

## PREFACE

Five years ago, the present editor published an edition of another theological work by Hugo Grotius, *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum Senensem* (Assen – Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990). This book was styled as the first volume of a new series, entitled Hugo Grotius, *Opera Theologica*. The preface to that volume announced that the present book would be published as Volume II. However, although it has been set up according to the same standards as the earlier work and is intended to be a companion volume to it, the present volume has been published by a different printing house and is part of a different series. Compared to *De satisfactione*, no major changes have been introduced in the design of the edition, which was explained in the preface to that volume. Nevertheless, apart from the change of publisher, two external aspects require explicit mention. Firstly, whereas the imprint of the first volume mentioned the Grotius Institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, the present book is published under the auspices of the Constantijn Huygens Institute for Text Editions and Intellectual History of the Academy, the result of a merger (on January 1, 1992) between the Grotius Institute and three other research institutes. Secondly, Hotze Mulder's name is now missing on the *tableau de la troupe*. Mr. Mulder was responsible for the English translation of the *De satisfactione*; due to official occupations he was regrettably obliged to discontinue his assistance to the series after the first instalment. As to other critical editions of Grotius' theological works edited by the Constantijn Huygens Institute, it can be announced here that Dr. Harm-Jan van Dam is currently preparing an edition, with English translation and commentary, of the tract *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*.

At first sight, it might seem surprising that the edition of a tract that is only about half as long as *De satisfactione* requires a considerably greater number of pages. Whereas Grotius in *De satisfactione* chose a subject that was relatively far from the everyday issues of the Twelve-Year Truce, this can scarcely be said of *Ordinum pietas*. Rarely did the man, who was basically a scholarly recluse, encroach more directly upon current events. As a result of the topical character of the text, this edition has in some respects acquired the nature of a documentary; at the same time, a much more elaborate commentary than that required for *De satisfactione* seemed to be needed. By including the texts against which Grotius' polemic was directed – something that also made it possible to restrict the commentary – and by printing the correspondence concerning the tract and subsequent retorts and

rejoinders, partly published here for the first time, I have attempted to make the polemics, at least in part, available to the present-day reader. The polemic is perhaps not equally interesting in all its respects, but it was fought out with great fierceness (unfortunately, it turned out to be practically impossible, and not merely because of lack of space, to provide an English translation of other texts than *Ordinum pietas* itself). In order to avoid the serious risk that the book would acquire the character of a *rudis indigestaque moles*, I have attempted to open up the material included in the various appendices and the main text as much as possible, and to relate them to one another by introducing a generous amount of cross-references. Even so, an important part of the polemics (especially the books that Caspar Barlaeus and Johannes Arnoldi Corvinus wrote in defense of Grotius' point of view) had to be disregarded. Incidentally, both books are part of the collection of pamphlets of the Royal Library in The Hague, which – for the era under consideration – is completely available on microfiche; for this reason the accessibility – in combination with references in the commentary – of this part of the polemics, too, is to some degree guaranteed. For the same reason, the numerous references to pamphlets have, where possible, been provided with the catalogue-numbers of the collection ('Knuttel') referred to, which at the same time is the most comprehensive one.

The main feature of this edition is the fact that it contains the first critical text, the first English translation and the first commentary on Hugo Grotius' *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae pietas* (1613). The edition of the text proper is preceded by an introduction; the book is completed by twelve appendices.

The introduction consists of two main parts, a general and a specific one. The general part introduces the reader to the political-religious troubles that Grotius discusses in *Ordinum pietas*. This section is mainly written on the basis of existing secondary literature, but as far as possible it concentrates on the main text; some unpublished sources that are especially important for Grotius' views and actions have been used.

The specific part of the introduction gives a survey of the circumstances under which the work was written, the sources for the constitution of the text (one – not autograph – manuscript and two authorized editions), the reception of the book during the author's lifetime, the sources consulted by Grotius during the writing of the book and an extensive analysis of the contents. Finally, I briefly broach the principles of the constitution of the text and of the translation.

The edition of the text itself has been provided with an English translation *en face*; under the Latin text are two apparatuses, the first of which gives exact references for all quotations and allusions (proverbs, apophthegms) in the text. For the quotations from patristic and medieval authors the reader is directed to a modern critical edition whenever available as well as (as far as ecclesiastical authors are concerned) to Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* and *Latina*, because of the general availability and compre-

hensiveness of these collections. Classical authors are cited according to current critical editions; the list of abbreviations contains a survey of all editions consulted. In the case of early modern authors, primarily a reference to a contemporary edition has been given that was (or at least may have been) consulted by Grotius himself; whenever a generally available modern critical edition exists it has been referred to, as well.

The second apparatus records all the places in which the critical text is at variance with the basic text chosen (the first edition of 1613), as well as all variants of both other sources for the text, except for differences in spelling (differences in spelling in proper names have been recorded) and errors in Greek accents. The apparatus is neither strictly negative nor strictly positive, but aims rather at being clear and unambiguous.

There are two contemporary translations of *Ordinum pietas*, one into Dutch and one into French. These translations have not been included here, although Grotius was demonstrably involved with the Dutch version; for this reason we may assign a certain degree of authorization to this translation (the French translation was, in all probability, not made from the Latin but from the Dutch, at any rate the Dutch translation was consulted; there are no indications of Grotius having had anything to do with this translation). The reasons why these translations, especially the Dutch one, have not been printed here, are twofold: 1. This edition is aimed at an international reading public, which will hardly be helped by or interested in an archaic Dutch translation; 2. Both translations are part of the collection of pamphlets of the Royal Library in The Hague, which, as has been stated above, can be consulted on microform in many major scholarly libraries. In the commentary the places have been noted where Grotius made proposals for the Dutch translation and where both translations enlarge or specify the Latin text.

The commentary explains in the first place all those allusions to persons, notions and historical situations in the text that are not immediately understandable to a present-day reader. Secondly, the attempt has been made to indicate as much as possible which sources Grotius consulted in writing a particular passage of his text. In this connection, Dutch citations have been provided with an English translation, French and Latin ones have not. Furthermore, the commentary contains references to similar passages in other works by Grotius. Finally, the commentary refers both to the sections of Lubbertus' books against which Grotius' polemics are directed and to the polemics for and against *Ordinum pietas* itself, as well as to statements on passages of the work in contemporary correspondence (included in Appendix IV). Only where a modern reader, even after consulting the English translation, would be led astray have grammatical and stylistic peculiarities been commented upon.

Appendices I–III contain the text of the three prefaces by Sibrandus Lubbertus against which Grotius' polemics are primarily directed. In the notes on these texts there are references to the paragraphs in *Ordinum pietas* that polemicize against a particular passage.

Appendix IV, which has already been referred to above, supplies the text of fragments from contemporary correspondence relating to the work itself, its background and its reception. Here, too, references to the main text have been provided throughout. The fragments included have mainly been taken from Grotius' own correspondence (with the addition of a number of unpublished letters) and from that of Lubbertus (here in large part printed for the first time after the originals in the British Library). The explanatory notes on the published letters to and from Grotius are based on those of Molhuysen in his edition of the *Briefwisseling*; however, none of these notes has been adopted without having been checked for correctness.

Appendices V and VIII give the text of Lubbertus' preliminary reply (in a preface to a polemic against *Ordinum pietas* written by Johannes Bogerman) and of the preface to his reply proper (*Responsio ad Pietatem Hugonis Grotii*). No space was available to include the latter book in its entirety (however, this book, too, is part of the Hague collection of pamphlets); nevertheless, Grotius included the most salient passages – with polemical notes – in his own anonymously printed booklet *Bona fides Sibrandi Lubberti*, that has been printed here as Appendix IX. The notorious resolution of the States of Holland that prohibited the sale of Lubbertus' *Responsio* constitutes the text of Appendix X. Again, reasons of space were a motive to decide not to publish Bogerman's book referred to earlier (similarly part of the collection of pamphlets of the Royal Library); here, too, the passages that Grotius took most exception to have been included (in Appendix VI). This Appendix gives the text of Grotius' manuscript notes in his own copy of Bogerman's work (now kept in Västerås, Sweden); these notes have never been printed before.

Appendix VII provides the text of a previously unprinted polemic against *Ordinum pietas* by Henry Jacob. This is an excerpt, made by two unknown scribes, from a lost original; it is found among Grotius' posthumous papers. Yet another polemic against *Ordinum pietas* by Matthew Slade has been included in Appendix XI; both its unsurpassable maliciousness and the rarity of the original publication seemed to warrant this.

The series of Appendices is closed by the so-called Resolution for ecclesiastical peace, drawn up by Grotius (XII). Only the resolution itself (the essential contents of which can already be found in *Ordinum pietas*) has been included, not the very numerous authorities.

The work on this volume was supervised by the committee for the edition of Grotius' theological works, consisting of Professors J.A.H. Bots (Nijmegen), James K. Cameron (St. Andrews) and G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden).

Again, many people have kindly advised and assisted the editor during the long period of preparation. In the first place, I must mention here those colleagues at the Constantijn Huygens Institute who were so kind as to critically read (parts of) the text and comment on it: Dr. Harm-Jan van Dam, Dr. Annemarie Kets-Vree, Dr. Henk Nellen, Dr. Corry Ridderikhoff and Dr. Hans Trapman. For their invaluable help in collating the manuscript and the

early editions I am grateful to Liesbeth Hekking, as well as to Dr. Nellen and Mrs. Annette Koeleman. Furthermore, I owe many thanks to Dr. Jacob Kort (Public Record Office, The Hague), Dr. Nigel Ramsay (The British Library, Manuscript Collections, London), Dr. Joke Roelevink (Institute for Dutch History, The Hague), Mrs. J.J.M. van de Roer-Meyers (City Library, Rotterdam) and Mr. Marcus de Schepper (Free University, Brussels).

Those parts of the book that are written in English have much profited from the meticulous and efficient correction of Ms. Lindy Melman (Leiden). In addition, I owe a large debt of gratitude to Professor James K. Cameron for the fact that he was willing to check the English translation of the Latin text of this volume, too.

Thanks to a Fulbright Scholarship granted by the Netherlands American Association for Educational Exchange I was able to work in libraries in the United States of America during the period of January until August, 1992. There, my work was much supported by Professors Laurent Mayali (The Robbins Collection, University of California, Berkeley), Paul R. Sellin (University of California, Los Angeles) and Johan P. Snapper (Queen Beatrix Professor of Dutch Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley).

It would be impossible to mention here all those libraries whose collections I used in preparing this edition; even the list of copies of the first and second editions does not mention all of them. I here restrict myself to those of whose services I have profited most frequently: Amsterdam University Library; The Library, University of California, Berkeley; The Robbins Collection (and The Law School Library), University of California, Berkeley; The Flora Lamson Hewlett Library of the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; The Library of the Peace Palace, The Hague; The Provincial Library of Friesland, Leeuwarden; Leiden University Library; The British Library, London; The City Library, Rotterdam; The Huntington Library, San Marino (California), and, last but not least, my daily work station, the Royal Library in The Hague.

To the distinguished editor of the *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, Professor Heiko A. Oberman, I am much indebted for his ready permission to include the present book in his prestigious series. I consider it a great privilege to be able to contribute another volume to it.

The Constantijn Huygens Institute  
The Hague, 13 April 1995

Edwin Rabbie.

Ordinum Federatorum  
ac nominatim

Hollandia et Westfrisia

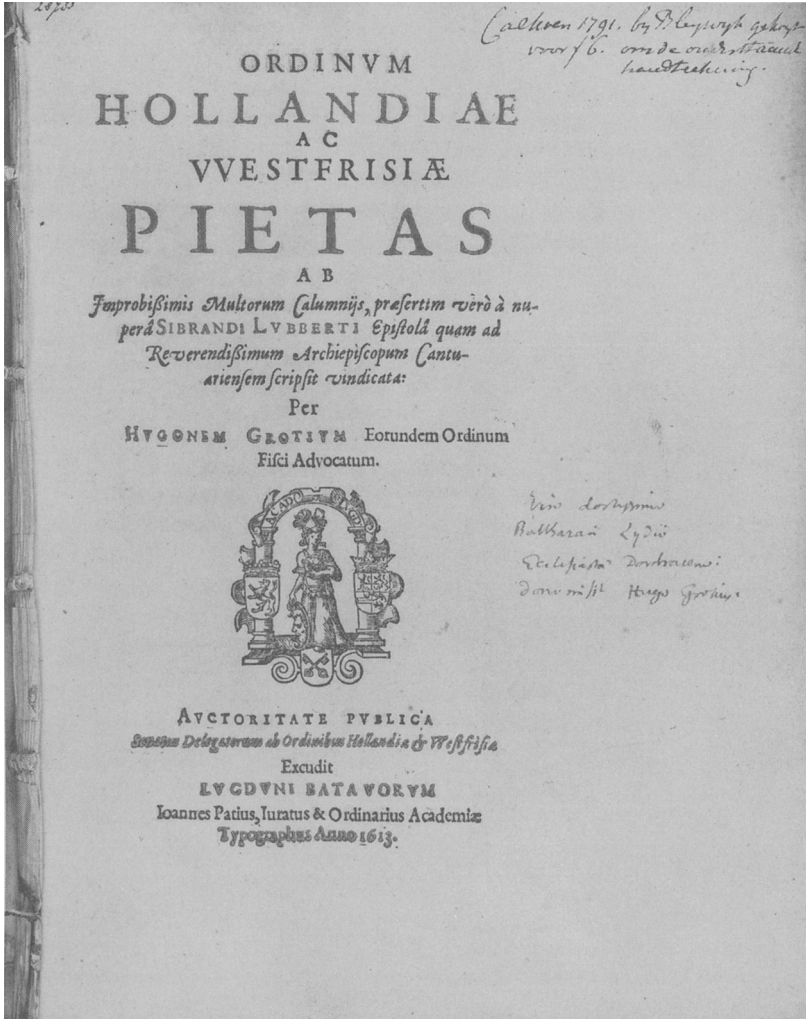
ORTHODOXIA

à Sibrandi Lubberti, et aliorum  
injurijs vindicata.

Si vir acer Sibrandus Lubbertus eo contentus fuisse, quàm jam-  
dudum sibi elegerat, intra Conradi Vorstij oppugnationem fectisset,  
nihil nobis erat in illa arenâ negotij. Sed nunc quàm ille qui  
libertatem ~~ωποφνησίας~~ ubiq; exagitat, nunc spece ~~προφνησίας~~  
eam sibi sumpsit libertatem, ut ausus sit vix Apostolis vetitam  
~~κρυπτοῦντας ἀρετῶν, καὶ δοξᾶς βλασφημῶν~~, mirum videri non debet,  
inventum esse civium unum, qui, quàm injuriam optimis Rectoribus  
illatam patienter ferre non posset, eam legitima ratione vindicaret.  
Equidem an fabula sit, nescio; mitum à primis natalibus adolever-  
tem conspecto patris periculo vocem subito edidisse, rumpente retina=  
cula cordis affectu: illud sanè verissimum conspo, si quo debemus  
amere prosequimur pios patria parentis, lapsa ipsorum existimatione  
vocem extorqueri posse vel obstinatissimi Sibrandij Seminiibus.  
Alioqui in hoc Ecclesia est nihil erat securius, quàm intra gemitus  
se tenere, loquendi autem libertatem in ea tempora servare, quibus  
deservituri essent factenus morbi ut prabere possint remedijs patientiã.  
Sed palam vulneratum nomen atq; famam Amplissimi confusus,  
dissimulare non licet, quàm velocissimus sit calumnia cursus,  
quam ut proximè sequaris, vix tamèn apprehendas. Accedit, quod  
ipsa salus publica labascit, ubi Magistratum concutitur auctoritas.  
Crimen atrox defert Sibrandus, Induci, est, in Ecclesiam non  
errores aliquos, ut multis solet succumbere humana infirmitas,  
sed heres. Ut nihil ultra dicam, hæc ipsa gravis sane est accu=  
satio, quæ enim aliud est heres, quàm pestis, quàm venenum Ecclesie,  
et quidem præsentissimum? Sed tamèn heresum aliqui sunt gradus,  
ita ut sit

λόγος magis τῶν συμπολιτῶν. Sed ut non possit quid velis, velis  
 quid possis. Illud quæritur, ad augendos an ad minuendos Ecclesiæ  
 servitus sentiant, ut quidquid in controversiam ducitur, de co-  
 stitutis rariis ἢ οὐ: non obtemperantes, aut ad Ecclesiæ servitium, aut  
 a ministerio sequestrant. Oedimus Hollandiæ cum Constantino Im-  
 peratore sentiant dicitur, καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου ἕμιον ὑμῶν ἀπέ-  
 ρον φυλάττει, καὶ ἡ αὐτῆ κατὰ ταύτων κοινοβία ἡρεῖται, καὶ τὰ  
 μέγιστα τῶν ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἐλαχίστη διαφορά γε-  
 νηται ἐπεὶ μηδὲ πάντες ἐν κατὰ ἄλλο βολόμεθα, μηδὲ μὲν  
 τῶν ἐν ἡμῶν φύσις ἢ γνώμη πολιτεύεται. Sentiant cum Eras-  
 mo suo, Accedat illa dymulatio, ut unquam pars alteri se-  
 nomini accommodet, sine qua nulla constat concordia: Sed bac-  
 tōnis obsecundetur, ut non moriantur τὰ αἰνίττα, et bactōnis  
 fratium hominum infirmitas, ut paulatim invidetur ad preser-  
 tiora. Item. Summa nostra Religionis pars est et unanimitas.  
 Ea vix constare poterit, nisi deo quam maxime deus fuerit: et in  
 multis libere distinguamus suum cuiusque iudicium, preser-  
 vata quod argens sit eorum nullatenus obsequitas. Sentiant cum  
 Francisco Junio Academia quondam sua professori. Funda-  
 mentum appellamus, sicut ut loquuntur vulgo, articulo funda-  
 mentales fidei eos sunt quibus fides Christiana consistit non po-  
 test, cuiusmodi sunt articuli de deo, qui fundamentum est salu-  
 tis nostre, obiectumque immutabile. Qui ergo scripturam et fun-  
 damentum illud salutare tenent, quamvis in verbis singulis non  
 a quoque explicata illorum fides, tamen et forma cetera, quam  
 expressit deus, in Ecclesia dei habendi sunt. Sentiant cum  
 Serenissimo Britannia Rege, qui enunciante ipsius sententia  
 vno confirmatissima. Cædmonis Casaubono scriptus est, reser-  
 vato autem scriptum est in explicationem τῶν ἀπλῶν ἀρα-  
 γίων ἅξ ἀσθητικῶν eorum absolute necessarium ad salutem  
 non magnum esse numerum. Quare existimas eius majestas  
 nullam

128  
 128



Title-page of the first edition with autograph dedication to Balthasar Lydius: 'Viro doctissimo Balthazari Lydio Ecclesiastae Dordracensi dono misit Hugo Grotius.' (The Hague, Royal Library, shelf-mark 344 H 43)

per speciem iudicij Ecclesiastici iniuria afficiatur; quod interdum fieri certissimum est. Ostendimus hoc ius Magistratum à Beza agnoscere, & quæ de Synodaliū decretorum recognitione diximus, aptari huc non incommodè possunt. Ne id quidem si largiantur, suspectam habere debent suam liberalitatem, quum inter illos ipsos qui Pontifici seruiunt Imperatores olim & nuper Veneti exorbitanti censuræ habenas adduxerint. Nam de Gallis quid dicam? apud quos protritum est remedium, appellatio ab abusu ad Senatum, quoties notio Ecclesiastica à recto tramite aberrat. Ne nostri quidem Principes, quanquam vt ferebat seculum fascino superstitione, ita tamen delirarunt, vt ista Ecclesiæ quæ dicuntur iudicia voluerint esse *ἄνωπ' ἑσθ' α.* Possum proferre rescripta complura Principum, Annorū CI DCCC XI. CI DCCC XV. CI DCCC XVIII. & deinceps, quibus vetantur Sacerdotes parere interdictis, iubentur excommunicationem iniquam demere, addita comminatione pœnarum aduersus contumaces. Postea Maximiliani & Caroli Austriacorum edicto cautum est, ne hi qui diebus Dominicis permissu magistratū opus aliquod faciunt, notam vllam Ecclesiasticam propterea sustineant. Idem continetur in mandatis quæ Carolus Imperator iudicibus suis

*Excommunicatio.*

Page 115 of the first edition, showing handwritten correction made at the printer's office (§ 182: *magistorum* changed into *magistratum*) (The Hague, Royal Library, shelf-mark 344 H 43)

8

ORDINVM  
 HOLLANDIAE  
 AC  
 VVESTFRISIAE  
 PIETAS

*Ab Improbissimis Multorum Calumniis, simulque à nupera*  
 SIBRANDI LVBBERTI Epistola, quam ad  
*Reverendissimum Archiepiscopum Can-*  
*tuariensem scripsit, vindicata:*

PER  
 HVGONEM GROTIUM  
 Eorundem Ordinum Fisci ADVOCATVM.



AVCTORITATE PVBLICA  
*Senatus Delegatorum ab Ordinibus Hollandia & Westfrisiae*  
 Excudit LVGDVNI BATAVORVM  
 Iohannes Patius, Iuratus & Ordinarius Academiae  
 Typographus Anno 1613.