of Hurtebize, the governor of La Fère, to Roman Catholicism, Nauta 1935, 78–80). Soon thereafter (17 October 1624) Maresius was appointed minister in Sedan. On 19 June 1625 he entered Leiden University with the intention to graduate within a short period of time. On 8 July 1625 he took a degree in Theology (8 July) with a disputation on justification (*De iustificatione hominis coram Deo*). He returned to Sedan to succeed Cappel as professor of theology (24 November 1625). On 2 May 1628 Maresius married Abigaille Grand (Legrand, †1689), who gave him seven children. That same year he published his first work, *Préservatif contre la révolte*, in which he incites French Protestants not to revert to Catholicism. From late May to late October 1631 he worked as chaplain to the regiment of Frédéric Maurice de La Tour d’Auvergne (c.1605–1652), Duke of Bouillon, in the service of the States’ army. When encamped in Bergen op Zoom he started a correspondence with the minister of the Walloon Church in Dordrecht, Andreas *Colvius. After a short stay in France Maresius accompanied Duchess Elizabeth of Nassau (1577–1642), the widow of Henri de la Tour d’Auvergne (1591–1623), on her visit to The Hague in April 1632. In that capacity he met Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647) and the Protestant theologian André Rivet (1572–1651), with whom he later became close friends. Maresius settled in the Low Countries and became minister in Maastricht (1632–1636) and ’s-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc, 1636–1642). On 15 January 1637 he was given the chair of theology in the new Illustrious School in ’s-Hertogenbosch. On 2 November 1642 he succeeded Gomarus as professor of theology at Groningen University, where he was four times rector (1644–1645, 1651–1652, 1660–1661, 1672–1673). In 1652 he also became minister of the Walloon Church in Groningen. Maresius acquired a reputation as a perfectly orthodox Protestant theologian. He published many theological works, like *Collegium theologicum* (1645), which was reprinted six times. Maresius and his son Henri des Marets (1629–1725) also edited a French translation of the Bible (*La Sainte Bible*, 1669). Maresius’ friends also include Tobias Andreae (1604–1676), David le Leu de *Wilhem, Abraham de *Mory and Claude Saumaise (1588–1653). Maresius died in Groningen in the early evening of 18 May 1673.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

In 1642 Maresius wrote *Defensio pietatis*, a defence of 14 prominent Reformed citizens of 's-Hertogenbosch joining the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' (Illustere Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap, see Appendix 2). In the context of this affair he crossed swords with his real adversary Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and his supporters (between 1643 and 1669). It is most likely that Maresius started a correspondence with Descartes in the context of the same affair, somewhere in late 1642 or early 1643. They also met personally, presumably more than once (*Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 247; Dibon 1990, 352). The only surviving letter of Descartes to Maresius ([January/February 1643], Letter 8) deals with *Specimen assertionum* (1643), Voetius' attack on *Defensio pietatis*. Although there were rumours it was Maresius himself who had excited Descartes against Voetius (Rivet to Maresius, 28 June 1643, Dibon 1990, 352; Rivet to Maresius, 10 July 1643, Maresius to Rivet, 22 July 1643, Nauta 1935, Annex 3, 507–508, 508–509; see also AT VIII B, 319–324), there is no independent evidence to support that claim. After the Groningen judgment of 20 April 1645 (Bailet, II, 251–255/AT IV, 196–199; see also AT IV, 792–801) Voetius' son Paulus (1619–1667) in particular accused Maresius—the rector of Groningen university presiding at the time—in *Pietas in parentem* (1645) of partiality. Thus this was the start of the publication of several pamphlets by both parties. Maresius defended himself in *Ultima patientia* (1645), explaining his relations with Descartes (Rivet to Sarrau, 18 December 1645, *Correspondance Rivet–Sarrau*, vol. 2, pp. 290–291). In this pamphlet—which Descartes did read meticulously (Descartes to [Van Haestrecht], October–November 1645, AT IV, 230; see also *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 219)—he emphasizes his refusal to Descartes to pass a copy of *Epistola ad Voetium* to the curators of Groningen University and advised against any legal action. According to his own testimony his correspondence with Descartes was only limited to five letters (May–June and 12 December 1643, AT VIII B, 320–323; see also Letters 23, 31, 52, 63 and 65). Soon afterwards Maresius answered Voet's *Pietas in parentem* in *Bonae fidei sacrum* (1646), which contains all official documents relating to the Groningen affair, including parts of Voetius' correspondence with Schoock. Voet replied with *Tribunal iniquum* (1646) to prove Schoock never ceased to recognise *Admiranda methodus* as his work. Maresius in turn published *Lingua abortiva* (1646). Finally, Voet published *Samuelis Maresius causae desertae* (1646), in which he declares that Maresius left all accusations unanswered. Whether Maresius indeed had sympathy with Descartes' philosophy is uncertain, because his own work leaves too little room for philosophic speculation of any kind. So much is clear, in an elaborate statement (27 September 1651) Maresius expresses the disbelief of the Groningen professors Descartes' philosophy to be heterodox (Maresius' reply to a question of Count Ludwig Heinrich of Nassau-Dillenburg (1594–1662) how to judge Cartesianism (Verbeek 1992, 83–84)). Thus it seems that his controversy with Voetius was far more important than a condemnation of the New Philosophy as such. It is also very likely that Maresius published *Querela apologetica* (1656), a Latin translation of *Lettre apologétique*, as was the wish of Descartes. According to Maresius' own testimonies in his disputation *Refutatio libelli de philosophia in-*

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terpretete Scripturae (19 February 1667) and *De abusu philosophiae Cartesianae* (1670) his son Henri (H.D.M.) was the editor of the Latin version of Descartes' *Les passions de l'âme* published by *Elzevier in Amsterdam in 1650 (Dibon 1990, 527–531; Van Otegem 2002, vol. 2, pp. 340–341, 369).

Writings

Dissertatio de Antichristo (Amsterdam, 1640); *Concordia discors et Antichristus revelatus* (Amsterdam, 1642; other edns., 1649, 1656, 1659, 1662); *Foederatum Belgium orthodoxum* (Groningen, 1652); *Catechesis publica Foederati Belgij* (Groningen, 1671).

Correspondents

a) 'La Vénérable Compagnie des pasteurs' (Geneva), curators of Leiden University, Tobias Andreae, Joan Leonardsz Blasius, Colvius, Johannes Duraeus, Tijmen van Gessel, Constantijn *Huygens, Arnold Moonen, Rivet, Christianus Schotanus, Vigne, De *Wilhem, Jacobus Zuerius.

b) Andreae (HGA, 'Archief Dichtlievend Genootschap *Kunstliefde spaart geen vlijt*', inv.no. 22), Gronovius (cf. Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Turretini (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Handschriften- und Musikabteilung, MS B9, two letters), Matthias Nethenus, Adias Widmarus (Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 93), Willem-Frederik of Nassau (KHA, 'Stadhouderlijk archief': Willem Frederik, inv.no. 110; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 166).

c) J. Alting, *Opera omnia theologica*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam, 1687), vol. 1; B. Bekker, *Defensio justa et necessaria* (Franeker, 1673); S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata a Gisberto Voetio* (Groningen, 1645) (Samuel Delecherpiere, Johannes Maccovius); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III–IV; J. Coccejus, *Opera anekdota theologica et philologica*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1706); C. Drelincurtius, *Opuscula medica, quae reperiri potuere omnia* (The Hague, 1727); S. Maresius, *Monachomachia: sive, vindiciae pro veritate religionis reformatae, adversus Matthiae Hauzeur* (Maastricht, 1634) (Petrus Mareschal); P. Dibon, 'Lettres de Samuel Desmarets à Claude Saumaise (1644–1653)', in Dibon 1990, 389–430; S. Maresius, *Chiliasmus enervatus, ad d. P. Serarium* (Groningen, 1664); Vossius 1690; Voet 1646 (Franciscus de Wael); J. van der Waeyen, *De reconciliatione clarissimorum virorum d.d. Gisberti Voetii et d.d. Samuelis Maresii* (Leewarden, 1670); *Lettres sur la vie et sur la mort de monsieur Louis de Wolzogue* (Amsterdam, 1692) (Ludwig of Wolzogen). For Maresius' voluminous correspondence (Andreae, Johannes Buxtorf, Georg Calixtus, Colvius, Van Gessel, Johann Heinrich Heidegger, Joh. H. Hottinger, Godefroy Hotton, D. Julsinga, Henricus Leo, Rivet, Schotanus, G. Udinck, Vigne, Gerardus Johannes Vossius, De Wilhem, Jean Zollicoffer, Johannes Zwinger, curators of Leiden University, 'La Vénérable Compagnie des pasteurs', magistrate of Groningen, Walloon synods of Kampen, Nijmegen, The Hague and Vlissingen, Walloon church council of 's-Hertogenbosch), see Nauta 1935.

Private library

Maresius' library was sold on 11 December 1673. For the auction catalogue, see *Catalogus variorum ... Samuelis Maresii* (The Hague, 1673).

Documents

KB, MSS 76 J 34, 79 J 63 (inscriptions in the *Alba amicorum* of Johannes Honingh (1635–1692), 13 May 1665, and Marcus Pels (c.1614–1688)); Sárospatak (Hungary), A Református Kollégium Könyvtára, (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Paul Csernátoni).

References

Bayle 1740, vol. 3, pp. 322–326; Paquot 1763–1770, vol. 1, 274–283; NNBW II, 868–870; DBF, vol. 10, pp. 1447–1448; D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1935); Nauta 1978–

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1998, vol. 1, pp. 58–60. See also G. Mees, 'De verzoening van Samuel Maresius met Jacob Alting', *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 7 (1878), 252–269; H.J. Koenen, *Het geslacht De Marez* (The Hague, 1901); Cohen 1921; R.A.B. Oosterhuis, 'Een 17e eeuwsech dispuut over het chiliasme tusschen J.A. Comenius en S. Maresius', *Stemmen des tijds*, 20 (1931), 345–358, 427–441; H.J. de Vleeschauwer, 'Het alarm-pamphlet van Samuel Maresius bij het stadhouderschap van Willem III en den val van J. de Wit', *Tijdschrift voor filosofie*, 2 (1940), 551–586; C. Sloots, 'Pater Matthias Hauzeur o.f.m. Een polemist—bijzonder tegen Samuel Maresius—uit de 17de eeuw', *NAK*, 33 (1941), 162–184, 257–276; Van Dijk 1973; *Correspondance Rivet-Sarrau*, vol. 1; Duker 1989, vols. 2–3; P. Dibon, 'Deux théologiens wallons face à Descartes et à sa philosophie: André Rivet (1571–1651) et Samuel Desmarets (1599–1673)', in Dibon 1990, 343–357.

MORY (Maury, Mori), Abraham de — (c.1600–1645)

Abraham de Mory was born in Metz around 1600. He studied theology in Sedan. Apparently he came to the Netherlands in the early 1620s. During the Walloon synod of 1626 (Vlissingen, 17–20 September) in any case De Mory was nominated for appointment as chaplain to the French regiments in the service of the States' army. Two letters supported his candidacy: from the Marquess de Courtomer and from his own mother (*Livre synodal* 1563–1685, 329). De Mory's name occurs on a board (now preserved in the church of St Stephen, Nijmegen) mentioning the ministers who preached in the Walloon Church of Nijmegen. De Mory was an intimate friend of Constantijn *Huygens. Another friend was Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), who asked him to translate into French a poem (*Manes illustrissimi viri Dominici Molini*) to commemorate the Venetian senator Domenico Molino (†1636) (Barlaeus to Huygens, 6 March 1636, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II, 153). De Mory would have participated, together with André Rivet (1572–1651), in talks (late October–early November 1643) to solve the dispute between Huygens' cousin Jacobus Zuerius (1587–1673) and Samuel *Maresius, minister of the Walloon Church of 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), about the affair of the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' (Illustere Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap, see Appendix 2) (Nauta, Annex 3, 495). De Mory became a victim of a disease that swept the camp of the States' army in Oost-Eeckeloo (Rivet to Sarrau, 19 September 1645, *Correspondance Rivet-Sarrau*, vol. 3, p. 219). He died in that place in the night of 12 September 1645. His death is mentioned in Huygens' diary (Huygens, *Dagboek* 1885, 43) and Huygens' correspondence with the wife of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647), Amalia of Solms (1602–1675) (13 September 1645, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 207).

Personal contacts between De Mory and Descartes presumably date back to 1633 (Descartes to De *Wilhem, 12 December 1633, AT I, 274). De Mory may have been introduced to Descartes by Huygens (Mory to Huygens, 16 July 1636, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II, 177). De Mory took an interest in Descartes' writings, as is shown by a letter from Descartes to Huygens (29 March 1637, AT I, 629). Descartes offered him a copy of *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) (to Huygens, 22

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May 1643, Letter 20), possibly because De Mory gave him access to the proceedings of the Walloon synod of April 1643 (see Letter 1). Descartes in turn admired De Mory for his eminent qualities, which according to him were not those of a theologian (to De Wilhem, 26 September 1645, AT IV, 299).

Correspondents

- a) Constantijn Huygens.
- b) De Wilhem (NA, 'Collectie De Wilhem 1622–1656', inv.no. 1221).
- c) Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II–III; Dibon/Bots/Estourgie 1971 (Rivet).

References

Livre synodal 1563–1685; Nauta 1935.

PALLOTTI, *see* POLLLOT, Alphonse

PARMENTIER (Parmentiers), Charles (Carel, Carolus) Anthony (Anthoni(s))
– (c.1603–1665)

Charles Anthony Parmentier was born around 1603, the son of Antonius Parmentier and Johanna de Laffeur. On 24 May 1623 he enrolled at Leiden University as a student of philosophy and continued his university education in Geneva (matriculation 19 June 1628) and Siena (15 November 1628). After Parmentier returned he became 'raetpensionaris' (secretary) of the city of Nijmegen (1631). In June 1631 he married Elisabeth Vivien in Cologne. They moved to Utrecht, where their three children Elisabeth (1640–1704), Charles (1642–1727/28) and Antonia (†1728) were baptized. Parmentier was a member of the Walloon Church. He was also canon and dean (22 March 1649) of the Chapter of Oudmunster in Utrecht. On 3 November 1645 he became one of the *Geëligeerden* (representatives of the ecclesiastical goods in the States of Utrecht) in succession to Jacob van *Asch van Wijck. As a large landowner Parmentier was Lord of Colenberg (De Bilt), Achthoven, Heeswijk (1649) and Viscount of Montfoort (1650). In 1656 he moved from Utrecht to his country house 'Het Klooster' (on the location of the former Benedictine nunnery 'Vrouwenklooster', bought 1647 or 1648, nowadays part of the Royal Dutch Meteorological Institute) in De Bilt on the paved road ('Steenstraat') to Utrecht. On 17 July 1656 the States of Utrecht transferred the manorial rights of Parmentier's immunity 'Colenberg' (west of his country house), elevating 'Het Klooster' into a new domain called 'Colenberg' as well. Parmentier died in Utrecht on 30 December 1665.

During the Utrecht crisis Parmentier assisted Descartes with legal advice, discussing *Huygens 'consultation' and the Utrecht summons early July 1643. Before leaving for Amsterdam to have his *Antwoordt* (1643) printed, Descartes

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

and Parmentier sought the advice of a lawyer in The Hague (Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643, Letter 36), who can be identified as Paulus *Vanpeene. Parmentier is also mentioned as a friend in a letter of Henricus Regius (1598–1679) to Descartes (4 June 1644, Baillet, II, 216/AT IV, 124/*Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 174).

Documents

Vande Water 1729, vol. 1, pp. 205, 249; HUA, 'Archief der Staten van Utrecht 1375–1813', inv.no. 448; 'Archief van de heren van Montfoort', inv.no. 209; 'Archief van de heerlijkheden Heeswijk en Achthoven', inv.no. 207; 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Boetzelaer, 1316–1952', inv.no. 32; 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie De Geer van Jutphaas', inv.no. 68; 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van der Muelen', inv.no. 57; 'Inventaris van het archief van de heerlijkheid Oosthoek en De Bilt c.1681–1882', inv.nos. 29–3; 'Inventaris van het huis Linschoten 1402–1891', inv.no. 84; 'Notariële akten', U95a2–6 (5 April 1684), U80a8–225 (13 June 1685) (various documents concerning Parmentier's entrepreneurship); RAr, Leufsta arkivet, kartong 4 (documents concerning the liquidation of Parmentier's estate; cf. Römelingh 1986, 131, 4f).

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[Anonymous], *Het archief van de heerlijkheid Heeswijk en Achthoven* (n.p., n.d.); S. Muller, et al., *Catalogus van het archief der staten van Utrecht 1375–1813* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1915) (Rijksarchieven in de provincie Utrecht 2), 101, no. 448; R. Fruin and A. le Cosquino de Bussy, *Catalogus van het archief der heeren van Montfoort* (Utrecht, Oosthoek, 1920) (Rijksarchieven in de provincie Utrecht 13), 78, no. 442; [Anonymous], 'Oude brug verdwenen', *Maandblad Oud-Utrecht*, 35 (1962), 72; P.H. Damsté, *Oostbroek en de De Bilt c.s. De geschiedenis van een ambachtsheerlijkheid* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1978) (Stichting Historische Reeks 4), 26–30, 86, 143–144; C. Dekker and G.M.W. Ruitenbergh, *Inventarissen van de kleine archieven van heerlijkheden en huizen in de provincie Utrecht* (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1980) (Inventarisreeks Rijksarchief Utrecht 29), 228, no. 9; E.P. de Booy, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Boetzelaer, 1316–1952* (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1982) (Inventarisreeks Rijksarchief Utrecht 32); De Booy 1986; A.M. Abelmann, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie De Geer van Jutphaas (1204) 1295–1977* (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1988) (Inventarisreeks Rijksarchief Utrecht 68); K.M. Buiscool, *Inventaris van het archief van het huis Linschoten* (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1992) (Inventarisreeks Rijksarchief Utrecht 84), 22, no. 11; S. Broekhoven and S. Barends, *De Bilt. Geschiedenis en architectuur* (Zeist: Kerckebosch, 1995) (Monumenteninventarisatie Provincie Utrecht 15), 27–28, 250; J.H. Janssen, P. van Beek and T.L.H. van de Sande, *Aanvullingen en verwijzingen op de inventarissen 1–99* (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1998–2002), 141, nos. 21a–b; Perlot 2000, 17, 84.

PEENEN, *see* VANPEENE, Paulus

PICOT, Claude — (1601–1668)

Most of what is known about Claude Picot is based on Baillet. Picot was born in 1601 the son of Jean Picot, 'receveur général des finances' of Moulins (1620), and Elizabeth Lefebvre, the sister of Antoine Lefebvre, 'prevôt des marchands'

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and ‘conseiller d’état’. Picot is usually referred to as the ‘abbé Picot’ and ‘prieur’ of the abbey of Le Rouvre, although it is unknown when exactly he was ordained priest. He is also described as ‘abbé de St Jouin’ (cf. BnF, Dossiers Bleus). Whether this is a reference to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Jouin-de-Marne (Deux Sèvres, Poitou) is uncertain. Picot could be the person who is described by Tallemant des Réaux (1619–1692) as a friend of Jacques Vallée des Barreaux (1599–1673), but there is no certainty. According to Tallemant (vol. 2, p. 31) Picot and Vallée des Barreaux lived as bohemians, ‘scoring all the delicacies of France’ in 1642. On one occasion Picot and his libertine friends Vallée des Barreaux, Damien Miton (1618–1690), Louis Potel, Jacques Bordier (†1660) and Michel-Jerôme Moreau (†1660) passed the Holy Week in Saint-Cloud ‘to celebrate their carnival’ (Tallemant des Réaux, vol. 2, p. 33). According to Tallemant (vol. 2, p. 33) Picot—if he really is our Claude Picot—‘died like he lived’. When on his deathbed somewhere in rural France he would have threatened the local village priest—who apparently promised him ‘not to shout in his ears’ but did so anyway—to take back the benefice he had promised him. Picot died on 6 November 1668. He was buried in Limeil (most likely Limeil-Brévannes, Val-de-Marne, south-east of Paris).

Picot was an intimate friend of Descartes and the author of the French version (1647) of his *Principia* (1644). According to Baillet (I, 168) his friendship with Descartes dates back to 1628, but that is rather unlikely. Descartes refers to him for the first time indirectly in a letter to Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) (4 March 1641, AT III, 332/CM X, 534). Whether he is the ‘convert’ mentioned in another letter to Mersenne (18 March 1641, AT III, 340/CM X, 546–547) is uncertain. If he is indeed Picot this suggests he had access to the manuscript of *Meditationes* (1641). In 1641 Picot, Vallée des Barreaux and the abbé de Touchelay visited Descartes in Egmond (Boudhors, 491–492; Guez de Balzac, 540). During this visit Picot’s friendship with Descartes gradually deepened (Descartes to Mersenne, 23 June 1641, AT III, 388/CM X, 677). Picot remained in the United Provinces, apparently spending some time in Utrecht. During his stay Descartes wrote for him two letters of recommendation: to Henricus Regius (1598–1679) (6 February 1642, *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 119–121) and to Roderich Dotzen (1618–1670). The letter to Dotzen, a German nobleman who studied mathematics and philosophy in Utrecht, shows that Picot was introduced to Descartes’ *Géométrie* by Jacobus van Waessenaer (1607–1682) (to Dotzen, 6 February 1642, AT III, 735–736). Another letter of Descartes to Dotzen shows Picot was still living in Utrecht late March 1642 (25 March 1642, AT III, 555). In the summer of 1642 Picot stayed with Descartes at Endegeest (Baillet, II, 171) where he met Samuel Sorbière (1615–1670) (Sorbière to Mersenne, 25 August 1642, CM XI, 241). The first known letter Descartes wrote to Picot is dated 2 February 1643 (Letter 10). It was written some time after Picot had returned to Paris in the autumn of 1642 (see Descartes to Mersenne, 17 November 1642, AT III, 594/CM XI, 351). When Descartes visited his family in Brittany in the summer of 1644 he asked Picot and Mersenne to supervise the distribution of copies

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

of *Principia* (Descartes to Picot, 29 July 1644, Baillet, II, 221/AT IV, 130). Soon afterwards Descartes went to Paris and visited Picot in the Rue des Écouffes (Baillet, II, 211/AT IV, 108). In the summer of 1647 Picot received Descartes in the Rue Geoffroy-l'Anier (cf. Baillet, II, 323/AT V, 63). He also enjoyed his company on a trip to Descartes' family in Rennes (Brittany) that summer (late July). During that visit Picot signed a legal document in the presence of Descartes' brothers and sisters (26 July 1647), in which he declares that Descartes transported his share in the inheritance of his father (worth 11,400 pounds) to him. He in turn would pay Descartes the interest (cf. Baillet, II, 325/AT V, 66; see also AT V, 407). By early October 1647 Picot and Descartes went back to the United Provinces, spending the entire winter together in Egmond (Bruno to *Huygens, [13] December 1647, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 442; Descartes to Huygens, 8 December 1647, AT V, 653; see also Baillet, II, 327–328, 448) till Picot returned to France mid-January 1648 (cf. Brasset to Rivet, 15 January 1648, quoted in AT V, 110–111). Huygens in a letter to Descartes of 14 November 1647 refers mistakenly to Picot as 'un grand Chymique de France' (AT V, 652, see also 653). When Descartes visited Paris again between May and August 1648 Picot provided housing for him close to the convent of the Theatine mission. Afterwards he seems to have again taken his lodgings at Picot's (Baillet, II, 340–341). According to Baillet Picot lent Descartes his German servant Henry Schlüter to assist him in Stockholm (Descartes to Picot, 23 April 1649, Baillet, II, 457/AT V, 358). Before leaving for Sweden early September 1649 Descartes entrusted Picot with his financial dealings (Baillet, II, 386; to Picot, 30 August 1649, AT V, 406–409; see also AT III, 632). After *Elsevier had printed the first edition of *Les passions de l'âme* late November 1649, Descartes sent Picot a list of people to whom a copy should be given (4 December 1649, Baillet, II, 393). They remained close friends until Descartes' death in 1650 (to Picot, 9 October, 4 and 25 December 1649, 15 January 1650, Baillet, II, 390–393/AT V, 432–433, 453–455, 461–462, 469). A 17th-century inscription on the back of an anonymous painting of Descartes (until c.1937 in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Tours, now lost, reproduced in Nordström, fig. 8) suggests Descartes sent this portrait to Picot from Sweden (Adam 1910, xv–xvi). The Danish scholar Olaus Borrichius (1626–1690) claims to have met Picot in Issy-les-Moulineaux (south-west of Paris) early May 1664. Picot on that occasion would have told him about his friendship with Descartes, his translation of the *Principia* and his travels in Denmark, Persia, Sweden and Russia (Borrichius 1983, vol. 3, pp. 384–385; also quoted in Nordström, 241–242).

Correspondents

b) Pierre Carcavi (Toulouse, Bm, MS 'Miscellanea matematiche scritte non stampate e diversi', fos. 4–9). See J. Beaudé, 'Lettre inédite de Picot à Carcavi relative à l'expérience barométrique', *RHSA*, 24 (1971), 233–246 (AT V, 601–609).

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J.L. Guez de Balzac, *Mélanges historiques*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1873); Adam 1910; Cohen 1921; Ch. Boudhors, 'Divers propos du Chevalier de Méré en 1674–1675 (suite)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 31 (1924), 490–496; Adam 1937, 36–38; J.

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Nordström, 'Till Cartesius' ikonografi', *Annual of the Swedish History of Science Society*, 17 (1958), 194–250; G. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1961); *Prosopographie des gens du Parlement de Paris (1266–1753)*, ed. M. Popoff (St Nazaire: Le Désert, 1996); M.-Fr. Baverel-Croissant, *La vie et les Œuvres complètes de Jacques Vallée des Barreaux (1599–1673)* (Paris: Champion, 2001).

PLEMP (Plempius), Vopiscus Fortunatus — (1601–1671)

Vopiscus (the name was traditionally given to the surviving half of a pair of a twins) Fortunatus Plem was born in Amsterdam on 23 December 1601. According to Van Eeghen he was not the son of Bernard Plem as some suggest, but of merchant Harent Foppen (also called Plem, 1577–1644) and Ymmetgen Pietersdr (1580/81–1631). It is likely that the name Plem (a small fishing vessel) comes from a house called 'de Plem' in Amsterdam (Nieuwendijk, north corner of the Zoutsteeg), which was already owned by Plem's 16th-century ancestors. Plem was educated at the Jesuit College in Ghent. He later studied at the universities of Leuven (Louvain), Leiden (matriculation 27 April 1621) and Padua, where he followed the lessons of the South-Dutch anatomist and botanist Adrianus van den Spiegel (Spigelius, 1578–1625). In 1624 Plem took a degree in Medicine at Bologna University. After his return he practised in Amsterdam and became friends with the orientalist Johannes Eylichmann (1601–1639) and the famous anatomist Nicolaas Tulp (1593–1674) (the centre of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy Lesson' (1632), nowadays in the Mauritshuis, The Hague). Indeed, in 1632 Plem would have been present when Tulp discovered the ileo-coecal valve. On 8 February 1634 Plem was appointed dean of the Breugel College in Leuven. Two months later he became Regius Professor of Medicine at the Lily College. Plem was four times professor primarius of Leuven University. During the Münster peace congress (1648) the Spanish representative Gaspar de Braccamonte y Guzmán (c.1595–1676) engaged Plem as his personal physician. In 1650 Plem married Anna Maria van Dieve (†1661), the daughter of a Leuven patrician. They had two children: Anna Christina and Fortunatus. Plem published several books on practical and theoretical medicine. He also translated Bartholomeus Cabriolus' *Fundamentae (Ontleedingh des menschelicken lichaems*, 1633) and spent 30 years of his life on *Canon medicinae* (1658), a Latin translation of Avicenna. On 12 December 1671 Plem died in Leuven. He was buried, next to his wife, in the family vault in the Augustinian church there.

According to his own testimony Plem knew Descartes personally, possibly through the intermediary of Johannes Eylichmann (1600–1639), in the early 1630s, when both lived in Amsterdam. According to Plem Descartes lived in the house of a draper, situated in the Kalverstraat (at the time the street of the butchers) so as to be able to take home with him carcasses of cows and other animals and dissect them at ease (*Fundamenta medicinae*, 3rd edn., 1654, 375/AT I, 401; cf. Descartes to Mersenne, 13 November 1639, AT II, 621/CM VIII, 610). Ac-

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cording to the same source he also visited Descartes in Santpoort (between January 1639 and May 1640). Building on his earlier contacts with Plemp Descartes sent him three copies of the *Discourse*, which finally arrived in Leuven at the end of August 1637—the delay was caused by the fact that Descartes sent the books to Plemp’s parents in Amsterdam (Plemp to Descartes, 15 September 1637, AT I, 399). Plemp in turn passed two copies to Libertus Froidmont (Fromondus, 1587–1653), professor of philosophy in Leuven, and to François Fournet (1581–1638), a Jesuit, who was professor of philosophy and theology in Douai—the covering note for Fournet may be the letter to the anonymous Jesuit of 14 June 1637 (AT I, 383). Later Plemp also forwarded a copy to Johannes Ciermans (1602–1648), a Dutch Jesuit who taught mathematics at one of the Leuven colleges (Descartes to Plemp, 20 December 1637, AT I, 477). Plemp served as an intermediary for the criticisms of Fromondus (which take the form of a letter to Plemp, 15 September 1637, AT I, 402–406; Descartes’ reaction, 3 October 1637, AT I, 413–430). His own criticism was limited to Descartes’ explanation of the movement of the heart and the circulation of the blood (*Discours V*, AT VI, 46–55), which Plemp still rejected (Plemp to Descartes, January 1638, AT I, 497–499; cf. Descartes to Plemp, 15 February 1638, AT I, 521–534)—later he would come to a different conclusion. After the publication of Plemp’s *De fundamentis medicinae* (1638), which contains abstracts from Plemp’s correspondence with Descartes, the relations between the two turned sour. Descartes heard of it only two years later when Henricus Regius (1598–1679), who already possessed copies of the exchange between Plemp and Descartes, brought the book to the latter’s attention and pointed out that Plemp had ‘mutilated’ Descartes’ answers—a claim he repeated in a disputation on the circulation of the blood on 10 June 1640 (*Disputatio medico-physiologica pro sanguinis circulatione*, 1640; see also AT III, 727–734). Plemp reacted by reprinting the entire correspondence in the second edition of his book (as *Fundamenta medicinae*, 1644), adding a few personal remarks on Regius and Descartes (see above). Descartes in turn offered his copies of the correspondence to Johan van Beverwijck, allowing him to publish the full text in his *Epistolicae quaestiones* (1644) (Letter 33).

Writings

Verhandelingh der spieren (Amsterdam, 1630 (2nd and 3rd edn. 1645, 1651); *Ophthalmographia sive tractatio de oculo* (Amsterdam, 1632; 2nd and 3rd edn. 1648, 1659); *Fundamenta medicinae ad scholae Acrobologiam aptata* (Leuven, 1644, 1652, 1654) (2nd, 3rd and 4th edn. of *De fundamentis medicinae*, Leuven, 1638); *Destructio fundamentorum medicinae V.F. Plempii* (Rotterdam, 1657); *De affectibus capillorum et unguium tractatus* (Leuven, 1662); *Loimographia, sive tractatus de peste* (Amsterdam, 1664); *De togatorum valetudine tuenda commentatio ad praelustrem virum dominum Petrum Xylandrum* (Brussels, 1670).

Correspondents

- a) Caspar Barlaeus, Libertus Fromondus.
- b) Guy Patin (BIUM, MS 2007), Paul Marquard Schlegel (SUH, MS ‘Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung’ 109,54; cf. Krüger 1978, vol. 2, p. 796), Gerardus Johannes Vossius (Bodl, MS Rawl. 80, 82; cf. Van der Lem/Rademaker 1993).
- c) Vossius 1690; *Den waragtigen omloop des bloeds. Brieven 1643–1688, Johan van Bever-*

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wijck, Rene Descartes, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, Guy Patin, Cornelis van Someren, Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (n.p., Merck, 1991).

Private library

Plemp's library (about 1,000 books) was put up for auction in 1672. For the auction catalogue, see *Catalogus librorum cl. domini Plempy vendendorum Lovanii 1672* (n.p. (Leuven), n.d. (1672)) (BIUM, 7196). See P. Delsaerdt, *Suam quisque bibliothecam. Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense Universiteit, 16de–18de eeuw* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001) (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis, series A, 27).

Documents

Amsterdam, GA, MS 5015 (17th-century manuscript on the genealogy of the Plemp family); 'Notarieel archief', inv.nos. 4012, 4073–407 (testimony on the descent of the Plemp family; cf. Van Eeghen, 22); BL, MS Add. 33587 ('Plemp on the nature of tobacco', 1635); Leuven, Rijksarchief, 'Archief van de Universiteit Leuven 1426–1797', Faculteitsarchieven, inv.nos. 693, 800 (*Quodlibetae*; cf. H. de Vocht, *Inventaire des archives de l'université de Louvain 1426–1797 aux Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, Leuven: Librarie Universitaire, 1927, 72, no. 693, 85, no. 800); London, Wellcome Library, MS 257, no. 1 (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Eylichmann, 20 May 1631).

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H.J. Allard, 'Dr. Vopiscus Fortunatus Plemp', *Volks-almanak voor Nederlandsche katholieken*, 34 (1885), 205–283; BN, vol. 17, 803–804; NNBW VI, 1136–1137 (with list of works); Banga 1975, 278–286; Lindeboom 1984, 1544–1546 (list of works). See also P.J. Haan, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius* (Leuven: Vanlinthout and Vandenzande, 1845); id., 'Notice des manuscrits des docteurs en médecine Vander Belen, Plempius, Peeters, Rega, etc.', *Annuaire de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, 27 (1863), 305–323; G. Monchamp, *Histoire du Cartésianisme en Belgique* (Brussels: Hayez, 1886) (Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires 39); J.J.G. Tricot-Royer, 'La bibliothèque de Vopiscus Fortunatus Plemp, professeur de médecine au XVII^e siècle', *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de médecine de Belgique*, 22/5 (Brussels: Goemaere, 1926); Juynboll 1931, 188, 192; I.H. van Eeghen, 'Pastoor Joannes Akerboom Doendenz en zijn doopboek', Annexes 1 and 11, *De navorscher*, 92 (1950), 149–150, 93 (1952) 22–23; L. Glesinger, 'La naissance de Fortunatus Plempius', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Internationale d'Histoire de la Médecine*, 2 (1956), 20–25; *550 jaar Universiteit Leuven* (n.p., 1976), 267–268, inv.nos. 378–379 (exhibition catalogue, Leuven, Stedelijk Museum, 31 January–25 April 1976); L. Elaut, *Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius en de ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse ontleedkundige vaktaal* (Brussels: Paleis der Akademiën, 1976) (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der wetenschappen 38/5); Borrichius 1983, vols. 1–3; R. French, 'Harvey in Holland: circulation and the Calvinists', in *The medical revolution of the seventeenth century*, eds. R. French and A. Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 46–86; Thijssen-Schoute 1989; M. Grene, 'The heart and blood: Descartes, Plemp, and Harvey,' in *Essays on the philosophy and science of René Descartes*, ed. St. Voss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 324–336.

POLLOT (Pallotti, Pollotti, Pollotto), Alphons(e) (Alfonso) (de) — (c.1602–1668)

Alphonse Pollot came from a Protestant family in Dronero (Piedmont), where he was born somewhere around 1602. He was the son of Marc-Antoine Pol-

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lot and Bernardina Biandra. In 1620, after the death of her husband, Pollot's mother moved with her seven children to Geneva. Alphonse and his brother Jean-Baptiste (Giambattista) were sent to the United Provinces where both took service in the States' army. In 1629 Pollot lost his right arm in the long siege of 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc) (cf. Descartes to Pollot, January 1641, AT III, 279). On 11 January 1633 he was promoted 'hopman' (captain), the commander (and 'owner') of a company (about 60 to 100 men) in the service of the States' army. On 21 June 1638 he was captured by Spanish troops during the siege of the fortress of Kallo (Flanders) (Constantijn *Huygens to Amalia of Solms, 24 June 1638, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II, 369; Hooft to Bartolotti, 29 June 1638, *Briefwisseling P.C. Hooft*, III, 60; Descartes to Huygens, 19 August 1638, AT II, 672–673). It is very likely that Pollot stayed in Utrecht for some time (Descartes to Pollot, 6 May 1639, AT II, 545–546; Pollot's letter to Huygens of 22 December 1640 is indeed dated from Utrecht; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 130), particularly after 1 May 1643 when his company was encamped in this city (cf. HUA, 'Archief der Staten van Utrecht 1375–1813', inv.no. 264,48). In Utrecht he met Henricus Reneri (1598–1679), Godefrout van Haestrecht (1592/93–1659) and Jacob van Waessenaer (1607–1682). He also met Henricus Regius (1598–1679), whom according to Descartes he would have assisted in January 1642 (to Huygens, 31 January 1642, AT III, 523–524; see also Descartes to Regius, [late January 1642], *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 98). On 3 March 1642 Pollot succeeded his brother Jean-Baptiste (died 14 January 1641) in the charge of 'premier gentil-homme de la chambre' (chamberlain) to Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647) on the payment of 800 Carolus guilders a year. On 10 October 1643 Pollot and his brother Vincent made their will before a notary public, Willem Roomers, in The Hague (cf. Adam, 570–571, Annex 6). Both the Prince of Orange and his wife, Amalia of Solms (1602–1675), much valued his services, sometimes charging him with delicate diplomatic missions, like in 1644 when they sent him to Bourbon to contact Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), the wife of Charles I (1625–49), King of England. On 15 May 1645 Pollot became commander of the fortress of St Anna in the polder of Namen (Flanders) (Adam, 570). After the death of her husband Amalia of Solms appointed (1 April 1648) him 'hoffmeester van onsen huysse' (Master of the Stadtholder's Court) at the payment of 800 Carolus guilders (Adam, 570). Baillet's claim (II, 297) that Pollot was a professor at the Illustrious School in Breda (North-Brabant) is certainly wrong (AT IV, 438–439; CM XIV, 396). Around 1650 Pollot returned to Geneva where his knowledge of fortification was much in demand (Adam, 573). On 3 October 1668 Pollot made his will before a notary public, Balthasar Guenand, in Geneva (Adam, 573–574). Pollot died in Geneva in the early morning of 8 October 1668. He was buried in the convent of St Peter. His epitaph and a sonnet in praise of him (*Epitaphe d'Alphonse Pollot*), written by a certain S.C., were published as a broadsheet in 1668, probably in Geneva.

Pollot met Descartes for the first time in Breda in the spring of 1637, which is confirmed in the first letter Descartes sent to Pollot on 12 February 1638 (AT I,

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517–518). Given the fact that Pollot was friends with Huygens, Reneri, Anthony Studler van *Zurck and André Rivet (1572–1651), any of these may have introduced him to Descartes. It is also possible that Pollot was introduced to him by his cousin Gabriel Sarrazin, a physician who knew Descartes in Paris (Descartes to [Mersenne], Spring 1635, AT I, 322, AT IXB, xi–xii; see also Adam, 574). Pollot was one of the few to understand Descartes' *Géométrie* (1637). For Descartes this was a reason to give him one of the six specially printed copies of that work (to Pollot, 12 February 1638, AT I, 517–519). Pollot advised Descartes during the Utrecht crisis—he could be the ‘Colonel Alphonse’ mentioned by Baillet (II, 35, 47, 149/AT II, 625/*Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 30). In any case the fact that he had access to important officials—possibly Dirk *Graswinckel (Letters 45–46)—made his advice particularly useful. Pollot also mediated between Descartes and *Elizabeth of Bohemia (see for instance 6 October 1642, AT III, 577–578). Pollot may have met Descartes in Paris in the 1640s (Baillet, II, 149; 7 May 1640, AT III, 61–63; 7 February 1648, AT V, 124), but there is no independent evidence to support that claim. After Descartes' death Pollot and Anthony Studler van Zurck gave their manuscript copies of the *Traité de l'homme* to Florentius Schuyf (1619–1669) (AT XI, i, vii), who in 1662 published a Latin version of it, called *De homine*. In return Schuyf offered Pollot a microscope (Schuyf to Constantia Huygens, 31 March 1656, Lindeboom 1974, Annex 5, 114) and also praises him in his preface of *De homine* (*De homine*, 32; see also AT XI, vii; Lindeboom 1974, 69). In a general way Pollot seems to have collected Descartes' manuscripts. Thus he offered Huygens a copy of Descartes' correspondence with Libertus Fromondus (1587–1653) in exchange for a copy of *Explication des engins*, which would later become *Traité de la mécanique* (1668) (Pollot to Huygens, late January 1638, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II, 345; Descartes to Pollot, 12 February 1638, AT I, 518–519, 652). The Genevan theologian François Turretini (1623–1687) was married to Elizabeth (Isabeau) de Masse de Chauvet, a daughter of Pollot's sister Lucrèce. It is after the copies of Pollot's own correspondence with Descartes made for Turretini (*Copie de quelques lettres de Monsr DesCartes à Monsr Pollot*, manuscript now lost) that Descartes' letters were eventually published by Eugène Budé in 1868 ([A. Pollot/R. Descartes], *Lettres inédites*, x; see also Adam 1910, 574).

Correspondents

- a) Constantijn Huygens, Jean-Baptiste Pollot, André Rivet (cf. Dibon/Bots/Estourgie 1971).
- b) Henri Brasset (BnF, MS ‘Fonds français’ 17897, fo. 532), Willem-Frederik of Nassau (KHA, ‘Stadhouderlijk archief’: Willem Frederik, inv.no. 118; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 168).
- c) Beeckman 1939–1953, vol. 4; Galileo, *Opere*, (Florence: Barbèra, 1968), vol. 17 (Elia Diodati); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I–III; Adam 1910, 571, Annex 6 (Michely Pollot).

Documents

KHA, MS ‘Archief Frederik Hendrik’, inv.no. A14,XIII–24 (letter of appointment, 1 April 1648); *Épitaphe d'Alphonse Pollot* (n.p. [Geneva], 1668). Copy: BL, 11408.f.59 (35). Text reprinted in AT III, 280–281.

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NNBW II, 1117–1119. See also [A. Pollot/R. Descartes], *Lettres inédites*, ed. Eug. de Budé (Paris: Durand and Pedone-Lauriel, 1868); C. Huygens, *Gedichten*, ed. J.A. Worp, vol. 2 (Groningen: Wolters, 1892–1899), 224–225 (Latin poem on the loss of Pollot's right arm); Adam 1910, 567–575, Annex 6; Cohen 1921; Lindeboom 1974, 69–71, 114; M.E. Tiethoff-Spliethoff, 'De hofhouding van Frederik Hendrik', *Jaarboek Oranje Nassau Museum*, (1989), 41–62.

REEDE VAN RENSWOUDE, Johan van – (1593–1682)

Johan van Reede was born in Utrecht in 1593. He was the son of Gerard van Reede van Nederhorst (†1612) and Mechteld Peunis (†1615). Nothing is known about his education. He was canon (1611) and dean (1620) of the Dom Chapter in Utrecht. On 26 June 1616 he married Jacoba (Jacomina) van Eede (1595–1671), who gave him eight children. Van Reede was one of the *Geëligeerden* (representatives of the ecclesiastical goods, 1634–1671, 1674–1682) and president (1652–1671) of the States of Utrecht in succession to Gijsbert van Hartevelde (†1633). He also sat for the States of Utrecht in the States General in The Hague (1639–1671, 1674–1682). Between 1641 and 1645 Van Reede was ambassador extraordinary to a Dutch embassy in London. In 1645 he was created baron by King Charles I (1625–1645). On 27 February 1623 Van Reede became Lord of Renswoude (Rijnswouw, Rinswoude, Rynswau, east of the village of Renswoude, near Amersfoort), a domain with a medieval castle called 'Borgwal'. In 1638 he started the building a Reformed church on this domain. This domed church, completed in 1641, is attributed to the Dutch classicist architect Jacob van Campen (1595–1657). In 1654 Van Reede commissioned the Utrecht architects Gijsbert Theunisz van Vianen and Pieter Jansz van Cooten to rebuild the manor on the spot of the medieval castle. That same year he also became Lord of Emminkhuizen (near Renswoude). In 1656 he was decorated with the Danish Order of the Elephant. In 1667 Van Reede bought the castle of Schonauwen (Houten, near Utrecht) for his son Hendrik (†1689), who was ambassador in Madrid (1656–1669). Van Reede was an intimate friend of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647) and his wife Amalia of Solms (1602–1675) who donated a large sum to his church in Renswoude. He was also a personal adviser to Princess Amalia, in which capacity he may have met Alphonse *Pollot. Van Reede at the age of 89 died in The Hague on 7 February 1682 (Huygens, *Dagboek* 1885, 85). The Reede van Renswoude family became extinct in 1738 with the death of Van Reede's grandson Frederik Adriaan.

In a letter to Alphonse *Pollot Descartes refers to Van Reede as 'Mr de Rynswoud' (21 October 1643, Letter 47, see also Dibon's note in AT V 666–667). The letter suggests that Van Reede threatened the Utrecht *Vroedschap* with an intervention of the Stadholder on Descartes' behalf (see also Letter 62). David le Leu de *Wilhem also mentions Van Reede (as 'Mr de Reinswou') in a letter to Constantijn *Huygens (4 July 1645, AT IV, 245). According to De Wilhem Van

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Reede wanted to read a copy of Schoock's statement (20 April 1645) in which he renounces the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* (1643).

Correspondents

- a) Constantijn Huygens, States of Holland, Th. Swaerdecroon.
- b) *Brederode (Detmold, SA, MS 'Urkunden- und Briefarchiv Brederode der niederländischen Herrschaft Vianen-Ameide (1249–1747)' L 3,274), Edward Nicholas (BL, MSS Add. 15856, Eg. 2534, fo. 182, Eg. 2535, fos. 23, 499, 524, 568, Eg. 2536, fo. 31; PRO, MS 'State Papers' 84/161 (=Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland), fo. 7), House of Commons (BL, MS Add. 4155, fos. 212–213), Godert Adriaan van Reede (HUA, 'Familiearchief Taets van Amerongen'; 'Archief van het Huis Amerongen', inv.no. 2879; cf. E.P. de Booy, *Inventaris van het archief van het huis van Amerongen 1405–1979*, Utrecht: HUA, 2000, 152, no. 2879), States of Utrecht (HUA, 'Archief der Staten van Utrecht 1375–1813', inv.no. 728, no. 114, five letters), States General (PRO, MS 'State Papers' 84/171 (=Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Holland), fo. 257), Willem-Frederik of Nassau (KHA, 'Stadhouderlijk archief': Willem Frederik, inv.no. 593; 'Nadere toegang', inv.nos. 9b, 10b, 95b; cf. *Archieven Friese Stadhouders* 2002, 200, 457, 460, 507).
- c) Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I, III–VI; *Briefwisseling van Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen en Everard van Weede van Dijkveld (27 maart 1671–28 juli 1672)*, ed. M. van der Bijl and H. Quarles van Ufford (The Hague: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1991) (Nederlandse Historische Bronnen 9).

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Vande Water 1729, vol. 1, pp. 203–204; HUA, 'Archief Huis Renswoude', inv.no. 30; 'Notariële akten', U76a1–84, U80a2–111; BL, MS Add. 15856, fo. 88 (warrant of Charles I for the creation of Van Reede as baron).

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RENSWOUDE, *see* REEDE VAN RENSWOUDE, Johan van

RHEITA, *see* SCHYRLE, 'Anton Maria'

RUYSCH, Frederick — (c.1600–1677)

Frederick Ruysch was born in Utrecht around 1600, the son of Hugo Ruysch (b.1575) and Lucia van Egmond van Meresteyn (b.1580). Nothing is known about his education. Ruysch married twice: first with Maria Uijttendogard, then with Marija van der Meulen (1604–1682), who gave him seven children. As a prominent citizen of Utrecht Ruysch was a member of the *Vroedschap* (since 1627) and the consistory of the Reformed Church (1644). He was also member of

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the Admiralty in Zeeland (1637) and the State Council (1652–1658). Between 1639 and 1652 Ruysch was six times Burgomaster of Utrecht. Following a decision of the *Vroedschap* (1 May 1649) Ruysch and Johannes van der Nijpoort (†1662) travelled to Leeuwarden (July 1649) to approach the Franeker professor of medicine Johannes Antonides van der Linden (1609–1664) about a professorship in Utrecht. In 1657 Ruysch is mentioned as one of the administrators of the so-called Hallet foundation, offering scholarships to students who lived at the ‘Collège wallon’ (a francophone college for the education of theology students in Leiden with a close link to the Walloon Church). On 23 February 1659 Ruysch became ‘hooft schout’ (first bailiff) of the city of Utrecht. On 18 April 1662 he bought the domain of Den Engh in Vleuten (near Utrecht). Ruysch died in Utrecht and was buried in the ‘Buurkerk’ on 7 or 26 February 1677.

Ruysch was one of the two Burgomasters during the Utrecht crisis. As such he authorized the ‘judgment’ of March 1642 and installed the committee that examined Descartes’ *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) to see whether the author could be pursued for criminal activities. There is no evidence for any personal contacts between Ruysch and Descartes, nor is there anything known about the personal sympathies of Ruysch.

Correspondents

b) Andries van der Muelen (HUA, ‘Inventaris van het archief Van der Muelen 1543–1885’, inv.no. 57; cf. De Booy 1986, 16, no. 52).

Documents

Vande Water 1729, vol. 3, pp. 184, 218; HUA, ‘Doo-, trouw- en begraafboeken’; ‘Kleine archieven van heerlijkheden en huizen in de provincie Utrecht 1254–1491’, inv.no. 100,29, nos. 11–12.

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SCHOOCK (Scho(e)ck, Sckokius, Scoek, Schoockius), Martin (Ma(a)rten) — (1614–1669)

Martin Schoock was born in Utrecht presumably, on 1 April 1614. He was the eldest son of Gijsbert Arnoldz Schoock (b.1591) and Johanna van Voorst. On 20 April 1630 he matriculated at Franeker University as a student of law. According to some (Paquot, vol. 3, p. 306; Dibon 1954, 180) he also studied theology and philosophy in Leiden in 1632, but his name does not occur in the *Album studiosorum* of Leiden University. Apparently Schoock came to Utrecht. On 21 December 1635 the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht allowed him to give private lessons in rhetoric at the local Illustrious School. Under the supervision of Descartes’

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friend Henricus Reneri (1593–1639) he took the degree of *Magister artium* (29 March 1636) at Utrecht University with a disputation on the nature of sound and echo (*De natura soni et echus*), the first academic degree granted by the new university. Schoock was a protégé of Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) whom he assisted in his polemics against Remonstrants, Socinians and Roman Catholics. On his behalf he wrote *Desperatissima causa papatus* (1638), a reply to *Causae desperatae* (1636) of Libertus Froidmont (Fromondus, 1587–1653). On 11 July 1638 Schoock was appointed professor extraordinary in the humanities in Utrecht at the payment of 300 guilders a year. On 9 October 1638 he received a call to the Illustrious School of Deventer to become professor of history and eloquence. He had been recommended by Nicolaus Vedelius (1596–1642), the Deventer professor of theology and Hebrew (1630–1639). On 16 or 21 April 1639 Schoock married Angelica van der Marck (Merck, 1618–1664), a daughter of a rich merchant from Utrecht. In 1640 he became professor of logic and physics at Groningen University (in succession to Frans Meyvaert (1585–1640)), where he was rector from August 1642 to August 1643. By 1666 financial problems forced Schoock to flee to Germany. On 30 May 1666 he is listed as ‘professor honorarius’ in the matriculation records of the University of Frankfurt on the Oder, where he would become professor of history. Schoock also received the honorary title of ‘historian’ of the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich-Wilhelm (1620–1688). Schoock was a traditional, eclectic, Aristotelian philosopher with broad knowledge. A typical polyhistor he published on the fabrication of beer and butter, the salting of herrings, the history of the Low Countries, the juridical status of ecclesiastical goods and indeed philosophy. He died in Frankfurt in 1669.

In the summer of 1642 Voetius induced his erstwhile disciple Schoock to take his defence and refute the accusations levelled against him in Descartes’ letter to the Provincial of the Jesuits, Jacques Dinet (1584–1653) (AT VII, 563–603). According to his own later testimony this was done during a rich meal at Voetius’ house and in the presence of other professors of Utrecht University (Maresius, *Bonae fidei sacrum*, 4; *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 261). Although Schoock started almost immediately—he left the first part of the manuscript in Utrecht—the work languished as soon as he went back to Groningen to resume his duties. Still, by the end of October the first part of the book was printed. Descartes somehow obtained the proofs and started to write a rejoinder, believing that the author was Voetius (Descartes to Mersenne, 7 December 1642, AT III, 598/CM XI, 364; AT VIII B, 6). Eventually Schoock’s book, *Admiranda methodus*, was published anonymously in March 1643, closely followed in April or May by Descartes’ own reaction, the *Epistola ad Voetium*. The printing of an open letter to Descartes, in which Schoock claims the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* (and so vindicates Voetius), was interrupted after an intervention of the Stadholder (Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1, p. 192/AT IV, 52–53) on 16 November 1643—all that is known of it are quotes by Voetius’ son Paulus (1619–1667) in *Pietas in parentem* (1645) and *Tribunal iniquum* (1646). In his search for justice Descartes then addressed himself to the States of Groningen. On 20 April 1645

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Schoock renounced the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* before a committee of inquiry (Saumaise to Rivet, 2 May 1645, 4 June 1645, *Correspondance Rivet-Sarrau*, 422, 430), putting all the blame on Voetius (Baillet, II, 251–255/AT IV, 195–199; see also AT IV, 792–801; Verbeek 1992, 30–31). In July 1645 Schoock offered Johan van *Weede a *Corte memorie* (Bos, ‘Epistolarium Voetianum II’, 68–73) to protect himself against a possible lawsuit for his statement that Voetius was the main author of *Admiranda methodus*. Voetius and his colleague Carolus Dematius (1597–1651) then started a lawsuit against Schoock, whom they accused of perjury. Schoock was arrested in Utrecht several times, on 6 August 1645 (Descartes to De *Wilhem, 15 September 1645, AT IV, 297; see also Duker, vol. 3, pp. 238–239) and again in April 1646 (*Maresius to Saumaise, 5 May 1646, Dibon 1990, 400–401). When finally a sentence was pronounced in 1649 (Duker, vol. 3, Annex xxxiii), Schoock appealed to the Provincial Court. Some kind of settlement was made in 1651 and 1652.

Writings

Vorstius redivivus (Haarlem, 1636) (under the alias Philippus Faber); *Admiranda methodus novae philosophiae Cartesianae* (Utrecht, 1643) (a new though never published edition is announced in *Effigies et vitae professorum* 1968, 133); *Collegium logicum* (Groningen, 1658); *Tractatus de turfis* (Groningen, 1658). Reprint with a translation in Dutch in *Martin Schoock en zijn beschrijving van het turfgraven in de hoogvenen*, eds. J.D.R. van Dijk, W.R. Foorthuis and M.C. van der Sman (Groningen, 1984); *Physica generalis* (Groningen, 1660). For Schoock’s other writings, see Nauta 1935, 3–39; *Effigies et vitae professorum* 1968, 132–133; P. Dibon, *L’enseignement philosophique dans les universités néerlandais a l’époque pré-cartésienne* (n.p., 1954), 182–188.

Correspondents

a) Simon Abbes Gabbema, Anchises ab Andla, Joan Leonardsz Blasius, Daniel Heinsius, Dematius, Jacobus Revius, Willem Strick, Christianus Wttenbogaart, De Wilhem.
b) Heinsius (BL, MS Add. 5185), Guy Patin (BIUM, MS 2007), Revius (Neurenberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS ‘Autographen’ K 41).
c) Burman 1727, vol. 2 (Heinsius); [S. Maresius], *Epistola ad clarissimum Voetium* (n.p., n.d.); *Extract uyt den brief van d. Gisbertus Voetius* (n.p., n.d.); S. Maresius, *Ultima patientia tandem expugnata* (Groningen, 1645); M. Schoock, *Dissertatio politico-historica de bonis, vulgo ecclesiasticis dictis in genere* (Groningen, 1651); [P. Voet], *Aprosdionysos, id est, eiusdem de bonis ecclesiasticis* (Utrecht, 1651); [M. Schoock], *Voetius na ’t leven afgebeelt, ofte staeltjes, blijkende uyt de verantwoordinge van Marten Schoock* (Groningen, 1655); *Res judicanda* (Leiden, 1658); J. Kriex, *Animadversiones in Marci Zuerii Boxhornii De trapezitis dissertationem* (Groningen, 1658); Duker 1897–1915, vols. 2–3 (correspondence with Voetius). For a list of Schoock’s correspondence with Voetius and his son Paulus, see E.J. Bos and F.G.M. Broeyer, ‘Epistolarium Voetianum I’, NAK, 78 (1998), 184–198; E.J. Bos, ‘Epistolarium Voetianum II’, NAK, 79 (1999), 38–73; S. Maresius, *Bonae fidei sacrum* (Groningen, 1646) (Voetius, Lambertus van den Waterlaet); Voet 1646 (Voetius, Van *Weede).

Private library

Schoock’s library was sold on 7 October 1669 (announced on 1 October in the *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*). See for the auction catalogues [*Catalogus librorum*] (n.p. [Utrecht], n.d. [1669]) (two different editions with the same title).

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Documents

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Paquot 1764, 304–333 (with list of works); NNBW X, 889–892 (with list of works); ADB, vol. 32, pp. 324–325; Nauta 1978–1998, vol. 2, pp. 392–394. See also J. Revius, *Daventriae illustratae* (Leiden, 1651), 710–712; Duker 1897–1915; J.W. des Tombes, 'Het geslacht Schoock en aanverwante families', *De navorscher*, 56 (1906), 649–661; Cohen 1921; Nauta 1935; Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1; *Effigies et vitae professorum* 1968, 131–133; Lindeboom 1974, 102, 104; Verbeek 1988; Dibon 1990; Verbeek 1992, esp. 29–33; L. Nauta, *Martini Schoockii opera: een inventaris van alle werken van Martinus Schoock die in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Groningen aanwezig zijn* (Groningen: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1993); Van Ruler 1995.

SCHYRLE, 'Anton Maria' (Johann Burchard) — of Rheita (1604–1659/60)

Johann Burchard Schyrle was born in 1604. He is usually referred to as Rheita, which is also name of his birthplace, Reutte (Tirol) in Austria. He was the son of Georg Schyrle, who was a large landowner. Rheita entered the Augustinian convent Undersdorf (now Indersdorf, Bavaria) at the age of 18. On 14 October 1623 he matriculated at Ingolstadt University as a student of astronomy and philosophy. After his studies he became a Capuchin monk in Passau (13 March 1628) and took the name Anton Maria of Rheita. On 26 April 1636 the Capuchin Order sent him to Linz to lecture on philosophy. There he also became confessor and personal adviser to the Elector of Trier, Philipp Christoph of Sötern (1567–1652), who was held prisoner (until 1645) at the castle of Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657). In the 1640s Rheita is said to have been professor of theology at Trier University. However, there is no evidence to support that claim. In 1643 Rheita lived in Cologne, as is shown by two letters of Samuel Sorbière (1615–1670) (to Andrea Vissonato, 14 May 1643, to Samuel Jonsson, 19 July 1643, BnF, MS Latin 10.352, fos. 52r–v, 63v). From 1645 Rheita carried out scientific work in Cologne and Augsburg, where he and the lens grinder Johann Wiesel (1583–1662) improved Kepler's telescopes. When in Antwerp to have his work on optics *Oculus Enoch et Eliae* (1645) printed Rheita met Charles Cavendish (c.1591–1654) (Cavendish to Pell, 26 March [1644], *A collection of letters*, 77–78; see also Thewes 1988, 101), who was interested in buying one of his telescopes (Cavendish to Pell, 20 January 1644, 20 October 1644, 16 November 1644, 20 December 1644, *A collection of letters*, 76, 85–87). Cavendish also tried to purchase one of Rheita's telescopes. In 1656 Rheita went to Bologna where he was arrested because of his relations with the Elector of Trier. He was exiled to Ravenna (3 October 1657), where he continued his scientific work. Rheita is credited with bringing the optical terms 'ocular' and 'objective' into use in his *Oculus Enoch et Eliae*. An interesting fea-

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ture of this book on optics is his map of the moon, which places the southern part at the top for the first time. Rheita died in Ravenna on 14 November 1659 or 1660.

Descartes makes an indirect reference to Rheita (as ‘le bon Pere capuchin’) in a letter to Andreas *Colvius ([20 April 1643], Letter 15). Observing Jupiter in 1643 Rheita thought he saw five new satellites instead of the four described by Galileo in *Sidereus nuncius* (1610). Rheita describes this discovery in *Novem stellae circa Iovem circa Saturnum sex* (1643). Descartes in his letter to Colvius emphasizes it was Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) who proved Rheita to be wrong by discovering this was only a grouping of fixed stars (*Novem stellae circa Iovem visae*, Gassendi 1964, vol. 6, 511–522).

Writings

Fasciculus sacrarum deliciarum, sive indulgentiae stationum urbis (Antwerp, 1645).

Correspondents

- b) Johann Philipp of Schönborn (Staatsarchiv Würzburg, MS ‘Schönborn-Archiv’ 577).
- c) Gassendi 1964, vol. 4 (Erycius Puteanus).

Mechanical works

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (telescope attributed to Rheita).

References

Hoefler 1852–1866, vol. 21, pp. 94–95; DSB, vol. 11, p. 395; A. Thewes, ‘Ein Ordensbruder und Astronom aus dem Kapuzinerkloster Passau’, *Ostbairische Grenzmarken*, 30 (1988), 95–104 (with list of sources). See also J.B.J. Delambre, *Histoire de l’astronomie moderne* (Paris: Courcier, 1821), vol. 2, pp. 175–181; H.L. Weisgerber, ‘Angehörige der Tiroler Geschlechts Von Schyrle in den Rheinlanden’, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 13 (1948), 207–218; *A collection of letters illustrative of the progress of science in England from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of Charles the Second*, ed. J. Orchard Halliwell (London, 1841. Reprint. London: Historical Society of Science, 1965) (letters of Charles Cavendish to John Pell); A. Thewes, *Oculus Enoch ... ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte des Fernrohrs* (Oldenburg: Isensee, 1983); id., ‘Anton Maria Schyrllaes de Rheita. Eine Episode aus seiner politischen Laufbahn’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Saargegend*, 31 (1983), 11–18; id., ‘Beziehungen Südtirols zur Entdeckungsgeschichte des Fernrohrs’, *Der Schlern*, 65 (1991), 284–295 (Rheita’s optical work); E. Goercke, ‘Anton Maria Schyrllaes über das Vakuum’, *Monumenta Guericiana*, 3 (1996), 43–48, R. Willach, ‘The development of telescope optics in the middle of the seventeenth century’, *Annals of science*, 58 (2001), 381–398.

SOLY (Soli), Michel (Michael) — (before 1607–1661)

Michel Soly was the son of the Parisian printer Pierre Soly. On 18 December 1607 Soly is recorded for being the apprentice of printer Jean de Heuqueville, with whom he worked closely together until 1630. In 1619 Soly was registered as a member of the printer’s guild of Paris. His workshop was situated in the ‘rue S. Jacques (‘à l’image de S. Martin’, 1622; *sub signo phoenicis*, 1625, 1640–

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1641, 1645, 1660). In 1641 Soly is listed as warden of the church of St Benedict in Paris. On 12 October 1641 he received a dowry of 2,500 pounds from the family of his wife, which, naturally, gave his printing office a strong financial impulse (Martin, vol. 1, 344). Apart from miscellaneous works ranging from the history of the Canary Islands to a comment on the geometry of Diophantus of Alexandria, Soly mainly printed books on Roman Catholic subjects, like the Clementine Bible (1643). He was also business agent in Paris for the Leiden printer Johannes Maire (†1666) (Descartes to Mersenne, 15 November 1638, AT II, 437/CM VIII, 201). Soly married twice: first with Heuqueville's daughter Maria (30 April 1619), then with Claude Garnier. Soly died in Paris and was buried in the church of St Benedict on 30 July 1661. After his death his son Georges (1632–1665) continued his father's business.

Soly was the publisher of the first Latin edition of Descartes' *Meditationes* (published 1641). The arrangements were made by Mersenne (1588–1648) (Descartes to Mersenne, 19 January 1642, AT III, 484–485/CM XI, 14), who also supervised the printing (Descartes to Mersenne, 21 April 1641, AT III, 359/CM X, 583). Descartes was not too satisfied with Soly, especially because he failed to distribute copies of his book outside France—copies of *Meditationes* did not reach the Netherlands before May 1642 (Sorbière to Mersenne, June 1642, CM XI, 161; see also Descartes to Mersenne, 17 November 1641, AT III, 448–449/CM X, 780; 19 January 1642, AT III, 484/CM XI, 14). Still, Descartes stipulated with *Elzevier that the new edition would not be sold to French booksellers in order to protect Soly's interests (to Mersenne, 17 November 1641, AT III, 448/CM X, 780).

References

J. de la Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, ou l'on voit son origine et son progrès, jusqu'en 1689* (Paris, 1689), 234 (with list of printed works); [Aug.M. Lottin], *Catalogue chronologique des librairies et des librairies-imprimeurs de Paris* (Paris, 1789. Reprint. Amsterdam: Grüner, 1969), 77, 96–97, 159; H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoir et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle (1598–1701)*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1969) (Histoire et civilisation du livre 3); Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires et fondeurs de caractères en exercice à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Nogent Le Roi: Librairie des Arts et Métiers, 1995), 408; R. Arbour, *Les femmes et les métiers du livre en France, de 1600 à 1650* (Chicago–Paris: Gararmond Press/Didier Érudition, 1997).

STAMPIOEN (Stampioen) de Jonge, Jan (Johan) Jansz — (1610–1653)

Johan Jansz Stampioen de Jonge was born in Rotterdam in 1610. He was the son of Jan (Johan) Jansz Stampioen (c.1589–1660) and Annetje (Anna, Annitje) Willemsdr (†1641). Presumably he was trained in mathematics by his father, who was gauger and mapmaker as well as 'gesworen ordinaris landmeter' (official land surveyor) of the *Hoogheemraadschap* (the regional dike and drainage board) of Schieland (1650). Together with Isaac Beeckman (1588–1637) Stampioen's fa-

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ther founded a scientific society called *Collegium mechanicum* in Rotterdam in 1626. He also published a textbook on the determination of the poles (*Nieuwe tafelen der polus-hooghte*, 1618) and a map of the district of Schieland (near Rotterdam). Stampioen the son began his career in mathematics by appending some annexes to a new edition (1632) of *Tabulae sinuum tangentium secantium* (1627) by Frans van Schooten the elder (1581–1645), professor of mathematics at Leiden University. He also added his own algebraic treatment of spherical trigonometry, called *Kort by-voegsel der sphaerische triangulen*, which is based on Albert Girard's *Table des sinus* (1627). On 19 March 1636 the *Vroedschap* of Rotterdam appointed Stampioen to give public lessons in mathematics (cf. Van Lieburg, 24), which may explain the fact that in *Wiskonstige ontbinding* (1638) he qualifies himself as a 'former professor matheseos of the Illustrious School in Rotterdam' (although the *Vroedschap* of Rotterdam never officially elevated the Latin School to an Illustrious School). The following year Stampioen married Annetje (Anna) Pieters Bock (†c.1645). They had three children: Anna (Annetgen), Aeltgen (b.1639) and Nicolaas (Claes, †1721), who in 1689 together with Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695) would become member of a committee to solve the problem of determining longitudes at sea. In 1638 Stampioen moved to The Hague to tutor Prince William II (1626–1650) in mathematics (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 265). Stampioen's position at the Court of the Stadholder enhanced his reputation, which was probably the main reason why he tutored the sons of Constantijn Huygens (*Correspondance Christiaan Huygens*, vol. 22, p. 402; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 496–497) as well as Princess *Elizabeth of Bohemia (Descartes to *Pollot, 21 October 1643, Letter 48). Stampioen published several works on mathematics, like 'New rule of Algebra' (*Algebra ofte nieuwe stel-regel*, completed 1634, published 1639), which contains a general method of solving equations of the third degree. To publish and sell his mathematical writings Stampioen and his brother-in-law Barthout Pietersz Bock set up a printing office and bookshop called *In sphaera mundi*. On 7 September 1640 he sold this workshop at the sum of 1,900 guilders to Francq van der Spruyt (†c.1642), the printer of *Pentalogos* (1640), an anti-Cartesian work by 'Mercurius Cosmopolita'. After the death of his first wife Stampioen remarried twice: first with Cornelia Dathelaer (1645), then with Anna Maria de Wolf. In the mid-1640s he was officially appointed to select land surveyors in the Province of Holland. This caused a conflict with the professors of mathematics of Leiden University, not only because previously they had been in charge of selecting surveyors, but also because Stampioen was allegedly too critical of Leiden students and turned them down as candidates (Molhuysen 1913–1924, vol. 2, pp. 304). After two formal complaints (8 February and 5 November 1646) filed by surveyors and mathematicians (among others Frans van Schooten the younger (1615–1660)) the curators of Leiden University asked the *Gecommitteerde Raden* (the standing committee) of Holland to withdraw Stampioen's appointment (Molhuysen 1913–1924, vol. 2, pp. 307–308). After 1646 Stampioen moved to the Spanish Low Countries. In 1651 he worked as a mathematician in Brussels (Kossmann, 369; Mac Lean, 326) in the service of the Governor-General of the Spanish Low Countries, Archduke

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Leopold William of Habsburg (1614–1662) (Mac Lean, 328). According to Mac Lean, quoting a document of 9 December 1681 (p. 328), Stampioen died in a gunpowder explosion in Atrecht (Arras), possibly around 1653 (CM IX, 199–200).

Stampioen's first contacts with Descartes date back to 1633, when he sent him a mathematical problem through Beeckman (to Stampioen, [December 1633], AT I, 275–280, 573–578). But in 1638 Stampioen (under the alias of Johannes Baptista of Antwerp) published *Quaestie aen de Batavische ingenieurs*, which immediately aroused Descartes' interest. In this broadsheet he challenges Dutch mathematicians to solve two problems involving equations of the third degree (quoted in AT II, 613–614). Shortly afterwards Stampioen published the solution under his own name in 'Algebraic analysis' (*Wiskonstige ontbinding*). Descartes discussed the problem in a letter possibly to Van Schooten the younger (AT II, 600–611), but acting as his strawman Jacob van Waessenaer (b.1607) took up the challenge and answered Stampioen's question in a more elaborate way in *Solutie op de quaestie aen de Batavische ingenieurs voorghestelt* (1638). Stampioen reacted in 'Malpractice revealed' (*Openbaeringe der valscher pracktycken*, 1638), in which he rejects Van Waessenaer's solution. In April 1639 Stampioen published his *Algebra*. Not surprisingly Descartes found this work inferior to his own geometry (Descartes to Pollot, 6 May 1639, AT II, 545; Descartes to Huygens, 6 May 1639, AT II, 677). With the aid of Descartes (Regius to Descartes, 17 May 1639, Bos 2002, 21) Van Waessenaer immediately published 'Critical notes on the New Rule of Algebra' (*Aenmerkingen op den Nieuwen stel-regel*), which is a broadscale attack on Stampioen's writings. In addition Van Waessenaer also solved the second problem raised in the earlier *Quaestie aen de Batavische ingenieurs*. This caused Stampioen to publish three pamphlets (*Dagh-vaerd-brief*, early October 1639, *Tweedden dagh-vaerd-brief*, 5 November 1639, *Derde dagh-vaerd-brief*, 15 November 1639), in which he challenges Van Waessenaer to prove his criticism. The challenge took the form of a wager: Stampioen promised to pay a large sum to the poor if a jury would judge his method inferior. In the first half of November 1639 both Stampioen and Van Waessenaer each deposited 600 guilders in the hands of Nicolaus Dedel (1597–1646), the rector of Leiden University (AT II, 720–721/Roth 1926, 274–277; Bierens de Haan, *Bouwstoffen*, 394–395; see also Descartes to Huygens, 17 November 1639, AT II, 688). An agreement on the rules of the challenge was reached by the parties late December 1639 (see AT II, 687–698, 700–701, 703, 706–707, 710–717, 722; see also AT II, 722–726/Roth 1926, 277–289; AT X, 302–304; Bierens de Haan, *Bouwstoffen*, 398–400). Members of the jury were Jacobus Golius (1596–1667) and Frans van Schooten the elder, both professors of mathematics at Leiden University who were on good terms with Descartes, Bernardus Schotanus (1598–1652), professor of mathematics in Utrecht, and Andreas van Berlicom (c.1587–1656), secretary of the city of Rotterdam, who was apparently an amateur mathematician. On 24 May 1640 a decision was finally taken. It was all in favour of Van Waessenaer (Descartes to Regius, Bos 2002, 44–45; Van Waessenaer, *Den on-wissen wis-konstenaer*, 81–86; Stampioen, *Verclaringh*; Bierens de Haan, *Bouwstoffen*,

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414). Stampioen lost his money to the pest house of Leiden (Descartes to De Wilhem, 17 August 1640, AT III, 21, 5 October 1640, AT III, 200; for the receipt of the administrators of the pest house, see Van Waessenaer, *Den on-wissen wis-konstenaer*, 88). Stampioen was not satisfied. Not only did he defend his method in *Wis-konstigh ende reden-maetigh bewijs* (1640), but he also criticized the jury's decision in *Verclaringh over het gevoelen bij de E.H. Professoren matheseos der universiteyt tot Leijden* (June 1640). In November 1640 finally Van Waessenaer and Descartes triumphantly published a full account of the affair in 'The ignorant mathematician J. Stampioen exposed' (*Den on-wissen wis-konstenaer J. Stampioenius ontdeckt*). Stampioen's reputation was badly damaged. Nonetheless Huygens (who arbitrated in the Stampioen affair) asked him to train his sons in mathematics in 1644, although a factor may have been that he also tutored the Stadholder's son. Inversely, Stampioen in 1645 recommended a list of studies to Huygens' son Christiaan, which also includes Descartes' books on optics (*Correspondance Christiaan Huygens*, vol. 1, pp. 6 and 10). In 1648 Stampioen published new mathematical challenges, as is shown by a letter of Anthonij Vivien (1603–1681) to his brother-in-law, Johan de Witt (1625–1672) (7 March 1648, *Brieven Johan de Witt*, vol. 1, p. 3/AT V, 574). The same letter shows that Vivien forwarded one of Stampioen's pamphlets to Descartes via Colvius. Descartes' letter to [Van Schooten the younger] of [March 1639] may contain a reaction to Stampioen's challenge, in which case however this letter should be redated (see AM, III, 315, 355).

Writings

Resolutie ende ontbindinghe der twee vraegh-stucken, in den jare 1632 (Rotterdam, 1634); *Solutie op alle de quaestien* (Rotterdam, 1634).

Correspondents

- a) Christiaan Huygens.
- c) *Correspondance Chr. Huygens*, vol. 1; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II–IV.

Documents

HGA, 'Doo-, trouw- en begraafboeken', 'Weesarchief', inv.no. 449 (*Staet en inventaris van alle de goederen*, 1645, inventory of the possessions and library of Stampioen, containing a copy of *Discours*); Leiden, UB, MS 'Maatschappij der Nederlandse letterkunde', LTK 967 (B. Cortenaer, *De ses eerste boeken Euclidis van de beginselen en fundamenten der geometrie*, including 22 theorems relating to Stampioen's appendix to his edition of Van Schooten's *Tabulae sinuum tangentium secantium*, 1683; cf. Van Maanen 1987, 177, no. 16); Rotterdam, GA, 'Oud-stadsarchief', inv.no. 719, fo. 161 (appointment of Stampioen as mathematics teacher in Rotterdam in 1636).

References

NNBW II, 1358–1360; E.F. Kossmann, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1937) (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel 13), 368–370; J. Mac Lean, 'Stampioen', *De Nederlandsche leeuw. Maandblad van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde*, 74 (1957), 323–328; DSB, vol. 12, pp. 610–611. See also D. Bierens de Haan, 'Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der wis- en natuurkundige wetenschappen in de Nederlanden. Jan Jansz Stampioen de Jonge en Jacob à Waessenaer', *Verlagen en mededeelingen der Konink-*

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lijke Academie van Wetenschappen, (1887), 383–433; id., ‘Quelques lettres inédites de René Descartes et de Constantijn Huygens’, *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, 32 (1887), 161–173; Korteweg 1888, esp. 442–466, Annex 2; Roth 1926; H. Bosmans, ‘A propos de la correspondance de Descartes avec Constantijn Huygens. L’auteur principal de l’*Onwissen wiskonstenaer J.J. Stampioenius ontdekt door Jacobus a Waessenaer*’, *Revue des questions scientifiques*, 11 (1927), 113–141; Ploeg 1934; P. Costabel, ‘Descartes et la racine cubique des nombres binomes. Propos sur un document retrouvé concernant le dernier acte de la controverse Stampioen–Wassenaer’, *Revue d’histoire des sciences*, 22 (1969), 97–116; P.S. Teeling, *Repertorium van oud-Nederlandse landmeters, 14e tot 18e eeuw*, 3 vols. (n.p.: Hoofddirectie van de Dienst van het Kadaster, 1981); Thijssen-Schoute 1989; M. Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 150–151 (notes on Stampioen’s private library); F.A. van Lieburg, ‘Een predikant als historicus: Adrianus Smoutius (1579–1646) en de Illustre School van Rotterdam’, *Kerktijds. Contactblad Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, 9 (1997), 24–40; *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 22.

STUDLER VAN ZURCK, *see* ZURCK, Anthony Studler van

VANPEENE (Van Pe(e)nen, Peneus), Paulus (Pauwels) — (1590–1656)

Paulus Vanpeene was born in 1590, the sixth child of Charles Vanpeene de Zuydpeene (before 1559–c.1617) and Marguerite le Vasseur. Vanpeene’s father was a linen merchant from Roeselare (Flanders) who came to England with his family in the 1570s. On 22 November 1590 Vanpeene was baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church of Austin Friars (London). On 26 May 1607 Vanpeene matriculated at Leiden University to study theology. Five years later he went to Switzerland, continuing his education in Geneva (matriculation 2 June 1613) and Basle (May 1613). After his return to the United Provinces he rematriculated at Leiden University (3 November 1616) to study law. On 2 February 1621 he took his oath as an advocate to the Court of Holland. Vanpeene was married to Jeanne Gillis (1608–1655) from Amsterdam. On 20 July 1656 he died in The Hague.

According to a letter of De *Wilhem to Huygens the name of the lawyer consulted by Descartes during his visit to The Hague in the first week of July 1643 was Vanpeene (8 July 1643, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 403). According to Descartes’ own testimony Vanpeene reassured him that there was not much to worry about and that the Utrecht summons could be ignored (Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643, Letter 36).

References

[Anonymous], ‘Het geslacht Van Penen’, *Algemeen Nederlandsch familieblad*, 1 (1883/1884), 2; W.J.Ch. Moens, *The marriage, baptismal, and burial registers, 1571 to 1874 ... of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London* (Lymington, 1884), 56.

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VORSTIUS (Vo(o)rst), Adolphus — (1597–1663)

Adolphus Vorstius was born in Delft, on 18 or 23 November 1597. He was the son of a Leiden professor in medicine, Aelius Everardus Vorstius (1568–1624). On 10 February 1612 Vorstius matriculated in Leiden to study the classics. Under the supervision of the philosopher Gilbert Jacchaeus (1578–1628) he submitted a disputation on movement (*De motu*) in 1619. From 1621 to 1623 he travelled with his nephew Gijsbert van der *Hoolck in the Spanish Low Countries, England, Italy and France. In Saumur he visited the French diplomat Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623). Vorstius also studied in Padua (matriculation 15 June 1621) where he took a degree in Medicine (29 August 1622) under the supervision of the anatomist and botanist Adrianus van den Spiegel (Spigelius, 1578–1625). When in Padua he was librarian to the *Natio Germanica*, the Fraternity of ‘German’ Students. In 1623 Vorstius returned to the Low Countries with the Venetian ambassador Marc’Antonio Morosini (1591–1630). On 28 August 1623 Vorstius rematriculated at Leiden University. On 10 February 1624 he was appointed professor extraordinary of medicine (on the recommendation of Morosini) on the payment of 600 guilders a year. On 13 May 1625 Vorstius succeeded his father as ordinary professor of medicine and director of the hortus academicus. After the curators of Leiden University urged Vorstius to show more activity he produced a handwritten inventory of the university gardens in 1628. In 1633 Elsevier published his *Catalogus plantarum*, a catalogue of the botanic garden (1107 species), which also contains an enumeration of 289 wild plants growing in and around Leiden. In 1636 Vorstius became rector of Leiden University for only one year. In 1645 the curators of Leiden University reprimanded Vorstius for neglecting his lessons. In 1648 and 1650 he was asked to make a new inventory of the university gardens. Except for his catalogues, an edition of Hippocrates and a few disputations and academic necrologies, Vorstius did not publish anything. His friends include Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), Constantijn l’Empereur ab Opwyck (1591–1648) and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678). Vorstius married Catharina van der Meulen (1596–1652), a daughter of a rich merchant from Leiden. The precise date of their marriage is not known. Vorstius died in Leiden on 9 October 1663 (cf. Molhuysen 1913–1924, vol. 3, p. 183).

It is not known how and when contacts between Vorstius and Descartes were established. They may have met through their mutual friends Constantijn *Huygens or Anthony Studler van *Zurck. The only surviving letter of Descartes to Vorstius (19 June 1643, Letter 28) is in reply to a lost letter, in which Vorstius apparently asked Descartes to give a full exposition of his doctrine of animal spirits. It also shows that Vorstius had sent a copy of Aromatari’s *Disputatio de rabie contagiosa* (1625) and suggests that he defended Descartes against his critics—what issue was exactly disputed is not known. That they also personally met emerges from a letter of Descartes to *De Wilhem (24 May 1647, AT V, 33).

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Writings

Hippokratous Aforismoï. Ex recognitione A. Vorstii (Leiden, 1628; 2nd and 3rd edn., 1661, 1666); *Oratio funebris in obitum ... Gilberti Jacchaei* (Leiden, 1628); *Catalogus plantarum horti academici Lugduno Batavi*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1633) (together with an edition of Van den Spiegel's *Isagoge in rem herbariam*); *Oratio funebris ... Petri Cunaei* (Leiden, 1638; 2nd edn., 1640); *De spiritibus* (Leiden, 1643); *Oratio in excessum ... Claudii Salmasii* (Leiden, 1654; other edns., 1663, 1693, 1720, 1735).

Correspondents

- a) Caspar Barlaeus, Van *Beverwijck, Johannes Leonardsz Blasius, Balthasar Bonifacius, Arnoldus Buchelius, *Colvius, Guilielmus Gillonius, Jan de Groot, Baldwin Hamey, Nicolaas Heinsius, Lucas Holsten, Constantijn Huygens, Johannes Meursius, Anselmus Salmius, Saumaise, Anna Maria van Schurman, Gerardus Johannes Vossius (cf. Van der Lem/Rademaker 1993).
b) Jan van Foreest (RAA, 'Familiearchief Van Foreest 1422–1979', inv.no. 72; cf. Rombach 1992, no. 92), Guy Patin (BIUM, MS 2007).
c) Bartholinus 1740, vols. 1–2, 4; Burman 1727 (Heinsius); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II–V; Van Schurman 1641.

Private library

Vorstius' library was sold on 29 April 1664. For the auction catalogue, see *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae* (Leiden, 1664); cf. Van Selm 1987, 133.

Documents

BL, MSS Add. 23105, fo. 71 (Vorstius' inscriptions in the *Album amicorum* of Philippe de Glarges, 1 October 1640), Eg. 1319 (inscriptions in the *Album amicorum* of Johann Leonhard Franckenstein, 1652), Sloane 2764, fo. 57 (verses in Greek and Latin inscribed in a manuscript given by Vorstius to a friend, possibly from his private library); KB, MS 71 J 59 (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Michael Lupardus (c.1602–1661), September 1628); Leiden, UB, MS BPL 3088 (*Album amicorum*, 1627–1654; cf. Heesakkers/Thomassen 1986, no. 39); Uppsala, UB, MSS 'The Waller Manuscript Collection', benl-00772, benl-00773 (inscription in the *Album amicorum* of Thomas Furenius, 17 August 1637, letter of introduction addressed to Guy Patin (1602–1672)).

References

Banga 1975, 320–324; Lindeboom 1984, 2088–2089. See also J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* (Leiden, 1641); Molhuysen 1913–1924, vols. 2–3; H. Veendorp and L.G.M. Baas Becking, *1587–1937. Hortus academicus Lugduno Batavus. The development of the gardens of Leyden University* (Haarlem, 1937), esp. 68–71; Borrichius 1983, vols. 1–3; Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, et al., *Het Rapenburg: geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*, vol. 4 (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Afdeling Geschiedenis van de Kunstnijverheid 1986–1992), pp. 400–402.

WAESBERGE, Jan (Johannes) van — (1600–after 1683)

Jan van Waesberge was born in Delft presumably, before 9 July 1600. He was the son of the Rotterdam printer Johannes (†1626) van Waesberge and Margriet (Maryken) van Bracht. It is likely that Van Waesberge was trained in printing in the firm of his father. In 1637 he was confirmed in Delft. That same year he moved to Utrecht, where he was inscribed as a member of the Reformed

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Church (21 December 1637). In the summer of 1642 Van Waesberge married Lysbeth Jans (Elisabeth Janssonius, 1615–1681), a daughter of Johannes Janssonius (1611–1664), who was the Amsterdam printer of the famous Mercator atlases. Although it is not known when Van Waesberge started printing in Utrecht, he is recorded for the first time as the printer of academic disputations for the new university in 1642. From 1645 to 1660 his workshop in Utrecht was situated ‘tegen over ’t stadthuys an de plaets’ (nowadays Stadhuisbrug) in the second house that belonged to the ‘Snippevlucht’ (nowadays Oudegracht). Van Waesberge also opened a workshop in Breda. In 1646 he became ‘gesworen boekdrucker’ (official printer) and supplier of office stationery of the Illustrious School there. In March 1647 he was registered as a citizen of Utrecht. From 1647 to 1649 he also became official printer of the city of Breda. Van Waesberge was dean of the printer’s guild in Utrecht (25 January 1653) and deacon (1654) of the Reformed Church in Utrecht. After he decided to work more closely with his father-in-law he set up a printing office in Amsterdam somewhere on the Damrak in the summer of 1659. On 23 March 1661 Janssonius appointed him business manager for his printing office. As from this date each book published by Janssonius’ printing office was published under the name of Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge. After the death of his father-in-law Van Waesberge worked with Elizée (Eliseus) Weyerstraten (Weyerstraet(en), Weyerstraat), who had married Janssonius’ youngest daughter Sara. After the death of Weyerstraten Van Waesberge continued printing with Weyerstraten’s widow. After 1675 he also worked with his sons Johannes (1644–1705) and Gillis (1646–1708) under the names Janssonio-Waesbergii and Officina Janssonio-Waesbergiana. Van Waesberge’s printer’s device presents Pallas holding a banderol with the text *Et flore et fructu*. The precise date of Van Waesberge’s death is not known. In 1683 he was still living in Amsterdam.

Van Waesberge was the printer of several writings of the Voetius family and *Admiranda methodus* (1643). Descartes makes an indirect reference to him in a letter to Samuel *Maresius ([January/February 1643], Letter 8). During the Utrecht crisis Van Waesberge testified on behalf of Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), claiming in a rather equivocal way that all parts of the manuscripts were written in the same hand. According to its author, Martinus *Schoock, Van Waesberge had offered to sell parts of his and Voetius’ manuscripts of *Admiranda methodus* to Descartes and his faction (Schoock, 45–46). Van Waesberge was the printer of Descartes’ *Principia*, *Specimina* and *Passiones*, published in Amsterdam under the title *Opera philosophica* (1656–1658) by Janssonius, as is shown by the preface of the second edition of *Bewys*, a pamphlet (1656) by Lambert van Velthuysen (Van Otegem 2002, vol. 2, p. 691).

Correspondents

- a) Athanasius Kircher.
- b) Anna Maria van Schurman (SUH, MS ‘Uffenbach-Wolfschen Briefsammlung’ 28,39; cf. Krüger 1978, vol. 2, p. 457).

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Trade catalogue

Van Waesberge's Utrecht retail stock was sold on 22 March 1660. For the printed catalogue of this retail stock, see *Catalogus variorum ... librorum Officinae Johannis a Waesberge* (Utrecht, 1660); cf. Van Selm 1987, 125, 362. For the wholesale catalogue of the stock of Van Waesberge and Sara Weyerstraten, see *Catalogus librorum* (Amsterdam, 1669). Van Waesberge's wholesale and retail stock in Amsterdam was sold 19 March 1691, partly among booksellers). See *Catalogus insignium* (Amsterdam, 1691).

Documents

HUA, 'Inventaris van het stadsbestuur 1577–1795', inv.no. 702–1,2082 (indictment of Van Waesberge in connection with *Res judicanda judicata* (1658)).

References

G.A. Evers, 'Jan van Waesberge te Utrecht', *Het boek. Tweede reeks van het tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen*, 5 (1916), 281–287. See also A.M. Ledeboer, *Het geslacht van Waesberghe* (Rotterdam: Van Waesberge, 1859), 93–103 (with list of printed works); id., 'Quelques notices sur les Van Waesberghe', *Bulletin du bibliophile Belge*, 19 (1863), 328–331; id., *Het geslacht van Waesberghe* (The Hague–Utrecht: Nijhoff/Beijers, 1869); id., *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland* (Deventer: Ter Gunne, 1872), 369; Kleerkoper/Stockum 1914–1916, vol. 2; [Anonymous], 'Van boeken en rouwmantels', *Maandblad van 'Oud-Utrecht'*, 22 (1949), 74; Van Alphen 1951, 302–307; Sassen 1962, 31; Thijsen-Schoute 1989, 476; Willems 1991, lxiv, 428.

WEEDE, Johan van — (1584–1658)

Johan van Weede, Lord of Oud-Weede, was born on 3 December 1584. He was the son of Everard Bosch van Weede (1553–1624) and Cornelia Reunis van Diest (1558–1635). Nothing is known about the education of Van Weede. On 17 August 1614 he married Catharina de Cupre (Cuypere, c.1592–1634), who gave him two children: Joris (b.1627) and Anna (b.1629). After the death of his wife he remarried Jacomina Zogaerds (Soggaerts, 1592–1658). Van Weede was a member of the *Vroedschap* of Utrecht (since 1624) and Burgomaster during the Utrecht crisis (1642–1643, with Frederick *Ruysch, 1643–1644, with Antonis de Goyer). He also sat for the States of Utrecht in the States General in The Hague. In 1641 Van Weede was sent to Denmark to negotiate, together with Willem Boreel (1591–1668) and Albert Sonck (1571–1658), the tolls imposed on vessels passing through the Baltic Sound. On 13 April 1658 Van Weede died in Utrecht and was buried in church of St Catherine.

According to Baillet (II, 190) Van Weede and Ruysch were offered copies of Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* (1643) by Gijsbert van der *Hoolck and Peter van *Leeuwen (cf. Descartes to *Huygens, 26 June 1643, Letter 29; *Lettre apologétique*, AT VIII B, 214; Bos 1996, 86). The conclusion of the committee of inquiry instituted by him was that Descartes' open letter was libellous (Kernkamp 1936–1940, vol. 1, p. 183), which was the start of a lawsuit against Descartes. In July 1645 Martin *Schoock offered Van Weede a *Corte memorie* (Bos, 68–73) in a bid to protect himself against a possible lawsuit because of his

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statement that Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) was the main author of *Admiranda methodus* (1643).

Correspondents

- b) Everard van Weede, Van Weede to an unknown correspondent (HUA, 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Weede', inv.nos. 201; cf. De Booy 1973, 7–8, nos. 27–29).
- c) Voet 1646 (Schoock).

Documents

Vande Water 1729, vol. 3, p. 184; HUA, 'Dooop-, trouw- en begraafboeken'; 'Inventaris van het archief van de familie Van Weede', inv.no. 201 (cf. De Booy 1973, 7–8, nos. 27–29).

References

E.J. Bos, 'Epistolarium Voetianum II', NAK, 79 (1999), 38–73.

WENDELINUS (Vendelinus, Wendelen), Godefridus (Godfried, Godefroid, Govaart) – (1580–1667)

Godefridus Wendelinus was born in Herk (near Diest) on 6 June 1580. He was a son of Nicolaas Wendelen (†1607), Burgomaster of Herk, and Elizabeth Cornelis (†1588). Wendelinus was educated at the Jesuit College of Tournai (founded 9 October 1595). From there he went to Leuven (Louvain) to study philosophy. According to Johannes Mantelius (1599–1676) and Valerius Andreas (1588–1658) he also studied in Prague and Italy, but there is no certainty. From 1604 to 1611 Wendelinus was tutor of the son of André Arnaud, lieutenant-general of the Court of Forcalquier. On 23 March 1611 Wendelinus took a degree in Law at Orange University. After his return to the Spanish Low Countries he was appointed headmaster of the Latin school in Herk (24 June 1617). Wendelinus was ordained priest in Brussels around 1619 and obtained a subdeaconry in Mechelen (21 December 1619). He also became curate of Geet-Beets (1620–1632) and Herk (1633–1650). In 1633 the Archduchess Isabelle of Austria (1598–1621) gave him a prebendary of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Condé-sur-Escaut (Hainaut). Wendelinus was judge (1648) in the Ecclesiastical Court of the diocese of Doornik (Tournai) and canon (1650) of the cathedral of Doornik. Wendelinus' reputation rests on his work in astronomy. He observed the eclipses of the moon and produced values for the parallax of the sun that are close to modern figures. Furthermore he determined the latitude of Marseille and calculated the length of the Mediterranean, which he corrected by 19 degrees (about 1,100 miles). His friends include Constantijn *Huygens, Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) and Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655). In 1658 Wendelinus retired to Ghent, where he continued his astronomical observations until his death on 24 October 1667.

Descartes asked Vopiscus Fortunatus *Plemp (3 October 1637, AT I, 409–412) to give Wendelinus a copy of his *Géometrie* (1637). So apparently he still valued his opinion. This changed however when Descartes read *Arcanorum*

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coelestium lampas (1643), which, as he mockingly observes, ‘did not illuminate him’ (to *Colvius, 5 September 1643, Letter 39). He was also critical of Wendelinus’ *De causis naturalibus pluviae purpureae Bruxellensis* (1646) which according to him was based on too little experiments (to Colvius, 5 October 1646, AT IV, 515–519)

Writings

Aries seu aurei velleris encomium (Antwerp, 1632); *Loxias, seu de obliquitate solis diatriba* (Antwerp, 1626); *De tetracty pythagorae dissertatio epistolica*, in Erycii Puteani de *Bissexto liber* (Leuven, 1637); *Eclipses lunares ab anno 1573 ad 1643 observatae* (Antwerp, 1644); *Epistola didactica de Calcedonio lapide* (n.p., 1655); *S. Clementis Epistolae duae ad Corinthios interpretibus Patricio Junio, Gottifredo Vendelino, et Joh. Bapt. Cotelerio* (London, 1687).

Correspondents

a) Constantijn Huygens, Erycius Puteanus.

b) Philippe Chifflet (Besançon, Bm, MS 23, fo. 525), Gassendi (BnF, MS ‘Collection Dupuy’ 663; cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 3, p. 320), Jan Gaspar Gevartius (KBB, Handschriftenkabinet, MS 5989: nine letters, MS ‘Papiers d’état’ A 1462), Denys Pétau (KBB, MSS II, 428, fos. 23–35; BnF, MS ‘Nouvelles acquisitions latines’ 1554, fo. 192), Officina Plantiniana (MPM, MS Arch. Plant. 138), Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (Lyon, Bm, MS 1629, fo. 47), Erycius Puteanus (KBB, MS 19112, I: 92 unpublished letters, 1619–1646), Johannes Franciscus Slingelant (Carpentras, Bibliothèque d’Inguibert, MS 1831, fo. 70), Andrea Trevisio (Brussels, Het Rijksarchief in België, MS ‘Papiers d’État et de l’Audience’ 1462–1463; cf. Kristeller 1963–1997, vol. 3, p. 87). A letter of Wendelinus to an unknown correspondent is preserved in BL, MS Add. 11759.

c) J. Ghesquiere, *Acta sanctorum Belgii selecta* (Brussels, 1783), vol. 1 (two priests from Diest); Th. Simar, ‘Lettres inédites d’humanistes belges du XVe et du XVIIe siècle’, *Le Musée belge. Revue de philologie classique*, 12 (1908), 217–264, 255–264 (Pétau, Puteanus); Gassendi 1964, vol. 6; Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I–V; CM III–V; Wendelinus 1637; CM IX (Puteanus).

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1580–1667 (Herk-de-Stad, n.d. [1980]) (exhibition catalogue, 21 September 1980–5 October 1980).

WILHEM, David le Leu de — (1588–1658)

David le Leu de Wilhem was born in Hamburg on 15 May 1588. He was the son of Georg le Leu de Wilhem (c.1550–1596), a merchant from Tournai, and Aegidia (Gilliette) Opalphens (†1633). De Wilhem was privately educated by Jean George Crobius and, probably, Constantijn l'Empereur ab Opwyck (1591–1648), who would become professor of theology in Leiden. De Wilhem was further educated in Staden and Hanau (1608) before entering the universities of Franeker (1608) and Leiden (1611) to study theology, philosophy, law and oriental languages. In 1613 De Wilhem travelled to Thouars, where he met André Rivet (1572–1651) and Marin Mersenne (1588–1648). In 1617 De Wilhem settled as a merchant in Sidon (Syria), where he remained until 1619. On his travels he met Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) and the Greek patriarch Lucaris Cyrillus (1572–1638). In Egypt he purchased various antiquities, which he donated to Leiden University (now in the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, Leiden). From 1623 to 1629 De Wilhem lived as a merchant in Aleppo (Syria). After his return to the United Provinces he became personal adviser to Amalia of Solms (1602–1675), the wife of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647). In 1633 or 1634 he became a member of the Council of Brabant in The Hague. On 4 February 1632 he took a degree in Law at Leiden University. On 26 January 1633 De Wilhem married Constantia Huygens (1602–1677), the youngest sister of Constantijn *Huygens. They had six children. De Wilhem was canon of the Chapter of Oudmunster in Utrecht. As a prominent member of the Walloon Church he attended the Synods of Leiden (1637) and Haarlem (1639). De Wilhem is generally known as patron of the arts and sciences. His correspondence with Henricus Reneri (1593–1639) shows that he frequently gave him money for books (cf. Leiden, UB, MS BPL 293A). And apparently he was also interested in Jean Gillot (1613/14–before 1661), a young mathematician who also worked with Descartes (Descartes to De Wilhem, 7 February 1633, AT I, 264–266). De Wilhem died in the early morning of 27 January 1658 (Huygens, *Dagboek* 1885, 61) and was buried in the 'Nieuwe Kerk' in The Hague. His voluminous correspondence is kept in Leiden University Library.

The first letter of Descartes to De Wilhem is of 23 May 1632 (AT I, 253–254). It shows that De Wilhem had advanced some money to Descartes, which in turn suggests that they met earlier, possibly through Reneri who had corresponded with De Wilhem since 1629. In 1640 Descartes advised De Wilhem on the surgical treatment of one of his daughters (probably Johanna, 1637–1656), who suffered from rachitis (Descartes to De Wilhem, 13 June 1640, AT III, 90–92, 24 June 1640, AT III, 92–93). De Wilhem in turn advised Descartes on several occasions, like the Stampioen affair (Descartes to De Wilhem, 17 August 1640, AT III, 154–156,

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201) and the Utrecht crisis (Descartes to Huygens, 26 June 1643, Letter 29, 10 July 1643, Letters 37 and 36).

Correspondents

a) Meint Aetsema, D. Andrae, Adrianus Backerus a Brabantia, Stheno Bille, Johannes Bollius, Fredericus de Bona, William Boswell, Hendrick Bruno, J. Bultellus, Paulus Colonijs, Ludovicus Crocius, Cyrillus, Philippe Delme, Siebertus Danekelman, Jan Henrijck Dauber, Samuel Delecherpiere, Ludovicus de Dieu, Johannes Duraeus, Johannes Eylichmann, l'Empereur ab Opwyck, Godefroy Louis d'Estrades, Thomas Finckius, Georgius Gentius, Jacobus Golius, Arnoldus Gortzen, Johannes Georgius Graevius, *Graswinckel, Gronovius (see also Dibon/Bots/Bots-Estourgie 1974), Isaac Gruterus, Petrus Gruter, Fredericus Guntherus, Otto van Heurne, Hezerus, Herman Hildebrandt, Wilhelmus Holthenus, Festus Hommius, Joseph Hoornbeek, Christiaan Huygens, Constantijn Huygens, Hieronymus Isbrandi, Menasseh ben Israel, Gottfried Jungermann, Franciscus Knapius, C.B.V. Kniphuizen, Andreas Cnöffel, Albertus Kyperus, Antoine Leger, Guilielmus Damasi Lindanus, Sibrandus Lubbertus, Jacobus Lydius, Johannes Tobias Major, *Maresius, Theodorus Matenense, Johannes Meursius, Christophorus Mollerus, Alexander Morus, Pierre du Moulin, Edo Neuhusius, Fayetus ab Olijmp, C.B. de Petersdorff, Johannes Philemon, Guilielmus Pimbelus, Guilielmus Pistorius, Johannes Polyander van Kerckhoven, Ausonius Popma, Henricus a Poser, Johannes Franciscus Quaresmius, Lopo Ramirez, Nicolaas van Reigersberg, Timotheus Relandus, Reneri, D. Renesse, André Rivet, Carolus Robson, Albertus Rusius, Claude Saumaise, Cornelis Schalcken, *Schoock, Florentius Schuyt, Sibrandus Siccam, Ernestus Sigisma a Jaloffley, Johannes Fridericus Slingelant, G. Spang, Friedrich Spanheim, Guilielmus Staackmans, Petrus Stockmans, Casparus Streso, Herman Tollius, Nicolaus Vedelius, Johannes van Vliet, Voetius, Gerardus Johannes Vossius (cf. Van der Lem/Rademaker 1993), Marcellus Vranckheim, Levinus Warner, J. Welrap, Joachim de Wicquefort, Henricus Wolpius, Ernest Zimmerman.

b) C. de Bermond, Courtin, Frederik von Dohna, Cornelius Haga, Haultenay de Chateauf, De *Mory, F. Rantzau (and to others), Giovanni Antonio Romiti, Molines Sauvray, Adriaan Noiro, D. Temple, Paul le Leu de Wilhem (NA, 'Collectie De Wilhem 1622-1656', Ingekomen en uitgaande brieven, inv.no. 1221), Cyrillus (BL, MS Add. 54227; reproduced in Manousaka), Delecherpiere (Leiden, UB, MS BPL 293A), Saumaise (BnF, MS 'Fonds français' 3931), Gerardus Vossius (Oxford, Bodl, MS 'Rawlinson letters' 84E).

c) J. Aymon, *Monumens authentiques de la religion des Grecs* (The Hague, 1708) (Cyrillus); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, I-IV (Graswinckel, Constantijn Huygens); *Correspondance Christiaan Huygens*, vols. 1 and 22; Nauta 1935 (Maresius); Honders 1930 (Rivet); Lindeboom 1974, Annex 1-4, 102-113 (Schuyt); A.C. Duker, 'Eenige onuitgegeven brieven van en aan Gisbertus Voetius', *Archief voor Nederlandsche kerkgeschiedenis*, 4 (1893), 276-325 (Voetius, Meinardus Schotanus); M.I. Manousaka, '[An autograph letter (1617) of Lucaris Cyrillus to the Dutch scholar David De Wilhem]', *Mesaionika Kai Nea Hellenika*, 1 (1984), 453-461.

Private library

De Wilhem's private library, containing Arabic books from the library of Eylichmann (cf. Leroy/Bots, 163-164), was sold in March 1658 and on 3 March 1659: *Catalogus variorum* (n.p. [The Hague], 1658); *Catalogus variorum* (The Hague, 1659).

Documents

AvK, 'Archief van de familie Van Valkenburg', inv.nos. 571-576 (cf. O. Schutte, *Het archief van de familie Van Valkenburg*, n.p., 1971); GArch, 'Kasteel Ampsen, aanwinsten', archiefblok 0577, inv.no. 25 (correspondence of the Leu de Wilhem family, 1648-1750); HGA, 'Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken'; NA, 'Collectie De Wilhem 1622-1656', inv.no. 1221;

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'Legatie Turkije, Consulaat Aleppo'; The *Album amicorum* (1607–1608) of De Wilhem (now lost) was sold in 1901 by Muller auctioneers (cf. Heesakkers/Thomassen 1986, no. 111).

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Bayle 1740, vol. 5, pp. 550–552; Elias 1963, vol. 2, p. 602, no. 236, Annex, b; C.C. van Valkenburg, 'Het regentengeslacht (Le Leu) de Wilhem', *JCBG*, 25 (1971), 132–180, esp. 157–161. See also Honders 1730; *Livre synodal* 1563–1685, 245, 402, 405, 416; W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1931); Nauta 1935; Kernkamp 1936, vol. 1, p. 251; B.H. Stricker, 'De correspondentie: Van Heurn–Le Leu de Wilhem', *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum te Leiden*, 39 (1948), 43–54; Van Alphen 1951; Van Dillen 1958, 213–214; Sassen 1962, 10, 27, 36, 45–46; Witkam 1967; Van Dijck 1973, 360, 362–364, 374, 380; Lindeboom 1974; A.H. de Groot, *The Ottoman empire and the Dutch Republic. A history of the earliest diplomatic relations 1610–1630*. Ph.D. Diss. Leiden University (n.p., 1987), 311, 333; H. Méchoulan, 'A propos de la visite de Frédéric-Henri, prince d'Orange, à la synagogue d'Amsterdam: une lettre inédite de Menasseh ben Israël (1604–1657) à David de Wilhem, suivie de la traduction française du discours de bienvenue', *Lias. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas*, 5 (1978), 81–86; Hofman 1983; Van Westrienen 1983, 144; P. van Rooden, *Theology, biblical scholarship and rabbinical studies in the seventeenth century* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); [Cl. Saumaise/A. Rivet], *Correspondance échangée entre 1632 et 1648*, eds. P. Leroy and Bots (Amsterdam–Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1987); Thijssen-Schoute 1989, 599; Dibon 1990.

ZURCK (Sur(e)c(k), Zureck, Zurich), Anthony (Ant(h)oni(s)) Studler van — (c.1608–1666)

Anthony Studler van Zurck was born in Amsterdam presumably, around 1608. He was the son of Anthony Studler van Zurck (c.1576/77–1619) and Maria Thibaut (Thibout). On 13 October 1633 he matriculated at Leiden University as a student of law, graduating the next day. On 23 October 1635 Van Zurck married Susanna Thibaut (Thibout(s), 1614–1687), who was his niece presumably. They had five children, three of whom survived childhood: Anthonis (1642–1691), Adriaan (†1695) and Susanna. Van Zurck entered Leiden University again on 18 September 1636 and on 17 January 1639. He rematriculated with Casparus van Zurck, doctor of law, who can be identified as his brother Jasper (b.1611), mentioned in Descartes' correspondence with Constantijn *Huygens (3 January 1640, AT III, 738). In the spring of 1642 Van Zurck became Lord of Sweyburg and Bergen (close to Egmond and Alkmaar). In Bergen he built a manor called 'Bergen op de Hof' (on the location of the 'Oude Hof', burned down 1574), which was completed in 1660. On 27 October 1660 Van Zurck and his wife made their 'Joyeuse Entree' on the occasion of the completion of their new house. Van Zurck was 'ridder van St. Michiel' (Knight of the French order of St Michael) and Knight and 'meesterknaap' of Holland (1649). A prominent, well-connected man Van Zurck was 'president heemraad' (chairman of the board of supervisors) of the Beemster polder (1653), 'hoogheemraad' (member of the board) of the polder district 'Uitwaterende Sluizen in Hollands Noorderkwartier' in Edam and member of the *Vroedschap* of Alkmaar (December 1660). Van Zurck's friends

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include the famous writer and historian Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581-1647), who was the godfather of Van Zurck's son Anthonis. On 1 January 1666 Van Zurck died in Alkmaar. Nine days later he was buried in the family vault of the Reformed Church in Bergen.

Van Zurck was an intimate friend of Descartes, probably since early 1633 when they occasionally shared the Amsterdam boarding house 'Vieux Prince' (CM II, 459-460/AT I, 266-269). He was also Descartes' messenger, intermediary (for his mail to *Elizabeth, see AT IV, 2) and financier (Baillet, II, 249/AT IV, 149). Descartes in turn wrote Huygens to help Van Zurck to obtain a hunting license from the Stadholder (28 March 1636, AT I, 602; see also AT I, 611-612, 639-640). Van Zurck's relations with Descartes were on a firm footing in 1639, when he assisted him during the Stampioen affair (AT II, 712-714, 716-717). More particularly Van Zurck was possibly the translator of Descartes' French draft for the preface of *Den on-wissen wis-konstenaer J. Stampioenius ontdeekt* (Huygens to Descartes, 14 August 1640, AT III, 754), which was published by his friend Jacob van Waessenaer (b.1607), a land surveyor from Utrecht. The first letter known to be written to Van Zurck by Descartes shows they were both interested in 'l'herbe sensitive', most likely a mimosa or 'grande sensitive' of the Fabaceae family (Descartes to Mersenne, 26 November 1639, AT II, 713). On 13 February 1641 Van Zurck and Cornelis van Hogelande (1590-1662) signed, as witnesses, a legal document by which Descartes appointed Jacques Bouexic de la Villeneuve (1590-1658), a lawyer and friend of Descartes, as his legal representative for the succession of his father (Cohen, 526-527). In 1642 Descartes asked Mersenne to send him the latest French plans and books on gardens (AT III, 450, 784-785, 793-794) for one of his intimate friends. That friend can be identified as Van Zurck who at the time was building a new manor in Bergen. In Egmond (May 1643-September 1649) Descartes became very close with Van Zurck (Descartes to Huygens, 3 March 1639, AT II, 623; to *Pollot, 1 January 1644, AT IV, 71; to Huygens, 21 December 1644, AT IV, 774). Van Zurck took charge of Descartes' mail (Brasset to Descartes, 15 April 1647, AT V, 27-28; 30 April 1648, AT V, 179-180) and in his absence distributed copies of *Principia* (1644) and *Traité des passions* (1649) (Van Zurck to Huygens, 30 August 1644, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, IV, 54/CM XIII, 206; Brasset to Descartes, 27 November 1649, AT V, 450). After Descartes' death a suitcase, left in the care of Van Hogelande, was opened at the request of Van Zurck, to whom Descartes owed a considerable sum of money (Descartes to *Picot, 30 August 1649, AT V, 406-409). That Van Zurck was in the possession of unpublished papers of Descartes is clear, not only on the basis of Schuyt's introduction to his Latin translation of *Traité de l'homme* (1662) (AT XI, vii), but is also suggested by a few letters of Jean le Clerc (1657-1736) to Claude Nicaise (1623-1701) (8 February 1691, Le Clerc, vol. 2, p. 48). Given the fact that at that moment Van Zurck was already dead, the reference must be to his eldest son Antonis, who inherited his father's estate on 16 November 1666. This is confirmed by the official inventory (*Staet en inventaris*) of Anthonis' estate, made on 30 June 1692. According to Le Clerc An-

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tonis refused all co-operation for that matter because an offer (made by himself or by his father) to search Descartes' papers had been turned down 'from Paris' (to Nicaise, 2 May 1691, Le Clerc, vol. 2, p. 53). There has been no trace of these papers ever since.

Correspondents

- a) Leonora Hellemans, Hooft, Constantijn Huygens.
- b) Dirk van Foreest (RAA, 'Familiearchief Van Foreest 1422–1979', inv.no. 103).
- c) *Briefwisseling P.C. Hooft*, II–III; CM XIII (Hooft); Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, II, IV–V.

Documents

RAA, 'Collectie aanwinsten', inv.no. 443 (notes on the Studler van Zurck family); 'Notarieel archief', vol. 211, no. 101, sq., fo. 17v (*Staet en inventaris van sodanige goederen en effecten, als bevonden sijn in den sterfhuijse van wijlen Anthony Studler van Zurck*). See J. Belonje, 'R. Descartes', *De navorscher*, 96 (1953), 43–44; W.A. Fasel, *Inventaris van de collectie aanwinsten* (Alkmaar: Regionaal Archief Alkmaar, 1998), inv.no. 443.

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Adam 1910, 127; Cohen 1921; P.C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en heraldische wederwaardigheden in en uit de kerken der provincie Noord-Holland*, vol. 2 (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1928), pp. 115–116; *Briefwisseling Hugo Grotius*, XV; P. Leendertz, *Uit den Muiderkring* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1935), 51–54 (genealogy of the Van Zurck family); J. Belonje, *Het hoogheemraadschap van de uitwaterende sluizen in Kennemerland en West-Friesland 1544–1944* (Wormerveer: Meijer, 1945), 145; M. van Reenen-Völter, *De heerlijkheid Bergen in woord en beeld* (Alkmaar, 1948; 2nd ed., Schiedam: Interbook International, 1974); Jean le Clerc, *Epistolario*, ed. M. Sina, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1987–1992); Thijssen-Schoute 1989, 77–78; *Correspondence Descartes/Regius*, 22.

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