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Printing Spinoza

A Descriptive Bibliography of the Works Published in the Seventeenth Century

By

Jeroen M.M. van de Ven

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For the world is not to be tailored to the slenderness of the intellect (which is what has been done hitherto) but the intellect should be stretched and opened up to take in the image of the world as we really find it.

FRANCIS BACON, *Parasceve ad historiam naturalem*

• • •

… the wise man, insofar as he is considered as such, is hardly troubled in spirit, but being, by a certain eternal necessity, conscious of himself, and of God, and of things, he never ceases to be, but always possesses true peace of mind…. If the way I have shown to lead to these things now seems very hard, still it can be found. And of course, what is found so rarely must be hard. For if salvation were at hand, and could be found without great effort, how could nearly everyone neglect it? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare.

BENEDICTUS DE SPINOZA, *Ethica*, Part 5, proposition 42, scholium

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Foreword

Studying philosophy means, first and foremost, studying texts written by philosophers. It is tempting to take the existence and the transmitted form of a text for granted, and to focus on its concepts and arguments. Yet books have their fates, even before they reach their readers. Their final shape is affected by their genesis, growth, circulation and dissemination, and their initial reception in turn influences the way their authors evolve. In the case of Spinoza's works, we have highly sophisticated and controversial treatises that survived only in print: no philosophical work of his came down to us in his own handwriting. (The *Short Treatise*, transmitted in a seventeenth-century apograph of a contemporary Dutch translation, was not printed until the 1860s.) Because Spinoza wrote in Latin, scholars handle his texts much in the way they treat classical authors: they bring out critical editions, translations in the vernacular and commentaries. Though this work is essential, we should also keep in mind that Spinoza was a decidedly modern thinker, too. He was abreast of scientific developments in the seventeenth century, crafted optical tools, had a select network of correspondents and contacts, and acquired international fame and notoriety for the novelty of his ideas – initially by word of mouth and through circulation of manuscripts, but (as from 1663) faster and on a much larger scale through printed books. In order to study the formation of his thought and its earliest reception, we must understand how his texts passed from manuscript into print, who were involved in that process (friends, scribes, editors, compositors, printers, translators, censors, enemies) and how the books found their way to an audience. Precisely because Spinoza was a highly controversial author, the publishing history of his books – banned but (by the same token) also much sought after – offers unexpected perspectives on the development and diffusion of his thought.

Jeroen van de Ven has been studying Spinoza's life and works for over fifteen years. His research into the minutest details of the printing of Spinoza's books started more than a decade ago; it has come into fruition in the present descriptive bibliography. It is a dazzling achievement. Van de Ven's expertise includes research on manuscripts, early printing, archives, bibliographies, learned journals, and correspondence collections. Building upon the work of pioneers like Land, Gebhardt, Bamberger, Kingma, Offenberg, and Gerritsen, he here combines and multiplies the perspectives and methods of earlier bibliographical scholarship. In addition Van de Ven exploits the countless new possibilities opened up by online research. He thus brought to light the astounding number of 1,246 extant copies of early printed works of Spinoza all over the globe.

In his scholarly career, Jeroen van de Ven has always integrated the meticulousness of the bibliographer and archival researcher with a broad historian's view. This book testifies to his distinctively individual research profile. It is bound to become an indispensible tool for Spinoza scholarship; no academic library can do without.

Piet Steenbakkers
8 May 2021

Preface

A detailed and critical bibliographical study of the published writings of the Dutch philosopher Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677), heralding his printed seventeenth-century philosophical works, has long been a desideratum in Spinoza scholarship, thereby proving the circulation and influence of these works during the handpress period and beyond. Historical bibliographers (such as Land, Gebhardt, Bamberger, Kingma, and Offenberg) of these writings, all edited, printed, and published between 1663 and 1694, as well as specialists (such as Akkerman and Steenbakkers) of Spinoza's works with strong backgrounds in philology and Neo-Latin, have made important contributions to the study of the published works. Along with the five-part *Ethica/Zedekunst*, published in the 1677 *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, conjointly with the philosopher's other unfinished writings and selected correspondence, Spinoza scholars (Land, Leopold, Gebhardt, Akkerman) have also studied the 'Principles of Philosophy' (a learned exposition of Rene Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' [1644]). More particularly, they also studied in close detail the surreptitiously-issued *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

Nevertheless, the codicology, philology, their typographical and textual relationship, the decoration programme of the seventeenth-century printed works as well as also their dissemination, urgently required new assessment and evaluation, now being offered in the present descriptive bibliography. Moreover, through the bibliographical possibilities of present-day search tools on the internet and digital repositories, this study locates and identifies copies, in international holdings, too.

The bibliography takes issue with a more definitive examination of all seventeenth-century printed editions and their known variant states ('issues') of editions systematically, in relation to their printing and publication history and in view of the physical aspects of individual surviving copies and their provenance. In the bibliography, attention is only paid to the immediate late-seventeenth-century reception of Spinoza's writings, when relevant in a chapter's context and in passing, since literature on the reception history has grown substantially over the years in Spinoza scholarship. Yet, in this bibliography an exception has been only made for the immediate reception (limited to the late 1680s) of Spinoza's printed works during the British Restoration by prominent contemporary English scholars in both private exchanges, historical accounts and printed ripostes. Their reactions cover a subject which, at least in my opinion, deserves a new scholarly approach and evaluation in its own right.

After Chapter 1, an introduction to the present bibliography, the following works composed by Spinoza and published in the seventeenth century are discussed and described:

Chapter 2: The 'Principles of Philosophy', set together with Spinoza's own 'Metaphysical Thoughts', in quarto. The work, edited by Lodewijk Meyer in consultation with Spinoza and preceded by Meyer's Preface, was published by the Amsterdam bookseller Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*c.*1617–1687) who ran a bookstore in the 'Dirk van Assensteegh' (nowadays the Dirk van Hasseltsteeg) under the shop sign 'In 't Martelaarsboek' ('In the Book of Martyrs'). Two editions of the book are known:

– Latin edition (1663); published with Spinoza's full name; its title-page has Rieuwertsz's name, his shop sign and address; printer: Daniel Bakkamude, Amsterdam; described by the Dutch book historians and bibliographers Jelle Kingma and Adri K. Offenberg in 'Bibliography of Spinoza's Works up to 1800' (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Library, 1977).
– Dutch revised translation (1664); published with Spinoza's full name, translation by 'P.B.' (presumably Pieter Balling); its title-page again has Rieuwertsz's name, his bookshop's sign and address; printer: Herman Aeltsz, Amsterdam; described by Kingma and Offenberg.

Chapters 3 to 7: The 'Theological-Political Treatise', with Lodewijk Meyer's Preface. Its editions have been printed in quarto, in octavo, and in the pocket-sized duodecimo format. They were all published surreptitiously, some of them with a plethora of differing false titles, names, and imprints. Since Meinsma's *Spinoza en zijn kring* and Bamberger's 'The Early Editions of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. A Bibliohistorical Examination' the generally accepted view in Spinoza scholarship is that Jan Rieuwertsz *père* also was the book's publisher. That conclusion, though, is not supported by any tangible historical evidence. Rieuwertsz transferred his book trading and publishing business in mid-June 1686, to his son, also named Jan Rieuwertsz (1651/2–1723), who may have been responsible for publishing two Dutch renditions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

The following seventeenth-century Latin, French, English, and Dutch editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* are discussed:

– Chapter 3: Latin quarto editions (1670s); four impressions, disguised with six different title-pages and cloaked imprints (sigla: T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5); printer: Israel de Paull, Amsterdam; all described by

Bamberger as well as by Kingma and Offenberg, except for the hitherto unknown variant issue T.4n (n patently standing here for 'new') which appears here for the first time.

– Chapter 4: Latin octavo edition (1673/1674); disguised with five distinct title-pages and imprints, three of which are fictitious (sigla: T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, T.3t, T.3e); produced in one print run, printed together in one volume with: [Lodewijk Meyer], *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (reprint of the 1666 edition); printer: [Israel de Paull]; all described by Bamberger as well as by Kingma and Offenberg.
– Chapter 5: French duodecimo editions (1678), with thirty-one of his *Adnotationes* (supplementary notes clarifying the work's obscurities); two impressions, masked with nine different fictitious title-pages and imprints (sigla: X.1, X.2, X.3; Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, Y.4/Y.5, Y.n/Y.4/Y5); the printer is unidentified; all described by Bamberger as well as by Kingma and Offenberg, except for the hitherto unknown issue Y.n/Y.4/Y5 (*n* also stands for 'new') which appears here also for the first time.
– Chapter 6: English translations: one of chapter 6 of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', on miracles (1683), in quarto; printer: Robert Sollers, London; another, making up the first issue of the first printed full translation into English (1689), in octavo; printer: unidentified; described by Kingma and Offenberg.
– Chapter 7: Dutch quarto editions; first edition printed in 1693: allegedly produced at 'Hamburg' [Amsterdam] by 'Henricus Koenraad'; printer unidentified; second edition printed in 1694 at 'Bremen' [Amsterdam], by 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl' [Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*] (1694), printer unidentified; in Kingma and Offenberg.

Chapters 8 to 10: The posthumous writings (1677) of 'B. d. S.', in quarto. The Latin edition was prepared by an Amsterdam team of Spinoza's closest friends: Jarig Jelles (text of Preface), Lodewijk Meyer (revision of Preface, translation from Dutch into Latin), and the book's assumed publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*. The roles of Pieter van Gent, Johannes Bouwmeester, and Georg Hermann Schuller are undefined. Its Dutch translation was made by the professional translator Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker. This rendition was in any case prepared by: Jarig Jelles (Preface), Lodewijk Meyer, and Rieuwertsz *père*. The roles of Meyer, Van Gent, Bouwmeester, and Schuller are undetermined. The 1677 twin languages volumes are the following:

– *Opera posthuma*; contains the *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata* ('Ethics, Demonstrated in Geometric Order'), *Tractatus politicus* ('Political Treatise'), *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* ('Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect and on the Way by Which it is Best Directed Toward the True Knowledge of Things'), and the *Epistolae doctorum quorundam virorum ad B. d. S. et auctoris responsiones* ('Letters from Certain Learned Men to B. d. S. with the Author's Responses'). Included is also the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* ('Concise Grammar of the Hebrew Language'). The book has an anonymous Preface (Jarig Jelles) and was translated in the Latin from the Dutch and revised by Lodewijk Meyer. Its printer was Israel de Paull; described by Kingma and Offenberg.
– *De nagelate schriften*; this Dutch rendition of the posthumous works contains the *Zedekunst*. Part 1 and 2 are in a translation [1664] by Pieter Balling and were probably only reused and revised by Glazemaker; Parts 3, 4, and 5 are in Glazemaker's translation. Also included are the *Staatkundige verhandeling*, *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant*, and the *Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen*. The Hebrew grammar printed in the Latin edition is intentionally lacking. This translation has an anonymous Preface by Jarig Jelles. Its printer was Israel de Paull; also described by Kingma and Offenberg.

Apart from surviving autographs (eighteen), apographs (nine), and drafts (three) of Spinoza's correspondence (135 letters, two 'hors système') extant are also two seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the philosopher's published writings. The 'God-geleerde Staatkundige Verhandelinge', a manuscript serving as a printer's copy for an initially cancelled Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, is being kept in The Hague (KB, ms. 75 G 15). The same manuscript also contains a seventeenth-century copy in Dutch of the *Adnotationes* ('Anteekenenge van Benedictus de Spinoza, op Deszelfs Godgeleerde Staatkundege Verhandelinge'). These were first published in the French duodecimo editions of 1678. The manuscript in The Hague also comprises the *Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand*, a treatise only first published by the Dutch historian and publicist Johannes van Vloten (1818–1883) in 1862. Another manuscript copy in Latin, of the *Ethica*, made by the professional scribe Pieter van Gent between late 1674 and early 1675 for Spinoza's friend and correspondent Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus, is preserved in Rome (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, codex Vat. Lat. 12838 https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.12838).

Seventy-five letters to and from Spinoza were published in both the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, thirteen rejected letters were unearthed or transmitted otherwise. So far, my research has confirmed that forty-six letters of the Dutch philosopher's correspondence can be postulated with historical certainty. Three extant holograph letters, written in Dutch by Willem van Blijenbergh, a grain retailer and amateur philosopher from Dordrecht, and sent to Spinoza in 1665, are reliably known to have

served as printer's copy for the correspondence section of De nagelate schriften. For the present, Spinoza's manuscripts of all other writings and rejected letters for the printed posthumous works are considered lost, destroyed, or dispersed.

The present bibliography follows in principle those methods of description applied by the authors of the bibliographies of the printed works of the philosophers René Descartes and John Locke, as well as of the Dutch historian and author Mattheus Smallegange laid out in the following three studies:

– Matthijs van Otegem, *A Bibliography of the Works of Descartes (1637–1704)* (2 vols., Utrecht: Zeno, 2002).
– Jean S. Yolton, *John Locke. A Descriptive Bibliography* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1998).
– Pieter J. Verkruijsse, *Mattheus Smallegange (1624–1710): Zeeuws historicus, genealoog en vertaler, descriptieve persoonsbibliografie: met een verantwoording van de gevolgde methode van partiële interne collatie* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1983).

My descriptive bibliography furthermore builds heavily on theoretical analytical and descriptive bibliographical topics discussed in Fredson Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1949) and in Philip Gaskell's *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (1972). Another helpful list of key terms, integrated in this study, is inventoried in 'Explanation of Bibliographical, Text-Critical, and Typographical Terminology'. The latter comprises an appendix (Note A., pp. 805–820) to the 1975 critical edition by Peter H. Nidditch of Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Finally, I should also mention Jelle Kingma's and Adri K. Offenberg's 'Bibliography of Spinoza's Works up to 1800', a most valuable tool for book historians and bibliographers of Spinoza's printed writings. Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing* (1683, reprinted in 1896) and Leon Voet's *The Golden Compasses* also proved their scholarly value, too.

In the present study, all descriptions of editions and of their variant states are based on an in-depth examination of principal material features and of the textual constellation of printed text in the books' extant copies. Particularly those of the aforementioned *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Latin quartos and octavos, and of the French translation, fitted with fictitious title-pages and false imprints. From the start my book's prime objective was to study, contextualize and disentangle, interpret, and record all known aspects of their publication history from manuscript to print. If relevant, the immediate reception and first reactions to Spinoza's published works will also be assessed. These particular stories of editions and their variant issues serve as backbone of each separate chapter in my bibliography.

Another of this book's goals was to define and produce a standard description, or *ideal copy*, of all seventeenth printed works, based on an inspection of surviving copies I have been tracing for over the past ten years. In addition, I aimed at disclosing their specific similarities, at detecting and mapping their specific textual and material differences, and at exploring their provenance history, too. In descriptive bibliography, arguably, an *ideal copy* of a single edition and/or its separate issues is a historical reconstruction of material facts. At least 'ideal' and 'perfect' in the eyes of the scholarly bibliographer and the informed result of bibliographical analysis and registration of copies of books and as many of their producers.

During my research, I recorded and categorized notable typographical and orthographical peculiarities in spelling, hyphenation, capitalization, diacritics, and punctuation of the printed texts. I also documented their misprints, such as literals and 'hanging' sorts, and I too paid attention to striking textual similarities and differences in the Latin, French, Hebrew, English, and Dutch languages used in editions and their separate issues. Because of the massive information already contained in my bibliography learned expositions or discussions about the general principles of bibliography or of individual aspects of typesetting, proofreading, and printing, are ignored.

The starting point of the bibliography is, arguably, 1663. In that year the Amsterdam bookseller Jan Rieuwertsz *père* had Spinoza's first book, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*, printed and published under his full name. The bibliography ends in 1694, with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s second Dutch edition, called *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde*. The latter edition signals the final stage in the efforts of Spinoza's Dutch and foreign friends and admirers to publish his entire oeuvre both in Latin and in the vernacular. Their efforts cover a period of more than three decades troubled by international wars, political instability, and fierce controversies over the New Philosophy. Hence, I limit myself to the second half of the seventeenth century, the era when in the Dutch Republic and beyond the circulation and the early reception of Spinoza's works first took place.

During the eighteenth century, five other editions of the philosopher's writings were published which are beyond the reach of this bibliography:

– *An Account of the Life and Writings of Spinosa. To Which is Added, an Abstract of his Theological Political Treatise* (London: 1720): contains a portion of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

– Anon. (Spinoza, Benedictus de), *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political* (London: 1737); first published in 1689.
– B.v.S. (Spinoza, Benedictus de), *Sittenlehre widerleget von dem beruehmten Weltweisen unserer Zeit Herrn Christian Wolf* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: 1744); first German translation of the *Ethica*.
– Spinoza, Benedictus de, *Zwey Abhandlungen ueber die Kultur des menschlichen Verstandes und ueber die Aristokratie und Demokratie* (Leipzig: 1785); comprises translations of the *Tractatus de emendatione intellectus* and the *Tractatus politicus*, respectively.
– *Philosophische Schriften* (Gera: 1787–93).

All foregoing eighteenth-century new editions and reissues marked the start of a rich tradition of transmitting, editing, annotating, and translating Spinoza's philosophical works. The scholarly disclosure began with Von Murr's *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico politicum* (1802) and Paulus's *Opera quae supersunt omnia* (1802–1803) and continues up to this day.

In regard to editing and printing, neither Spinoza's 'Principles of Philosophy' and 'Metaphysical Thoughts' nor the posthumous writings have ever been truly problematical for book historians and bibliographers; they are straightforward. It has been especially the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s complex and highly confusing printing and publication history that problematized and thwarted identification of its exemplars, its different editions, and their variant issues in international library holdings. Because most of the Latin quartos and their separate issues are, for example, cloaked with fictitious title-pages and false imprints dated '1670' (except for issue T.2 which correctly has 1672 in its imprint) electronical records stored in international library catalogues are oftentimes inaccurate and truly misleading. This is also the case for those catalogue entries describing the Latin octavos and the French translation of Spinoza's treatise.

During my research and the preparations of this study, completed in spring 2021, a large number of copies of Spinoza's published writings kept emerging from library holdings. They are all mentioned and described in this present bibliography. Up to now I have identified 1,246 extant copies of the philosopher's printed seventeenth-century works; a whopping number of copies, to say the least. Two more copies (either T.4n or T.4) remain unidentified whereas unfortunately three other copies (probably T.4 or T.5, and either X.3 or Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, Y.n/Y.4/Y.5) were unavailable for inspection. They stay unidentified for the present, too.

Nevertheless, my inventory of extant copies will never be complete. Tens of thousands of books from the early-modern handpress period have been described by bibliographers and their records integrated in library catalogues. However, others, in smaller and larger library holdings as well as in private libraries, are still not inventoried; these will evidently remain under the radar until somebody will finally make mention of their existence. I also made a strong effort to find copies in libraries in Russia and in the former Socialist states of Eastern and Central Europe, including the countries of the Warsaw Pact, along with Yugoslavia and Albania, but I am convinced several surviving copies have escaped my attention.

The increasing potential of inspecting rare seventeenth-century books and possibility to download versions from digital repositories in international library holdings and online collections has opened up new, innovative ways for book historians to study copies and collect structural and descriptive metadata about them. Nevertheless, a separate, serious assessment of any downloadable electronic file on the internet must be made each time. It should be always decided whether a digitized version faithfully represents the original's physical makeup and its arrangement in order to serve as a realistic single object for making a codicological description. Particularly brief electronical bibliographical catalogue entries describing quarto, octavo, and duodecimo copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and its French and English translations are truly problematic and sometimes highly confusing.

Yet, each time I was confronted with bibliographical problems, typographical difficulties, and irregularities, reliable digital copies enabled me to identify and classify editions and their issues and compile for them descriptions of *ideal copy*. Precisely because in many cases the reliability of the information contained in electronical records stored in international library catalogues on the internet is difficult to assess, it underlines and justifies the importance and value of a descriptive bibliography of Spinoza's printed works in particular. The present study is intended as a comprehensive tool for Spinoza scholars and students, philosophers, intellectual historians, book historians, editors, book cataloguers, and private collectors, and everyone in between. It will assist them to find their way through the marsh created by the great many (masked) editions and separate issues of Spinoza's writings printed and published during the second half of the seventeenth century.

My research also resulted in the find of variant issues T.4n (three copies known: Bern, Ithaca [NY], and New York [NY]) and Y.n/Y.4/Y5 (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, only one copy known). My investigation was further rewarded by the discovery of substantial quotations of a hitherto unnoticed third text version of Glazemaker's original

Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Its authorized redaction was published in 1693 in *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandeling*. Those portions are quoted in *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der H. Schriften* (1674). The latter work, a refutation of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', was composed in the early 1670s by Spinoza's correspondent Willem van Blijenbergh. For this reason, he therefore deserves a reputation for being the first public detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Dutch in print.

In this context, it must be stressed that Spinoza, in a letter (17 February 1671) to Jarig Jelles, had asked the latter to prevent the printing of a Dutch translation of his treatise. Because the first authorized Dutch Glazemaker translation would only be clandestinely published in *De rechtzinnige theologant* in 1693 this loyal Amsterdam friend apparently followed the philosopher's instruction. Since June 1665 Van Blijenbergh had not been any longer in epistolary contact with Spinoza. Yet, because in *De waerheyt* a large number of quotations from the newfound text version of Glazemaker's Dutch translation are included, this suggests that in the early 1670s Van Blijenbergh remained in contact in Amsterdam with people from Spinoza's inner or outer 'circle'. Someone further unknown must have given the Dordrecht amateur philosopher access to a manuscript copy of the Dutch rendition by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker.

Despite my expectations to trace down annotated copies from the private libraries of Spinoza's correspondents, close friends and admirers, such as Lodewijk Meyer, the editor of the 'Principles of Philosophy' and 'Metaphysical Thoughts' and those who formed the editorial team of the posthumous writings, it turned out my particular search remained without any success. Spinoza scholars were already familiar with the copies of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and of *the Opera posthuma*, once in the possession of Spinoza's German correspondent, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Another book of particular interest, already known to Spinoza scholars, is a unique T.1 copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, now extant in the Younes & Soraya Nazarian Library, Haifa. Spinoza dedicated this large-paper copy to Jacob Statius Clefman, a Pomeranian who in 1676 enrolled as a law student at Leiden University. More importantly, Spinoza added five annotations in his own handwriting belonging to the thirty-nine explanatory *Adnotationes* clarifying obscurities in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Thirty-one of these notes were published in an appendix annexed to the treatise's two French translations clandestinely printed in 1678.

Other copies that surfaced from library holdings during research contain intriguing provenances from the private libraries of famously-known historical icons, such as the British economist John Maynard Keynes, the British poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, philosopher John Locke, and the Founding Father and the United States' third president, Thomas Jefferson. Another surprising find concerns a copy of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*. The book's pasteboard binding is entirely covered with fifteenth-century printer's waste: leaves decorated with handwritten red initials from book 7 from the editio princeps (Venice, Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476) of Theodore Gaza's Latin translation of Aristotle's *De animalibus*. I would also like to point to quite a touching inscription in a copy of the Latin quarto T.1 edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* which, according to its owner, 'was rescued by him from his hotel room during the earthquake in 1906 in San Francisco'.

Finally, I would like to draw the readers' attention to a copy of the *Opera posthuma*, now extant in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. The copy has a surprising provenance and an interesting owner's note, entered at the end of the volume by an individual surnamed Boileau. According to his note, written up on 12 December 1717, the foregoing copy had once been in the possession of a Dutchman, either visiting or living at Paris. Boileau further states that, as at least he took it, the latter had given the copy of the *Opera posthuma* to a young prostitute in a Parisian brothel, apparently as payment for her good services. Later, Boileau's note continues, the young girl (in all likelihood unable to read or write, let alone peruse a complex philosopher's work in the Latin language) confessed her sins to a certain Coutart, a Roman Catholic priest, 'docteur en theologie de la faculté de Paris'. Probably full of guilt, she also passed the copy of the *Opera posthuma* to her confessor. According to the book's note, Coutart sold the book in turn to the aforementioned Boileau. The latter writes about this:

> This Mr Coutart thought he could sell it to me because this nasty book would not corrupt me and I had to keep it [with me].

That the Dutchman, a fellow countryman of Spinoza, paid a prostitute with a copy of the then by the Roman Catholic

Church prohibited *Opera posthuma* as well as the fact that this copy in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève ended up in the hands of a French priest before selling it to Boileau, turns the end of this preface, comically. Boileau also wrote in the note that his copy of the *Opera posthuma* had to be burnt upon his death. Whoever came into the possession of the book after Boileau had passed away is not known, but its new owner, despite Boileau's explicit wish the book had to be destroyed, decided to keep the copy, surviving in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève up to the present day.

Acknowledgements

Research for this bibliography was carried out as part of the 'Spinoza's Web'-project which was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO; dossier number 360-20-350). The project (2014–2017) was housed at the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at Utrecht University. I am deeply grateful to this institution for allowing me to take up this unique book project and see it to completion. I am especially indebted to the Utrecht Department's staff for their generous support.

The present study, composed during implementation of 'The Spinoza Web' (a website/database also part of the NWO 'Spinoza's Web'-project: spinozaweb.org), has especially greatly benefited from the work of my dear Utrecht research colleagues: Prof. Dr Piet Steenbakkers (principal investigator) and Dr Albert Gootjes (postdoctoral researcher).

This bibliography could never have been compiled without their solid research, critical questions, comments, suggestions, their unflaggingly strong support along the way, and, most importantly their friendship. They as well as other Dutch Spinoza scholars, like my Rotterdam colleagues Prof. Dr Wiep van Bunge and Prof. Dr Henri Krop, have always encouraged my work at various stages and I am grateful for their support and for sharing their thoughts with me. I would also like to thank some of my international colleagues, in particular Edwin Curley (Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, The University of Michigan) and Steven Nadler (William H. Hay II Professor of Philosophy and Evjue-Bascom Professor in Humanities, The University of Wisconsin, Madison). Edwin Curley kindly provided me with the then still unpublished drafts of the second volume of his *The Collected Works*; a landmark in Spinoza scholarship.

Especially Piet Steenbakkers still is and always has been a great source of inspiration and a faithful guide in Spinoza scholarship during many years. He read and commented on the draft of this bibliography and together we discussed numerous topics regarding Spinoza's seventeenth-century printed works and aspects of printing in the handpress period. Piet also provided me with drafts of his and Dr Fokke Akkerman's new *Ethica* edition (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2020), comprising in it a French translation by Pierre-François Moreau. Piet also accepted the invitation to compose the foreword to my bibliography. Albert Gootjes too has been also of great help, particularly by discussing topics in my descriptive bibliography in embryo when I started sorting out the many printing flaws in Spinoza's seventeenth-century works and getting grip on specific printing mistakes in the Latin and the Hebrew language.

During the NWO project on Spinoza, both Piet and Albert were my loyal fellow travellers, particularly when we started solving complex questions centring around the historical backgrounds of the Utrecht Cartesians' attack on Spinoza's 1670 *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and his still vexed trip to Utrecht in the late summer of 1673 together. Together, we were able to shed more light on these conundrums, although some intricate details of these puzzles are unfortunately still at dusk.

Thanks are also due to Rik Wassenaar. During my research, he brought many times several unknown archival documents to my attention and was supportive all the way through. Lucas van der Deijl was kind enough to share the draft version of his paper studying the automatic collation of the extant Dutch translations of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

Furthermore, I am also much indebted to my former assistants, Dick Timmer, Samuel van Bruchem, and Ward Huetink, for their invaluable help, energy, and devotion in bombarding staff members in international libraries with bibliographical questions and requests on my behalf. I would especially thank Dick for his energetic and loyal support during my preparations when he took care of collecting the many illustrations included this book.

At the University of St Andrews, Prof. Dr Andrew Pettegree (founding member of Brill's monograph series 'The Library of the Written Word') has been an enthusiastic and supportive editor all the way through. I would further like to express my thanks to his second readers and to the Leiden team of Brill publishers, especially to Arjan van Dijk and Francis Knikker, who were always helpful and kindly replied to my queries. I am also much indebted to Ester Lels, my desk editor at Brill. Thanks are also due to Dr Bart Leeuwenburgh, Prof. Dr Han van Ruler and Prof. Dr Jonathan I. Israel for their unflagging support.

In the last place, I would express my gratitude to Jim Gibbons (USA) who edited the completed draft of this bibliography. I thank him for his attentiveness to the English language and for his efficiency. With Dr Erik-Jan Bos, my friend and former colleague, I discussed many topics and vexed issues in the history of seventeenth-century philosophy. Over the years, I enjoyed our many vibrant discussions and also those debates with the Utrecht Emeritus Professor Dr Theo Verbeek which often made me rethink many scholarly issues in this study.

Along the way, I would like to point out to readers that from Fokke Akkerman's scholarly works I have learned a great deal about Spinoza's printed seventeenth-century writings. Regrettably, during preparations of this bibliography, in 2017, he passed away. Akkerman would have embraced this study wholeheartedly. In a certain way, with his work on Spinoza he 'contributed' to this bibliography, too.

Institutions which have always offered me their kindest support are the following: KB. National Library of the Netherlands (The Hague), Amsterdam Stadsarchief, Universiteit van Amsterdam (University Library), Leiden University Library, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Universitäts-und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (Hanover), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (Halle), Universität Bern (University Library), Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna), Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), National Library of the Czech Republic, Utrecht University Library, Cornell University (Ithaca, NY), The Royal Society (London), Younes & Soraya Nazarian Library, University of Haifa.

I would like to extend my gratitude to numerous staff members in international libraries who have kindly provided me and my team with helpful information about copies and with scans, as well as with photographs of extant seventeenth-century printed editions of Spinoza's works in their holdings. Without their outstanding help my contribution to Spinoza scholarship and bibliography would have been an unthinkable enterprise in its own right. As the Dutch philosopher points out in the last proposition of the *Ethica*: 'But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare.' (E5p42s).

Jeroen M.M. van de Ven
9 May 2021

Illustrations

1.1 Interior (copper engraving, 1628) of a printing house in Haarlem in full operation (Jan van de Velde/Pieter Jansz Saenredam, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1898-A-20546) 2

1.2 Direction line with signature E2 and catchword 'Error', printed on page 25 of: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 3

1.3 Reduced version of the 'yoke' ornament. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, MAG : H qu 233 dl 1–24 6

1.4–1.5 Timotheus Philadelphus, *Brief aan een vriendt, ...* (Amsterdam: Israel de Paull [*printer*], 1678). Copy: Utrecht, University Library, MAG : H qu 233 dl 1–24 7

1.6 Copy: Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 65 678 9

1.7–1.8 Signatures *2 and ** in the Preface of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 14

2.1 The dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' by Bouwmeester and the opening section of the 'Index Propositionum, Lemmatum, & Corollariorum, *Quae in* 1. 2. & 3. *Principiorum Philosophiae partibus continentur.*'. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 31

2.2 Visual printed on the title-page of Spinoza's exposition of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 35

2.3 List of errata following Lodewijk Meyer's Preface of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 38

2.4 First index preceding the main text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 38

2.5 Second index preceding the main text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: Amsterdam, University Library, 978 G 30 39

2.6 Dirck de Bray/Salomon de Bray, 1607-87, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1884-A-291 40

2.7 Dirck de Bray/Salomon de Bray, 1607-87, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-1884-A-291 40

2.8 Jan Luyken, 1694, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-44.519 41

2.9 Title-page of Spinoza's first book: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 43

2.10–2.11 First pages of Part 1 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II* and of the *Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 44

2.12 Detail of title-page of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* with literal ('difficıliores'.). Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 44

2.13 Detail of page 137 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 45
2.14 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 1 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 46
2.15 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 93 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 46
2.16 Ornamented acanthus initial in poem 'Ad Librum.' preceding *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 46
2.17 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 41 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 47
2.18 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 86 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 47
2.19–2.20 Ornamented acanthus initials on p. 109 and signature *2r of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 47
2.21 Example of geometrical visual on page 64 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 47
2.22 Example of physical illustration on page 54 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 978 G 30 48
2.23 List of errata following Lodewijk Meyer's Preface to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: The Hague, KB, 599 C 1 66
2.24 The Latin dedicatory poem 'Ad Librum.' and its Dutch translation following the Preface to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00122 66
2.25 The Dutch poem 'Aan den Leezer.'. Copy: Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00122 67
2.26 First index preceding the main text of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 67
2.27 Second index preceding the main text of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 68
2.28 Title-page of the Dutch translation of Spinoza's first book *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 69
2.29–2.30 First pages of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel* and of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copies: Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00122; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 70
2.31 Detail of page 21 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel* with misprint in direction line. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 70

2.32 Detail of page 67 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel* with misprints in caption and in scholium. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 71
2.33 Detail of page 127 of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten* with hanging numeral in page number. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 71
2.34 Ornamented acanthus initial on signature *r of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel* and of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 72
2.35 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 48 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 72
2.36 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 99 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 73
2.37 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 1 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel*. Copy: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 599 C 1 73
2.38 Ornamented acanthus initial on page 109 of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Copy: Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00122 73
3.1 Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 86
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3.3–3.4 Copies: Amsterdam, University Library, OTM OK 65-1354; The Hague, KB, 3175 G 29 88
3.5 Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 91
3.6 Stop-press correction of page number 104 in the collation variant of quarto edition T.1. Copy: Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:0 184 91
3.7 Misprint on page 60 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 92
3.8 Copy (The Hague, KB, 341 A 33) of T.1 with correct text 93
3.9 Copy (The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32) of T.2 with corrupted text 93
3.10 Title-page of the first Latin quarto edition T.1 (misprint of page number 104 as '304'). Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 105
3.11 Title-page of the special-paper copy of the first Latin quarto edition of T.1, with stop-press correction of page number 104. Copy: Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:0 184 106
3.12–3.13 Pages 1 and 57 of the first quarto edition T.1. Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 107
3.14 Hanging sorts in T.1 in the last two words of the first two sentences of page 77. Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 108
3.15 Misprint of page number 183 in T.1. Copy: Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:0 184 108
3.16–3.17 Copy (Erfurt/Gotha, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Pol. 4° 00072(01)) of T.1 113
3.18 T.2/T.2a, misprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 121
3.19 T.2/T.2a, misprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 121
3.20 T.2/T.2a, misprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 122
3.21 Title-page of issue T.2 of the second Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 42 as '24', 207 as '213'). Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 123
3.22 Page 1 of issue T.2. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 124
3.23 Page 57 of issue T.2. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 124

3.24 Hanging numeral 5 in page number 95. Copy: The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32 124
3.25 Title-page of issue T.2a of the second Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 42 as '24', 207 as '213'). Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 19 128
3.26 Owner's inscription of Ameldonk Blok. Copy: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res 4 Pol.g. 202 m 130
3.27–3.28 First fingerprint. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 136
3.29–3.30 First fingerprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 136
3.31–3.32 Second fingerprint. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 137
3.33–3.34 Second fingerprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 137
3.35 Epsilon ampersand in the biblical quotation of T.1, T.2 and T.2a. Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 138
3.36 Lower-case italic epsilon ampersand in the biblical quotation of T.4n/T.4 and T.5. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 138
3.37 Yoke ornament on title-page of T.4n/T.4. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 139
3.38 Flower basket tailpiece at the end of the Preface of T.5. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 139
3.39 T.4n/T.4 and T.5, misprint. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 19 141
3.40 Title-page of issue T.4n of the third Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 130 as '830'). Copy: Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70 142
3.41 Page 1 of issue T.4n with misprint of 'Pag. 1' as 'Fag. 1'. Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 143
3.42 Page 57 of issue T.4n. Copy: Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70 143
3.43 Misprint of signature (*)3. Copy: Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70 143
3.44 Title-page of issue T.4 of the third Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 130 as '830'). Copy: Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 146
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3.46 Page 1 of issue T.5. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 153
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3.50 T.1 edition, Preface, outer forme of (*), signature (*)3. Copy: The Hague, KB, 341 A 33 162
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3.52 T.4n issue, Preface, outer forme of (*), misprint of signature (*) 3. Copy: Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70 164
3.53 T.4 issue, Preface, outer forme of (*), press correction of signature (*) 3. Copy: Mannheim, University Library, Sch 085/190 an 1 165
3.54 T.5 edition, Preface, outer forme of (*), signature (*) 3 printed correctly. Copy: The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 166
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Abbreviations and Symbols

ante corr.	*ante correctionem*
ADf	Autograph Draft
ALS	Autograph Letter Signed
anon.	anonymous
ASF	'Archieven van Senaat en Faculteiten, 1575–1877 – Universiteit Leiden' ('Dousa-kamer'). Manuscript collection containing matriculation records ('recensielijsten'), lists of students' names, academic discipline, age, and residence (only in ASF) in Leiden
BL	Biographical Lexicon
bk	book
cf.	*confer*
ch.	chapter
col./cols	column(s)
ed./eds.	editor(s)
ff	(and) following years
fl.	*floruit*
fol. 1, 1^{r}, 1^{v}	folio 1, 1 recto, 1 verso
fols $2^{r–v}$	folios 2 recto to 2 verso
FRS	Fellow of the London Royal Society
inv. no.	inventory number
KB	KB. National Library of the Netherlands
l./ll.	line/lines
ms., mss	manuscript(s)
MSCp	Manuscript Copy
n.	note(s)
n. d.	no date
n. pl.	no place
no./nos.	number/numbers
OP#4^{p}	copy number (#4) of the *Opera posthuma* with 'Opera' portrait bound in
p./pp.	page(s)
post corr.	*post correctionem*
repr	reprint
rev.	revised
sig. $*1^{r}$	signature *1 recto (etc.)
sigs $*2^{r–v}$	signatures *2 recto to *2 verso (etc.)
S/H	Gottlieb Stolle and 'Hallmann', travel diaries
transl.	translation, translator
vol./vols.	volume(s)
4to	quarto
8vo	octavo
12mo	duodecimo
1661.08.26, Ep 1	letter code, indicating year, month and day (Gregorian calendar, here: 26 August 1661), with traditional 'Ep' number (Van Vloten and Land)
(surname)*	asterisk reference to an entry in the Biographical Lexicon on the life and times of a key figure mentioned

1663.01.11*	letter code with asterisk, indicating a postulated letter, always without 'Ep' number
[]	conjecture (date, name, or place, and text in quotations)
|	line or page break
< >	symbols used in dates and letter codes to indicate a date 'before' (for example: < 1661.10.20, Ep 4) or 'after' (e.g.: > 1675.01.05, Ep 59)

Short Titles

References to Spinoza's writings and correspondence are given according to the standard edition by Carl Gebhardt: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Opera* (5 vols., Heidelberg: Winter, 1925 and 1987 [vol. 5]) (henceforth abbreviated: G). Quoted by volume, page, and line number(s). For Spinoza's writings, I further generally depend on the critical English translation by Edwin Curley: Benedictus de Spinoza, *The Collected Works* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), vol. 1 (1986) and vol. 2 (2016), henceforth abbreviated: CW, followed by volume number and page number(s). References to the collected writings and correspondence of René Descartes are according to: *Œuvres*, Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (eds.) (11 vols., Paris: Cerf, 1897–1913; new edition, 1964–1971; repr, Vrin, 1996). Henceforth: AT, followed by volume number and page number(s).

The following abbreviations are used in this study's notes and annexes:

KV	*Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand* (G 1), text places are followed by section numbers in Arabic numerals (introduced by Bruder in: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, … Karl H. Bruder (ed.) (3 vols., Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz Jr, 1841–6)
PP	*Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II* (1663, G 1)
CM	*Cogitata metaphysica* (appendix published to the PP in 1663, G 1); together with the *PP* referred to as: *PP*/*CM*
TTP	*Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670, G 3), followed by chapter number
OP	*Opera posthuma* (1677)
NS	*De nagelate schriften* (1677)
DRT	*De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandeling* (1693, Dutch translation of the *TTP*)
ERT	*Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde* (1694, Dutch translation of the *TTP*)

The following works are contained in the printed 1677 posthumous works in their subsequent order:

E/Zk	*Ethica*/*Zedekunst* (G 2)
TP	*Tractatus politicus*; *Staatkundige verhandeling* (G 3)
TIE	*Tractatus de emendatione intellectus*; *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (G 2)
Ep	*Epistola doctorum quorundam virorum ad B. d. S. et auctoris*; *Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen* (G 4), followed by letter number
CG	*Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* (G 1, the Hebrew grammar is only included in the *Opera posthuma*)

Text places in *PP*/*CM* and in the *Ethica* are abbreviated and followed by part and component, abbreviated and numbered using Arabic numerals:

ax	axioma
app	appendix
c	corollarium
def	definitio
dem	demonstratio

lem	lemma
p	propositio
praef	praefatio
s	scholium

PP 2p27, for example, patently stands for: *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*, Part 2, proposition 27. *CM* 1.1: *Cogitata Metaphysica*, part 1, chapter 1. E1p15 should be read the following: *Ethica*, Part 1, proposition 15. E1p18dem stands for: *Ethica*, Part 1, proposition 18, demonstration.

The manuscript copy of the *Ethica*, (made between late 1674 and early 1675) by Pieter van Gent for Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus and now kept in Rome in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.12838), is abbreviated thus:

V	codex Vaticanus Latinus 12838

Dutch Civic and Religious Institutions and Other Terms

Carolus gulden The Dutch Carolus gulden (guilder, or: gl.; florin, or: fl., ducaton) was introduced by the Habsburg government in 1521 (gold) and 1544 (silver). In the seventeenth century, it was the most common currency in the Northern Netherlands. The (silver) *gulden* was valued at 20 *stuivers* or 320 *penningen*.

Reference: Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy. Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 82–38.

Collegie der Scavanten An influential scholarly network in Utrecht, ironically dubbed the *Collegie der Scavanten* ('College of Savants') by its Voetian rivals who considered the scholarly group a Cartesian cabal. Apart from Frans Burman *père* (1628–1679), the group included Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632–1703), Lambertus van Velthuysen (1621/22–1685), Ludovicus Wolzogen (1633–1690), Johannes de Bruyn (1620–1675), Regnerus van Mansveld (1639–1671), and his Utrecht relative Johan van Mansveld (1621–1673), Burgomaster of Utrecht (October 1668–October 1670). The group also included three students: Antonius van Schayck, Johannes Fuyck, and a certain Specht. (Two students called Specht enrolled at Utrecht University which makes it difficult to decide who of them was a *Collegie* member). Another participant was patrician and physician Henricus van Solingen, and perhaps also physician Everard van Sypesteyn (1637–1716). The Cartesian Utrecht coterie began gathering in the mid-1660s and died out after in the spring of 1674 when Wolzogen became theology professor in Leiden. The group was responsible for the first theological attack on Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and, possibly, hatched the plan to invite in the summer of 1673 the Dutch philosopher to travel to Utrecht (by then under French control).

References: Jan Hartog, Het Collegie der Scavanten te Utrecht', *De Gids*, 40 (1876), pp. 77–114; Eric Jorink, 'Comets in Context', Some Thoughts on Bayle's *Pensées diverses*', in Wiep van Bunge and Hans Bots (eds.), *Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), le philosophe de Rotterdam: Philosophy, Religion and Reception. Selected Papers of the Tercentenary Conference Held at Rotterdam, 7–8 December 2008* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 51–67. there at pp. 59–65; Albert Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht face au *Tractatus theologico-politicus*: Esquisses d'une campagne anti-spinoziste', *Bulletin annuel de l'Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation*, 36 (2015), pp. 49–54; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza: Johannes Melchioris and the Cartesian Network in Utrecht', *Journal for the History of Ideas*, 79 (2018), pp. 23–43; id. 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians: The 1673 Utrecht Visit', *Modern Intellectual History*, 16 (2019), pp. 1–27; id., 'The *Collegie der Sçavanten*: A Seventeenth-Century Cartesian Scholarly Society in Utrecht', in Jo Spaans and Jetze Touber (eds.), *Enlightened Religion: From Confessional Churches to Polite Piety in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 156–182.

Disputation Commonly, in the seventeenth century two types of disputations (usually printed on one sheet in eight pages and issued in about hundred copies) were exercised by students at Dutch universities. The *disputationes pro gradu* or *inauguralis*, i.e., public disputations defended for the purpose of obtaining a doctoral degree, were formulated by the candidates without the aid of their academic supervisor (*promotor*) and were composed to propagate new scholarly concepts. The *disputationes exercitii gratia*, ordinary disputations (also called *disputationes privatae*), were intended to hone the students' academic skills. The text of the latter disputations, often constituting an entire series of courses, was usually made by the student's professor, who was presiding (*sub praeside*) over the academic sitting. Gathered together in printed form (often called *Collegium*), the latter serial disputations were used as text books.

References: Paul A.G. Dibon, *L'Enseignement philosophique dans les universitaires néerlandaises à l'époque pré-cartésienne (1575–1650)* (Leiden: 1954), pp. 33–49; Margreet Ahsmann, *Collegia en colleges. Juridisch onderwijs aan de Leidse Universiteit 1575–1630 in het bijzonder het disputeren* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/E. Forsten, 1990), pp. 274–341; id., 'Teaching in Collegia. The Organisation of Disputationes at Universities in the Netherlands and Germany During the 16th and 17th Centuries', in Andrea Romano (ed.), *Università in Europe. Le istituzione universitarie dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni* (Sovernia Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1995), pp. 99–134; Theo Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch. Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophy* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University, 1992), pp. ix–x; Hanspeter Marti, 'Philosophieunterricht und philosophische Dissertationen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Rainer C. Schwinges (ed.), *Artisten und Philosophen. Wissenschafts- und Wirkungsgeschichte einer Fakultät*

vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert (Basle: Schwabe Verlag, 1999), pp. 207–232 (209 and 232).

Hof van Holland The Hof van Holland should *not be confused* with the Supreme Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland or *Hooge Raad* (*see* under *Hooge Raad*). The Hof van Holland was the provincial High Court of Holland (including West-Friesland) and Zeeland and conjointly ruled with the Dutch Stadholder. This provincial appellate court was established in 1428 and dismantled at the start of the Kingdom of Holland under William I in 1811. Generally, criminal sentences were to be made by the lower courts because they did not concern state affairs, capital felonies, or canon-law-based matters, such as heresy. Civil decisions taken by the Hof van Holland, which in principle had to be preceded by verdicts of a lower court, could be appealed to the Supreme Court, whereas verdicts in property actions were also reserved for the same court.

References: Theodoor van Riemsdijk, 'De oorsprong van het Hof van Holland', in Pieter L. Muller, et al. (eds.), *Geschiedkundige opstellen aangeboden aan Robert Fruin bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1894), pp. 183–208; Robert Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot de val der Republiek* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1901), pp. 63–65.

Hooge Raad The *Hooge Raad*, or Supreme Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland (applying Roman Dutch law like everywhere else in the United Provinces) should *not be confused* with the Hof van Holland. The Supreme Court was established in The Hague on 31 May 1582 (for Holland, later accepted by Zeeland, in 1587, and West-Friesland), after rebellion of the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland and the impossibility of further appealing to the *Groote Raad* (Grand Council) of Mechelen during war with Spain. The purpose of the *Hooge Raad* was the final appeal of civil sentences from the lower provincial courts, such as verdicts taken by the Hof van Holland and the *hoogheemraadschappen* (the Dutch water boards). Criminal sentences could not be brought before the *Hooge Raad*. Some legal cases, for example matters of acts of cession (the assignment of property) by debtors, could be brought directly before the Supreme Court. By the end of the Ancien Régime, the *Hooge Raad* was dissolved (1795) and later replaced by what is now known as the Hoge Raad der Nederlanden.

References: Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 255–257; Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly and Christel M.O. Verhas, *Procesgids Hoge Raad van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland (1582–1795). De hoofdlijnen van het procederen in civiele zaken voor de Hoge Raad zowel in eerste instantie als in hoger beroep* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006).

Kerkenraad/Classis/Provincial Synod Each ecclesiastical province of the dominant *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church, officially separated from the Dutch Walloon Church in 1586) operated a three-tier system to regulate internal affairs and coordinate information, religious doctrine, and politics within and between the separate church provinces. This system comprised: (1) the 'grote' *Kerkenraad* (consistory or church council, dealing with appointments of ministers and diaconal care), i.e., the governing body of a local congregation; (2) the *Classis*, the quarterly regional assembly of deputies (usually made up of one or more ministers plus an *ouderling*, a layman or elder) of local Consistories meeting each one to three months; and (3) the Provincial (or 'particuliere') Synod. The Synod was the yearly assembly made up of *Classes* deputies with a voting right (the *deputati synodi*, in principle two ministers and two lay deputies of each *Classis*) and the *commissarissen-politiek* (political commissioners). Holland was divided into two separate synodal districts: the Provincial Synod of North Holland (with Amsterdam and Haarlem) and South Holland (eleven *Classes*). As a rule, two secular *commissarissen-politiek*, the official representatives of the States of Holland, attended each meeting of the South Holland Synod. One States' representative was a member of one of the most important local colleges of justice; the other was the Burgomaster of the town where the Provincial Synod was held in session. In addition, acting advisers and the Stadholder's political officers could also be expected to attend the South Holland Synod. Each of the Synod's resolutions, the *acta*, were written by a *scriba* (scribe). Copies were distributed to the individual *Classes*, corresponding Synods, the States, and to other governing bodies. Provincial Synods also received deputies from other Dutch provinces.

References: *Acta der particuliere synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621–1700*, Willem P.C. Knuttel (ed.) (6 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1908–16), vol. 1, pp. ix–xxii; Ingrid Weekhout, *De boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (The Hague: SDU Uitgevers, 1998), pp. 126–127.

Stadholder/Stadholderate A hereditary presidency vested in the princely Orange family to rule the Dutch Provinces, usually in each Province coupled with the position of field marshal of the States' army. The Stadholder, the highest executive official, was expected to stand above all provincial political bodies. He was

to oversee the administration of justice and, through a co-optation system, appoint and select the lower judicial dignitaries, the magistrates in the Dutch towns councils, and (in a few towns) their Burgomasters. Up to 1620, their appointments had been made by the advisory organ of the States General, the *Raad van State*. After 1620, the Provincial States chose their own Stadholder but without the States General's approval. After the death of William II (1647–1650), a long stadholderless period ensued, free from any autocratic intervention up to 1672. This was the calamitous 'Rampjaar' ('Disaster Year') when the Dutch Republic was thrown into war with England (1672–1674), France (1672–1678/9), Münster, and Cologne. The return to power of William III (1650–1702) began with the latter's appointment (26 February 1672) as Field Marshal of the States' army and was further consolidated by his installation as Stadholder of Holland (4 July 1672) and Zeeland (16 July 1672) for life.

References: Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 278–284 (from 1650 onwards); Herbert H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange. The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Fall, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 300–306 (includes a chronology of Dutch Stadholders).

States General The Dutch central assembly, since 1593 in permanent session at the *Binnenhof* ('Inner Court', a complex of buildings housing the Dutch States General) in The Hague, of representatives (one or more delegates, but with a single vote). Its representatives sat for the self-governing Provincial States of Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel, and Groningen (in this voting order) in order to deliberate with the sovereign ruler about financial and other state issues. The States General were and still are assisted in their complex tasks by the *Raad van State*, the *Generaliteits Rekenkamer* (established in 1602 to deal with the financial businesses of the Generality Lands, such as Staats Brabant), the *Hoge Krijgsraad* (a permanent High Court for the army, developed between 1590 and 1597), the *Generaliteits Muntkamer* (Generality Mint Chamber, introduced in 1579), and five admiralty colleges (responsible for administering the navy, more or less definitively since 1597).

The *Binnenhof* and its galleries were also the vibrant centre of the local book and art business were booksellers such as the Elzevier firm rented stores to shed stock.

References: Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 177–93 (up to 1650); Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 292–294.

Vroedschap or *Raad* Dutch town council for decision-making in legal and financial matters and for the election of the *schepenen* (sheriffs) and the magistrates participating in civic government, through a co-optation system and after 1650 without the Stadholder's intervention. The Utrecht *Vroedschap*, for example, included two Burgomasters and twelve *schepenen*, plus additional clerks. The *Vroedschap* of Amsterdam consisted of thirty-six members, 25 years of age, and registered as a burgher of Amsterdam for at least seven years.

References: Elisabeth A.M. Eibrink Jansen, *De opkomst van de vroedschap in enkele Hollandsche steden* (Haarlem: N.v. drukkerij 'Amicitia', 1927); Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 125.

General Remarks

Dates in this study are given according to the Gregorian calendar unless indicated otherwise. This calendar, also known as 'New Style', was introduced in Roman Catholic countries in 1582. The Gregorian year starts on 1 January. In specific cases, when primarily historical events are discussed from those Provinces in the Dutch Republic adhering to the 'Old Style' (such as Utrecht and Gelderland, until 1700/01), dates of particularly letters are designated according to both the Gregorian and the Julian ('Old Style') calendars. German-speaking countries went over to the Gregorian calendar in 1700. Britain used the Julian calendar until 1752. Previously, in England the civil or legal year had begun on 25 March (Lady Day). Hence, an event happening on 1 January 1670 was therefore recorded as 1 January 1669/70 ('Old Style').

Conjectural dates and places are always put between square brackets. Conjectures, such as authors' names for (semi-)clandestinely published writings, are also placed between square brackets. Other conjectures in this study in notes and in the bibliography, such as authors' names hiding behind aliases, are also placed between square brackets. Notice in this context that a set of parentheses nested inside round brackets are also designated with square brackets; they are, arguably, not conjectures.

If relevant, dates are given according to the neutral BCE/CE notation system. Generally, quotations are translated into English and given according to their manuscript or most reliable printed source. Quotations of Spinoza's seventeenth-century printed Latin works and letters are given with their diacritics. With respect to the Dutch philosopher's correspondence, quotations from letters are given according to the (most likely) language in which they were originally written, i.e., either Latin or Dutch, and translated into English. Translations from the Bible follow the King James version. Church records, notarial deeds, and other historical records are given with their archives' access and inventory numbers if known.

Since there were no strict rules in orthography in seventeenth-century Dutch and other languages, the rendering of words was multiform and variants of identical words and names may occur in historical documents. Variant readings in quotations and abbreviations are commonly dealt with silently. Ligatures, accent marks, ampersands, and other typographical irregularities, such as the *e caudata* (tailed *e*), the long *s* (*ſ*), and the sharp *s* (*ß*), are only given in instances if they are relevant or functional, for instance, in full quasi-facsimile descriptions of the text of seventeenth-century title-pages.

In this study, the anachronistic terms 'science/scientist' are largely avoided. The term 'scientist' was only coined by William Whewell (1794–1866) in 1833 and first published in the *Quarterly Review* in Whewell's review (1834) of Mary Somerville's *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences*. In general, I prefer to use 'natural philosophy/natural philosopher' instead. Moreover, the empty terms 'spinozist' and 'spinozism' are also ignored. Nevertheless, Spinoza's adversaries preferred to refer with these qualifications to contemporary authors they considered to belong to a specific intellectual sect sharing a fascination for Spinoza's philosophical system.

The widely-used yet confusing term 'printer's device' in bibliography is, in my opinion, to be considered historically totally inappropriate and will be completely ignored. For, commonly, title-pages' imprints and their accompanying vignettes, if veracious and not fictitious, were that of booksellers acting as publishers, unless expressed otherwise. The exception concerns imprints with devices explicitly declaring to be *produced* by a *printer* who was at the same time also serving as a *publisher*. Such an exception is for example *Een brief aan een vriendt* (Letter to a Friend), a work declaring on its title-page to be turned out (1678) by the Amsterdam compositor-printer Israel Abrahamsz de Paull: 'Ghedruckt by *Israël de Paull*, in de Tuyn-straet, 1678'. In general, in this bibliography I opt for the term 'title-page imprint', or simply 'imprint'.

Back references in this study are indicated with chapter number and section. In footnotes books and articles are generally referred to according to the full reference-short reference system. The first reference mentions author(s), title, year of publication, relevant pages or columns, and notes. Second references give author(s), short title, relevant pages or columns, and notes. Likewise, all titles in footnotes are given in full in the Bibliography. Refences to works up to 1800 are indicated with year(s) of publication without publisher, unless useful. The Bibliography includes manuscript sources related to Spinoza, printed primary sources up to 1800, reference and text editions, auction catalogues, as well as secondary sources. Publishers of works issued before 1800 as well as the names of separate institutions and their (sub)series are generally ignored in the Bibliography and notes. Unpublished PhD theses are only indicated with their year of publication.

Digitized seventeenth-century editions of Spinoza's writings are given with their permanent hyperlinks (all last accessed and checked in 2020). All references to the Amsterdam city archives are given in the notes without

reference to both place (Amsterdam) and institution (Stadsarchief). These references begin with the access number of the archive indicated, followed by collection name, number and notary's surname, manuscript, period, inventory number, and further specifics. For example: 5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 85: Van Loosdrecht, 'Minuutacten van testamenten, huwelijkse voorwaarden etc. In "Protocol", 1645–1677', inv. no. 1981/4, 1 January 1661–4 September 1665, fols 170^{v}–171^{r}.

Proper Names and Place Names

In the seventeenth century, Dutch spelling was inconsistent. Family names were spelled in a variety of ways and academics, aside their vernacular names (plus the variants in the local dialect), used also Latin monikers. Because no standardized spelling existed proper names are given in the modern forms now preferred: Descartes instead of Cartesius, Wittich instead of Wittichius, but Casearius instead of Keezer.

The Dutch prefixes 'de' and 'van' are not part of a family name, but mentioning people by using these prefixes is good practice: Lambertus van Velthuysen, or Van Velthuysen (instead of: Velthuysen), Regnerus van Mansveld, or Van Mansveld (instead of: Mansveld), etc. Seventeenth-century naming practice took the name of the person's father (or in some cases the mother): e.g., the genitival patronymics Rieuwertsz (Rieuwert's son) or Jaspersen (Jasper's son).

Names of people from or working in the United Provinces are commonly given according to the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: 1911–37), edited by Philipp C. Molhuysen, etc. German names follow their spellings in VD17 ('Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts', Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, in collaboration with the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel). For English names, in principle I follow their spellings in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. French family names are spelled according to the general catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BN-OPALE PLUS).

Topographical names are indicated by their local forms (e.g., Amsterdam, Utrecht, Leuven) unless a more common equivalent in English is in vogue: The Hague (instead of 's-Gravenhage) and Cologne (not Köln). Dutch institutions and technical terms are given in italics should no satisfactory English equivalent be available (see: Explanatory Notes).

Key figures in Spinoza's life and times are discussed in more detail in the Biographical Lexicon (BL) annexed to this study; in notes and indexes they are marked with an asterisk following the commonly given family name (Descartes*). Others at first mention are referred to with the years of their birth and death, if known.

A New Letter Numbering System

During my long-term research into Spinoza's exchange, I have reconstructed the Dutch philosopher's correspondence anew, mended dates, in a few instances corrected even the name of some of the letters' correspondents, and studied their enclosures. Redated letters can vary, arguably, with those dates previously in Spinoza scholarship assigned to letters. With respect to dating, in this descriptive bibliography letters in the Dutch philosopher's correspondence are assigned a special code (yy, mm, dd), all conforming to the Gregorian calendar ('New Style'). The mathematical symbols < or > in front of a code indicate 'before' or 'after' any given date. Conjectures are always put between square brackets. If a month and/or day of a letter is unknown the code '00' is provided. Codes keyed with an asterisk signify a postulated letter.

To avoid any confusion, single letter codes (if applicable) are followed by the in Spinoza scholarship commonly used 'Ep' number, introduced by Van Vloten and Land (*Opera quotquot reperta sunt*, 1883: vol. 2). For example: 1661.08.26, Ep 1, or: > 1662.[07].[15], Ep 7. Generally, a letter code is followed by a reference to the standard 1925 Gebhardt edition, with volume and relevant numbering. For example: 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–125). A *postulated* letter is referred to thus: 1663.01.11*, evidently without traditional 'Ep' number and reference to the Gebhardt edition.

A Newfound Postulated Letter to Spinoza

During research for this study, in 2019 Piet Steenbakkers and I have been able to postulate a letter to Spinoza hitherto unknown. This letter is no longer extant and its contents are unknown, but quite possibly its sender might have discussed issues related to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Presumably, the letter was written by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). It was sent to The Hague via an intermediary from Mainz, through the diplomatic bag in all

likelihood. The unidentified letter's sender had it enclosed in another letter, dated 25 March 1672, written by Leibniz's friend Johann Lincker von Lützenwick (1615–1698), privy counsellor to the archbishop of Trier in Mainz. Lincker dispatched his letter with its enclosure to Johann Daniel Crampricht von Kronefeld (1622–1693), a diplomat representing the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I in The Hague. Soon thereafter, the latter informed Lincker, in another still extant letter (4 April 1672), he had delivered the letter to Spinoza on his behalf.

The new letter has received the following letter code: < 1672.03.25*. For the letter, see in this study further: Chapter 3, n. 133. I am indebted to Anja Fleck (Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek) who kindly helped me out locating Crampricht's letter and forwarded a digital photo to me.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the Bibliography

1 Book Production in the Handpress Period

Since readers of this bibliography may be unfamiliar to some extent with material aspects involved in the production of printed matter during the pre-industrial handpress period, preliminary observations on pre-press preparations and relief printing techniques are now of concern in this section. Usually, publishers and printers together calculated for each single printed sheet the cost of the founts of type, the illustrations, the paper (made of cloth) and (boiled) ink (oil-based varnish mixed with lamp black obtained by burning oil according to John Moxon's 1683 *Mechanick Exercises*). They calculated the wages of compositors, correctors, printers, plus other journeymen and apprentices, involved in the production of a planned pamphlet or book. Founts of smaller printing type from a typeface were much more expensive than larger founts. Other costs concerned overhead expenses and variable costs of other necessary printing materials (founts of type kept in stock, expensive leather for the ink balls), payment of labour other than that of the printers, third-party expenses (such as taxes), and other unspecified costs. Together with distribution costs these economic aspects influenced the height of book prices. Commonly, publishers and printers confirmed collaboration terms in a written contract drawn up by a public notary, too. In the case of the seventeenth-century printed works of Spinoza, contracts are unfortunately lacking. At the practical level of decision-making and logistics, historical documents describing or hinting at the role of the Dutch philosopher's publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père* have not survived.

Pre-press preparations in the printing shop concerned composition (by pages) of printing types set up from manuscript or copy and the imposition of typeset pages in 'formes', wooden or iron frames locking one or more pages for printing on sheets of paper. Processed copies were also proofread for flaws.[1] Printing a work first required a sophisticated estimate of a book's length via the counting of words ('casting off' copy) and the preparation of the copy for layout by the typesetter by making brief notes concerning italicization, capitalization, pagination, and page breaks.[2] For each page of a new gathering of a text, a generally seated compositor started work by gathering singular type-metal-cast movable sorts (CAPITALS, SMALL CAPITALS, smaller lower-case letters) of a specific fount of printing type from a typeface required for printed matter. Each Latin alphabet (twenty-six letters), for example, included approximately 120 to 150 type-metal-cast letters (with and without diacritics), ligatures (e.g., *æ* and *œ*, so-called tied letters), abbreviations (e.g., prefixes, such as *pre* and *pro*), typographical symbols (e.g. &, *, †), in both roman and italics. In the second half of 1677, when printing Spinoza's voluminous posthumous writings the book's printing shop had to have in stock alphabets of the same sort in very large quantities.

The compositor at work picked type-metal-cast sorts from wooden trays divided in customary patterns (capital letters along the top of the case, small letters below them), i.e., the type-case. If required, he also picked small cast-type blocks for punctuation, indentation, special symbols, and for breaking and spacing ('whites').[3] Next, all letters and symbols were put upside down in an adjustable, composing stick to set the 'measure' of the required type area (from left to right). The typesetter kept this handheld shallow tray, which can hold a small number of lines, in his left hand. Thus, a seasoned typesetter had to have been sufficiently trained in reading text upside down and in mirrored writing. He was also required to work quickly and efficiently, making as few mistakes as possible.

Prime presswork demanded skill and training. In the world of seventeenth-century printing experienced compositors had significant status. Although the training of typesetters has hardly ever been studied, it is plain they could achieve competence on the job only. Moreover, the

1 For typesetting, printing, and proofreading: Wytze G. Hellinga, *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden. Atlas bij de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse typografie* (Amsterdam: NV. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1962); Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1972); Michael Twyman, *The British Library Guide to Printing. History and Techniques* (London: The British Library, 1998); Johan Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza – Some Questions', in Fokke Akkerman and Piet Steenbakkers (eds.), *Spinoza to the Letter. Studies in Words, Texts and Books* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2005), pp. 251–262.

2 Tangible evidence of copy preparation is shown in three letters written by Willem van Blijenbergh* to Spinoza: 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–125); 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144); 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157). *See* further: Chapter 8, *Initial Deliberations* and Chapter 9, *The Typesetting and Printing Process*.

3 Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, pp. 33–38.

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ILLUSTRATION 1.1 Interior (copper engraving, 1628) of a printing house in Haarlem in full operation. At the right a typesetter is composing pages. The printer at the left is busy printing imposed sheets at the handpress which are accordingly gathered and inspected by his assistant. At the outer left ink balls are lying on a cupboard. Presumably, the jugs standing on the shelf are containing ink.

printing shop's compositors were required to make final decisions regarding spelling, hyphenation, syllabification, capitalization, word breaks, emphasis, and punctuation for texts composed in Dutch, Latin, Hebrew, and other languages.[4] Some of them, it seems reasonable to conclude, must therefore have attended Latin Schools or even university.[5]

4 For compositors' abilities: Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-Works Applied to the Art of Printing. A Literal Reprint in Two Volumes of First Edition Published in the Year 1683*, Theo L. de Vinne (ed.) (2 vols., New York, NY: The Typothetae of the City of New York, 1896), pp. 260–264. The first Dutch manual was published in 1801. Cf.: Philip Gaskell, etc., 'An Annotated List of Printer's Manuals to 1850', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 4 (1968), pp. 11–31.

5 Cornelis Kiliaan (*c.*1529–1607), author of the *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae* (Antwerp: 1574) and compositor-proofreader at

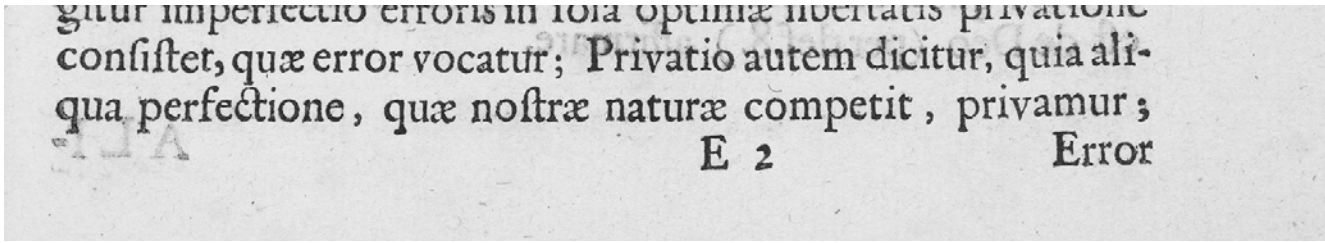


ILLUSTRATION 1.2 Direction line with signature E2 and catchword 'Error', printed on page 25 of: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* (Amsterdam: D. Bakkamude [*printer*], *for*: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, 1663).

During the typesetting process, the compositor tabulated lines (divided by setting rules) on each full page or each column of the text. To set sheets by formes, his work included setting in type (ornamented) capitals (mostly relief woodcuts), pagination, captions, lines, notes, signatures of gatherings, spaces, etc., on a galley. This was a wooden two- or three-sided board lying on the right-hand side of the compositor's upper case. Printers, like the famously-known Antwerp bookseller-publisher Christophe Plantin (1520–1589), used two kind of galleys: one for composing and one for distribution. Signatures in the direction lines at the foot of recto pages were formed from twenty-three letters from the Latin alphabet and Arabic numerals (single signing), or their combinations (double or multiple signing). Commonly for quarto: A (without numeral), A2, A3, Aa, Aa2, Aa 3, Aaa, Aaa2, Aaa3 (as was practice, quarto signatures A4, Aa4, and Aaa4 were blank), without I or J, U or V, and W, etc. The typesetter at work was to determine all separate blocks of text were set in an upright position and kept in mind to avoid 'hanging' types.[6]

Should illustrations (woodcuts or engravings) be required, these then were also fixed into their position on the galley. The running headline and a page's first line came down on the lower part of the board and the last lines on top of it, until finally all the working galley's available space was filled and ready for relief printing. Accordingly, when the correct number of lines of all the rows of the singular sorts making up a page were set in type on the galley, the typesetter marked the place in the manuscript or copy. After this stage of the process, running headlines and page numbers were added above the text, and the direction lines with their specific signatures and catchwords (to get the pages in the correct printing order), set at the bottom of a page.

Then the compositor firmly fixed the type block (with rope, bound around its outer edges), preventing it from collapsing. Next, the compositor stored the typeset page on a wrapper and started composing all other pages until all the text intended for the forme was sorted and set in the composing stick. In this way, pages set in type were collected in an 'outer' and an 'inner' forme, containing the text which will be on the outside and inside pages of a printed sheet when folded. This is called imposition, i.e., processing the number of pages of type sufficient to cover both sides of a sheet depending on the bibliographical format required. Subsequently, the boards were brought to the hand-powered presses for processing and printing.[7]

At the printing press, typeset text pages were slid by the compositor for the forme onto the imposition stone. They were carefully 'caged', fixed in the forme in their proper order in a two-paired chase on the bed of the press with wooden blocks, pieces ('furniture'), and wedges. The ropes were then removed and all pages in the forme were hammered down and carefully inked with balls of leather, two at a time. Next, an imposed sheet of paper comprising multiple pages – the number of which was dependent on how the quires of the book were composed – could be printed on both sides on the handpress.

A single sheet printed for a quire of sixteen pages (eight leaves), for example, required two formes of eight typeset pages for printing on each side of the same gathering. Normally, preliminary text (title-page, prefatory matter, indexes, and lists of errata) was printed after the text of a book had been finished. After sheets were printed on one side and turned over, the formes were replaced by new formes to print and perfect their versos. Generally speaking, the bibliographical format, layout, and the typeface (or fount family) influenced the number of lines of each

Christophe Plantin's 'Gulden Passer', took his academic degree from Leuven University. He studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and even taught law for a while.

6 'New *Letter* is most subject to *Hang*, especially if not very smoothly *Drest*; Because the least Bur, or sharpness of its Angles, may catch in the Burs or Angles of the *Letters* that stand next them, and so make them stand aflope, and one *Letter* standing aflope is very subject to make all the other *Letters* in that *Line* stand aflope too.' (Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 216).

7 Ibid., pp. 228–232.

page.[8] It is estimated that, when a printing process was in full operation, a seasoned printer could print up to about three sheets per minute (180 sheets per hour), an impressive number. Remember paper, a necessity for printing, could be used only once.

After the first proofs were printed, sheets were returned to a corrector or to the typesetter to make corrections on the 'correction stone', usually a large slab of marble on a stand. Correcting in the metal pieces was quite simple if one letter or number had to be changed. After correction of the last press proof, the actual printing was started.[9] Having been processed, printed sheets were hung up in quires for drying. Next, gatherings were combined, knocked up, collationed (to check whether any quires were missing or had mistakenly been doubled), and bound together by a gatherer to make single copies.[10] Afterwards, the formes were rinsed and washed with boiled water. Next, text was broken up so sorts could be stored again into their cases.[11] In several instances, though, printers kept type standing for reprinting. This probably happened, for instance, with remaining sheets with the printed title-page of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s first quarto edition (T.1), which was reimposed to produce the title-pages of the two known issues T.2 and T.2a of the second quarto edition.[12]

2 The Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam Printers of Spinoza's Writings

Having no presses of his own Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, being a highly-productive publisher, was obliged to turn to printing shops operating in Amsterdam.[13] None of the printers who produced Spinoza's printed works are explicitly named in those books. Recent typographical research (2013), by Jagersma and Dijkstra, has confirmed that the Amsterdam printer Daniel Bakkamude produced *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* for Rieuwertsz in 1663.[14] Their study focused on the occurrence of similar old-style serifed printing types (different sizes in different bodies), initials, and ornaments (including those damaged) in books produced in Amsterdam in the later seventeenth century.

A work entitled *Den Engelsen en Munstersen oorlogh* (1668), known with certainty to be produced by Bakkamude, mentions his workshop's address close to the Amsterdam Exhange Bank: 'at the Rokin, above the Ship on the Slope' ('op 't Rockin, boven 't Schip op de Helling'). Between 1669 and 1680, he relocated his printing shop: 'at the Rokin, alongside the three green Parrots' ('op 't Rokkin, naast de drie groene Papegayen'). For Rieuwertsz, Bakkamude also turned out a notorious Socinian venture: *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*.[15] He published the book during the second half of the 1660s.[16] Its printing was done clandestinely: Socinianism and with it anti-Trinitarianism had been prohibited in 1653 in a placard, condemning meetings and Socinian publications. Bakkamude also worked for the Amsterdam firm of Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge (fl.1600–1683), printer of several writings of the Voetius family and of Descartes, respectively.[17]

8 'If two *Lines* of *Copy* make one *Line* in the *Stick*, then consequently ten *Lines* in the *Copy* will make five *Lines* in the *Stick*; twenty *Lines* in the *Copy* ten *Lines* in the *Stick*, &c.' (ibid., p. 252).

9 Ibid., pp. 231 and 242–250 (correcting).

10 Ibid., pp. 345–356.

11 'It is indeed possible to tie up the undistributed pages and keep them for reprinting, but this mostly happens only for smaller works, or for works in great demand, on account of the quantities of type needed and the dead capital represented by the stored metal.' (Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', pp. 251–252).

12 *See*: Chapter 3, *Second Latin Quarto Edition*.

13 Presumably, Rieuwertsz* had in any case no printing press until his official appointment as city printer, in succession to Johannes van Ravesteyn (1618–1681) in January 1675. In 1684, he is referred to in a deed as: 'Jan Rieuwertsen, boeckdrucker' (Isabella H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725* [5 vols., Amsterdam: Scheltema/Holkema, 1960–1978], vol. 3, p. 63).

14 Rindert Jagersma and Trude Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', *Quaerendo. A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*, 43 (2013), pp. 278–310, there at p. 292. Bakkamude: BL.

15 Socinians, 'Polish Brethren', or 'Unitarians', were heterodox Christians named after the Italian antitrinitarian theologian Fausto Soccini (1539–1604). Being victims of Polish Protestantism, many fled from Transylvania and East Prussia. Particularly Amsterdam became a hub of Socinian diaspora, centring around Andrej Wiszowaty (1608–1678). They accepted Jesus, believed the soul died with the body (except for those who sought to obey Christ's commandments), and rejected many Christian dogmas while advocating separation between religion and state. For their denomination's acceptance, they relied on Dutch Remonstrants, Collegiants (Chapter 6, n. 134), and Mennonites. For background: Lech Szczucki, 'Socinian Historiography in the Late 17th Century. Benedykt Wiszowaty and his "Medulla historiae ecclesiasticae"', in Frank Forrester Church and Timothy George (eds.), *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History. Essays Presented to George Huntston Williams on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 1979, pp. 285–300). Tellingly, some of Spinoza's adversaries labelled the Dutch philosopher as a supporter of Socinianism.

16 Anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum quos unitarios vocant, instructa Operibus Socini Senensis, nobilissimi Itali, Johannis Crellii Franci, Jonae Slichtingii à Bucowietz, equitis Poloni, exegeticis & Johannis Ludovici Wolzogenii baronis Austriaci* (8 vols., Irenopoli [Amsterdam]: 1665–8). *See* further: Chapter 2, n. 103.

17 For Janssonius van Waesberge: René Descartes*, *Correspondence 1643*, Theo Verbeek, etc. (eds.) (Utrecht: Zeno, 2003), pp. 307–308.

Bakkamude did not process Pieter Cornelisz Balling's Dutch translation of the Latin edition *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* (1664). The book's printer was Herman Aeltsz who had a workshop in the Amsterdam Kalverstraat.[18] Evidence that Aeltsz has typeset and printed this work is particularly strongly given by a distinctively damaged ornamented initial D. That D in the Dutch rendition matches with an identical initial D gracing the text of a work published by the Dutch libertine author Adriaan Koerbagh four years later. The latter's dictionary, *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet* (A Flower Garden of All Kinds of Loveliness without Sorrow), contained foreign loanwords showing several traces of what can now be qualified with the loose 'label' as early radical reasoning with elements of Spinoza's philosophy, such as demythologizing the Scripture's divine authority.[19] On 12 June 1668, Aeltsz was condemned for having printed 'seecker godtslasterlik boeck bij adryaen Koerbach', i.e. *Een bloemhof*. He was sentenced by the municipal bailiff to pay the civic administration of Amsterdam a fine of 630 guilders, which in those days was a very large sum of money.[20]

The roman type-founts of the Dutch quarto edition printed by Bakkamude for the 1663 Latin edition of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, also used by Aeltsz, display typographical features occurring in editions of plays composed by Vondel. These appear to be linked to the workshop of the Amsterdam printer Thomas Fonteyn, Rieuwertsz's business partner during the late 1640s and the 1650s.[21] The ornament (or: 'wreath') on the title-page and all other illustrations in the 1663 Latin edition produced by Bakkamude were reused for the printing of Balling's Dutch translation *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. This indicates that, for the production of the Dutch rendition of Spinoza's digest of 'Principles of Philosophy', Rieuwertsz must have passed the copperplates for the illustrations to Herman Aeltsz, its printer.

Archival records documenting the typesetting and printing process of Spinoza's 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; 'Metaphysical Thoughts', or the business collaboration of Rieuwertsz *père* with either of the printers Bakkamude and Aeltsz are no longer extant.[22] These books contain inevitable misprints. Mostly 'literals', errors in individual letters or numerals during imposition, but also textual corrections (inventoried in the two volumes' lists of errata). Nevertheless, the final conclusion would be that both Bakkamude and Aeltsz produced high-quality and well-engraved books without any grave mistakes or stop-press corrections made in the metal.

Research results published in 2013 (by Jagersma and Dijkstra, and one other by Lane), in two papers in *Quaerendo. A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*), seek to prove the first Latin quarto edition (T.1) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) was commissioned from Israel Abrahamsz de Paull. He was a compositor and master printer operating a workshop, established shortly before or in 1660 together with Gerrit Harmansz van Riemsdijck, in the Amsterdam Jordaan quarter, in the Tuinstraat.[23] When

18 Aeltsz* and Bakkamude* knew each other personally. In May 1666, both were fined and forced to pay 50 guilders for printing 'Sinne-beelt', an Orangist etching containing a poem by Smallegange.

19 'Vreederijk Waarmond' (Adriaan Koerbagh*), *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplant door Vreederijk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd, …* (Leiden [Amsterdam]: 1668). Cf. for the matching initial D: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', pp. 290–291.

20 5061: 'Inventaris van de Archieven van de Schout en Schepenen, van de Schepenen en van de Subalterne Rechtbanken', 'Strafzaken', ms. 'Schoutsrol, 1657–1797', inv. no. 146, 23 August–27 November 1668. Koerbagh* was in contact (late 1650s and 1660s) with the coterie around Franciscus van den Enden* and Spinoza, including among others Meyer* and Bouwmeester*. In 1668, he planned to have another work, *Een ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen*, published in Utrecht. Its printing was halfway cancelled through its production and Koerbagh was arrested and interrogated. He readily admitted he had contacts with Spinoza without however detailing any information about their relations. On 27 July 1668, an Amsterdam inquiry committee sentenced him to ten years of forced labour in the *Willige Rasphuis*, a ten-year exile, and a penalty of 4,000 guilders for putting to press *Een ligt*. *See* for a present-day English edition: Adriaan Koerbagh, *A Light Shining in Dark Places, to Illuminate on the Main Questions of Theology and Religion*, Michiel Wielema (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2011). Aeltsz: BL.

21 Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 256. Fonteyn: BL.

22 Ibid., p. 255. Bakkamude/Aeltsz: BL.

23 Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', p. 293. The Tuinstraat was located in district 47 of the Amsterdam tax system. For De Paull's the printing activities and his involvement in the production of Spinoza's writings: ibid., esp. pp. 294–295 and 297–299 (list of works typeset by De Paull*). Cf. also: John Lane, 'The Printing Office of Gerrit Harmansz van Riemsdijck, Israël Abrahamsz de Paull, Abraham Olofsz, Andries Pietersz, Jan Claesz Groenewoudt & Elizabeth Abrahams Wiaer *c.*1660–1709', *Quaerendo*, 43 (2013), pp. 311–439, there at pp. 351–352. Lane (p. 333) concludes that in 1674 De Paull operated the office at the north of the Tuinstraat, 'just east of the first cross street'. His research further establishes De Paull worked for and with the following book dealers and publishers: Gerrit Harmansz van Riemsdijck (1630–1666), Abraham Wittelingh (*fl.*1660–1664), Johannes van Someren* (1632–1678) and his later widow (*fl.*1679–1696), Van Someren and Jacob van Meurs (*fl.*1651–1680),

van den Hemel, gy groote en vreeſlijke Godt, &c.

AMSTERDAM,

Gedruckt by *Iſraël de Paull*, in de Tuyn-ſtraat, 1678.

ILLUSTRATION 1.3 Reduced version of the 'yoke' ornament.

his partner Van Riemsdijck passed away in 1666 De Paull took charge of the printing firm. The workshop was in full operation for about fifty years and it is documented that, at its closure, the printing office of De Paull owned about three presses. The results of my own bibliographical study seem to confirm this reputed printer produced all Latin quarto editions and their variant issues during the 1670s. The distinct possibility should be considered De Paull even printed all Latin octavos and the two editions (1678) of the French translation of Spinoza's treatise, too. In 1677, Jan Rieuwertsz *père* made use of the services of De Paull once again. This time to produce the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, its Dutch translation.[24]

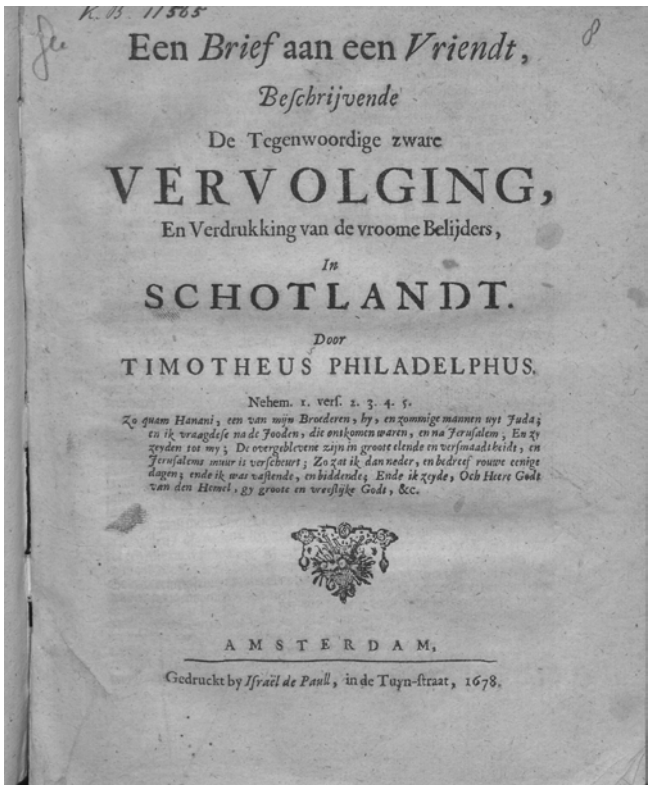
The final conclusion that De Paull produced both the quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the posthumous writings is based on the following arguments:

– The 16 mm capitals 'Klein Canon' roman and italics as well as probably also the Hebrew (2,5 mm mem) printing type, used in the printed quartos of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, were used by De Paull's Tuinstraat printing firm.
– Both the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Opera posthuma* are adorned with a reduced 'yoke' ornament, a floral tailpiece depicting a rosette with hanging ends (relief woodcut).
  This vignette also decorates the prologue's end in four out of five Latin quartos of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
– The small yoke ornament is printed on the title-page of *Een brief aan een vriendt*, a work perhaps composed by the dissident Dutch Reformed purist theologian Jacobus Koelman (1632–1695). The imprint of its title-page declares the work to be produced by the De Paull printing firm, located 'in de Tuyn-straat' in 1678.[25]

the widow of Jan Jacobsz Schipper (*fl.*1670–1684/6), as well as Hendrick (1644–1709) and Dirk Boom I (1645/6–1680).

24 Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', p. 293, and passim. For the printed posthumous writings, *see*: Chapters 8, 9, and 10.

25 Timotheus Philadelphus, *Een brief aan een vriendt, beschrijvende de tegenwoordige zware vervolging, en verdrukking van de vroome belijders, in Schotlandt* (Amsterdam: 1678), 1678. Koelman: Wiep van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Philosophers* (2 vols., Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 567–568. Title-page devices: Anja Wolkenhauer and Bernard F. Scholz (eds.), *Typographorum emblemata. The Printer's Mark in the Context of Early Modern Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter/Saur, 2018).



Een *Brief* aan een *Vriendt*,

Beschrijvende

De Tegenwoordige zware

VERVOLGING,

En Verdrukking van de vroome Belijders,

In

SCHOTLANDT.

Door

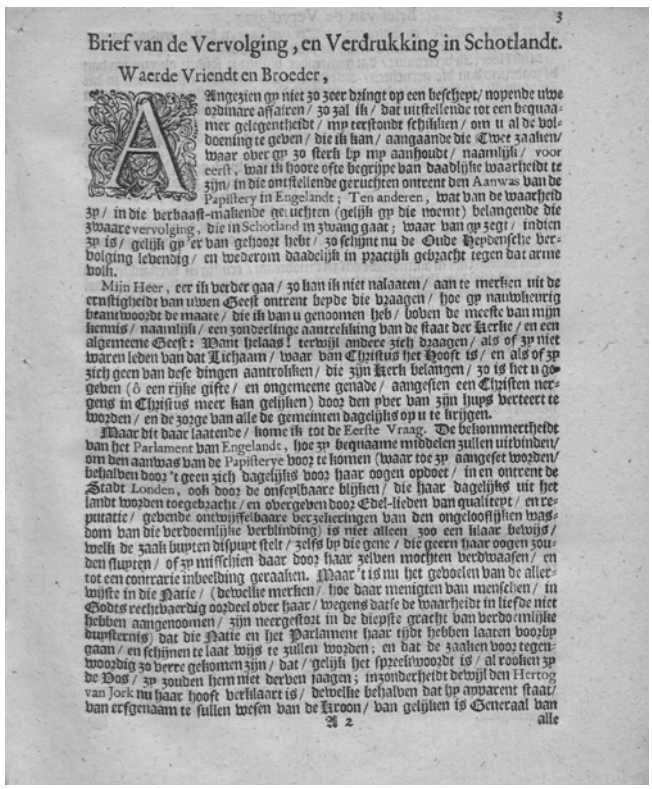
TIMOTHEUS PHILADELPHUS.

Nehem. 1. vers. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Zo quam Hanani, een van mijn Broederen, by, en zommige mannen uyt Juda; en ik vraagde se na de Joden, die ontkomen waren, en na Jerusalem, En zy zeyden tot my; De overgeblevene zijn in groote elende en verfmaadtheidt, en Jerusalems muur is verscheurt; Zo zat ik dan neder, en bedreef rouwe eenige dagen, ende ik was vastende, en biddende, Ende ik zeyde, Och Heere Godt van den Hemel, gy groote en vreesselijke Godt, &c.

AMSTERDAM,

Gedruckt by *Israël de Paull*, in de Tuyn-straat, 1678.



3

Brief van de Vervolging, en Verdrukking in Schotlandt.

Waerde Vriendt en Broeder,

Angezien gy niet zo zeer dringt op een beschrijft/ noyende uwe ordinare assairen/ zo zal ik/ dat uitstellende tot een bequaamer gelegentheidt/ myn verstondt schikken/ om u al de voldoeninge te geven/ die ik kan/ aangaande die Twee zaaken/ waar over gy zo sterk by my aanhoudt/ naamlijk/ voor eerst, wat ik hoore ofte begrijpe van daadlijke waarheidt te zijn/ in die onstellende geruchten ontrent den Aanwas van de Papistery in Engelandt; Ten anderen, wat van de waarheidt zy/ in die verbaast-makende geruchten (gelijk gy die noemt) belangende die zwaare vervolging, die in Schotland in zwang gaat; waar van gy zegt/ indien zy is/ gelijk gy er van gehoort hebt/ zo schijnt nu de Oude Heydensche verbolging levendig/ en wederom daadelijk in practijk gebracht tegen dat arme volk.

Mijn Heer, eer ik verder gaa/ zo kan ik niet nalaaten/ aan te merken uit de ernstigheidt van uwen Geest ontrent beyde die vraagen/ hoe gy nauwkeurig beantwoordt de maate/ die ik van u genoomen heb/ boven de meeste van mijn kennis/ naamlijk/ een zonderlinge aantreckinge van de staat der Kerke/ en een algemeene Geest: Want helaas! terwijl andere zich vraagen/ als of zy niet waren leden van dat Lichaam/ waar van Christus het Hooft is/ en als of zy zich geen van dese dingen aantrokken/ die zijn Kerk belangen/ zo is het u gegeven (ô een rijke gifte/ en ongemeene genade/ aangesien een Christen nergens in Christus meer kan gelijken) door den geest van zijn mups verteert te worden/ en de zorge van alle de gemeinten dagelijks op u te krijgen.

Maar dit daar laatende/ kome ik tot de Eerste Vraag. De bekommertheidt van het Parlament van Engelandt, hoe zy bequaame middelen zullen uitvinden/ om den aanwas van de Papisterye door te komen (waar toe zy aangeset worden/ behalven door 't geen zich dagelijks voor haar oogen opdoet/ in en ontrent de Stadt Londen, ook door de onfeylbaare blijken/ die haar dagelijks uit het landt worden toegebracht/ en overgeben door Edel-lieden van qualiteyt/ en reputatie/ gevende onwijffelbaare verzekeringen van den ongeloofelijken wasdom van die verdoemlijke verblinding) is niet alleen zoo een klaar bewijs/ welk de zaak buyten disputs stelt/ zelfs by die geene/ die geeren haar oogen zouden sluyten/ of zy misschien daar door haar zelven mochten verdwaasen/ en tot een contrarie inbeelding geraaken. Maar 't is nu het gedoelen van de allerwijste in die Natie/ (dewelke merken/ hoe daar menigten van menschen/ in Godts rechtvaerdig oordeel over haar/ wegens dat se de waarheidt in liefde niet hebben aangenoomen/ zijn neergestort in de diepste gracht van verdoemlijke duysternis) dat die Natie en het Parlament haar tijdt hebben laaten voorby gaan/ en schijnen te laat wijs te zullen worden; en dat de zaaken voor tegenwoordig zo verre gekomen zijn/ dat/ gelijk het spreekwoordt is/ al roolen zy de Dos/ zy zouden hem niet derven jaagen; inzonderheidt dewijl den Hertog van Jork nu haar hooft verklaart is/ dewelke behalven dat hy apparent staat/ van erfgenaam te zullen wesen van de Kroon/ van gelijken is Generaal van

ILLUSTRATIONS 1.4 AND 1.5 Timotheus Philadelphus, *Brief aan een vriendt, …* (Amsterdam: Israel de Paull [*printer*], 1678). The title-page is decorated with the reduced yoke ornament.

- The small yoke vignette is also printed on the title-page of *Reflexions curieuses* (issue X.2), the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s French translation, and on one of the title-pages of the mixed issues Y.4/Y.5 and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 (also entitled *Reflexions curieuses*).
- The small yoke ornament serves as tailpiece (p. 354) in the *Opera posthuma*, too.
- The same vignette concludes (sig. B5^{r}) the 'Prologus' of the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, a work set in 1673 together with the Latin octavo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[26]
- A decorated serifed roman initial A in the *Opera posthuma* matches with a similar initial A (including its damage) in the aforementioned *Een brief* printed by Israel de Paull.
- A decorated initial D in *Vita politica* and in *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack*, known to be produced by De Paull's direct successor Abraham Olofsz, matches with an identical initial D in *De nagelate schriften*.[27]
- The eight-volume *Opera omnia theologica*, composed by one of the fathers of Covenant theology, Johannes Coccejus, a work assumed to have been printed by Israel de Paull and issued by Jan van Someren, has a decorated initial L also matching the initial L in the *Opera posthuma*. Coccejus's work also contains the aforementioned reduced 'yoke' emblem.[28]

Given its frequent usage by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the small yoke ornament was apparently one of his favourite vignettes. Moreover, the ornament also turns up in other works Amsterdam printers produced for him. Yet, the vignette, along with a larger version of it, was also in vogue amongst other publishers and printers when Rieuwertsz was actively operating as a publisher of books and other printed material.

Regarding the quality of the books produced by De Paull, the general conclusion is that the production of copies of the clandestinely-issued *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in

26 *See*: Chapter 4.

27 Simon Stevin, *Vita politica: Het burgerlyk leven, …; Seer noodig om in alle Houkse ofte Cabeljaawse tijden: …, geleesen te warden* (Amsterdam: 1684); J.R. Markon, *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack, tusschen een huysman en een heedendaaghse Quaaker, …* (Amsterdam: 1684).

28 Johannes Coccejus*, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica* (8 vols., Amsterdam: 1673–9). Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', pp. 256–258, at n. 6.

particular resulted in a large quantity of mistakes made during the typesetting and the printing of the text in the Latin and in the subsidiary Hebrew language. Although probably hurriedly done, the first Latin text edition (T.1) of 1670 has ninety-seven errors in the Latin alone; thirteen misprints are listed in the list of errata. The book, printed in both a plain version and in a lavish version on luxury paper, is superior to all other quartos (and to the octavos De Paull possibly also put to press), which gradually contained a growing number of much more flaws.

Without question, T.1 is the text version most loyal to the original manuscript and/or apograph Spinoza has handed in to serve as printer's copy in 1669. The *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s compositor made many corrections in the main text, pagination, running headlines, and direction lines of the later Latin quartos and octavos. Inevitably, he also introduced new misprints. In a few cases these flaws affected the original Latin text and even changed its wording. Indications suggesting perhaps more than one single Tuinstraat compositor may have set in type the four Latin quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* will be discussed in chapter 3.

Immediately upon Spinoza's death, a selected group of his Amsterdam friends of long standing started (after 25 March 1677) assiduously subediting his posthumous writings. They conveyed copy-texts of the main work for both the Latin edition of the *Opera posthuma* and its Dutch translation *De nagelate schriften* to press in late July 1677. The Amsterdam editors completed work on the twin volumes within four months; a relatively short period one might say. This must have been particularly stressful given the massive quantity of available material and the time needed to turn the writings and correspondence into well-edited texts reflecting and respecting Spinoza's philosophical legacy. The two volumes were ready and printed in late December 1677; copies were first sold to the public during the first weeks of 1678.

Israel de Paull also produced the *Opera posthuma* (about 800 pages) and *De nagelate schriften* (about 700 pages), printed on both normal paper and on luxury paper. This also was a job done in haste. Reading mistakes and 'Augensprung', caused by slapdash editing and translating, may explain textual irregularities between the two volumes. Yet, the quality of the printed text in the two books in general is much better than in the quarto and octavo editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. These contain many textual mistakes, literals, misprints, and hanging sorts. Surviving copies of the posthumous writings produced by Israel de Paull for Rieuwertsz *père* prove to be illustrated printing products of the highest quality with few literals or misprints, most of them occurring in the two volumes' running headlines and direction lines.

3 A Red Herring

In the Dutch Republic, the obligation to request an official privilege to publish a book, a precursor to present-day copyright securing profit and sales, which did not automatically imply the authorities had officially approved of it, had been abandoned in the early seventeenth century. Moreover, in 1650, the States of Holland also refused to appoint 'visitatores librorum', government officials who were to deal with pre-emptive censorship. However, continuous theological quarrels and those complaints about allegedly suspect Socinian writings made by acting officers in the Dutch Reformed Church would ultimately led to anti-Socinian legislation (19 September 1653); the foundation of theological and philosophical Dutch censorship during the second half of the seventeenth century.[29]

As for Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, even before publication of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the Amsterdam book trader's store, called 'in 't Martelaarsboek', in the Dirk van Assensteeg already had, it appears, a particular clandestine aura. The first documented sign of this smack of controversy can be found in the proceedings of the city's municipal *Kerkenraad*. On 29 November 1657, the latter church council discussed complaints about a 'Mennonite bookbinder' ('een menisste boecken binder') who worked in the Dirk van Assensteeg and was under the suspicion of having contacts with Socinians on a regular basis. Rieuwertsz was trained as a bookbinder and had Mennonite sympathies. The report about this bookbinder by one of the church council's acting officials, one pastor Roehomius, reads the following:

> Pastor Roehomius, charged to inform about Socinian meetings in [the] Dirk van Assensteeg, reports that in the same street [lives] a Mennonite bookbinder whose house is sometimes visited by many Socinian people to have their discussions. But that no one was able to tell [him] or find out whether any Socinian meeting was being held there. The brothers of the quarter are petitioned to keep a watchful eye on this [matter].[30]

29 For the 1653 placard: Koenraad O. Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring. Historisch-kritische studiën over Hollandsche vrijgeesten* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1896), pp. 3–5, annex 4. Dutch censorship: Weekhout, *De boekencensuur*.

30 'Do. Roehomius in last gehadt hebbende om te vernemen naer de Sociniaentsche vergaederingen in dirk van assensteech verhaelt datter inde selve straeten is een menisste boecken binder in welcken huijse veele sociniaanse parsoonen nu en dan haeren ingank nemen, ende tsaemen haeren discourtse maecken maer bij niemant te conne vernemen ofter uijt vinden datter eenige Sociniaentse vergadering werden gehouden. Wort de broeders des quartiers gerecommandeert een waeckende oge daer

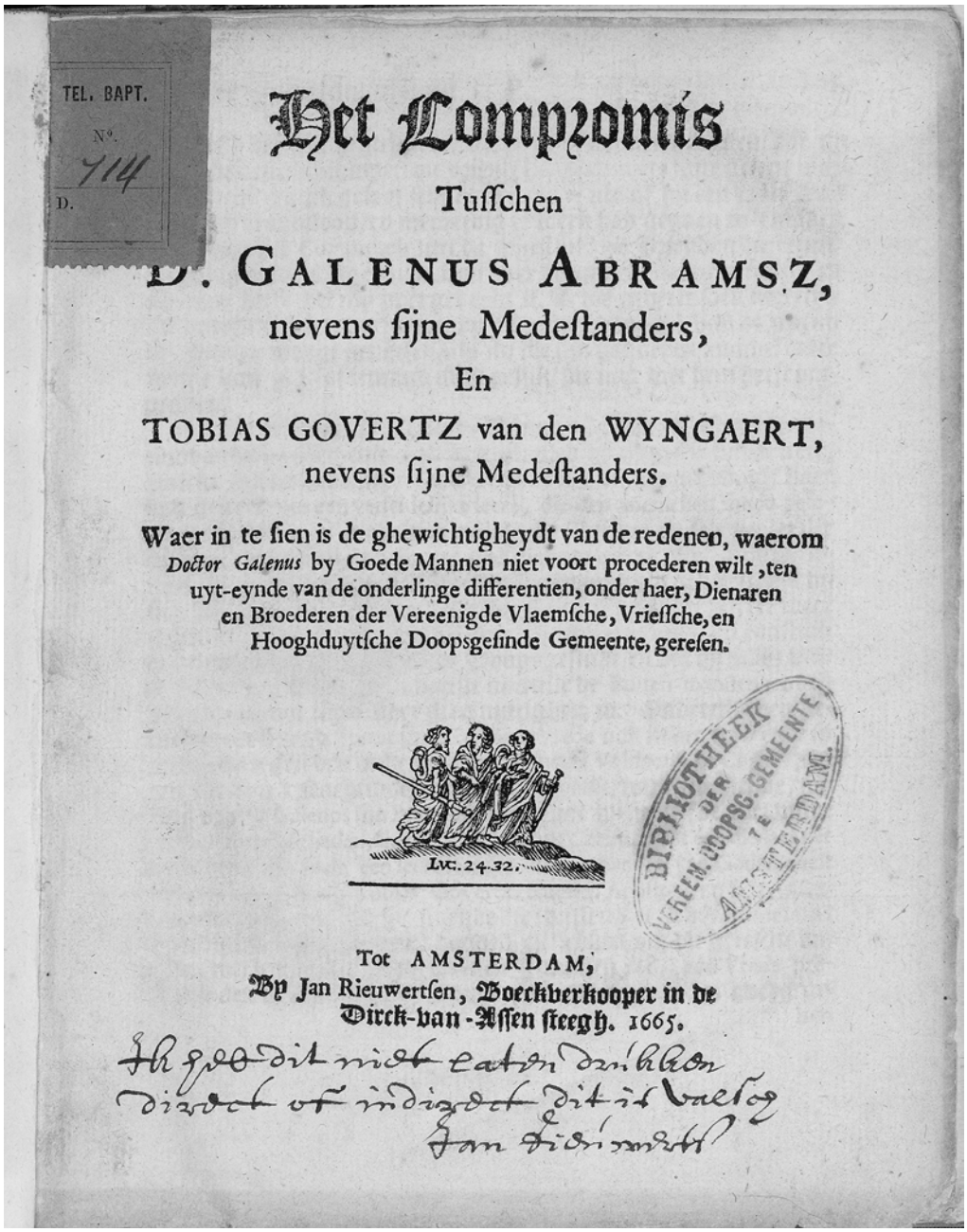


ILLUSTRATION 1.6 Note in Jan Rieuwertsz's own handwriting stating he had not put to press the work called *Het compromis*.

Another incident occurred about ten years later, in 1668, when Rieuwertsz (together with four other booksellers) was accused of illegally selling copies of Adriaan Koerbagh's *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet*.[31] Documented is that at least one Amsterdam publisher took advantage of Rieuwertsz's controversial reputation. In 1665, the unnamed bookseller published, under Rieuwertsz's name, a work entitled *Het compromis tusschen d. Galenus Abramsz, nevens sijne medestanders en Tobias Govertz van den Wyngaert, nevens sijne medestanders* (1665). Rieuwertsz noticed this fraud and decidedly he

tegens te houden.' (376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 9, fol. 226[r]). The clandestine ring around Rieuwertsz's bookshop was further criminalized in an anonymously-published pamphlet published in 1655: *Het tweede deel van de ondekte veinzingh der hedendaeghze gheest-dryvers and socinianen* (The Second Part of the Disclosed Disguise of the Present Ghost-Beaters and Socinians). In the broadside, it is claimed Collegiants 'oft Galenisten' all gathered 'in the shop of Jan Rieuwertsz, i.e., the school of mockers' ('in Jan Rieuwers Winkel oft in de Schoole der spotters'). Rieuwertsz: BL.

31 'Vrederijk Waarmond' (A. Koerbagh*), *Een bloemhof*, 1668. Cf. further: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 88.

wrote below the imprint on the title-page of one of its extant copies the following: 'I did not order the printing of this [work], directly or indirectly, this is false. Jan Rieuwertsz' ('Ik heb dit niet laten drukken direct of indirect dit is valsch. Jan Rieuwerts').[32]

The *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, printed by Daniel Bakkamude and published by Rieuwertsz between 1665 and 1668, was seen as roundly pernicious.[33] Because of the latter clandestinely issued Socinian venture, the Amsterdam *Kerkenraad* took the decision in late March 1669 to put Rieuwertsz's shop under temporary surveillance again.[34] Shortly afterwards, on 11 April, Protestant watchdogs reported to the consistory about his bookstore they had found out that

> … several people, of different stripes, visit the store, and entertain strange discussions. Others tell that they gather in a room, but [that] is uncertain.[35]

Since members of the *Kerkenraad* were monitoring Rieuwertsz's bookshop this may perhaps explain why Spinoza's putative publisher chose to put to press the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in late 1669 or early 1670 clandestinely. He took this bold decision to create a false trail so potential opponents of the work were thrown off the scent.

Concealment, as was the case in the majority of the editions and issues of Spinoza's treatise, was a key technique Spinoza's publisher (like many other publishers and printers in Amsterdam) used. He did this, arguably, to protect the author, his business interests, and those of the book's printer, Israel de Paull. It might be conjectured Rieuwertsz had been inspired by the fictional Cologne publisher 'Pierre Marteaux'. From about 1660 onwards, this alias was regularly used by publishers in the Netherlands and Germany who produced works ranging from political satire to illegal reprints and theology and pornography.[36] Printing fictitious information on the title-pages of books had been already forbidden by the States of Holland in 1581. Whether Spinoza too was involved in the decision to mask his second book thus circumventing censorship is uncertain, but unquestionably he would have approved of this stratagem to evade an open identification with books he wrote and were launched by his publisher.

All Latin quarto editions (sigla: T.1 [1670], T.2 [1672]/T.2a ['1670'], T.4n/T.4 ['1670'], T.5 ['1670']) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* were published without Spinoza's name. Their imprints falsely claim the work had been printed in Hamburg and issued by the fictitious publisher 'Henricus Künraht'. From 1672 onwards, the later Latin quartos were antedated also '1670'. Moreover, three out of five issues of the Latin octavo edition (sigla: T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, dated 1673), printed in one volume with the explosive *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, were cloaked with names of respected authors (Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta, Daniel Heinsius, Frans de le Boe Sylvius), and spurious titles and imprints. Two other octavo variants were also masked.

The issue T.3e (1674) was clandestinely circulated in Britain. Because the foreign book market could not harm the publisher's business interests he launched it with an English-style title-page layout this time openly mentioning the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Because the title-page of octavo issue T.3t (1673), modelled after the quarto editions, also mentions the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, it may be conjectured this variant had been distributed also abroad. The French pocket-sized duodecimo translation (sigla X.1, X.2, X.3; Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, Y.4/Y5, Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, all dated 1678) was even brought out with a staggering nine distinct title-pages, carrying three deliberately misleading titles.

The red herring created by the book's publisher requires reasons that invite consideration. Disguising the books he published obviously required planning and creative title-page layout design. Before their printing, false title-pages had to be conceived or were modelled after existing works and set in type. These straightforward aspects of the book production process itself, though, probably did not require much money, time, and energy. Although copies with the fictitious title-pages were stored in bookshops to be sold to customers, it is hardly known

32 Clasina G. Manusov-Verhage, 'Jan Rieuwertsz, marchand libraire et éditeur de Spinoza', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers (eds.), *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 237–250, there at p. 243.

33 Anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*. Bakkamude: BL.

34 [in margine: 'winckel van Jan Riewerts'] 'ad notam wordt genomen dat agt gegeven werde op de winckel van Jan Rieuwerts inde dirck van Assensteech.' (376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 12, p. 22 [21 March 1669]); 'Blijft ad Notam, de winckel van Jan Rieuwerts insgelijcx' (ibid., p. 23 [28 March 1669]); 'Broeders van dat quartier sullen vernemen naer de winckel van jan Rieuwertse en het geene daer passeert' (ibid., p. 24 [4 April]).

35 '… verscheyde menschen van alderhande soerten, daer inde winckel komen. en vreemde discoursen houden, ander seghen wel van in een kamer bij een te comen, doch is niet zeecker.' (376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 12, p. 26).

36 Elly Groenenboom-Draai, *De Rotterdamse Woelreus. De Rotterdamsche Hermes van Jacob Campo Weyerman (1720–'21): Cultuurhistorische verkenningen in een achttiende-eeuwse periodiek* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 144–146. *See*: Leonce Janmart de Brouillant, *Histoire de Pierre du Marteau, imprimeur à Cologne* (Paris: Quantin, 1888).

whether and in what way Rieuwertsz *père* and other booksellers in the Dutch Republic displayed new books in their shopwindows, in bookcases, and on tables. An intriguing insight of this, though, is given by two unique seventeenth-century drawings, made by Dirck de Bray/Salomon de Bray, kept in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (illustrations 2.6 and 2.7).

From the first days after publication of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* the radical contents of its first Latin quarto edition were quickly noticed, unleashed bitter dialogues, and caused controversial speculation throughout all layers of Dutch Reformed Church's three-tier system (*Kerkenraad*, *Classis*, and Provincial Synod). Already on 8 April 1670, the Reformed church council of Utrecht requested legal measures to be taken against the 'profane and blasphemous' book. Documented is though that the first copies were impounded in mid-September 1671 from local bookstores on the explicit order of the Provincial States of Utrecht. On 16 May 1670, the Burgomasters of Leiden too charged the city's first bailiff to seize all copies of 'a certain treatise titled "Theologico-politicus" after similar complaints had been put forward by the municipal Kerkenraad's watchdogs. Clearly, the local bookshops' raiding shows booksellers risked being fined or otherwise persecuted for selling copies of Spinoza's treatise.

Understandably, the clandestinely issued *Tractatus theologico-politicus* sank further underground in the early 1670s and could be sold to customers only illegally and secretly (both a product and a process, and shared knowledge about concealed information).[37] Apart from the second quarto edition T.2, dated 1672, the publisher must have instructed printer De Paull to produce the title-pages of all other quartos with an imprint dated '1670'. Probably because the quarto variant issue T.2a, in all likelihood printed in 1672 or 1673, was also antedated '1670'. The third and fourth quartos carried falsely declaring the antedated publication year was '1670', especially after 19 July 1674 when the provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland officially proscribed the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a placard.

Ergo, because of this 'libertine strategy' copies of later newly laid-up editions with in their imprints the date '1670' seemed to belong to the first and second edition produced before the authorities proscribed the book in the 1674 decree. Or, as Bamberger has put it:

> Land and Gebhardt set the date of publication of T.2a as after 1674, some time between 1674 and 1677. The existence of T.2, however, invalidates their conclusion; the correct date of T.2a is 1672. Theoretically, of course, it would be possible that T.2a preceded T.2, but since all later quarto editions carry the date 1670, this possibility is unlikely. The purpose of the change from T.2 to T.2a as well as of the later editions dated 1670 was to make it appear that the copies were of the original edition, since a new edition would provide new ammunition for the groups clamoring for the ban of the book.[38]

In 1673, Spinoza's publisher clandestinely issued the book once more in an octavo size, this time with fictitious title-pages mentioning false authors and titles, showing he had become even more careful. The Hof van Holland's placard makes it plausible to hazard the guess that, from the summer of 1674 onwards, booksellers no longer openly displayed copies of Spinoza's treatise in stalls and stores. The ruse was made complete in 1678. By that time the book's publisher had two new editions of the French rendition and their separate issues disguised under three spurious titles (*Traitté des ceremonies*, *Reflexions curieuses*, and *La Clef du santuaire*) with nine title-pages in varying typographical layouts.

Although it may seem to have been relatively easy for readers in Dutch towns to lay hands on editions of Spinoza's best-selling *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, one might ask how they could safely buy copies without jeopardizing their booksellers and causing problems for themselves, too. Perhaps, the red herring and the veil of secrecy created by the book's publisher worked in two ways. First, it helped protecting Spinoza's identity but, in particular, the publisher's own business interests and that of the book's printer Israel de Paull. That this worked is borne out of the fact that neither legal complaints nor indictments against these two men concerning the production of the treatise are known to have been documented. Second, one may wonder whether the ruse involving the different title-page design and the spurious titles, and especially of the Latin octavo edition and of the French translation, worked the other way around: perhaps it was intended to make it easy for readers to buy a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in public without others knowing they did so.

Perhaps the fictitious title-pages and false titles of the French translation were cleverly fabricated 'spinozist' message forms. Messages that had a secret meaning,

37 Background: Beryl L. Bellman, 'The Paradox of Secrecy', *Human Studies*, 4 (1981), pp. 1–24.

38 Frits Bamberger, 'The Early Editions of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. A Bibliohistorical Examination', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 5 (1961), pp. 9–33, there at p. 17.

known only to those familiar with and sympathetic to Spinoza's writings (or to those who were curious about it), readers who had been told about the disguise by kindred spirits. Someone in the know could buy a copy of Spinoza's treatise under wraps by asking, for example, for the second edition of *Totius medicinae idea nova* by 'Frans de le Boe Sylvius'. Or by expressing interest in the 'sequel' to the *Operum historicum collectio* by 'Daniel Heinsius'. A customer could ask a bookseller for the *Traitté des ceremonies*, or order a copy of the new French translation *La Clef du santuaire* issued in Leiden by 'Pierre Warnaer'. Of course, this is all a matter of speculation.

After the Hof van Holland's 1674 placard had been issued, another stratagem to publish Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with one or more distinct misleading spurious title-pages was perhaps to ease their way past custom officers when copies were peddled for instance to England or France. English book dealers specializing in Puritan printing shipped Bibles by the thousands and they also hid forbidden books and pirated Bibles in their ship cargo, too. Individual travellers bound for Britain also had to pass custom agents in Dutch ports. My speculation also implies booksellers involved in the clandestine book-trade selling Spinoza's treatise must have been 'familiar' with the ruse and the spinozist 'codes' and knew what customers were actually looking for.

Whether this all was precisely how booksellers operated and readers secretly bought copies of Spinoza's treatise is hard to know, but it would certainly explain how the publisher's strategy may have worked in the public space of everyday life for certain ears and eyes only. The story of the treatise's red herring is as fascinating as it is complex. It created much confusion in Spinoza's lifetime, and even long after his death.

Even today, bibliographical entries in library catalogues make many mistakes in correctly identifying editions and issues of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. For a long period, scholars and bibliographers alike were greatly puzzled and misled by the publisher's stratagem. Twentieth-century scholars only partially figured out the publisher's ruse. So, it will come as no surprise that hitherto unknown facts about the editions and their variants came to light during the investigations for my bibliography.

4 Model of Description

General Introductory Remarks

All descriptions of ideal copy of each printed work in the bibliography are preceded by a concise introduction, presenting, in overview, the following series of practical rules of thumb (if known or applicable) for ready identification:

- Caption indicating edition, print run, and separate issue with siglum.[39]
- Short title, (fictitious) place of publication, (fictitious) printer, (fictitious) publisher, (fictitious) year of publication.
- Introductory remarks about the work: (subsidiary) language, editor/translator, relevant information about (spurious) title-pages and/or false author, epigraphs, ornaments, tailpieces, and illustrations, (fictitious) imprint, contents, special text additions (such as poems), table of contents, indexes and lists of errata, or publication date, plain versions and lavish ones printed on luxury paper, cancels.
- Key features for identification of edition and/or separate issue: prime typographical elements, unique and specific misprints, stop-press corrections, compositor's misreading.
- Additional features for identification.
- Information (if any) about an edition's surviving or lost 'archetype' (codex unicus, or pre-archetype, supposedly 'free from errors') from which, regarding textual transmission and tradition, the book's first edition and/or issue(s) originated, such as autograph manuscripts, apographs (some of which served as printer's copy). In the case of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* also the printed exemplars of all later editions and/or issue(s), and the treatise's translations are mentioned.[40]

Regarding the often misinterpreted and misleading term 'imprint' on printed late-seventeenth-century works' title-pages, Spinoza's writings included, it must be underlined imprints usually bear publishers' names, be it true or fictitious. Only a small portion of books produced in that period have title-pages with imprints also mentioning true or false printers' names. A rare exception, for example, is the aforementioned *Een brief aan een vriendt*. Its imprint refrains from mentioning a publisher's name, but instead it states the book had been produced in Amsterdam and was 'printed by Israel de Paull, in the Tuinstraat, [in] 1678' ('Gedruckt by Israël de Paull, in de Tuyn-straat, 1678').

39 The concept of 'issue' is discussed in: Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 79; G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Concept of *Ideal Copy*', *Studies of Bibliography*, 33 (1980), pp. 18–53, pp. 27–31; Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 315.

40 For the terms 'exemplar' and 'archetype', *see*: Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, Barbara Flower (ed. and transl.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 25.

Description of 'Ideal Copy'

For a vital understanding how the present bibliography should be used by readers, those distinct elements making up each separate description of 'ideal copy' of editions and their variant issues of Spinoza's works printed in the seventeenth century are presented below.[41] Conjectures in the descriptive models are put between square brackets.

Title-Page

A representative photograph of its title-page precedes each description of ideal copy of a single edition of a separate work. Part-title leaves are not necessarily reproduced. The title-page illustration is followed by a full quasi-facsimile description of its text (title, subtitle, imprint) in CAPITALS, SMALL CAPITALS, smaller lower-case letters (with their line breaks: |), according to their proper spelling, ligatures (*æ* and *ſ* [the archaic long s lower-case letter]), punctuation, indentation, and special symbols (&). Italics are indicated accordingly. Swash letters are indicated, serifed letters are not. If present, ornaments and rules are also mentioned. The year of publication is given according to its typographical appearance (for example: either CIↃIↃ CLXX [so-called turned Cs] or in Arabic numerals: 1670). The title-pages of Spinoza's printed works and their vignettes were all printed in black. Therefore indications of colour are lacking in the titles' description of 'ideal copy'.

Language(s) and Typography

Indicated are the language of the preface, main text, and glosses (either in italics and keyed letters or symbols), as well as all subsidiary languages printed throughout an edition or issue. Founts of cast type and number of lines in type area are specified as is the printing house, if known. Specimens of typography present on relevant printed text are supported by illustrations. Diacritics are used for first Latin editions.

Paper quality and watermarks are generally ignored in this bibliography.

Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

Listed with their page number and lines are notable relevant literals, misprints, and/or hanging sorts on a title-page, in printed text and glosses, running headlines (captions, pagination), direction lines (signatures), even in the lists of errata. Generally, these flaws were caused by distribution by unexperienced apprentices. Subsequently, the compositor mistook those letters, numerals, and/or symbols when picking them for his composition stick. Especially in the Latin quartos of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* printing flaws increased as more new editions were produced during the 1670s. Stop-press corrections are also listed, especially those helpful as key features for proper identification of editions and separate issues. The most striking disfiguring printing flaws are accompanied by illustrations. If known, peculiarities in extant copies in misprints are also indicated.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

The bibliographical fingerprint allows the identification of each edition and separate issue of any given book composed by Spinoza. My approach is a variation of the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) fingerprint.[42] Valuable tools for the fingerprint are those signatures printed in each direction line directly underneath individual characters printed in the bottom text line. Each fingerprint forms a unique key for each separate impression of the handpress period (their signatures are never in the same position compared to the text printed above them). The fingerprints are taken from the first and last (if printed and visible) of the preliminaries, meaningful text portions, indexes, tables of contents, and from the appendices. Thus, in this bibliography, I have opted for a system of partial collation and the registration of a few positions of relevant signatures within the editions and issues. An example from the Latin edition (1663) of Spinoza's 'Principles of Philosophy' shows how fingerprint notation can be compiled for both the first and last leaf of the prologue (with a list of errata):

The fingerprint notation for this then should be the following:

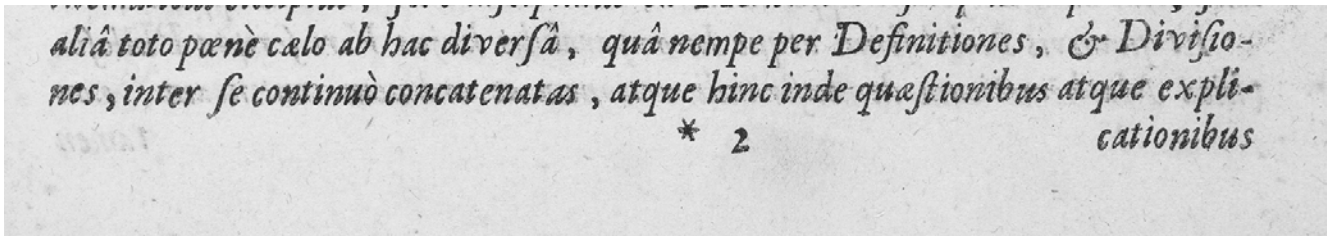
166304–a1 *2 ue$hin : a2 ** gine$pro

In this example the fingerprint includes the following details:

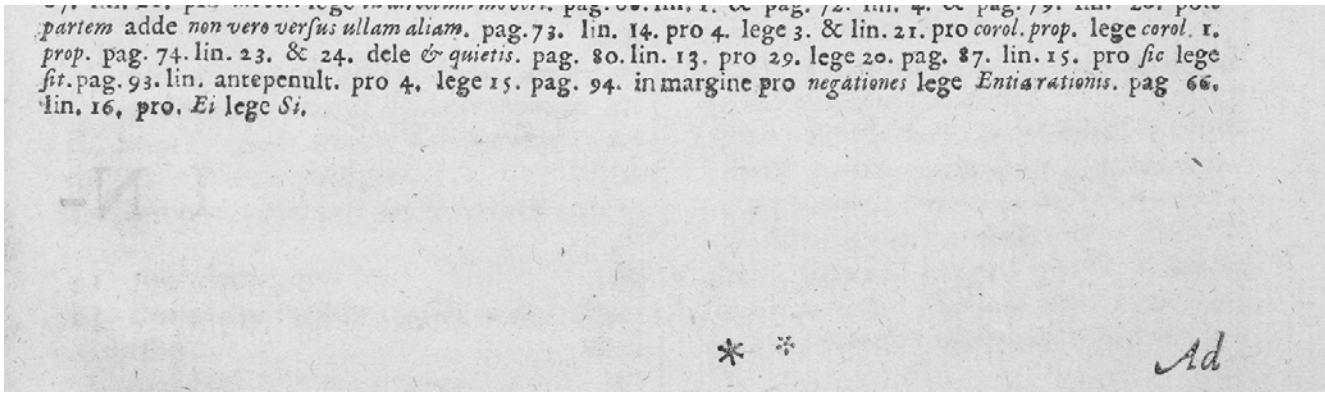
- Year (1663).
- Bibliographical format (04).
- Number of each part (a1; a2), separated by a colon.
- Signature (*2; **); text immediately printed above position of signature for a1 and a2 (ue$hin; gine$pro).

41 For a discussion on *ideal copy*: Bowers, *Principles*, pp. 113–123 and 404–406; Lorene Pouncey, 'The Fallacy of the Ideal Copy', *The Library*, 2 (1978), pp. 108–118; Tanselle, 'The Concept'; Matthijs van Otegem, *A Bibliography of the Works of Descartes (1637–1704)* (2 vols., Utrecht: Zeno, 2002), vol. 1, pp. xiv–xviii.

42 For background: Paul C.A. Vriesema, 'The STCN Fingerprint', *Studies in Bibliography*, 39 (1986), pp. 389–401.


aliâ toto pœnè cælo ab hac diverſâ, quâ nempe per Definitiones, & Diviſiones, inter ſe continuò concatenatas, atque hinc inde quæſtionibus atque explicationibus

* 2


partem adde non vero verſus ullam aliam. pag. 73. lin. 14. pro 4. lege 3. & lin. 21. pro corol. prop. lege corol. 1. prop. pag. 74. lin. 23. & 24. dele & quietis. pag. 80. lin. 13. pro 29. lege 20. pag. 87. lin. 15. pro ſic lege ſit. pag. 93. lin. antepenult. pro 4. lege 15. pag. 94. in margine pro negationes lege Entiarationis. pag 66. lin. 16. pro. Ei lege Si.

* ⁂ Ad

ILLUSTRATIONS 1.7 AND 1.8 Signatures *2 and ** in the Preface of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica.*

– Spacing between words or letters indicated with the symbol $.
– (Punctuation is also included in fingerprints, if applicable).

Collation

The collation formula provides readers with the physical condition of a book's contents. The Latin edition of Spinoza's 'Principles of Philosophy' (as an illustration) has the following statement of format, gatherings, signatures, foliation, pagination in accordance with Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description*:

> 4°: *4 **4 A–R4 S2 [$3 (–M2 (part-title leaf)), S: $2]
> 78 leaves = pp. [*16*] 1–140

Regarding its notation, the following is given in the first line:
– Bibliographical format (4°).
– Signatures of all quires printed in symbols and alphabet characters in direction lines of entire work in the order they are bound; the superscript indicates the number of leaves in each gathering (*4 **4 A–R4 S2).
– Information between square brackets: signing of gatherings in the volume ($3: the first three signatures of a quire are printed) and those quires lacking their specific signatures (part-title leaf M2 is missing) and/or exceptions ($2: gathering S is signed S and S2, hence: S3 is blank).

Non-signed leaves (if applicable) are indicated as π, cancellations as ±. Although other irregularities in the signing of signatures should be added to information between brackets, I have chosen to mention these in the list of prime literals/misprints. The second line below the collational formula lists the pagination formula, i.e., the total number of leaves in the work: 16 pages (preliminaries), paginated in italics; main text is paginated 1 to 140.

Collation Variant

Collation variants, i.e., intentional efforts to mend misprinted copy by stop-press-corrections and produce a better end product during printing of one single edition or variant issue, are separately indicated. For this reason only I consider uncorrected misprints in the text (misreading and mistakes by the typesetter, such as 'Augensprung' or picking the wrong type-metal cast sorts) and/or hanging sorts (caused by ink balls and/or the pressure of the press) in a single edition or issue, not as collation variants. Obviously, they are the result of the printing process during which such things happened and either remained unchanged or unnoticed for reasons of time and money. When misprints are corrected in a newly produced edition these must be considered editorial interventions by the typesetter and are part of that edition; these misprints

are treated as collation variants. (In the handpress period, typesetters used [probably already corrected] printed copy as sample for the line-by-line production of reprints.)

Direction Line
All Spinoza's printed works have signatures and catchword(s) of the first word of the following page in the direction lines at the end of the foot of each page to help the compositor in the book's imposition. Non-verbal expressions can also be catchwords and, analogously, manuscripts can also contain such catchwords.

Running Headlines
All running headlines in the printed works are described according to their typographical appearance, position (recto/verso), and, if applicable, with the numbers of parts and chapters.

Contents
The contents of each separate edition or variant issue are listed with their signatures, including title-page, part-title leaves (if applicable), preliminaries, indexes, table of contents, and list(s) of errata.

Ornament on Title-Page
Vignettes decorating the title-pages of Spinoza's works are described, along with their printing techniques, their dimensions (in millimeters), and their height in lines. References to literature (if applicable) and occurrences of ornaments in other printed works are given as well.

Decorated Initials
Descriptions are given of all ornamented initials in each separate edition and/or issue with their printing technique, dimensions (in millimeters), and their height in lines. Initials matching similar initials in other works are accompanied by references and illustrations.

Simple Initials
Smaller, generally closed, black initials are also described, with their technique, dimensions (in millimeters), and specific height.

Tailpiece Ornament(s)
Small tailpieces gracing Spinoza's printed works are described with their techniques and their dimensions (in millimeters). References to literature (if applicable) and occurrences of ornaments in other printed works printed are also given.

Illustrations
All other illustrations, i.e., geometrical visuals and physical illustrations, in *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* (in Part 2 of the 'Principles'), the *Opera posthuma*, and in *De nagelate schriften* (in the 'Ethics' and in the correspondence section), are described in their details and given with their page numbers.

Further Decoration
Other decoration in the printed works (typographical rules etc.) are treated, if applicable.

Copies
Each 'ideal copy' of Spinoza's seventeenth-century printed works is followed by descriptions and provenances (if known) of extant copies ('Copies examined') of editions and their variant issues, either physical versions inspected in autopsy or high-quality scanned digital copies that have been given careful study.[43] If known, the persistent identifiers of digitized copies of Spinoza's printed works in specialist digital repositories and library databases available online and from Google Books are also included. Listed are also non-collated copies with specific details about work, binding, and their previous owners (if these are known). A great many copies were not physically examined. Relevant information about non-collated copies was mainly obtained from extensive email correspondence maintained with library staff members internationally, and from pictures taken from individual copies by staff members who were kindly enough to assist the project and to help solve many problems. It should be stressed, though, that in several cases material and provenance information about copies was borrowed from the bibliographical entries of electronic library catalogues.

Copies examined are listed in alphabetical order, with their library depository, and their shelf-mark. Moreover, non-collated copies are grouped by country, in alphabetical order with their separate shelf-marks. Copies reported by library holdings as having been destroyed or gone missing, as well as books offered for sale at auction or by private booksellers in the past, are not included in this bibliography for obvious reasons. These copies are 'ghosts'; no longer available for study, they will remain hidden in collections, or be submerged within book collections of private collectors for decades to come. I have however

43 For background: David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 1994).

included in the bibliography a few copies which private individuals were kind enough to bring to my notice.

All surviving copies have been assigned their own code in the present bibliography, indicating work and/or separate issue, language (if relevant for identification), bibliographical size, and numbers of single copy in the following chapters:

Chapter 2: 'Principles of Philosophy' and 'Metaphysical Thoughts', in quarto, Latin edition (*PP*/*CM*) and Dutch translation (*BW*/*OG*):
– PP/CM# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– BW/OG#

Chapter 3: 'Theological-Political Treatise' (T), Latin quartos:
– T.1# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– T.2#
– T.2a#
– T.4n#
– T.4#
– T.5#

Chapter 4: 'Theological-Political Treatise' (T), Latin octavos:
– T.3v# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– T.3h#
– T.3s#
– T.3t#
– T.3e#

Chapter 5: 'Theological-Political Treatise', French duodecimos:
– X.1# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– X.2#
– X.3#
– Y.1#
– Y.2#
– Y.3#
– Y.4/Y.5#
– Y.n/Y.4/Y.5#

Chapter 6: 'Theological-Political Treatise' (T), English (E), quarto and octavo edition:
– T-E/04# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– T-E/08#

Chapter 7: 'Theological-Political Treatise', Dutch quartos (*De rechtzinnige theologant* [*DRT*] and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* [*ERT*]):
– DRT# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– ERT#

Chapter 8–10: posthumous writings, in quarto, Latin edition (*OP*) and Dutch translation (*NS*):
– OP# (followed by number of copy in chapter)
– NS#

If a number of a single copy is followed by a letter p in superscript it indicates the 'Opera' portrait is bound in.

I call upon future readers of the present study to mention in their monographs and papers individual copies with their unique code numbers.

Note
If relevant, brief notes are given about editions and their variant issues.

References
References are given to articles, monographs, and specialist studies discussing Spinoza's seventeenth-century writings and its various printed editions and issues.

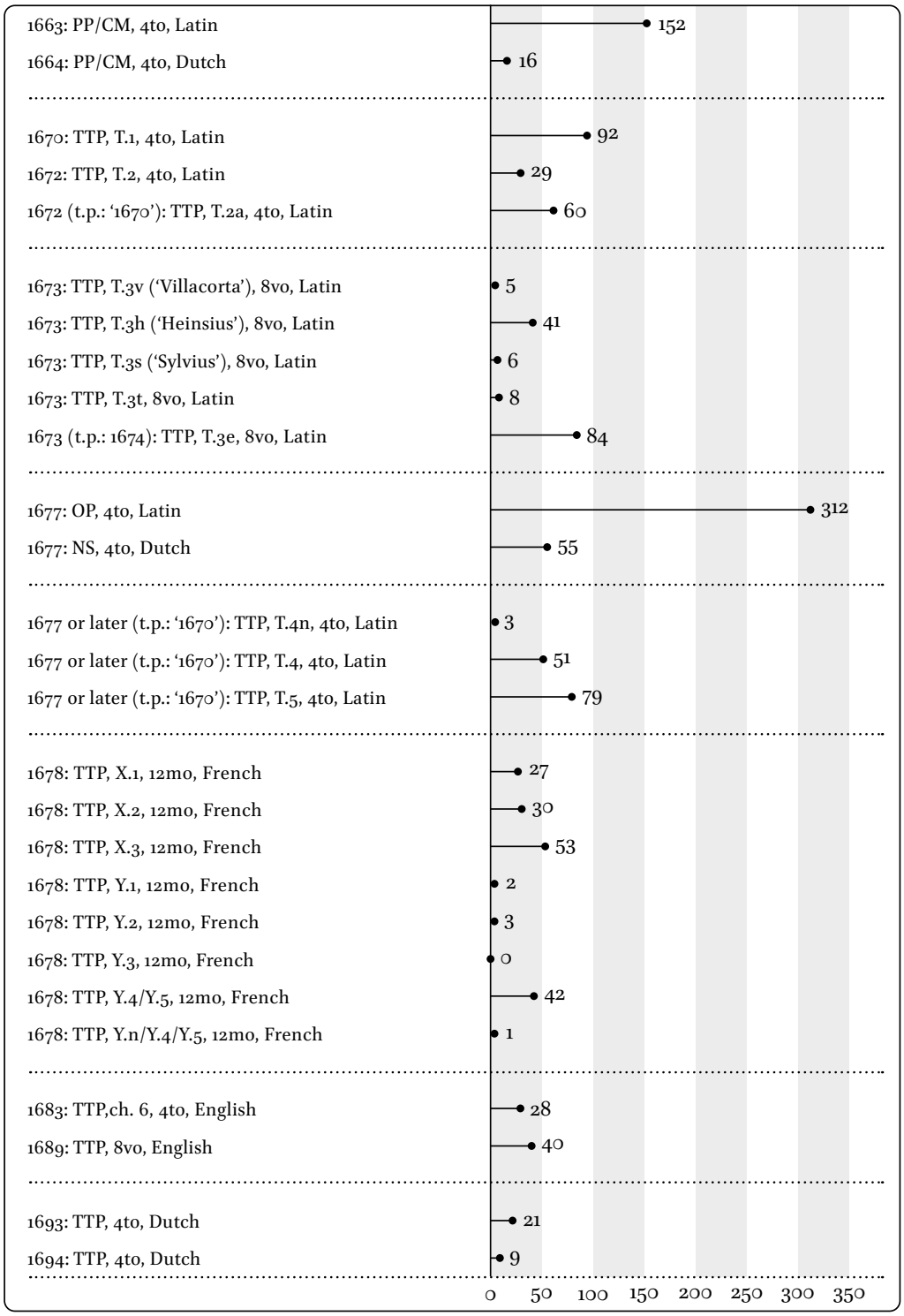


FIGURE 1.1 Spinoza's printed works: identified extant copies (1,246) of editions and separate issues (1663–1694) arranged by year of publication.

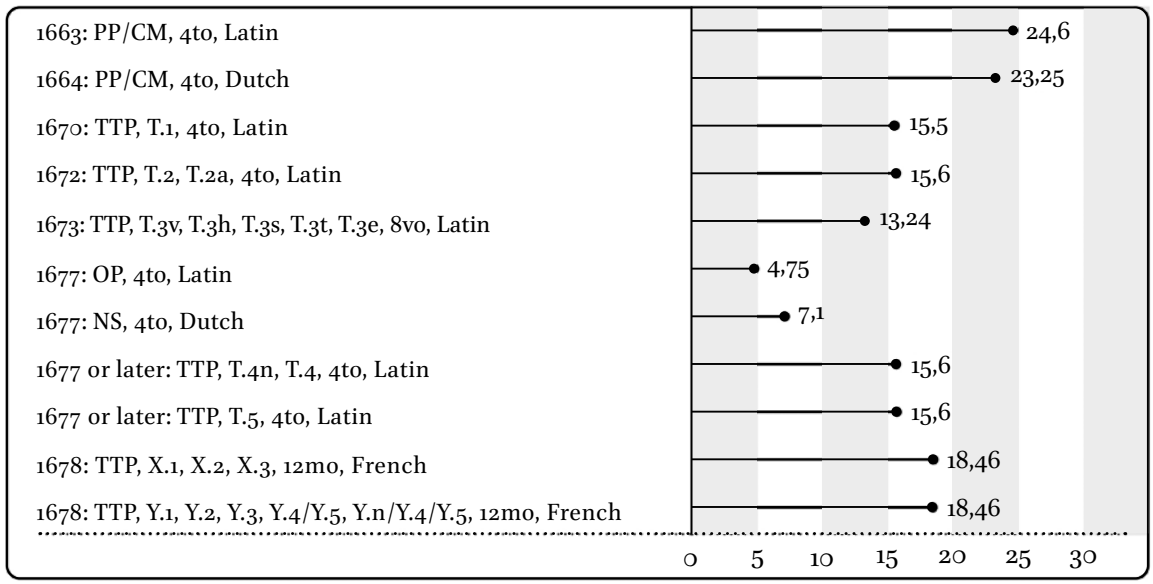


FIGURE 1.2 Estimate of number of copies printed from one ream of paper (= 480 sheets).

CHAPTER 2

'Principles of Philosophy' and 'Metaphysical Thoughts': Latin and Dutch Quartos

First and Only Latin Edition, in Quarto

> Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Amsterdam, *printer*: Daniel Bakkamude, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1663.

Prepared for the press by Lodewijk Meyer, in consultation with Spinoza. Title-page of the Latin edition has Spinoza's full name. The edition contains Preface (by Meyer) and dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' (by [Johannes Bouwmeester]), (decorated) illustrations, two indexes, and a list of errata. Cross-references and captions in the *Cogitata metaphysica* by Meyer, written under Spinoza's supervision. Exemplar: Spinoza's Latin autograph manuscript and/or an apograph served as printer's copy but is no longer extant.

First and Only Dutch Edition, in Quarto

> Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Amsterdam, *printer*: Herman Aeltsz, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1664.

Augmented translation by 'P.B.' (Pieter Balling) from the Latin edition. Title-page of the Dutch edition has Spinoza's full name. The Dutch rendition contains Meyer's Preface, dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' (by [Bouwmeester]), and a second poem ('Aan den Leezer.') by Hendrik van Bronchorst. Contains (decorated) illustrations, two indexes, and a list of errata. Whether Meyer played a role in the publication of the Dutch rendition is not known. Exemplars: Spinoza's Latin autograph manuscript (archetype) and/or an apograph, or perhaps the printed Latin 1663 edition; [Balling's] Dutch autograph manuscript (archetype) and/or an apograph served as printer's copy but is no longer extant.

1 Taking in the Image of the World

Pre-industrialized Western Europe became deeply riven by theological and philosophical controversies. These focused on issues questioning how the physical complexities of the universe, the sun, the Earth and other planets with their satellites, could be understood in relation with prevalent 'ancient' explanations of nature, knowledge, and Christian theology. Because of the 'discovery' of the Americas, scholarly debates on nature intensified in the sixteenth-century, transforming geographical knowledge and proving for example that in Brazil antipodes lived 'upside down'. The key term 'discovery' was probably first introduced by Polydore Vergil (*c.*1470–1555) in *De inventoribus rerum* (1499), and since then disseminated across Europe in 1504 by Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512). The term in the new sense was introduced in the English language in 1554.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the Copernican cosmic system, building upon older ideas and mathematical calculations by medieval Muslim astronomers such as Al-Battani (*c.*858–929) and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–1274), prevailed over Ptolemaic and Tychonian cosmography. Yet, orthodox scholars kept their doubts about that 'modern' system because of its conflict with biblical literalism. New catalytic discoveries such as perspective painting, geometry, anatomy, cartography, and navigation were important contributions to what intellectual historians of science refer to as the 'Scientific Revolution' ('science': from *scientia*, i.e., 'knowledge'). Others at the same time others have heavily criticized this anachronistic metaphor. At the same time other impressive inventions, such as the compass, the pendulum clock, the vacuum pump, and the like, applied in architecture, in astronomy, and in physics, opened up new knowledge about what was the 'real' world about and the further so far unseen.

During the seventeenth century, academic discussions on these controversies mainly occurred during and after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). This was an era when, influenced by René Descartes (1596–1650), exciting novel scholarly ideas about the new 'physicks' changed the European scholarly arena and undermined the concept of the human-centredness of the universe. All scholarly disputes, whether for example focused on the interpretation

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of and the philological research on the Bible, or on the place in academic training of the New Philosophy, would ultimately shatter the basic scholastic principles of the Aristotelian philosophy within European academia.

These debates paved the way for those latitudinarian thinkers who attempted to play down the Bible's authority and God's existence. In addition to the already existing means of discourse these disputes expanded the scope of the international academic community. The printing press and journalism made it also possible to spread images and diagrams alongside text, facilitating scholarly discussion through references to individual chapters and pages.[1] This was also the era when rare novelties such as telescopes and microscopes opened up new vistas of the previously unseen. These instruments produce visual data and never lie. Thus, in this way natural philosophy was introduced to an entirely new visual culture.[2]

Evidently, the seventeenth century was the era of experimentalism. It was also an era of developing a concept of 'science', i.e., making and justifying scholarly knowledge, and of 'witnessing' manifold laboratory-based experiments, respectively. Scientists eagerly progressed the pursuit of the experimental method and plausible proof of phenomena observed in the physical world in public discussions and letters, accumulating information and comments. Gradually, natural philosophy by strongly focusing on epistemology as its prime tool grew into natural science.

Progressively, the experimental community created a brand new vocabulary in its discussions and publications. Among these were also the first scholarly journals labelled as 'collections' (recueils), 'essays', 'ephemerides', 'transactions', or 'acta', all serving as scholarly newsletters. They were launched by the new overriding experimental learned societies, like the Tuscan Accademia del Cimento (founded 1657), the London's Royal Society (1660), and the *Académie Royale des Sciences* (1667) in Paris.[3]

Indeed, untypical terms, such as 'fact' (introduced into natural philosophy by Thomas Hobbes [1588–1679] in works like the *Leviathan*), surged up and rapidly came into general acceptance around 1660 in England, giving the experimental culture of natural philosophers its own unique language and new style of writing.[4] Particularly the noun 'fact' (from the Latin 'factum') heavily conflicted with the old scholastic assumptions about the methodological issues of proof and persuasion. Words such as 'evidence' (borrowed from the law), 'experiment', 'proof', 'laws of nature', 'hypothesis', 'theory' (the last two originating in astronomy), and 'judgement' found their way into the scholarly community as well.

Moreover, authors no longer exclusively published their scholarly writings in Latin. They began also editing their works in translations in the vernacular. These included conventional and potentially radical philosophical works, giving rise to a tradition labelled as 'ordinary language' philosophy, attracting even all sorts of interested laymen. For example, aside from being published in Latin, Descartes's writings appeared in French, English, and in Dutch editions.

Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was likewise published in Latin, Dutch, French, and in English, whereas his other late-seventeenth-century works and correspondence were alternately published in both Latin and Dutch renderings. In addition, the study of physics shifted further towards the certainty of mathematics with the ring of distorted, heterodox underpinnings. The mathematical domain was associated by some of his later Dutch opponents (such as Bernard Nieuwentijt [1654–1718] and Pieter van Musschenbroek [1692–1761]) with Spinoza's *Ethica* because its geometrical order. Mathematicians considered the expository method appropriate for an improved understanding and explanation of the systematic arrangement of what natural phenomena, both visible and invisible, essentially were about and what they included.

1 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

2 Maurice Daumas, *Scientific Instruments of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (New York, NY, and Washington, DC: Praeger, 1972), pp. 28–47 (telescopes, microscopes) and 63–88 (artisans' workshops); Vincent Ilardi, *Renaissance Vision from Spectacles to Telescopes*, 2007; Huib J. Zuidervaart, *Telescopes from Leiden Observatory and Other Collections 1656–1859. A Descriptive Catalogue* (Leiden: Museum Boerhaave, 2007); Rienk Vermij, 'Instruments and the Making of a Philosopher. Spinoza's Career in Optics', *Intellectual History Review*, 23 (2013), pp. 65–81; Eileen Reeves, *Material Texts: Evening News: Optics, Astronomy, and Journalism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) (optics, astronomy, journalism).

3 The *Journal des sçavans* (the first ever scholarly journal), the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, and the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* were crucial for the development of the genre of discourse now known as the scholarly journal article. For a reading list on contemporary scholarly (English and French) communities and 'newsletter' journals: Alan G. Gross, etc., 'Argument and Seventeenth-Century Science: A Rhetorical Analysis with Sociological Implications', *Social Studies of Science*, 30 (2000), pp. 371–396, there at pp. 391–392. Also: Richard Serjeantson, 'Proof and Persuasion', in Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 132–175, at p. 170.

4 Thomas Hobbes*, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme & Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (London: 1651). *See* also: Chapter 3, n. 18. 'Scientific Revolution': Serjeantson, 'Proof and Persuasion'; David Wootton, *The Invention of Science. A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 2015).

This was at least what Descartes had opted for. He argued for an unplanned universe, set in action at creation by God, filled with liquid vortices moving the planets and their orbits and at the same time he assumed a constancy of the amount of motion. The French philosopher aimed at deducing a theory of physics, focusing on determining movement and quantities, from metaphysics. He did so without, however, casting doubts on theological authority or infringing on the teleological underpinnings of dogmas regarding God's existence, Christology, or the Bible. Hence, to secure his law-driven system of new physics Descartes, in part 4 of his 1637 *Discours de la methode*, even gave an ontological proof of God's existence. In it, he fiercely defended the new Roman Catholic dogma of soul-body dualism, too.[5]

During the 1640s and the first half of the 1650s, novel Cartesian ideas promoted by leading 'New Philosophy' scholars in the Aristotelian curriculum of Dutch academia deeply divided orthodox and liberal scholars: it resulted in a maelstrom of fierce debates. Especially at Leiden, a stronghold of Dutch Cocceianism and Cartesianism, where of all the universities the teaching of René Descartes's philosophy was most visible. For reasons of avoiding debate and prosecution, he had deliberately reduced his philosophy almost exclusively to plain physics, although in the Sixth Meditation he explained the mind-body dualism by arguments regarding God's benevolence and teleology. In the early 1640s, Cartesian notions sparked a fiery academic crisis at Utrecht University. In Leiden, professors and students also hotly debated Descartes in both public and private lessons as well in disputations, trying to outfox each other on the issue of the purpose of natural philosophy.[6] A series of pamphlets arguing for and against the French philosopher were published at great speed.

In 1647, even Descartes himself personally intervened in the dispute over the Cartesian method. Furiously, he wrote to the curators of Leiden University, asking justice for the accusations in disputations by the Leiden church historian Jacobus Revius (1586–1658) and theologian Jacobus Trigland (1583–1654) who had called him a Pelagian and a blasphemer. This led to the curators' decision ordering all Leiden theologians and philosophers to refrain from either quoting Descartes or discussing the Cartesian method any longer. At long last, the Leiden strifes over Cartesianism were brought to a head in the mid-1650s during another tensed academic crisis. To prevent further open conflict at Leiden University, the States of Holland issued (30 September 1656) a decree ordering theologians and philosophers alike to stick to their own scholarly domains. They were also to refrain immediately from engaging in public debate on the philosophical underpinnings of Descartes.[7]

During the stadholderless era, the lenient political rule (1653–1672) of Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt,

5 For background, *see*: n. 20. For the proof (AT VI, 31–40): René Descartes*, *Discours de la methode pour bien conduire sa raison, & chercher la verité dans les sciences. Plus la dioptrique. Les meteores. Et la geometrie, …* (Leiden: 1637). Advanced in: id., *Meditationes de prima philosophia in qua Dei existentia et animae immortalitas demonstrator* (Paris: 1641).

6 The 'Utrecht crisis' ignited after Cartesian medical professor Henricus Regius (1598–1679) published the following work with the help of Descartes*: *Responsio, sive notae in appendicem ad corollaria theologico-philosophica viri reverendi & celeberrimi D. Gisberti Voetii …* (Utrecht: 1642). Regius's 'Reply' (AT III, 491–520) lambasted disputations then currently supervised by the orthodox theologian Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676). The book was subsequently confiscated and Regius was deprived of his chair. The conflict was prolongued after Descartes published 'Epistola ad P. Dinet' (included in the second edition [1642] of the 'Meditations'; AT VII, 563–603) and Martinus Schoock (1614–1669) issued his *Admiranda methodus novae philosophiae Renati Des Cartes* (1643), a riposte induced by Voetius charging Descartes with atheism. The quarrels resulted in a municipal decree forbidding the printing and selling of books arguing for or against Descartes. For background: Theo Verbeek, *René Descartes et Martin Schoock. La Querelle d'Utrecht* (Paris: Les Impressions nouvelles, 1988); id., *Descartes and the Dutch. Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophy* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University, 1992); Alexander X. Douglas, 'Spinoza and the Dutch Cartesians on Philosophy and Theology', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 51 (2013), pp. 567–588, at p. 568; id., *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism. Philosophy and Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 14–35. Voetius: *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme* (6 vols., Kampen: Kok, 1978–2006), vol. 2, pp. 443–449.

7 The decree's architects were Johan de Witt* and Leiden Cartesian theologian Abraham Heidanus (1597–1678). The latter became the dedicatee of an anti-Spinoza introduction by Cornelis Bontekoe* to a published Christian philosophy of a happy, meaningful life based on morality and on theocentric Cartesian principles: Arnold Geulincx, *Gnôthi seauton, sive Ethica …* (Leiden: 1675). Dutch translation: id., *Ethica of zeden-konst, zynde een kennisse syns selvs van Arnold Geulings* (Dordrecht: 1690). Critical edition: id., *Opera philosophica*, Jan P.N. Land (ed.) (3 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1891–3), vol. 3, pp. 1–360; id., *Ethics. With Samuel Beckett's Notes*, Han van Ruler, etc. (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Bontekoe's introduction implies that he intentionally published Geulincx's *Ethica* as a preemptive manoeuvre to reverse Spinoza. Geulincx's system took issue to repulse Socinian doctrines and notions in Spinoza's philosophy put forward by 'pseudo-Cartesians' who applied Cartesian metaphysics to make radical claims about God and the universe. Perhaps, Bontekoe billed the book as an antidote against the metaphysical tenets upheld in Spinoza's then still unpublished *E*, too. Socinianism: Szczucki, 'Socinian Historiography'; Philip Knijf and Piet Visser, *Bibliographia Sociniana. A Bibliographical Reference Tool for the Study of Dutch Socianism and Antitrinitarianism* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004); *Socinianism and Arminianism. Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution. The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Dutch scholars found new opportunities to petition for the enthronement of Cartesian principles in the Leiden's Aristotelian curriculum. After all, De Witt in *Deductie, ofte declaratie van de Staten van Hollandt ende West-Frieslandt*, a justification (1654) of the Act of Seclusion (a secret annex in the Treaty of Westminster [1654] preventing the Prince of Orange from becoming Stadholder and field marshal), summarized his Republican government as *ware vrijheid* ('true liberty'). In this liberal political climate, several of the Leiden professors of theology, philosophy, and other related disciplines felt they could no longer exclusively refer to Aristotle in their lessons anymore. In lectures and disputations they readily promoted deductive observation of topics based on Descartes and on the other 'progressive' natural or mechanical philosophers, such as Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, Giordano Bruno, and Nicolò Machiavelli. In so doing, Leiden professors argued in favour of independent investigations of natural phenomena without taking into account any theological implications or presumed intentions of the divine power behind them.

Thus, several Leiden scholars who embraced Descartes's natural philosophy and advocated his system in the university claimed Cartesianism could neither damage nor undermine Protestant theologian principles, as their adversaries repeatedly stated about their views. The Cambridge Neoplatonist Henry More (1614–1687) in his 1659 *Immortality of the Soul* coined the term 'mechanical philosophy' whereas the English natural philosopher Robert Boyle in his *Certain Physiological Essays* (1661), though, preferred the term 'corpuscular' philosophy. Because, he writes, 'it explicates things by Corpuscles, or minute Bodies' [specified by size, shape, motion, and texture], and therefore 'it may [not very unfitly] be call'd Corpuscular'.[8] The Baconian and Cartesian programmes as well as the use of mechanical engines were, in Boyle's view, the mainstays of that 'corpuscularian philosophy'.)

Reformed theology (belonging to the higher faculties with medicine and jurisprudence) centred on religious implications of scholarly inquiries into nature. Time and again, orthodox theologians expressed their explicit fear of the rapid spread of Cartesian doctrines in all layers of Dutch academia. The Dutch Cartesian network in their separation campaign, though, hurriedly asseverated Descartes's philosophy was neither an attack on divine theology nor a threat to piety. For them, only clear and distinct ideas can be the object of philosophy. Philosophy, properly understood, was even intrinsically incapable of offering academic responses to key theological questions and the subject of human salvation.[9] They emphasized philosophy and theology, with medicine and law, were completely separate, autonomous domains without any overlaps.

Said more concisely, the Dutch Cartesians wanted to examine nature proper without deriving conclusions about its divine, scriptural purpose and its ineffable divine God-creator.[10] Their Voetian enemies were traditional defenders of Aristotelianism, design-based natural theology supported by philosophy (the 'handmaiden tradition'), and 'Mosaic physics', grounding natural philosophy on a literal reading of the Bible, especially the book of Genesis. They were, arguably, highly suspicious and rigidly turned against the Dutch Cartesians.[11] They dreaded the prospect that, by deducing heterodox cosmological and ontological arguments, the Cartesian method would hamper established revealed religion and the Scriptures' divinity. It would, according to them, surely lead to atheism. Ergo, the problem of the separation thesis primarily focused on the position of the metaphysical theory, considered the traditional bridge between on the one hand theology and philosophy on the other. It homed in on our innate idea of the divine realm, the incorporeal God, and their exact relation to Descartes's method of doubt. Descartes, who claimed against scholastic thought God causes himself to exist expressly by 'a superabundance of power', had in that perspective maintained metaphysics was the foundation of his treatment of physics.[12]

Finally, vehement intellectual Dutch battles over Cartesianism, the 'philosophia nova', and Aristotelianism, the 'philosophia vetus', were fought out in the Dutch Republic during the second half of 1675 and early 1676. These debates resulted in the Leiden university administration's decision to end the ongoing debate over Cartesian teaching in the theological and philosophical faculties

8 Robert Boyle*, *Certain Physiological Essays, Written at Distant Times, and on Several Occasions* (London: 1661), sig. $P4^v$ (prologue to the essay 'Some Specimens of an Attempt to Make Chymical Experiments Usefull to Illustrate the Notions of the Corpuscular Philosophy'). *See*: id., *Works*, Michael C.W. Hunter and Edward B. Davids (eds.) (14 vols., London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999–2000), vol. 2. *See* also: Chapter 6, n. 53. Henry More: BL.

9 Douglas, 'Spinoza and the Dutch Cartesians', pp. 567–568.

10 Id., *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism*, p. 35.

11 Anne M. Blair, 'Mosaic Physics and the Search for a Pious Natural Philosophy in the Late Renaissance', *Isis*, 91 (2000), pp. 32–58.

12 For the separation thesis: n. 20. Causation and God's existence: Blair, 'Mosaic Physics', pp. 73–80. For Descartes's position and his inquiries into God's existence and cause: Descartes*, *Meditationes*; AT VII, 48 (Meditation 3). Spinoza in *CM* 2.6 implies God caused the world as the necessary consequence of his own existence, and not, as the Dutch Cartesians put forward, deliberately and freely, and by goodness. The argument is implicit in: René Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* (Amsterdam: 1644), II, 36–37 (AT VIII, 61–63). Cf.: Douglas, *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism*, p. 82.

once and for all. In tandem with the town's Burgomasters, the Leiden governors issued (16 January 1676) a resolution condemning the teaching of theological and philosophical issues regarding Cartesianism by any members of the university staff. In this way, they attempted to put an end to continuous academic infighting.

The decree prohibited the public and private teaching of 'the metaphysics of René Descartes, or of those who may embrace the same views'.[13] Instead, the Leiden senate ordered scholars to observe the 'Dordtse Leerregels', the Canons of Dordt or 'Forms of Unity', i.e., the 'Five Main Points of Doctrine in Dispute'. They were instructed to interpret and explain Christian doctrines according to 'the confession and the catechism of the Dutch Reformed Churches' ('de Confessie ende de Catechismus der Nederlandsche Gereformeerde Kerken'). Although, over time, Cartesianism was repeatedly attacked and considered dangerous, even potentially provoking speculative atheism, Descartes's system became eventually also an established academic philosophy.

2 Spinoza's First Book: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae Pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* (1663)

In the foregoing pulsating intellectual arena within Dutch academia and beyond, Spinoza in his own right participated in the new natural philosophy program. Yet, he did so without making any groundbreaking contributions to it and from the sidelines as an autodidact thinker lacking formal university training and without any affiliation to a university. Spinoza may have followed however private clinical lessons in medicine or anatomy and surgery in Leiden when living in nearby Rijnsburg (from 1660–late July 1661 onward), but records proving he ever enrolled at the university are lacking. Like Descartes, whose work was essential to Spinoza's writings, the Dutch philosopher refused to draw a sharp dividing line between natural philosophy and metaphysics as well, thereby taking up the view there are no innate ideas and rejecting the Cartesian conception of metaphysics.

In 1663, he put together a geometrically demonstrated digest of parts of Descartes's noted 'Principles of Philosophy' (1644), a complete compendium of mechanistic science and philosophy replacing Aristotelian natural schools.[14] This critical, alternative Cartesian exposition, standing in a decade-long tradition of Cartesian textbooks, was to become Spinoza's first book: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. The Mennonite bookseller-publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, one of the most productive and influential publishers of his own time in Amsterdam, a true hotbed of radical philosophical and theological views, issued this incomplete commentary in 1663.

It would remain Spinoza's sole work ever to appear in print under his own name and with Rieuwertsz's name, address, and the shop sign's motto in the imprints of both the Latin and its slightly expanded Dutch rendition. Rieuwertsz ran his bookstore (1649–1678) in the 'Dirk van Assensteegh' under the shop sign 'In 't Martelaarsboek'. Incidentally, the year of publication of Spinoza's exposition of Descartes, 1663, was also the year when Roman Catholic censors condemned Descartes and put his works on the 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum', the notorious index of forbidden books.[15]

The Descartes project foreshadowed elements of Spinoza's then still unpublished *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and of his *Ethica*.[16] Along with the 'Principles of Philosophy',

13 Philip C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* (7 vols., The Hague: Nijhoff, 1913–1924), vol. 3, pp. 317–321.

14 Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae* (AT VIII, 1–353). First French translation of the latter work: 1647. For later editions (from 1650 onwards) and the renditions by Glazemaker*: Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 1, pp. 253–333. Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.

15 Spinoza owned several works by Descartes*: *Brieven* (2 vols., Amsterdam: 1661) (Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 2, pp. 604–611); the Dutch translation of *Discours de la methode* and the other essays by Glazemaker*: *Proeven der wysbegeerte: of redenering van de middel om de reden wel te beleiden … ; de verregezichtkunde, verhevelingen, en meetkunst*, Jan H. Glazemaker (transl.) (Amsterdam: 1659) (Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 1, pp. 85–88; and not: *Principia philosophiae: of Beginselen der wysbegeerte. …* [Amsterdam: 1657]; *see*: ibid., pp. 322–324). Also Spinoza had copies of two (unidentified) editions of the *Meditationes* as well as an unidentified edition of: *Geometria*, Frans van Schooten (ed. and transl.) (Amsterdam: 1659). Also in his reference library was the first or second edition of *Opera philosophica* (Amsterdam: 1650), set with the *Principia philosophiae* (vol. 2, pp. 684–686), and the 1662 or 1664 Amsterdam edition of *De homine*. *See*: Adri K. Offenberg, 'Spinoza's Library. The Story of a Reconstruction', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 309–321, at p. 318, nos. 31 and 34, p. 319, nos. 44–45, 47–49; Tonnis Muschenga and Jacob van Sluis, *De boeken van Spinoza* (Groningen: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Groningen/Haags Gemeentearchief, 2009), pp. 30, 31–32, 37, and 38. Perhaps, Spinoza too had access to the *Passiones animae* and the 1650 *Les Passions de l'âme*'s rendition, consulted for E3 and E4 (Fokke Akkerman, *Spinoza's tekort aan woorden. Humanistische aspecten van zijn schrijverschap* (Leiden: Brill, 1977 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 36]), p. 13). He may also have seen a manuscript of *Regulae ad directionem ingenii*. Cf. for this: Wiep van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza* (London: Continuum, 2011), p. 63.

16 *TTP*, ch. 26. For the *E*, *see* in this bibliography: Chapters 8 and 9.

Spinoza adopted elements of Descartes's 'Meditations', as well as the latter's correspondence, to clarify where he viewed the French philosopher had been too brief or even vague.[17] For this purpose, he appended to this work his own *Cogitata metaphysica*. This was a brief study partly grounded on Franco Burgerdijck's *Institutionum logicarum libri duo* and *Institutionum metaphysicarum libri duo*, then standard reading material (logic, moral philosophy, politics) for students.[18] Another work Spinoza had studied for his refashioned Descartes was Adriaan Heereboord's *Meletemata philosophica*.[19]

In his 'Metaphysical Thoughts', he challenges the Dutch Cartesians' separation thesis, dividing 'Cocceian' and 'Voetian' camps alike. Dutch Cartesians defended the notion theology and philosophy were separate non-overlapping autonomous domains. Therefore, they argued, the New Philosophy would not harm orthodox natural theology.[20] Spinoza in the *Cogitata metaphysica* also puts forward a programmatic view on natural reason prefiguring his later stance on the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[21]

With respect to the publication in 1663 of Spinoza's critical exposition of Descartes, also his correspondent and German émigré Henry Oldenburg had already urged him earlier in a letter, seemingly written after [mid-July] 1662, to publish 'your Thoughts' and share his doctrines with the general public.[22] Earlier on, sometime before 29 July 1661, Oldenburg had also paid him a visit in Rijnsburg when returning to London from his birthplace Bremen. At Rijnsburg, they enthusiastically partook in discussions relating to fundamental issues as metaphysics and the New Philosophy, a conversation that made Oldenburg also invite Spinoza to enter with him into a philosophical correspondence.

17 Descartes*, *Meditationes*; id., *Lettres, ...*, Claude Clerselier (ed.) (3 vols., Paris: 1657–67) (AT VII). Cf.: CW, vol. 1, p. 221.

18 Franco Burgersdijck, *Institutionum logicarum libri duo ...* (Leiden: 1626); *Institutionum metaphysicarum libri duo ...* (Leiden: 1640). Both were studied by Spinoza. Cf. further: Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age. The Political Thought of Johan & Pieter de la Court* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 31–32. Burgersdijck: BL.

19 Adriaan Heereboord*, *Meletemata philosophica* (Leiden: 1654). *See*: Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 395–397; id., etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 70–74. Spinoza in *CM* 2.12 (G 1/279) quotes from Heereboord's 'Collegium ethicum' (1.10) to refute his free will theory: 'Haec sunt ipsissima verba Heereboordii Professoris Leidensis' (These are the very words of professor Heereboord, professor of Leiden). Text: Heereboord, *Meletemata* (1654, and later editions, pp. 712–713). A concept borrowed from the *Meletemata* (2.23) is E4def7 (*finis cujus causa*). Possibly, Spinoza also took on loan the pair *natura naturans–natura naturata* ('Collegium physicum' 2) as applied in the *KV* (Part 1, ch. 8–9), *CM* (2.7, 2.9), and in E1p29s, as well as in E1p31. In E1app, he rejects *finis indigentiae* and *finis assimilationis* (*Meletemata*, 2.24). Cf.: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, p. 73. The terms *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* were coined in medieval scholastic philosophy. Spinoza first brings up these terms in: *KV* (Part 1, ch. 8 and 9 [G 1/47–48]). *See*: *CM* 2.7 (G 1/264) and 2.9 (G 1/267); E1p29s; E1p31. For the concept *natura*, in Dutch 'natuur' and 'aard', and *natura naturans*/'naturende natuur': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 270–274. *See* also: Chapter 6, n. 133.

20 The Dutch Cartesians argued the philosophy of Descartes*, reduced to plain physics, was not a threat to piety. They also upheld that philosophy was incapable of answering theological questions or issues of human beings' salvation anyway (Douglas, 'Spinoza and the Dutch Cartesians', pp. 567–568). Natural Reformed theology centred around the religious implications of inquiries into nature. Dutch Cartesians, in turn, wanted to examine nature proper, without however making any conclusions about its divine, scriptural purpose, or its arbitrary, incorporeal creator (id., *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism*, p. 35). Their Voetian enemies, defenders of Aristotelianism and 'Mosaic physics', feared Cartesianism would ruin supernaturally-revealed religion and Scripture's divinity. They dreaded Cartesianism would also undermine the subject's piety by deriving heterodox cosmological and ontological arguments. Predominantly, the problem of the separation thesis (ibid., pp. 36–63 and 64–90) focused on the position of metaphysical theory, traditional bridge between theology and philosophy. It homed in on our innate idea of the divine realm, the incorporeal God, and its exact relation to the Cartesian method of doubt. Descartes himself was convinced the true foundation of his physics was metaphysics, claiming *pace* scholastic thought that God causes himself to exist expressly by 'a superabundance of power'. Both Cartesians and Spinoza argued we have an incomplete idea of God and concluded God necessarily exists, thereby trying to avoid the danger of becoming entangled in theological discussions. Nevertheless, Spinoza in *CM* construes that refraining from making claims about our conception of God's nature is actually impossible. Knowing God exists on the basis of one's distinct and clear idea of God was a direct theological claim.

21 *CM*, 2.8: 'For here we are inquiring only after those things that we can grasp most certainly by natural reason. It suffices that we demonstrate those things clearly for us to know that Sacred Scripture must also teach the same things.' (G 1/265; CW, vol. 1, p. 331).

22 > 1662.[07].[15], Ep 7 (G 4/8). *CM*: Atilano Domínquez, 'Las fuentes de los Cogitata Metaphysica: Analogías léxicas con Suárez y Heereboord', in Pina Totaro (ed.), *Spinoziana: Ricerche di terminologia filosofica e critica testuale: Seminario internazionale, Roma, 29-30 settembre 1995* (Firenze: L. Olschki, 1997), pp. 63–89. Spinoza took advantage of the prominent role Oldenburg* had taken on in the seventeenth-century scholarly European arena. In his capacity as a mediator, expert editor, translator, secretary, publisher, and intelligencer, he served as a principal hub of correspondence between Restoration England and the continent. Oldenburg was also one of the Founder Fellows of the British 'Invisible College' of natural philosophers, the supposed precursor of the London *RS* (founded in July 1662). In 1665, he launched and edited its periodical *PT*, relaying news about contemporary science and natural philosophy. For argumentative practice in scholarly English and French periodicals: Gross, etc., 'Argument and Seventeenth-Century Science'.

With the editorial assistance of the physician, lexicographer, playwright, and poet Lodewijk Meyer, who in the early 1660s was an important intermediary between Spinoza, their mutual friends, and his publisher in Amsterdam, Spinoza composed his reorganization of Descartes in the following order:

– *Part 2*, concerning 'God, his Attributes, and the human Mind', also treating of the foundations of Cartesian physics. In addition, it included *a fragment* (two propositions on shapes of matter and on the laws of nature, motion, rest, and collision) of *Part 3* on the visible world and treating of Cartesian metaphysics and the theory of physics. These were both compiled in Rijnsburg/Voorburg in 1662/1663 and, after a brief visit to Amsterdam, prepared for the press sometime between probably late April and early August 1663.[23]
– *Part 1*, 'concerning Being and its Affections', an adaptation of a variety of Cartesian sources. It also included arguments arranged to prove God's existence, as well as arguments on the distinction between the body and the soul, without however matters of logic. This portion was written in Amsterdam within a period of two weeks after completion of Part 2.[24]
– *Cross-references and captions*, all written by Lodewijk Meyer before early August 1663 under Spinoza's personal direction and added to the mature annexed two-part *Cogitata metaphysica*. The latter seems to be composed like a classical scholastic treatise, treating of 'chief things that commonly occur in the general part of Metaphysics', namely 'Being and its Affection'. It also deals with 'chief things which commonly occur in the special part of Metaphysics', covering God, 'his Attributes, and the human Mind'.[25]
– *Preface*, written by Meyer, before 3 August 1663.

3 A Book for Friends and Admirers: Early Historical Documents

The first historical document revealing a closer detail about the earliest inception of 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts' is a letter to Spinoza by his friend Simon Joosten de Vries, a Mennonite entrepreneur from Amsterdam, of 24 February 1663.[26] This letter establishes that, by then, Spinoza was sharing rooms in the house of local surgeon Herman Dircksz Homan, in Rijnsburg at the Katwijker Laantje, with a Leiden student by the name of Johannes Casearius.[27] A letter of 27 July 1663 by Spinoza, addressed to his London-based correspondent Henry Oldenburg, further evinces he taught and explained this Casearius 'the Second Part of Descartes' *Principles*'. In it, he writes about his lessons the following:

> Previously I had dictated this to a certain young man to whom I did not wish to teach my opinions openly.[28]

23 The first letter touching a topic dealt with in *PP* 2p9 is: Spinoza to Meyer* 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–62). In his next letter to Meyer (1663.07.26, Ep 12A [not in G]), Spinoza brings up editorial issues related to the *PP*/*CM*. *Attributum*/'eigenschap', *essentia*, and *existentia*/'wezentlijkheid': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 166–168, 210–212, 212–213. For Spinoza's (ontological) definition of attribute, as especially applied in the *E*: Henk Keizer, 'Spinoza's Definition of Attribute: An Interpretation', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 20 (2012), pp. 479–498.

24 *Deus* and *Substantia*/'zelfstandigheid', 'zelfstandig': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 196–199 and 320–324. General overview: Howard Robinson, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), 2014. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/substance/. For a selective list of studies on the *E*: Martial Gueroult, *Spinoza*, vol. 1: *Dieu*: (*Éthique*, I) (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1968); Jonathan F. Bennet, *A Study of Spinoza's 'Ethics'* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1984); Roger Ariew, 'The Infinite in Spinoza's Philosophy', in Edwin Curley and Pierre-François Moreau (eds.), *Spinoza: Issues and Directions. Proceedings of the Chicago Spinoza Conference, 1986* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 16–31; Tammy Nyden-Bullock, *Spinoza's Radical Cartesian Mind* (London and New York, NY: Continuum, 2007); Michael della Rocca, *Spinoza* (London: Routledge, 2008); Yitzhak Y. Melamed, 'Spinoza's Metaphysics of Substance: The Substance-Mode Relation as a Relation of Inherence and Predication', *Philosophy and Phenomenical Research*, 78 (2009), pp. 17–82; id., *Spinoza's Metaphysics of Substance and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Charles Huenemann, *Spinoza's Radical Theology: The Metaphysics of the Infinite* (Durham: Acumen, 2014).

25 Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.07.26, Ep 12A.

26 1663.02.24, Ep 8 (G 4/38–41). For a synopsis of the *PP*/*CM* (G 1/127–281): Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 345–347. Textual history: G 4, pp. 609–623. Critical notes: Alan Gabbey, 'Spinoza's Natural Science and Methodology', in Don Garrett (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza's Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 142–191, at pp. 155–170; Jonathan I. Israel, 'Spinoza as an Expounder, Critic and "Reformer" of Descartes', *Intellectual History Review*, 17 (2007), pp. 41–53.

27 The reference to Casearius* is only in the Latin holograph: 'tuus socius Casuarius'. The editors of the *OP*/*NS* left out the passage mentioning the Leiden student's name. The *NS* only refer to 'a youngster': ''t welk ik eertijts zeker Jongeling, aan de welk ik mijn gevoelens niet opentlijk wilde leren, voorgelezen had.' (p. 478). *See* for Casearius also: > 1663.02.24, Ep 9 [G 4/42–46]).

28 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63).

These lessons probably ended with Part 3 and would ultimately lead to the publication *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, which he probably was finishing or had finished when visiting Amsterdam in the summer of 1663.[29] That he instructed Casearius in Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' becomes apparent from the book's prologue, too.[30]

Apparently, by the summer of 1663, Spinoza's earliest writings (or perhaps portions of them) were, among friends, admirers, and the like, circulating in manuscript in Amsterdam. Many insiders in the heterogeneous spawning Amsterdam 'circles' were republicans and others non-academics, autonomous free-thinkers who belonged to the well-heeled municipal elite. All these 'progressives' had an expressed curiosity about novel scholarly interests and original, ground-shifting concepts of thought. From an early start, members of these Amsterdam 'circles' were seemingly intrigued by Spinoza's doctrines and by his writing projects, also because of the clandestine ring around him.

Within those coteries, participants of all stripes whom Spinoza had allowed to copy and read his fledgling texts considered him a towering herald of modernity and radicalism. Many befriended others participating in these small, largely overlapping local networks. This proves the tightness and complexity of their close family relations and social bonds which underlines how they shared their common worldviews enthusiastically. This urban chain of outspoken admirers and supporters also helped distributing and promoting Spinoza's creative ideas and writings among kindred spirits. In such network groups, the interlocutors readily used the metaphor 'Republic of letters' (*respublica literaria*), a phase denoting increased exchanges between European Enlightenment philosophers and other thinkers.[31]

As evinced by Simon Joosten de Vries's previously-mentioned letter of 24 February 1663, Spinoza's friends studied and discussed his texts in a discussion group, headed by De Vries, which the latter dubbed their 'Collegium'.[32] De Vries's letter also seems to suggest he possessed a Latin *or* Dutch manuscript copy with a portion of an early instalment in progress of Spinoza's of Part 1 of the *Ethica* up to the scholium of proposition 19:

> But though our bodies are separated from one another by such a distance, nevertheless you have very often been present in my mind, especially when I meditate on your writings and hold them in my hands.[33]

De Vries's group, it seems, consulted Spinoza on specific issues in his writings but they also conducted study on their own to obtain more clarity in difficult or obscure matters. 'In your absence', De Vries writes in the same letter, the group had now discussed 'a certain author, named

29 *Cogitata* in the OP's printed correspondence section (p. 418) is typeset with a capital letter.

30 Meyer's prologue to the PP/CM: 'Therefore I was very pleased to learn from our author that he had dictated, to a certain pupil of his, whom he was teaching the Cartesian Philosophy, the whole Second Part of the Principles, and part of the Third, demonstrated in that geometric manner, along with some of the principal and more difficult questions disputed in metaphysics, and had not yet been resolved by Descartes.' (sig. *3r–v; G 1/129–130; CW, vol. 1, p. 227). Geometrical style: Chapter 8, n. 8. Casearius: BL.

31 The concept, conceived during the seventeenth century, is a phase in which during the Enlightenment intellectuals exchanged more and more letters. Their correspondence ranged from short messages and letters of introduction to lengthy accounts and scholarly reports, ranging from the private to the public, including enclosures (visuals, sketches, and printed material, and the like), or letters for others. Background: Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1979); Eisenstein, *The Printing Press*, p. 137, at n. 287; Anthony Grafton, 'A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters', *Republic of Letters. A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics and the Arts*, 1 (2009). http://arcade.stanford.edu/rofl_issue/volume-1-issue-1; Daniel Stolzenberg, 'A Spanner and his Works: Books, Letters and Scholarly Communication in Early Modern Europe', in Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (eds.), *For the Sake of Learning. Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton* (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 157–172. Intellectual networks, sociology of ideas, and intellectual change: Randall Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016). Specialist studies: Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle*: *The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine* (New York, NY: Brill, 1991); Mark Greengrass, etc., *Samuel Hartlib & Universal Reformation. Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Stephen Gaukroger, *Descartes. An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Frans F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle. His Life until his Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden 1618–55* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1999); Maria A. Antognazza, *Leibniz: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); John E. Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus incredibilis'* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.), *Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) between Science and Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

32 G 4/39.11.

33 'Quamvis autem corpora ab invicem tam longe divisa sint, animo tamen saepissime praesens adfuisti meo, praesertim tuis in scriptis cum versor, manibusque tracto.' (1663.02.24, Ep 8 [G 4/39; CW, vol. 1, p. 190). Mentioned by De Vries* in the letter are: E1def3, E1def6 (referred to in it as E1p8s3), E1p10s (in the letter: E1def5), E128s (in the letter: Ep19s).

Borelli' and examined his *Euclides restitutus* for a closer study of the nature of definition, axiom, and postulate.[34]

In late April 1663, Spinoza transferred to Voorburg where he completed his exposition of 'Principles of Philosophy'. Immediately upon transferring to Voorburg he travelled to Amsterdam. Details about Spinoza's sojourn in Amsterdam and his dealings concerning the projected book can be inferred from a letter written to Oldenburg in late July 1663, as well as from Meyer's prologue to the printed book.[35] Shortly after his arrival in Amsterdam, several of his friends there requested him to provide them with

> … a Treatise containing a concise account of the Second Part of Descartes's *Principles*, demonstrated in the Geometric style….,

i.e. 'The Principles of Material Things', and of its Part 3, namely 'The Visible World', eventually published fragmentarily. Among these friends were, in all likelihood Lodewijk Meyer, Simon Joosten de Vries, and the Mennonite broker and pietist author Pieter Balling.[36]

On top of that, it was their wish this work should also cover the main topics treated in metaphysics. Apparently, they had urged Spinoza to write an adaptation of Part 1 treated by 'the same Method'. The Dutch philosopher, by his own account, wanted to comply with their request and finished writing this material within a fortnight. Next, his friends sought and also received his permission to publish these writings. The manuscript of his digest of Descartes has unfortunately been long lost. Yet, manuscript sketches for it may have survived at least up until late November 1677. On 25 November, Spinoza's publisher, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, received a visit of Johannes Baptista van Neercassel, vicar apostolic of the *Missio Hollandica*, the Roman Catholic missionary organization in the Reformed Northern Netherlands. He told the latter, on the hunt in the Republic for any available snippet of information about Spinoza and his printed and unpublished writings, that he was only aware of a few 'handwritten meditations' on Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'.[37]

4 Spinoza's Collaboration with Meyer

When it came to using the Latin language, Spinoza in his descriptive writing tried to be most accurate when it boiled down to the composition process of his works and correspondence. In spite of this, his Latin though is considered straightforward and his vocabulary limited.[38] Most probably for reasons of style, Spinoza decided to entrust the entire project of editing, correcting, and publishing *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* to his friend Lodewijk Meyer. The latter was a competent idiomatic Neo-Latinist and produced an edition of the work without hardly any

34 Giovanni Borelli, *Euclides restitutus, sive prisca geometriae elementa, …* (Pisa: 1658), vol. 1, pp. 15 and 17. The work lacks a Dutch translation. What specific edition the group used is not further known. For *definitio*/'bepaling', 'beschrijving', 'definitie', and *axioma*/'kundigheid', 'gemene Kennis', 'geloofspreuk', 'gemene kundigheid': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 278–281. Spinoza answered the group's questions, in relation to E1, in a letter printed in the OP/NS: > 1663.02.24, Ep 9 (G 4/42–46).

35 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63–69).

36 To Oldenburg*, 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63; CW, vol. 1, p. 207): 'ut sibi copiam facerem cujusdam Tractatus, secundam Partem Principiorum Cartesii, more Geometrico demonstratam'. True, the title-page of the PP/CM explicitly states to be 'demonstrated in the geometric manner'. Meyer/De Vries/Balling: BL.

37 '… aliquas manuscriptas meditationes de principiis philosophiae Carthesianae….'. Quoted in: Gisbert Brom (ed.), *Archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland*: *Rome. Vaticaansche Bibliotheek* (4 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1911), vol. 2, p. 152. Van Neercassel* repeated the remark in a letter (13 September 1678) to the Roman congregation of the Holy Office. *See*: Jean Orcibal, 'Les Jansénistes face à Spinoza', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 23 (1949), pp. 440–468, at p. 461, annex, no. 13. In 25 July 1673, Van Neercassel passed (Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, ms. AF IX 57) a manuscript copy of the following still unpublished treatise to Roman Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674), Consultor of the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index (Chapter 8, n. 25): anon. (Jean Baptiste Stouppe*), *La Religion des hollandois, representée en plusieurs lettres écrites par un officier de l'armée du roy, a un pasteur & professeur en theologie de Berne, …* (Cologne: 1673; Paris: 1673). *See* also: Chapter 3, n. 115. The work indicted the Dutch religious identity and tolerance, mainly in regard to the TTP and its hidden author. Cf.: Miquel Benitez, 'Le Jeu de tolerance: Édition de la lettre À Madame de … sur les différentes religions d'Hollande', in Guido Canziani (ed.), *Filosofia e religione nella letteratura clandestine, Secoli XVII e XVIII* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1994), pp. 427–468. This all implies that, by the summer of 1673, in any case Van Neercassel was familiar with the TTP's existence. During late 1677 and 1678, the Holy Office of the Inquisition charged the latter to find out more in the Dutch Republic about Spinoza and his alleged atheist writings. *See*: Chapter 9, *Banned Unconditionally*.

38 Cf. for Spinoza's usage of language and an appreciation of his linguistic proficiency in Latin: Fokke Akkerman, *Studies in the Posthumous Works of Spinoza*: *On Style, Earliest Translation and Reception, Earliest and Modern Edition of Some Texts* (1980); Jan H. Leopold, 'Le Language de Spinoza et sa pratique du discours', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers (eds.), *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp, 9–33; Iiro Kajanto, 'Spinoza's Latinity', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 35–54; Michelle Beyssade, 'Deux latinistes: Spinoza et Descartes', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 55–67.

textual errors.[39] From time to time, as could be expected, Meyer loyally informed Spinoza about the progress made in editing the work and revising its Latin text. In the long run, it might be conjectured that, together with a list of new textual additions, he directed to Voorburg either the augmented autograph manuscript, an apograph of it, or trial prints for proofreading and revision.[40]

Meyer also composed the book's lengthy sixteen-page *Praefatio* (sigs *2–**r), in which readers are explicitly informed Spinoza how took issue with some of Descartes's ideas. In the prologue, he writes about his collaboration with the Dutch philosopher:

> … that in response to the entreaties and demands of his friends, he [Spinoza] had agreed that, once he corrected and added to them, these writings might be published. So I too commended this project to him, and at the same time gladly offered my help in publishing, if he should require it.[41]

At the face of it, this underlines Meyer himself offered Spinoza his editorial services and advised him about the composition of the work. About his own work on the book, he writes:

> Moreover, I advised him—indeed entreated him—to render also the first Part of the *Principles* in a like order, and set it before what he had already written, so that by having been arranged in this manner from the beginning, the matter could be better understood and more pleasing. When he saw the soundness of this argument, he did not wish to deny both the requests of a friend and the utility of the reader. And he entrusted to my care the whole business of printing and publishing, since he lives in the country, far from the city, and so could not be present.[42]

About Spinoza's organizational method of composing 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts', Meyer in the prologue states that

> … our Author has carried over, word for word, almost all the things which Descartes put in Geometrical order at the end of his *Reply to the Second Objections*—beginning with all of Descartes' Definitions and inserting Descartes' Propositions among his own, but not annexing the Axioms to the Definitions without interruption. He has placed the Axioms taken from Descartes after the fourth Proposition and altered their order, so they could be demonstrated more easily. He has also omitted certain things which he did not require.[43]

Spinoza asked Meyer to add a small prologue ('Praefatiunculam') on his behalf, warning readers several of his doctrines were distinctly diverging from those of Descartes.[44]

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39 Fokke Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*: Texte latin, traductions néerlandaises et *Adnotationes*', in id. and Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 209–236, at pp. 209–210.

40 For proofreading practice and compositors's work: Simpson, *Proofreading*; Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, pp. 110–116.

41 '… atque haec una, a se correcta, atque aucta ut lucem aspicerent, amicis id summopere expetentibus atque extorquentibus, concessisse: Unde etiam ego idem id probavi, simulque operam meam, si ea in edendo egeret, ex animo obtuli, ac suasi praeterea, imo rogavi,….' (*PP*/*CM*, Preface, sig. *3v; G 1/130; CW, vol. 1, p. 227).

42 '… ut primam quoque Principiorum partem similem redigeret in ordinem, ac his praemitteret, quo ab ovo res hoc modo disposita, & melius intelligi, & magis placer posset; quod, cum summa ratione niti videret, & amici precibus, & lectoris utilitati denegare noluit; meisque insuper curis totum tam impressionis, cum procul ab urbe ruri degat, adeoque illi adesse non possit, quam editionis negotium commisit.' (*PP*/*CM*, Preface, sig. *3v; G 1/130; CW, vol. 1, p. 227).

43 'quae etiam quo facilius absolveret Author, huc verbotenus fere omnia illa, quae sub finem Resp. ad secund. Object. Geometrico ordine disposita habet Cartesius, transtulit; omnes quidem illius Definitiones praemittendo, ac Propositiones suis inserendo, at Axiomata non continuo Definitionibus subnectendo, sed post quartam demum Propositionem interponendo, eorumque ordinem, quo facilius demonstrari possent, immutando, ac quaedam, quibus non egebat, omittendo.' (*PP*/*CM*, Preface, sig. *3v; G 1/130; CW, vol. 1, p. 228). Geometrical style: Chapter 8, n. 8.

44 To Meyer*, 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63–69). Spinoza agreed, albeit critically, with Cartesian physics and laws of nature and collision. He rejected however the idea bodies were substances and in turn conceived them as individuals and things, singular modes of the one modified substance he acknowledged. The Dutch philosopher provides a physical theory to ground his own metaphysics in: E1p7–8; E1p8dem4; E1p14; E1p18; E1p28–29 (G 2/46, 50, 56, 63–64, 69–71). His original general principles and offered brief remarks on the physical laws of motion and rest are expounded in the portion following E2p13 ('De natura corporum'), referred to as 'the Physical Digression', too (cf. Tad M. Schmaltz, 'Spinoza's Mediate Infinite Mode', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 35 (1995), pp. 199–235, there pp. 205–214). For Spinoza's stance on Cartesian physics: Pieter van der Hoeven, 'The Significance of Cartesian Physics for Spinoza's Theory of Knowledge', in Johannes G. van der Bend (ed.), *Spinoza on Knowing, Being and Freedom* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), pp. 114–125; David R. Lachterman, 'The Physics of Spinoza's Ethics', *Southwest Journal of Philosophy*, 8 (1977), pp. 71–111; André Lécrivain, 'Spinoza et la physique cartésienne', *Cahiers Spinoza*, 1 (1977), pp. 235–265; id., 'Spinoza et la physique cartésienne (1). La partie II des *Principia*', *Cahiers Spinoza*, 2 (1978), pp. 93–206; Jon Miller, 'Spinoza and the Concept of a Law of Nature', *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, 20 (2003), pp. 257–276; Richard Manning, 'Spinoza's Physical Theory', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), 2012. *Metaphysica*/'overnatuurkunde':

He also instructed his friend to illustrate this disagreement with 'one or two examples'.[45] Meyer, in this prologue, writes about these explicit instructions:

> Nevertheless, I should like to be particularly noted that in all these writings – not only in the first and second parts of the *Principles*, and in the fragment of the third part, but also in his *Metaphysical Thoughts* – our Author has only set out the opinions of Descartes and their demonstrations, insofar as these are found in his writings, or are such as ought to be deduced validly from the foundations he laid. For since he had promised to teach his pupil Descartes' philosophy, he considered himself obliged not to depart a hair's breadth from Descartes' opinion, nor to dictate to him anything that either would not correspond to his doctrines or would be contrary to them. So let no one think that he is teaching here either his own opinions, or only those which he approves of. Though he judges that some of the doctrines are true, and admits that he has added some of his own, nevertheless there are many that he rejects as false, and concerning which he holds a quite different opinion.[46]

On 25 July 1663, Spinoza received a letter by Meyer with queries concerning his editorial work on the *Cogitata metaphysica*; a letter which is unfortunately lost.[47] One day later, Spinoza briefly replied to his editor, providing him with further instructions to finish the editorial work on his upcoming book.[48] This letter, discovered in 1974, fairly proves Meyer made, under Spinoza's direction, all the marginal cross-references and captions in the 'Metaphysical Thoughts'. In that same letter, Spinoza too assured him everything in the second chapter of Part 1 of the *Cogitata metaphysica*, 'cited there from part I of the principles', had been indicated correctly.

One correction on his part, however, concerned Meyer's reference to his statement, on page 1, to the scholium of proposition 4 of the first chapter of the *Cogitata metaphysica*'s Part 1. This reference, Spinoza informs Meyer, should be remedied and changed into a reference to proposition 15, 'where I explicitly discuss all modes of thinking'.[49] Another change, on the second page of the same first chapter, concerned the replacement in Meyer's marginal note reading '*why negations are not ideas*' of 'negations' into 'beings of reason': 'for I am speaking of the being of reason in general, and saying that it is not an idea'.[50]

Spinoza in his letter of July 26 also clarifies to Meyer his assertion 'the son of god is the father himself', too. He then urged him to take what would seem to be the most sensible course of action, because he thought theologians might be offended by his standpoints on this

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Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 255–256. For discussion whether Spinoza was a naturalist or physicalist: Don Garrett, 'Representation and Consciousness in Spinoza's Naturalistic Theory of the Imagination', in Charles Huenemann (ed.), *Interpreting Spinoza: Critical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 4–25; Douglas, *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism*.

45 With reference to PP 1p15s and PP app12 (on human will). Cf.: Spinoza to Oldenburg*, 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63–69). In the NS, the phrase in the letter, indicating certain stances in the digest were not entirely his own, is therefore given in italics: '... *dewijl ik niet weinig daar in had geschreven, van 't welk ik geheel anders gevoelde*;...' (since I have written in it not a few things about which I conceive quite differently; 'Negende Brief', p. 478). In Spinoza's letter to Oldenburg, the marginal note (which is not in the OP) to this italicized phrase in the NS reads thus: 'Ik heb dit, met een ander letter uitgedrukt. in de gezonde brief achtergelaten, gelijk ook al 't ander, dat met een andere letter uitgedrukt werd.' (I have expressed this with another type of letter, [which] cannot be found in the original letter, and all other [things], which were expressed with another letter [type]; 'Negende Brief', p. 478). Spinoza's reference is to two other italicized phrases in the NS (pp. 482 and 483). The warning in this marginal remark indicates this letter circulated amongst friends in an edited Dutch manuscript version.

46 '*Animadverti tamen vel imprimis velim in his omnibus, nempe tam in 1. & 2. Princip. partibus, ac fragmento tertiae, quam in Cogitatis suis Metaphysicis Authorem nostrum meras Cartesii sententias, illarumque demonstrationes, prout in illius scriptis reperiuntur, aut quales ex fundamentis ab illo jactis per legitimam consequentiam deduci debebant, proposuisse. Cum enim discipulum suum Cartesii Philosophiam docere promisisset, religio ipsi fuit, ab ejus sententiae latum unguem discedere, aut quid, quod ejus dogmatibus aut non responderet, aut contrarium esset, dictare. Quamobrem judicet nemo, illum hic, aut sua, aut tantum ea, quae probat, docere. Quamvis enim quaedam vera judicet, quaedam de suis addita fateatur, multa tamen occurrunt, quae tanquam falsa rejicit, & a quibus longe diversam fovet sententiam.*' (PP/CM, Preface, sig. *4r–v; G 1/131; CW, vol. 1, p. 229). Claims that Spinoza was faithful to Descartes* are far from the truth; he added words to definitions, refrained from bringing over italicized text, or changed interpretation, and the like. Cf.: ibid., pp. 224, 240, and 285.

47 < 1663.07.25*. Cf.: Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.07.26, Ep 12A; Adri K. Offenberg, *Brief van Spinoza aan Lodewijk Meijer, 26 juli 1663* (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1975). Place and date on the ALS.

48 1663.07.26, Ep 12A. Deemed unfit for publication in the OP/NS, possibly because its contents concern deliberations about the editing process itself. *See*: Chapters 8 and 9.

49 CM 1.1 (G 1/234). The alteration was only included in the final edition in the list of errata: '93. Antepenult. pro 4. lege 15.'. For the key concept *modus*/'wijse': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 260–264.

50 The change was included in the list of errata only: '94. in margine pro *negationes* lege *Entia rationis*.'.

sensitive topic.[51] Spinoza in the same letter, further brings up the theological definition of 'personality' in Part 2 of his appendix: because what theologians grasp by 'the term personality escapes me, but not what philologists understand by that word'. He also tells Meyer to make all final decisions, 'because the manuscript is with you'. It might be inferred from the latter statement, especially from the usage of the Latin noun *exemplar*, that Spinoza is referring here to the manuscript of the book (perhaps even his own), rather than to any proof sheets of it.

Spinoza must have studied and checked Meyer's references, either in a manuscript copy or even in trial prints (proofs of chapters 1 and 2 of Part 1 of his appendix) sent by the latter to Voorburg.[52] If this hypothesis appears to be correct, Meyer may have sent them in an enclosure to his letter written before 25 July 1663, or in another, now lost and unknown letter.[53] He may have done this with the help of an intermediary (perhaps De Vries, who directed Meyer's Preface to Voorburg) but historical records about this have not survived.[54] Another letter of 17/27 July 1663, from Spinoza to Oldenburg, states his treatise was 'now in the press' ('qui sub praelo jam sudat').[55]

The foregoing letter's introductory section sheds more light on the order the work was originally written. Spinoza explains to Oldenburg why he had given permission to his friends to issue the treatise. He points to his conviction that, since he was publishing his digest in book form, people 'who hold high positions in my country' might become interested in his other writings and would see his works could be freely issued, without risking to land in hot water or become involved in any conflict of some sort:

> Now at last, dearest Friend, I have some time to myself to communicate these things to you, and at the same time tell you why I am letting this Treatise see the light of the day: perhaps it will induce some who hold high positions in my country to want to see other things I have written, which I acknowledge as my own, so that they would see to it that I can publish without any danger of inconvenience.[56]

To this statement, he also adds the following: 'I have no doubt that I will publish certain things immediately'. If those people will not offer their support, he continues, 'I shall be silent rather than force my opinions on men against the will of my country and make them hostile to me'. These remarks underline explicitly that, without any support, Spinoza wanted to avert the possibility of being dragged into any open dispute caused by the publication of his future writings. His major concern was, arguably, that his writing projects on some highly explosive issues might cause him trouble, even persecution. This main worry is expressed in his explicit demand that the friend, overseeing the publication of his critique of Descartes and improve his style, was to supply a prologue to inform readers several views expounded in the book were far distant from his own.

Spinoza also discussed this in his letter of 17/27 July to Oldenburg as well:

> They [i.e., Spinoza's friends] easily won my agreement, on the condition that one of them [Meyer], in my presence, would provide it with a more elegant style and add a short Preface warning Readers that I did not acknowledge all the opinions contained in this treatise as my own, *since I had written many things in it which were the very opposite of what I held*, and illustrating this by one of two examples.[57]

51 Left out in the final edition was Spinoza's assertion the 'son of god' (understood by him as the immediate infinite mode of the attribute of thinking) is 'the father himself'. The only reminiscence is in *CM* 2.10 (G 1/271). Cf.: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, Fokke Akkerman, etc. (eds.) (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1992), pp. 456–457. In English, it reads: 'Nor is the son of God a creature; rather like the father, he is eternal' (CW, vol. 1, p. 337). He also left out the claim that the father 'has always communicated his eternity to the son'. *Cogitatio*/'denking': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 182–183. On finite and infinite modes: Edwin Curley, *Behind the Geometrical Method: A Reading of Spinoza's 'Ethics'* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1988), pp. 45–48; Schmaltz, 'Spinoza's Mediate Infinite Mode'. Cf. for a source on mediate infinite mode: Spinoza to Schuller*, 1675.07.29, Ep 64 (G 4/277–278).

52 'It is more likely that specimen sheets of the typeset pages were sent to Spinoza, and the minor changes which he wanted were eventually included in the list of errata printed after Meyer's Preface, in the final phase of the publishing operation. Major changes could be made only by "cancelling", i.e. by resetting the pages involved, while discarding and replacing the leaves that had already been printed.' (Offenberg, *Brief van Spinoza*, p. 430).

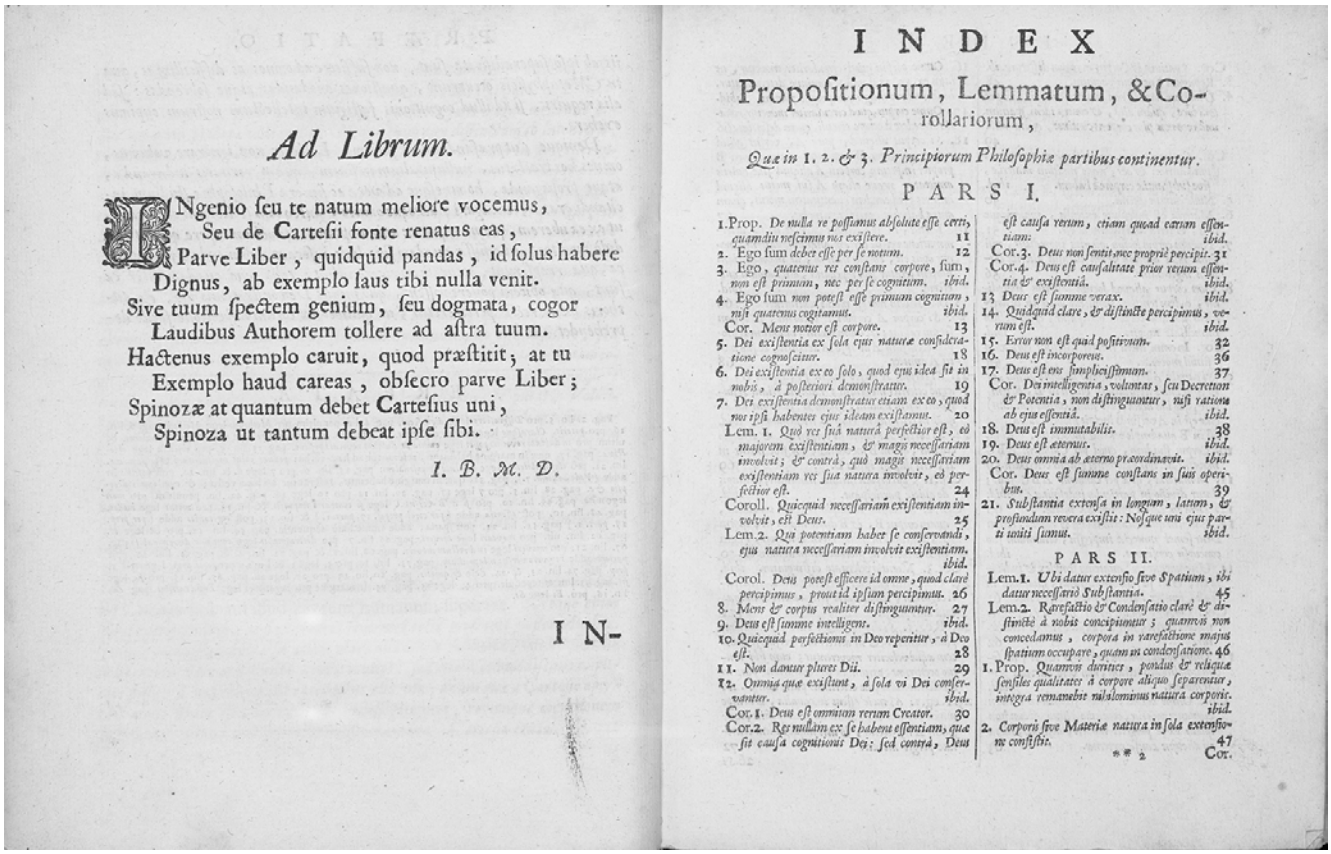
53 *See* < 1663.07.25*.

54 Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.08.03, Ep 15 (G 4/72–73).

55 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63–69).

56 'Jam tandem, Amice suavissime, aliquid superest temporis, quo haec tibi communicare, simulque rationem, cur ego hunc Tractatum in lucem prodire sino, reddere possum. Hac nempe occasione forte aliqui, qui in mea patria primas partes tenent, reperientur, qui caetera, quae scripsi, atque pro meis agnosco, desiderabunt videre; adeoque curabunt, ut ea extra omne incommodi periculum communis juris facere possim:...' (*OP*, IX, p. 423; G 4/64; CW, vol. 1, p. 207). Cf. the remark by Meyer* in: *PP*/*CM*, Preface, sig. *4^{r-v} (G 1/131).

57 '... quod facile impetrare potuerunt, hac quidem lege, ut eorum aliquis, me praesente, ea stylo elegantiori ornaret, ac Praefatiunculam adderet, in qua Lectores moneret, me non omnia, quae in eo Tractatu continentur, pro meis agnoscere,



Ad Librum.

INgenio seu te natum meliore vocemus,
Seu de Carteſii fonte renatus eas,
Parve Liber, quidquid pandas, id ſolus habere
Dignus, ab exemplo laus tibi nulla venit.
Sive tuum ſpectem genium, ſeu dogmata, cogor
Laudibus Authorem tollere ad aſtra tuum.
Hactenus exemplo caruit, quod præſtitit; at tu
Exemplo haud careas, obſecro parve Liber;
Spinozæ at quantum debet Carteſius uni,
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I. B. M. D.

I N-

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ILLUSTRATION 2.1 The dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' by Bouwmeester and the opening section of the 'Index Propositionum, Lemmatum, & Corollariorum, *Quae in* 1. 2. & 3. *Principiorum Philosophiae partibus continentur.*'

Apart from Meyer's prologue, Spinoza's lifelong confidant, the Amsterdam doctor of medicine Johannes Bouwmeester (a friend of Meyer), is credited with having composed the dedicatory poem (ten lines, sig. **v) '*Ad Librum.*' (To the Book) for 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts'.[58] This disguised panegyric, expressing hope Spinoza would one day expound his own work like he had done with the work of Descartes, is signed in italic capital letters 'I. B. M. D.' ('Iohannes Bouwmeester Medicinae Doctor').[59] A translation into Dutch (twelve lines) as well as a free paraphrase (twenty-four lines) of the poem, made by the Amsterdam

cum non pauca in eo scripserim, quorum contrarium prorsus amplector, hocque uno, aut altero exemplo ostenderet.' (OP, IX, p. 423; G 4/63; CW, vol. 1, p. 207).

58 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, p. 210; Piet Steenbakkers and Roberto Bordoli, 'Lodewijk Meijer's Tribute to Johannes Bouwmeester, 4 November 1673', *Studia Spinozana. An International and Interdisciplinary Series*, 13 (1997), pp. 242–257, p. 242. Bouwmeester* owned copies of the OP, the PP/CM, plus two TTP's: *Catalogus variorum ... viri P. M. D. Joannis Bouwmeesteri* (Amsterdam: 1681), p. 4, no. 9, p. 9, no. 191, pp. 4 and 6, nos. 9 and 78. Both Meyer* and Bouwmeester were members of the Amsterdam literary and artistic society *Nil volentibus arduum* ('Nothing is arduous for those who are willing'). Cf.: Berry P.M. Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum. Documenten en bronnen. Een uitgave van Balthazar Huydecopers aantekeningen uit de originele notulen van het genootschap, voorzien van een inleiding, commentaar en lijsten van N.V.A. drukken* (Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers, 1982); Anton Bossers, *'Nil volentibus arduum*: Lodewijk Meyer en Adriaan Koerbagh', *Opstellen over de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en andere studies* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1961), pp. 374–383; Jonathan I. Israel, 'Spinoza, Radical Enlightenment, and the General Reform of the Arts in the Later Dutch Golden Age: the Aims of *Nil Volentibus Arduum*', *Intellectual History Review*, 30 (2020), pp. 387–409. For the friendship between Meyer and Bouwmeester: Steenbakkers and Bordoli, 'Lodewijk Meijer's Tribute'.

59 G 1/134. Antonius van der Linde ('Notiz zur Literatur des Spinozismus', *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 45 [1864], pp. 301–305, p. 304) attributed it, mistakenly, to the author of a rejoinder to the TTP: Johannes Bredenburg*, *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici, ...* (Rotterdam: 1675). He made this identification on the basis of a slip of paper forwarded to him by Dutch antiquarian Frederik Muller (1817–1881). The paper, containing the PP/CM's poem *'Ad Librum.'*, the last part of the prologue with crossed-out lines, and Spinoza's marginal notes, was an autograph signed by Bredenburg ('Johannes Bredenburg Med. Dr.'). The slip of paper is now considered lost (G 1, p. 610).

Mennonite physician Hendrik van Bronchorst, are appended to the 1664 Dutch rendition of the Latin edition, *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*.[60]

5 A Book 'Now in the Press'

In the aforementioned letter of 17/27 July 1663, Spinoza promised to send Oldenburg of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, 'either the printed Treatise itself, or a summary of it'.[61] He writes:

> If, meanwhile, you wish to have one or two copies of the work *now in the press*, I shall comply with your wish as soon as I learn of it and of a way I can conveniently send the work to you.[62]

From this statement, it can be inferred portions of Spinoza's digest of Descartes were now being processed in Amsterdam. Meyer, through the intermediary of Simon Joosten de Vries, directed a parcel to Spinoza from Amsterdam containing either the manuscript or trial prints of his Preface prior to 3 August 1663.[63] On the latter date, Spinoza directed another letter to Meyer in Amsterdam, containing more of his instructions, suggestions, and additions.[64] The letter was included in the package containing the Preface (either in manuscript or in a printed version), which, he writes, 'I return to you'. The letter's opening section indicates the prologue was 'sent' (from [Amsterdam]) to Spinoza 'by our friend De Vries'.

'As you will see, I have noted a few things in the margin', he writes to Meyer on 3 August, but he adds immediately that a few things remain to be better explained 'by letter'. These issues concerned several changes in the prologue as well as a correction in his digest in Part 2. The first addition to the book, Spinoza points out to Meyer, concerns page 4 of the prologue, explaining to readers why he had compiled Part 1 of the book. To avoid potential objections to the accuracy of any of his stances he then requests Meyer to stress in the prologue he had hurriedly composed this portion of the book within only a fortnight.[65] He instructs him:

> First, when you advise the reader on p. 4 of the occasion on which I composed the first part, I wish you would also advise, either there or elsewhere, as you please, that I composed it within two weeks. For with this warning no one will think I have set things out so clearly that they could not be explained more clearly, and therefore they will not be held up by a word or two if here and there they happen to find something obscure.[66]

In the letter of 3 August, he further expresses his wish that Meyer would point out in the prologue many of his own demonstrations were arranged markedly different from those found in the 'Principles of Philosophy'. Those differences were meant 'not to correct Descartes', but to hold on to his own exposition scheme and to avoid unnecessary axioms. Spinoza, by his own account, wanted to deliver proof of what Descartes had asserted 'without any

60 In a pamphlet war, unleashed about the town's medical care, Van Bronchorst* is portrayed as 'Dr. Vin d'ai' and 'D. Dronkvorst', both satirical allusions to his alleged alcohol misuse. *See*: anon., *Horrel in de wacht: ofte samen-spraeck tusschen een professor van Leyden en een doctor van Amsterdam* (Leiden: 1677), pp. 13–14.

61 On the basis of a letter dispatched (to Spinoza) by Oldenburg* in late October (*see* 1665.10.[22], Ep 31 [G 4/167–169]), it can be safely assumed the latter had a copy of the *PP*/*CM*: 'When you speak about Huygens' *Treatise on Motion*, you hint that Descartes' Rules of motion are almost false. I do not now have at hand the little book you previously published, concerning *Descartes' principles, Demonstrated Geometrically*. And I do not recall whether you showed that falsity there, or whether, to oblige others, you simply follow Descartes' tracks.' (G 4/167; CW, vol. 2, p. 16). Very likely, Oldenburg's copy was the one Spinoza had promised to send to him (1663.07.27, Ep 13), but tangible evidence for this is lacking. No copy of the *PP*/*CM* is listed in any of the surviving booklists of Oldenburg's private library.

62 'Et si interim ejus, qui sub praelo jam sudat, unum, aut alterum exemplar habere velis, ubi id rescivero, & simul medium, quo ipsum commode mittere potero, tuae voluntati obsequar.' (1663.07.27, Ep 13 [G 4/72–73; CW, vol. 1, p. 208]). My italics.

63 1663.08.03, Ep 15 (G 4/64).

64 Ibid., G 4/72–73. Rejected by the editors of the *OP*/*NS*. Perhaps, because its contents concerned remarks about the *PP*/*CM*'s editing. The letter is the last known in their correspondence. Historical evidence confirming any contacts after the autumn of 1663 is missing. Meyer* could have fallen out from grace, was too busy, or perhaps had lost contact or interest in Spinoza. This runs however counter to the fact that Meyer was among the editors of the Latin edition of the posthumous works: he in any case translated into the Dutch prologue composed by the Amsterdam Mennonite merchant Jarig Jelles*. Cf. Piet Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica from Manuscript to Print. Studies on Text, Form and Related Topics* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1994), pp. 25–28.

65 *See* for this: Spinoza to Oldenburg*, 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63–69). 'The letter of 3 August (1663) indicates … which entailed the resetting of four printed pages (the leaves K2 and K3).' (Offenberg, *Brief van Spinoza*, p. 430).

66 'Nempe 1. ubi pag. 4. lectorem mones, qua ocasione primam partem composuerim, vellem ut simul ibi, aut ubi placuerit, etiam moneres me eam intra duas hebdomadas composuisse. hoc enim praemonito nemo putabit, haec adeo clare proponi, ut quae clarius explicari non possent, adeoque verbulo uno, aut alteri, quod forte hic illic obscurum ofendent, non haerebunt.' (G 4/72; CW, vol. 1, p. 215).

demonstration' and to add other things the philosopher had omitted.

Lastly, Spinoza urges Meyer in the letter of 3 August to delete the final polemical section dealing with 'what you have written at the end against that petty man'.[67] One reason was he wished everyone in search of the truth could read the book, not be offended by it. By reproaching Meyer, Spinoza demonstrates his revulsion towards dispute and his effort to avoid having his book be dragged into any controversy:

> I would wish everyone to be convinced without difficulty that these things are published for the benefit of all men, that in publishing this little book you are possessed only by a desire to spread the truth, that you are taking the greatest care to make this little work pleasing to everyone, that you are generously and with good will inviting men to study the true philosophy, and are aiming at the advantage of all. Everyone will easily believe this when he sees that no one is injured and that nothing is put forward that could be offensive to anyone.[68]

Spinoza for his part considered the critique of 'that petty man' ('illum homunculum') unworthy of answering.[69] Nothing is known about that individual's identity; he may have been a respected scholar in Dutch academia, be it a university professor, a temporarily hired lecturer, or even a student who had 'openly' criticized and disrupted Meyer during discussions on Cartesian principles.

The workshop of the Amsterdam printer Daniel Bakkamude set in type for Rieuwertsz the text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* in quarto from old-style serif roman founts of type (a group of alphabets and symbols, such as points and figures), roughly dated 1663. Such Roman printing forms can be divided into formal (roman) and cursive (italic founts may have swash or tailed capitals but lack SMALL CAPITALS). In roman printing, the axis of curved strokes in these designs is normally inclined to the left. From these founts were also set seven editions of works by the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel. One of them can be typographically linked with a Vondel text set with a different type, used between 1659 and 1662, in ten editions.[70] Only Vondel's 1660 translation of Virgil into Dutch identifies Thomas Fonteyn as its printer; he had worked for Rieuwertsz *père* during the late 1640s and the 1650s.[71]

In the postscript to the letter of the aforementioned letter of 3 August Spinoza tells Meyer he first intended to return to him the corrected version of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* with the help of De Vries. Because the latter was undecided when he was returning to Amsterdam, he had therefore directed the parcel to Meyer through 'someone else'. This otherwise unidentified individual either delivered the letter personally to Meyer or sent it to Amsterdam enclosed in a letter of his own.[72]

Finally, Spinoza informs Meyer on 3 August he had also added to his digest's corrected version the remark to the scholium to proposition 27 ('as it begins on p. 75') of Part 2, 'for you to give to the printer, so that it can be set again'. All of this, he writes, should be reset, whereas '14

67 The passage concerning the remark about the prologue to the *PP*/*CM* relating to 'that petty man' was deleted in the printed letter (1663.08.03, Ep 15 [G 4/72.29]) in the *OP* and the *NS*. Cf. also Spinoza's letter to Oldenburg* of March 1663 (1663.04.03, Ep 11 [G 4/12–14]).

68 '... ut omnes sibi facile persuadere possint, haec in omnium hominum gratiam evulgari, teque in hoc libello edendo solo veritatis propagandae desiderio teneri, teque adeo maxime curare, ut hoc opusculum omnibus gratum sit, hominesque ad verae philosophiae studium benevole, atque benigne invitare omniumque utilitati studere. quod facile unusquisque credet, ubi neminem laedi videbit. nec aliquid proponi, quod alicui offendiculo esse potest.' (G 4/73; CW, vol. 1, p. 216).

69 The qualification (Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, p. 209; Willem Meijer, 'De Ioanne Caseario', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 3 [1923], pp. 232–252, 1923, pp. 234–235), one could conjecture, may point to Spinoza's former pupil, Johannes Casearius*. Yet, at the time when the *PP*/*CM* was being published the latter had no scholarly reputation as a champion of Descartes* whatsoever. It has also been mistakenly assumed (Wim N.A. Klever, 'Qui était l'Homunculus', *Bulletin de l'association des amis de Spinoza*, 29 [1993], pp. 24–27) that the unknown individual might have been Florentius Schuyl (1619–1669), the editor of the Latin translation (*De homine*, 1662) of Descartes's *Traité de l'homme*. The plain fact is however that, apart from his work as a translator of Descartes and being the author of few mediocre tracts, Schuyl was an academic nobody in 1663 who lived in the south of the present-day Netherlands. He only enrolled at Leiden University on 21 April 1664 and was appointed to the chair of medicine there later that year. Schuyl's later writings underline he was not interested in the Cartesian philosophy, but in medicine and botany. Cf.: C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche U.M., 1954), pp. 389–390.

70 Johan Gerritsen, 'Vondel and the New Bibliography', in Ton R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (ed.), *Hellinga Festschrift/feestbundel/mélanges: Forty-Three Studies in Bibliography Presented to Prof. Wytze Hellinga on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the End of the Year 1978* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1980), pp. 205–215; id., 'Printing Spinoza', p. 255.

71 Ibid., pp. 255–256. Virgil: *Wercken. In Nederduitsch dicht* (Amsterdam: 1660): 'At Amsterdam. From the printing office of Thomas Fonteyn, at the Voorburgwal, near the Deventer timber market' ('t'Amsterdam. Ter Druckerye van Thomas Fonteyn, op de Voorburghwal, by de Deventer-hout-marckt, 1660'). Fonteyn: BL.

72 The unknown intermediary personally delivered the package to Meyer*.

or 15 lines' should be inserted into the latter part, too.[73] The remarks in the letter's postscript prove that, by this time, Bakkamude was busy setting in type a good portion of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*. Other parts of the work, like the Preface, indexes, the *Cogitata metaphysica*, and the list of errata, were likely still in the process of printing and proofreading.

In the seventeenth century, Dutch book dealers jointly pooling in ventures invested capital in the production of books. Merchants dealing in paper were financially involved in printing projects for export markets, aiming to sell books containing English, Hebrew, and Roman Catholic religious texts.[74] Whether Rieuwertsz *père* or Spinoza's friends and admirers provided the capital for the production of the 'Principles of Philosophy' and the 'Metaphysical Thoughts' is not known. An entry in the journals of two German travellers named Gottlieb Stolle and 'Hallmann', written after 27 June 1703 after their visit to the bookshop of Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*, puts forward the suggestion it had been Spinoza's friend the Amsterdam merchant Jarig Jelles who financed the publication project of both the Latin edition and its Dutch rendition.[75]

Their claim was based on the testimony of someone, called 'le Fevre', whom the two Germans said they had met in 'den Bremer Hauptmann' ('the Captain of Bremen').[76] Here is what they note in their entry about their conversations with this otherwise unidentified man:

> This Jarig Jelles has also paid for the costs of the first, and of the other edition, of 'Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica'.[77]

It is fully unclear, though, whether Jelles already befriended Spinoza in 1663 when he was composing his digest of Descartes. In all likelihood, their contacts only first emerged during late February or early March 1667, when Jelles wrote a letter to Spinoza.[78]

The number of copies printed from one ream of paper (480 sheets) of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* can also be estimated by filling in the following parameters:

- Total number of pages in one single copy of edition: pages printed per gathering = number of sheets needed.
- 480 (sheets contained in one 'long ream' of paper): number of sheets needed = printing output per ream of paper.
- Impression (in total number of sheets needed): 480 = total number of reams of paper needed for one single impression.

Each unbound copy of the edition of the 'Principles of Philosophy' numbers 156 pages (78 leaves). Counted in must also its title-page with ornament and blank backside. Since its bibliographical size is the quarto format, one copy comprises a total of 19.5 sheets. Thus, the printed output from one ream was about 24.6 copies. An assumed

73 *PP* 2p27 (G 1/213–216).

74 Claartje Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic: Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries, 1580–1800* (2012), pp. 112–113. Whether these financiers provided capital for the inland publication market is not known.

75 Certain is the identity of Stolle*. 'Hallmann' was, most likely, the same as Johann Ferdinand Hallmann von Halmenfeld. They were joined by one of Halmenfeld's relatives ('Vetter') whose name was perhaps also Hallmann. Background: Manfred Walther and Michael Czelinski, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas. Lebensbeschreibungen und Dokumente. Zweite, stark erweiterte und vollständig neu kommentierte Auflage der Ausgabe von Jakob Freudenthal 1899* (2 vols., Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Fromann-Holzboog, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 51–54. The latter work will be further abbreviated as: W/Cz. There is one notarial deed confirming Rieuwertsz* *père* was in contact with Jelles*, in any case since 7 August 1662: 5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 85: Van Loosdrecht, 'Minuutacten van testamenten, huwelijkse voorwaarden etc. In "Protocol", 1645–1677', inv. no. 1981/4, 1 January 1661–4 September 1665, fols 170^{v}–171^{r}. In the instrument, Tymon Houthaak* acknowledges his business partner Rieuwertsz had accepted liability for a debt he owed to Jelles*. Houthaak also pledges in it 'Ruijm seshondert ponden Brevier druckletter' (over six hundred pounds [of] Brevier type) to Rieuwertsz in return. It is difficult to judge from the act by Van Loosdrecht which particular specimen, either roman, italic and the like, Brevier type Houthaak pledged as a security to Rieuwertsz. *See* for samples: Lane, 2013. Thanks are due to Wassenaar for bringing the notarial act of 7 August to my attention.

76 This was a hostel, called 'de Bremer hopman', which was located at the Amsterdam Zeedijk. A historical deed (The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 3.03.01.01: 'Hof van Holland; Decreten', inv. no. 3377/1658/098, 7 May 1658) details the hostel's exact location: 'in de Sint Oloffspoortsteegh' (Sint Olofspoort 2). The house, with has a *s*-shaped 'klokgevel', still stands today. *See* further: anon., *Reis-boek door de Vereenigde Nederlandsche provincien, en der zelver aangrenzende landschappen en koninkrijken:, ...* (Amsterdam: 1700), p. 113.

77 'Dieser Jare Gillis habe auch die Unkosten zu der ersten u. andern Edition der Principiorum Cartesii à Spinoza methodo Geometrica demonstratorum, hergegeben.' (S/H, ms. B, W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 84). *See*: Julia Bientjes, *Holland und der Holländer im Urteil deutscher Reisender, 1400–1800* (Groningen: Wolters, 1967), p. 261.

78 < 1667.[03].03*. Spinoza wrote a reply to the letter (1667.03.03, Ep 39 [G 4/193b–194b]). Up to early June 1674, Jelles* and Spinoza exchanged (at least) twelve letters (in Dutch) on various subjects, ranging from matters optical and the 'Helvetius affair' (concerning an alleged transmutation of base metal into gold) to experimentation into the nature of fluid dynamics.

impression of five hundred copies (9,750 sheets) would, summed up, require about 20.3 reams of paper.

6 Illustration Programme

For Spinoza's *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* Jan Rieuwertsz *père* ordered explanatory illustrations to be included in it. Hence, it can be conjectured the philosopher's autograph manuscript or apograph of it, which served as printer's copy, also contained drawings. Spinoza himself in any case is known to have made five small sketchy drawings in the holograph of a letter to Henry Oldenburg, written in the first half of 1662, in which he objects to particular aspects of the Boylean corpuscular chemistry.[79] In regard to the rest of the illustration programme, also printed in the 'Principles of Philosophy' are relief-woodcut acanthus initials. These were made by hand in hard and fine-grained wood; what was to remain white was cut away. Those initials are heading the first letter of the prologue's first word, of the book's laudatory poem '*Ad Librum*.', of all separate parts of Spinoza's digest of Descartes, of the *Cogitata metaphysica*, and the first letter of the appendices.

Furthermore, the book contains four geometrical visuals as well as fourteen relatively simple physical illustrations. They were engraved on waxed copperplates and meant to enrich and clarify the second portion of 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy; Metaphysical Thoughts'. A few of them were 'borrowed' or based on illustrations in the printed edition of *Principia philosophiae* of Descartes.[80] Produced for the occasion and in general the printer's property, these illustrations also adorn the work's Dutch rendition launched in 1664. The figure on the title-page of Spinoza's first book and

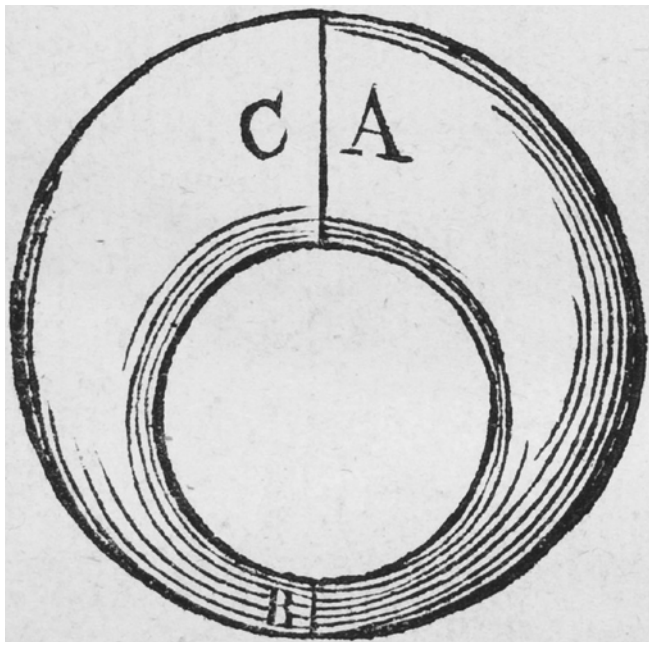

ILLUSTRATION 2.2 Visual printed on the title-page of Spinoza's exposition of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'. The same illustration graces the title-pages of both the Latin and Dutch edition of the work and proposition 9 of Part 2.

the other etchings contained in it were commissioned and produced by a 'plaetsnijder' (engraver) working in Amsterdam. This otherwise unidentified artisan probably made most illustrations after drawings by Spinoza, or according to Spinoza's verbal or written instructions passed to Meyer.

The visual gracing the title-page depict two non-concentric circles representing a circular tube in cross-section, comprising a maximum segment AB and minimum segment CB of inequal distances. The same visual is also printed as clarification of proposition 9 of Part 2 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.

This illustration draws on Descartes's attempt made in the 'Principles of Philosophy' to refute the theory of atoms in the context of the physics of fluid flows.[81] In section 33, the French philosopher contends 'how in all movement a complete circle of bodies moves simultaneously'. At the same time, he upholds that 'no body can be moved unless along a (complete) circle', pushing adjacent bodies out of their way, a movement which, in turn, pushes other bodies in motion as well (and so on).[82] With respect to this

79 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36; CW, vol. 1, pp. 173–188). Very likely, the drawings were also contained in the letter's edited draft versions circulating in Amsterdam amongst friends and admirers. If Spinoza's autograph was not used for the edition's illustration programme of the letter in the correspondence section of the *OP* and *NS*, than perhaps one of these drafts was used as printer's copy. *See*: Chapter 9, *Illustration Programme*, and separate book descriptions of the *OP*/*NS*.

80 Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae*. Gaskell (*A New Introduction*, pp. 157–158) notes: 'Plates for insertion in a book as separate leaves were added when the sheets were gathered in the wharehouse, but ordinary sheets that were to be embellished with copperplates were sent out to the plate printer, usually after the letterpress was printed but before gathering.'. Visual representations in scholarly seventeenth-century texts: Gross, etc, 'Argument and Seventeenth-Century Science', pp. 384–387; Claus Zittel, *Theatrum philosophicum. Descartes und die Rolle ästhetischer Formen in der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 2009).

81 Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae*, II (AT VIII, 585–589); id., *Les Principes de la philosophie* (Paris: 1647): AT IX, 81–82.

82 Id., *Principia philosophiae*, II, 33 (AT VIII, 58–59). Section 33 is grounded on Descartes's claim the physical universe is a plenum of contiguous bodies, implying no empty spaces for a moving object to occupy are existing. It prepares Part 3 of the *PP*.

visual presented in the latter work, Descartes states the following:

> So, without there being any condensation or vacuum; all the matter contained in the space EFGH can move in a circle. The part of it which is near E can move toward G and that which is near G can simultaneously move toward E, provided only that (since we are supposing the space at G to be four times as wide as at E, and twice as wide at F and H) we also suppose the movement to be four times as rapid at E as at G, and twice as rapid as at F and H. Similarly, in all remaining places, we can suppose that speed of movement compensates for narrowness of space. Thus, in any given length at time, the same quantity of matter will through one section of this circle as through another.[83]

The ornament on the title-page of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* is repeated as a physical illustration in *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. A simplified version of the visual, with differing accompanying capital letters and without shading, can also be found in the posthumous works where the illustration adorns Spinoza's letter to Meyer of late April 1663.[84] Via this geometrical example on infinity, the Dutch philsopher in this letter seeks to demonstrate that the sum of the inequalities of the distances included between two non-concentric circles is infinite. According to Spinoza, the nature of the space interposed between the two circles does not allow a finite measure of inequalities; geometrical infinities can be perceived by us to be greater or less. This implies infinity can be conceived by reason only, not by the imagination.[85]

The production costs of the engravings in Spinoza's first book are not known, but they were arguably considerable for publishers and printers. A letter by an assistant of Amsterdam bookseller, printer, and publisher Daniel Elzevier, sent on 25 October 1677 to classical scholar and poet Nicolaas Heinsius the Elder in The Hague, underlines that the production of etchings (differing in complexity and size) was not only expensive but also time-consuming.

The foregoing letter covers costs for the engraving and the printing of two hundred copies of a minutely cut portrait of the Swedish diplomat, philologist and poet Johannes Rutgers (1589–1625), Nicolaas's uncle. The sitter's portrait is placed in an oval with a signed poem by Heinsius ('Nic. Heinsius D.F. Avunculo P.') below it in a tablet. It turns out the undated portrait (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-62.043) was made after a painting (Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. no. PE 120) by the Delft painter Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt (1566–1642), sent to Amsterdam by Heinsius to Elzevier. The portrait is included in Matthijs Balen's *Beschryvinge der stad Dordrecht*, Dordrecht, 1677 and affirms Elzevier commissioned the portrait to grace Rutgers's biography printed on pages 210 to 212.

Here is what Elzevier's assistant wrote to Heinsius about the trial sheets and costs of their printing on paper (on less than half a ream of paper):

> Dear Sir,
> In absence of mister Elzevier [we have now] received the prints of Mr Johannes Rutgersius enclosed [in this letter] as well as the plate and the small painting. I do not doubt you will be satisfied [with the result]. This is a specification of the costs to be paid:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | for the cutting of the plate and letters in it | fl. 57 |
> | for the printing of two hundred engravings | fl. 1: 16 |
> | the paper | fl. 1: 14[86] |

In section 46 (AT VIII, 100), Descartes* concludes that bodies in the universe move in separate directions and 'have a sort of circular motion', thus defining the Cartesian vortex theory of circularly-moving bands of particles. Descartes's physical vortex theory of planetary motion explains celestial phenomena moving in indefinite interlocking circling bands of material particles. *See* also: *PP* 3 (G 1/226–230). Background: Daniel Garber, *Descartes' Metaphysical Physics* (Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); Tad M. Schmaltz, *Descartes on Causation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Spinoza's commentary is contained in: *PP* 2p9 (G 1/198–199). For cometary motion in Descartes: Tofigh Heidarzadeh, *A History of Physical Theories of Comets, From Aristotle to Whipple* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), pp. 69–77. *Corpus*: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 190–191.

83 René Descartes*, *Principles of Philosophy*, Valentine Rodger Miller and Reese P. Miller (eds. and transl.) (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1983), p. 56.

84 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–61): *OP*, XXIX, p. 469; *NS*, 'Negenentwintigste Brief', p. 524.

85 Martial Gueroult, 'Spinoza's Letter on the Infinite', in Marjorie Grene (ed.), *Spinoza: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), pp. 182–212, at pp. 203–204.

86 'Mijn Heer. In absentie van Monsieur Elsevier de Afdrucksels van D'Heer Johannes Rutgersius ontfangen die hier nevens gaen als mede de plaet en het schilderijtien twijffel niet of sal naar UEd Contentement sijn. Hier nevens specificatie van alle de onkosten daer voor betaelt, voor het snijden van de plaat en letteren daer in f. 57: -, voor het drucken van 200 platen f. 1:16, het papier f. 1: 14' (Utrecht, University Library, ms. 1346, 25 October 1677). Possibly, the said prints were proof sheets of the portrait without the poem, the letters of which were cut in the plate at a later stage. The portrait is entitled: 'Johannes Rutgersius Gustavo

An earlier letter sent to Heinsius, on 7 October 1677, gives an indication of the costs estimated by the further unnamed engraver himself of the time needed to cut the portrait in the oval itself. It turns out the latter was Lambert Visscher (1633–1690); his name is engraved below the portrait and the poem: 'Lamb. Visscher Sculp.' Visscher is assumed to have left Amsterdam for Italy in around 1673. The information contained in the correspondence strongly implies that, by the time also Spinoza's posthumous writings were prepared and processed (1677), Visscher was still in Amsterdam and engraved the portrait now printed in Balen's *Beschryvinge*.

On 7 October, Elzevier informed Heinsius the engraver had told him the work would take him about three weeks to finish:

> I have spoken to the engraver about the portrait of the late mister Rutgers. He assumes he can start work on it next Monday and will finish it in three weeks time.[87]

This now being said, it becomes apparent from another letter of Elzevier to Heinsius (17 November 1677), that, after the engraver had cut the oval with the portrait, the plate was passed to a second engraver, specializing in cutting the letters of the couplet in the copperplate's tablet. About the etching's production Elzevier wrote to Heinsius the following:

> [I] have received the portrait of mister Rutgers from the engraver [and it] is now, since last Saturday, in the hands of the person who will cut the letters in it.[88]

7 Indexes and List of Errata

With respect to the errata list, after trial sheets of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* had been typeset, imposed, and printed, they were proofread at the printing office to trace flaws made during its production process, as was common practice in the printing industry. Whether Meyer and/or Spinoza also checked these is not known.[89]

The list of errata, included after the Preface ('ERRATA', sig. **r), shows thirty-four misprints found in the book.[90] Meyer in his prologue asks readers 'to correct the Typographical errors which have crept in', for such printing flaws could, arguably, stand in the way of a proper understanding of the book:

> For some of them could be an obstacle to a correct perception of the Author's intention, and the force of the Demonstration, as anyone who inspects them will easily see.[91]

A few corrections inventoried in the errata list concern errors in internal back-references. For instance, on page 25 in line 9, the main text reads '*ut ex Axiom.* 4. & 7. *satis constat*'. At this instance, according to the errata, 7 should be altered to 6. Readers are instructed to emend glosses in the external margins, too. In turn, though, new printing mistakes turn up in the list of errata itself.

Lodewijk Meyer's prologue, the errata list, and the book's indexes were conveyed to press after sheets of the main text of the Latin quarto were entirely printed and inspected to find unavoidable misprints on them. After completion, in regard to the indexes and the list of errata, the page numbers of postulates, definitions, axioms, propositions, proofs, scholia, lemmas, and corollaries as well as the misprints were now known.

Perhaps, Meyer also composed the two indexes following the errata: 'Index Propositionum, Lemmatum, & Corollariorum, *Quae in* 1. 2. & 3. *Principiorum Philosophiae partibus continentur*.' (Index of Propositions, Lemmas, and Corollaries, Contained in Parts 1, 2, and 3 [of the] 'Principles of Philosophy', sigs **2r–**3r); and 'Index

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Magno Regi A Consiliis et Legationibus' (British Museum, object no.: O,5.31). In 1653, Heinsius* had added poems to a new edition of his *Poemata* (printed by Elzevier*) made by his uncle Rutgers and prefaced by the latter's concise biography. A copy of the PP/CM is listed in: *Bibliotheca Heinsiana sive catalogus librorum, quos, magno studio, & sumtu, dum viveret, collegit vir illustris Nicolaus Heinsius, Dan. fil.*, ... (2 parts in 1 vol., Leiden: 1682), p. 226, no. 215. For the development of etchings between 1480 and 1650, *see*: Emily J. Peters, *The Brilliant Line. Following the Early Modern Engraver 1480–1650* (Providence, RI: Museum of Art, 2009).

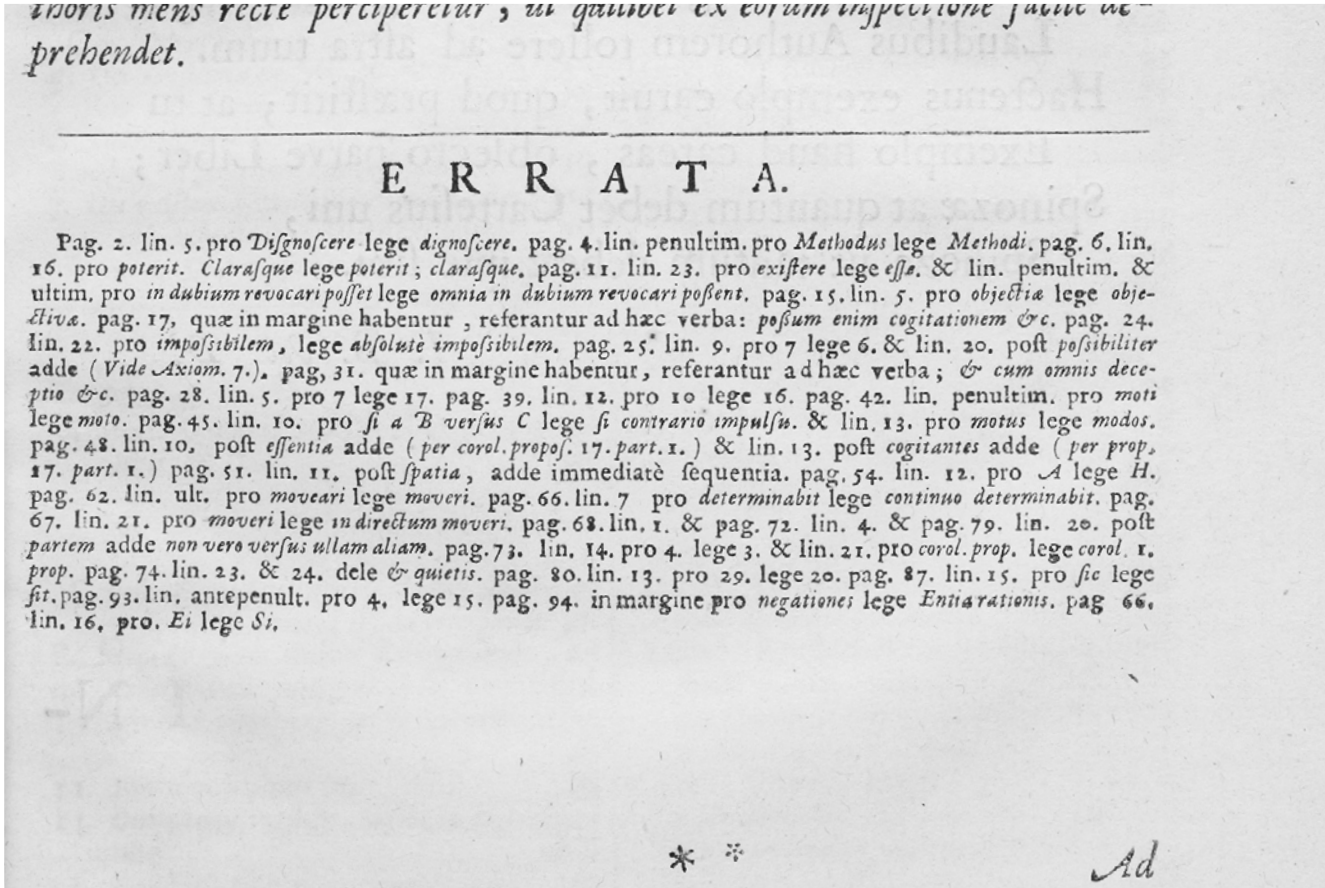
87 'Ik hebbe met de plaetsnijder wegens het pourtrait van d'Heer Rutgers zalr. gesprooken. Hij neemt aen het selve toekoomende maendagh in dry weken gedaen te hebben'. On 17 October 1677, Elzevier* informed Heinsius* about the progress made: 'Aen het Portrait vande Heer Rutgersius wert gesneden, ende sal soo en nieu sijn als het niemant hier te lande soude kennen doen.' (Utrecht, University Library, ms. 1346).

88 'Het portrait vande Heer Rutgers hebbe vanden Plaetsnyder ontfanghen is nu onder handen vandegeene soo de letters daerin moet snijden, dewelcke het sedert verleden saterdagh heeft gehad.' (ibid.).

89 Unfolded sheets were checked by the compositor; typeset pages 'uncaged' and faults reset, again 'caged' with rope once more. Next, clean 'proofs' with corrections could be reprinted. Cf. Hellinga, *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden*, p. 146.

90 G 1/127–133.

91 '*... talia enim quaedam inter ea sunt, quae obicem ponere possent, quominus Demonstrationis vis, & Authoris mens recte percipieretur, ut quilibet ex eorum inspectione facile deprehendet.*' (G 1/133; CW, vol. 1, p. 230).



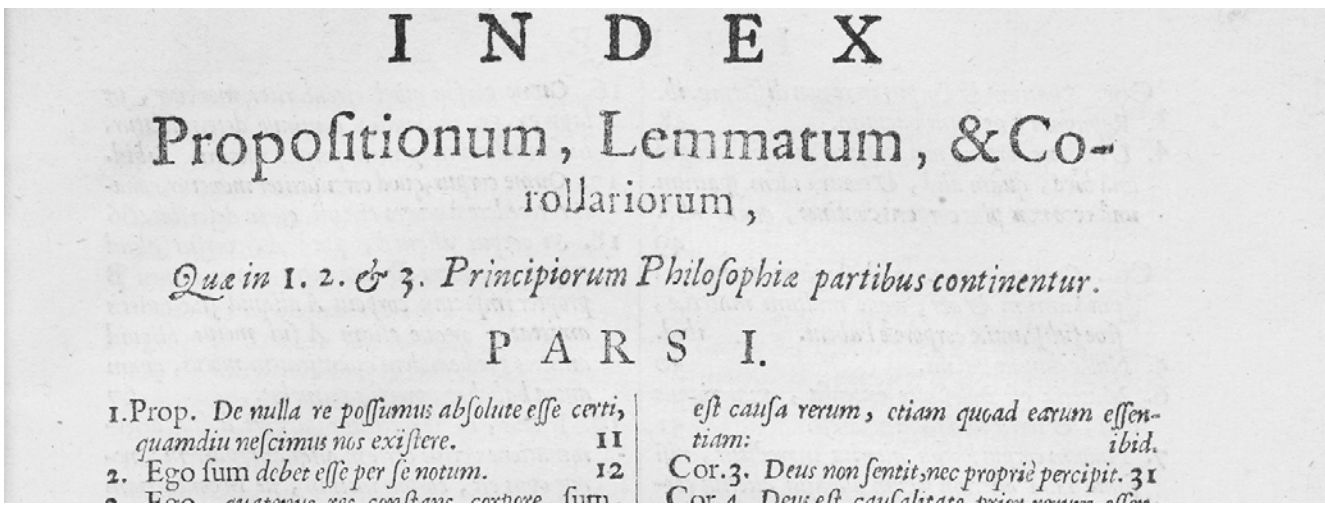
thoris mens recte percipereтur, ut quilibet ex eorum inspectione facile de-
prehendet.

ERRATA.

Pag. 2. lin. 5. pro *Diſgnoſcere* lege *dignoſcere*. pag. 4. lin. penultim. pro *Methodus* lege *Methodi*. pag. 6. lin. 16. pro *poterit. Claraſque* lege *poterit; claraſque*. pag. 11. lin. 23. pro *exiſtere* lege *eſſe*. & lin. penultim. & ultim. pro *in dubium revocari poſſet* lege *omnia in dubium revocari poſſent*. pag. 15. lin. 5. pro *objectiæ* lege *objectivæ*. pag. 17. quæ in margine habentur, referantur ad hæc verba: *poſſum enim cogitationem &c.* pag. 24. lin. 22. pro *impoſsibilem*, lege *abſolutè impoſsibilem*. pag. 25. lin. 9. pro 7 lege 6. & lin. 20. poſt *poſsibiliter* adde (*Vide Axiom.* 7.). pag. 31. quæ in margine habentur, referantur ad hæc verba; *& cum omnis deceptio &c.* pag. 28. lin. 5. pro 7 lege 17. pag. 39. lin. 12. pro 10 lege 16. pag. 42. lin. penultim. pro *moti* lege *moto*. pag. 45. lin. 10. pro *ſi a B verſus C* lege *ſi contrario impulſu*. & lin. 13. pro *motus* lege *modos*. pag. 48. lin. 10. poſt *eſſentia* adde (*per corol. propoſ.* 17. *part.* 1.) & lin. 13. poſt *cogitantes* adde (*per prop.* 17. *part.* 1.) pag. 51. lin. 11. poſt *ſpatia*, adde immediatè ſequentia. pag. 54. lin. 12. pro *A* lege *H*. pag. 62. lin. ult. pro *moveari* lege *moveri*. pag. 66. lin. 7 pro *determinabit* lege *continuo determinabit*. pag. 67. lin. 21. pro *moveri* lege *in directum moveri*. pag. 68. lin. 1. & pag. 72. lin. 4. & pag. 79. lin. 20. poſt *partem* adde *non vero verſus ullam aliam*. pag. 73. lin. 14. pro 4. lege 3. & lin. 21. pro *corol. prop.* lege *corol.* 1. *prop.* pag. 74. lin. 23. & 24. dele *& quietis*. pag. 80. lin. 13. pro 29. lege 20. pag. 87. lin. 15. pro *ſic* lege *ſit*. pag. 93. lin. antepenult. pro 4. lege 15. pag. 94. in margine pro *negationes* lege *Entia rationis*. pag 66. lin. 16. pro. *Ei* lege *Si*.

* ⁂ *Ad*

ILLUSTRATION 2.3 List of errata following Lodewijk Meyer's Preface of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.



INDEX

Propoſitionum, Lemmatum, & Corollariorum,

Quæ in 1. 2. *&* 3. *Principiorum Philoſophiæ partibus continentur.*

PARS I.

1. Prop. *De nulla re poſſimus abſolute eſſe certi, quamdiu neſcimus nos exiſtere.* 11
2. Ego ſum *debet eſſe per ſe notum.* 12

eſt cauſa rerum, etiam quoad earum eſſentiam: *ibid.*

Cor. 3. *Deus non ſentit, nec propriè percipit.* 31

ILLUSTRATION 2.4 First index (of propositions, lemmas, and corollaries) preceding the main text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.

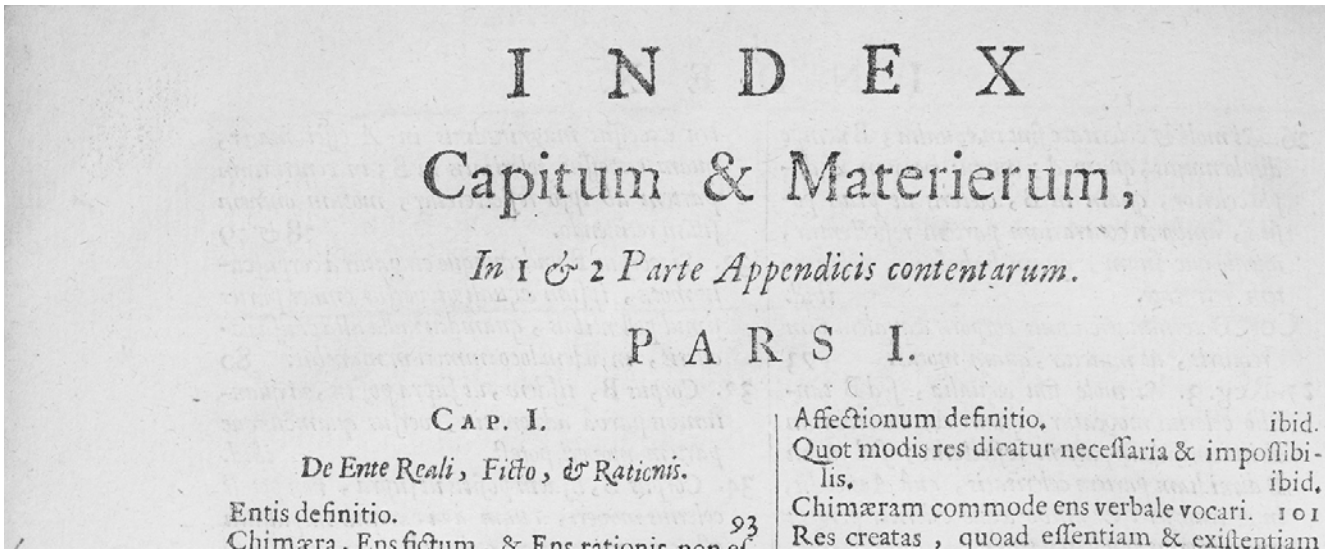

INDEX
Capitum & Materierum,
In 1 *&* 2 *Parte Appendicis contentarum.*
PARS I.
CAP. I.
De Ente Reali, Ficto, & Rationis.
Entis definitio. 93
Affectionum definitio. ibid.
Quot modis res dicatur necessaria & impossibilis. ibid.
Chimæram commode ens verbale vocari. 101
Res creatas, quoad essentiam & existentiam

ILLUSTRATION 2.5 Second index (covering chapters and topics) preceding the main text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.

Capitum & Materierum, *In* 1 & 2 *Parte Appendicis contentarum. Pars* I.' (Index of Chapters and Topics, Contained in Parts 1 and 2 of the Appendix, sigs **3^{v}–**4^{v}).

8 Selling Spinoza's First Book to the General Public

In the seventeenth century, publishers-retailers distributed copies of books to booksellers or other customers in an unbound state ('en blanc'), either in bundles of folded sheets or broadsheets, or in provisionally bound folded gatherings, temporarily sewn and held in paper wrappers. They could also have been bound their copies at the stores of booksellers who employed binders. More typically, customers would have them sewn and bound by hand by a specialist bookbinder of their choice, according to fashion, price, personal requirements, and individual taste, as was general practice in those days when edition binding was not known.

Whether Rieuwertsz *père* too offered customers the possibility to have their books bound at his shop is not documented. Along with decorated leather bindings of calfskin or sheepskin, a substantial number of copies were in those days bound in relatively cheap vellum 'spitsel' bindings (coverings with laced-in thongs), usually without any gilt-leaf decoration or blind-tooling on their covers or spines.[92] The exact publishing date of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* is uncertain. A *terminus post quem* is established by the postscript of the aforementioned letter of Spinoza to Meyer of 3 August 1663, written when the book was still in production at Daniel Bakkamude's workshop.

No particulars about the production size of the book are recorded. Its selling price also remains unknown.[93] A total of 152 copies of the Latin edition are known to have survived in international library holdings, including the personal annotated copy of Spinoza's German correspondent Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.[94] Because it is uncertain what percentage of the original quantity of printing the number

92 The German bookbinder Anshelmus Faust composed the first bookbinder's manual in Europe. It has survived, in manuscript (1612), in a bi-lingual rendition in French and Dutch: 'Beschrijvinghe ende onderwijsinghe ter discreter en vermaerder consten des boeckbinders handwerck'. Modern edition: Anshelmus Faust, *Beschrijvinghe ende onderwijsinghe ter discreter en vermaerder consten des boeckbinders handwerck. Prescription et enseignement de la discrète et fameuse science de la manifacture des relieures de livres*, Georges Colin (ed.) (Brussels: Bibliotheca Wittockiana, 1987).

93 Seventeenth-century book production increased substantially, due to advances in technique and increases in demand, compared to the previous century. For this reason prices dropped considerably. According to Bowers (*Principles*, p. 108), the laws of the London's 'Stationer's Company, limiting the usual commercial edition of an early book to about 1,500 copies, had a marked effect on multiplying the publication of popular works. Mid-seventeenth-century book prices are discussed in: Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity*, pp. 81–82.

94 Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek–Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Leibniz Marg. 31. Leibniz's marginal notes are published in: Ludwig Stein, 'Neue Aufschlüsse über den literarischen Nachlass und die Herausgabe der Opera posthuma Spinoza', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1 (1888), pp. 554–565, there at pp. 355–362, annex 19. Because of references to the *E*, his notes probably date from around 1676 or 1677.

ILLUSTRATION 2.6 Visitors to a seventeenth-century bookshop look curiously at newly-published works and etchings. Stored on the lower shelves are bound books. Above them are reams of paper or unbound books in unfolded sheets waiting for their binding.

ILLUSTRATION 2.7 In a second room of the bookstore, customers look at framed paintings. On the left, a young boy at a sewing frame is sewing the gatherings of a book. Visible on the counter is a press with a book in it. Books in this room, bound and unbound, are stored on shelves.

of surviving copies represent, making a sophisticated estimate of the book's planned printed run is impossible.

During the late 1660s, several copies of the Latin edition also found their way to Switzerland, as is evidenced by a catalogue published in 1670 by Jean Antoine and Samuel de Tournes, Huguenot book dealers and printers at Geneva.[95] Their *Catalogus universalis* lists, under the category 'Miscellanei', the following: 'De-Spinoza Bened. Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae demonstrata. 4. Amst. 1663'.[96] Whether Rieuwertsz *père* had business relations with the De Tournes brothers and how many copies went to Switzerland is not further known.

Apparently, Amsterdam booksellers other than father and son Rieuwertsz also sold copies of Spinoza's works in their shops. In the auction catalogue (August 1681) of books kept in stock by the then just recently deceased bookseller Daniel Elzevier, copies are listed of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and of the *Opera posthuma*: 'Spinosae ( ) Opera posthuma, 4. 1677. | — in Descartes Principia Philosophiae, 4. Am-|sterd. 1663.'. The same catalogue also mentions copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, but without Spinoza's name: '— [patently standing for: Tractatus] Theologico.Politicus, 4. Hamb. 1670'. In addition, *De nagelate schriften* are listed, too: 'Spinosa Opera, 4. 1677'.[97] How Elzevier and Rieuwertsz *père* and his son Jan organized their business is not documented. Elzevier might have bought copies from Rieuwertsz (per ream of paper), but it is documented that booksellers interchanged copies in loose sheets, a business deal in Dutch called 'vermangelen' or 'mangelinge'. Historical evidence confirms, in any case, that during the late 1690s only a few copies were still available of Spinoza's first book.[98]

95 Jean Antoine de Tournes (1624–1682) and his brother Samuel I de Tournes (1628–1695) came from a prominent bookseller- and printer family who during the second half of the sixteenth century had transferred from Lyon to Geneva. Initially, the De Tournes dynasty specialized in the production of Latin and French editions of the work of the Italian humanist Giovanni Andrea Alciato (1492–1550). Later, they turned to producing reprints of learned works for the European market. For the De Tournes family: Alfred Cartier, *Bibliographie des éditions des De Tournes imprimeurs Lyonnais* (2 vols., Paris: Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales de France, 1937–8), vol. 1, esp. pp. 6–32.

96 *Catalogus universalis, librorum qui reperiuntur in officinâ Ioannis Ant. & Samuelis de Tournes bibliopolarum Geneventium. …* (Geneva: 1670), p. 361.

97 *Catalogus librorum qui in bibliopolio Danielis Elsevirii venales extant, & quorum auctio habebitur in aedibus defuncti* (Amsterdam: 1681), pp. 431 (*OP* and *PP*/*CM*), 444 (*TTP*), and 11 (*NS*, 'Catalogus van de Nederduytsche Boeken'). Elzevier: BL.

98 '… ut persuadeas lectoribus te Spinozae locum propterea integrum exhibere, quia ejus cogitata metaphysica jam ab aliqua

ILLUSTRATION 2.8
A bookbinder at a sewing frame in a bookshop or bindery is sewing gatherings of a book.

According to an entry of late June 1703 recorded in the Stolle/'Hallmann' journals reporting about their visit to the Amsterdam bookshop of Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*, only a handful of printed copies remained of 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts', and of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Apparently because of reduced customer's interest, Rieuwertsz *fils* did not intend further printings of these works. The entry in the Stolle/'Hallmann' diaries reads thus:

> Nowadays, almost nobody in Holland values the writings of Spinoza. Thus, although he [once] had [many] admirers, ten years after his death [he] had all lost them. This is also why he [Rieuwertsz *fils*] had no intention to put to press again 'Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II;

annis vix reperiuntur, nec in Bibliopolarum officinis prostant.' (... that you persuade readers presenting this entire passage from Spinoza, because his 'Cogitata metaphysica' can already for a couple of years scarcely be found, and [these] are not sold in booksellers' shops; Frans Burman (11), *Burmannorum pietas, gratissimiae beati parentis memoriae communi nomine exhibita, ..., adjiciuntur mutuae Cl. Limburgi & Fr. Burmanni epistolae* (Utrecht: 1700), p. 37.

Cogitata metaphysica' and the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' (of which apart from a few copies left he had none).[99]

Spinoza's *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* attracted both national and international attention. Burchard de Volder, (1643–1709), the Leiden professor of natural philosophy and mathematics and founder of the Leiden *Theatrum physicum*, for example, was interested in some of Spinoza's notions upheld in the work. In the so-called 'Hamburg 273' series of his dictates on Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' he referred students to Spinoza's clarification of axiom 14 of Part 2 positively.[100]

German Cartesianism was imported from the Netherlands whereas many German students studied in Leiden. For this reason, the Cartesian Duisburg scholar Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665), later professor of philosophy at Herborn, also went for his studies to Leiden.[101] Apparently, Spinoza's adumbration was taken as an important scholarly commentary on Descartes. For this reason, the German theologian Johann Ludwig Fabritius (1632–1696) even approached the Dutch philosopher in early 1673 to accept the vacant chair of philosophy and mathematics at Heidelberg University, on behalf of Karl Ludwig (1619–1680), Elector Palatine and brother of Descartes's correspondent Elizabeth of Bohemia (1618–1680). Spinoza turned down this prestigious offer, in all likelihood because he had no ambition to serve any public office or wanted to become the object of academic or worldly censorship.[102] Fabritius himself, according to his necrology ('Spinoza scripta detestatur'), was fundamentally opposed to the Elector's decision to approach Spinoza for a professorship precisely because of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s radical message.

⁘

FIRST AND ONLY LATIN EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 2.9–2.22)

Short Title

Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Amsterdam, *printer*: Daniel Bakkamude, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1663.

Geometrically demonstrated digest of Descartes's 1644 'Principles of Philosophy' (Part 1 and 2, fragment of Part 3).

99 'Jetzo sey fast niemand mehr in Holland der Spinozae Scripta aestimire. Denn so viel als er sonst aestimatores gehabt, so hätten sie sich doch 10 jahr nach seinem tode alle verlohren, daher er auch die Principia Cartes. geometr. demonstrat. und den Tract. Theologico-Politicum (Ob er schon über ein paar exemplaria nicht mehr habe) nicht wieder auflegen werde.' (S/H, ms. B, W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 86). Rieuwertsz *fils*: BL.

100 G 1/184.30–185.3; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. philos. 273, p. 101 ('vide Spinozam in principiorum Cartesii partem secundam axiomate XIV'). The reference is to: Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae*, II, 33 (AT VIII, 58–59). De Volder had a keen interest in the New Philosophy and favoured the deductive observation method. He was the first university physics professor to introduce (1675) experimentation in his approach of issues on mechanics, hydraulics, and optics, demonstrating for instance to his students the air-pump. De Volder's friends included men like Leibniz*, Huygens*, Boyle*, and Newton. There is also an intimation in 1665, or thereabouts, he was in contact with Spinoza himself: Pieter Baert to Huygens, 5 February 1676 (Christiaan Huygens, *Œuvres complètes: Correspondance* (*1638–84*) [vols. 1–8 and 22, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1888–9/1950], vol. 8, pp. 3–4). See: Andrea Strazzoni, *Burchard de Volder and the Age of the Scientific Revolution* (n. pl.: Springer, 2019), pp. 122–123. For De Volder: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 1041–1044.

101 Wiep van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza. An Essay on Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 164. For Clauberg: Theo Verbeek (ed.), *Johannes Clauberg* (*1622–1665*) *and Cartesian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 210–212; Alice Ragni, 'Johannes Clauberg and the Search for the Initium Philosophiae: The Recovery of (Cartesian) Metaphysics', in Steven Nadler, etc. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Descartes and Cartesianism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 465–480.

102 1673.02.[26], Ep 47 (G 4/234–235); 1673.03.30, Ep 48 (G 4/235–236). The plan to approach Spinoza for a professorship was probably first hatched by Urbain Chevreau (1613–1701), personal adviser to the Elector Palatine from 1671 to 1676. In his *Chevraeana, ou diverses pensées d'histoire de critique, d'érudition et de morale* (2 vols., Amsterdam: 1697), he claims he had brought Spinoza to the attention of Karl Ludwig: 'Etant à la Cour du même Electeur, je parlay fort avantageusement de *Spinoza* quoyque je ne connusse encore ce Juif Protestant que par la premiere & la deuxiéme Partie de la Philosophie de M. Descartes, imprimées à Amsterdam chez Jean Riewertz en 1663. Monsieur l'Electeur avoit ce Livre; & aprés lui en avoir leu quelques chapitres, il se resolut de l'appeller dans son Academie de Heidelberg pour y enseigner la Philosophie, *A condition de ne point dogmatizer*. Monsieur Fabrice Professeur alors en Theologie eut ordre du Maître de lui écrire:….' (While [I was] at the court of the same Elector, I spoke strongly in favour of Spinoza, although I knew this Protestant Jew only from the First and Second Part of Mr Descartes's Philosophy, printed in Amsterdam by Jan Rieuwertsz in 1663. The lord Elector owns this book, and after he had read several chapters, he decided to call him to his academy at Heidelberg to teach philosophy there, [but] *on the condition not to dogmatize*. Mr Fabritius, professor of theology, was given order by his master to write to him:….; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 105–106).

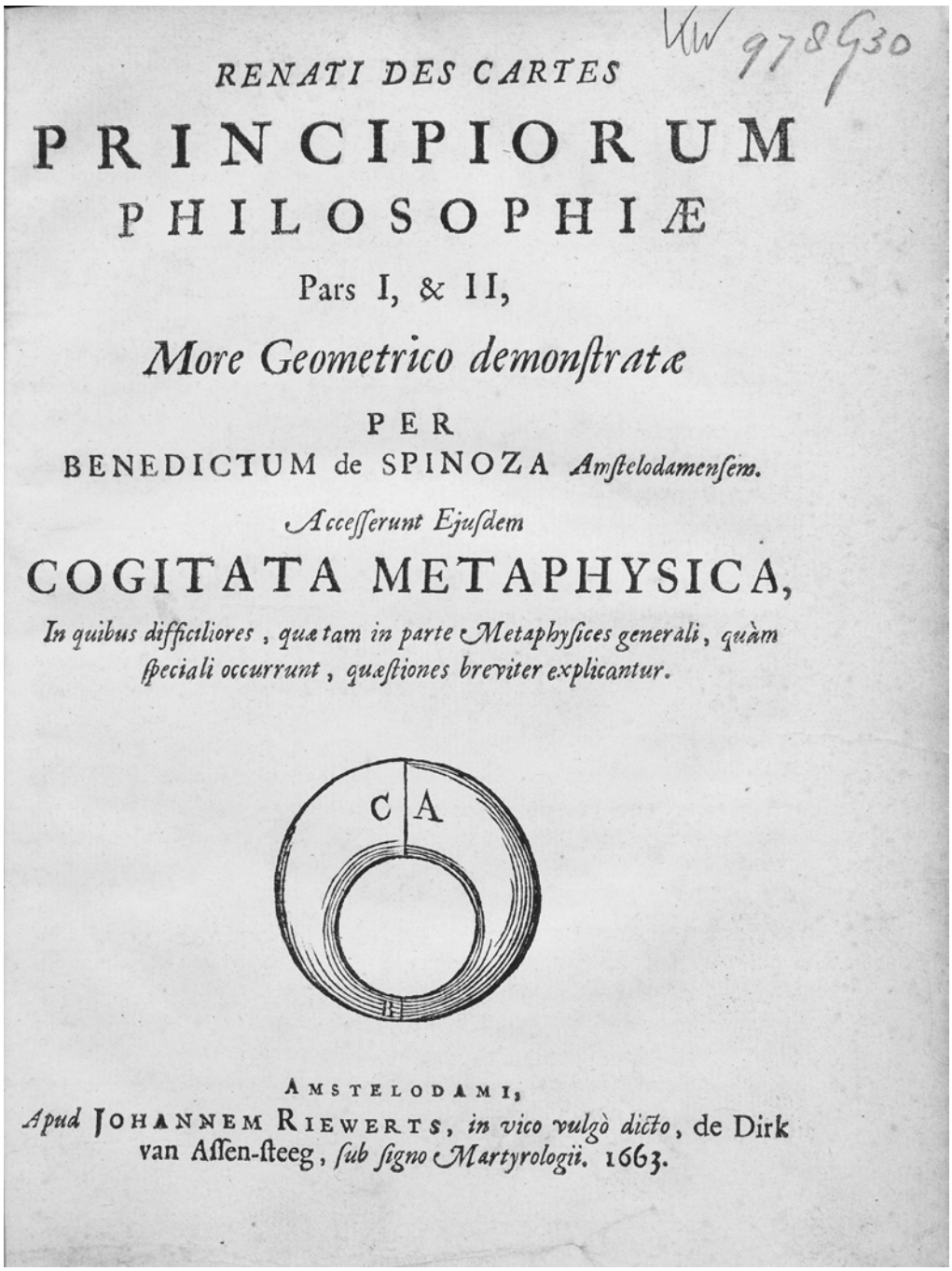


ILLUSTRATION 2.9 Title-page of Spinoza's first book: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica.*

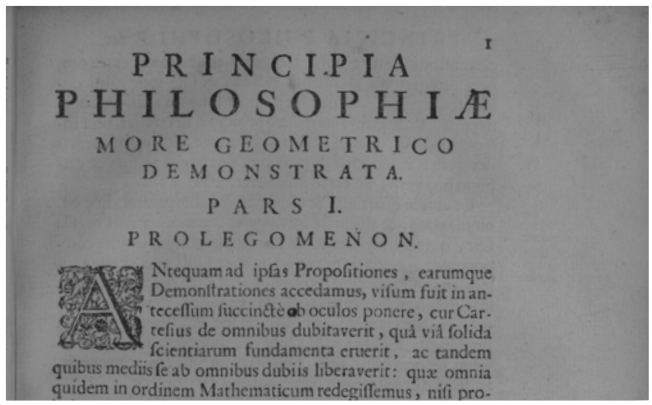
With Spinoza's own 'Metaphysical Thoughts'. Prepared for the press by Lodewijk Meyer, in consultation with Spinoza. Cross-references and captions by Meyer under of Spinoza's personal direction.
– Latin text; subsidiary language: Hebrew.
– Title-page has Spinoza's full name.
– Imprint has the name of publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the address of his Amsterdam bookshop ('Dirk van Assensteeg'), and the Latin text of the store's sign ('*sub signo Martyrologii*').
– Title-page decoration: physical illustration (also gracing the title-page of the book's Dutch rendition published in 1664).
– Prologue by Lodewijk Meyer.
– Dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' (sig. **v), signed '*I. B. M. D.*' [Johannes Bouwmeester].
– Contains (decorated) initials and illustrations.
– Contains two indexes.
– Contains list of errata.

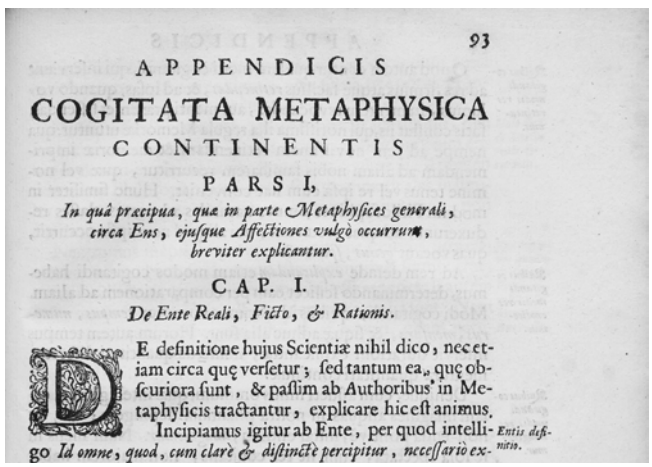
Exemplar
Spinoza's autograph manuscript and/or an apograph, together with Meyer's editorial interventions, served as printer's copy but is no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* *)**
RENATI (swash R, N, and T) *DES CARTES* (swash T) | PRINCIPIORUM | PHILOSOPHIÆ | Pars I, & II, | *More Geometrico demonſtratæ* | PER | BENEDICTUM de SPINOZA *Amſtelodamenſem.* | *Acceſſerunt* (swash A) *Ejuſdem* | COGITATA METAPHYSICA, | *In quibus difficiliores , quæ tam in parte Metaphyſices* (swash M) *generali , quàm* | *ſpeciali occurrunt , quæſtiones breviter explicantur.* | (geometrical visual) | AMSTELODAMI, | *Apud* JOHANNEM RIEWERTS, *in vico vulgò dicto,* de Dirk | van Affen-steeg, *ſub ſigno Martyrologii* (swash M). | 1663.

Language(s) and Typography
Latin, occasionally pointed Hebrew (p. 120). Old-style serif roman founts of type from the Amsterdam printing house of Daniel Bakkamude. Glosses in external margins (italics). Normally thirty-three and thirty-four lines, with variations in different parts of the main work.

Printed diacritics (Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 21): 'indeclinabilia' ending in *am*, *um*, and *us*, as well as the prepositions (*à* and *è*) are fitted with a grave. Circumflexes indicate contraction and the ablative ending -â; they are absent from the genitive singular and nominative and accusative plural endings in *-us*. Adverb *hîc*, when marked, has a circumflex. The acute is absent, except for *adeóque* in the Preface, *adeòque* is also present. Inconsistent usage of diaeresis, separating two vowels.


PRINCIPIA
PHILOSOPHIÆ
MORE GEOMETRICO
DEMONSTRATA.
PARS I.
PROLEGOMENON.
ANtequam ad ipſas Propoſitiones, earumque Demonſtrationes accedamus, viſum fuit in anteceſſum ſuccinctè ob oculos ponere, cur Carteſius de omnibus dubitaverit, quâ viâ ſolida ſcientiarum fundamenta eruerit, ac tandem quibus mediis ſe ab omnibus dubiis liberaverit: quæ omnia quidem in ordinem Mathematicum redegiſſemus, niſi pro-


APPENDICIS
COGITATA METAPHYSICA
CONTINENTIS
PARS I,
In quâ præcipua, quæ in parte Metaphyſices generali, circa Ens, ejuſque Affectiones vulgò occurrunt, breviter explicantur.
CAP. I.
De Ente Reali, Fictо, & Rationis.
DE definitione hujus Scientiæ nihil dico, nec etiam circa quę verſetur; ſed tantum ea, quę obſcuriora ſunt, & paſſim ab Authoribus in Metaphyſicis tractantur, explicare hic eſt animus.
Incipiamus igitur ab Ente, per quod intelligo *Id omne, quod, cum clarè & diſtinctè percipitur, neceſſariò exiſtere.* *Entis definitio.*

ILLUSTRATIONS 2.10 AND 2.11 First pages of Part 1 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II* and of the *Cogitata metaphysica.*

Prime Literals/Misprints
– Title-page, subtitle: '*difficiliores*' misses dot on third *i*: '*difficıliores*'.

Acceſſerunt Ejuſdem
COGITATA METAPHYSICA,
In quibus difficiliores, quæ tam in parte Metaphyſices generali, quàm ſpeciali occurrunt, quæſtiones breviter explicantur.

ILLUSTRATION 2.12 Detail of title-page of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* with literal ('difficıliores').

– P. 137, running headline 'PARS II. CAP. XII.': lacks spacing, misprinted as 'PARSII. CAP. XII.' (outer forme of gathering S).

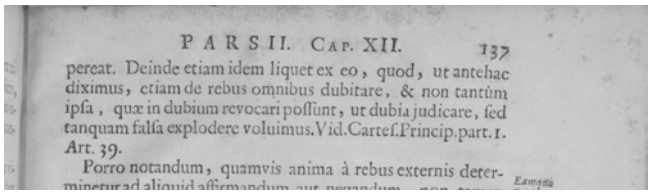

PARS II. CAP. XII. 137
pereat. Deinde etiam idem liquet ex eo, quod, ut antehac diximus, etiam de rebus omnibus dubitare, & non tantùm ipsa, quæ in dubium revocari possunt, ut dubia judicare, sed tanquam falsa explodere voluimus. Vid. Cartes. Princip. part. 1. Art. 39.
Porro notandum, quamvis anima à rebus externis deter-

ILLUSTRATION 2.13 Detail of page 137 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* with running headlines' caption lacking space in the indication of part and number.

- Literal in list of errata: misprint of 'pag. 38' as 'pag. 28' (outer forme of **).
- Literal in list of errata: correction for page 87 reads 'lin. 15' but it should be: 'lin. 17'.
- Literal in list of errata: misprint of 'pag 96.' as 'pag 66.'.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

166304 – a1 *2 ue$hin : a2 ** gine$pro
166304 – b1 **2 natura : b2 **3 tur.icul
166304 – c1 A pr : c2 M ngu
166304 – d1 M3 licet$i : d2 S2 tate

Collation

4°: *4 **4 A–R4 S2 [$3 (–M2 (part-title leaf)), S: $2]
78 leaves = pp. [*16*] 1–140

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of prologue and lists of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper-middle margin: PRÆFATIO.; INDEX.; PRINCIPIA PHILOSOPHIÆ &c. (verso), PARS I. (recto, with subsequent part numbers); APPENDICIS (verso), PARS I. CAP. 1. (recto, with subsequent part and chapter numbers); p. 140: APPENDICIS &c.

Contents

*r	(title-page)
*v	(blank)
*2r–**r	CANDIDO LECTORI S.P.D. LUDOVICUS MEYER. (Preface)
**r	ERRATA. (thirty-four corrections, for pp. 2, 4, 6, 11 [2×], 15, 17, 24, 25 [2×], 28, 31, 39, 42, 45 [2×], 48 [2×], 51, 54, 62, 66 [2×], 67, 68 [3×], 72, 73, [2×], 74, 87, 93, 94)
**v	Ad Librum. (Signed: I. B. M. D.) (followed by a dedicatory poem [by Johannes Bouwmeester], ten lines)
2r–3r	INDEX Propositionum, Lemmatum, & Corollariorum, Quae in I. 2. & 3. Principiorum Philosophiae partibus continentur.
3v–4v	INDEX Capitum & Materierum, In 1 & 2 Parte Appendicis contentarum. PARS 1.
A1r–E4v	PRINCIPIA PHILOSOPHIAE MORE GEOMETRICO DEMONSTRATA. PARS I. PROLEGOMENON.
F1r–L3r	PRINCIPIA PHILOSOPHIAE MORE GEOMETRICO DEMONSTRATA. PARS II. POSTULATUM.
L3v–M1v	PRINCIPIA PHILOSOPHIAE MORE GEOMETRICO DEMONSTRATA. PARS III.
M2r	APPENDIX, *CONTINENS* COGITATA METAPHYSICA, *IN QUIBUS* Difficiliores, quae in Metaphysices tam parte Generali, quam Speciali, circa Ens, ejusque Affectiones, Deum, ejusque Attributa, & Mentem humanam occurrunt, quaestiones breviter explicantur, *AUTHORE* BENEDICTO de SPINOZA, AMSTELODAMENSI. (part-title leaf)
M2v	(blank)
M3r–N1r	APPENDICIS COGITATA METAPHYSICA CONTINENTIS PARS I, In quâ praecipua, quae in parte Metaphysices generali, circa Ens, ejusque Affectiones vulgò occurunt, breviter explicantur. CAP. I. De Ente Reali, Ficto & Rationis.
N1r–N2r	CAP. II. *Quid sit esse Essentiae, quid esse Existentiae, quid esse Ideae, quid esse Potentiae*.
N2v–N4v	CAP. III. De eo, quod est Necessarium, Impossibile, Possibile & Contingens.
N4v	CAP. IV. *De Duratione, & Tempore*.
N4v–O1r	CAP. V. De Oppositione, Ordine, &c.
O1r–O3r	CAP. VI. *De Uno, Vero, & Bono.*
O3r–O4v	APPENDICES COGITATA METAPHYSICA CONTINENTIS PARS II, In qua praecipua, quae in parte Metaphysices speciali circa Deum, ejusque Attributa, & Mentem humanam vulgo occurrunt, breviter explicantur. CAP. I. De Dei Aeternitate.
O4v–P1r	CAP. II. *De Unitate Dei.*
P1r–P2r	CAP. III. De Immensitate Dei.

P2r–P2v	CAP. IV. *De Immutabilitate Dei.*
P2v–P4v	CAP. V. De Simplicitate Dei.
P3v–P4v	CAP. VI. *De Vita Dei.*
P4v–Qv	CAP. VII. De Intellectu Dei.
Q2r–Q2v	CAP. VIII. *De Voluntate Dei.*
Q3r–Q4r	CAP. IX. *De Potentiâ Dei.*
Q4r–R2v	CAP. X. De Creatione.
R2v–R3v	CAP. XI. *De Concursu Dei.*
R3v–S2v	CAP. XII. De Mente Humana.

Ornament on Title-Page

Geometrical visual, relief woodcut, diam.: *c.*42 mm: two non-concentric circles representing a circular tube (comprising a maximum AC and minimum B of distance). The engraver is not known. The ornament on the title-page is repeated as physical illustration on p. 58 in *PP* 2p9. The visual also occurs on the title-page and on p. 68 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*.

Decorated Initials

Seven ornamented (acanthus) initials (M, I, A, P, P, D, J), relief woodcuts, containing the first letter of the first word of the Preface, the laudatory poem '*Ad Librum.*', all separate parts of Spinoza's digest of *Principia philosophiae*, his own *Cogitata metaphysica*, and accompanying appendices: pp. 41 (three lines, 16×15 mm), sig. *2r and 86 (four lines, 17×17 mm and 15×15 mm), sig. **r, pp. 1, 93, and 109 (five lines, varying dimensions: 17×15 mm, 20×20 mm, 20×21 mm, 25×25 mm). The smaller initial J on p. 109 is placed in a square border of acanthus motives.

Initials in the Latin edition of Spinoza's 'Principles of Philosopy' are matching identical initials in other books known to be printed by Bakkamude (Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', pp. 278–310, Appendix 2, pp. 300–301) are the following:

initial A

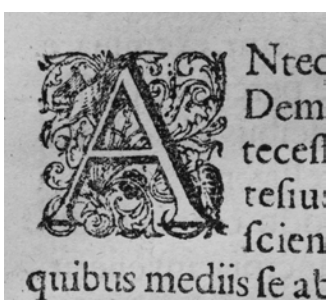


ILLUSTRATION 2.14
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 1 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*.

Also in:
- Joannus Crellius, *Opera omnia exegetica*, ... (Amsterdam: *c.*1665–8).
- Joachim Oudaen, *Roomsche mogentheyt, of nauwkeurige beschryving, van de macht en heerschappy der oude roomsche keyseren*, ... (Amsterdam: F. Kuyper, 1670).

initial D

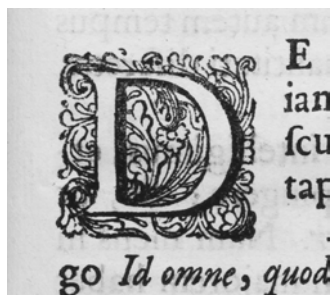


ILLUSTRATION 2.15
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 93 of the *Cogitata metaphysica*.

Also in:
- Joachim Oudaen, *Roomsche mogentheid in gezag en staatsbekleeding der oude keyzeren*, ... (Amsterdam: 1670).
- Petrus Nylandt, *De Nederlandtse herbarius of kruydtboeck*, ... (Amsterdam: 1670).

initial I

ILLUSTRATION 2.16
Ornamented acanthus initial in poem 'Ad Librum.' preceding *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.

Also in:
- Joachim Oudaen, *Roomsche mogentheid in gezag en staatsbekleeding der oude keyzeren*, ... (Amsterdam: F. Kuyper, 1664).
- Joachim Oudaen, *Roomsche mogentheyt, of naeuwkeurige beschryving, van de macht en heerschappy der oude roomsche Keyseren*, ... (Amsterdam: F. Kuyper, 1669).
- D.P. Pers, *De laetste vernieuwde Urania, of hemel-sangh: zijnde het II deel van Bellerophon, of lust tot wyshedt*, ... (Amsterdam: W. van Beaumont, 1669).

initial P

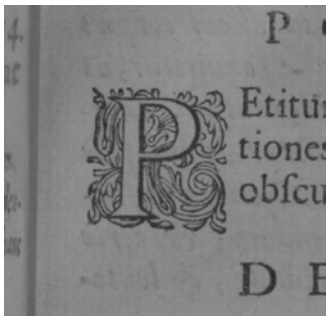


ILLUSTRATION 2.17
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 41 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*.

Also in:
– Jonas Szlichtyng, *Commentaria posthuma, in plerosque Novi Testamenti libros, …* (Amsterdam: n. d. [1665]).

initial P

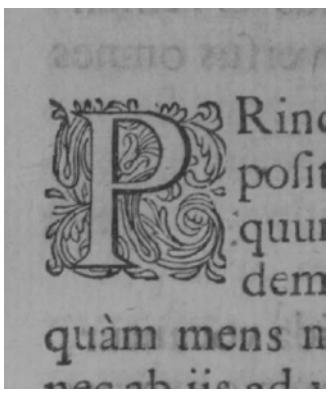


ILLUSTRATION 2.18
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 86 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*.

Also in:
– Anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, 1665–8).[103]

Two other initials, J (factotum initial) and M, do not match initials in other books known to have been processed by Bakkamude:

ILLUSTRATIONS 2.19 AND 2.20 Ornamented acanthus initials on page 109 and sig. *2r of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*.

Simple Initials
Plain (closed) black initials (two lines, *c*.8×*c*.8 mm), relief woodcuts: employed to head the first letter of the first word of definitions, proofs, axioms, and scholia in the digest and serve as the first letter of the Appendix's chapters.

Illustrations
Geometrical visuals, engraver not known, etchings made on polished copperplates, occurring in Part 2 of the 'Principles of Philosophy':
– P. 64, explaining PP 2p16dem1: on the motion of bodies moving in a straight line (41×46 mm).
– P. 65, for PP 2p16dem2: on bodily motion and the bodies' tendency to move in a straight line (67×63 mm).
– P. 75, for PP 2p27s (rule 3): equal bodies are determined to stir in the direction in which they are moving, and conversely (45×48 mm).
– P. 83, for PP 2p36dem: on bodily motion and speed (15×24 mm).

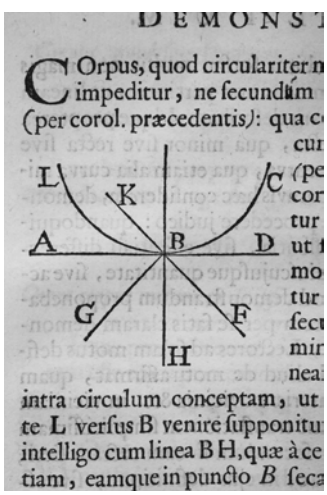


ILLUSTRATION 2.21
Example of geometrical visual on page 64 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*.

103 The bulky work (6,544 pp.), overseen by Benedykt Wiszowaty (*fl*.1650–1704), was edited by the Rotterdam Collegiant polemicist and printer Frans Kuyper*. *See*: Jeroom Vercruysse, '"Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum", histoire et bibliographie', *Ordrozenie i reformaja w Polsce,* 21 (1976), pp. 197–212; id., 'Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum, tables et index', *Tijdschrift voor de studie van de verlichting*, 5 (1977), pp. 379–403; Piet Visser, *Godtslasterlijck ende pernicieus. De rol van boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de verspreiding van dissidente religieuze en filosofische denkbeelden in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1995).

Physical illustrations, in Part 2, engraver not known:

- P. 42, explaining PP 2def8 (on local motion): two rectangular blocks A and B representing two 'contiguous bodies', shading, A depicted lengthwise, B positioned frontally (11×32 mm), repeated on pp. 67, 68, 73, and 78. Illustration borrowed from: Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* (p. 60, AT VIII, 68).
- P. 43, for PP 2def9 (on the 'circle of moved bodies'): circular 'ribbon', 'floating', divided into eight sections each of which is numbered 1 to 8, depicting 'a circle of moving bodies' (20×30 mm), repeated on pp. 45 and 58.
- P. 44, for PP 2a×14: two tubes A and C depicting two 'hollow pipes', unequal in diameter, shading (13×39 mm).
- P. 53, for PP 2p6s (on infinite extension): spoked wheel with capital letters A, B, and C depicting a body with exhibiting circular motion at the highest speed, shading (diam. 28 mm).
- P. 54, for PP 2p6s (on infinite extension): spoked wheel lettered A, B, C, rotating with the help of a belt and causing spoked wheel D, E, F (half its size) to turn, shading (27×60 mm).
- P. 57, for PP 2p8dem (on bodily motion and bodily contact): visual depicting the movement of separate bodies, three square blocks A, B and C, A on top of another block called B, below block B the letter D, shading (18×28 mm).
- P. 58, for PP 2p9dem (on motion in unequal spaces): two non-concentric circles representing a circular tube, comprising a maximum AC and minimum B of distance, filled with water, also used as printer's mark on title-page (diam. c.41 mm). Based on illustration in Descartes's 1644 *Principia philosophiae* (pp. 51 and 52, AT VIII, 59).
- P. 59, for PP 2p9lem (on motion in unequal spaces): two unequal (non-concentric) semicircles AB and CD (17×71 mm).
- P. 66, for PP 2p17dem (on bodily motion and the struggle of bodies moving in circles to move away from the centre of the circle it describes): geometrical visual explaining the movement of a stone, moving in a circle in a slingshot, held by a hand (55×38 mm). Based on illustration in Descartes's 1644 *Principia philosophiae* (p. 66, AT VIII, 64).
- P. 85, for PP 2p37dem (on bodily motion): segment representing singular bodies A, B, and C where body A is moving from C toward B (7×40 mm).

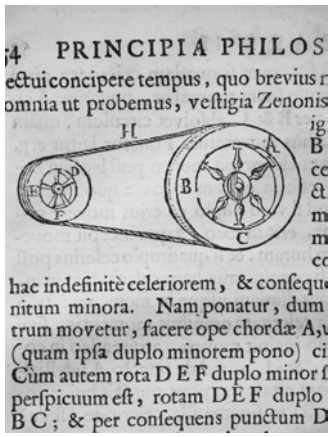


ILLUSTRATION 2.22
Example of physical illustration on page 54 of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II.*

Copies (*152*)

Copies Examined

PP/CM#1 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-1109
Modern binding, old shelf-mark with pencil (1815 B 36) on title-page in upper right corner, list of errata struck out with black ink; the same hand has written above printed caption 'ERRATA' in large upper-case capital letters: 'CORRECTA'; all corrections made by the same hand in black ink, minor brownspotting in places.
Provenance: circular library stamp on verso of title-page (Universiteit van Amsterdam).
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=IgNjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

PP/CM#2 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3618 (1)
Fine copy, minor spotting to pages, brown leather covering, spine on four raised bands (cords), gilt decorated blue papers, edges sprinkled with brown and red ink, old UvA shelf-mark: 2456 C 22[1)], bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1; OTM: O 60-3618 (2)).
Provenance: eighteenth-century owner's inscriptions of a certain Krippendorf(f) (presumably Heinrich Augustus Krippendorff) in black, red, and brown ink: note on Spinoza and on *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with below the remark the latter work was printed in Amsterdam: 'Ex Bibliotheca Krippendorfiana', another note in the left upper corner: 'C. Krippendorff. 1785.' (same family name and hand on title-page), in another eighteenth-century hand a reference to Vogt (*Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* [Hamburg: 1747], p.

802) in black ink, ex libris of the Dutch philosopher and humanist Leo Polak (1880–1941) on verso of title-page, signed 'Amst. 1921', below bookplate a circular stamp in black ink reading 'Leo Polak Stichting', modern corrections in pencil, by Polak very likely.[104]
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=yJplAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

PP/CM#3 COPENHAGEN, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Boghistoriske samlinger, Filos. 1100 kvart 41755
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, laced-in vellum thongs.
Provenance: late-eighteenth-century owner's mark by Joachim Junge (1760–1823), pastor of Blovstrød, on endpaper opposite to title-page ('Joach. Junge, pastor ecclesie Blovstrodiensis Selandia'), modern shelf-marks on first board paper (Royal Library).[105]

PP/CM#4 COPENHAGEN, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin Fil. 18770
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, laced-in vellum thongs, with handwritten title in black ink on spine ('SPINOSA | THEOL. POLIT. | *1670*. | PRINCIPIA PHIL | CARTESIANAE | COGIT. METAPH. | 1663.'), sprinkled edge in blue and red ink, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.4).
Provenance: late-seventeenth-century owner's mark on foot of title-page ('Jo. Grauwnius') in black ink, with another inscription in black ink in nineteenth-century hand ('[…] a Leipzig, G.J.P.'), nineteenth-century notes (Latin, Danish) on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in black ink on leaf opposite to title-page, owner's marks on the same page ('(Chr. Molbech) Hafn. 1804'; '(H. Bröchner), d. 28 Aug. 1857'), with quotation ('Slave to no sect, who takes no private road, But looks through Nature up to Nature's GOD!') by English poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744) from *An Essay on Man*, rectangular black library stamps (Royal Library).

PP/CM#5 HANOVER, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek–Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Leibniz Marg. 31
Late-seventeenth-century half-vellum binding with black and grey marbled paper, laced-in vellum thongs.
Provenance: copy from the private library of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz relaying his personal notes, older shelf-mark in black ink (IV.309). Leibniz's critical notes (1678 or later) are published in: Ludwig Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Leibnischen Philosophie* (Berlin: Reimer, 1890), pp. 355–362, annex 19.
Digitized copy:
http://digitale-sammlungen.gwlb.de/ppnresolver?PPN=789395444

PP/CM#6 LAUSANNE, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, site Unithèque: réserve A (livres anciens), 1 N 637
Late-seventeenth-century half-vellum binding with marbled paper.
Provenance: late-seventeenth-century notes in black ink in external margins of *Cogitata metaphysica*, printed nineteenth-century bookplate pasted down on first board paper ('Don fait à la Bibliothèque Cantonale', written in black ink: 'en 1844 par Monsieur Marquis, pasteur en Montreux'; quite likely Jean-Jacques Marquis [1806–1874]), text in black ink on first free front endpaper ('Donné à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie par M. le pasteur Marquis mai 1844'), black oblong book stamp on title-page and on p. 140 ('Bibliot: Academ: Lausan').
Digitized copy:
https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=SrFDAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=nl&pg=GBS.PP2

PP/CM#7 MANNHEIM, University Library, Sch 085/190 an 1
Minor brownspotting to pages, vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.4).
Provenance: copy of the French Jesuit author and scholar François-Joseph Terrasse Desbillons (1711–1789), old shelf-marks and eighteenth-century owner's inscription on front pastedown in black ink on edition: 'Liber rarus, at valde impius', three slips of paper with eighteenth-century notes in black ink on verso of second front endpaper, rectangular library stamp in blue ink on first pastedown ('Bibliothek Desbillons Mannheim') and verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:

104 Bert Gasenbeek (ed.), *Bibliografie over Leo Polak* (Breda: Papieren Tijger, 2011); Lidie Koeneman, 'Bibliophilie langs de wegen der redelijkheid', in Klaas van Berkel and Stefan van der Poel (eds.), *Nieuw licht op Leo Polak (1880–1941): filosoof van het vrije denken* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2016), pp. 169–189.

105 For Joachim Junge (Blovstrød [Nordsjaelland], 1791–1823): Per-Olof Johansson, 'Joachim Junge – praest i Blovstrød' 1791–1823', *Fra Nøglehullet. Medlensblad for lokalhistorisk archive og forening i Allerød commune*, 1 (2008), pp. 7–8.

https://digi.bib.uni-mannheim.de/suchergebnis/seitenansicht-suche/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=2674&txdlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=2941171712e38ccaeaa441daae42983f

PP/CM#8 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 4252
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled larger floral ornament (coat of arms?) on centre of front, marbled papers on pasteboard and first and back endpapers, brown spotting to leaves.
Provenance: (older?) shelf-mark with pencil on first front endpapers (7913496); number '1122' on same first front endpapers, auction lot reference (sale unknown, book purchased by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek for 2,800 German Reich marks); library stamp of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek on verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10861682-5

PP/CM#9 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Ph.u. 45
Provenance: older library stamps on verso of title-page (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10908616-1

PP/CM#10 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Ph.u. 36#Beibd.4
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10908610-8

PP/CM#11 THE HAGUE, KB, 507 E 18 [2]
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.5), The Hague, KB, 507 E 18(1).
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=10&resultClick=1

PP/CM#12 THE HAGUE, KB, 978 G 30
Modern paper wrapper, with shelf-mark labels of the Dutch Royal Library, minor brownspotting to pages, lower part of p. 41 badly inked and printed.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=19&resultClick=1

PP/CM#13 VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 71.T.24
Nineteenth-century brown calf leather over pasteboard, marbled board papers and first and back endpapers.
Provenance: late-twentieth-century printed bookplate of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek pasted to front board paper; circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') and single note (older shelf-mark LXXI T24) with pencil on first free endpapers.
Digitized copy:
http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10333861

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*6*)

PP/CM#14 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3618

PP/CM#15P GRONINGEN, University Library, uklu 8 B 868 (3) (with the 'Opera' frontispice portrait, eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on the book, partly legible ['Fata … rarissimorum Benedicti de Spinoza ope[ra] … rarior. …'], nineteenth-century owner's inscription ['Ex libris J. Merkel 1815', with price [5, 24]] in black ink, first front endpapers used for calligraphy exercises in German, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]; B. d. S., *Opera posthuma* [uklu 8 B 868 (1)]).[106]

PP/CM#16 LEEUWARDEN, Tresoar, 196 Wbg (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]).

PP/CM#17 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 160

PP/CM#18–19 THE HAGUE, KB, 3105 A 28 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, sprinkled edges, minor brownspotting to pages, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]), PH854 (modern binding in case [Jason MacDonald Co., New York], late-seventeenth-century owner's note on front pastedown: 'Ex librisThomae Fuke febr.: 25: 1688 […] Empt. Exoniae Tountoniensi', other provenance: 'Charles Leeson Prince. 1865' [upper margin of title-page]; Robert IV Honeyman [armorial printed bookplate on front pastedown], label of Bibliotheca

106 For the portrait, *see*: Chapter 9, *An Early-Eighteenth-Century Hoax Reprint*.

Philosophica Hermetica [Amsterdam]: 'Instituut Collectie Nederland' with modern shelf-mark PH854, ex libris of Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica on first free front endpaper).

Austria (*1*)

PP/CM#20 VIENNA,ÖsterreichischeNationalbibliothek, 71.T.24

Belgium (*1*)

PP/CM#21 LEUVEN, University Library, 7A2959/1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, title on spine in black ink: 'Ben | Spinoza | Principia | Philosophiae | Renatis des Cartes | Ejusdem | Cogitata Metaphijsica | Opera Posthuma', bound with: *Opera posthuma*, owner's inscription on flyleaf opposite title-page: 'Arnhold von Bobart', library label of unidentified Capuchin convent).

Brazil (*1*)

PP/CM#22 RIO DE JANEIRO, Biblioteca Nacional, 214,5,8n.2 (copy damaged).

Canada (*2*)

PP/CM#23–24 TORONTO, University Library, John P. Roberts Research Library, B-11/2278, Walsh 00047

Denmark (*2*)

PP/CM#25 COPENHAGEN, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin 27, 6 00010 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs, title on spine in black ink by a late-seventeenth-century hand ['TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS'], below: '2) Bredenburg' and '3) Cuper', nineteenth-century hand), pages 'pasted' into window-like frames for larger copy size, minor brownspotting to pages, owner's inscriptions [nineteenth-century hand] on first board paper in black ink on printing history of edition, mentioning 'C. Schlüter, 1821', other owner's inscriptions in pencil scattered over main work, label pasted to first board paper ['Det Kongelige Bibliotek af Professor D. Simonsens Bogsamling MCMXXXII'], bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2a]; Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Frans Kuyper, *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxe refutata, examine Tractatus theologico-politici* [Rotterdam: 1676]).

PP/CM#26 ODENSE, University Library, 67-49698 (late-eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century cover, paper over front and back cover, vellum spine with author and title in black ink: 'Bened. | Spinoza | princip. | desCartes | & | Cogitat. | 1663', owner's signature: 'Anton Thomsen', below the date 6/11 1902, below this text by another hand: 'Heresas Krarup', followed by date 1915, printed ex libris of Anton Thomsen).

France (*11*)

PP/CM#27–28 AIX EN PROVENCE, Bibliothèque Méjanes, In 8 20429, 1 (clean late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs over pasteboard, blind-tooled rectangular frame in larger double ruled blind-tooled frame on front cover and back, blind-tooled floral ornaments in corners, embossed stamp in inner frame, oblong library stamp [Bibliothèque Méjanes] on title-page in black ink, bound with: anon. [Lodewijk Meyer], *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres: exercitatio paradoxa, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem S. Literas interpretandi normam esse, apodictice demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenduntur, ac refelluntur* [Eleutheropoli (Amsterdam): 1666]; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]), F. 2103 (1, 2) (oblong library stamp [Bibliothèque Méjanes] on title-page in black ink, bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]).

PP/CM#29 BLOIS, Livre fonds ancien, Bibliothèque Abbé-Grégoire/Fonds patrimonial, RF 34 (late-eighteenth-century calf leather binding with triple fillet, spine on five raised bands, decorated with grotesques, title on brown morocco, red stained edges, notes on pp. 42, 61 and 63, brief remark at the end of the book mentioning price ['8#5 s'] and the date 1733, possibly from the library of Alexandre-François de Mazières de Thémines, Bishop of Blois [1776–1790], collection confiscated in 1792).

PP/CM#30 GRENOBLE, Bibliothèque municipale, D.4844–6 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gilt title on spine: 'OPERA B. SPINOZA', previously in the possession of Etienne le Camus [1632–1707], Bishop of Grenoble, owner's inscription on title-page in late-seventeenth-century hand: 'Bibliotheca Camusiana Oratorii Gratianop.', bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#31 LAUSANNE, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, ancien site Cèdres [Collection indisponible]: Cèdres magasins, PHIL 649 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

PP/CM#32P MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier, Ba 254 in-4 (copy has 'Opera'

portrait, late-seventeenth-century blind-tooled vellum over pasteboard, author and title in black ink written on spine: 'Spinozae Opera | Posthuma', ex libris on first pastedown of Paul-Joseph Barthez [1734–1806], French physician, physiologist, and encyclopedist, called upon to subedit and contribute several entries in the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers* of Denis Diderot [1713–1784] and Jean le Rond d'Alembert [1717–1783], eighteenth-century underlineations and notes throughout volume in black ink, old shelf-mark ['46223'] and nineteenth-century circular library stamp ['ECOLE DE MÉDECINE DE MONTPELLIER'] on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]; *Opera posthuma*).

PP/CM#33–36P PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-1546 (2) (late-seventeenth-century red morocco binding of Bibliothèque royale, eighteenth-century owner's notes in black ink on first pastedown, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*), R-3507 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper, provenance: 'Bibl. Sem. S. Sulpice', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5, shelf-mark: R-3508]), Rés. R.-976 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering, olim: 'Ex Bibliotheca Augustiana majoris coventus Parisiensis', manuscript note: 'usui [...] Joannis Letort', another note on front pastedown signed 'Le Tort' in eighteenth-century italics in black ink, library stamp of the Bibliothèque de Tribunat [established on 13 December 1799, year VII of the French Revolutionary Calendar, by M. Symon, suppressed in 1807 by Napoleon Bonaparte] and the Bibliothèque royale, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*), rés. p. R-1001 (1) (contains the 'Opera' portrait [bound in after index], late-seventeenth-century vellum covering, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

PP/CM#37 PARIS, Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, 4-S-142 (late-seventeenth-century brown leather covering, corrections from list of errata in late-seventeenth-century hand in black ink throughout volume, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century owner's inscription on top of title-page: 'Ex Lib. Joan. Jos. La Morître', old shelf-mark [Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal?] in black ink on title-page ['B. nº. 44'], and two library stamps of the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal and the Bibliothèque de Tribunat).

Germany (*25*)

PP/CM#38 AURICH, Landschaftsbibliothek, Q 948 (late-seventeenth-century vellum coverings with laced-in thongs, sprinkled edges, author on spine in black ink: 'SPINOZA', below another hand wrote in black ink 'Des Car', also on spine old shelf-mark in black ink [1301] and Aurich library label with modern shelf-mark, printed armorial bookplate of book collector Christoph Friedrich von Derschau [1714–1799], poet and first president of Ostfriesland at Aurich, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#39 BERLIN, Bibliothek der Freien Universität Berlin, 48/75/13727(0) (dark brown leather binding, misprint of p. 38 ['28'], corrected with ink).

PP/CM#40 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, an: NI 13164<a>: R (full parchment binding with blind stamped tool on both boards, late-seventeenth-century corrections from list of errata made in black ink, owner's note: 'Ex bibl. Frid. Jac. Roloff', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]).

PP/CM#41 BONN, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, B 1059/101

PP/CM#42 COBURG, Landesbibliothek, B II 4/38

PP/CM–L04#43–44 DRESDEN, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Phil.D.74,2, Phil.A.132

PP/CM#45–46 ERFURT/GOTHA, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Phil 4° 00014/01 (03) (late-seventeenth-century brown calf covering, gilt covers and spine, gold-tooled title on spine: '*SPINOZA*', sewn on seven raised bands, sprinkled edges, library stamp [dated 1799] of former Herzoglichen Bibliothek Gotha on verso of title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]; B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*), P 8º 03797 (simple wrapper with marbled paper, library stamp of Bibliothek des Gothaer Gymnsium Ernestinum [library integrated in 1945 into the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha] on verso of title-page).

PP/CM#47–48 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Phil III,481 Rara, Gauss Bibl 83 (copy is possibly lost).

PP/CM#49 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, FA 2736 (paper over pasteboard, binding slightly damaged).

PP/CM#50–51 HANOVER, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek–Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, P-A

1472, P-A 1469 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2a]).

PP/CM#52 HILDESHEIM, Dombibliothek, 2 F 0238b (early eighteenth-century leather covering, ex libris of Dombibliothek [*c.*1800], acquired in 1798 or earlier).

PP/CM#53[P] JENA, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Bud.Misc.39(2) (copy has 'Opera' portrait, undecorated vellum binding, previous owner's mark on title-page: 'NFörtch', note on edition on page opposite to title-page, bound with: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, sive De materia, forma, & potestate civitatis ecclesiasticae et civilis* [Amsterdam: 1670]; B. d. S, *Opera posthuma*).

PP/CM#54 LUTHERSTADT WITTENBERG, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars, 4Ph59-1 (water damage in places, late-seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboard, late-seventeenth-century owner's notes in black ink on umbrella title-page: 'Lambert Velthusius, de articuli fidei, fundamentalibus et de cultu naturale oppositus Tractatui Bened. de Spinoza, Roterod. 1680. Voll. 2 4' and [below]: 'Christoph. Wittichij Anti-Spinoza, Amsteld, 1690. 4.', printed armorial bookplate of Ludovicus Rudolph Senft von Pilsach [1681–1718] on first pastedown: 'Ex Bibliotheca Senftiana', second printed eighteenth-century bookplate [unidentified] with motto 'Constantia et labore', circular library stamp (Predigerseminar Wittenberg) on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4], lacks title-page; 4Ph59-2]; *Opera posthuma* [4Ph59-3]).[107]

PP/CM#55 MARBURG, Philipps-Universität, University Library, 095 XIV B 64 (vellum wrapper, handwritten name of author and title on spine, two older library stamps of the 'Bibliotheca Marburgensis', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4] and *Opera posthuma*, copy has printed umbrella title-page: 'Benedicti de Spinoza, OPERA OMNIA, Priora & Posthuma: quorum seriem versa pagina indicat' and 'normal' title-page of *Opera posthuma*).

PP/CM#56 MUNICH, University Library, 0014/W 4 Polit. 144

PP/CM#57[P] OLDENBURG, Ev. Luth. Oberkirchenrat Bibliothek, 82-1181 (with the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait, copy only has pp. 355–614, ex libris of German legal scholar Johann Peter von Ludewig [1668–1743], professor of history at Halle University, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

PP/CM#58 REGENSBURG, University Library, 999/Philos.448 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding, handwritten author and title on spine: 'B.d.Spi.|noza Principia. | Philosophi.|ca.', olim: Johann Mattheaus Barth [1691–1757], superintendent at Regensburg: 'J.M. Barth A 1732', owner's inscription by Tobias Waldemannstaetter [OFM, 1742–1802] on title-page, on its verso a note on Spinoza's philosophy and atheism, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

PP/CM#59 ROSTOCK, University Library, Ec-1019.3 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; Regnerus van Mansveld, *Adversus anonymum theologico-politicum liber, ...: opus posthumum*, Johannes G. Graevius and Frans Burman (I) [eds.] [Amsterdam: 1674]).

PP/CM#60 STUTTGART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HBF 1514 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, gilt embossed ornament [coat of arms: crowned monogram Fh or Th on laurel], owner's inscriptions ['Fr. Hoffmann 1701'; 'F.H. Bispink 1785'] and note [by Hoffmann] on Spinoza's metaphysics, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; *Opera posthuma*, copy acquired in 1968).

PP/CM#61 TÜBINGEN, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, University Library, Aa 60.4 (modern covering, notes by two former owners on first front endpapers in late-eighteenth-century hand in black ink: 'Jacobi' [on pastedown], 'C.E.W.', one other note [on the French translations of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*] made by an unidentified late-seventeenth-century hand, unidentified black [library?] stamp in lower right corner of title-page, addition to imprint on title-page in black ink '1678' and 'Spinoza', [nineteenth-century?] marginalia on p. 3, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#62 WEIMAR, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, 19 A 16534

Hungary (*1*)

PP/CM#63 BUDAPEST, National Széchényi Library, 305.261 (rebound in vellum wrapper, late-seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century owner's inscription on

107 For this 'umbrella' title-page, ibid.

title-page in black ink, crossed out, portion in right margin of device of title-page cut out [probably containing an owner's name], late-seventeenth-century owner's notes throughout copy in black ink).

Ireland (*1*)

PP/CM#64 DUBLIN, Marsh Library, L4.4.10(1)

Israel (*2*)

PP/CM#65 JERUSALEM, Hebrew University, University Library, R/8=35 V 3048

PP/CM#66 TEL AVIV, University Library, 199(492) spi

Italy (*8*)

PP/CM#67 CATANIA, Bibliotheca Regionale Universitaria, VENTIMIL. 1.G.15 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]; Johannes de Bruyn, *Defensio doctrinae Cartesianae* [Amsterdam: 1670]; Samuel Maresius, *De abusu philosophiae Cartesiana, surrepente & vitando in rebus theologicis & fidei dissertatio theologica* [Groningen: 1670], olim: Salvator Ventimiglia [1721–1797], Archbishop of Catania).

PP/CM#68 MILAN, Biblioteca Communale Centrale (Palazzo Sormani), VET.L VET.537 (stiff vellum wrapper, with many stains, monogram 'JH' on front cover in blue ink by an unidentified hand, gilt abbreviated author's name and title ['SPIN PRI PHIL'] on the spine, red printed bookplate ['Ad lucem. Biblioteca Cazzamini-Mussi'] of the Italian poet and literary critic Francesco Cazzamini-Mussi [1888–1952] and ex libris of the Biblioteca Comunale Centrale on the front pastedown endpaper).

PP/CM#69 MILAN, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, B.13. 05402/001

PP/CM#70 NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale, B. Branc. 043B 59 (vellum wrapper, minor brownspotting to pages, damaged as a result of moisture, nineteenth-century circular library stamp on title-page [Biblioteca Brancacciana, first public library of Naples, 1690], on other [eighteenth-century?] stamp, unidentified).

PP/CM#71 PARMA, Biblioteca Palatina, 7.6.2.25I

PP/CM#72 PISA, University Library, B.b.7.39 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding, bookplate of Vincenzo d'Ambra: 'Ex libris Vincentij de Ambra', 1670, Giuseppe Piazzini).

PP/CM#73 ROME, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, MISC. VAL.765. 1 (olim: Cardinal Silvio Valente Gonzaga [1690–1756], Jesuit: Casa professa).

PP/CM#74 TORINO, University Library, Biblioteca dell'Accademia delle Scienze, M.XII.65

Japan (*1*)

PP/CM#75 KANAGAWA, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/

Luxembourg (*1*)

PP/CM#76 STRASBOURG, Bibliothèque National Universitaire, B.102.105 (water damage in places, brief marginal notes on pp. 24 and 25).

Poland (*1*)

PP/CM#77 KRAKOW, Jagiellonian University, University Library, Filozof. 2570 (cardboard covered in blue paper, spine covered in blue paper, red-speckled edges).

Portugal (*1*)

PP/CM#78 COIMBRA, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), 4-21-21 (late-seventeenth-century dark brown- speckled leather covering, gold-tooled triple rectangular frame in larger gilt double ruled frame on front cover and back, corners of inner frame with gilt floral ornaments, frame in the centre of front cover has gold-tooled coat of arms of Coimbra University, gilt floral ornaments on spine and brown printed lettering panel: 'PRIN | CIPIA | PHILO | SOPHIA', four raised bands, modern oblong library stamp [Coimbra University] on title-page).

Russia (*5*)

PP/CM#79–80 MOSCOW, Russian State Library, IV-ЛАТ. 4°, MK VIII-7728

PP/CM#81–83 ST PETERSBURG, National Library of Russia, 36.9.2.yy (bound with: René Descartes, *Meditationes de prima philosophia* [Amsterdam: 1670]), 36.661.24 (bound with: *Opera posthuma* and *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]), 36.66.1.24a (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

Spain (*1*)

PP/CM#84 MADRID, National Library, 2/16317 (brown calf leather binding, gilt covers, spine and edges, reading notes on p. 110).

Sweden (2)

PP/CM#85 STOCKHOLM, Royal Library, 116 A

PP/CM#86 UPPSALA, University Library, 1815 B 36 (repaired covering, printed crowned coat of arms of 'Bibliotheca Brinkmanniana' at verso of first front pastedown).

Switzerland (3)

PP/CM#87–88 BASLE, University Library, UBH ib III 5:2, UBH ib III 5a:2

PP/CM#89 BERN, University Library, Depot Haller, MUE Rar alt 9877 : 3 (bound with: René Descartes, *Specimina philosophiae, seu dissertatio de methodo*, ... [Amsterdam: 1664]).

United Kingdom (33)

PP/CM#90–91 ABERDEEN, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, SB 194104 Spi (repaired brown calf covering, four raised spine bands, older shelf-marks on title-page in black ink, printed nineteenth-century bookplate of the library of King's College), SB 1939 Spi t 1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboard with fivve laced-in thongs, provenance: Marichal College, late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on title-page: 'Liber Academiae Marischallannae. P.4.23', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#92 BLICKLING (Norfolk), Blickling Hall, 4212 (seventeenth-century calf skin, plain double blind fillet border and inner panel of double and single blind fillets with blind cornerpiece stamps, recessed sewings cords, brown-sprinkled edges, manuscript price on front fly-leaf stub: 'pr: 3s-2d' [presumably, in old English currency, 3 shillings and 2 pence], manuscript initial on front fly-leaf: 'M.' [catalogue code of John Mitchell [c.1685–1751], librarian to former owner Sir Richard Ellys [1682–1742]], manuscript initials and price codes on title-page: 'HW', 'b/c' and 'R' [price codes?]).

PP/CM#93 CAMBRIDGE, Jesus College, 'Old Library', H.9.35 (bequest of Francis Sterling [c.1652], Fellow of Jesus College, copy probably entered the 'Old Library' before 1750).

PP/CM#94 CAMBRIDGE, King's College Rare Books, Keynes Cc.06.01 (quarter red morocco binding and marbled paper, with gilt author and short title on spine, previously in the possession of the noted British economist John Maynard Keynes [1883–1946], autograph [1915] of Antonio Lefe von Dent, paper with notes on one-side in Greek and the other in Arabic inserted into book, pencil inscription at the top of the title-page: 'Antonio Safi [?] 2nd Decr. 1915').

PP/CM#95 CAMBRIDGE, St Catharine's College Library, L.4.90.1 (brown spotting to pages, mid/late- seventeenth-century calf, with a perimeter frame [blind fillet lines] and small blind-tooled decoration in corners, edges of boards have gold-tooled decoration, red-sprinkled edges, bequest [1705] by Thomas Neale, a lawyer who had come to the College as a student in 1667, shorthand inscription on the flyleaf by Thomas Neale, two drawings [on pp. 60 and 80] in black ink [fine copies of illustrations appearing on the previous pages], bound with: Johannes Schuler, *Exercitationes ad principiorum philosophiae Renati Des-Cartes, Partem primam* [Utrecht: 1668]; anon., *Magni Cartesii manes ab ipsomet defensi*, ... [Utrecht?]: 1656); Nathaniel Highmoore, *De hysterica & hypochondriaca passione: responsio epistolaris ad Doctorem Willis*, ... [London: 1670]; Thomas Willis, etc., *Affectionum quae dicuntur hystericae et hypochondriacae pathologia spasmodica vindicata, contra responsionem epistolarem Nathanael Highmori*, ... [London: 1670]; Marcello Malpighi, *Dissertatio epistolica de formatione pulli in ovo* [London: 1673]; id., *Dissertatio epistolica de bombyce* [London: 1669]).

PP/CM#96 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library, S.7.55[3] (eighteenth-century printed bookplate on first pastedown of Sir Thomas Sclater [1615–1684], 1st Baronet of Cambridge, a Fellow of Trinity, academic, and politician, bound with: Walter Charlton, *Exercitationes pathologicae:, ..., ex novis anatomicorum inventis sedulò inquiruntur* [London: 1661]; Henry Power, *Experimental philosophy in three books: containing new experiments, microscopical, mercurial, magnetical* [London: 1664]; Claudius Ptolemy, *Tractatus de judicandi facultate et de animi principatu ...: cujus accedunt notae breves ad Renati Cartesii opiniones*, ... [The Hague: 1663]; Isaac Vossius, *De lucis naturae et proprietate* [Amsterdam: 1662]).

PP/CM#97–99 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, M 16.56 (rebacked [1930s] simple late-seventeenth-century panelled calf covering, red-sprinkled edges, copy lacks title-page, owner by Bishop John Moore [1646–1714], collection bought by King George I [1660–1727] and donated the Cambridge in 1715 [known as: 'The Royal Library'], bound with: Louis de la Forge, *Tractatus de*

mente humana, ejus facultatibus & functionibus, … [Amsterdam: 1669]; Frans van Schooten, *Principia matheseos universalis*, … [Leiden: 1651]; Robert Boyle, *A Discovery of the Admirable Rarefaction of the Air* [London: 1671]), M.5.30 (rebacked [1930s] late-seventeenth-century calf binding with fillet border, red-sprinkled edges, late-seventeenth-century shelf-mark and cipher in black ink on title-page, owned by: Bishop John Moore, bound with: René Descartes, *De homine*, Florentius Schuyl [ed.] [Leiden: 1662]), Keynes D.2.19 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding, simple fillet rules, gilt leather label to spine, late-seventeenth-century corrections made according to the list of errata, armorial bookplate [motto: 'In promptu'] of John Trotter of Mortonhall [†1718], Trotter of Mortonhall's inscription on front endpaper: 'Cost 15 sh. from Mr Varenne French-bookseller near Summersethouse in ye Strand Lond. 8 July 1698' [Mathew Varenne], Trotter Family, of Mortonhall, copy previously in the possession of Sir Geoffrey Keynes, inscription of Geoffrey Keynes [library came to CUL in 1982], book dealer's catalogue entry for another copy with the portrait slipped in, price £32 10s, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; *Opera posthuma*).

PP/CM#100 CAMBRIDGE, Whipple Library, STORE 48:17 (late-seventeenth-century leather covering with gilt edges, blind-tooled border with floral ornaments on both covers, five raised bands, repaired spine with author's name and title: 'PRIN. | PHILOS. | SPINOZA', '1663' at the spine's foot, edges sprinkled with brown ink, manuscript inscription in black ink on fly-leaf stating the book belonged to Samuel Greatheed [*c.*1710–65], member of Parliament, Greatheed's autograph inscription: 'Newport Pagnell Dec 27 1785', ciphers on title-page: 'JM', printed bookplate of Cheshunt College Library ['The Whipple Collection Cheshunt College Library'] on first pastedown, embossing stamp on title-page: 'Cheshunt College Library founded 1768', last owner: Robert S. Whipple [1871–1953], older shelf-mark on spine [WES 663]).

PP/CM#101 EDINBURGH, University Library, JA1114 (late-seventeenth-century full leather sheep covering, finely sprinkled, blind-tooled with frame of double fillets [very fine lines] and a vertical line of two double fillets, a quarter of the way in from the spine, edges of textblock stained solid red, marginal notes, but all [except a cross in the margin of p. 4] are corrections from list of errata written by a late-seventeenth-century hand in black ink, old shelf-marks on the title-page [all from Edinburgh, UL], sig. *4 and surrounding pages had moist spilt on them).

PP/CM#102–104 GLASGOW, University Library, Special Collections, Sp. Coll. Bh7-h.24 (modern Scottish quather calf leather binding over marbled paper on four raised bands, title in gilt on spine, blue-sprinkled edges, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century owner's notes on first free endpaper: 'Forgeus de mente hu[ma]na', 'Empt: publicis Academiae Glasguensis sumptibus 1691', followed by inscription of its owner William Dunlop [1649–1700] ['Will: Dunlop princ[ipa] l'], repeated on title-page and on sig. B3^{r}, below inscription and owner's note the old shelf-mark of Glasgow University in black ink ['AG f4 n10']), Sp. Coll. BC33-f.6 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, sewn on three raised bands, blue-sprinkled edges, nineteenth-century underlineations and brief notes in brown ink throughout copy, corrections made according to errata list: bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; and with Wilhelm Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen zu seinem 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' aus seiner in Konigsberg befindlichen noch ungedruckten Handschrift bekannt gemacht* [Berlin: Logier, 1835]), Sp. Coll. BC2-e.1 (late-seventeenth-century varnished vellum binding with laced-in thongs over boards, sewn on three raised bands, red-sprinkled edges, handwritten name of author and title in black ink, handwritten name of author and title in black ink, provenance: Sir William Hamilton [1788–1856], professor of Logic and Metaphysics, University of Edinburgh: collection bookplate dated 1878 on front pastedown).

PP/CM#105–106 LEEDS, Leeds University, Brotherton Library, Philosophy D-3.1/DES (vellum wrapper, armorial bookplate of John Edgar Junr, bound with: René Descartes, *Principia philosophiae* [Amsterdam: 1692]), Strong Room for. 4to 1663/Spi (plain vellum wrapper, two eighteenth-century inscriptions in black facing title-page with reference to contemporary literature on the book).

PP/CM#107–108 LONDON, British Library, 535.f.14.(3.) (British Museum Library bindery grained sheep binding with green cloth sides [also grained], red stained edges, probably from the collection of Hans Sloane [1660–1753], one of the foundation collections of the British Museum library, Sloane no. e 86, bound with: Henricus Regius, *Brevis explicatio mentis humanae, sive animae rationalis*, … [Utrecht: 1648]; Cyriacus Lentulus,

Cartesius triumphatus et nova sapientia ineptiarum et blasphemiae convicta, ... [Frankfurt: 1653]; Schuler, *Exercitationes*; 'Petrus ab Andlo', *Animadversiones ad vindicias dissertationis quam Samuel Maresius edidit de abusu philosophiae Cartesianae* [Leiden: 1671]; Fabrice de la Bassecourt, *Defensio Cartesiana, in duas distributa partes, succinetè conscripta & amicè, adversus D. Johannem Schulerum, ...* [Leiden and Amsterdam: 1671]; anon., *Cartesius vindicatus., ..., contra propositionem Franequeranam, de divina Scripturarum auctoritate, ...* [Utrecht: 1687]; Samuel Werenfels, *Judicium de argumento Cartesii pro existentia Dei petito ab ejus idea* [Basle: 1699]), C.38.d.35.(1.) (repaired and rebacked brown leather binding with design in darker brown and double fillet in gold as border, red stained edges, comb marbled endpapers in red, blue, yellow and white [probably French curl design], owner's stamp of the French Périgord antiquary Henry François Athanase WIgrin Taillefer [1761–1833] on title-page: 'du Cabinet de M^{r}. le C^{te} WIgrin Taillefer', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5; C.38.d.35.(2.)]; anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia* [C 38.d.35.(3.)]).

PP/CM#109 LONDON, Lambeth Palace, LPL, I1860.(D3) (vellum wrapper over pasteboard, manuscript title on spine, possibly former shelf-marks or prices [pastedown: '70–E–15'], title-page ['1–3–13'], nineteenth-century library stamp on foot of title-page [('Bibliotheca Lambethana']).

PP/CM#110–111 MANCHESTER, University Library, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Special Collections, JRL 15013 (minor brownspotting to pages, seventeenth-century calf binding, blind fillets to the boards, gold tooling on the spine in places, from the library of the Earls Spencer [bought by Mrs Rylands, 1892], Spencer's library shelf-mark on front endpaper facing title-page), JRL SC149A (early twentieth-century library cloth wrapper, from the library of Robert Adamson [1852–1902], professor of Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy in the Owens College, presented to the College by his widow [1902]; the Owens College later amalgamated with the Victoria University and became the Victoria University of Manchester and then the University of Manchester).

PP/CM#112–113 MANCHESTER, The Chetham Society, Chetham's Library, 3.E.9.63 (late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century leather binding, late-seventeenth-century notes on front pastedown in black ink on the motion of comets and 'conctoide or Bastard-Comets', other notes on front pastedown crossed out, modern pencilled [old] shelf-marks), M.1.57 (new limp vellum replacing broken nineteenth-century binding, twentieth-century pencilled librarian's or bookseller's notes on edition with quotation of a letter from Spinoza to Oldenburg [1663.07.27, Ep 13], several eighteenth-century ownership marks and prices on title-page: 'Jeff Clarkson' [crossed out], 'Tho Johnson', owner's inscription on verso of title-page: 'Jeff Clarkson', below in the same hand: 'Book Anno [...] Domini 1728/9', nineteenth-century oblong library stamp of Chetham's Library on title-page).

PP/CM#114 OXFORD, All Souls College, Codrington Library, ww.11.7 (late-seventeenth-century sprinkled calf binding, blind-tooled fillets towards outer edges of upper and lower boards, additional blind-tooled fillets parallel to spine, decorative roll on edges of boards, All Souls College bookplate [John Henderson Smith, 'The Book-Plates of All Souls' College, Oxford', *Journal of the Ex Libris Society*, 9 (1899), pp. 17–23, no. 6] on inside of upper board, red-sprinkled edges, old shelf-marks [5.R.13, m.12.9, A.S.7.c.4] on pastedown of upper board and title-page).

PP/CM#115 OXFORD, Balliol College, 0510 b 07 (repaired blind-tooled binding, original boards retained with simple ruled decoration, copy belonged to George Coningesby [1692–1768], a Herefordshire antiquary who left his books to Balliol in 1768, purchased by him in 1711 for 6d ['0-0-6'] while an undergraduate at Wadham, most of the original endpapers have been replaced where Coningesby often annotated books, inscriptions by Coningesby in black ink on first front endpapers: 'Splendissimi an illud soeculi nostri Jubar Renatus des Cartes.'; 'E Libris Georgii Coningesby E Coll Wadh Oxon. 1711 0-0-6').

PP/CM#116 OXFORD, Christ Church College, Og.3.14b(1) (late-seventeenth-century red morocco binding, gold fillets (outer triple fillet frame with small ornaments at corner), marbled endpapers, gilt edges, five raised bands, provenance: Charles Boyle [1674–1731], 4th Earl of Orrery and 1st Baron of Marston, provenance note: possibly from the Orrery bequest, library bookplate [1731] of Orrery bequest, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T. 5]; Bredenburg, *Enervatio*).

PP/CM#117 OXFORD, Corpus Christi College, V.124(1) (brownspotting to pages, small wormholes in places, rebacked late-seventeenth-century calf binding over

boards, sewn onto four supports with raised bands, blind-tooled panel design using fillets and corner fleurons, gold-tooled board edges, red- sprinkled edges, inscription by Thomas Randolph [1701–1783], President of Corpus Christi College [1748–1783], manuscript list of contents on the second free endpaper and a note by Shadworth Hollway Hodgson [1832–1912], a former student who left a large collection to the College, bound with: Isaac Vossius, *De motu marium et ventorum liber* [The Hague: 1663]; William Beveridge, *Institutionum chronologicarum libri II. Unà cum totidem arithmetices chronologicae libellis* [London: 1669], originally bound with two other treatises, additional note by Hodgson: 'Nos 6 & 7 the two Carmina, torn out of this vol. by some former possessor. S.H.H.').

PP/CM#118 OXFORD, Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies Library, Mont 62H10[2] (donated by the Foyle Foundation).

PP/CM#119 OXFORD, Queen's College, Sel.f.17(3) (rebacked late-eighteenth-century calf binding, pairs of blind fillets towards outer edges of upper and lower boards, inner rectangle using decorative blind roll, blind-stamped corner fleurons, red-sprinkled edges, all marks of College ownership removed due to theft, thief attached his own [fake] bookplate [featuring a harlequin] and stamp to copy, bound with: René Descartes, *Musicae compendium* [Amsterdam: 1656]; id., *De homine* [Leiden: 1662]).

PP/CM#120 OXFORD, St Edmund Hall Library (Old Library), 4º E 6 (rebacked late-seventeenth-century [?] calf covering, English, possibly Oxford, blind-tooled boards, red-stained leaf-edges, Teddy Hall chain-staple scar, owner's inscriptions by John Strachey [1671–1743] in right upper corner on recto of first free front endpaper in brown ink: 'E libris Joh. Strachey. E Coll: Oxon. 1687', below in the same hand: 'In Usum Aul: S: Edmun. Ex dono Johan: Strachey Commensalis superioris. 1689', late-seventeenth-century owner's note in black ink on title-page: 'Liber Aulae Sancti Edmundi Oxon', late-seventeenth-century shelf-mark on front pastedown [E.6, further below: 43] in brown ink, College bookplate [1704]).

PP/CM#121 ST ANDREWS, University Library, r17 B3994. C7A1C63 (rebacked vellum wrapper over pasteboards, gilt double fillets on covers, spine title stamped in gold with the St Andrews (UL) crest in gold, copy cut out and mounted on nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century paper, university ownership inscription [title-page] by a nineteenth-century hand in black ink: 'Ex Libris publicae Bibliothecae Universitatis Andrearae', oblong pressmark on title-page).

PP/CM#122 YORK, University Library, Special Collections, SC 26-6-5-29 (vellum over pasteboards, nineteenth-century circular library stamp on title-page in dark blue ink: 'The Community of the Resurrection', bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

United States (*30*)

PP/CM#123–124 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University, Harvard Medical School Library (Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine), Phil 2520.163.20*, QP29 .D45 1664 c.3 (parchment over boards with yapp edges, without the Latin dedicatory poem '*Ad librum.*', bound with: René Descartes, *De homine*, … [Leiden: 1664]; Johannes de Raey, *Clavis philosophiae naturalis Aristotelico-Cartesiana* [Leiden: 1654]).

PP/CM#125 CHAMPAIGN (IL), University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), University Library, IUA1170 (inscription on the recto of the front fly-leaf).

PP/CM#126–128 CHICAGO (IL), The University of Chicago, University Library, alc B1873 .S74 (copy has a late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription reading 'rabbi Levi Mortéra' [unidentified, but definitely not the Amsterdam rabbi involved in Spinoza's 1656 banishment], bound with *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4], Latin marginalia, bookplate of Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg [1802–1869], Lutheran churchman and theologian from Dortmund), B1873 .S741, Rosenberger 156-18.

PP/CM#129P EVANSTON (IL), Northwestern University, University Library, Special Collections (Deering Library), Kestnbaum S758s (copy contains 'Opera' portrait, vellum covering, author's name and title on spine in black ink: 'B. de SPINOSA | Opera omnia', contains handwritten notes in Latin about Spinoza's writings pasted on to page preceding title-page, bookseller's description, in German, tipped in before p. 3 of cover, bound with: *Opera posthuma* and *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#130 HOUSTON (TX), Rice University, University Library, B1875 .S7 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

PP/CM#131 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts Collections, B 1875 .S75

1663 (faded paper over boards with floral pattern in gold, leather spine, stamped title in gold, six stamped bands, small square of paper tipped in on the recto of front flyleaf [annotation in pencil], possibly were written by former owner A.D. White, first president of Cornell, bookplate reading 'President White Library Cornell University' with the date '9/4/94', underlined sentences and/or passages [in pencil] on pp. 13–17, 34, 94–95, 98, 102–104, 106, and 135).

PP/CM#132 KENT (OH), Kent State University, University Library, B1875 .S7 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, with title written on spine in black ink in contemporary hand, all edges sprinkled red and blue, bookplate of Spinoza scholar Carl Gebhardt [1881–1934] on front paste-down endpaper ['Bibliotheca Spinozana Carl Gebhardt'], owner's inscription on first front endpaper opposite to title-page cut out).

PP/CM#133 LAWRENCE (KS), University Library, Summerfield C87

PP/CM#134 LINCOLN (NE), University of Nebraska, B1875 .S7 1663 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]).

PP/CM#135 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California at Los Angeles, University Library, Spinoza Collection, B 1875 .S75r 1663 cop. 2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum, spine title: 'Spinosae', ex libris of Abraham Wolf Edelman [1832–1907], first rabbi in Los Angeles, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

PP/CM#136 LOS ANGELES (CA), Hebrew Union College, Frances-Henry Library, Freidus PS (on spine: 'Descartes. Principiorum philosophiae').

PP/CM#137 MINNEAPOLIS (MN), University Library, 194Sp47 OP (hand-lettered spine: 'Descartes. Principiorum philosophiae').

PP/CM#138 NEWARK (NJ), Rutgers University, University Library, B1875.S7

PP/CM#139 NEW HAVEN (CT), Yale University, University Library, K8 Sp4 b663

PP/CM#140 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 U5 1663 (modern half-leather covering with marbled paper over pasteboard, damaged spine, gilt name of author and title printed on spine: 'SPINOZA | Renati | des Cartes | Principiorum | Philosophiae', bookplate: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana Adolphe S. Oko').

PP/CM#141 NEW YORK (NY), The New York Public Library, YBX (modern library binding, underlineations with brown ink in prologue).

PP/CM#142 NEW YORK (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary RB431:6 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [edition unidentified, copy not available for inspection]; *Opera posthuma*, with aforementioned umbrella title-page).

PP/CM#143 NEW BRUNSWICK (NJ), Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, B1875.S7 (printer's waste over pasteboard: text fragments on paper, decorated with handwritten red initials, from the editio princeps of Theodore Gaza's Latin translation of Aristotle: *De animalibus* [Venice: Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, 1476], bk 7, ch. 4 and 7 [sigs $l1^v$, $l2^v$, $l3^v$, and $l4^v$; GW 2350], thickly red-speckled edges, sewn on four cords, wormholes in places, page of holograph on front free endpaper in an eighteenth-century hand with note on atheism [from: *Von Natur und Eigenschafft der Christlichen Religion und Kirche in Ansehen des Bürgerlichen Lebens und Staats*, a German rendition by Immanuel Webern of a work of Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694)], modern bookseller's note in pencil: 'First ed. of the first work of Spinoza to appear in print and the only one in which his name appears in full. Stephens Gross $85.00').

PP/CM#144 NOTRE DAME (IN), University Library, B 1875.S7 (bookplate: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana Carl Gebhardt', with marginal annotation by Gebhardt in pencil throughout text).

PP/CM#145 NORMAN (OK), University of Oklahoma, barcode: 14293-1001 (modern brown leather binding on two raised bands, gilt double rule on covers, speckled edges, author and title printed on gold-tooled spine: 'SPINOZA – PRINCIPIA PHILOSOPHIA – 1663', modern printed bookplate [University of Oklahoma Library] pasted to restored first front endpaper).

PP/CM#146 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (nineteenth-century calf binding, guilded back, marbled boards red edges, owner's inscription

on title-page: 'Forster Coll Eman. 168[?]', note written by William Forster of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, bookplate from the Earls of Macclesfield, North Library, 1860, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

PP/CM#147 PROVIDENCE (RI), Brown University, University Library, B1875 .S7 1663

PP/CM#148 SAN MARINO (CA), The Henry E. Huntington Library, 705028 (Seidel collection) (nineteenth-century paste-paper boards, workaday rebinding).

PP/CM#149 STANFORD (CA), University Library, B1875 .S7 1663 (copy heavily damaged by moisture, brownspotting to pages, rebound in nineteenth century covering with marbled papers, author and title in gilt on black lettering panel: 'Spinoza | Princ. Philos. | CARTES', nineteenth-century library stamp ['Holstein', below 'Holsteinborg'] on title-page).

PP/CM#150 WASHINGTON (DC), Smithsonian Libraries, Dibner Library, B1875 .S7X (calfskin binding with gold-tooled/stamped armorial [interlaced or interlocked Cs and royal crown] on both covers, late-seventeenth-century, green spine label [transferred to the spine from an affixed label or perhaps tooled in a metal], marbled papers, two modern pencilled notes relating to possible ownership, likely from a bookseller: 'Charles II of England's copy' and 'Bound for Queen Christina of Sweden' [!], along with what are most likely book dealer inventory figures on the same flyleaf and on the final flyleaf, printed bookplates [Burndy Library and Dibner Library] on first pastedown).

PP/CM#151–152 WASHINGTON (DC), The Library of Congress, B 1875 .S7 Pre-1801 Coll copy 1 (red buckram library binding, Library of Congress fly papers, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth century ink markings in imprint in black ink, oblong library stamp on title-page: 'Library of Congress City of Washington 1896'), B 1875 .S 7 Pre-1801 Coll copy 2 (moisture damage in places, red buckram library binding, errors of list of errata amended by a late-seventeenth-century reader, Library of Congress bookplate on inside of front cover, faint stamp at bottom of p. 140: 'August 20 1947').

Note

Jelle Kingma and Adri K. Offenberg, 'Bibliography of Spinoza's Works up to 1800' (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Library, 1977), pp. 1–32, at p. 4: 'The folium K2–K3 [of Amsterdam, UvA, University Library, 1815 B 36] appears to be a cancel, showing the same watermark as folium K1–K4. … The copy described has the leaves Q1, Q4, R1, R3 and R4 pasted on strips. In other copies examined by us, there is no question of cancels.'.

References

Johann C. Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea, sive notitia tum auctorum hebr. cujuscunque aetatis, … ad nostram aetatem deducta* (4 vols., Hamburg and Leipzig: 1715–33), vol. 1, p. 240; Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 641; Johann A. Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon, oder Einleitung in die Geschichte der neueren Freygeister, ihren Schriften und deren Widerlegungen*, … (Leipzig and Bernburg: 1759), p. 419; Johann G.T. Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou un nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*, … (6 vols., Dresden: R. Kuntze, 1859–67), vol. 6, p. 470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', pp. 301–305, p. 1, no. 1; *Catalogue, no. 150: The Library of the Late Prof. Dr. A. Wolf, Head of the Department of the History and Philosophy of Science, University of London* (Amsterdam: Internationaal Antiquariaat, Menno Hertzberger, 1950), p. 32, no. 356; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek der Vereniging Het Spinozahuis te Rijnsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), p. 35, no. 184; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 4–5, no. 1.

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9 Balling's Translation

Soon after publication of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, Spinoza's publisher Rieuwertsz will have started also issuing a translation into the vernacular. The Dutch may have asked Meyer to oversee this publication once again, but this is not corroborated by any historical proof. The Latin edition's revised and improved text was edited and published in 1664 under the following title: *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Spinoza might have compiled all additions to the work himself, but this is also not evidenced by historical evidence.[108] Gebhardt calculated that all new text additions come to forty-eight sentences (one and a half pages in print).[109] According to him, the translation

108 CW, vol. 1, p. 224. Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.

109 G 1, pp. 612–613. An interesting addition is the opening section of *CM* 2.7 on human free will. There, Spinoza speaks about

should be considered 'eine *andere Edition*, eine zweite Auflage' (a different edition, a second impression).[110]

On the title-page of the Dutch rendering, the translator's name is indicated thus: 'All [is] translated from the Latin by P. B.' ('Alles uit 't Latijn vertaalt door P. B.'). Here, 'P. B.' patently stands for Pieter Balling, one of Spinoza's correspondents.[111] In 1662, Balling had surreptitiously published *Het licht op den kandelaar* (The Light upon the Candlestick), a pamphlet addressing the topic of everlasting happiness in God and sharing some of the basic metaphysical issues treated of in Spinoza's *Korte verhandeling*.[112] The treatise was a brief rejoinder to *De verborgentheden van het rijcke Godts* (The Mysteries of the Kingdom of God), by Quaker William Ames.[113]

Uncertain is when Pieter Balling began translating Spinoza's digest of Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* as well as when he finished the book's rendition. No manuscripts of Balling's translation have survived. Rather than as a faithful rendition into the vernacular, Balling's Dutch rendering should be considered a thoroughly-prepared adaptation of the Latin edition. Unlike the printed Latin text, details of which are well-documented in Meyer's Preface (sigs *2–**1^{v}) and in the published correspondence, the greater part of the preparations of the Dutch edition are shrouded in mist.

Balling also translated the Dutch Part 1 and 2 of the early *Ethica*. The Dutch purist translator Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker 'reused' and revised Balling's now-lost manuscript in order to compose and to refine his translation (*Zedekunst*) of the *Ethica* in *De nagelate schriften*, the Dutch rendition of the *Opera posthuma*, edited both in 1677. Balling passed away shortly after Rieuwertsz *père* published *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. The date of his death, 20 December 1664, renders the *terminus ante quem* for his early translation of the *Ethica*'s Parts 1 and 2.[114]

asylum ignorantiae and bigotry ('overgelovicheit'). Benedictus de Spinoza, *Opera quotquot reperta sunt*, Johannes van Vloten and Jan P.N. Land (eds.) (2 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1882–3), pp. 150.26–28, 187.15–16, 214.5–12, 217.33–34, 245.3–10, 251.5–7, 253.16–21, 260.26, and 261.13.

110 G 1, p. 611.

111 During the 'Lammerenkrijg', Balling* wrote two other treatises, both calling upon the Amsterdam Mennonite congregation members not to stray away from each other in separate factions and show tolerance and solidarity towards each other. Both were published, under the monogram 'P. B.', by Rieuwertsz* *père*: *Verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde gemeente, die men de vereenigde Vlamingen, Vriezen, en Hoogduytsche noemt, binnen Amsterdam, …* (Amsterdam: 1663); *Nader verdediging van de regering der Doopsgezinde gemeente, …* (Amsterdam: 1664). That 'P.B.' patently stands for 'Pieter Balling' is stated in: anon., *Goliadts swaart, of Pieter Ballings soo genaamde Nader verdediging van de regering der Vlaemsche Doops-gesinde gemeynte binnen Amsterdam. Uit sijn eygen gronden wederlegt* (Amsterdam: 1664). In English: 'Goliath's Sword, or Pieter Balling's so-called Further Defence of the Leadership of the Flemish-Mennonite Congregation in Amsterdam'. The clandestinely-issued pamphlet reveals Balling wrote both *Verdediging* and *Nader* verdediging. 'Lammerenkrijg': Samme Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531–1675* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), pp. 417–429.

112 Anon. (Pieter Balling*), *Het licht op den kandelaar. Dienende tot opmerkinge van de voornaamste dingen; in … De verborgentheden van het rijke Ghodts, …* (Amsterdam: 1662). Fix (*Prophecy and Reason. The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Dutch Enlightenment* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990], p. 199) and Popkin ('Spinoza and the Three Impostors', in Edwin Curley and Pierre-François Moreau [eds.], *Spinoza: Issues and Directions. Proceedings of the Chicago Spinoza Conference* [Leiden: Brill, 1990], pp. 347–358, at p. 350) claimed Balling composed the work. *See*: Roberto Bordoli, 'Account of a Curious Traveller on *Libertijn Milieu* of Amsterdam', *Studia Spinozana. An International and Interdisciplinary Series*, 19 (1994), pp. 175–182, there at pp. 76–82; Rob Iliffe, '"Jezus Nazarenus Legislator": Adam Boreel's Defence of Christianity', in Silvia Berti, etc. (eds.), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism and Free Thought in Early-Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), pp. 375–395, at p. 382.

113 William Ames*, *De verborgentheden van het rijcke Godts* (Amsterdam: 1661). A present-day critical edition (in English) with a synopsis and commentary is: Jo van Cauter and Laura Rediehs, 'Spiritualism and Rationalism in Dutch Collegiant Thought: New Evidence from William Ames's Mysteries of the Kingdom of God (1661), with a Translation', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources*, 40 (2013), pp. 105–175. Ames rebuts the views of the Amsterdam Collegiant leader and physician Galenus Abrahamsz de Haan (1622–1706) and his followers in the 'Lammerenkrijg' ('War of the Lambs'), an ensuing Mennonite polemic over theological principles and individualism in connection to the divine position of Christ and the status of the Holy Spirit. For the Collegiant movement: Chapter 6, n. 134.

114 Spinoza to ***, < 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28 (G 4/162–163). Cf.: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 152–153. For a synopsis of the *E*: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 351–355 and G 2, pp. 311–319 (textual history). As E4app particularly shows, the work guides readers through a theory of human bondage and liberation with the objective of 'enjoying a rational life'; E4app8: *vita rationali frui* (G 2/268). The term 'human life' currently used here stems from Spinoza's outburst in the *TP* (ch. 5, § 5 [G 3/296]). Multiple studies are devoted to the 'Ethics'. A selective list: Harold H. Joachim, *A Study of Spinoza's Ethics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Gueroult, *Spinoza*, vol. 1: *Dieu* (E1); Henry Barker, 'Notes on the Second Part of Spinoza's Ethics (I)', in S. Paul Kashap (ed.), *Studies in Spinoza* (Berkeley: CA, University of California Press, 1972), pp. 101–122; Martial Gueroult, *Spinoza*, vol. 2: *L'Âme*: (Éthique, II) (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1974); Michel Gueret, etc., *Spinoza Ethica: Concordances, index, listes de fréquences, tables comparatives* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Cetedoc, 1977); Bennet, *A Study of Spinoza's 'Ethics'*; Pierre Macherey, *Introduction à l'Éthique de Spinoza* (5 vols., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994–1998); Curley, *Behind the Geometrical Method*; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*; id., 'The Textual History of Spinoza's Ethics', in Olli Kostinen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza's Ethics* (Cambridge:

Spinoza and Balling were friends. Their documented contacts date back to early 1663. In the philosopher's correspondence, Balling's name is first mentioned in a letter from Simon Joosten de Vries of 24 February 1663, who describes him as a close friend of the Dutch philosopher. Balling was also the intermediary in Amsterdam who supplied De Vries and his study 'Collegium' with a Dutch translation of an early instalment of Part 1 of the *Ethica* (in any case up to E1p19s).[115] One of the letters exchanged between Spinoza and Balling survives in the printed posthumous works. The existence of another letter (26 [June] 1664) can be postulated with historical certainty.[116] The number of letters dispatched after Spinoza's response (20 July 1664) to Balling must have been limited because of the latter's death on 20 December. He was buried three days later at the Amsterdam Kartuizer Kerkhof.[117]

It appears that, already in 1663, plans were initiated for a second edition, in both Latin and Dutch in all likelihood, meant to contain the complete Part 3 of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'. Meyer speaks about this briefly in his prologue to the Latin and Dutch edition:

> Our Author realizes that these Axioms [those omitted by Spinoza in PP 1p4] could be demonstrated as Theorems (as Descartes himself says in the 7th postulate), and that they would be more elegantly treated as Propositions. And though we asked him to do this, more important business in which he was involved allowed him only two weeks in which to complete this work. So he was unable to satisfy his desire and ours. Annexing at least a brief explanation, which can take the place of a proof, he has put off a fuller explanation, complete in every respect, till another time. Perhaps, after this printing is exhausted, a new one will be prepared. If so, we shall try to get him to enrich it by completing the Third Part, On the visible World (we have added here only a fragment of that Part, since our Author ended the instruction of his pupil at that point, and we did not wish to deprive the reader of it, however little it was). For this to be done properly, it will be necessary to introduce certain Propositions concerning the nature and properties of Fluids in the Second Part. I shall do my best to see that our Author accomplishes this at that time.[118]

In sum, Meyer and the other friends were eager for Spinoza to finish his commentary on Part 3 of Descartes's *Principia philosophiae*, 'The visible Universe', and to include new propositions in Part 2. They also wanted him to add proofs

Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 26–41; Paul O. Kristeller, 'Stoic and Neoplatonic Sources of Spinoza's *Ethics*', in Genevieve Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: Critical Assessments*. Vol. 1: *Context, Sources and Early Writings* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 111–125; Mogens Lærke, 'Spinoza's Cosmological Argument in the Ethics', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 49 (2011), pp. 57–77; Michael Hampe, etc. (eds.), *Spinoza's Ethics. A Collective Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Leen Spruit and Pina Totaro, *The Vatican Manuscript of Spinoza's Ethica* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2011) (edition of the Vatican manuscript V). Spinoza himself referred to the *E* (by mid-1665 advanced to what was then proposition 80 in Part 3) as his '*philosophia*' in a letter (< 1665. [06].[13], Ep 28 [G 4/163]) to an unknown recipient. For long, this letter has been commonly attributed to Bouwmeester*, but evidence is however lacking. Cf.: Frank Mertens, 'Van den Enden and Religion', in Sonja Lavaert and Winfried Schröder (eds.), *The Dutch Legacy. Radical Thinkers of the 17th Century and the Enlightenment* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), pp. 62–89, at pp. 74–75, n. 43. Due to the lack of other candidates, Meyer*, I like to propose apart from Bouwmeester*, Pieter Serrarius (1600–1669), an Anglo-Dutch theologian-philo-Judaist and Oldenburg's intermediary, and the medical doctor Jacobus Vallan (1637–1720), Spinoza's 'sonderbahrer Freund' (S/H, ms. A, in: Jakob Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas in Quellenschriften, Urkunden und nichtamtlichen Nachrichten* [Leipzig: Von Veit, 1899], p. 231, no. 55). Glazemaker: BL.

115 1663.02.24, Ep 8 (G 4/41.15–17). De Vries: BL.

116 1664.[06].26*; 1664.07.20, Ep 17 (G 4/76–78).

117 366: 'Archief van de gilden en het brouwerscollege', ms. 'Opgaaf van de begraven gildebroeders', inv. no. 1172 (20 December 1664); 5001: 'Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw-en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand)', inv. no. 1155, p. 258: 'Pieter Ballingh opde nieuwe sijts achter burghwal over het Swaentie brouwerij. dese laet 2 kinderen na. den baar van 14 en roef' (Pieter Balling at the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal, opposite the Swan brewery. He leaves two children. [For] the bier and cover, 14 guilders). Cf.: Ruud C. Lambour, 'De alchemistische wereld van Galenus Abrahamsz (1622–1706)', *Doopsgezinde bijdragen*, 31 (2005), pp. 92–168, at pp. 76–77.

118 *'Et quamvis haec Axiomata (ut etiam habet ipse Cartesius postulat 7.) instar Theorematum demonstrari, ac etiam concinnius nomine Propositionum venire posse, Authorem nostrum non fugiat, nosque etiam, ut id effectum daret, petierimus; majora tamen, quibus est implicitus, negotia ei tantum duarum, quibus hoc opus absolvere coactus fuit, septimanarum ocium concesserunt, adeoque in causa fuere, quominus & suo & nostro desiderio satisfacere potuerit: sed brevem duntaxat subnectens explicationem, quae demonstrationis vicem subire potest, majorem ac omnibus numeris absolutam in aliud tempus rejecerit; si forte post hanc distractam impressionem nova adornaretur. Ad quam augendam conabimur etiam ab ipso impetrare, ut totam tertiam Partem de Mundo aspectabili (cujus tantum adjunximus fragmentum, cum Author hic institutioni finem imposuerit, & nos eo, quantulumcunque sit, lectorem privare noluerimus) absolvat. Atque hoc ut debito modo perficiatur, hinc inde in secunda Parte quaedam de Fluidorum natura, & proprietatibus Propositiones interspargendae erunt, quod ut Author tum exsequatur, pro virili adnitar.'* (G 1/130–131; CW, vol. 1, p. 228). For the remark in the Dutch rendering, *see*: sig. 4^{r-v}.

to the above-mentioned Cartesian axioms following proposition 4 of Part 1.[119]

For the Dutch rendering, Spinoza spent time revising and correcting the main text of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. In the introduction to the book (p. 2) he altered 'something false and doubtful as true and certain' into 'something false as true or something doubtful as certain'. Balling's translation now reads in Dutch: '[dat hy] 't gene vals niet voor waar, noch dat twijfelachtich was niet voor zeker aanname'.[120] In *PP* 1def2, the phrase 'an idea of what is signified by those words' is changed into 'an idea of what I want to signify by those words'. Balling's solution reads in this instance: 'een denkbeelt is van dat, 't welck ick met die woorden wil betekenen' (p. 12). Unavoidably, minor mistakes were made during the production process of the Dutch edition itself. In *PP* 2p27s, the Latin phrase on page 75 in line 20, 'corpusque B secum pellet', reads in the Dutch edition on page 86, line 30, the following: 'en 't lichaam C met zich voortdrijven'. This misprint is corrected in the work's list of errata: '*v*. 't lichaam C. *leez* B'.[121]

Once the Dutch translation was published Spinoza himself considered the work on his digest on Descartes done. In a letter of 28 January 1665 to the Dordrecht grain retailer and amateur philosopher Willem van Blijenbergh, he writes:

> I have not thought about the work on Descartes nor given any further attention to it since it was published in Dutch. The reason for this would take too long to tell.[122]

From Spinoza's correspondence with Van Blijenbergh, it can be inferred *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* was offered for sale before mid-December 1664, shortly before Pieter Balling's death. The first letter of their correspondence, one of 12 December 1664 by Van Blijenbergh, is the also first known documented reaction on the Descartes project by a Dutch reader not connected to networks around Spinoza in Amsterdam. Their exchange, a series of eleven letters on metaphysical issues, focused on various subjects in the latter's reworking of the 'Principles of Philosophy', as well as on a variety of other moral and theological topics.[123] The two men however wrote each other mainly addressing first principles and the precise status of good and evil. For this reason, their correspondence is also known as 'The Letters on Evil'.[124]

It has been suggested their correspondence shows a crucial stage in the evolution of Spinoza's ethical train of thought leading up to the *Ethica*'s final text version printed in the posthumous writings.[125] In the prologue to the twin volumes, composed by Jarig Jelles and revised and translated into Latin by Lodewijk Meyer, it is pointed out Spinoza's correspondence with Van Blijenbergh in particular should be considered as an explanation of the claim (made in the *Ethica*'s Part 1) that God determines how everything acts and operates.[126] Recently, it has been even argued that Spinoza's replies to Van Blijenbergh are clarifications of his *conatus* doctrine, already rudimentarily worked out in the 'Short Treatise'.[127] He introduced this theory between 1671 and 1675 after having read the physical writings by Hobbes which made him acknowledge the concept of *conatus* as one of the mature *Ethica*'s key features.[128]

119 Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae*, III (AT VIII, 80–202), II, 54, 56, 58–62 (AT VIII, 70–73, 75–77). Cf. also: G 1, pp. 610–611.

120 G 1/142.6–7.

121 More examples in: CW, vol. 1.

122 'De opere vero super Cartesium nec cogitavi, nec ulteriorem ejus gessi curam, postquam sermone Belgico prodiit: & quidem non sine ratione, quam hic recensere longum foret.' (1665.01.28, Ep 21 [G 4/133; CW, vol. 1, p. 382]). Van Blijenbergh: BL.

123 1664.12.12, Ep 18 (G 4/79–85); 1664.12.21*; 1665.01.05, Ep 19 (G 4/86–96); 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–125); 1665.01.28, Ep 21 (G 4/126–133); 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144); 1665.03.09*; 1665.03.13, Ep 23 (G 4/145–152); 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157); < 1665.[06].03*; 1665.06.03, Ep 27 (G 4/160–161). Background: Andrea Sangiacomo, 'Before the Conatus Doctrine: Spinoza's Correspondence with Willem van Blijenbergh', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 98 (2016), pp. 144–168.

124 *See*: Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza: Philosophie pratique* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1970), pp. 44–62; id., *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy* (San Francisco, CA: City Light Books, 2001), pp. 30–43.

125 Sangiacomo, 'Before the Conatus Doctrine'.

126 Fokke Akkerman and Hubertus G. Hubbeling, 'The Preface to Spinoza's Posthumous Works 1677 and its Author Jarig Jelles (*c*.1619/20–1683)', *Lias*, 6 (1979), pp. 103–173, at p. 116, no. 18. In spite of Curley's solid English translation of Spinoza's writings and letters, a translation of the Preface to Spinoza's *PP*/*CM* is still a desideratum.

127 Sangiacomo, 'Before the Conatus Doctrine'.

128 E3p6: 'Each thing as far as it can by its own power strives to persevere in its own being' (G 2/146). E3p7: 'The striving by which each thing strives to persevere in its being is nothing but the actual essence of the thing' (G 2/146). The term *conatus* was originally conceived in Stoic philosophical tradition, referring to a singular thing's actual essence. The term might be best translated as 'striving', 'tendency', or 'endeavour'. The concept *conatus ad motum* occurs in the Cartesian philosophy, where it is presented as the first law of nature referring to the principle of inertia and the motion of objects: Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae*, 1644, II, 37 (AT VIII, 62–63). Cf.: Bennet, *A Study of Spinoza's 'Ethics'*, pp. 231–251; Bernard Rousset, *Geulincx entre Descartes et Spinoza* (Paris: Vrin, 1999), pp. 189–199; Don Garrett, 'Spinoza's Conatus Argument', in Olli I. Koistinen and John Biro (eds.), *Metaphysical Themes* (Oxford: Oxford University

Van Blijenbergh, in all probability, had learned some elementary Latin at Dordrecht the Latin School but he lacked academic training. Ergo, doubtful is whether he read *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* in its entirety in Latin. Though, it seems to me that he particularly studied the Dutch rendering, as can be inferred from Van Blijenbergh's last letter to Spinoza of late March 1665. In it, he quotes verbatim from the Dutch prologue to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*.[129] In his correspondence with Spinoza, Van Blijenbergh's position is that of a perfectly orthodox Reformed amateur philosopher, avidly seeking to discuss Cartesian philosophy and metaphysics. He was by all means a bright spirit who clearly possessed curiosity but also had a taste for argument.

To be sure, Van Blijenbergh became intrigued but he was at the same time also heavily confused by the complex contradictions and paradoxes contained in Spinoza's metaphysical system of thought. This is especially shown in their discussion of the theological paradox questioning the relation between God and evil and the fall of Adam. Because, according to Spinoza, God causes everything Van Blijenbergh saw the danger that via Descartes the Dutch philosopher would ultimately hang the collar of evil around the neck of God himself.[130] Clearly the Dordrecht retailer admired Spinoza for his erudition and radical philosophical ideas but, being a devout Protestant, he felt obliged to attack Spinoza's rigorous rejection of the Bible as the written record of God's revealed eternal divine truth.[131]

During the 1670s and 1680s, Van Blijenbergh even turned against Spinoza in print. He disdained the metaphysical doctrines outlined in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in his *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der H. Schriften*. That book appears to rely on a hitherto unknown third version of Spinoza's treatise in a Dutch rendition by Glazemaker, or of its corrected version, possibly by Johannes Bouwmeester. Another attack by Van Blijenbergh, in *Wederlegging van de Ethica of Zede-Kunst* (Rebuttal of the Ethics), focused entirely on Spinoza's 'Ethics'.[132]

Fokke Akkerman has drawn some interesting conclusions about *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. He compared Balling's Dutch translation with the Dutch rendition of René Descartes's *Principia philosophiae*, made by Glazemaker and issued in 1657 by Jan Rieuwertsz.[133] According to Akkerman, Balling faithfully translated the Latin text of Spinoza's 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts', interfering with its redaction only when he felt the text demanded a more concise phrasing or needed minor amplification.[134] For instance, Balling translates 'certitudine, atque evidentiâ' in the Prolegomenon to Part 1 as 'zekere klaarheid'.[135] A clarification of this can be found in 'se ab omnibus dubiis liberaverit'. Balling translates the latter phrase as 'hy zich uit alle dubbingen *zoo geluckig*

Press, 2002), pp. 127–158; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 186–188 ('poging', 'pogen'). The term employed by Spinoza in KV is the Dutch noun 'poginge' (KV, Part 1, ch. 4). Background: Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza et le problème de l'expression* (Paris: Les Éditions du Minuit, 1967), pp. 226–233; Miquel A. Beltran, 'El Adán de Spinoza', *Convivium*, 21 (2008), pp. 197–212; Sangiacomo, 'Before the Conatus Doctrine'.

129 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157). The passage can be found in the Dutch rendition on sig. **r, lines 8–19: '*dat'er in de natuir een denkende selfstandicheit is; … zoo haast het menschelijk lichaam wezendlijk begint te zijn*'.

130 Yuval Jobani, *The Role of Contradictions in Spinoza's Philosophy. The God-Intoxicated Heretic* (Abington and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

131 Spinoza owned: *Biblia sacra iuxta germanam hebraici idiomatis proprietatem, …, interprete Xante Pagnino …* (Cologne: 1541); *Biblia sacra hebraica & chaldaica: cum Masora, quæ critica hebraeorum sacra est, magna & parva, ac selectissimis hebraeorum interpretum commentariis …* (Basle: 1619); *Biblia hebraïca commentarios addidit Lombroso* (Venice: 1639). Cf.: Offenberg, *Spinoza's Library*, p. 318, nos. 18, 1 and 25; Musschenga and Van Sluis, *De boeken*, pp. 24, 16, 28.

132 Willem van Blijenbergh*, *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der H. Schriften, beweert tegen de argumenten der ongodtsdienstige, of een wederlegginge van dat godt-lasterlijcke boeck, genoemt Tractatus theologico-politicus, …* (Leiden: 1674) (Amsterdam, VU, XI.00862; Den Haag, KB, KW 3197 D 11; Middelburg, Bibliotheek van Zeeland, KLUIS 1041 D 17); id., *Wederlegging van de Ethica of Zede-Kunst van Benedictus de Spinosa: voornamentlijk omtrent het wesen ende de natuur van God en van onse ziel* (Dordrecht: 1682). For the third version, or of its corrected version (possibly by Bouwmeester*): Chapter 7, *Glazemaker's Dutch Translation*.

133 Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 106–118. The edition published by Rieuwertsz* *père* is: René Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae of Beginselen*. *See*: Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 1, pp. 322–324. For the auction catalogue of Glazemaker's library: *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae Joannis Henrici Glazemaker, …* (Amsterdam: 1683). The catalogue lists the PP/CM (p. 46, no. 810), a 1670 copy of the TTP (p. 30, no. 308), the OP (p. 27, no. 203), and the NS (p. 44, no. 759). Unfortunately, none seem to have survived. For a short typology (short sentences, no imitation of spoken language, dialectical idioms and barbarisms) of Glazemaker's idiomatic work as a translator: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 101–126; id., 'J.H. Glazemaker, an Early Translator of Spinoza', in Cornelis de Deugd (ed.), *Spinoza's Political and Theological Thought, …* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1984), pp. 23–29, at pp. 24–27.

134 Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 106.

135 G 1/147.12. Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 106.

ontwart heeft', with '*zoo geluckig*' (so happily) printed in italic type.[136]

Decisions on other interventions were made only for the particular occasion. In the salutation (sig *2r) of Meyer's Preface, Balling translated '*CANDIDO* LECTORI *S.P.D.* LUDOVICUS MEYER' (To the Honest Reader Lodewijk Meyer Presents his Greetings) into the much longer 'Den Goedtwilligen LEEZER *Wenscht* LUIDEWYK MEYER Kennis der Waarheydt.' (Lodewijk Meyer wishes the benevolent reader knowledge of truth). Another amplification in sentences made by Balling is the replacement of the first-person singular with first-person plural.

After comparison of Balling's usage of the Dutch language with the usage of the vernacular by Glazemaker in his rendition of Descartes's *Principia philosophiae*, Akkerman considered the former more 'flexible' and 'elegant', but in other instances 'archaic', or more 'modern'.[137] A feature also observed by Akkerman is that Balling's translation frequently contains more paragraphs than *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II* and features different punctuation. Translation errors made by Balling are difficult to find, yet, minor mistakes can be discovered in his text.[138] For instance, in *PP* 1def7, Balling forgot to translate 'localis'. Akkerman's final conclusion is that Balling delivered a 'scrupulous and fine translation', far 'more intellectual and elaborate' than Glazemaker's more literal rendition of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'. After three centuries the former translation is indeed the more readable of the two texts.[139]

10 A New Printer

Few particulars can really be inferred about the actual printing process of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*, set in type by the Amsterdam printing firm of Herman Aeltsz, located in the Amsterdam Kalverstraat. Nevertheless, few things can be noticed. One surviving copy of the Dutch edition shows that, in page number 127, the smaller lower-case 7 went adrift during printing, gradually shifted southeast and tilted skew; as a result, the numeral 7 is 'hanging'.[140] This may have been caused by the pressure of the press. Another explanation may have been the continuous inking of the pages in the forme: the leather ink balls may have simply jerked the 7 out of its original upright position. One other typographical peculiarity can be observed in the direction line of page 21. In this instance, the roman upper-case capital letter C in signature C3 is printed in italics as '*C* 3'.

Furthermore, in the inner forme of gathering I on page 67, during printing the last letters of the first three lines in the scholium to proposition 8 of Part 2 shifted north. *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* also has Meyer's prologue which is followed by an errata list compiled after most of the trial prints were ready for proofreading. The list, called 'Misstellingen.' (sig. **1v), contains forty-nine corrections of misprints in the work's main text (pp. 1–104).

Several copies of the book also include the Latin dedicatory poem '*Ad librum.*' (To the Book), attributed to Bouwmeester, and also its Dutch translation (sig. **2r). Again this poem is signed '*I. B. M. D.*' (probably standing for 'Iohannes Bouwmeester Medicinae Doctor'). Below this is printed the following caption introducing its Dutch translation: '*Dit aldus vertaaldt.* | Aan het Boek.' (This [is] translated thus. To the Book). Another poem in Dutch (sig. **2v) contains a free paraphrase (twenty-four) of Bouwmeester's Latin text. It has the caption 'Aan den Leezer.' (To the Reader) and is signed 'H. v. Bronchorst, M.D.' (H. van Bronchorst, medicinae doctor).[141] The latter individual can be conclusively identified as the Cartesian Amsterdam physician Hendrik van Bronchorst, a member of the Flemish-Mennonite congregation 'by 't Lam'.[142]

Parts 1, 2, and the (unfinished) Part 3 of the main work are accompanied by two separate indexes. The first is entitled

136 G 1/141.12. Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 106.

137 Ibid., p. 107.

138 Ibid., p. 108.

139 G 1/150.30. Cf.: Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 109.

140 The Hague, KB, 599 C 1. Moxon (*Mechanick Exercises*, p. 216) takes up the view newly-cut letters are most likely to 'hang'. This, then, might indicate the The Hague copy may have been produced in an early stage of the print run.

141 G 4/615.

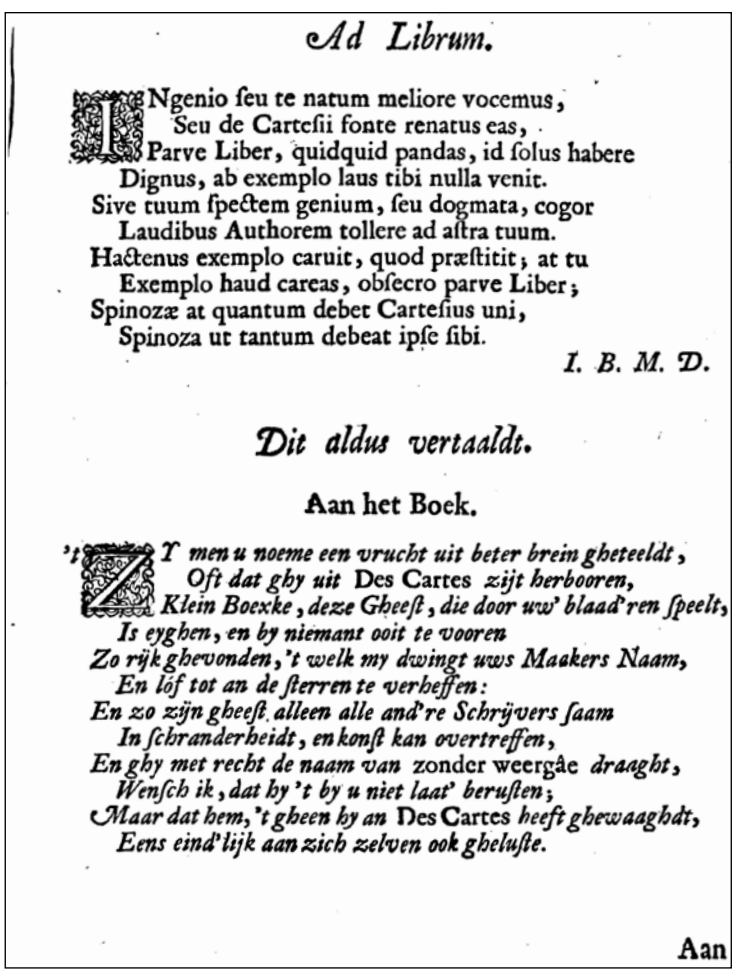
142 Van Bronchorst* matriculated in Leiden on 15 April 1654: 'Henricus a Bronckhorst Amstelodamensis. 20, M' (Hendrik van Bronckhorst, from Amsterdam, 20, Medicine). Cf.: Philipp C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Album promotorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae, 1575–1812* (The Hague: 1913–24), col. 434. Leiden, University Library, ms. ASF, vol. 10, p. 377: 'Henricus à Bronckhorst, Amstelodamensis, annorum 20. Medicinae studiosus, apud Franciscum van der Hulst, op de vischmarckt' (Hendrik van Bronckhorst, from Amsterdam, 20 years of age, student of medicine, at Franciscus van der Hulst, on the Vismarkt). Only very recently, Wassenaar traced a testament made by Van Bronchorst and his wife on 14 October 1663 (5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 85: Van Loosdrecht, 'Minuutacten van testamenten, huwelijkse voorwaarden etc. In "Protocol", 1645–1677', inv. no. 1977A, 15 August 1645–1669, fols 449r-v. From the deed, it appears the Mennonite couple lived at the Keizersgracht.

ge zyn'er onder de zelve zodaanig, dat zy beletten zouden konnen, dat des Schrijvers *meening*, en de kracht der Bewijzen niet ter deeg gevat zoude worden, gelijk ieder uit der zelver bezichtiging lichtelijk bevinden zal.

MISSTELLINGEN.

Bladt 9. *lijn* 2. *voor* Bedenkingen *leez* gedachten. *lyn* 33. *v.* voltrekkelijk *leez* volstrektelijk. *Bladt* 10. *lyn* 8. *v.* begrijp *leez* begrip. *lyn* 30. *v.* natuir *leez* denkbeeldt. *Bl.* 28. *lijn* 12. *v.* deze *leez* deze en diergelijke. *Bl.* 29. *lyn* 1. *v.* mijn zelf *leez* mijn zelf, namelijk, een eyndige denkende zelfstandicheit. *Kantteek. v.* 't wezen *leez* wezendheit. *lyn* 19. *v.* alzulke *leez* hoedanicheden. *Bl.* 30. *lyn* 16 *v.* mogelijkheit *leez* mogelijkheit van wezentlijkheit. *lyn* 17. *v.* tot O *leez* tot niet. *Bl.* 36. *lyn* 25. *v.* wezendheit *leez* wezendheit uit zich. *Bl.* 37. *Kantteek. v.* haar *leez* waar. *Bl.* 38 *lijn* 27. *v.* waar zijn *leez* noodzakelijk waar zijn. *Bl.* 40. *lyn* 13. *v.* maar die *leez* maar oók die. *Bl.* 44. *lyn* 5. *v.* en 't zoud *lees* en 't zou geduirichlijk. *Bl.* 54. *lyn* 7. *v.* moet *leez* noodzaaklijk moet. *Bl.* 60. *lyn* 19. *v.* hebben wy *leez* hebben wy bewezen. *Bl.* 62. *lyn* 33. *v.* zoo zeer snel *leez* zoo zeer snel werden begrepen. *Bl.* 65. *lyn* 34. *v.* dit eer dit *lees* dit eer. *Bl.* 67. *lyn* 10. *v.* byvegzel *leez* byvoegzel. *bl.* 75. *lyn* 28. *v.* uyt lust *leez* na behagen. *lyn* 32. *v.* aan *leez* in. *bl.* 78. *lijn* 18. *after* beweging *voeg* maar verschilt van de zelve. *bl.* 82. 84. 90. in de bewijzen van Voorstel 24. 27. 18. en 23. *v.* bepaling *leeez* afpaling. *bl.* 83. *lyn* 23. *after* werden *voeg* volgens d'onderstelling. *Bl.* 85. *lyn* 29. *after* te werden *voeg* en in 't tegendeel hoe trager, hoe 't min van afpaling heeft. *bl.* 86. *lijn* 24. *v.* uyt B, *leez* scheef uyt B. *lyn* 29. *v.* geheele beweging *leez* geheele beweging en afpaling. *lyn* 30. *v.* 't lichaam C *leez* B. *bl.* 87. *lyn* 1. *v.* 't lichaam B, *leez* A. *bl.* 88. *lyn* 4. *v.* in 't ander *leez* in 't ander stilWezend. *bl.* 98. *lyn* 8. *v.* van C na B *leez* van B na C. *Bl.* 115. *lyn* 3. *v.* deelbaar *leez* uyt zijn natuir deelbaar. *lyn* 25. *v.* in zich in *leez* in zich. *bl.* 116. *Kantteek. v.* 't wezend *leez* de wezendheyd. *bl.* 117. *lyn* 26. *v.* zoo veel 't is *leez* zoo veel 't een wezend is. *bl.* 118. *lyn* 28. *v.* mogelijk *leeft* onmogelijk *bl.* 120. *lyn* 32. *v.* notzaaklijkheit *leez* noodzaaklijkheit. *bl.* 122. *lyn* 7. noch voor *leez* noch wanneer, noch voor. *bl.* 127. *lyn* 18. *v.* wy-zich *lees* wyzich. *bl.* 140. *lyn* 16. *v.* dan die *lees* dan noodzakelijk die. *bl.* 151. *lyn* 7. *v.* zijn *lees* is. *bl.* 153. *Kantteek. v.* schifting *leez* bepaling. *bl.* 158. *lyn* 2. *v.* konde *leez* konnen. *lyn* 18. *v.* zonder *leez* niet zonder. *bl.* 163. *lyn* 29. *after* verstaan *voeg* en als een zelfstandicheit aanmerken, *bl.* 164. *Kantteek. v.* wat de wil is *lees* dat de wil vry is. *In de voorreden* bl. 3. lijn 20. *v.* verstellender wijs *lees* vertellender wijs.

ILLUSTRATION 2.23 List of errata following Lodewijk Meyer's Preface to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*



Ad Librum.

INgenio seu te natum meliore vocemus,
Seu de Carteſii fonte renatus eas,
Parve Liber, quidquid pandas, id ſolus habere
Dignus, ab exemplo laus tibi nulla venit.
Sive tuum ſpectem genium, ſeu dogmata, cogor
Laudibus Authorem tollere ad aſtra tuum.
Hactenus exemplo caruit, quod præſtitit; at tu
Exemplo haud careas, obſecro parve Liber;
Spinozæ at quantum debet Carteſius uni,
Spinoza ut tantum debeat ipſe ſibi.

I. B. M. D.

Dit aldus vertaaldt.

Aan het Boek.

't ZY men u noeme een vrucht uit beter brein gheteeldt,
Oft dat ghy uit Des Cartes zijt herbooren,
Klein Boexke, deze Gheest, die door uw' blaad'ren speelt,
Is eyghen, en by niemant ooit te vooren
Zo rijk ghevonden, 't welk my dwingt uws Maakers Naam,
En lof tot an de sterren te verheffen:
En zo zijn gheest alleen alle and're Schrijvers saam
In schranderheidt, en konst kan overtreffen,
En ghy met recht de naam van zonder weergâe draaght,
Wensch ik, dat hy 't by u niet laat' berusten;
Maar dat hem, 't gheen hy an Des Cartes heeft ghewaaghdt,
Eens eind'lijk aan zich zelven ook gheluste.

Aan

ILLUSTRATION 2.24
The Latin dedicatory poem 'Ad Librum.' by Bouwmeester and its Dutch translation following the Preface to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*

Aan den Leezer.

DE God-verzaker *ſwight: uyt heeft den* Stoïcus:
Nu't hoogh-verlichte Breyn van een CarteSius
Het zijn van God *betoogt, op wiſz' en ware gronden:*
Dat deze Godheyt *ook niet afhangt, of, gebonden*
Aan't dwingend' Nood-lot *is, of wankkelend'* geval;
Maar, zonder oorzaak zelfs, een oorzaak *van't heel-al,*
En al-beweger *van het wonderlijk gewemel*
Des uytgebreyden Stôfs, aan d'ongemeten Hemel,
Op Aarde, en in de Lucht. Wie *acht nu voor geluk,*
Dier dingen oorſpronk te doorgronden Stuk, voor Stuk?
Die *volg'* Renatus *geeſt, herlevende in* Spinoze;
Die *leeze uyt deze blaân* Natuir-weets *eêlſte rôzen:*
En proeve, 't geen zijn *vlijdt heeft uyt* dat werk *geviſt,*
Wiskunſtig toebereydt, en ſmaak'lijk opgediſt,
Van God, van Goed, van Ziel, van Stôf, en Stôfs-bewegen.
Doch't zouw volmaakter zijn, bedauwd' het eens de Zegen
Van rijper oordeel, en 't vernuft van BENEDICT,
Die *in't beſpieg'len van de waarheyt* zich *verquikt;*
En poogt de grondt van Aardz', en boven-aardze zâken
Te peylen door't verſtandt, en klaar bekent te maken.
Men voed' dees yver met aanmoedigende Lof;
Op dat hy zelfs *hier na, ontleden mach* die Stôf,
Wat Ziel, wat Lichaam zy: *en yeder laten lêzen*
't Eerwaardige geheym van't een *en* eeuwigh wezen.

H. v. BRONCHORST, M. D.

BE-

ILLUSTRATION 2.25
The Dutch poem 'Aan den Leezer.' by Van Bronckhorst.

BLADWYSER,

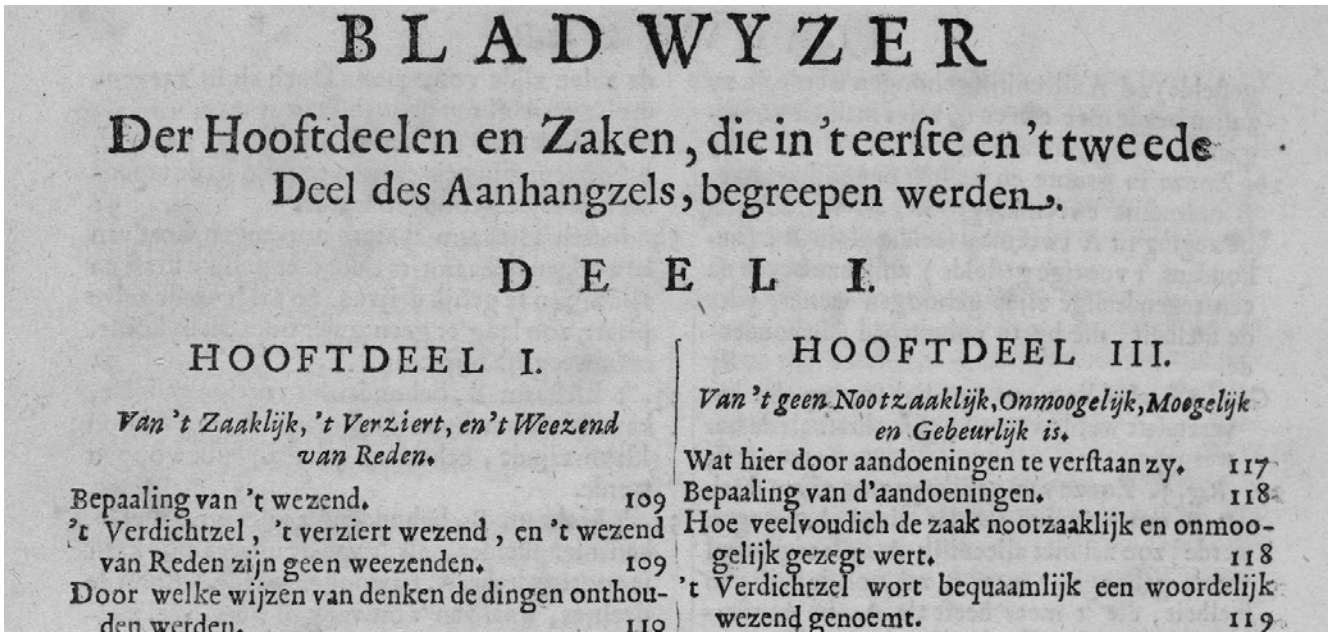
Der Voorſtellen, Inzetzels, en Gevolgen,

Die in't eerſte, tweede en derde deel, van de Beginzelen der Wijsbegeerte begreepe werden.

DEEL I.

1. *Voorſt.* Van geen zaak, zoo lang wy, van datwe wezendlijk zijn, onbewuſt blijven, konnen wy volſtrektelijk zeeker zijn. 15
2. *Ik ben* moet door zich zelf bekent zijn. 15
3. *Ik* voor zoo veel ik een zaak beſtaande van lichaam *Ben*, is niet het eerſt, noch door zich zelf bekende. 15
4. *Ik ben* en kan het eerſt bekende niet zijn als voor zoo veel wy denken. 16
maar in 't tegendeel, Ghodt is oorzaak der dingen ook na hun wezendheit. 36
Gev. 3. Ghodt gevoelt, noch verſtaat eigentlijk niet. 37
Gev. 4. Ghodt is in oorzaaklijkheit eerder als de wezendheit en wezendlijkheit der dingen. 37
13. Ghodt is ten opperſte waarachtich, en al heel geen bedrieger. 37
14. Al wat wy klaar en onderſcheidelijk begrijpen,

ILLUSTRATION 2.26 First index (of propositions, lemmas and corollaries) preceding the main text of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*



BLADWYZER

Der Hooftdeelen en Zaken, die in 't eerſte en 't tweede Deel des Aanhangzels, begreepen werden.

DEEL I.

HOOFTDEEL I.

Van 't Zaaklijk, 't Verziert, en 't Weezend van Reden.

Bepaaling van 't wezend. 109
't Verdichtzel, 't verziert wezend, en 't wezend van Reden zijn geen weezenden. 109
Door welke wijzen van denken de dingen onthouden werden. 110

HOOFTDEEL III.

Van 't geen Nootzaaklijk, Onmoogelijk, Moogelijk en Gebeurlijk is.

Wat hier door aandoeningen te verſtaan zy. 117
Bepaaling van d'aandoeningen. 118
Hoe veelvoudich de zaak nootzaaklijk en onmoogelijk gezegt wert. 118
't Verdichtzel wort bequaamlijk een woordelijk wezend genoemt. 119

ILLUSTRATION 2.27 Second index (covering chapters and topics) preceding the main text of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*.

> BLADWYSER der Voorstellen, Inzetsels en Gevolgen, Die in 't eerste, tweede en derde deel, van de Beginzelen der Wijsbegeerte begreepe werden. (Index of Propositions, Lemmas, and Corollaries, Contained in Parts 1, 2, and 3 of the Principles of Philosophy).

The second index has the following heading 'BLADWYZER der Hooftdelen en Zaken, die in 't eerste en tweede deel des Aanhangzels, begreepen werden.' (Index of Chapters and Topics, Contained in Parts 1 and 2 of the Appendix).

Meyer's prologue and the two indexes in particular have been typeset and printed after Aeltsz's workshop had printed the book's main text. Appended to the work are also the 'Metaphysical Thoughts', in Dutch called *Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. The main work of the book as well as the appendix are each fitted with their a separate part-title leaf.

Each unbound copy of the Dutch quarto edition numbers 186 pages (93 leaves). One copy consists of 23.25 sheets. Hence, from one ream of paper about 20.6 copies could be produced. An assumed impression by Aeltsz of five hundred copies (11,625 sheets) would, summed up, require about 24.2 reams of paper. Up to today, sixteen copies of the Dutch rendition are known to have survived in international library holdings. Again, what exact percentage of the original print run this represents is unclear.

⁘

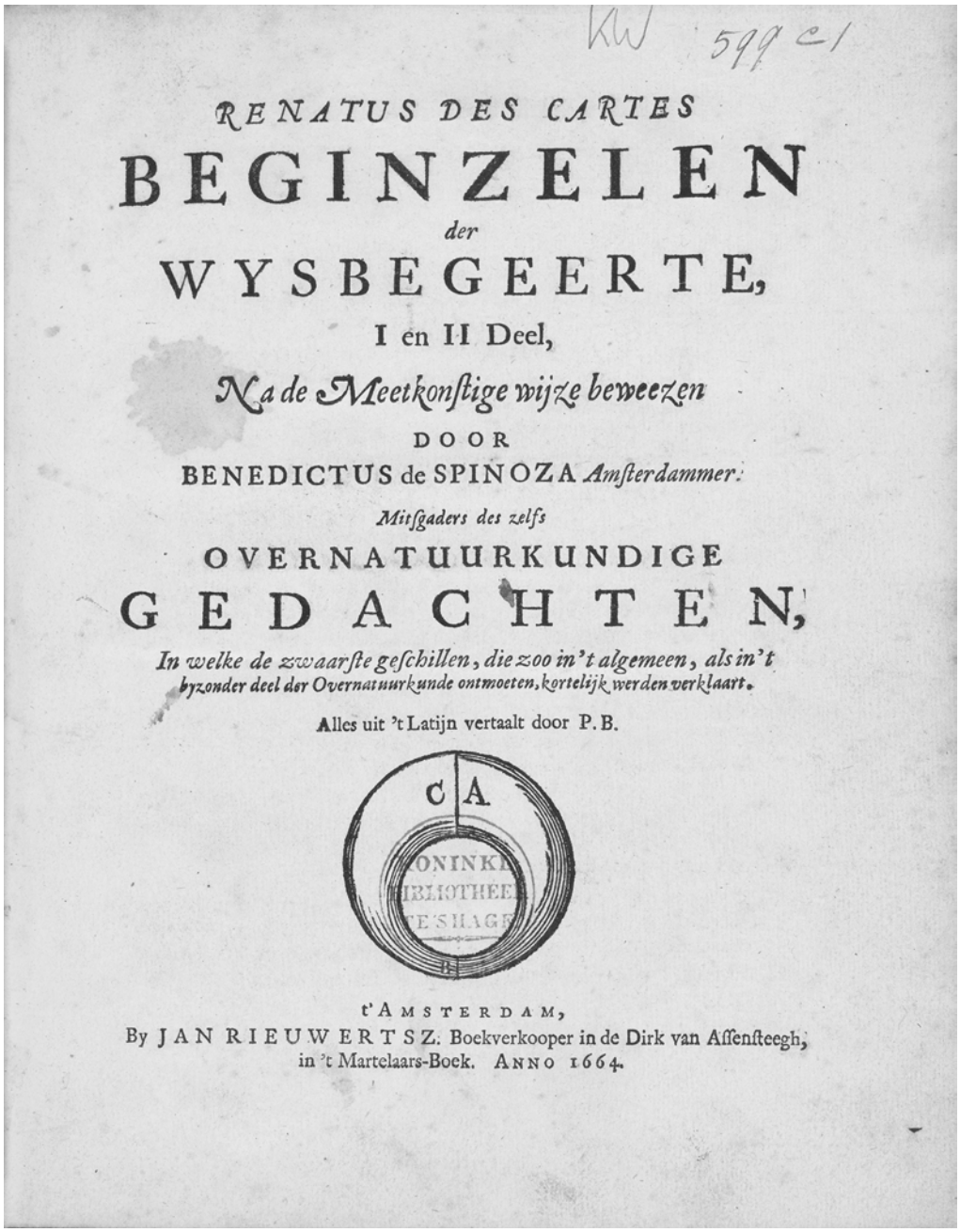
FIRST AND ONLY DUTCH EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 2.28–2.38)

Short Title

Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*. Amsterdam, *printer*: Herman Aeltsz, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1664.

Geometrically demonstrated digest of Descartes's 1644 'Principles of Philosophy' (Part 1 and 2, fragment of Part 3) with Spinoza's own 'Metaphysical Thoughts'. Prepared for the press by Lodewijk Meyer, in consultation with Spinoza. Cross-references and captions by Meyer under of Spinoza's personal direction. Translation from the Latin by 'P. B.' (Pieter Balling), revised and improved text of the Latin edition.

- Dutch text; subsidiary languages: Latin, Hebrew.
- Title-page has Spinoza's full name.
- Imprint has the name of publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the address of his Amsterdam bookshop ('Dirk van Assensteegh'), and the name of the store's sign ('in 't Martelaars-Boek').
- Title-page decoration: physical illustration (also gracing the Latin edition's title-page).
- Translation of Lodewijk Meyer's prologue from the Latin edition.
- Latin dedicatory poem '*Ad Librum.*' (sig. **2^{r}) by '*I. B. M. D.*' [Johannes Bouwmeester presumably], with Dutch translation ('Aan het Boek').


KW 599 c 1

RENATUS DES CARTES

BEGINZELEN

der

WYSBEGEERTE,

I en II Deel,

Na de Meetkonſtige wijze beweezen

DOOR

BENEDICTUS de SPINOZA *Amſterdammer.*

Mitſgaders des zelfs

OVERNATUURKUNDIGE

GEDACHTEN,

In welke de zwaarſte geſchillen, die zoo in't algemeen, als in't byzonder deel der Overnatuurkunde ontmoeten, kortelijk werden verklaart.

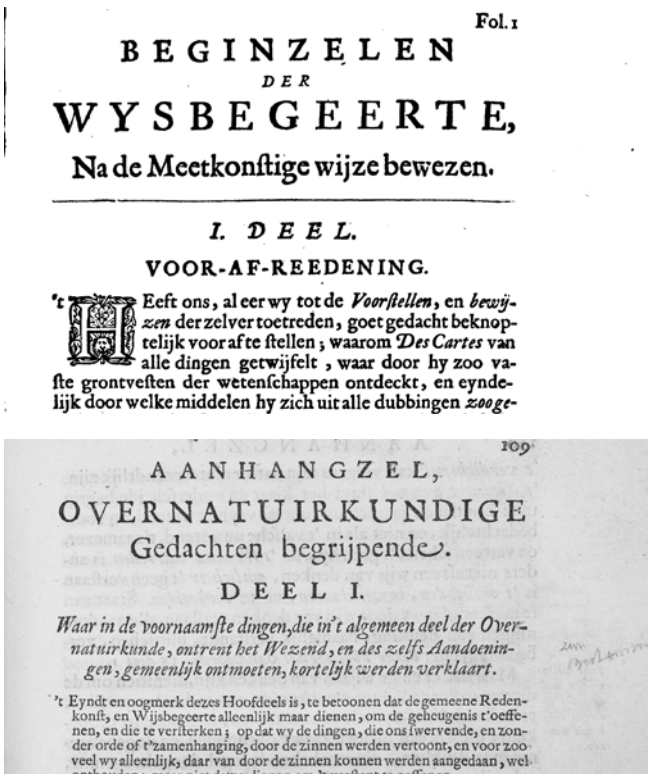
Alles uit 't Latijn vertaalt door P. B.

C A
ONINKL
IBLIOTHEE
E'SHAGE

t'AMSTERDAM,

By JAN RIEUWERTSZ. Boekverkooper in de Dirk van Aſſenſteegh, in 't Martelaars-Boek. ANNO 1664.

ILLUSTRATION 2.28 Title-page of the Dutch translation of Spinoza's first book *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*



Fol. 1

BEGINZELEN
DER
WYSBEGEERTE,
Na de Meetkonſtige wijze bewezen.

I. DEEL.

VOOR-AF-REEDENING.

't Heeft ons, al eer wy tot de *Voorſtellen*, en *bewijzen* der zelver toetreden, goet gedacht beknoptelijk voor af te ſtellen; waarom *Des Cartes* van alle dingen getwijfelt, waar door hy zoo vaſte grontveſten der wetenſchappen ontdeckt, en eyndelijk door welke middelen hy zich uit alle dubbingen *zooge-*

109

AANHANGZEL,
OVERNATUIRKUNDIGE
Gedachten begrijpende.
DEEL I.

Waar in de voornaamſte dingen, die in't algemeen deel der Overnatuirkunde, ontrent het Wezenid, en des zelfs Aandoeningen, gemeenlijk ontmoeten, kortelijk werden verklaart.

't Eyndt en oogmerk dezes Hoofdeels is, te betoonen dat de gemeene Redenkonſt, en Wijsbegeerte alleenlijk maar dienen, om de geheugenis t'oeffenen, en die te verſterken; op dat wy de dingen, die ons ſwervende, en zonder orde of t'zamenhanging, door de zinnen werden vertoont, en voor zoo veel wy alleenlijk, daar van door de zinnen konnen werden aangedaan, wel

ILLUSTRATIONS 2.29 AND 2.30 First pages of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel* and of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*

– Second poem (sig. **2^{v}) in Dutch ('Aan den Leezer.'): Hendrik van Bronchorst.
– Contains (decorated) initials and illustrations.
– Contains two indexes.
– Contains list of errata ('Misstellingen.').

Exemplar

Spinoza's Latin autograph manuscript and/or an apograph, or perhaps the printed Latin edition; [Balling's] autograph manuscript and/or an apograph of the Dutch translation, which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

*Title-Page (on outer Forme of Gathering *)*

RENATUS (swash R, N, and T) *DES* (swash D) *CARTES* (swash A, R, and T) | BEGINZELEN | *der* | WYSBEGEERTE, | I en II Deel, | *Na* (swash N) *de Meetkonſtige* (swash M) *wijze beweezen* | DOOR | BENEDICTUS de SPINOZA *Amſterdammer.* | *Mitſgaders des zelfs* | OVERNATUURKUNDIGE | GEDACHTEN, | *In welke de zwaarſte geſchillen, die zoo in't algemeen, als in't* | *byzonder deel der Overnatuurkunde ontmoeten, kortelijk werden verklaart.* | Alles uit 't Latijn vertaalt door P. B. | (geometrical visual) | t'AMSTERDAM, | By JAN RIEUWERTSZ. Boekverkooper in de Dirk van Affensteegh, | in 't Martelaars-Boek. | ANNO 1664.

Language(s) and Typography

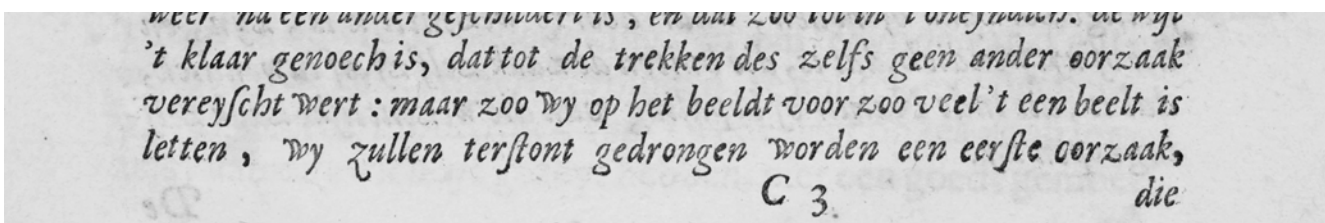
Dutch, occasionally Latin and pointed Hebrew (p. 143). Old-style serif roman founts of type from the Amsterdam printing office of Herman Aeltsz. Glosses in external margins (both in roman and italic type). Normally thirty-four lines, varying in different parts of the main work.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– P. 21 (direction line): sig. C3 printed as '*C* 3' (outer forme of gathering C).

Occurs in: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, an: NI 10525 : R; Coimbra, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21; The Hague, KB, 599 C 1. These aforementioned copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production process.

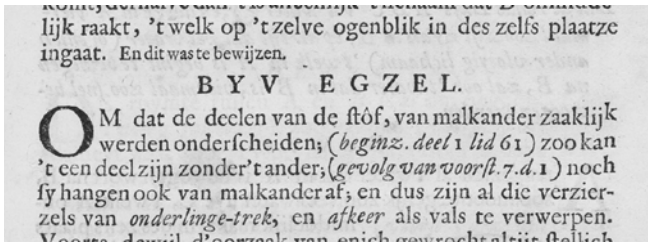
– P. 67 (inner forme of I): caption 'BYVOEGZEL.' (scholium) misprinted 'BYV EGZEL.', literal corrected in list of errata ('*Bl.* 67. *lyn* 10. *v.* byvegzel *leez* byvoegzel.').
– P. 67 (inner forme of I): last letters of first three lines in scholium shifted north in forme by pressure of the press or by the ink-balls (hanging).



't klaar genoech is, dat tot de trekken des zelfs geen ander oorzaak vereyſcht wert: maar zoo wy op het beeldt voor zoo veel't een beelt is letten, wy zullen terſtont gedrongen worden een eerſte oorzaak,

C 3. die

ILLUSTRATION 2.31 Detail of page 21 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel;* with misprint in direction line.


lijk raakt, 't welk op 't zelve ogenblik in des zelfs plaatze ingaat. En dit was te bewijzen.

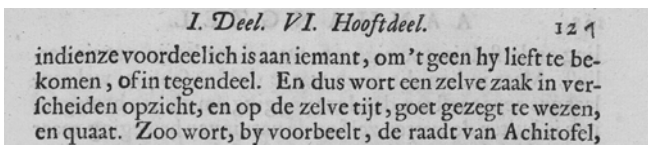
BYVEGZEL.

OM dat de deelen van de ſtôf, van malkander zaaklijk werden onderſcheiden; (*beginz. deel* 1 *lid* 61) zoo kan 't een deel zijn zonder 't ander; (*gevolg van voorſt.* 7. *d.* 1) noch ſy hangen ook van malkander af; en dus zijn al die verzierzels van *onderlinge-trek*, en *afkeer* als vals te verwerpen.

ILLUSTRATION 2.32 Detail of page 67 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel;* with misprints in caption and in scholium.

Occurs in: Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OG 63-6519; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, an: Nl 10525 : R; The Hague, KB, 599 C 1.

– P. 127 (page number): numeral 7 hanging, gradually shifted southeast and tilted skew (outer forme of Q).


I. Deel. VI. Hooftdeel. 127

indienze voordeelich is aan iemant, om 't geen hy lieft te bekomen, of in tegendeel. En dus wort een zelve zaak in verſcheiden opzicht, en op de zelve tijt, goet gezegt te wezen, en quaat. Zoo wort, by voorbeelt, de raadt van Achitofel,

ILLUSTRATION 2.33 Detail of page 127 of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten* with hanging numeral in page number.

Occurs in: The Hague, KB, 599 C 1. Copies were printed during a later stage of the production process.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

166404 – a1 *2 ezon : a2 ** n$ond
166404 – b1 A en : b2 N3 nu$
166404 – c1 O2 ert$hoofd : c2 X3 odich
166404 – d1 Y ,$zo : d2 Y2 et$d

Collation

4°: *4 **2 A–X4 (–O1 (part-title leaf)) Y2 [$3, **: $1]
93 leaves = pp. [6] 1–104 [2] 109–168 [6]
Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 6: 'In all copies examined, the folia B3, B4, N4 and R4 are cancels. N4 verso has the pagination 104, the following half-title is, as normally, without pagination. Then follows page 109'.

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of prologue and lists of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper-middle margin: Aan den goedtwilligen LEEZER.; *Beginzelen der Wysbegeerte*, (verso), *I. DEEL* (recto, with subsequent part numbers); AANHANGZEL (verso), *I. DEEL.* I. *Hooftdeel.* (recto, with subsequent part and chapter numbers); BLADWYZER.

Contents

*r	(title-page)
*v	(blank)
*2r–**v	Den Goedtwilligen LEEZER Wenscht LUIDEWYK MEYER Kennis der Waarheydt. (Meyer's Preface)
**v	MISSTELLINGEN. (list of errata with forty-nine corrections, for pp. 3, 9 [2×], 10 (2×), 28, 29 [2×], 30, 36, 37, 38, 40, 44, 54, 60, 62, 65, 67, 75 [2×], 78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 [3×], 87, 88, 90, 98, 115 [2×], 116, 117, 118, 120, 122, 127, 140, 151, 153, 158 [2×], 163, 164)
**2r	Ad Librum. Signed: I. B. M. D. – Dit aldus vertaaldt. | Aan het Boek. (followed by dedicatory poem in ten lines, with Dutch translation in ten lines)
**2v	Aan den Leezer. Signed: H. v. BRONCHORST. (free paraphrase, twenty-four lines)
A1r–F4r	BEGINZELEN DER WYSBEGEERTE, Na de Meetkonstige wijze bewezen. I. DEEL. VOOR-AF-REEDENING.
F4v–N4v	BEGINZELEN DER WYSBEGEERTE, *Na de meetkonstige wijze bewezen. II. DEEL.*
N2r–N4v	Beginzelen der WYSBEGEERTE Na de Meetkonstige wijze bewezen. *III. DEEL.*
O1r	AANHANGZEL. OVER-NATUIRKUNDIGE GEDACHTEN BEGRYPENDE. *In 't welk, Zeer zwaare Geschillen, zoo in 't algemeen, als in 't byzonder deel der Overnatuirkunde, ontrent het Wezend en des zelfs Aandoeningen; Ghodt en des zelfs Toeeigeningen; en de Menschelyke Ziel ontmoetende, kortelijk werden verklaart. DOOR* BENEDICTUS de SPINOSA, AMSTELODAMENSIS. (part-title leaf)

O^v	(blank)
$O2^r$–$O4^v$	AANHANGZEL, OVERNATUIRKUNDIGE Gedachten begrijpende. DEEL I. Waar in de voornaamste dingen, die in 't algemeen deel der Overnatuirkunde, omtrent het Wezend, en des zelfs Aandoeningen, gemeenlijk ontmoeten, kortelijk werden verklaart.
$O4^v$–$P2^r$	HOOFTDEEL II. *Wat 't zijn naa Wezendheit, naa Wezentlijkheit, naa 't Denkbeelt, en naa 't Vermooge, te zeggen zy*.
$P2^r$–$P4^v$	HOOFTDEEL III. Van 't geen Nootzaaklijk, Onmoogelijk, Moogelijk en Gebeurlijk is.
Q^r	HOOFTDEEL IV. *Van Duiring, en Tijt*.
Q^r–Q^v	HOOFTDEEL V. Van Tegenstelling, Orde, enz.
Q^v–$O3^v$	HOOFTDEEL VI. *Van 't Een, Waar, en Goedt.*
$O4^r$–$R2^r$	AANHANGZEL, OVERNATUIRKUNDIGE GEDACHTEN BEGRYPENDE. DEEL II. Waar in de voornaamste dingen, die in 't byzonder deel der Overnatuirkunde, zoo ontrent Ghodt, en zijn Toe-eigeningen, als ook ontrent de Menschelijke Ziel, gemeenlijk ontmoeten, kortelijk werden verklaart.
$R2^r$–$R2^v$	HOOFTDEEL II. *Van d'Eenheit Ghodts*.
$R2^v$ –$R3^v$	HOOFTDEEL III. Van d'Onmeetelijkheit Ghodts.
$R3^v$–S^r	HOOFTDEEL IV. *Van d'Onveranderlijkheyt Ghodts*.
S^r–$S2^r$	HOOFTDEEL V. Van d'Eenvoudicheit Ghodts.
$S2^r$–$S3^r$	HOOFTDEEL VI. *Van 't Leven Ghodts*.
$S3^r$–T^r	HOOFTDEEL VII. Van 't Verstandt Ghodts.
T^r–$T2^r$	HOOFTDEEL VIII. *Van de Wil Ghodts*.
$T2^v$–$T3^v$	HOOFTDEEL IX. *Van de Macht Ghodts*.
$T3^v$–$V2^v$	HOOFTDEEL X. Van de Scheppinge.
$V3^r$–$V4^r$	HOOFTDEEL XI. *Van de Meêwerking Ghodts*.
$V4^r$–$X3^v$	HOOFTDEEL XII. Van de Menschelijke Ziel.
$X4^r$–Y^r	BLADWYSER, Der Voorstellen, Inzetsels, en Gevolgen, *Die in 't eerste, tweede en derde deel, vande Beginzelen der Wijsbegeerte begreepe werden*. (index of the 'Principles of Philosophy')
Y^v–$Y2^v$	BLADWYSER, Der Hooftdeelen en Zaken, die in 't eerste en 't tweede Deel des Aanhangzels, begreepen werden. (index of the 'Metaphysical Thoughts')

Ornament on Title-Page

Geometrical visual, ™relief woodcut, diam. 41 mm. Also on the title-page of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*.

Decorated Initials

Six ornamented (acanthus) initials (D, H, D, D, O, D), relief woodcuts, employed to head the first letter of the first word of the Preface and separate parts of the exposition: pp. 48 (three lines, 13×12 mm), 1, 99, 109 and 129 (four lines, 16×16 mm, 17×17 mm, 17×18 mm, 16×16 mm), sig. $*2^r$ (six lines, 26×25 mm).

Initials matching identical initials in other books printed by Herman Aeltsz (Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers': Appendix 2, pp. 300–301):

large initial D

ILLUSTRATION 2.34
Ornamented acanthus initial on signature $*^r$ of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel.*

Also in:

– Anon., *Octroy van de Purmer, mitsgaders d'approbatie der ed. mog. heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt … aengaende de kavelinge der gronden* (Amsterdam: 1683).
– Anon. (Adriaan Koerbagh), *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplant door Vreederijk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd* (Leiden [Amsterdam]: 1668).

second small initial D

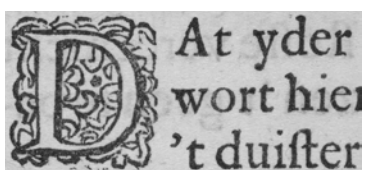


ILLUSTRATION 2.35
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 48 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel.*

Also in:

– Anon., *Ter bruiloft van den bruidegom Gerard Reezen, en de bruid Maria Nering, …* (Amsterdam: 1670); *Octroy van de Purmer, …* (Amsterdam: 1683).

third small initial D

ILLUSTRATION 2.36
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 99 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel.*

Also in:
– Christian M. Anhaltin, *Slot en sleutel van de navigatie, ofte groote zeevaert: de tafelen van de hoeckmaten, raecklijnen en snijlijnen enz.* (Amsterdam: 1659).
– Claes H. Gietermaker, *Vermaeck der stuerlieden. Inhoudende de voornaemste stucken der zeevaert, ...* (Amsterdam: 1659).

other initial H

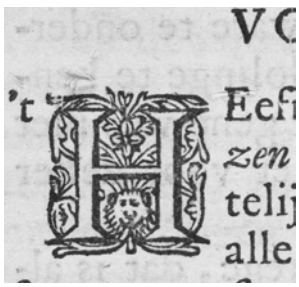


ILLUSTRATION 2.37
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 1 of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel.*

Also in:
– Claes H. Gietermaker, *Den Amsterdamschen belachelijcken geometrischen bril-maker Cornelis van Leeuwen, ...* (Amsterdam: 1663).

initial O

ILLUSTRATION 2.38
Ornamented acanthus initial on page 109 of *Overnatuurkundige gedachten.*

Also in:
– Christianus de Placker, *Evangelische leeuwerck, ofte historie-liedekens, op de evangelien der sondagen, ...* (Amsterdam: 1667).

Simple Initials
Plain (closed) black initials (two lines, *c.*10×*c.*9 mm), relief woodcuts, employed to head the first letter of the first word of definitions, proofs, axioms, and scholia in the reworking of Descartes, or used as the first letter of the chapters in *Overnatuurkundige gedachten*.

Illustrations
Geometrical visuals, engravings made on polished copperplates, also in the Latin edition and occurring in Part 2 of the 'Principles of Philosophy', engraver is not identified.
– P. 74, explaining PP 2p16dem1: on the motion of bodies moving in a straight line (42×48 mm).
– P. 75, for PP 2p16dem1: idem (66×63 mm).
– P. 86, for PP 2p27s (rule 3): bodies are determined to stir in the direction they are moving, and conversely (44×50 mm).
– P. 96, for PP 2p36dem: on bodily motion and speed (16×25 mm).

Physical illustrations, also in the Latin edition, all in Part 2, unidentified engraver:
– P. 50, explaining PP 2def8 (on local motion): two rectangular blocks A and B representing two 'contiguous bodies', shading, A depicted lengthwise, B positioned frontal, 10×32 mm, repeated on pp. 77, 79, 84, and 90. Illustration borrowed from Descartes's 1644 *Principia philosophiae* (p. 60, AT VIII, 68).
– P. 51, for PP 2def9 (on the 'circle of moved bodies'): circular 'ribbon', 'floating', divided into eight sections each of which is numbered 1 to 8, depicting 'a circle of moving bodies' (18×30 mm), repeated on pp. 53 and 67.
– P. 53, for PP 2a×14: two tubes A and C depicting two 'hollow pipes', unequal in diameter, shading (15×40 mm).
– P. 62, for PP 2p6s (on infinite extension): spoked wheel with capital letters A, B, and C depicting a body with a circular motion at the highest speed, shading (28×60 mm).
– P. 63, for PP 2p6s (on infinite extension): spoked wheel lettered A, B, C, rotating with the help of a belt and causing another spoked wheel D, E, F (half its size) to move about its centre, shading, diam. 31 mm.
– P. 66, for PP 2p8dem (on bodily motion and bodily contact): visual depicting the movement of separate bodies, three square blocks A, B, and C, A on top of a block called B, below block B the letter D, shading (23×27 mm).

– P. 68, for *PP* 2p9dem (on motion in unequal spaces): two non-concentric circles representing a circular tube (comprising a maximum AC and minimum B of distance) full of water, also used as printer's mark on title-page, diam. 42 mm. Based on illustration in Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* (pp. 51 and 52, AT VIII, 59).
– P. 68, for *PP* 2p9lem (on motion in unequal spaces): two unequal non-concentric semicircles AB and CD (70×17 mm). Based on illustration in the *Principia philosophiae* (p. 60, AT VIII, 68).
– P. 77, for *PP* 2p17dem (on bodily motion and the strife of bodies moving in circles to move away from the centre of the circle it describes): geometrical visual indicating the movement of a stone (moving in a circle) held in a slingshot held by a hand (55×38 mm). Based on illustration in Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* (p. 56, AT VIII, 68).
– P. 98, for *PP* 2p37dem (on bodily motion): segment representing singular bodies A, B, and C where body A is moving from C toward B (7×39 mm).

***Copies* (*16*)**

Copies Examined

BW/OG#153[P] AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OG 63-6519
Copy has 'Opera' frontispiece portrait. Brown spotting to pages, page number 67 badly printed, old shelf-mark with black ink (659) in upper right corner of title-page, corrections indicated in errata list are made throughout copy by a late-seventeenth-century hand in black ink, old UvA shelf-mark (2347 B 13).
Provenance: circular library stamp (UvA) on verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=SyZmAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

BW/OG#154[P] AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: RON A-5214 (2)
Copy with 'Opera portrait', slip of paper with Dutch text missing. Late-seventeenth-century brown speckled leather binding on five raised bands, stained edges, nineteenth-century owner's notes in black ink on Spinoza and his philosophy on first free endpapers, bound with: B. d. S., *De nagelate schriften*, 1677 [OTM: RON A-5214 (1)]; Edward Pocock, *Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan, …*, Johannes Bouwmeester (ed.) (Amsterdam: 1672) [OTM: RON A-5214 (3)]).

BW/OG#155 THE HAGUE, KB, 599 C 1
Sigs **2[r] and 2[v] (dedicatory poems by Bouwmeester and Van Bronckhorst) missing, number 7 in page number 127 hanging, late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather over pasteboard, gold-tooled double rectangular rule on front cover and back, gold-tooled spine (floral motives), damaged gold-tooled lettering panel: 'CARTES | BEGINZEL', brown-sprinkled edges, marbled first free front and back endpapers.
Provenance: modern shelf-marks with pencil (KB, 599 C 1, 18 a.2); circular library stamp on title-page (KB); notes in nineteenth-century handwriting.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=10&resultClick=1

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*3*)

BW/OG#156 AMSTERDAM, Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00122 (vellum wrapper, bound with: Descartes, *Principia philosophiae: of Beginselen*).

BW/OG#157–158 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 161 (2 copies, one bound with *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge*, 1693).

Germany (*1*)

BW/OG#159 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, an: NI 10525 : R (modern vellum library binding, red-sprinkled edges, bound with: René Descartes, *Proeven der wysbegeerte*).

Portugal (*1*)

BW/OG#160 COIMBRA, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering with laced-in thongs, blind-tooled rectangular single rule on covers, inner corners of rule with blind-tooled floral ornaments, embossed blind-tooled stamp on first cover, handwritten author and title on spine in black ink: 'SPINOZA | *TRACTATUS* | THEOL. POL.', modern library label with shelf-mark on foot of spine, modern circular library stamp [Coimbra University] on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

South Africa (*1*)

BW/OG#161 STELLENBOSCH, University Library, Church Historical Collection (Book) TEOL K-H. sem. SP (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, older oblong

library stamps [Theologisch Seminarium Stellenbosch] on title-page).

United Kingdom (*1*)

BW/OG#162 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University Library, Phil 2520.163.15*

United States (*6*)

BW/OG#163 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, Freidus SPINOZA (vellum wrapper over boards, embossed owner's mark [Hebrew Union College] on title-page).

BW/OG#164–165 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 1875 .S75 1664 (orange paper over boards with floral pattern in gold, leather spine, six raised bands, handwritten note in the back of the book [in ink], and dotted line [in ink] surrounding a passage on pp. 157–158, handwritten markings [in ink] in Preface and on pp. 64–65 as well), B 1875 .S75 1664a (small notes/markings [in ink] on pp. 9–10, 28–30, 36, 38, 40, 44, 54, 60, 62, 75, 82–88, 90, 98, 115, 117, 122, 127, 140, and 163–164, notes on paper tipped in on the verso of the first flyleaf, possibly were written by former owner A.D. White, first president of Cornell University, bookplate reading 'President White Library Cornell University' with the date '9/4/94').

BW/OG#166 LOS ANGELES (CA), Hebrew Union College, Frances-Henry Library, Freidus SPINOZA

BW/OG#167 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California at Los Angeles, University Library, Spinoza Collection, B1875 .S75rD 1664

BW/OG#168 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 U5 1664 (modern paper covering over pasteboard, circular embossed stamp of Carl Gebhardt ['Bibliotheca Spinozana Carl Gebhardt'] on title-page, bookplate of Carl Gebhardt: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana Carl Gebhardt', damage by moisture in places).

References

Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 1, no. 2; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 32, no. 357; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek*, p. 35, no. 186; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 5–6, no. 2.

⁘

CHAPTER 3

The 'Theological-Political Treatise': Latin Quartos

T.1 – First Latin Quarto Edition, First and Only Issue

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1670.

Anonymous, false imprint. Two states: plain version/large-paper copy. Title-page: broken upper beak of S in 'POLITICUS'/'Johann:' (epigraph)/'Künraht' with *ht* (imprint)/epigraph: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand/epigraph, l. 12: '*dedit*', with dotted lower-case italic *i*. Page number 104 misprinted as '304'; collation variant has stop-press correction of 104. Misprint (p. 60, l. 9): 'imperatorisu,qamvis'. Contains list of errata. Exemplar: Spinoza's autograph and/or apograph served as printer's copy, but is no longer extant.

T.2/T.2a – Second Latin Quarto Edition, Two Issues

T.2 issue, imprint dated 1672:

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1672.

T.2a issue, imprint dated '1670':

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670' [1672, perhaps 1673].

Anonymous, false imprint. With reimposed title-page of T.1: broken upper beak of S in 'POLITICUS'/'Johann:' (epigraph)/'Künraht' with *ht* (imprint)/epigraph: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand/epigraph, l. 12: '*dedıt*', with undotted lower-case italic *ı*. Sig. (*)3 misnumbered as '(*)4'. Page number 42 misprinted as '24', 207 as '213'. With list of errata (identical to the one in T.1). Printed exemplar: T.1.

T.4n/T.4 – Third Latin Quarto Edition, Two Issues

T.4n issue, title-page: 'Johann :' (epigraph)/'Künrath' with *th* (imprint); Preface: sig. (*)3 misprinted as '(*)4':

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670' [1677, or later].

T.4 issue, title-page: 'Johan:' (epigraph)/'Künrath' with *th* (imprint); with stop-press correction of sig. (*)3:

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670' [1677, or later].

Anonymous, false imprint. Epigraph on title-page has lower-case italic epsilon ampersand. Title-page: epigraph, l. 12: '*dedit*', with dotted lower-case italic *i*. 'Pag. 1' misprinted as 'Fag. 1'. Page number 130 misprinted as '830'. Contains list of errata (identical to the one in T.1). Printed exemplar: T.2/T.2a.

T.5 – Fourth Latin Quarto Edition, First and Only Issue

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670' [1677, or later].

Anonymous, false imprint. Title-page: 'Johan.' (epigraph)/epigraph, l. 12: '*dedit*', lower-case italic *i* with dot /'Künrath' with *th* (imprint); epigraph also has lower-case italic epsilon ampersand. Page number 192 misprinted as '92'. *Without the T.1 list of errata*. Printed exemplar: T.4n/T.4.

⁘

1 Of 'Angels, Prophecy and Miracles': The First Latin Quarto Edition T.1 (1670)

In the late summer of 1665, Spinoza began composing his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In his second book, addressing a Christian audience, he seeks to argue for a meaningful interpretation of the Bible. He upholds as the work's primary rationale that it is necessary philosophy should

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be separated and freed from theology, being no longer its handmaiden, a Cartesian idea new in the seventeenth century.[1] Spinoza in the treatise downgrades the transparency and historicity of the Old Testament, particularly of the Pentateuch's Mosaicity, by operating existing philological Christian Hebraic techniques to trace down numerical inconsistencies and chronological contradictions. Specifically well-equipped by his Dutch-Sephardic background, education, and knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, Spinoza in the 'Theological-Political Treatise' rejects the accepted Judaeo-Christian notion the Pentateuch's texts were all written and revised by its attributed author Moses. The Dutch philosopher calls him however pre-eminent among the Old Testament's prophets and compares him in his treatise even to Christ.

Mosaic authorship is asserted *in* the Pentateuch (Exod. 17:14, 24:4, 34:28; Num. 33:2; Deut. 31:9, 31:22) as well as *outside* (e.g.: Josh. 38:30–1; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 14:6; 1 Chr. 25:4; Neh. 8:1, 8:3). Jesus (Mark 7:10; Luke 20:37, quoting Exod. 201:12) and also Paul (Rom. 10:5) attributed it to Moses. Yet, Moses' authorship is disputed because of prima facie elements in the Pentateuch itself, like for instance Moses' death (Deut. 34:5–12). In other places, the biblical text refers to Moses in the third person. Spinoza proposes as the Pentateuch's author (he uses the word *scriptor*), instead of Moses, Ezra (*fl.*480–440 BCE), a highly-respected Jewish scribe and priest from the post-exilic period. He propounds thus: 'Who he was, I cannot show so clearly; but I suspect that he was Ezra' (also called Ezra the Scribe and Ezra the Priest in the Book of Ezra).[2]

1 Susan James, *Spinoza on Philosophy, Religion, and Politics: The Theologico-Political Treatise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 233. For a synopsis of the *TTP* (G 3/1–247): Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 347–351. Textual history: G 3, pp. 363–382. The existence of a proto-*TTP* is not supported by historical evidence. *See*: Piet Steenbakkers, 'The Text of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus', in Yitzhak Y. Melamed and Michael A. Rosenthal (eds.), *Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise. A Critical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 29–40, there at pp. 30–32. For the *TTP*'s title: ibid., pp. 32–33. Selected studies: Leo Strauss, *Die Religionskritik Spinozas als Grundlage seiner Bibelwissenschaft. Untersuchungen zu Spinozas Theologisch-Politischen Traktat* (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 1930); Theo Verbeek, *Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise: 'Exploring the Will of God'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Pierre-François Moreau, *Spinoza. État et religion* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2005); Paul J. Bagley, *Philosophy, Theology and Politics: A Reading of Benedict Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Melamed and Rosenthal (eds.), *Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise*; Otfried Höffe, *Spinoza: Theologisch-politischer Traktat* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013). For the *TTP*'s genesis, its printing, editions, translations, and 'annotations': Bamberger, 'The Early Editions'; Steenbakkers, 'The Text'; Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers'. German reactions: Manfred Walther, 'Machina civilis oder von deutscher Freiheit. Formen, Inhalte und Trägerschichten der Reaktion auf den Politiktheoretischen Gehalt von Spinozas Tractatus theologico-politicus in Deutschland bis 1700', in Paolo Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy. The Debate on the Tractatus theologico-politicus, 1670–1677, and the Immediate Reception of Spinozism: Proceedings of the international Cortona Seminar, 10–14 April 1991* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1995), pp. 184–221; Rüdiger Otto, *Studien zur Spinozarezeption in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994), pp. 15–23; Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Early Dutch and German Reaction to the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus: Foreshadowing the Enlightenment's More General Spinoza Reception', in Melamed and Rosenthal (eds.), *Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise*, pp. 72–100; Kay Zenker, *Denkfreiheit. Libertas Philosophandi in der deutschen Aufklärung* (Hamburg: Meiner, 2012), pp. 90–119. Background: Manfred Walther, 'Suppress or Refute? Reactions to Spinoza in Germany around 1700', in Mogens Lærke (ed.), *The Use of Censorship in the Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 23–40. For the *TTP*'s reading audience: Stephen Frankel, 'Politics and Rhetoric. The Intended Audience of Spinoza's "Tractatus Theologico-Politicus"', *Review of Metaphysics. A Philosophical Quarterly*, 52 (1999), pp. 897–924.

2 *TTP*, ch. 8 (G 3/126.30–31). Dating back to the proto-Gnostic Nazarenes, Mosaic authorship was discussed by both Christian and Jewish exegetes, such as rabbi Abraham Ibn Ezra (*c.*1092–*c.*1167). The latter's commentary, on Deut. 1:1, is quoted in the *TTP* (ch. 8 [G 3/118] and passim). Background: Abraham ben Meïr Ibn Ezra, *Commentary on the Pentateuch*. Vol. 5: *Deuteronomy*, H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver (eds.) (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2003); Hendrik Lagerlund, *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500* (2 vols., Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), vol. 1, pp. 4–6; Tamar M. Rudavsky, 'The Science of Scripture: Abraham Ibn Ezra and Spinoza on Biblical Hermeneutics', in Steven Nadler (ed.), *Spinoza and Medieval Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 59–78. Muslim theologians, like Ibn Hazm (994–1064), used the Ezran hypothesis to discredit Ezra the Scribe. Mosaic authorship and source criticism: Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère 1596–1676: His Life, Work and Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), pp. 72–74; John van Seters, *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Presses, 1999); Paula Gooder, *The Pentateuch: A Story of Beginnings* (London: T&T Clark, 2000); Noel Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea', in id., *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 383–431; Warren Z. Harvey, 'Spinoza on Ibn Ezra's "Secret of the Twelve"', in Melamed and Rosenthal (eds.), *Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise*, pp. 41–55; Jeffrey L. Morrow, 'Pre-Adamites, Politics and Criticism: Isaac La Peyrère's Contribution to Modern Biblical Studies', *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies*, 4 (2011), pp. 1–23, at pp. 6–8; Jetze Touber, 'Philosophy and Theology. Commenting the Old Testament in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1700', in Karl A.E. Enenkel and Henk Nellen (eds.), *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400–1700)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), pp. 474–509, at pp. 496–507; Dirk van Miert, etc. (eds.), *Scriptural Authority and Biblical Criticism in the Dutch Golden Age. God's Word Questioned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Jetze Touber, *Spinoza and Biblical*

Free from any religious limitations, Spinoza in his scholarly analysis points to the haphazardness of the 'faulty, mutilated, corrupted, and inconsistent' textual corpus of the Old Testament and also disdains superstition (according to Spinoza rooted in the imagination). Yet, without aiming at annihilating religion or destroying the Scripture's simple moral meaning regarding 'loving-kindness' and justice. The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was 'a Method of interpreting the Sacred Books', as the Dutch philosopher puts it in the work's Preface. Spinoza's treatise comprises a skilful and deliberate effort focused on deconstructing the value of eroded biblical truth-claims about the alleged revelations of a providential God, which traditionally would confirm the Bible's sanctity and authority. In the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, all religions are considered to be founded on prophecy, the obvious result of imagination; in Spinoza's 'Ethics' he treats further of religion by focusing on reason, not on revelation.

Spinoza also takes up issue in the treatise to debunk the possibility of miracles which could violate laws of nature (mankind's only certainty God exists). He replaces such phenomena with simple rational explanations of nature's laws. Spinoza reflects, for instance, on the much-debated Bible verse Joshua 10:13. That verse tells about Joshua's miracle, bringing the sun and the moon to a standstill, 'in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day', and thus causing the miraculous extension of daylight. Chapter 2 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* gives a scholarly explanation of the latter phenomenon in Joshua 10:13 and holds this was only caused by parhelia (sundogs or mock suns, caused by the refraction of sunlight by ice crystals).

In chapter 6, on miracles, Spinoza declares about a passage in the Bible book Genesis (9:13) that, when God tells Noah he will set up a rainbow in the cloud, God's act was nothing other than 'the refraction and reflection of the sun, which the rays undergo in drops of water'. In other words, this was no miracle but the formation of natural phenomena such as atmospheric solar halos (luminous rings), parhelia (or mock suns), and the like.[3] Parhelia were first recorded by Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650) on 20 March 1629, whose description was sent by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1697) to the French astronomer-antiquary Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637).

Hence, an analogy on the method of biblical investigation fervently defended by Spinoza in the treatise's chapter 7, 'On the Interpretation of Nature', is the following:

> To sum up briefly, I say that the method of interpreting Scripture does not differ at all from the method of interpreting nature, but agrees with it completely. For the method of interpreting nature consists above all in putting together a history of nature, from which, as from certain data, we infer the definitions of natural things. In the same way, to interpret Scripture it is necessary to prepare a straightforward history of Scripture and to infer from it the mind of the Scripture's authors, by legitimate inferences, as from certain data and principles.[4]

Although the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s subtitle announces it contains 'several dissertations' (*continens dissertationes aliquot*) it has been conjectured Spinoza put the work together from earlier, independent now-lost texts. Proof for this is however lacking. In early September

Philology in the Dutch Republic, 1660–1710 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

3 G 3/36.23 and 3/89.28–30. Descartes* explains the rainbow in Discourse 8 (AT VI, 325–344) of his 1637 *Discours de la methode*. Spinoza owned the work's Dutch rendition: Descartes, *Proeven der wysbegeerte*. In 1662 or 1663, Christiaan Huygens* explained halos and parhelia in the 'Traité des couronnes et des parhélies' (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 17, pp. 364–516). Background: Walter Tape and Jarmo Moilanen, *Atmospheric Halos and the Search for Angle X* (Washington, DC: American Geophysical Union, 2006), pp. 21–27. Spinoza's source for his physical clarifications may have been Descartes. Perhaps, he also discussed with Huygens the latter's 'Traité' and included its conclusions (parhelia) in the *TTP* (ch. 2 [G 3/36.23]) to clarify passages in Josh. 10:13 (daylight extension) and Josh. 10:11 (on the hailstorm with which God massacred the Amorite kings). For the example from the *TTP*'s chapter 6, *see*: G 3/89.28–30. Scholarly explanation, according to Spinoza, should explain biblical mysteries. He underlined that erratic Bible passages left the reader with the contradictory position God would will and not will the sun to follow its natural course. Cf.: Carlos Fraenkel, 'Spinoza on Miracles and the Truth of the Bible', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 74 (2013), pp. 643–658, at p. 646. Lambert van Velthuysen* in the pro-Cartesian 1655 work *Bewijs van het gevoelen van die geenen, die leeren der sonne stilstandt, en des aertrycks beweging niet strydich is met Godts woort* (Proof that the Opinion of Those Who Teach that the Sun is Immobile and that the Earth Moves is not in Conflict with the Word of God) defended a rational explanation of motion against those adhering to Scripture's geocentric picture (which is not in the Bible itself either). Cf.: Van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, pp. 75–77.

4 '… dico methodum interpretandi Scripturam haud differre a methodo interpretandi naturam, sed cum ea prorsus convenire. Nam sicuti methodus interpretandi naturam in hoc potissimum consistit, in concinnanda scilicet historia naturae, ex qua, utpote ex certis datis, rerum naturalium definitiones concludimus: sic etiam ad Scripturam interpretandam necesse est ejus sinceram historiam adornare, & ex ea tanquam ex certis datis & principiis mentem authorum Scripturae legitimis consequentiis concludere: ….' (G 3/98; CW, vol. 2, p. 171).

of 1665, the Dutch philosopher sent a letter (considered lost) to his London-based correspondent Henry Oldenburg first announcing the writing project later evolving into the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.[5] The contents of this letter can be inferred from Oldenburg's reply, written in the second half of September.[6] In it, Oldenburg referred to Spinoza's new writing project as one on 'Angels, prophecy and miracles'.[7] To all appearances, Spinoza himself had mentioned this provisional working title in the now-lost letter he had sent to London in early September.[8]

Enthusiastically, Oldenburg in his rejoinder urged Spinoza to outline the work in embryo for him in a future letter:

> I see that You are not so much philosophizing as (if it is permissible to speak thus) Theologizing; for you are recording your thoughts about Angels, prophecy and miracles. But perhaps you are doing this Philosophically. However that may be, I am sure that the work will be worthy of you and something I shall want very much to see. Since these very difficult times stand in the way of freedom of communication, I ask you at least not to be reluctant to indicate to me in your next letter what your plan and aim are in this writing of yours.[9]

Oldenburg's remarks here make up the first known historical reference to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s origins. Spinoza's reply to Oldenburg, a letter of [*c.*1 October], has survived in two fragments which are contained in two letters written by Oldenburg to two other British correspondents.[10] The first part, now known as Fragment 30A, survives in a letter of 7 October 1665 addressed to the natural philosopher Sir Robert Moray, one of the Founder Fellows (6 March 1661) of the 'Invisible College' of natural philosophers, the later London Royal Society which exists up to the present.[11]

The second portion of Spinoza's answer, in which he speaks about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, is quoted verbatim in a letter of 10/20 October to the mechanical philosopher Robert Boyle.[12] In this Fragment 30B, Spinoza informs Oldenburg about the genesis of this work and his reasons for doing so thus:

> I am now composing a treatise on my opinion regarding scripture. The considerations which move me to do this are the following:
> 1) the prejudices of the theologians; for I know that they are the greatest obstacle to men's being able to apply their minds to philosophy; so I am busy exposing them and removing them from the minds of the more prudent;
> 2) the opinion the common people have of me; they never stop accusing me of atheism, and

5 1665.09.04*.

6 1665.09.14–28, Ep 29 (G 4/164–165). Not printed in the *OP/NS*.

7 Spinoza considers prophecy as 'natural knowledge' because, he claims, 'the natural light of reason depends solely on the knowledge of God'. Cf. *TTP*, ch. 1 (G 3/15). Cf.: Steenbakkers, 'The Text', p. 29. For Spinoza's rejection (E1p14, E1p15) of the possibility and revelatory value of miracles: Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 218–229. Cf.: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 256–258. For the English debate on miracles: Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Wilfred Graves, *Popular and Elite Understandings of Miracles in Enlightened England* (Pasadena, CA: 2007). *See* further in this bibliography also: Chapter 6. For Spinoza's epistemology: George H.R. Parkinson, *Spinoza's Theory of Knowledge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954); Guttorm Fløidstad, 'Spinoza's Theory of Knowledge', *Inquiry: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Philosophy*, 12 (1969), pp. 41–65; Edwin Curley, 'Experience in Spinoza's Theory of Knowledge', in Marjorie Glicksman Grene (ed.), *Spinoza. A Collection of Critical Essays* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973), pp. 25–59; George H.R. Parkinson, 'Language and Knowledge in Spinoza', in Glicksman Grene (ed.), *Spinoza*, pp. 73–100; Van der Hoeven, 'The Significance of Cartesian Physics'; Genevieve Lloyd, *Part of Nature: Self-Knowledge in Spinoza's Ethics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Herman de Dijn, *The Way to Wisdom* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996); Margaret D. Wilson, 'Spinoza's Theory of Knowledge', in Don Garrett (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 89–141.

8 In his letters, Spinoza refers to the treatise thus: 'Compono jam tractatum de meo circa scripturam sensu', Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1665.[10].[01], Ep 30B (G 4/166); '*Tractatum de Scriptura*', Oldenburg to Spinoza, 1665.10.[22], Ep 31 (G 4/167). Curley (CW, vol. 1, p. 11) underlines there are in the *TTP* only a few comments on angels (ch. 1, G 3/19–21; ch. 2, G 3/35, 40, 43; ch. 4, G 3/64). Prophecy and miracles, though, are discussed in depth in separate chapters. *CM* 2, ch. 12: 'Angels are a subject for theology, but not for metaphysics.' ('*Angelos non esse Metaphysicae, sed Theologicae considerationis*.'; [G 1/275]). And: 'For their essence and existence are known only by revelation. And so pertain solely to Theology.' ('Eorum enim essentia, & existentia non nisi per revelationem notae sunt, adeòque ad solam Theologiam pertinent, ...').

9 'Video, Te non tam philosophari, quam, si ita loqui fas est, Theologizare; de Angelis quippe, prophetia, miraculis, cogitata tua consignas. sed forsan id agis Philosophice: ut ut fuerit, certus sum, opus esse te dignum, et mihi inprimis desideratissimum. Cum difficillima haec tempora commerciorum obstent libertati, id saltem rogo, ut consilium et scopum tuum in isthoc tuo scripto mihi in proximis tuis significare non graveris.' (G 4/165; CW, vol. 1, p. 11).

10 1665.[10].[01], Ep 30A/B (G 4/166). Not in *OP/NS*. CW, vol. 1, letter 30 (C): fragment 1 (30A) and fragment 1 (30B).

11 Moray: BL.

12 Boyle: BL.

> I am forced to rebut this accusation as well as I can; and
>
> 3) the freedom of philosophizing and saying what we think, which I want to defend in every way; here the preachers suppress it as much as they can with their excessive authority and aggressiveness.[13]

Clearly, to exonerate himself from repeated accusations of practical atheism levelled against him, Spinoza eagerly wanted to join those spirited contemporary scholarly debates of his time on religion, on philosophy, and on the 'liberty to philosophize' (*libertas philosophandi*). In his letter of [*c.*1 October], though, he refrained from telling Oldenburg about plans he had to include in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* a political manifesto on free thought addressing the danger of religion. Yet, in the chapters 16 to 20 of the treatise, he examines 'how far this freedom of thought, and of saying what you think, extends in the best Republic' and concludes the following: 'in a Free Republic everyone is permitted to think what he wishes and to say what he thinks'.[14] Oldenburg, a devout Protestant, answered Spinoza's letter in late October 1665, telling the Dutch philosopher he would welcome information especially about his personal motivations for composing the work on the meaning of the Bible.[15] In the reply, he wrote thus:

> I entirely approve the reasons you mention as inducing you to compose a Treatise on Scripture, and I passionately want to be able to see for myself what you have written on that subject.[16]

The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was processed by printer Israel de Paull and was first published anonymously in Amsterdam, either in late 1669 or during the first months of 1670, in a period when relative freedom philosophers enjoyed in the Dutch Republic was quickly evaporating, even at stake.[17] In all likelihood, as in no way certain because of the lack of any compelling historical evidence, Jan Rieuwertsz *père* was the book's putative publisher. If Rieuwertsz was indeed the book's publisher he then must also be considered the mastermind behind all the quarto and octavo editions, including perhaps also the French duodecimo translations, as well as their many printed textual variants, issued repeatedly over the course of the 1670s. Once again, these were also surreptitiously published with crypto-imprints and false title-pages, without any indication of a printer. In the run-up to the Franco-Dutch War, an international war involving England (1672–1674), France (1672–1678/79), Münster and Cologne, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* could initially circulate without relatively little hindrance.

Soon however, it appears, the hunting season for Spinoza and his alleged heresies was opened. Several Dutch church councils (Utrecht [8 and 11 April 1670], Haarlem [27 May 1670], Amsterdam [30 June 1670], The Hague [7 July 1670]) did express their utmost concern about the treatise's 'pestiferous' contents which they considered highly dangerous. A few of them went also a step further and asked the worldly authorities for appropriate disciplinary steps to be taken against the book. Some even already demanded its immediate prohibition in a placard. Also the Amsterdam *Classis* (28 July 1670), the Provincial Synods of South Holland (15–25 July 1670) and North Holland (5 August 1670) as well as the Provincial

13 'Compono jam tractatum de meo circa scripturam sensu; ad id vero faciendum me movent, 1. Praejudicia theologorum; scio enim, ea maxime impedire, quo minus homines animum ad philosophiam applicare possint: ea igitur patefacere atque amoliri a mentibus prudentiorum satago. 2. Opinio, quam vulgus de me habet, qui me atheismi insimulare non cessat: eam quoque averruncare, quoad fieri potest, cogor. 3. Libertas philosophandi dicendique quae sentimus; quam asserere omnibus modis cupio, quaeque hic ob nimiam concionatorum authoritatem & petulantiam utcunque supprimitur. Nondum audio, Cartesianum aliquem ex Cartes. hypothesi, nuperorum cometarum phaenomena explicare; & dubito, an ex illa rite explicari possint.' (G 4/166; CW, vol. 1, pp. 14–15). Cf. *TTP*, ch. 16–20, and the treatise's subtitle. Spinoza repeats his reasons for composing the *TTP* also in letters to: Ostens*, 1671.02.4–17, Ep 43 (G 4/219–226); Van Velthuysen*, 1675.[09–11].00, Ep 69; Oldenburg*, 1675.12.[01], Ep 73 (G 4/306–309); [1676].[01].[01], Ep 75 (G 4/311–316). *See*: Steenbakkers, 'The Text', 2010, pp. 29–30. For background on atheism: Michael C.W. Hunter and David Wootton (eds.), *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Winfried Schröder, *Ursprünge des Atheismus. Untersuchungen zur Metaphysik- und Religionskritik des 17. und 18 Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Fromann-Holzboog, 1998); Kenneth Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism in Early-Modern England 1580–1720. The Atheist Answered and his Error Confuted* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 164–166.

14 G 3/189.5–6; G 3/239.1–3.

15 1665.10.[22], Ep 31 (G 4/167–169). The letter in the *NS* is translated from the original (lost) Latin letter. Since the Julian calendar was used in England until 1752, the date in the *OP* and the *NS*, i.e., 12 October 1665, seems correct. Gregorian calendar: 22 October 1665.

16 'Causas, quas memoras, tanquam incitamenta ad Tractatum de Scriptura concinnandum, omnino probo, inque votis efflictim habeo, me usurpare jam oculis posse, quae in argumentum istud es commentatus.' (G 4/167; CW, vol. 1, p. 15). There is the strong likelihood Oldenburg* already first read the *TTP* in October 1670.

17 De Paull/Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.

Synod of Gelderland (26 August 1670) reacted worriedly, but to no avail. Warned by new complaints about the sale of Spinoza's treatise, the Provincial Synod of Utrecht (13–17 September 1670) eventually condemned the work and took disciplinary action, be it only to a certain extent. The Synod decided to add 'the extremely godless "Tractatus theologico-politicus"', under the charge of heresy, in any case to a list of books, including the proscribed *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes, under consideration for suppression.[18]

Despite all efforts by many Reformed Dutch Church's colleges to have the book suppressed by the authorities, only the civic authorities of Leiden took appropriate effective disciplinary action against the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. On 9 May 1670, the Leiden church council's proceedings inform its residing ministers, deacons, and elders they had been first cautioned for Spinoza's book in the following way:

> It is reported that there has come to light a controversial libel, named 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' and showing the honourable [Burgomasters] its contents and the monstrosities and filth [they] are urgently asked that the aforesaid [book] should be seized and suppressed. This matter is delegated to the lords administrators and the two presiding ministers.[19]

After the consistory had lodged its complaint, the Leiden Burgomasters promised copies were soon to be seized from the local bookshops. One week later, on 16 May 1670, the reassured church council informed its members real progress had indeed been made in the matter. Accordingly, they were told the city's Burgomasters were willing to have copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* confiscated:

> Regarding the notorious libel called 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', the honourable [Burgomasters] have notified the court had approved the officer was to seize it.[20]

A record in the municipal archives of Leiden, also drawn up on 16 May, reads about the Burgomasters' firm decision thus:

> The Burgomasters approved a certain treatise entitled '[Tractatus] theologico-politicus' was to be confiscated by the bailiff because of its blasphemous passages.[21]

In the Leiden consistory's acts nothing is furthermore reported about a bailiff seizing copies of the treatise, but it is likely copies were indeed confiscated at local bookshops: the church council's proceedings of 23 May 1670 contain only one single remark: 'nothing special has happened' ('Is niet bijsonders voorgevallen.').

As a result of persistent efforts of the North Holland Synod's acting officers, in the autumn of 1670 the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was even tabled for serious discussion on the agenda of the States of Holland. According to an account by patrician Hans Bontemantel (1613–1688) who sat for Amsterdam, during the morning sitting of the college's sitting of 25 September, one of the issues discussed were 'licentious books: "Political Treatise", printed in Leiden' ('licentieuse boucken. Tractaet politiques, tot Lyden gedruct'). Evidently, though, there was

18 'Ende bij gemelden Leviathan te voegen het uytermaten godloose Tractatus Theologico politicus….' (Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, 1401: 'Nederlands Hervormde Kerk', 'Oud Synodaal Archief', ms. 'Acta van de vergaderingen van de Synode van Utrecht', inv. no. 1144, session 6, art. 4). For the English edition: Hobbes*, *Leviathan*. Latin edition in: id., *Opera philosophica, quae Latine scripsit, omnia* (9 parts in 3 vols., Amsterdam: 1668), vol. 3. *See* further: S.A. Loyd (ed.) *The Bloomsbury Companion to Hobbes* (London: Continuum, 2013). Abraham Theodorus van Berckel (1639/40–1686) translated the *Leviathan* into Dutch: *Leviathan: of van de stoffe, gedaente, ende magt van de kerkelyke ende wereltlycke regeeringe* (Amsterdam: 1667). For the reception and influence of Hobbes: Cornelis W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), pp. 29–46; Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Banning of Spinoza's Works in the Dutch Republic', in Wiep van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism: Papers Presented at the International Colloquium, Held at Rotterdam, 5–8 October 1994* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 3–14, there at p. 9. For replies to the TTP by the foregoing church councils, *Classes*, and Provincial Synods: W/Cz, vol. 1, passim.

19 'Is voorgestelt vermits datter een Fameus libel is in 't licht gekomen, genaemt Tractatus Theologico Politicus, om haar Agtbare te demonstreren den inhoud ende enormiteijten of vuijligheden, ernstlig versoeckende dat het selvige mag opgehaalt & geweert worden, en sijn daar toe gedeputeert D. Directores, en de twee voorsittende Predikanten.' (Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden [Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken], 0511B: 'Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', inv. no. 6, 9 May 1670, art. 4; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 288, no. 90).

20 'Nopende t Fameus Libel geintituleert Tractatus Theologico Politicus hebben haar Agtbare genotificeert, dat die van den Gerechte hadde goetgevonden, om door den Officier t selvige te laten ophaalen.' (Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden [Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken], 0511B: 'Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', inv. no. 6, 16 May 1670; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 288, no. 91). The 'Officier' referred to was possibly the city's magistrate Wouter Johansz van Lanschot (1632–1717), a *Vroedschap* member and the town's Burgomaster.

21 'Is by Burgn goedgevonden seker tractate geintitult Theologico politicq door den Schout vermits des zelfs godloose passagien te doen op halen.' (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 289, no. 92).

some confusion since the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was printed in Amsterdam, not in Leiden. Bontemantel's entry on the afternoon session ('Post Meridyem') records that the president of the provincial High Court of Holland, Adriaan Pauw *fils*, and one of the States' *commissarissen-politiek* delivered an account of the acts of the Synod of North Holland held in Amsterdam on 5 August 1670. Pauw informed the States' meeting that one of the issues discussed during the assembly had been

> [the] licentious printing of books like the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' [and it is] requested whether [it] could be prohibited.[22]

Reactions by members of the States' meeting to Pauw's account of 25 September, or to the North Holland Synod's request, are not further known but it seems that the matter was apparently not further taken into account.

Then, from early 1671 onwards, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* became the target of a continuous series of vitriolic published attacks launched in the Netherlands and further afield; hundreds up to the eighteenth century before German Idealism finally gave Spinoza a proper place in philosophy. The Dutch philosopher's adversaries, in a maelstrom of printed public controversy, lambasted the treatise and straightforwardly put its contents on par with *Il Principe*, by Niccolò Machiavelli, and the *Leviathan*, by Thomas Hobbes, political treatises also considered highly controversial and pernicious.[23]

In sum, Spinoza's bestselling work was almost immediately chided and judged to be blasphemous, heretical, and highly dangerous. All his opponents accused the Dutch philosopher in print of intentionally undermining the foundations of Christian theology and rigidly promoting atheism overtly. Spinoza's position upholding that Scripture should be its own textual interpreter was met with rigid incomprehension and utmost hostility by almost all theologians and philosophers. His adversaries pointed to the imminent dangers of the book they believed was conductive to atheism and would destroy established religious faith, the sacrosanct status of the Scriptures, and, on top of that, the state's stability and peace. Quickly, the identity of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s hidden author was also disclosed, now turning the Dutch philosopher in an internationally both public and feared figure. His enemies unequivocally condemned the book as harmful and labelled Spinoza therefore the archetypical atheist. The side effect was, though, that through the multitude of their printed refutations his adversaries also unintentionally diffused and inculcated Spinoza's philosophy in Europe.

2 Bibliography and Spinoza Scholarship on the 'Theological-Political Treatise'

The highly complex publication campaign of the work in Latin, consisting of four editions in quarto and one in octavo, is evidently a red herring, cunningly planned by its publisher as a distraction and to create confusion in the first place. All these printed editions were issued anonymously, with false title-pages carrying fictitious imprints. Three octavo issues even deceivingly contain as their alleged author the names of well-known and respected scholars, like Francisco Enríquez de Villacorta, Daniel Heinsius, and Frans de le Boe Sylvius. In this chapter as well as the next four chapters of the present bibliography of Spinoza's printed late-seventeenth-century works, all editions of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' are examined here in their minute historical and material details. These chapters discuss the quarto (1670s) and octavo (1673) editions, the French translation (1678), the English translations (1683, 1689), and last but not least the two Dutch translations (1693, 1694), respectively.

Bibliographical examination of each edition and issue has resulted in a concise list of key identification features which stand at the basis of the present study of the editing, printing, and publication history of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Identification of editions and variants is backed in particular by their distinctive illustration programme comprising decorated title-pages and their vignettes, relief-woodcut (ornamented) initials, and tailpiece ornaments. As has already been stated, in regard to philology, or analytic and descriptive bibliographical research, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was

22 'licentieus drucken der boucken als (Tractatus theologico-) politiques versoucken verbooden te moogen werden' (5059: 'Collectie Stadsarchief Amsterdam: Handschriften', ms. 'Staten van Holland, 1670', inv. no. 30). Quoted in: Conradus G. Smit (ed.), *Notulen gehouden ter vergadering der Staten van Holland in 1670 door Hans Bontemantel* (Utrecht: Broekhoff, 1937), p. 201. Apparently, discussion on the matter enjoyed general approval; a formal rule (1585) stated nothing could be placed on the States' agenda unless all voting town governments in the States of Holland had been notified. Cf.: David Stasavage, *States of Credit: Size, Power, and the Development of European Politics* (Princeton: NJ, Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 152. Bontemantel/Pauw: BL.

23 Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, *Il Principe* (n. pl.: 1532; multiple editions). *See*: Eco O.G. Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice and Dutch Republican Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1980), pp. 126–127. Spinoza owned two copies of Machiavelli's writings: *Tutte le opera* (5 parts in 1 vol., n. pl.: 1550) and *Princeps. Ex Sylvestri Telii fulginatis traductione diligenter emendate* (Basle: 1580). *See*: Offenberg, *Spinoza's Library*, p. 319, no. 38 and p. 320, no. 85; Musschenga and Van Sluis, *De boeken*, pp. 33 and 56.

hardly ever studied, particularly its material and textual aspects.[24] A recent exception in Spinoza scholarship, though, is Fokke Akkerman's original linguistic study of the Latin language of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', of the book's Dutch translations, and of the history of the so-called *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico-politicum*, i.e., thirty-nine explanatory notes by Spinoza, clarifying obscurities first edited in the treatise's French duodecimo edition published in 1678.[25]

Nonetheless, from the late seventeenth century onward, predominantly German scholars have put forward statements about Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and have pointed to key features of the early printed editions and of their variants. On 21 June 1676, the English divine William Cave, a respected church historian and scholar of patristics, penned a letter to a German moral philosophy and eloquence professor from Hamburg, called Vincent Placcius (1642–1699).[26] Cave in his letter pointed out that information about the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and its disguised author was actually lacking in Placcius's 1674 bibliographical *De scriptis et scriptoribus anonymis atque pseudonymis syntagma* respecting anonymous and pseudonymous writers.[27] To fill in this lacuna, Cave further provided Placcius with details about the life and writings of Spinoza.

In the early 1690s, Placcius began reworking *De scriptis* into what eventually became his *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, a work published in Hamburg in 1708.[28] This compendium is the first ever comprehensive published bibliography of pen names and anonyms. Placcius completed this project with the assistance of an enormous correspondence network including, aside from Cave, many well-known scholars such as Leibniz, Antonio Magliabechi, and René Descartes's biographer Adrien Baillet.[29] This time, Placcius in *Theatrum* included a substantial entry on Spinoza which was only superseded by the earlier account (1697) Pierre Bayle published in the second part of his three-volume *Dictionaire historique et critique*.[30]

The entry declares Spinoza to be the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s concealed author. Along the way, rumours this was indeed the case had been circulating from the early 1670s. What is more, in the posthumous works in chapter 2 of the *Tractatus politicus*, even Spinoza himself admits to be the treatise's author. Placcius also briefly brought up the book's 1678 French translation.[31] Moreover, he claimed that Spinoza also composed the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, the *Opera posthuma*, and the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, too.[32] Tellingly, in this context, Placcius

24 The historical linguistics and the editing process of the *E* are under scrutiny in: Akkerman, *Studies*; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*; id., 'A Seventeenth-Century Reader of Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 77 (1997), pp. 62–77; Akkerman and Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the Letter*.

25 Fokke Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*'. For the *Adnotationes*, *see*: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy* and *Other Sources*.

26 Cave/Placcius: BL.

27 Vincent Placcius*, *De scriptis & scriptoribus anonymis atque pseudonymis syntagma* (Hamburg: 1674).

28 *See*: id., *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum, ..., post Syntagma dudum editum ... lucae publicae redditum* (Hamburg: 1708).

29 For Placcius's supporting networks: Martin Mulsow, 'Practices of Unmasking: Polyhistors, Correspondence, and the Birth of Dictionaries of Pseudonymity in Seventeenth-Century Germany', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67 (2006), pp. 219–250, there at pp. 231–234. Adrien Baillet (1649–1706) too conceived the plan of writing a catalogue of authors, culminating in the voluminous *Jugement des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs* (9 vols., Paris: 1685–6). As a part of the latter project, he published the biography of Descartes*: A.B. (Adrien Baillet), *Vie de M. Des-Cartes* (2 parts in 1 vol., Paris, 1691). *See*: Gregor Sebba, 'Adrien Baillet and the Genesis of his Vie de M. Des-Cartes', in Thomas M. Lennon, etc. (eds.), *Problems of Cartesianism* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982), pp. 9–60.

30 Placcius*, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, pp. 176–179, no. 889, and ch. 14, p. 566, no. 2242 (*Reflexions curieuses*). Bayle* began composing the *Dictionaire historique et critique* in December 1690 (cf. Koen Vermeir, 'The Dustbin of the Republic of Letters. Pierre Bayle's "Dictionaire" as an Encyclopedic Palimpsest of Errors', *The Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 1 [2012], pp. 109–149). He issued the first sketch of it in *Projet* (1692). In late 1696, Bayle published part 1 of his *Dictionaire historique et critique* (2 parts in 4 vols., Rotterdam: 1697). The work includes a vast entry on Spinoza's life and works (1697, vol. 2, pp. 1083–1100). Augmented versions of the entry appeared in the editions issued in 1702, 1715, 1720 (Rotterdam), 1730 (Amsterdam), 1738 (Basle), 1740 (Amsterdam), and 1797 (Leipzig, 1797). The entry also appeared in a Dutch translation in: Pierre Bayle, *Het leven van B. de Spinoza, met eenige aanteekeningen over zyn bedryf, schriften, en gevoelens, ...* (Utrecht: 1698). For a present-day English translation: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 85–106. Background: Helena H.M. van Lieshout, *Van boek tot bibliotheek: de wordingsgeschiedenis van de 'Dictionaire historique et critique' van Pierre Bayle (1689–1706)* (1992); Vermeir, 'The Dustbin'.

31 G 3/276.5–7. *See*: Chapter 5.

32 Anon. [Meyer*], *Philosophia*; anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, 1665–8. The *Philosophia* was set as the second part of the *TTP*'s Latin octavo edition (1673/4). A third edition of the *Philosophia* came out in 1776. Background: [Lodewijk Meyer], *La Philosophie interprète de l'Écriture Sainte*, Jacqueline Lagrée and Pierre-François Moreau (eds. and transl.) (Paris: Intertextes, 1988); Bordoli, 'Account of a Curious Traveller'; id., *Ragione e Scrittura tra Descartes e Spinoza. Saggio sulla 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres' di Lodewijk Meyer e sulla sua recezione* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1997); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 200–217; Lodewijk Meyer, *Philosophy as the Interpreter of Holy Scripture*, Samuel Shirley (transl.) (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2005); Moreau, *Spinoza. État et religion*, pp. 93–106.

quoted from early refutations of Spinoza's second book.[33] In *Theatrum*, he further maintained that the imprint, at the foot of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s title-page, mentions the name of its (fictitious) publisher, 'Kühn Rath', according to Placcius. The latter also stated the book was probably not printed in Hamburg, but in the Netherlands.[34] Arguably, he might have been inspired by Bayle's well-informed *Dictionaire* where a brief note states: 'And not in Hamburg as is claimed on the title-page' ('Et non pas à Hambourg comme on a mit dans le titre').[35]

In the early eighteenth century Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739), a German Hebraist, polyhistor, and fervent book collector (owner of about 25,000 volumes) was the first to suggest, in *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, that the 1670 *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had been published in more than one edition. In addition, he stated the book had been produced in Amsterdam, a remark repeated by other historians of the book and bibliographers soon thereafter.[36] Another of Wolf's remarks concerns an issue of the third Latin octavo edition of the treatise, i.e., the so-called 'English' variant, labelled by Bamberger as T.3e. Wolf also correctly stated the latter edition was set with the *Philosophia*. In addition, he also made mention of all spurious titles of the French translation. Another brief reference concerns *De rechtzinnige theologant* (1693), the edition comprising the Dutch translation made by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker.[37] Mistakenly, however, Wolf dated *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs* as a work issued in 1668.

In 1747, the Bremen theologian and bibliographer Johann Vogt (1695–1769), in *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum*, also made mention of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. His main conclusion was that the book was turned out in Amsterdam. Vogt also mentioned the 'Heinsius' octavo variant (T.3h, 1673), the English-style octavo issue (T.3e, with its title-page either dated or post-dated 1674), and Glazemaker's Dutch translation issued in 1693. In addition, he mentioned all three spurious titles of the French translation, assuming as its translator Gabriel de Saint Glen: *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé*, *La Clef du san(c)tuaire*, *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs*.[38]

Pastor Johann Anton Trinius (1722–1784), a German theologian, referred in 1759 in a work called *Freydenker-Lexicon* to the 1670 edition (T.1) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In addition, he also mentioned two variants of the octavo edition and *De rechtzinnige theologant*.[39] The German bibliographer and literary historian Johann Georg Theodor Graesse (1814–1885), in *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, asserted the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* could have been issued in

Thijssen-Schoute in *Nederlands Cartesianisme* (pp. 394–404) agrees Meyer originated the *Philosophia*. However, she also notes (p. 419) that in *Geluckwensching den leden van ... Nil volentibus arduum* (Amsterdam: 1677) Johannes B. van Lamzweerde claims that Bouwmeester* was its author (p. 18). In sum, historical evidence corroborating Meyer was the book's author is abundantly lacking. A brief note (by Theodorus Craanen*) enclosed in a letter (3/13 April 1672) of Friedrich Walther to Leibniz* first hints the *Philosophia*'s author was 'a medical doctor from Amsterdam' (Gottfried W. von Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII* [Darmstadt, Leipzig and Berlin: Reichl, 1923 ff (Akademie-Ausgabe)], 1:1, p. 202, no. 131). Bayle* too was the first to claim an Amsterdam medical doctor and the translator of the Dutch Preface to the *NS* by the name of 'Ludovicus Meyer' was 'as rumour has it, [the author] of the paradoxical treatise "Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres", which displeased the theologians, and rightly so, for its heretic smell.' ('... ut fama est Dissertationis paradoxae cui titulus *Philosophia sacrae Scripturae interpres*, quae non immerito displicuit Theologis, utpote sapiens Haeresim.'; Pierre Bayle, *Œuvres diverses* [4 vols., The Hague: 1721–31], vol. 4, p. 164). For ripostes of the *Philosophia* published abroad: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, esp. pp. 212–217. For the remarks by Placcius*: *Theatrum*, there: ch. 2, pp. 150–151, no. 830. *See* further: Chapter 4.

33 Pierre D. Huet, *Demonstratio evangelica. Ad serenissimum Delphinum* (Paris: 1679); Jacob Thomasius*, 'Programma, quo d. 8 Maji a. 1671', in: Johann C. Dürr*: *Actus panegyricus impositae merentibus anno MDCLXXI. mense Junio, ... Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi, ..., oppositam Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae haud ita pridem vulgate* (Jena: 1672), sigs E4–F4. In the foregoing title, the speech's year, 1671, is a flaw; it should read 1670. Lecture reissued in: Jacob Thomasius* and Christian Thomasius, *Varii argumenti magnam partem ad historiam philosophicam & ecclesiasticam pertinentes, antea a beato autore in Academia Lipsiensi intra quadraginta circiter annos per modum Programmatum separatis foliis publicatae* (Halle: 1693), no. L, pp. 571–581. Background: Max Grunwald, *Spinoza in Deutschland* (Berlin: Calvary Verlag, 1897), p. 24; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 30; Gottlieb Spizel*, *Felix literatus ex infelicium periculis et casibus, sive de vitiis literatorum commentationes historico-theosophicae ...* (Augsburg: 1676).

34 '*Miror in tot hoc libro nullam Tractatus Theologico-Politici mentionem fieri. Prodiit* (*si nescias*) *ante annos aliquot* (*uti prae se fert, sed mentitur titulus*) *Hamburgi in 4to, recusus anno superiori in 8vo. alicubi, forsan in Belgio, si non in Anglia nostra. Auctorem esse quondam Benedictum Spinosam e Judaeo Christianum, alicubi in Germania vel Hollandia latitantem ferunt: Judaeum autem fuisse, saltem inter eos, & in eorum scriptis diu versatum, multa persuadere videntur.*' (quoted in Placcius*, *Theatrum*, p. 177, no. 889).

35 Bayle*, *Dictionaire*, 1697, vol. 2, p. 1085.

36 Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240. Cf. for example: Heinrich J. Bytemeister, *Catalogus bibliothecae Lutensackianae raritate, selectu, ...* (Helmstadt: 1737), p. 66. Bytemeister rightly identified Spinoza as the author of both the *TTP* and the *OP*.

37 Glazemaker: BL.

38 Vogt, *Catalogus*, 1747, pp. 334, 640–641, and 687.

39 Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, pp. 420–421.

a family of editions. He also perceptively observed the book's publisher was spelled both *Künraht* (with *ht*) and *Künrath* (with *th*) and noticed the list of errata ('Errata Typographica sic corrigenda') is missing in T.5.[40]

For the sake of clarity, it should in this context be explicitly pointed out to the reader of this study that neither the aforementioned studies nor the scholarly text editions of Spinoza's writings published by Paulus, Bruder, Van Vloten/Land, and Gebhardt during the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century, identify the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s publisher. Over more than a century, though, the generally accepted view in Spinoza scholarship holds that Jan Rieuwertsz *père* must have been the book's putative publisher. Yet, this assertion was only first proposed by Meinsma in *Spinoza en zijn kring* (1896) and was further embraced by Bamberger in 'The Early Editions of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. A Bibliohistorical Examination' (1961), both refraining from providing any relevant historical evidence. Most Spinoza scholars have reiterated and still put forward the same claim, i.e., that Rieuwertsz *père* had the treatise published, however few ever critically investigated this entrenched and uncorroborated position.

Nevertheless, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, a well-connected book trader and a highly productive publisher in Amsterdam, is in my opinion without doubt the best and most likely candidate for being the book's cloaked publisher. He maintained friendly contacts with Spinoza, developed connections with the people around him, passed him at least two letters and exchanged letters with him. On top of that, he is mentioned in the philosopher's correspondence twice. More importantly, Rieuwertsz in any case published two out of the three books by the Dutch philosopher: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*/*Renatus Des Cartes* (1663), the *Beginzelen der Wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige Gedachten* (1664), the *Opera posthuma* and its Dutch rendition *De nagelate schriften* (1677). Yet, since compelling evidence is simply lacking, this bibliographical study cautiously assumes Rieuwertsz *père* was the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s putative publisher.

40 'Il existe des diversités dans les exemplaires respectifs. Sur le titre de quelques exemplaires le libraire est nommé Kühnraht, sur d'autres Künrath; dans quelques exemplaires se trouve à la fin une page contenant des errata, qui manque dans d'autres. Aussi la praefatio est imprimée dans quelques exemplaires en grands caractères et avec de petits dans d'autres.' (Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469). *See*: *Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie des Althertums*, Max Heinze (ed.) (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1920), vol. 3, p. 220; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 14–15.

The printing and publication history of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was first sketched out in greater detail in the third volume of the critical Heidelberg edition (1925) of Spinoza's writings, edited by the German philosopher Carl Gebhardt (1881–1934).[41] Several important conclusions concerning the Latin quarto editions of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* were put forward in an essay published by Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land (1834–1897) in 1882, called 'Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'.[42] Apart from offering solid observations about the years of publication and the chronology of the quarto volumes, Land was also the first to provide a conclusive typographical and philological framework for closer examination of the Latin quartos.[43]

The labelling system assigned to the quarto and octavo editions was introduced by the scholar Fritz Bamberger (1902–1984) in 'The Early Editions of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. A Bibliohistorical Examination', a paper published in 1961 which was based on Land's conclusions.[44] Bamberger labelled all Latin quartos known to him with the following sigla where T patently stands for *Tractatus theologico-politicus*:

– T.1, dated in the book's title-page imprint 1670.
– T.2/T.2a, dated 1672/antedated '1670'.
– T.4, [1677 or later], antedated '1670'.
– T.5, [1677 or later], antedated '1670'.

However, when I was still preparing this Spinoza bibliography, I was fortunate enough to come across a unique variant of T.4 currently in the library of Bern University, Switzerland. This issue has never been mentioned in any bibliographical listings of Spinoza's works before. In reference with Bamberger's classification, this newfound separate issue will be further referred to in this study with

41 G 3/1–247.

42 When Land ('Over vier drukken met het jaartal 1670 van Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*', *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, second series, 11 [1882], pp. 148–158) realized there had to be a first edition (T.1) of the *TTP*, he found 'only one copy' (Haifa, University Library, B 3985 1670A, Spinoza's presentation copy for Jacobus Statius Clefman*, 25 July 1676) in the university library of Königsberg (Kaliningrad). Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 15. *See* for the dedication copy and its *Adnotationes* further: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy*.

43 Land took a doctoral degree (1854) at Leiden University on the interpretation of the Old Testament. In 1854, he was appointed professor of philosophy and oriental languages in Amsterdam. From 1872 onward, he held the Leiden chair of philosophy. *See*: Philipp C. Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (10 vols., Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911–37), vol. 9, cols 573–574.

44 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions'.

the siglum T.4n, where *n* stands for 'new'. Typographical aspects of its title-page and a notable misprint in the Preface in the direction line of signature (*)3, misnumbered '(*)4' and remedied in the Bamberger variant T.4, suggest T.4n must have preceded the T.4 issue. At present, a total of 313 copies of the four Latin quarto editions and their variant states which have now been identified are known to be extant in international library holdings.

The smaller octavo format edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, classified as T.3 by Bamberger, was typeset on the basis of the text of T.1, printed in one single run, and again fitted with five separate, false title-pages; a new red herring. More importantly, the treatise was this time issued with the aforementioned text of the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. Bamberger assigned its five issues with the following sigla:

- T.3v, *v* patently standing for 'Villacorta', in the book's title-page imprint dated 1673.
- T.3h, *h* for 'Heinsius', dated in the imprint 1673.
- T.3s, *s* for 'Sylvius', in the imprint dated 1673.
- T.3t, *t* for 'Tractatus', dated in the imprint 1673.
- T.3e, *e* for 'English', title-page dated or postdated otherwise: '1674'.

A French translation of Spinoza's treatise appeared in 1678 in two separately printed editions (X and Y) in the duodecimo format. This time, these editions were circulated with a staggering nine markedly different false title-pages with an additional three distinct titles. In 'Bibliography of Spinoza's Works up to 1800', a concise inventory compiled in 1977 by the Dutch bibliographers Jelle Kingma and Adri Offenberg, these French editions and their variant issues are first labelled as X.1, X.2, X.3 and Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, Y.4/Y.5 (since the latter edition has two title-pages).[45] Recently, investigations for the present bibliography also resulted in the discovery of another unknown variant. This issue will be referred to in this study as Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 (because of its three title-pages); the *n* in Y.n also standing for 'new'. An English translation of chapter 6 ('On Miracles') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* came out in 1683. A first full edition in English appeared in 1689.[46] At the end of the seventeenth century, the 'Theological-Political Treatise' was also published in two Dutch quarto editions (1693, 1694), each having a status entirely differing from the other.

45 Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography'.

46 For T.3, the octavo edition of the TTP, *see* further: Chapter 4. French translation: Chapter 5. Dutch edition: Chapter 7. For the English abstract and first full edition, *see* Chapter 6.

3 Floral-Fruit Vignettes

All title-pages of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Latin quarto editions and of their separate issues are decorated with a single floral-fruit vignette, printed from a wooden relief block, cut to give a positive result. This device, further referred to in this bibliography as large 'yoke' ornament, depicts a long, curled, inverted horizontally-jewelled yoke, holding a bouquet of flowers bound with ribbons. These ribbons are braided on the left and right sides of the yoke through two discrete holes. They are tied around its curled ends, which hang downwards.

The vignette is replicated on the title-pages of both the *Opera posthuma* and of *De nagelate schriften*, the Dutch translation of the posthumous works, also printed for Rieuwertsz *père* by Israel de Paull during the second half of 1677. Book dealer Rieuwertsz had first employed this relief-woodcut vignette in 1650 when publishing books in tandem with the Amsterdam book trader Thomas Fonteyn. He also employed it in collaboration with Jacques van der Schuere, another printer.[47] Apart from gracing Spinoza's works, the yoke ornament can be found on the title-pages of many other books published between 1656 and 1669 by Rieuwertsz *père*.

More particularly, the device decorates the title-pages of five Dutch translations made by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker of Descartes's writings: *Discours de la methode* (Leiden: 1637), *Meditationes* (Paris: 1641), *Les Passions de l'âme* (Amsterdam: 1649), *Musicae compendium* (Amsterdam: 1650), and *Querela apologetica* (Utrecht: 1656). Glazemaker also translated into Dutch the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*

ILLUSTRATION 3.1 The floral-fruit yoke ornament, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*'s favourite title-page vignette.

47 Fonteyn: BL.

as well as the Latin edition of the posthumous works, aside from the *Ethica*'s Parts 1 and 2, translations made in the early 1660s by Pieter Balling.[48] The yoke vignette also turns up again on title-pages of other works issued by Rieuwertsz, such as *Vrede-presentatie* (1664), *Aanmerkingen op de soo-genaamde Vrede-Praesentatie* (1664), and *De rampspoedige scheepvaart der Franschen naar Oostindien* (1669), published in collaboration with Pieter Arentsz.[49] Rieuwertsz's son and successor, also called Jan, continued decorating the books he published with the same device, at least up through the 1690s, be it less frequently.[50]

Rieuwertsz *père* may have had a special preference for the yoke ornament, but it must be stressed other Amsterdam publishers used it as well. It turns out, though, that printers used blocks with the vignette that show minute differences in its design which are sometimes hard to perceive. It occurs, for instance, as publisher's emblem at the closing section of the epilogue of one of the editions of Franciscus van den Enden's *Vrye politijke stellingen* (1665), a work issued by Jacobus Venckel.[51] The vignette also illustrates both title-page and signature O3^{r} of *Verdediging van de oude Hollantsche regeringh* (1672), a work composed by Pieter de Huybert and published by Johannes van Someren.[52] A work by Johannes Coccejus, called *Opera omnia theologica* (edited by Van Someren) shows the vignette, too.[53] Moreover, in some of the latter work's eight volumes two initials turn up which are also printed in the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*. In addition, Coccejus's *Opera omnia theologica* contains two occurrences in the work of the damaged capital

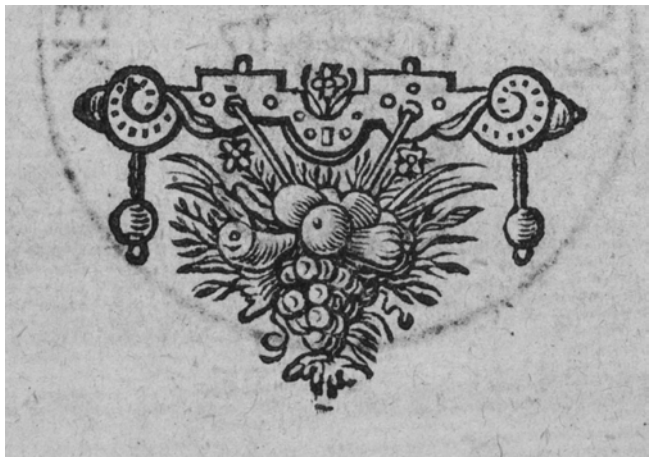


ILLUSTRATION 3.2 The yoke ornament's reduced version.

consonant S at the end of the word 'POLITICUS', printed on the title-pages of T.1 and T.2/T.2a.[54]

Van Someren together with Jacob van Meurs also used the yoke ornament on the title-page of *Toneel des oorlogs* (1675), a work by Lambert van den Bosch.[55] Another work Stalpert van der Wiele's *Hondert seldzame aanmerkingen* (1682), published by Jan Claesz ten Hoorn, is decorated with the vignette.[56] The printer of the two-part *Poëzy of verscheide gedichten*, comprising the fourth impression of the collected poetry of the Dutch author and playwright Joost van den Vondel published in 1682 by bookseller Leonard Strik, even used the yoke ornament in three instances in these bulky tomes.[57] Tellingly, the *Poëzy*, though, was not produced in Amsterdam but in Franeker in Friesland.[58]

48 René Descartes*, *Redenering van 't beleed, om zijn reden wel te beleiden, en de waarheit in de wetenschappen te zoeken* (Amsterdam: C. de Bruin [*printer*], 1656); id., *Meditationes de prima philosophia: Of bedenkingen van d'eerste wysbegeerte:*, … (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz*, 1657); id., *Les Passions de l'âme, of de lydingen van de ziel* (Amsterdam: T. Houthaak* [*printer*], 1659); id., *Kort begryp der zangkunst* (Amsterdam: T. Houthaak [*printer*], 1661); id., *Verantwoording aan d'achtbare overigheit van Uitrecht, …* (Amsterdam: T. Houthaak [*printer*], 1661). For the TTP's translation by Glazemaker* and his translation of E3–E5: Chapter 7. Balling: BL.

49 Anon. (David Spruyt), *Vrede-presentatie, uyt den naem … der dienaren der vereenighde Vlaemsche, Duytsche, en Vriessche Gemeente, …* (Amsterdam: 1664); anon., *De rampspoedige scheepvaart der Franschen naar Oostindien, …* (Amsterdam: 1669). Arentsz: BL.

50 Rieuwertsz *fils*: BL.

51 Anon. [Franciscus van den Enden*], *Vrye politijke stellingen, en consideratien van staat, gedaen na der ware christenens even gelijke vryheits gronden* (Amsterdam: 1665).

52 Pieter de Huybert, *Verdediging van de oude Hollantsche regeringh, onder een stadthouder en kapiteyn generael* (Amsterdam: 1672). Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 256. Van Someren: BL.

53 Coccejus: BL.

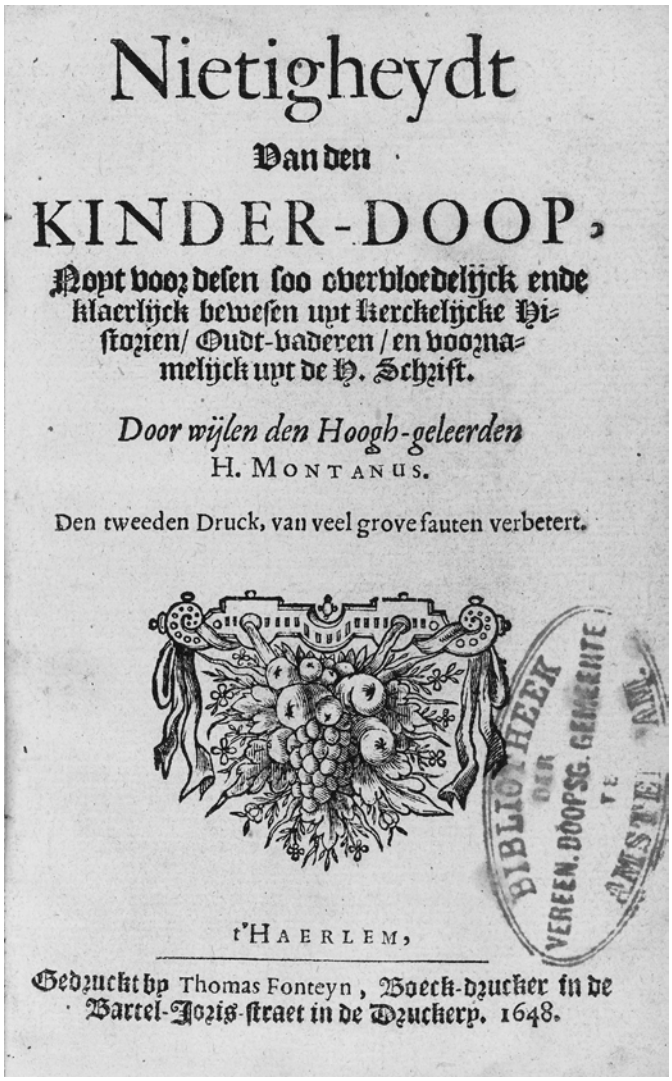
54 Johannes Coccejus*, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica* (8 vols., Amsterdam: 1673–9), especially vol. 2 and 3. De Paull* did not print its vol. 9.

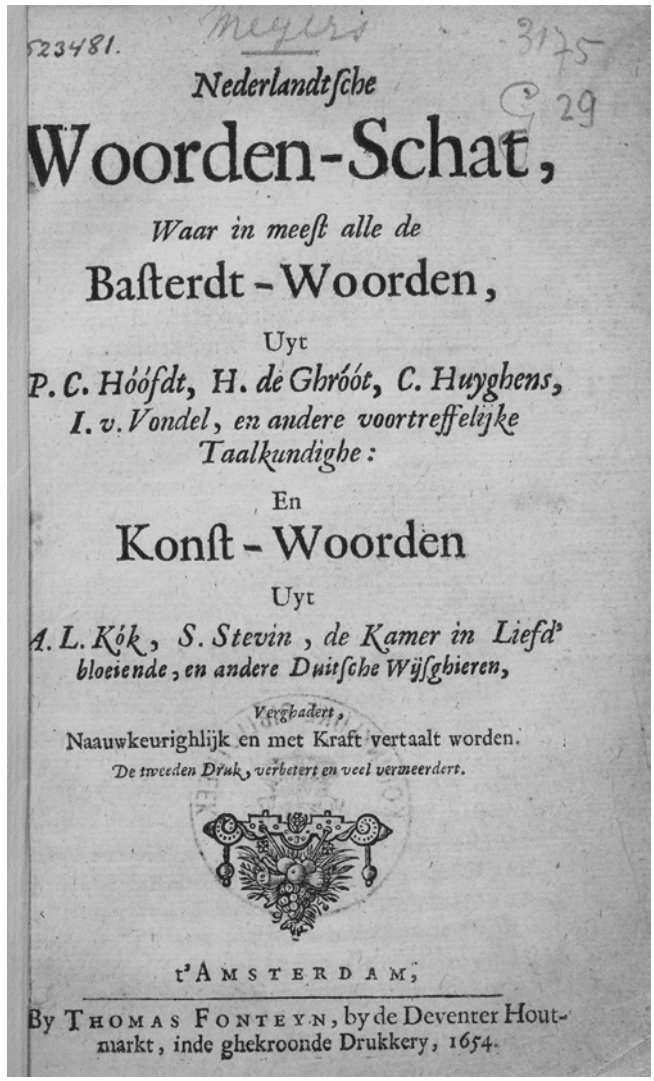
55 Lambert van den Bosch, *Toneel des oorlogs, opgerecht in de Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 1675). Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 256.

56 Cornelis Stalpert van der Wiele, *Hondert seldzame aanmerkingen, so in de genees- als heel- en sny-konst* (Amsterdam: 1682). Ten Hoorn: BL.

57 *J.V. Vondels Poëzy of verscheide gedichten, …, en met … nooit gedruckte dichten vermeerdert* (Franeker: 1682). Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 259.

58 The vignette is also printed on title-pages of works published by: Gerrit Willem (1649), Joost Broers's widow and Gaspar Merian (1660–1663), Geerard Vryleven (1666), Gerrit Swyger (1674), Dirk Boeteman (1692), Steven Swart (1700), as well as by several other Amsterdam publishers. Also the Utrecht printer Meinardus van Dreunen (*fl.*1653–1685) used the large yoke ornament on the book's title-page and text end: Frans Burman* (1), *Narratio de controversiis nuperius in Academia Ultrajectina motis, et depulsio eorum, quae contra objecta, …* (Utrecht: 1677). The vignette also graces the title-pages of the following works: anon., *Vervolg van de memorien, consideratien, en articulen van alliantien,*


Nietigheydt
Van den
KINDER-DOOP,
Dopt voor desen soo overvloedelijck ende klaerlijck bewesen uyt Kerckelijcke Historien/ Oudt-vaderen / en voornamelijck uyt de H. Schrift.
Door wijlen den Hoogh-geleerden
H. Montanus.
Den tweeden Druck, van veel grove fauten verbetert.
t'Haerlem,
Gedruckt by Thomas Fonteyn, Boeck-drucker in de Bartel-Joris-straet in de Druckery. 1648.
BIBLIOTHEEK DER VEREEN. DOOPSG. GEMEENTE TE AMSTE


523481. Meyers 3175 G 29
Nederlandtsche
Woorden-Schat,
Waar in meest alle de
Basterdt-Woorden,
Uyt
P. C. Hóófdt, H. de Ghróót, C. Huyghens, I. v. Vondel, en andere voortreffelijke Taalkundighe:
En
Konst-Woorden
Uyt
A. L. Kók, S. Stevin, de Kamer in Liefd' bloeiende, en andere Duitsche Wijsghieren,
Verghadert,
Naauwkeurighlijk en met Kraft vertaalt worden.
De tweeden Druk, verbetert en veel vermeerdert.
t'Amsterdam,
By Thomas Fonteyn, by de Deventer Houtmarkt, inde ghekroonde Drukkery, 1654.

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.3 AND 3.4 Two works produced by Thomas Fonteyn with title-pages decorated with the yoke ornament and its reduced version.

A 'reduced', much more simplified version of the foregoing yoke ornament, a floral tailpiece depicting a rosette with hanging ends (relief woodcut), is printed at the end of the prologue (sig. (**)^{v}) introducing the T.1 quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[59] The vignette is also present as publisher's emblem at the end of the prologue in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4; in T.5 the tailpiece has been replaced by a new floral emblem. In addition, the small yoke ornament tailpiece is printed on page 354 of the *Opera posthuma*, too.

Moreover, the smaller 'yoke' ornament also turns up in the Latin octavo T.3 edition at the end of the 'Prologus' (sig. B5^{r}) of the *Philosophia*, the second part following the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In addition, the small yoke tailpiece also graces the title-pages of the printed French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, called *Reflexions curieuses* (issue X.2), and also one of the title-pages of the mixed issues Y.4/Y.5 and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, also entitled *Reflexions curieuses* to add more confusion.

The 'reduced' yoke ornament also decorates the title-pages of at least three other books known with certainty to have been published by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*. Those works concern Glazemaker's translation of Desiderius Erasmus's *Onderwys* (1651), a tract called *Aanmerkingen* (1664), comprising an anonymous reply to the *Vrede-presentatie*, and

aengaende ... de koningen van Vrankrijk en Engeland, ... (The Hague: P. Martensz [*printer*], 1680); id., *Tweede vervolg van de brieven, memorien en conisderatien, raackende de aengepresenteerde alliantie van de koningen van Vrankrijk en Engeland* (The Hague: P. Mathieu [*printer*], 1680); id., *Alle de brieven, memorien en conisderatien, rakende de aangepresenteerde alliantie, van de koningen van Vrankrijk en Engelandt* (Haarlem: B.J. Hooghuys, n. d., [1680?]).

59 Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374 (ornament no. 17).

of *De beschryving der reizen van Volkert Evertsz* (1670), a book printed for Rieuwertsz by Pieter Arentsz. In addition, the same vignette terminates *Epiktetus redenen*, another work issued by Rieuwertsz in 1658 and printed by Tymon Houthaak.[60] *Een brief aan een vriendt* (1678), composed by a certain 'Tymotheus Philadelphus' and known to have been printed by Israel de Paull, also has this tailpiece ornament.[61]

In summary, the two yoke ornaments printed in the works issued by Rieuwertsz *père* were clearly his favourite vignettes, characteristic during a long time of what I tend to assume can be cautiously called his publisher's 'trademark'. Nonetheless, it turns out these vignettes were fashionable amongst other publishers and printers in Amsterdam who used them to decorate their books, too.[62] For example, Thomas Fonteyn, Rieuwertsz's business partner during the 1640s and 1650s, also used both the large ornament and its reduced version on several title-pages of books he produced as a publisher and printer while working in Haarlem and Amsterdam.[63]

4 The Production of Latin Quarto Edition T.1 by Israel de Paull

The first concealed Latin quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Spinoza's main work devoted to biblical criticism, was typeset and printed by Israel de Paull's workshop in both a plain version and in a large-paper version. A dedication copy, signed 25 July 1676, now in Haifa, Israel, presented by Spinoza to a German law student from Pomerania, called Jacobus Statius Clefman, was printed on luxury paper, as were also seven other extant copies now kept in Augsburg, Coimbra, Göteborg, Karlsruhe, Santa Cruz (California), Hamburg, and Lyon.[64] Apart from the Latin, the treatise's main text has a substantial portion of text printed in bold unpointed Hebrew. A further nine words are printed in Dutch Fraktur type: 'met Godt | en met eere' (p. 57) and 'geen ketter sonder letter' (p. 159).

The full programmatic title of the first Latin quarto volume reads thus:

> Tractatus Theologico-Politicus Continens Dissertationes aliquot, Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum salva Pietate, & Reipublicae Pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicae, ipsaque Pietate tolli non posse.

Notice that 'philosophari' should only be translated as 'to do philosophy': thus, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s object is obviously freedom of philosophy. Printed below the main title is a Latin epigraph, 1 John 4:13, in the rendering of Johannes Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), translator of the Bible from Syriac and Hebrew into Latin. The epigraph's translation reads the following:

> Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII. Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.

The false imprint at the foot of the spurious title-page of the book reads:

> Hamburgi, Apud Henricum Künraht. ↄ I ↄ I ↄ clxx.[65]

60 Desiderius Erasmus, *Onderwys om door een korte middel tot de ware godtgeleertheit te komen …* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz* *père*, 1651); anon., *Aanmerkingen op de soo-genaamde Vrede-Praesentatie*, … (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, 1664, joint publication with Jan Hendriksz); anon., *De beschryving der reizen van Volkert Evertsz naar Oostindien* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, 1670); anon., *Epiktetus redenen, door Arianus, zijn toehoorder, vergadert*; … (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, T. Houthaak* [*printer*], 1658).

61 Philadelphus, *Een brief*.

62 For an overview, *see*: T.1.

63 Other printer(s) working for or with Rieuwertsz* *père* used identical designed ornaments and ornamented initials employed in the Spinoza editions and other books (cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 259). Aside from De Paull*, the printer of the *TTP* (Latin quartos and octavos, and perhaps also its 1678 French translation), the *OP*, and the *NS*, several names can be linked with Rieuwertsz: Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz*, Jacob Lescailje (1644–1680), Pieter la Burgh (1645–1665), Tymon Houthaak*, Jacob de Jonge (1657–1678), Abraham Wolfgank* (1658–1694); Hoorn: Jansz vander Beeck (1658–1669), Jan Jacobsz Deutel (1663–1673); Enkhuizen: Jan Egbert van den Hoof (1665–1672); Haarlem: Gerritsz Geldorp (1665–1690), and Steeven van Lier*. Bakkamude*, printer of the *PP*/*CM*, was hired by him, too.

64 Haifa, University Library, B 3985 1670A (Spinoza's copy dedicated to Clefman*); Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Phil 360 13159290; Coimbra, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21 A; Göteborg, University Library (RAR-Saml. 4:0 184); Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, GYM 2662; Santa Cruz (CA), University of California, University Library, B 3985.A3; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A 1667; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 340873. For the Haifa copy: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy*.

65 Full title in English: 'Theological-Political Treatise, Several Discussions Showing that the Republic can Grant Freedom of Philosophizing without Harming its Peace or Piety, and cannot Deny it without Destroying its Peace and Piety. "By this we know that we remain in God and that God remains in us, because he has given us of his Spirit". (1 John 4:13). Hamburg, by Henricus Künraht. 1670.'. Spinoza opened his attack ([1675/76].00.00, Ep 76 [G 4/316–324]) on the glorifying arguments favouring Roman Catholic theology and tradition of his erstwhile disciple

Indisputably, the place of printing of the Latin quarto T.1, and of all other Latin quartos and octavos and their separate issues, is arguably Amsterdam, not 'Hamburg', as is falsely declared in the crypto-imprint at the foot of the title-page. The publisher mentioned in the same imprint, 'Henricus Künraht', is also a fiction.[66] Incidentally, in the sixteenth century there was a German author named Heinrich Kunrath who issued a work on hermetic philosophy and alchemy popular in the Netherlands when the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was published.[67] He may very well have been served as inspiration for this pseudonym.[68]

The main text of T.1, and actually of all other quartos, its Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with superior letters), and explanatory footnotes (italics, keyed with typographical symbols) are printed in serifed roman types. This old-style printing type was used by many typographers working in Amsterdam in the second half of the seventeenth century. These printing types have the following body-sizes:

- *c*.1663/8 'Hamburg' type specimen (several quires of main text, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry).[69]
- 94 mm 'Augustyn' (english) italic (1642 or *c*.1663/8, Bartholomeus or Reinier Voskens?).[70]
- 11 mm 'Paragon' roman capitals (1652).[71]
- 16 mm 'Klein Canon' roman and italic capitals.[72]
- 'Text' (great primer) roman and italic as well as probably also Hebrew (2,5 mm mem [the thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet]).[73]

One key feature in particular of T.1 allows ready identification. Page 104 on the verso side of the outer forme of quire N is misnumbered '304'. This literal is missing in the printed brief list of errata (sig. Gg^{v}) contained in T.1, indicating to readers thirteen corrections were to be made by hand in the work's main text.[74] This list was made after the printing process of T.1 and proofreading was finished. This same list is also included in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4, without any new additions. In T.5, the list of errata is cancelled for reasons further unknown; perhaps it was a hasty job.[75]

Albert Burgh* by claiming 'holiness of life is not peculiar to the Roman Church, but is common to all'. In doing so he referred to 1 John 4:13, arguing that what distinguishes the Roman Catholic Church from other churches 'is completely superfluous, and so has been established only by superstition'. Regarding the word 'Discussions' in the subtitle, suggesting the text is a patchwork of assorted discourses, scholars like Verbeek (*Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise*) are sceptical about the *TTP*'s coherence. The *TTP*'s false imprint was 'reused' on the three title-pages of a work clandestinely issued by Abraham Joan Cuffeler (Van Bunge, etc., *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 238–239): *Specimen artis ratiocinandi & naturalis ad pantosophiae principia manuducens* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam]: 1684). Tellingly, its imprint reads also: 'Hamburgi, Apud Henricum Kunraht, C I ↄ I ↄ CLXXXIV'. One might hazard a guess here that De Paull* printed the work on the behest of Rieuwertsz* *père*.

66 Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 255. The Latin quartos T.2/T2a have: 'Künraht', with *ht*. One issue (T.3t) of the Latin octavo edition has: 'Kunraht'. Notably, T.4n/T.4 and T.5 spell 'Künrath', with *th*. The *TTP*'s first Dutch translation (1693), *DRT*, has: 'Koenraad'. Anonymity was a powerful weapon in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Republic of Letters. For background: Anton Matytsin, 'Fictional Letters or Real Accusations? Anonymous Correspondence in the Bayle-Jurieu Controversy', *Society and Politics*, 7 (2013), pp. 178–190. For the 'Republic of Letters': Chapter 2, n. 31.

67 Heinrich Kunrath, *De igne magorum philsophorumque secreto externo & visibili; das ist, Philosophische Erklahrung, von, … Gludt und Flammenfewer, …* (Strassburg: 1608). For this Kunrath: Manusov-Verhage, 'Jan Rieuwertsz', 2005, pp. 244–245.

68 Van Eeghen (*De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, p. 64) points to a 'Henricus Cunrath' in Freiburg, allegedly the printer of Johannes Lyserus's *Discursus politicus de polygamia* (published under the pseudonym 'Theophilus Alethaeus'). This work and its translation were produced by the *TTP*'s Amsterdam printer for Dirk Boom (1645/46–1680), who ran a bookshop with his brother Hendrik (1644–1709): id., vol. 3, pp. 30–33.

69 Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 434. Voskens (Amsterdam) typefoundry: id., *Early Type Specimens in the Plantin-Moretus Museum: Annotated Descriptions of the Specimens to ca. 1850 (Mostly from the Low Countries and France) with Preliminary Notes on the Typefoundries and Printing Offices* (New Castle, DE, and London: Oak Knoll Press, 2004), pp. 50–59 and 218–219. A Voskens 'Augustyn' text type's specimen is listed in a catalogue issued for the sale of materials of an Amsterdam printing house: *Proeven der letteren … van zal. Broer Jansz…. te verkoopen* (Amsterdam, 1653 [copy: Leiden, University Library, Maatschappij Nederlandse Letterkunde (M5) 1207 A 1]). Cf.: Lane, *Early Type Specimens*, p. 407.

70 Ibid. The serifed roman 'Augustyn' typeface was originally designed by French bookseller and punchcutter Pierre Haultin (*c*.1510–1587). Background: Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, 'Printing Types of Pierre Haultin (ca.1510–87). Part I: Roman Types', *Quaerendo*, 30 (2000), pp. 87–129; id., 'Printing Types of Pierre Haultin (ca.1510–87). Part II: Roman Types', *Quaerendo*, 30 (2000), pp. 173–229; Ton Croiset van Uchelen and Paul Dijstelberge (eds.), *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century. The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

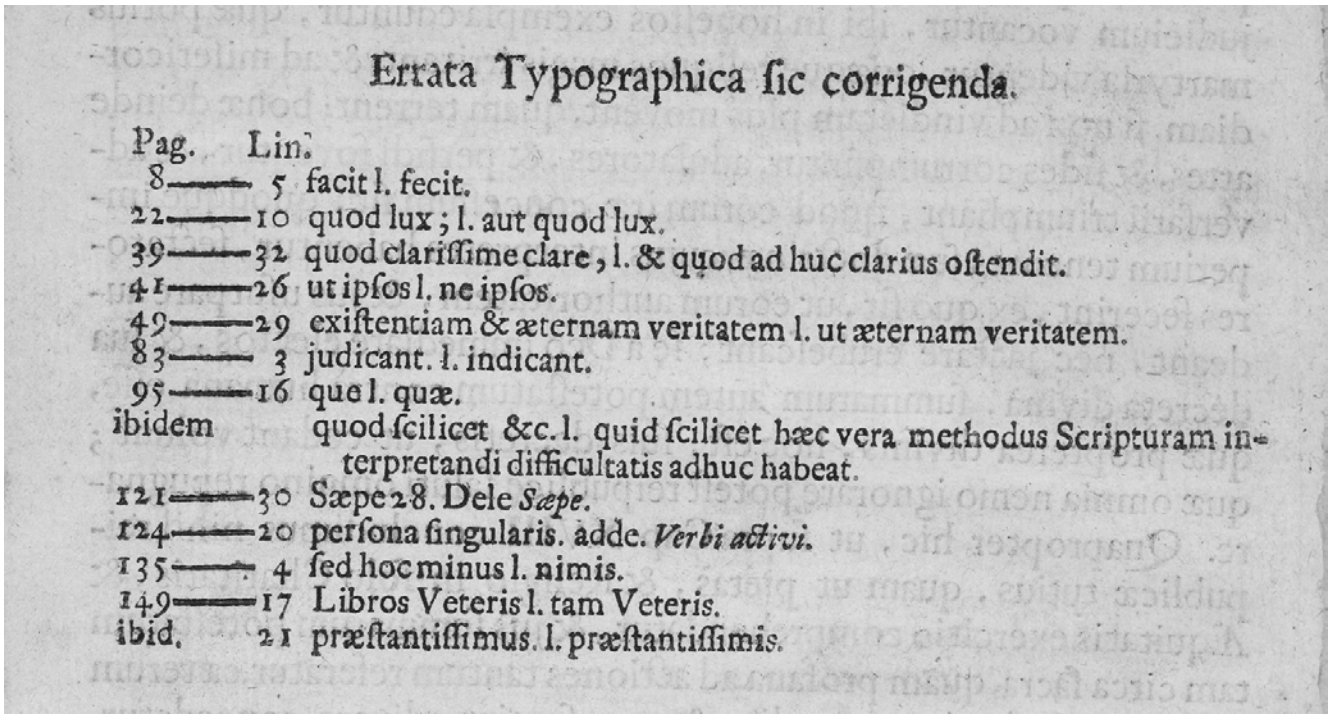
71 Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 435.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Akkerman ('*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 210) stated T.1's varied orthography seems to show Spinoza's preference for certain orthographical variations in extant autographs of his letters: 'Les variations concernent surtout les consonnes simples ou doubles (*suplicium*, *reperi* pour *repperi*, *dificilius*, *Accademia*), les voyelles *e*, *ae*, *oe* (*foelix*, mais aussi *felix* et *faelicitatem*, *faemininum*, *Haebraei*), les consonnes *c*, *ch*, *t*, *s* (*spacium* et *spatium*, *concioni*, *lachrimis*, *charius*, *scismaticos*), le *c* et *qu* (*locutus*, *loquutus*), le *mt* et *mpt* (*desumta*, *contemtoribus*), *m* et *n* (*eorundem parenthesim* et *parenthesin*, *Mosem* et *Mosen*), *e* et *i* (*destibuere* et *distribuere*, *deficile* au lieu de *difficile*)'.

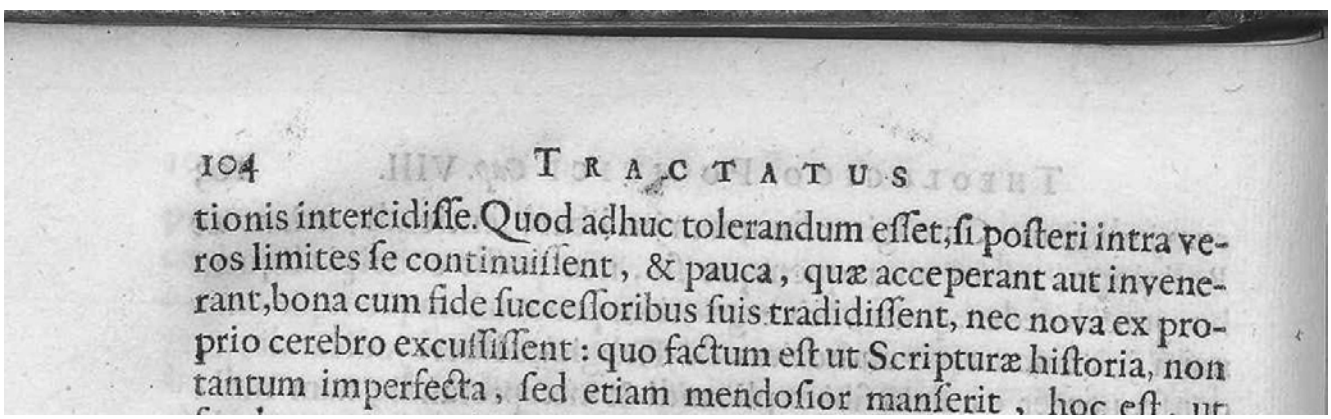
75 I tend to agree with Akkerman's hypothesis maintaining Spinoza himself did not proofread the typeset sheets (ibid., p. 210).



Errata Typographica ſic corrigenda.

Pag.	Lin.	
8	5	facit l. fecit.
22	10	quod lux; l. aut quod lux.
39	32	quod clariſſime clare, l. & quod ad huc clarius oſtendit.
41	26	ut ipſos l. ne ipſos.
49	29	exiſtentiam & æternam veritatem l. ut æternam veritatem.
83	3	judicant. l. indicant.
95	16	que l. quæ.
ibidem		quod ſcilicet &c. l. quid ſcilicet hæc vera methodus Scripturam interpretandi difficultatis adhuc habeat.
121	30	Sæpe 28. Dele *Sæpe*.
124	20	perſona ſingularis. adde. *Verbi activi.*
135	4	ſed hoc minus l. nimis.
149	17	Libros Veteris l. tam Veteris.
ibid.	21	præſtantiſſimus. l. præſtantiſſimis.

ILLUSTRATION 3.5 The list of errata in T.1 printed on sig. Gg^{v} immediately following the main text of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. The list is also contained in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4.



104 TRACTATUS

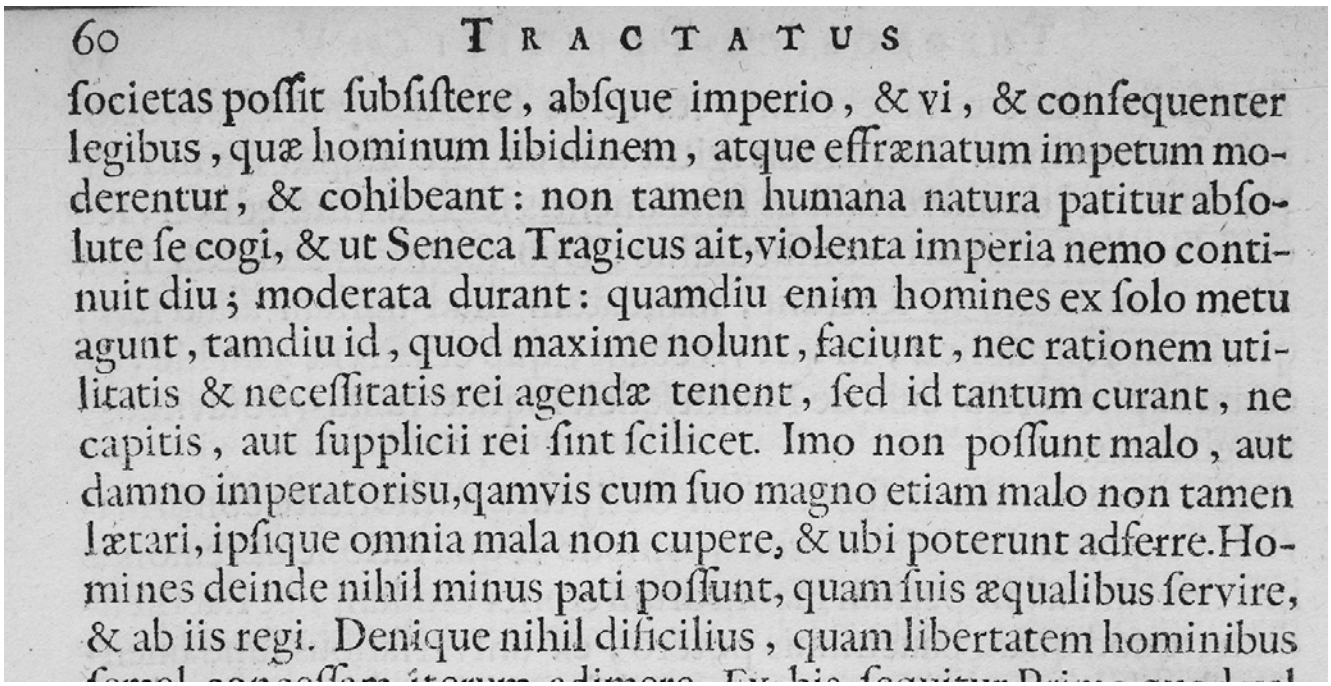
tionis intercidiſſe. Quod adhuc tolerandum eſſet, ſi poſteri intra veros limites ſe continuiſſent, & pauca, quæ acceperant aut invenerant, bona cum fide ſucceſſoribus ſuis tradidiſſent, nec nova ex proprio cerebro excuſſiſſent: quo factum eſt ut Scripturæ hiſtoria, non tantum imperfecta, ſed etiam mendoſior manſerit, hoc eſt, ut

ILLUSTRATION 3.6 Stop-press correction of page number 104 in the collation variant of quarto edition T.1.

Strikingly, in regard to the literal '304', two rare copies of T.1, now kept in Dublin (plain version) and Göteborg (large-paper copy), contain nevertheless a collation variant state of T.1. Those copies underwent a stop-press correction: the compositor has correctly reset the erroneous page number '304' as 104; a quick and common alteration not effecting make-up and made in the type-pages of a forme. They also convincingly prove the first Latin quarto edition was printed with this stop-press correction in both a plain version and on luxury paper.

The Latin text of T.1 is superior to all other quartos turned out. The edition must be considered as the most loyal to Spinoza's long-lost holograph and/or apograph which the Tuinstraat compositor used to set the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in type. Akkerman has pointed out certain characteristics of the orthography and punctuation, as well as the many misprints and textual mistakes, give the impression the printing of the T.1 edition was hurried.[76] He counted ninety-seven errors made by the compositor in the Latin. Yet, only thirteen literals of those errors were indicated in the list of errata; eighty-four others were not. A striking example also allowing ready identification of T.1 concerns two corrupted words on page 60, line 9, in chapter 5 where it confusedly reads 'imperatorisu,qamvis'.

76 Ibid., pp. 210–212.


60 TRACTATUS

ſocietas poſſit ſubſiſtere, abſque imperio, & vi, & conſequenter legibus, quæ hominum libidinem, atque effrænatum impetum moderentur, & cohibeant: non tamen humana natura patitur abſolute ſe cogi, & ut Seneca Tragicus ait, violenta imperia nemo continuit diu; moderata durant: quamdiu enim homines ex ſolo metu agunt, tamdiu id, quod maxime nolunt, faciunt, nec rationem utilitatis & neceſſitatis rei agendæ tenent, ſed id tantum curant, ne capitis, aut ſupplicii rei ſint ſcilicet. Imo non poſſunt malo, aut damno imperatorisu, qamvis cum ſuo magno etiam malo non tamen lætari, ipſique omnia mala non cupere, & ubi poterunt adferre. Homines deinde nihil minus pati poſſunt, quam ſuis æqualibus ſervire, & ab iis regi. Denique nihil dificilius, quam libertatem hominibus

ILLUSTRATION 3.7 Misprint on page 60 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

This disfiguring misprint was remedied by the compositors who processed all other Latin quartos.[77]

Several mistakes in the list of errata of T.1, those on pages 8, 22, 39, 41, 95, and 121, were corrected in those other quartos following T.1: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4. The Latin octavo edition T.3 and quarto edition T.5 have these corrections, too. In addition, in T.3 and T.5, in line 21 on page 149 in chapter 12, the corrupted superlative 'praestantissimus' in T.1, an error also occurring in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4, is correctly printed as 'praestantissimis'.[78] Other flaws in the new quartos and in T.3 were silently emended by the compositor.

Nonetheless, both T.4n/T.4 and T.5 clearly degraded the treatise's text quality, which was however visibly improved in T.3. When the typesetter prepared T.4n/T.4 for the press on the basis of T.2/T.2a (1672), he replicated several errors from the latter quarto but introduced new mistakes as well. For example, in chapter 10 on page 132 in line 14: except for the line's first word, 'scilicet', in T.4n/T.4 the phrase '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus,' is lacking. This phrase is also missing in T.5.[79] This then implies the compositor of T.5 must have had on his desk a copy of T.4n/T.4. How such new misprints ended up in the T.5 edition can be observed in chapter 7 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

In T.1, T.2/T.2a (p. 87, ll. 34–35), and in octavo edition T.3 (p. 127, l. 5), it reads correctly: 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continere debet.'.[80] In T.4n/T.4, though, this phrase lacks the finite verb 'debet': 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continere.'. The compositor of T.5 observed the grammatical corruption of the text in T.4n/T.4 and replaced the form 'continere' by the finite form 'continet'. The passage in T.5 now reads: 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continet.'. Again, this proves T.4n/T.4 must have preceded T.5.

Especially, a passage in T.1 in the incipit of chapter 8, spoiled in the later quartos, underlines the superiority of the first quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. On page 104 (misprinted '304'), in lines 6 and 7, it reads correctly:

> … ut | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum, non tantum pauciora, ut | iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare….[81]

77 G 3/74.8.
78 G 3/163.21.
79 G 3/146.13–15.
80 G 3/101.35.
81 'The foundations of the knowledge of the Scriptures are not just too slight to have allowed a whole [history of Scripture] to be built on them; they are defective.' (G 3/118.5–7; CW, vol. 1, p. 192).

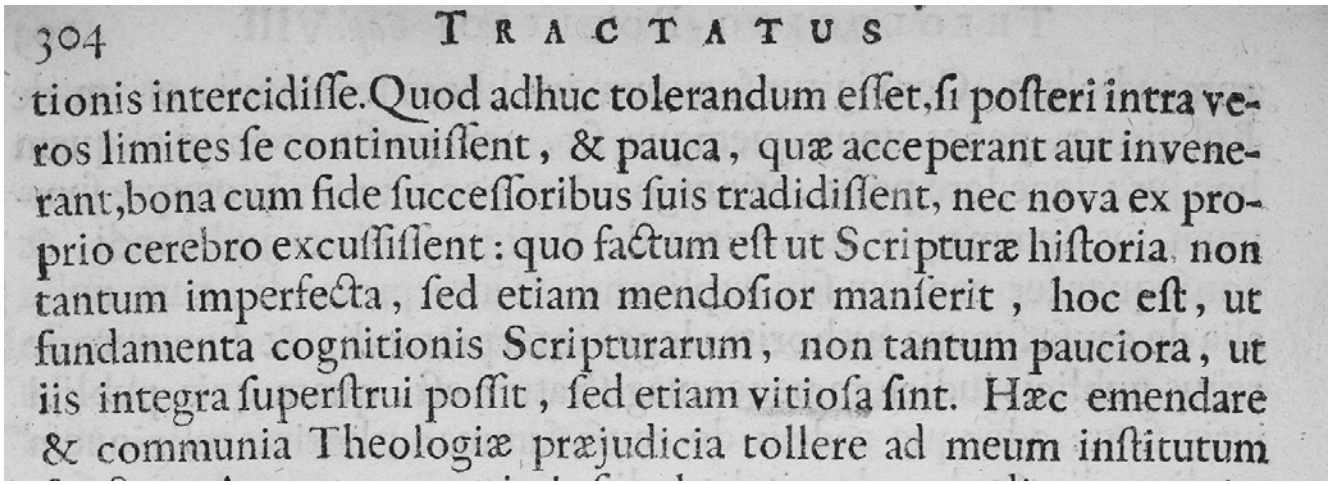

304 TRACTATUS
tionis intercidiſſe. Quod adhuc tolerandum eſſet, ſi poſteri intra veros limites ſe continuiſſent, & pauca, quæ acceperant aut invenerant, bona cum fide ſucceſſoribus ſuis tradidiſſent, nec nova ex proprio cerebro excuſſiſſent: quo factum eſt ut Scripturæ hiſtoria non tantum imperfecta, ſed etiam mendoſior manſerit, hoc eſt, ut fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum, non tantum pauciora, ut iis integra ſuperſtrui poſſit, ſed etiam vitioſa ſint. Hæc emendare & communia Theologiæ præjudicia tollere ad meum inſtitutum

ILLUSTRATION 3.8 Copy of T.1 with correct text ('ut | fundamenta … emendare').

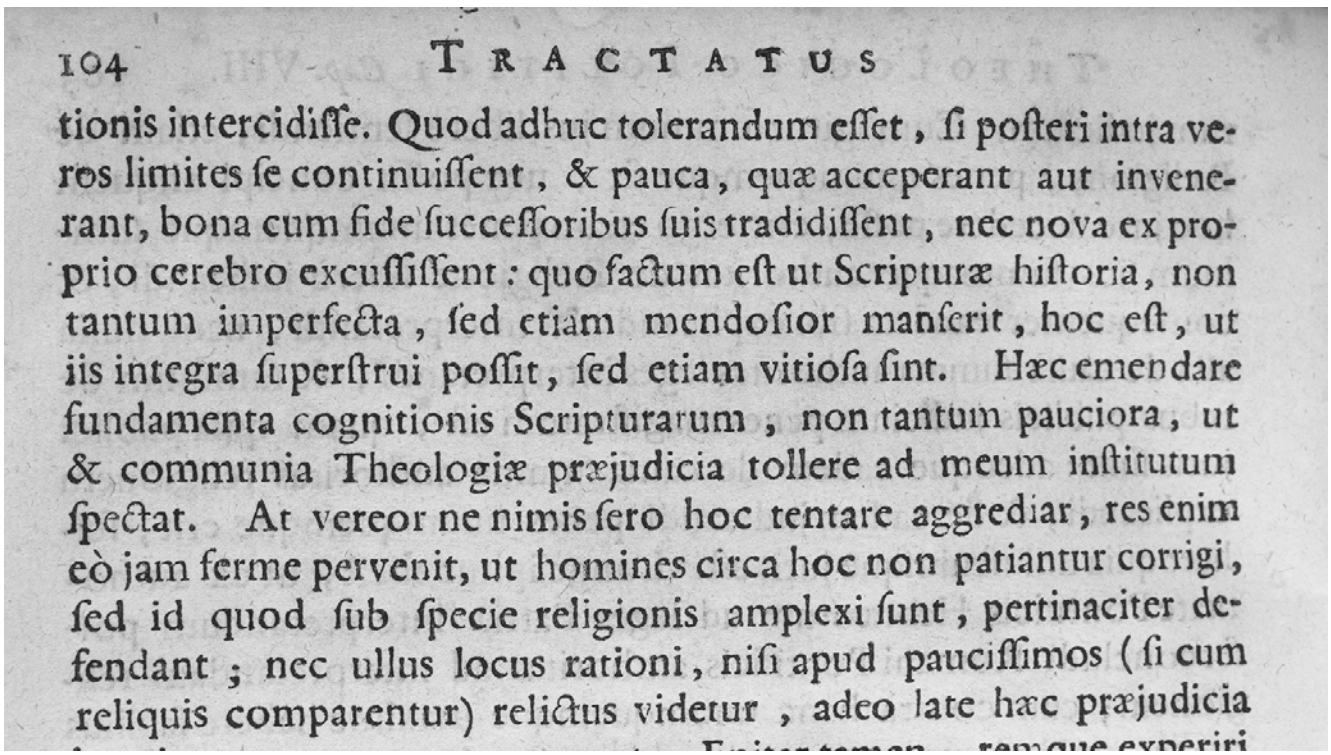

104 TRACTATUS
tionis intercidiſſe. Quod adhuc tolerandum eſſet, ſi poſteri intra veros limites ſe continuiſſent, & pauca, quæ acceperant aut invenerant, bona cum fide ſucceſſoribus ſuis tradidiſſent, nec nova ex proprio cerebro excuſſiſſent: quo factum eſt ut Scripturæ hiſtoria, non tantum imperfecta, ſed etiam mendoſior manſerit, hoc eſt, ut iis integra ſuperſtrui poſſit, ſed etiam vitioſa ſint. Hæc emendare fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum, non tantum pauciora, ut & communia Theologiæ præjudicia tollere ad meum inſtitutum ſpectat. At vereor ne nimis ſero hoc tentare aggrediar, res enim eò jam ferme pervenit, ut homines circa hoc non patiantur corrigi, ſed id quod ſub ſpecie religionis amplexi ſunt, pertinaciter defendant; nec ullus locus rationi, niſi apud pauciſſimos (ſi cum reliquis comparentur) relictus videtur, adeo late hæc præjudicia

ILLUSTRATION 3.9 Copy of T.2 with corrupted text ('ut | iis integra … pauciora, ut').

The compositor of the Latin quarto T.2/T.2a swapped lines 6 and 7, possibly because 'ut' in T.1 occurs at the end of these sentences twice ('Augensprung'). The typesetters of T.4n/T.4 and T.5 copied this mistake without however noticing the error. The text in the later quartos incorrectly reads:

> … ut | iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut….

Yet, the compositor of octavo edition T.3, set in type on the basis of both T.1 and T.2/T.2a, took notice of this disfiguring textual misprint and corrected the Latin text, together with many other misprints.

My discovery of variant T.4n seems to confirm the possibility that even more quarto issues might have been put to press.[82] Bamberger brings up the existence of 'mixed'

82 Tellingly, German theologian and bibliographer Eduard Boehmer mentions a quarto edition, allegedly printed in Utrecht in 1675, in

quarto copies, also claiming he had in his possession a copy containing sheets of T.4 and T.5.[83] During the preparations of this study, it came to light that a copy composed of sheets of both T.4 and T.5 has survived in Naples.[84] Adolfo Ravà in a paper published in 1927 mentioned one other 'mixed' copy, kept in Padua, which was composed of sheets of T.2 and T.4.[85] I came across another T.4n or T.4 copy put up for sale on the internet with a title-page belonging to T.2a and a prologue taken from the second Latin quarto edition. I also traced another T.4 copy in the university library of Kansas, Texas, also bound with a title-page of T.2a.[86] Ergo, this evidence seems to suggest these rare copies were put together on an occasional basis from other copies, title-pages, or quires apparently still in stock in Rieuwertsz's bookshop or in the stores of other book dealers.

Up to now, ninety-two copies of T.1 are known to have survived in international library holdings. What percentage of the original printing this number represents is not known.[87] Each unbound copy of the quarto edition T.1 numbers 248 pages (124 leaves); each copy has a title-page with ornament, its verso is blank. One single copy comprises thirty-one sheets. Thus, from one ream of paper about 15.5 copies could be processed. An assumed impression of five hundred copies comprise 15,500 sheets; hence, about 32.3 reams were needed to produce such a print run.

5 Publication and Immediate Reception

Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s putative publisher was acutely aware he was treading on dangerous ground. For this reason, he issued the first Latin quarto edition of Spinoza's second book anonymously, together with a misleading imprint at the foot of its title-page, thus trying to circumvent censorship and any inconvenient inquiries. This cloaked imprint, dated 1670 and set in type with turned Cs, suggests readers the book had been produced in Hamburg, by 'Henricus Künraht'. Clearly, the false imprint is an intentional smokescreen, helping to protect its author, publisher, and printer from fines or legal prosecution. What is more, because among scholars Spinoza since the early 1660s had already a notorious reputation as a dangerous freethinker and a brazen atheist, Rieuwertsz *père* had reasons enough to submerge the book in secrecy and thus create a false trail.

In the spring of 1661, Ole Borch (1626–1690), a Danish anatomist who toured the Netherlands and enrolled (21 February 1661) as a student of medicine in Leiden, was the first to record references to Spinoza, labelling him as an untypical intellectual outsider and as an atheist. In an entry of his lively diary, he characterizes him as not only as an expert mathematician and a manufacturer of telescopic glasses and microscopes, but almost gossipy also as an atheist. In an entry of 17 May 1661, composed after a conversation with someone by the name of Höjerus, Borch first reports about persistent rumours in regard to Cartesians and atheists dwelling in Amsterdam. In the entry, though, Borch still hints only indirectly at Spinoza:

> [It is said that] there are some atheists in Amsterdam, but many of them are Cartesians, among them some Jew who is a shameless atheist.[88]

the library catalogue of the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky ('Spinozana', *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 36 [1860], pp. 121–166, p. 152). Its collection (about 600,000 books) was largely destroyed during World War II. If the rare copy was indeed once kept in Hamburg, it was probably lost during the war. Bamberger ('The Early Editions', p. 25) tried to locate the copy, but was informed catalogues of the former Hamburg collection 'do not list this edition'. I too made an effort to unearth the foregoing copy, but could not locate the Utrecht edition (if any) either.

83 Ibid., p. 25.

84 Ibid., p. 25. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, V.F. 8 C 35. *See*: T.5.

85 Adolfo Ravà, 'Le Opere di Spinoza', *Rivista di Filosofia*, 18 (1927), pp. 273–316, p. 296. Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 25.

86 The T.4n copy with the T.2a title-page bound in was offered for sale by Milestone of Science Books (Ritterhude, Germany) in early 2018. Lawrence (KS), University of Kansas, University Library, Summerfield C1486 item 1.

87 In February 2013, a rare partly-unopened copy of T.1 was put up for auction and sold (Swann Auction Galleries, Sale 2305, lot 173): 'Contemporary Dutch vellum boards with blind-stamped arabesque centerpiece on covers, rebacked, endpapers renewed, covers slightly warped; small stain in blank outer margin of title and next 2 leaves, blank corner off E1, faint dampstaining in upper outer corners toward end; uncut and largely unopened; marbled board slipcase'. Its whereabouts are not known. I am not familiar with any other extant copies of the *TTP* unopened.

88 'Esse quosdam atheos Amstelred: sed ex iis plures esse Cartesianos, inque his Judaeum quendam impudentem Atheum.' (17 May 1661, H.D. Schepelern [ed.], *Itinerarium 1660–1665. The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch* [4 vols., Copenhagen and London: Reitzel/Brill, 1983], 1983, vol. 1, p. 128). The experimental natural philosopher Borch befriended Danish anatomist Niels Stensen*. Leiden, University Library, ms. ASF, vol. 10, p. 583 (27 July 1660): 'Nicolaus Stenonis, Danus, ann. 23, medicinae studiosus, habitat apud eandem' (Niels Stensen, Dane, 23 years [of age], medical student, residing at the same). 'eandem': Stensen lived at the house of the mother of Johannes Blasius, the younger brother of the medical professor Gerard Blasius (1625–1682). Together, Stensen and Borch roomed until February 1662 at a house called 'In de Halve Maen', in the fashionable Leiden *Steenschuur* quarter. Later, they rented rooms at the house of Gualtherus de Haes and in February 1663 they transferred to the house of a certain Dirck Swarts. Cf.: Eric Jorink, '*Modus Politicus*

Accordingly, on 10 September, after a rendezvous with the son of a druggist or spice trader from Hamburg, a certain Langermann, who apparently had information about Spinoza, Borch writes in the same diary about the latter the following:

> [It is said that] near here, in Rijnsburg, lives a Christian, formerly a Jew, but now all but an atheist, who does not care at all about the Old Testament, and attaches equal weight to the New Testament and the Koran and Aesop's fables; [and that] this man otherwise lives sincerely and blamelessly, and occupies himself producing glasses and microscopes.[89]

Finally, in an entry penned down in the journal on 24 September, mention is made of Borch's meeting with a German medical doctor, a certain Menelaus, who had told about him another rumour about Spinoza:

> Spinoza, a Jew turned Christian and now almost an atheist, lives in Rijnsburg; that he excels in Cartesian philosophy, that he even surpasses Descartes himself in all things, namely in distinct and probable concepts; that, however, many prefer by far Hudde in Amsterdam, who also published a small tract about furcation appended to Descartes's last geometrical works.[90]

With respect to Spinoza's early controversial reputation, the Dutch philosopher became the protagonist in a local row (1665) while residing (1663–1669/1671) in the rural *ambachtsheerlijkheid* of Voorburg, originating as a unit of lordship under the old medieval feudal system and sold to Delft in 1615 by the Lord of Wassenaar. The quarrel concerned the succession of Jacob Johannes van Oosterwijck (1597–1674), the Reformed village's retiring minister, a friend of Constantijn Huygens *père* (1596–1687). After the *Kerkenraad* had started recruitment procedures, sixteen candidates applied for the job opening; two candidates remained. Details of the recruitment process are not known. Yet, the Voorburg church council ultimately split off in two groups, each favouring their own candidate who fit their either orthodox or liberal beliefs: an older, orthodox pastor ordained in 1653 called Eduard Theodori Westerneyn (1632–1674) and a certain Van der Wiele, a young liberal pastor from the Province of Zeeland.

In winter 1665/6, passions in the consistory further inflamed when some of the consistory's more liberal members composed a now-lost petition in which they lobbied the Delft *Vroedschap* (in charge of the recruitment) to appoint on their behalf Van der Wiele as Van Oosterwijck's successor. This petition was also cosigned by Spinoza's landlord Daniel Harmensz Tijdeman (*fl.*1654–1677). In turn, the Voorburg orthodox faction, though, retaliated with a still extant written statement, lobbying the appointment of another more hidebound candidate, Westerneyn. In a note added to it, Tijdeman was called a cheat and defamed for being untrustworthy and immoral because he rented out rooms to an apostate Jew, named Spinoza. The note, adding to the latter accusation Spinoza wrote the request supporting Van de Wiele's candidacy, reads the following:

> Nota. That in the rented house of the aforesaid Daniel Tijdeman is rooming an A … [?] [Spinoza], born from Jewish parents, who is now (so they say) an atheist who mocks all religions. [This Spinoza is] indeed a harmful instrument in this republic, as many learned men and ministers, among others pastor Landman and [all] those who know him, will testify. [It is Spinoza] who has composed the request

Vivendi': Nicolaus Steno and the Dutch (Swammerdam, Spinoza and Other Friends), 1660–1664', in Mogens Lærke and Raphaële Andrault (eds.), *Steno and the Philosophers* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 13–44, at pp. 22–23. Whether Borch met Spinoza is uncertain. Because of the latter's relations with Stensen who first met the Dutch philosopher in summer 1661 this seems however a distinct possibility.

89 'Esse hîc in vicino Rensberg ex judaeo Christianum, sed jam paene Atheum, qui vet: Test: nil curat, Nov. et Alcanorum et fab. Aesopi pari aestimat pondere, illum hominem alioquin admodum sincerè et inculpatè vivere, et conficiendis perspicillis et microscopiis occupari.' (10 September 1661, Borch, *Itinerarium 1660–1665*, vol. 1, p. 214). Borch: Charles C. Gillispie and Frederic L. Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* (18 vols., New York, NY: Scribner, 1970–90), vol. 2, pp. 317–318; Herbert Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit*. Band 1: *Bio-bibliographisches Repertorium* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), p. 122.

90 'Spinozam ex Judeo Christianum, et jam fere atheum Rinsburgi vivere, in philosophiâ Cartesianâ excellere, imò ipsum in multis superare Cartesium distinctis sc: et probabilibus conceptibus, longe tamen omnes antevertere Hÿddenium Amstelodami, qui et *de forkeren* tractatulum edidit adiunctum postremis Cartesij operibus Geometricis.' (24 September 1661, Schepelern (ed.), *Itinerarium 1660–1665*, vol. 1, p. 228). The reference 'de forkeren' concerns one of two 'letters' appended by Hudde* to the *Geometria*, the second Latin edition (Amsterdam, 1659) of the 1637 *Geometrie* of Descartes*, edited by Leiden mathematican Frans van Schooten (1615–1660): 'Epistola prima de reductione aequationum' (on the factorization of polynomial equations up to the sixth degree); 'Epistola secunda, de maximis et minimis' (conceiving of a simplification of Descartes's method of constructing normals and including 'Hudde's rules', on two properties of polynomial roots).

> that was presented to the lords Burgomasters (that is what those in the church council are claiming).[91]

As a result, the Burgomasters of the Delft *Vroedschap* took the decision on 12 June 1666, to appoint the orthodox faction's favourite, pastor Westerneyn, as minister at Voorburg.

The first ever known reaction by church officials to the publication of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was recorded, four years later, in the 1670 resolutions of the 'grote' *Kerkenraad* of the town of Utrecht. Those same acts provide a *terminus post quem*, specifying when the book first hit the streets of Utrecht, Amsterdam, and other Dutch towns.[92] With historical certainty, from the Utrecht proceedings it can be inferred Spinoza's treatise must have been launched before 8 April 1670. For on the latter date the Voetian church council's acts report the following:

> Also a certain profane and blasphemous book has been issued, entitled 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' on the liberty to philosophise in a republic. The [acting] officers are to request the lords Burgomasters appropriate measures should be taken against the aforesaid book.[93]

In other words, the above report indicates copies of Spinoza's treatise had been first sold during the months of January, February, or March 1670. The consistory's acts reported three days later, on 11 April 1670, that the acting officers had spoken to the Utrecht Burgomasters Jacob van der Dussen and Johan van Mansveld. They had promised them to discuss the matter with the town's overall liberal and pro-Cartesian *Vroedschap*. Neither the Burgomasters' reaction and the *Vroedschap*'s response nor the outcome of the *Kerkenraad*'s request is further documented.

Another key source, a work called *Burmannorum pietas* and published thirty years after the first edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had hit the streets, provides additional evidence to help date the treatise's publication far more accurately.[94] Frans Burman (II), a Cocceian minister from Brielle (Province of South Holland), in this bulky work (1700) underlined and defended the virtue and incomparable reputation of his deceased father, the renowned Cocceio-Cartesian theologian Frans Burman (I).[95] Burman *père*, son-in-law of the Leiden Cartesian theologian and Descartes's friend Abraham Heidanus (1597–1678), was erstwhile rector of Utrecht University. He was one of the kingpins of an influential Cartesian Utrecht network, ironically dubbed the *Collegie der Scavanten* ('College of Savants') by its Voetian rivals who considered the scholarly group a Cartesian cabal.[96]

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91 'Nota. Dat den voors Daniel Tijdeman in sijn gehuijrde huijsinge heeft bij hem inwoonen een A.... Spinosa van joodsche ouders gebooren, sijnde nu (soo geseijt wert) een atheist off die met alle Religen spot & immers een schadelijck instrument in deze republijcque, soo veele geleerde mannen ende predicanten onder andere doms. Lantman ende [word crossed out] die hem kennen, connen getuijgen, die de Requeste, aende heeren Burgemren gepresenteert (soo die van de kerckenraet presumeren) geschreven heeft' ('Lijste van de Naemen der heeren Ingelanden ende principale inwoonders tot Voorburch, ende Lidmaten der gereformeerde gemeijnte Jesu Christi'). Original document consulted and transcibed by Steenbakkers (Erfgoed Archief Delft, 'Inventaris van het oud-archief der stad Delft, eerste afdeling 1246–1795', 'Voorburg', ms. 'Stukken betreffende het beroepen van predikanten te Voorburg', 1666, inv. no. 1597, fol. 2v). Also quoted in: Johannes van Vloten, *B. de Spinoza, naar leven en werken, in verband met zijnen en onzen tijd* (Schiedam: Roelants, 1871), Annex 1, p. 260.

92 The 'grote' *Kerkenraad* (three ministers, six elders) dealt with diaconal matters. A 'bijzondere' (special) consistory was also in function, but this council treated mostly matters of pastoral care. Utrecht also had a 'small' consistory including nine deacons. The Cartesian physician Lambertus van Velthuysen*, a correspondent of Spinoza and critic of the *TTP*, was the political officer who sat in the consistory to represent the Utrecht *Vroedschap* until 1674, when he was removed from office after the disbandment of the city's old magistracy (Gootjes, 'The *Collegie der Sçavanten*', pp. 166–167).

93 'Alsoo seecker profaen, en Godslasterlyck boeck uytgekomen is, geintituleert Tractatus theologico-politicus de libertate philosophandi in republica, sullen de Heeren Burgemeesteren door directores werden versocht, dat behoorlycke voorsieningen tegen 't voorschreven boeck magh werden gedaen.' (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 287, no. 88). Acting officers were Lambertus Sanderus (*c.*1625–1672) and Cornelis van der Vliet (1628?–1683). Cf.: Gootjes, 'The First Orchestrated Attack', p. 26.

94 Burman (II), *Burmannorum pietas*. Burman* *fils* composed the work in early July 1700.

95 Burman* *père*'s library (I) came to the auction rooms on 26 March 1680: *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae d. Francisci Burmanni ... quae auctione distrahetur in aedibus Felicis Lopez ... 26 Martii 1680* (Leiden: 1680). The catalogue lists copies of the *PP*/*CM* (no. 368) and (no. 405) the *TTP* ('Libri in quarto'). It also lists (no. 405) two refutations of the *TTP*: Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*; Bredenburg*, *Enervatio*. The latter work was attacked by Isaac Orobio de Castro (*c.*1617–1687), the only known Sephardic detractor of the *TTP*, in: *Certamen philosophicum propugnatae veritatis divinae et naturalis: Adversus J.B. principia*, ... (Amsterdam, 1684). Burman *père* and Graevius* edited Van Mansveld's chapter-by-chapter retort and, through the help of Walloon pastor Ludovicus Wolzogen*, they had it published by Abraham Wolfgank* in Amsterdam. For Orobio de Castro: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, col. 1082. Burman (II): BL.

96 Johannes Georgius Graevius* wrote (29 April 167[4]) to Heinsius* the Elder that in the *Collegie* they discussed classical literature, watched dissections 'of the principal parts of the body, such as the heart, the eye, the ears, the spleen, and others', and debated new books 'about the causes of natural things or other matters'. Cf.: Pieter Burman (ed.), *Sylloges epistolarum a viris illustribus*

According to *Het Collegie der Scavanten van Utrecht*, a Voetian anti-*Collegie* pamphlet published in 1674, the network was

> … a Cartesian and Wittian college [founded] to eradicate the true godly and devout lovers of Church and Prince, and to promote [instead] the Cartesian philosophy together with its other related oddities.[97]

Frans Burman *fils* in *Burmannorum pietas* reversed a series of persistent accusations that in his works and talks his father would have expressed sympathy for Spinoza's doctrines.[98] The Brielle pastor especially crossed swords with the Arminian theologian Philippus van Limborch.[99] In *Theologia christiana*, a compendium of Arminian theology published in 1686, the latter Amsterdam theologian had publicly condemned Spinoza. More particularly, in this work he had also accused the late Frans Burman *père* (died in 1679) of being a disguised admirer of Spinoza's philosophy.[100] Van Limborch in *Theologia* had also boldly claimed the Utrecht professor had encouraged in his theological writings all of his students to read the New Philosophy of Descartes.[101] To this he also added that Burman, in his two-volume *Synopsis theologiae* (1671–1672), had intentionally mixed up camouflaged terminology from Spinoza's own *Cogitata metaphysica*, specifically in the portion on God's divine omnipotence, and without any critical judgement.[102]

That Burman *fils* retaliated with his exoneration *Burmannorum pietas* was fully plain and understandable. For, linking in print his father Frans Burman (I), Van Limborch's fellow theologian and a scholar with a formidable scholarly reputation, with Spinoza's philosophy was in those days a foul public humiliation. The connection was, arguably, tantamount to serious charges of immorality and atheism. Back then, the allegation of being an atheist would certainly call to mind psalm 14:1 (To the chief Musician, A Psalm of David) in which atheists are explicitly labelled as corrupted fools acting horribly. The verse reads:

> The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominable works, there is none that doeth good.

About the publication date of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Frans Burman (II) claimed in *Burmannorum pietas* that, by his account, the book

> … must have been printed either at the end of 1669 or the beginning of 1670, because Spinoza's book, as the title-page says and as you [Van Limborch] point out [in *Theologia*], appeared in the year 1670 at the latest.[103]

In addition, Burman (II) put forward that Frans Burman *père* had first read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in April 1670 and, more importantly, he also underlined that by that time his father knew too well Spinoza was the book's concealed author. Burman *père*, according to *Burmannorum pietas*, had in the month May written an abstract of a series of offensive arguments upheld in Spinoza's treatise.[104] Subsequently, when referring to the printing (1669/1670) of his father's *Synopsis*, Burman *fils* quotes from Burman *père*'s defence portions from a (now-lost) diary once kept by the Utrecht theology professor:

> [Burman *fils*:] … I will also show in which month this passage from the 'Synopsis' was being printed and in which month my father had first read the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' itself.[105]
> [Quotation by Burman *fils* from the entry in the lost diary of Burman *père*:] *April* [1670]. *Spinoza's*

scriptarum, … (5 vols., Leiden: 1727), vol. 4, pp. 489–490; Gootjes, 'The *Collegie der Sçavanten*', pp. 159 and 168, and passim. The term *Collegie* was first introduced in: anon., *Het Collegie der Scavanten van Utrecht. Behelsende een samenspraeck tusschen een Hollander en een Utrechts proponent* (n. pl. [Utrecht]: 1674).

97 '… een Cartesiaens en Wits Collegie, om de ware Godsalige, en vrome Liefhebbers van Kerk en Prins uyt te roeyen; en de Cartesiaensche Philosophie met de resterende aenhangende Nieuwigheden voor te setten.' (anon., *Het Collegie*, sig. A2^{r-v}).

98 The philologian Pieter Burman (1713–1778) was the son of Frans Burman* *fils*. He was also accused of voicing sympathy for Spinoza's philosophy.

99 Van Limborch: BL.

100 Philippus van Limborch*, *Theologia christiana. Ad praxin pietatis ac promotionem pacis christianae unice directa* (Amsterdam: 1686), pp. 99–100, bk 2, ch. 15, 6 ('ipsis Spinoza de Benedicti verbis in *Cogitatis Metaphycisis* cap. IX.') and 8 ('Burmannus cum Spinoza sentit … Ira enim ipsis Spinozae verbis').

101 Van Bunge, etc., *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 191.

102 Frans Burman* (I), *Synopsis theologiae, & speciatim oeconomiae foederum Dei* … (Utrecht: 1671–2), esp. vol. 1, ch. 25, p. 9 (on God's omnipotence). *See*: Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 30.

103 '… adeoque aut exeunte anno LXIX, aut ineunte LXX typis describi debuerit, cum Spinozae liber anno illo LXX, ut titulus fert, & a te allegatur, demum prodierit.' (Burman* [II], *Burmannorum pietas*, p. 204). Also quoted in Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 11 and 28, but misinterpreted.

104 Burman* (II), *Burmannorum pietas*, p. 211.

105 '… menses etiam ostendam, quibus & hic Synopseos locus sub prelo fuit, & Tractatus ipse Theol. Pol. a Patre primum est lectus.' (ibid., p. 210).

> *'Tractatus theologico-politicus' on the liberty to philosophize*; [Burman *fils*:] (sc. read, for my father usually did not add that).[106]
>
> [Burman *fils* about his father's *Synopsis*:] The 'Synopsis' went to the printing press on 3 December 1669. The passage on the Holy Trinity, which follows immediately upon the section about God in general, where this chapter on God's omnipotence occurs, was put on the press still in February; but my father did not read the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' until two months later, viz. in April [1670].[107]

Van Limborch in *Theologia* had claimed the latter passage was clearly influenced by Spinoza's treatise. In other words, according to *Burmannorum pietas*, when putting to press the portion in the *Synopsis* on the Holy Trinity in February 1670 Frans Burman (1) was still fully unaware of Spinoza's notions about God; according to his diary, the Utrecht theologian first read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* only two months later.

The quarrel about alleged sympathies of Burman *père* for Spinoza's writings was briefly revived years later. One of his other sons, the Utrecht professor of history and eloquence Pieter Burman the Elder (1668–1741), became involved in a legal case involving a young girl who had accused the scholar of making her pregnant. This allegation was also spread in a clandestinely published (1709) mock catalogue of Pieter Burman *fils*'s private library, listing both imaginary and existing writings, including withering titles, mentioning prostitution, adultery, and venereal diseases. One of those titles listed in this catalogue concerns 'B.d.S. Opera posthuma, with annotations of father Frans'.[108] Pieter Burman's anonymous pesterer, clearly hinting to those prior accusations of Frans Burman *père*'s alleged admiration for Spinoza's philosophy, put two and two together: like father, like son, thus coupling the former's disguised practical atheism with the latter's sexual immorality.

The theologian Frans Burman (1), formerly a sub-regent of the Leiden *Statencollege* (an institution for theology students), had been a permanent member of the Dutch Reformed church council of Utrecht since his appointment as theology professor in 1662, but because of his liberal Cartesian preferences the college's dignitaries eyed him with suspicion.[109] How and by whom the Utrecht *Kerkenraad* was informed about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is not documented, but the aforementioned church council's acts of 8 April 1670 prove the consistory was actively seeking the Utrecht Burgomasters' help to take measures against the book. It seems hard to believe Burman tipped off the *Kerkenraad* since his fellow dignitaries mistrusted him.

The Utrecht Cartesians, Burman *père* in particular, were not aiming to have banned Spinoza's treatise, a book looming large over their debates and studies and confirming their worst fears. Instead they were focused at demolishing the book's arguments with theological counterarguments. Historical documents only recently unearthed convincingly prove that, in the spring of 1670, for this reason Frans Burman (1) and other like-minded Cartesians in the Utrecht *Collegie* organized the first orchestrated scholarly attack on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[110] During this veritable campaign, they managed to recruit a 24-year-old Reformed German theologian by the name of Johannes Melchioris who they thought was capable enough to attack Spinoza and smash his theological notions on their behalf.

106 ['*Aprili.*'] '*Spinozae Tractatus Theologico-Politicus de libertate Philosophandi. Lectus* scil: non enim solebat hoc Pater addere.' (ibid., p. 211).

107 'Synopsis prelo est data die 3. Decemb. 1699 [misprinting '1669']. Locus de S.S. Trinitate, qui locum de Deo in genere, ubi caput hoc de Dei Omnipotentia occurrit, immediate subsequitur, prelo est subjectus mense adhuc Februario, Tractatum vero Theologico-Politicum non legit Pater, nisi post bimestre spatium, mense scilicet Aprili.' (ibid., p. 212). The reaction by Van Limborch* to *Burmannorum pietas* is contained in a letter to John Locke* of 11 May 1700: 'For they [Burman *fils* and a fellow theologian] cannot erase their father's words, or Spinoza's, from published books; or deny that the same words are to be read in Spinoza and in their father's *Synopsis theologiae*. It is a question of fact: when the evidence from both authors is produced it cannot be called in question. I can disregard such writings with the greatest calmness of mind.' (John Locke, *Correspondence*, E.S. de Beer [ed.] [8 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976–89], vol. 7, p. 78). About two months later, after reading *Burmannorum pietas*, Locke called *Burmannorum pietas* 'bulky, wordy, abusive, stuffed with declamation and invective'.

108 'B:D:S. Opera posthuma, cum Annotationibus Patris Francisci.' (*Catalogus van eenige raare, door veel moeyten bij een gezogte schoone boeken en manuscripten*;, … [n. pl. (Utrecht): 1709], sig. B^{v}, no. 139).

109 The 1662 appointment of Burman* *père* was a thorn in the side of the orthodox Utrecht theologian Voetius and his coterie. Cf.: Frits G.M. Broeyer, 'Franciscus Burman, een collega met verdachte denkbeelden', in Aart de Groot and Otto J. de Jong (eds.), *Vier eeuwen theologie in Utrecht: bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de theologische faculteit aan de Universiteit Utrecht* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 2001), pp. 109–119, at pp. 110–111; Piet Steenbakkers, Jetze Touber, and Jeroen M.M. van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook (1678–1679) on Spinoza, Beverland, Politics, the Bible and Sex', *Lias*, 38 (2011), pp. 225–365; Gootjes, 'The First Orchestrated Attack'.

110 This is one of the key conclusions of the 'Spinoza's Web' project (2014–2017).

Melchioris, a pastor by then working in Frechen (close to Cologne), had studied theology in Groningen under supervision of Samuel Maresius (1599–1673) and Jacob Alting, and in Leiden under Johannes Coccejus. So, apparently, he had a solid repute in Jewish, Hebrew, and Hebraic studies.[111] Why members of the Utrecht *Collegie* refrained themselves from refuting Spinoza's treatise seems something of an unsolved mystery. Perhaps, they considered it beneath them to start a debate with a self-styled radical philosopher with Jewish roots. Being all adherents of Descartes, they may also have been anxious of becoming entangled in a public row over the treatise or the object of accusations of atheism themselves, which also happened to their colleague Frans Burman (1).

Between June and early September 1670, Melchioris under the supervision of the Utrecht Cartesian network composed a powerful theological retort to the Spinoza's treatise. Frans Burman (1) and the professor of history and rhetoric Johannes Georgius Graevius (acting as a mouthpiece for the former) in particular were conniving central actors in monitoring Melchioris's riposte and in putting to press his rejoinder *Epistola ad amicum*.[112] Because of his *Epistola ad amicum*, Melchioris is therefore to be credited as the first public detractor in print of Spinoza's theological notions and biblical criticism.[113] In Melchioris's retort, the Dutch philosopher is only referred to as 'Xinospa' and 'Zinospa', the suggestion of Graevius. In mid-May 1671, *Epistola ad amicum* was semi-anonymously published in Utrecht, by 'J.M. V.D.M.' (patently standing for 'Johannis Melchioris, verbi divini minister'). A revised edition was issued one year later.[114]

In late July 1673, Spinoza travelled from The Hague (still under Dutch command) to Utrecht. There, he met up with several members of the *Collegie*, including in any case Graevius, but possibly also the Utrecht Cartesian physician and *Vroedschap* member Lambertus van Velthuysen. Spinoza in his luggage had a now-lost 'sauvegarde' (a letter of safe conduct, dated and signed) by the French general Louis II de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1621–1686), who resided in Utrecht from 31 April to 25 July 1673. Perhaps, he also had another passport (lost), signed by the new Dutch Stadholder William III, for a safe return to The Hague. There is the strong likelihood the occasion has been a plan hatched by *Collegie* members who were eager to discuss with Spinoza the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in private.[115] In the long run, the wide brunt of the *Collegie*'s attack on the latter treatise may very well have led to the philosopher's later decision, taken in the late summer or

111 In a letter of 5 July 1670, Burman* *père* asked Alting* to join their ranks: 'For annihilating this work I do not know of anyone apart from you whose gift it is to be so able when it comes to the divine Word. Since the study of the Word adorns you with such honour, I wish that you in turn would be mindful of the honour of the Word against those blasphemies!' ('Quem qui extra te perimat, nullum novi, cujus illud est χάφισμα in verbo Divino adeo potentem esse: cujus studium cum tanto te condecoraverit honore, utinam vicissim illius honori contra istas blasphemias consulas!'; Burman* [II], *Burmannorum pietas*, p. 229). Translated and quoted in: Gootjes, 'The First Orchestrated Attack', p. 36. Maresius* in *Vindiciae dissertationis suae nuperae de abusu philosophiae Cartesianae, …* (Groningen: 1670) reacted to the *TTP* and claimed (p. 4) Spinoza was its very author ('in Spinosa Exjudaeo-blasphemo & formali Atheo, authore *tractatus Theologici-politici pro libertate philosophandi*'). With this claim, Maresius was the first disclosing in print that Spinoza had composed the treatise. *Vindiciae* was a rejoinder to a Cartesian attack by 'Petrus ab Andlo' on: Maresius, *De abusu*. Melchioris/Coccejus: BL.

112 J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris*), *Epistola ad amicum, continens censuram. Libri, cui titulus*: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, *in quo demonstratur, &c.* (Utrecht: 1671). The *TTP* is listed in the auction catalogue of Graevius's reference library: *Catalogus bibliothecae luculentissimae, et libris rarissimis instructae, qua usus est, dum viveret Jo. Georgius Graevius, …* (Utrecht: n. d. [1703]), p. 25, no. 244.

113 Cf. also: Melchioris* to Graevius*, 11 September 1670 (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. Thott 1263 4º, fol. 1r). The letter was unearthed by Albert Gootjes: 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza: La correspondance de Johannes Bouwmeester et Johannes Georgius Graevius' (*Bulletin de Bibliographie spinoziste*, 38), *Archives de Philosophie*, 79 (2016), pp. 817–819. *See*: id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack', p. 32.

114 *Religio ejusque natura et principium: sive Joh. Melchioris V.D.M. Ad amicum epistola, qua ad examen revocatur anonymi Tractatus theologico politicus, …* (Utrecht: 1672). Cf.: Wiep van Bunge, 'On the Early Dutch Reception of the Tractatus theologico-politicus', *Studia Spinozana*, 5 (1989), pp. 225–251, at p. 226. Background: Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians: The 1673 Utrecht Visit', *Modern Intellectual History*, 16 (2018), pp. 1–27. Also: Touber, *Spinoza and Biblical Philology*, pp. 87–93.

115 An official invitation (unknown in what form), by Lieutenant Colonel Jean Baptiste Stouppe* (chief of one of the five Utrecht cantons during the French occupation in 1672–1673), was directed to Spinoza in The Hague, via Graevius* and Spinoza's close friend and confidant, Johannes Bouwmeester*. Stouppe issued the anonymous 1673 pamphlet *La Religion des Hollandois* (Chapter 2, n. 37), criticizing the Dutch authorities' religious identity and tolerance, mainly towards the *TTP* and its author. The work was the first public 'French' outcry against the *TTP*. Much of the Utrecht trip is still shrouded in mystery. Background: Jeroen M.M. van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar cum Celsissimo principe de Spinosa". New Perspectives on Spinoza's Trip to the French Army Headquarters in Utrecht in Late July 1673', *Intellectual History Review*, 25 (2015), pp. 147–165; Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack'. Graevius/Van Velthuysen/William III: BL.

autumn of 1675, to postpone the *Ethica*'s publication and keep a low profile for the remainder of his life.[116]

If indeed the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was put to press in late 1669, this would imply the publication date 1670 on the title-page of Spinoza's treatise was deliberately dated ahead (calendar-year dating); a practice not uncommon in the world of publishing. Whether the fictitious German-style imprint ('Hamburg', 'Henricus Künraht') was intentionally invented to put the book up for sale in 1670 for instance at Frankfurt am Main, at the popular German 'Fastenmesse' (a yearly book fair, starting on *Judica*, i.e., 27 April) is not known, but a distinct possibility.[117] The *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is however not listed in the official printed catalogue of the Frankfurt book fair held in early 1670.[118] As evinced by a letter of 3/13 October 1670, discussing the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and the identity of its hidden author ('scriptor innominatus'), few copies of it were however circulated during the Frankfurt 'Michaelismesse' (opening on St Michael's Day, i.e., 29 September).[119]

With respect to the remarkably swift and early distribution of the book in Germany, one might hazard a guess that Dutch students taking up courses at the Holy Roman Empire's universities perhaps brought along the first copies of Spinoza's treatise en route. Another possibility is that German retailers, such as those booksellers in the 'collegium rubrum' ('Red College') working in buildings of Leipzig University (with Jena University one of the German bastions of orthodox Lutheranism), acquired copies of the book in a way not known, selling these in their bookstalls to professors and their students.[120] This would explain why, Jacob Thomasius, a Leipzig professor of moral philosophy, rhetoric, and dialectic, already in the spring of 1670 reacted surprisingly quickly to the contents of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, spreading its controversial furore over Leipzig University and further afield.

On 8/18 May 1670, Thomasius in the academic oration 'Adversus anonymum, de libertate philosophandi' (his 'Programma') scolded the book's naturalist approach,

116 Cf.: Spinoza to Oldenburg*, > 1675.[07].22, Ep 68 (G 4/299): 'Just as I received your letter of 22 July, I set out for Amsterdam, intending to commit to the press the book I wrote to you about. While I was dealing with this, a rumor was spread everywhere that a certain book of mine about God was in the press, and that in it I tried to show that there is no God. Many people, indeed, accepted this rumor. As a result certain Theologians, perhaps the authors of the rumor, took the opportunity to complain about me to the Prince [of Orange] and the Magistrates. Moreover, the stupid Cartesians, because they are believed to favor me, try to remove that suspicion from themselves by constantly denouncing my opinions and writings everywhere. Even now they're still at it.' (CW, vol. 1, p. 459). Gootjes found archival evidence the Utrecht Walloon congregation's consistory instructed its acting officers (Elie Saurin and Pierre Rosa), on 22 August 1675 to table a complaint about Spinoza at the National Walloon Synod held at Kampen. Cf.: Utrecht, Het Utrechts Archief, 832: 'Waalse Hervormde Gemeente te Utrecht', Archief van de Kerkenraad: 'Besluiten en notulen' (1671–1739), 'Livres des actes du Consistoire de Église wallonne d'Utrecht', inv. no. 2, p. 10 (art. 6). Spinoza probably got word about this from Van Velthuysen*, who wrote a judgement of the *TTP* (to Jacob Ostens*, 1671.02.03, Ep 42) and in the late 1675 began exchanging letters with Spinoza. The latter's reply, debunking Van Velthuysens's accusation of atheism, came quickly (1675.[09–11].00, Ep 69). The 1675 Walloon complaint itself remained fruitless. Ostens owned the *PP*/*CM*, *TTP*, and several of its refutations: Jacobus J. Batelier*, *Vindiciae miraculorum, per quae divinae religionis & fidei christianae veritas olim confirmata fuit, adversus profanum auctorem Tractatus theologico-politici* (Amsterdam: 1673); Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*; Bredenburg*, *Enervatio*; Kuyper*, *Arcana*. Cf.: *Catalogus variorum ... librorum ... Jacobi Ostens ...* (Rotterdam: 1679), p. 8, no. 66, p. 7, no. 60, p. 8, no. 89, p. 25, no. 96, p. 8, no. 61, p. 7, no. 61, p. 6, no. 7.

117 Gustav Schwetschke (*Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis. Meß-Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Verein im Jahre 1765* [Halle: Schwetschke's Verlagshandlung, 1850], p. 134) lists seven Dutch booksellers presenting their books at the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs in 1670: Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), Hendrik and Dirk Boom, Casparus Commelin (1636–1693), Marcus Willemsz Doornick (1645–1676), Andreas Frisius (1659–1675), Johannes Ravesteyn (1645–1678), and Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge (with Johannes van Someren*). Rieuwertsz* *père* is not listed, but visiting Amsterdam book traders may have taken along copies of his newest books, too. For the Leipzig book fair (a centre of book distribution with a focus on Hebrew philology and other oriental languages): Augustinus H. Laeven, 'The Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and the History of the Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, etc. (eds.), *Le Magasin de l'univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade. Papers Presented at the International Colloquium, Held at Wassenaar, 5–7 July 1990* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 185–197. For the Frankfurt book fair: Alexander Dietz, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfürter Büchermesse, 1462–1792* (Frankfurt: R.T. Hauser, 1921); Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (4 vols., Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1908).

118 *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno M. DC. LXX.... Das ist: Verzeichnüß aller Bücher/so zu Franckfurt in der Oster-Meß Anno 1670, ...* (Frankfurt: 1670).

119 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, ms. '2° Codices Augustana', no. 407, fol. 129r (cf. Otto, *Spinozarezeption*, p. 19). The foregoing letter was dispatched by the Hessian Count Johann Christian von Boineburg*, politician, polymath, collector, and patron of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz*, to Gottlieb Spizel*, a pietist theologian at Augsburg. For the catalogue of the 'Michaelismesse': *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus, de anno MDCLXX.... Das ist: Verzeichnüß aller Bücher/so zu Franckfurt in der Herbst-Meß Anno 1670, ...* (Frankfurt: 1670).

120 Hans D. Gebauer, *Bücherauktionen in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1981), p. 63.

although without reversing the work's radical Bible criticism. His Leipzig lecture is considered the first public response to Spinoza's treatise known in academia, printed in a limited number of copies no longer extant. Thomasius's attack was republished two years later, in 1672.[121] In the latter year, his 'Programma' was annexed to another published harangue, called *Oratio panegyrica de praeposterea & impia libertate philosophandi, praesertim in religionis negotio*. This lecture was held on 30 June/10 July 1671 by Johann Conrad Dürr, a theologian and polyhistor lecturing at Altdorf (close to Nuremberg), the university where in 1667 Leibniz had taken out his doctoral degree in Law. Dürr in his *Oratio* also took issue to combat the *libertas philosophandi* advocated by Spinoza in the 'Anonymi Tractatu Theologico-politico'. He claimed 'a new Hannibal' was 'threaten[ing] our Gates' and quoted from the Dutch philosopher's treatise's Preface upholding that 'each one is the defender of his own freedom'.[122] Thomasius's Leipzig 'Programma' was reissued in 1693 in a collection of dissertations.[123]

In 1671, copies of the Latin quarto T.1 edition were apparently also in Switzerland for sale, as is shown by the *Mémoire de divers livres nouveaux et autres*, a catalogue of books in stock published that same year by the Genevan Huguenot booksellers and printers Jean Antoine and Samuel de Tournes. Another of their catalogues, the *Catalogus universalis*, published in the previous year, listed copies of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, too.[124] How many copies were conveyed from Amsterdam to Geneva and in what way the De Tournes brothers came into the possession of those copies is unfortunately not documented.

With further regard to the diffusion in Switzerland of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (and later also the *Opera posthuma*), the orthodox Calvinist theologian François Turrettini (1623–1687), prominent professor of *L'Académie de Genève*, was the first Swiss intellectual who noticed the rapid distribution among young students in Geneva. In 1674, he warned for the impact of the treatise's pernicious contents on the Reformed faith by remarking that

> … a certain pernicious treatise is seen in this town, the author of which is a Jew named Spinoza, [and it is] called 'Tractatus theologico Politico historicus', in quarto, and it is circulating through the hands of several [theology] students….[125]

Granted, in 1670 probably only a handful of German scholars (including Leibniz) were familiar with Jacob Thomasius's 'Programma', but word in Germany about Spinoza's treatise and its infamy spread rapidly. On [3 October] 1670, around the time Leibniz's patron Von Boineburg in a letter informed the Augsburg theologian Spizel about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Leibniz wrote to his former teacher and adviser Thomasius, informing him he had also read his 'Programma'. Decisively, he paired the treatise's cloaked author with Thomas Hobbes's philosophy and his *Leviathan*:

> I have recently seen a program from Leipzig, undoubtedly yours, in which you dealt with the intolerably immoral book 'On the Liberty to Philosophize' in the way it deserves. The author seems to follow not only the politics but also the religion of Hobbes, which the latter has outlined so amply in his 'Leviathan', a monstrous work, as even its title indicates. For Hobbes, in an entire chapter of 'Leviathan', has also sown the seeds of that very smart criticism to which this bold man subjects sacred Scripture.[126]

121 Thomasius*, 'Programma', sigs E4–F4.

122 Dürr*: *Actus*, sigs A4–D2^{r}: '… ecce novus imminent portis nostris Hannibal, ….'. The remark about Hannibal is at sig. A4^{v}. Quote from the *TTP*, Preface: G 3/11.16–18. The *TTP*'s disguised author is not mentioned.

123 Jacob Thomasius*, *Dissertationes LXIII. Varii argumenti magnam partem ad historiam philosophicam & ecclesiasticam pertinentes, antea a beato autore in Academia Lipsiensi intra quadraginta circiter annos per modum Programmatum separatis foliis publicatae*, Christian Thomasius (ed.) (Halle: 1693), no. L, pp. 571–581.

124 Maria-Cristina Pitassi, 'De la Censure à la refutation L'Académie de Genève', *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, 93 (1988), pp. 147–164, p. 149. The book catalogue's title is: *Mémoire de divers livres nouveaux et autres, receus de la Foire de Francfort Pasques 1671 par Ant. et Sam. De Tournes Marchands Libraires de Genève* (Geneva: 1671), p. 5. Although the catalogue suggests copies of the *TTP* were purchased by the De Tournes brothers at the Frankfurt Easter book fair of 1671, that year's official fair catalogue does not list the *TTP*. For the De Tournes brothers and the 1670 *Catalogus universalis*: Chapter 2, n. 95 and 96.

125 '… qu'un certain traitté pernicieu se void en cette Ville dont l'auteur est Juif nommé Spinosa intitule Tractatus theologico Politico historicus in 4o, qu'il court par les mains de quelques proposans; ….' (quoted in: Pitassi, 'De la Censure', p. 148, and passim). In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Turrettini wrote a brief refutation of Spinoza's system, too: id., 'Un Manuscrit genevois du XVIII^{e} siècle: La "Refutation du systeme de Spinosa par mr. Turrettini"', *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, 2 (1988), pp. 180–212 (with critical edition). For Turrettini: Gerrit Keizer, *François Turrettini: sa vie et ses œuvres et le consensus* (Kampen and Lausanne: J.A. Bos/G. Bridel, 1900).

126 'Vidi nuper programma Lipsiense, haud dubie tuum, quo libellum intolerabiliter licentiosum, de libertate philosophandi, pro eo ac merebatur, tractasti. Videtur auctor non tantum politicam, sed et religionem Hobbianam sectari, quam is in Leviathane

What can be inferred from this letter is that Leibniz, apparently through a copy of Thomasius's 'Programma', learned about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents while at the same time he was still unfamiliar with Spinoza's authorship. Nonetheless, in this period he had heard of the Dutch philosopher's scholarly reputation and even had many months before, on 20/30 April 1669, mentioned Spinoza in another letter to Thomasius, qualifying him as a loyal follower and expounder of Cartesian philosophy:

> Certainly, Clauberg, Spinoza, Heereboord, Tobias Andreae, [and] Henricus Regius have delivered nothing more but paraphrases from their leader, even if very learned.[127]

Notwithstanding the letter's reference to Spinoza as a true follower of Cartesianism, it is uncertain whether Leibniz had read Spinoza's 1663 geometric reworking of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' or studied the annexed 'Metaphysical Thoughts'.[128]

The first known historical document relaying details to Leibniz about the identity of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s concealed author was a letter by the aforementioned professor of history and rhetoric Johannes Georgius Graevius, involved in the Utrecht *Collegie*'s campaign to crush Spinoza's treatise. In a letter of 12/22 April 1671, Graevius informs Leibniz about the book, rigidly aligning it with the philosophy of Hobbes:

> The past year a most pestilent book was published, its title being 'Discursus theologico-politicus', which follows the way of Hobbes, but deviating from it often and far, it constituted a most unjust natural law and after having ruined the authority of the holy books, it opens very widely the window for atheism. It is being said that the author is a Jew named Spinoza, who formerly was excommunicated from the synagogue because of the monsters of his opinion, and this book is proscribed by the States. I reckon you have seen it; but if you have not seen it, I will make an effort it is conveyed to you.[129]

Leibniz had finished reading Spinoza's treatise shortly afterwards as is evinced by a letter he wrote to Graevius on 5 May 1671:

> P.S. I read Spinoza's book. I regret this learned man has apparently fallen so low. For the criticism he applies to sacred Scripture, Hobbes's 'Leviathan' laid the foundations, but it can often be shown at a glance that it is erroneous. This tends to the overthrow of the Christian religion, erected with the precious blood of martyrs and with so much sweat and vigilance. Could but someone with an erudition like that of Spinoza but committed to the Christian cause be moved to refute his many paralogisms, and his abuse of eastern letters[130]

suo, monstruoso, vel tituli indicio, opere sic satis delineavit. Nam et Criticae illius bellisimae, quam in scripturam sacram homo audax exercet, semina integro Leviathanis capite Hobbius iecit.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 2:1, p. 66, no. 29). '*Leviathanis* capite Hobbius': the specific text referred to by Leibniz concerns very likely: Hobbes*, *Leviathan*, part 3, ch. 33. *See*: id., *Leviathan*, Noel Malcolm (ed.) (3 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), vol. 3, pp. 586–609.

127 'Certe Claubergius, Spinoza, Heerboord, Tobias Andreae, Henricus Regius, nihil aliud quam Ducis sui paraphrastas, eruditos tamen, egerunt.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 6:2, p. 433, no. 54).

128 Ursula Goldenbaum, 'Leibniz's Fascination with Spinoza', in Brandon C. Look (ed.), *The Bloomsbury Companion to Leibniz* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 51–67, there at p. 56. As evinced by a letter of Leibniz* to Van Velthuysen* of 7 [June] 1671, the German polymath did not study the *PP*/*CM* seriously until spring 1671 at the latest. A copy of the *PP*/*CM* in Hanover (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Leibniz Marg. 31) contains Leibniz's personal notes (olim: MS IV, 309). Published in: Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza*, pp. 355–362, annex 19. *See* for Leibniz's reaction to the *TTP*: Mogens Lærke, *Leibniz lecteur de Spinoza. La génèse d'une opposition complexe* (Paris: Champion, 2008).

129 'Anno superiore prodiit hic liber pestilentissimus, cujus index est, *Discursus Theologico-Politicus*, qui et ipse Hobbesianam secutus viam, sed longius tamen saepissime ab ea etiam deflectens, injustissimum jus naturale constituit, et labefactata sacrorum voluminum auctoritate, latissimam αθεοτητι fenestram aperuit. Auctor ejus dicitur esse Iudaeus, nomine Spinosa, qui dudum *αποσυναγωγοζ* fuit propter opinionum monstra; sed et ejus liber eandem ob causam proscriptus est ab Ordinibus. Puto te vidisse, si non vidisti, operam dabo, ut ad te perferatur.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 1:1, p. 142, no. 83). The *TTP* had indeed been banned and confiscated by the *Vroedschap* of Leiden (16 May 1670). Utrecht followed suit (14–18 September 1671). Accordingly, in September 1671 the Provincial States of Utrecht also ordered to seize the *TTP* from local bookshops. Hobbes: BL.

130 'P.S. Spinozae librum legi. Doleo virum doctum, ut apparet, huc apparet, huc prolapsum. Criticae, quam in libros sacros exercet, fundamenta jecit Leviathan Hobbianus, sed quae saepe claudicare ad oculum ostendi potest. Tendunt haec ad eversionem Religionis Christianae sanguine martyrum pretioso tantisque sudoribus et vigiliis stabilitatae. Utinam excitari posset aliquis eruditione par Spinozae sed rei Christianae [in], qui crebros eius paralogismos suos et literarum orientalium abusum refutet.' (ibid., p. 148, no. 84).

Leibniz must have lent a copy of Spinoza's treatise but in October 1671 he got hold of his own which his trusted Frankfurt book dealer Johann David Zunner (*fl.*1665–1705) purchased for him.[131] The German scholar, in writing on 5 October ('New Style') Spinoza a letter on the safe subject of optics and books, probably sought to lure the Dutch philosopher into a discussion about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[132] Spinoza in a letter, composed on 9 November 1671 and sent to Leibniz in Mainz on 8 December, promised the German scholar a copy of his treatise had he not seen the book, undeniably a corroboration of his authorship.[133]

6 Synodal Complaints

In early 1671, because of the many hostile reactions to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Spinoza personally cancelled the treatise's Dutch rendition still in the press, through the intermediary of his Amsterdam friend Jarig Jelles.[134] During this same period, the synodal districts of North and South Holland, vitally concerned with the censorship of suspect books and pamphlets, also put into action the machinery to crush the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Moreover, they combined forces and filed a formal petition of complaint against the treatise with the Dutch Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt.[135] Both Provincial Synods argued the Old Testament exegesis by the book's author was morally offensive, misleading, and straightforwardly blasphemous. The North and South Holland Synods referred to the existing 1653 anti-Socinian legislation and demanded the States of Holland were obliged to suppress the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. After granting approval (16 March 1671) to bring their vociferous complaints to the attention of the provincial High Court of Holland, the latter appellate court advised (16 April 1671) the States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland to proscribe the book in an official placard. The seemingly unwilling republican (or 'Wittian') States, aiming to eschew dogmatism and refraining from imposing their will by use of force, discussed the High Court's judgement. On 24 April 1671, the States decided to install a special study committee telling and advise the States how the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was to be dealt with.

Nonetheless, because of a relatively tolerant political climate and an overall hesitation at that time to allow the Dutch Reformed Church the right to interfere with politics, the States of Holland took no measures against

131 On 18/28 March 1679, Zunner presented Leibniz* with an invoice, listing books, paper, and money advanced by him for dispatching his letters ('Postgeld'). The invoice lists for 'Herbstmeß, 13. 8^{bris}', (3/13 October 1671, presumably the day of purchase, during the Frankfurt 'Michaelismesse') the following: 'I Tractatus Theologico Politicus in 4., fl. 1, b. 7, fr. 2' (ibid., 1:2, p. 452, no. 436). For its price: 1 [golden] Rhenish *Gulden* or florin, 7 (silver) *Batzen* and 2 *Kreuzer*.

132 1671.10.05, Ep 45 (G 4/230–231). The Latin letter, signed 'your faithful admirer, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Doctor of Laws and Councillor of Mainz', was forwarded to Spinoza from Frankfurt as a paid enclosure in another letter, dispatched by an otherwise unknown sender. Leibniz's letter was sent to Amsterdam; the Dutch philosopher was however residing in The Hague. Leibniz* enclosed in it two printed (1671) or handwritten copies of his *Notitia opticae promotae* (Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 8:1, pp. 131–136, no. 14). He asked Spinoza to pass one copy to Johannes Hudde*. The latter did forward the copy to Hudde: 1671.11.09, Ep 46 (G 4/231–233). Spinoza's copy is not listed on the inventory of his private reference library (Offenberg, *Spinoza's Library*).

133 1671.11.09, Ep 46 (G 4/231–233). About four years later, Schuller* reminded (1675.11.14, Ep 70 [G 4/303.13–14]) Spinoza that on the TTP Leibniz* (residing in Paris since 19 March 1672) 'once wrote you a Letter'. Spinoza replied to Schuller (1675.11.18, Ep 72 [G 4/305.18 and 305.20]) he indeed remembered Leibniz from letters ('epistolas', 'epistolis'). A fully overlooked letter, from diplomat Johann Daniel Crampricht* von Kronefeld (at The Hague), adds new information suggesting Leibniz perhaps replied to Spinoza's letter of 9 November. On 4 April 1672, Crampricht sent a thank-you letter to Koblenz, to Johann Lincker von Lützenwick*, a friend and correspondent of Leibniz. In it, he informs Lincker he delivered a letter on his behalf to Spinoza in The Hague: 'I am, like you, delighted about your happy return to court, about which you provided me with novelties in your [letter] of 25 March, when sending me at the same time a letter for [mister] the scientist Spinoza. I have forwarded it to him and [I am] awaiting other duties to serve you.' ('Je me résjouy avec vous de vostre heureuse retour a la Cour, dont vous me donnés des nouvelles par la vostre du 25^{me}. Mars en m'envoyant en mesme temps une lettre pour Mons^{r}: le Médecin Spinosa. Ie l'ay bien addressé, et attend des autres employs pour vous servir.'; Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, ms. LBr. 563, fol. 7^{r}). *See*: Paul Ritter (ed.), etc., *Catalogue critique des manuscrits de Leibniz*, vol. 2: Fascicule II (Mars 1672–Novembre 1676) (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1986), p. 2, nos. 14–15 and p. 3, no. 33. Crampricht's letter was dispatched to Mainz and mentions Koblenz ('a Confluence') as place of its sending. Crampricht's reply proves Lincker had enclosed the letter for Spinoza in a (now-lost) letter of 25 March 1672. To put it differently, the enclosed letter was composed before the former date, possibly by Leibniz shortly before travelling to Paris. Tellingly, Leibniz sent his first letter to Spinoza (1671.10.05, Ep 45 [G 4/230–231]) also including in its address the word 'médecin' (scientist): 'À Monsieur | Monsieur SPINOSA | Medecin tres celebre | et philosophe tres profond | à Amsterdam'. The enclosed letter to Spinoza (< 1672.03.25*) is lost; text and contents are not known. Interestingly, Lincker also befriended Leibniz's patron Von Boineburg*, owner of the German scholar's T.1 copy of the TTP (*see*: T.1, *Copies examined*, T.1#3).

134 To Jelles*, 1671.02.17, Ep 44 (G 4/227a–229). *See* further: Chapter 7, *The Dutch Quarto Editions of 1693 and 1694*.

135 De Witt: BL.

the book whatsoever. Thus, the passive official political reaction to the treatise in Holland was shown only in the formal appointment of a handful of States' delegates and political officers of the provincial High Court charged to 'study the "Theological-Political Treatise"'. Measures to stop the book were however actively taken in another Dutch county, i.e., in the Province of Utrecht. In the town of Utrecht, by order of the county's Provincial States, copies of Spinoza's work were effectively seized ('tractatus theo. Politicus was opgehaelt') from the local bookshops in September 1671.[136]

A new attempt, undertaken in summer 1672 by acting officers of the synodal district of South Holland to bring new pressure on the Holland High Court to have it ban the 'Theological-Political Treatise', ended again without any significant outcome. This time the States of Holland had far more pressing concerns on their agenda rather than having long debates about a perhaps pernicious book in Latin: the threat of a new naval war, with France and England. In the run-up to the impending Franco-Dutch War, diplomatic relations with Britain had rapidly deteriorated and the States of Holland particularly focused their attention to monitor foreign politics. These complex developments and the outbreak of war led to the Dutch Republic being thrown into an unprecedented state of public and political turmoil and financial chaos. Banning the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* during the first years of the Franco-Dutch War was by far a matter of least importance for the administration of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland. Ill-founded speculation, suggesting Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt or allies in the Wittian faction of the Holland administration had deliberately frustrated or even blocked the political decision-making process of legally outlawing Spinoza's treatise, is not corroborated by any documentary evidence. Contacts (if any) between De Witt and Spinoza are not historically accounted for.

Thus, taken together, the Dutch Reformed Church was left empty-handed, whereas the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s radical notions could strew all over the European intellectual arena until at least 19 July 1674 when the provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland officially prohibited the book under anti-Socinian legislation and forced the work and its publisher, Jan Rieuwertsz *père* to go underground definitively.

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136 W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 298, no. 101.

FIRST QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIRST AND ONLY ISSUE (ILLUSTRATION 3.10–3.17)

T.1

Short Title

Anon. (Benedictus de Spinoza), *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1670.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künraht' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Printed in two varieties, or 'states': plain version and large-paper copy.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- Text decorated with simple initials.
- Contains list of errata ('Errata typographica') (same list in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4).
- Late 1669, or early 1670. Publication date in imprint: 'ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXX.'.
- Price of a copy of T.1 purchased (1671) by Johann David Zunner: 1 [golden] Rhenish *Gulden* or florin, 7 (silver) *Batzen* and 2 *Kreuzer*; Stolle/'Hallmann' bought an (unidentified) copy of the treatise (1703) for 1 Dutch guilder and 4 *stuivers* (cf. Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski, *Spinoza nach dreihundert Jahren* [Berlin: Dümmers Verlag, 1932], p. 56).

Key features for ready identification of T.1:

- Unique misprint, p. 60, l. 9: 'imperatorisu,qamvis' (remedied in all later quartos).
- Pagination, literal: misprint of 104 as '304' (two surviving T.1 copies in Dublin and Göteborg show stop-press correction on $N4^{v}$ [outer forme] of literal into 104).
- P. 104, ll. 6–7, correctly reading: '… (ut) fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut | iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare….' (lines swopped by typesetter of: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Additional identification features:

- Title-page, l. 3: broken upper beak of S in 'POLITICUS' (also in T.2/T.2a).
- Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johann:' (also in T.2/T.2a).

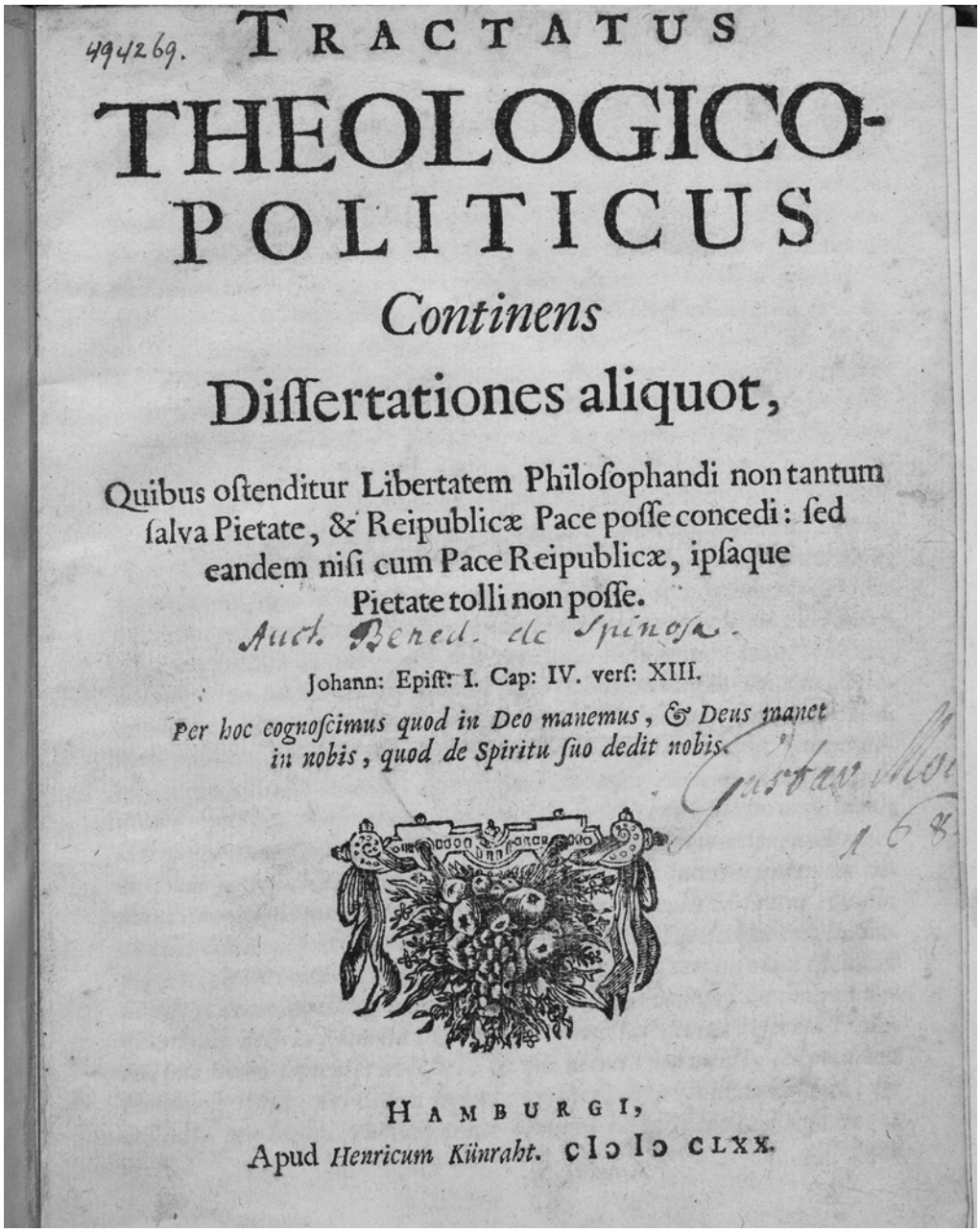
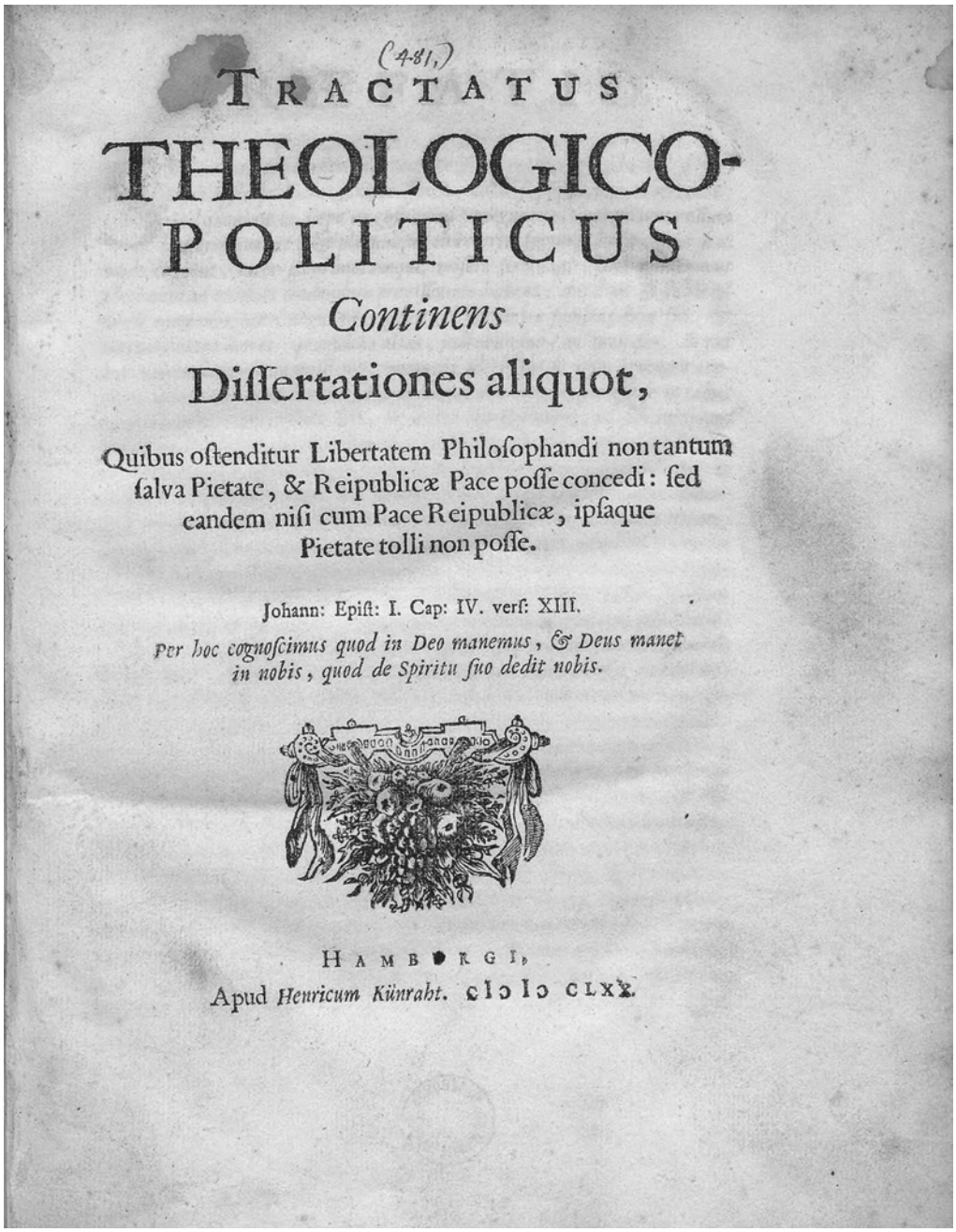


ILLUSTRATION 3.10 Title-page of the first Latin quarto edition T.1 (misprint of page number 104 as '304') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.



(481.)

TRACTATUS

THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS

Continens

Diſſertationes aliquot,

Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum ſalva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi: ſed eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipſaque Pietate tolli non poſſe.

Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.

Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

HAMBURGI,

Apud *Henricum Künraht.* cIↃ Ic CLXX.

ILLUSTRATION 3.11 Title-page of a special-paper copy of the first Latin quarto edition of T.1, with stop-press correction of page number 104.

– Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand (also in T.2/T.2a).
– Title-page, imprint: 'Künraht' with *ht* (also in T.2/T.2a).

Exemplar

Spinoza's autograph manuscript and/or an apograph, which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*)**

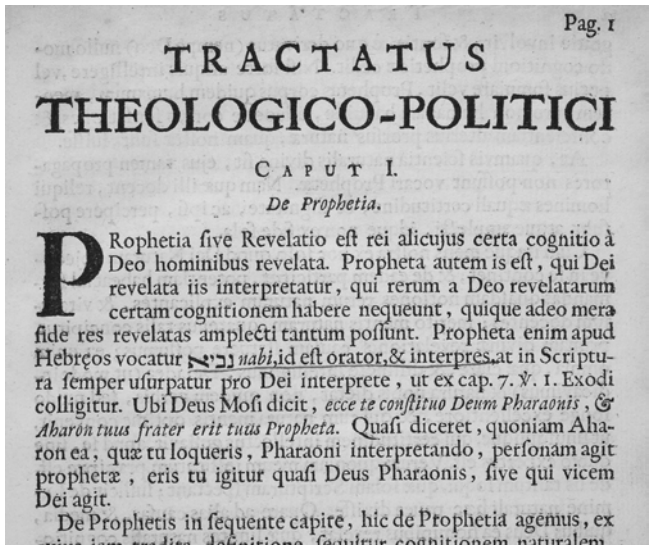
TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS (damaged S) | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot, | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ , ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johann: Epiſt: 1. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.* | (yoke ornament) | HAMBURGI, | Apud *Henricum Künraht.* CIↃIↃCLXX.

Language*(*s*) *and Typography

Latin text, printed bold unpointed Hebrew script, occasionally Dutch (Fraktur typeface, pp. 57 and 159). Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with superior letters) with occasionally-printed Hebrew and Dutch, explanatory footnotes keyed with typographical symbols (italics). Commonly 35 lines.

Old-style serif roman types from the office of the book's printer Israel de Paull: *c.*1663/8 'Hamburg' type specimen (several quires of main text, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry; cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 434), 94 mm 'Augustyn' (english) italic (1642 or *c.*1663/8, Bartholomeus or Reinier Voskens?) (ibid., p. 407); 11 mm 'Paragon' roman capitals (1652), 16 mm capitals 'Klein Canon' roman and italic (ibid., p. 435), 'Text' (great primer) roman and italic as well as probably 'Text' type from a Hebrew fount (2,5 mm mem) (ibid.). Dutch Fraktur typeface unidentified.

Sober use of printed diacritics (Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 21): diaeresis in many biblical names, circumflex in *â*. Without acute.



Pag. 1

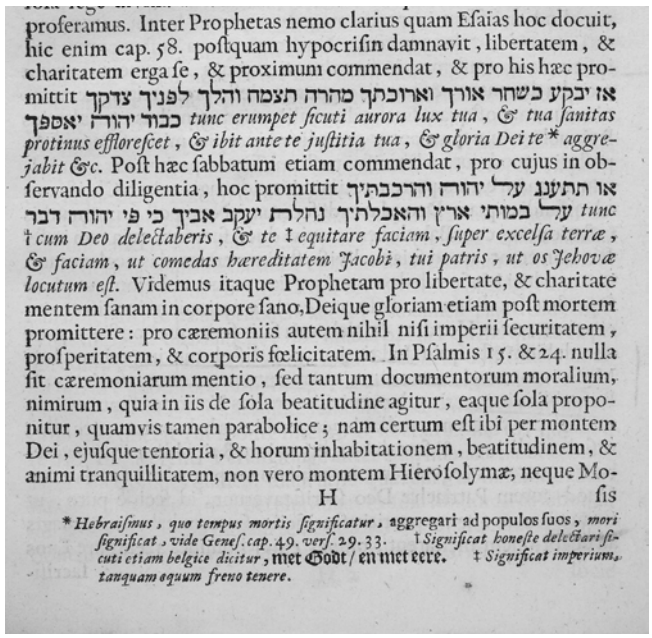
TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-POLITICI

CAPUT I.

De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum a Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeo mera fide res revelatas amplecti tantum poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt orator, & interpres, at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. 7. ℣. 1. Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Moſi dicit, *ecce te conſtituo Deum Pharaonis, & Aharon tuus frater erit tuus Propheta.* Quaſi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quæ tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, perſonam agit prophetæ, eris tu igitur quaſi Deus Pharaonis, ſive qui vicem Dei agit.

De Prophetis in ſequente capite, hic de Prophetia agemus, ex



proferamus. Inter Prophetas nemo clarius quam Eſaias hoc docuit, hic enim cap. 58. poſtquam hypocriſin damnavit, libertatem, & charitatem erga ſe, & proximum commendat, & pro his hæc promittit אז יבקע כשחר אורך וארוכתך מהרה תצמח והלך לפניך צדקך כבוד יהוה יאספך *tunc erumpet ſicuti aurora lux tua, & tua ſanitas protinus efflorefcet, & ibit ante te juſtitia tua, & gloria Dei te* * *aggrejabit &c.* Poſt hæc ſabbatum etiam commendat, pro cujus in obſervando diligentia, hoc promittit או תתענג על יהוה והרכבתיך על במותי ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך כי פי יהוה דבר *tunc* † *cum Deo delectaberis, & te* ‡ *equitare faciam, ſuper excelſa terræ, & faciam, ut comedas hæreditatem Jacobi, tui patris, ut os Jehovæ locutum eſt.* Videmus itaque Prophetam pro libertate, & charitate mentem ſanam in corpore ſano, Deique gloriam etiam poſt mortem promittere: pro cæremoniis autem nihil niſi imperii ſecuritatem, proſperitatem, & corporis fœlicitatem. In Pſalmis 15. & 24. nulla ſit cæremoniarum mentio, ſed tantum documentorum moralium, nimirum, quia in iis de ſola beatitudine agitur, eaque ſola proponitur, quamvis tamen parabolice; nam certum eſt ibi per montem Dei, ejuſque tentoria, & horum inhabitationem, beatitudinem, & animi tranquillitatem, non vero montem Hieroſolymæ, neque Mo-

H ſis

* *Hebraiſmus, quo tempus mortis ſignificatur,* aggregari ad populos ſuos, *mori ſignificat, vide Geneſ. cap. 49. verſ. 29. 33.* † *Significat honeſte delectari ſicuti etiam belgice dicitur,* met Godt / en met eere. ‡ *Significat imperium, tanquam equum freno tenere.*

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.12 AND 3.13 Pages 1 and 57 of the first quarto edition T.1.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– Title-page: broken upper beak in upper-case capital letter S in 'POLITICUS'.
– Sig. (*)4, l. 1: 'lumen' misprinted 'umen', letter *l* presumably jerked out from inner forme (*) by ink balls during last stage of printing, sort may also have been pushed out from the inner forme during last stage of print run by pressure of the press. Occurs in: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Phil 360; Haifa, University Library, B 3985 1670A; Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:0

184; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A 1667; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 340873 (all large-paper copies).
– P. 60, l. 9 (inner forme of H): 'imperatorisu,qamvis', misprint remedied in T.2/T.2a and in the later Latin quartos.
– P. 67: signature I2 missing (inner forme of I), perhaps badly inked or jerked out by ink balls, or pushed out the forme during last stage of print run by pressure of the press. Occurs in: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 340873.
– P. 77, ll. 1–2 (outer forme of K): letters of last two words 'in' and 'videntur' in first two sentences gradually shifted northeast in outer forme during printing and tilted skew ('hanging').

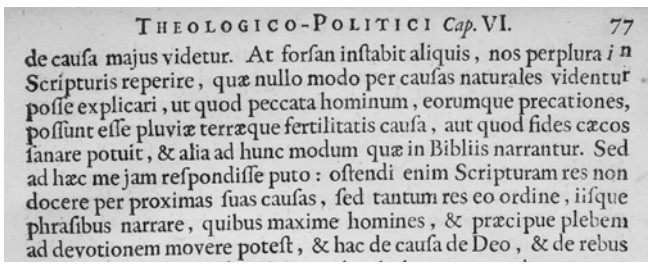

THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap.* VI. 77
de cauſa majus videtur. At forſan inſtabit aliquis, nos perplura *i n* Scripturis reperire, quæ nullo modo per cauſas naturales videntur poſſe explicari, ut quod peccata hominum, eorumque precationes, poſſunt eſſe pluviæ terræque fertilitatis cauſa, aut quod fides cæcos ſanare potuit, & alia ad hunc modum quæ in Bibliis narrantur. Sed ad hæc me jam reſpondiſſe puto: oſtendi enim Scripturam res non docere per proximas ſuas cauſas, ſed tantum res eo ordine, iiſque phraſibus narrare, quibus maxime homines, & præcipue plebem ad devotionem movere poteſt, & hac de cauſa de Deo, & de rebus

ILLUSTRATION 3.14 Hanging sorts in T.1 in the last two words of the first two sentences of p. 77.

Occurs in: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Phil 360; Haifa, University Library, B 3985 1670A; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A 1667 (letters in ll. 3 and 4 have also shifted); Kanawaga, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/S; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 340873 (letters in ll. 3 and 4 also 'hanging'); Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 27 J 000249, adl.7; The Hague, KB, 341 A 33; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.1.O.4. These foregoing copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production process.
– P. 79 (page number): numeral 9 printed beneath 7 (hanging, inner forme of K).
– P. 104 (page number): 104 misnumbered as '304' (outer forme of N).
– P. 183 (page number): 183 badly typeset (far too much spacing) and/or badly inked/printed: looks like '8 3', but a trace of Arabic numeral 1 is still visible (inner forme of Z).

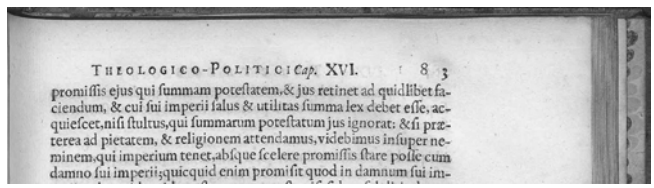

THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap.* XVI. 8 3
promiſſis ejus qui ſummam poteſtatem, & jus retinet ad quidlibet faciendum, & cui ſui imperii ſalus & utilitas ſumma lex debet eſſe, acquieſceet, niſi ſtultus, qui ſummarum poteſtatum jus ignorat: & ſi præterea ad pietatem, & religionem attendamus, videbimus inſuper neminem qui imperium tenet, abſque ſcelere promiſſis ſtare poſſe cum damno ſui imperii; quicquid enim promiſit quod in damnum ſui im-

ILLUSTRATION 3.15 Misprint of page number 183 in T.1.

Occurs in: Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Phil 360; Coimbra, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21 A; Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:o 184; Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A 1667; Haifa, University Library, B 3985 1670A; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 340873.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts
167004 – a1 (*)2 $homine : a2 (**) apitis$,
167004 – b1 A u$ce : b2 Gg N$I

Collation
4°: (*)⁴ (**)² A–Z⁴ Aa–Ff⁴ Gg² [$3 (–(*)), (**) $2]
124 leaves = pp. [*12*] 1–233 [*3*]

Collation Variant
Stop-press correction on N4ᵛ (outer forme): page number 104 corrected to '104' (instead of '304'). Occurs in: Dublin, National Library of Ireland, LO 12841 (plain version); Göteborg, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:o 184 (large-paper copy).

Direction Line
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines
Running headlines of Preface and list of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin: PRÆFATIO.; INDEX CAPITUM.

Running headlines in main work in a combination of larger upper-case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italic type): TRACTATUS (verso), THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap.* I. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers).

Contents

(*)ʳ	(title-page)
(*)ᵛ	(blank)
(*)2ʳ–(**)ᵛ	PRAEFATIO.

(**)2r–(**)2v INDEX CAPITUM. (table of contents, two-page list indicating twenty chapters)

Ar–B4r TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI. Caput i. *De Prophetia.*

B4r–D3v Caput ii. *De Prophetis.*

D3v–F2r Caput iii. *De Hebraeorum vocatione. Et an donum Propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.*

F2r–G3v Caput iv. *De Lege Divina.*

G4r–Iv Caput v. *De Ratione, cur caeremoniae institutae fuerint, & de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione, & quibus ea necessaria sit.*

I2r–Lv Caput vi. *De Miraculis.*

L2r–N4r Caput vii. *De Interpretatione Scripturae.*

N4r–Pv Caput viii. *In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon & libros Iosuae, Iudicum, Rut, Samuëlis & Regum non esse autographa. Deinde inquiritur an eorum omnium Scriptores plures fuerint, an unus tantum, & quinam.*

P2r–Q4r Caput ix. *De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur, nempe an Hesdras iis ultimam manum imposuerit: & deinde utrum notae marginales, quae in Hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur, variae fuerint lectiones.*

Q4r–Sr Caput x. *Reliqui Veteris Testamenti Libri eodem modo quo superiores examinantur.*

Sr–S4v Caput xi. *Inquiritur an Apostoli Epistolas suas tanquam Apostoli & Prophetae; an vero tanquam Doctores scripserint. Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur.*

S4v–T4v Caput xii. *De vero Legis divinae syngrapho, & qua ratione Scriptura Sacra vocatur, & qua ratione Verbum Dei & denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet, incorruptam ad nos pervenisse.*

Vr–V3v Caput xiii. *Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere, nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere; nec de divina Naturâ aliud docere, quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt.*

V4r–X3v Caput xiv. *Quid sit fides, quinam fideles, fidei fundamenta determinantur, & ipsa a Philosophia tandem separatur.*

X3v–Y3v Caput xv. *Nec Theologiam Rationi, nec Rationem Theologiae ancillari; ostenditur & ratio, qua nobis S. Scripturae authoritatem persuademus.*

Y4r–Aav Caput xvi. *De Reipublicae Fundamentis; de jure uniuscujusque naturali & civili; deque Summarum Potestatum Iure.*

Aa2r–Cc4r Caput xvii. *Ostenditur neminem omnia in Summam Potestatem transferre posse, nec esse necesse: De Republica Hebraeorum, qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem antequam Reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia: & denique de causis cur Respublica divina interire, & vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit.*

Cc4r–Dd3v Caput xviii. *Ex Hebraeorum Republica, & historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.*

Dd3v–Ee4v Caput xix. *Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino esse, & Religionis cultum externum Reipublicae paci accomodari debere, si recte Deo obtemperare velimus.*

Ffr–Ggr Caput xx. *Ostenditur, in Libera Republica unicuique & sentire, quae velit, & quae sentiat dicere licere.*[137]

Ggv Errata Typographica sic corrigenda. (thirteen corrections, for pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 49, 83, 95 [2×], 121, 124, 135, 149 [2×])

Ornament on Title-Page

Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 36×48 mm. The T.1 vignette occurs on title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5); *Opera posthuma*; and *De nagelate schriften*. The popular vignette also decorates several others works printed by Rieuwertsz *père*.

The yoke ornament can be found on the title-pages of many other works produced by predominantly late-seventeenth-century Amsterdam publishers. By Jan Rieuwertsz *père*:

- A.T.V.D. (Antonius van Dale), *Boere-praetje tusschen vijf persoonen. Een huyschman, out Vlamingh, Remonstrant, Waterlander en Collegiant, …* (Amsterdam: 1664).
- Johan A. van Mandelso and Adam Olearius, *Beschryvingh van de gedenkwaerdige zee- en landt-reyze, deur Persien naar Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam: J. Hendriksz and J. Rieuwertsz *père*, 1658).
- *De reizen van Fernando Mendez Pinto, …* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père* and J. Hendriksz, 1653).

A selective list of books issued by other most Amsterdam publishers with the large yoke vignette gracing its title-pages:

- Anon., *Bruilofts eer-gaef aan d. Nicolaus Beets, …, en Anna van Wassen* (Amsterdam: 1659 [*printer*: G. à Roy]).

137 Allusion to: Tacitus, *Historiae*, 1,i,4. Cf. G 3/12.247.

– Anon., *De vergelyking, ter bruilofte van Isaak Keitema met Katharina Rooleeuw* (Amsterdam: D. Boeteman, 1692).
– Anon., *Den philosopherenden boer, eerste deel. Handelende van de dwalingen der hedendaagse christenen, philosophen, Cartesianen en Quakers, &., …* (Amsterdam: 1677 [second revised edition]).
– Anon., *Klucht van de ceyterse juffers, …* (Amsterdam: 1674).
– Anon., *Klucht van den pasquil-maecker voor den duyvel* (Amsterdam: G. Swyger, 1674).
– Anon., *Kort begrip des redenkavelings, …* (Amsterdam: G. Willem, 1649).
– Anon., *Octroy van de Purmer, … aengaende de kavelinge der gronden* (Amsterdam: 1683 [*printer*: H. Aeltsz, work also has large initial D employed in *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der Wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige Gedachten*]).
– Anon., *Pampire wereld* (Amsterdam: widow of J. Jacobsz Schipper, 1681).
– Anon., *Politisch discours, … van de polygamia, …* (Freiburg [Amsterdam?]: 1675).
– Anon., *Topographia galliae, dat is, een algemeene en naukeurige lant- en plaetsbeschrijvinge van het machtige koninckrijck Vrankryck, …* (Amsterdam: C. Merian, vols. 1 [1660], 2 [1661], and 4 [1663], [*printer*: widow of J. Broersz]).
– Anon., *LXXXV. Nieu-gerijmde psalmen des propheten Davids, …*, Jan van Duisbergh (ed.) (Amsterdam: J. van Duisbergh [*printer*: widow of Pieter Boeteman]).
– Anon., *Catalogus librorum officinae Joannis Janssonii à Waesberge, …* (Amsterdam: J. van Janssonius van Waesberge, n.d. [between 1667 and 1669]).
– Anon. [Meyer, Lodewijk], *De philosophie d'uytleghster der H. Schrifture….; daer in op een betoogende wijse betooght wordt, dat de ware philosophie d'onfeylbare regelmaet van de H. Schrift uyt te leggen, en te verklaren is, en de ghevoelens, die daer af verschillen, overwogen en wederleyt worden, …* (Vrystadt [Amsterdam]: 1667).
– Adam Boreel, *Ernstige en gewigtige vraagstukken, …* (Amsterdam: G. Vryleven, 1666).
– Johannes Huysinga, *Kort begrip van de christelijke waarheden, …* (Amsterdam: A. van Someren, 1689).
– Frederik van Leenhof, *Zedig en christelijk verantwoordschrift aan het eerwaarde Classis van Seven-wolden, …* (Zwolle and Amsterdam: B. Hakvoord and widow of G. de Groot, n. pl. [1684?], [vignette on p. 127]).
– Jacob Jehudah Leon, *Afbeeldinge van den tabernakel, … die Moses door 't bevel Godts gemaeckt heeft, …* (Amsterdam: [*printer*: P.J. Messchaert], 1669).
– Hermannus Montanus, *Nietigheydt van den kinder-doop, …* (Haarlem: [*printer*: T. Fonteyn], 1648).
– Henricus C.A. von Nettersheim, *Van de onzeekerheyd ende ydelheyd der weetenschappen en konsten, …*, Joachim Oudaen (ed.) (Amsterdam: J.A. Colom I [*printer*: T. Fonteyn], 1650).
– Abraham Sybant, *De dolle bruyloft. Bly-eynded-spel* (Amsterdam: D.C. Houthaak, 1654, [*printer*: T. Houthaak]).
– Adolphus van Wolfshagen, *De schoole der prince, en interest der voornaemste potentaten des werelts* (Cologne [Amsterdam?]: 'H. Albedeuyt', 1673).

Simple Initials

Twenty plain closed black initials (relief woodcuts), 17×13 mm (p. 1), employed to head the first letter of the first word of prologue and chapters of main work (four lines), dimensions varying. A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials found in the works printed by De Paull is given in: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Tailpiece Ornament

Relief woodcut (sig. (**)^{v}): reduced version of the yoke ornament, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374).

Vignette occurs in at least one other book known to have been printed at the Tuinstraat office of De Paull: Timotheus Philadelphus, *Een brief aan een vriendt, beschrijvende de tegenwoordige zware vervolging, en verdrukking van de vroome belijders, in Schotlandt* (Amsterdam: 1678). Also in several other works produced by Amsterdam publishers (*see*: Introduction).

The vignette was also in vogue amongst other publishers and printers in Amsterdam. A selective list:
– Anon., *De wandelende dukaat, …* (Amsterdam: T. ten Hoorn, 1682).
– Anon., *Republyke der zeven vrye vereenigde Nederlanden, …* (Amsterdam: G. van Goedesberg, 1652).
– Anon., *St. Niklaesgift, …* (Amsterdam: M. de Groot, 1662).
– Anon., *Waterkryghs-praetje, tusschen verscheyde persoonen; … waer in wort aengewesen 't vervolgh vande Waterkrijgh;, …* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz, 1670).
– Anon. (Abraham Joan Cuffeler), *Specimen artis ratiocinandi & naturalis ad Pantosophiae principia manuducens* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam]: 1684). Part-title page 2. Possibly issued by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*.
– I.C., *Schoola Salernitana, …* (Amsterdam: C. Jansz, 1658).

– Christen P. Abel, *Testimonium firmissimum propheticum ac apostolicum de unitate et aeterna Trinitate veritatis* (Amsterdam: 1669).
– Jan P. Beelthouwer, *Antwoordt op het boeck, genaemt; De philosophie d'uytleghster der H. Schrifture, voor de liefhebbers des waerheyts*, … (Amsterdam: A. van den Heuvel, 1667). Beelthouwer in *Antwoordt* [p. 22] evokes Spinoza as an authoritative expert of the Old Testament and as a convinced supporter of the Ezran theory, thereby endorsing his philological claims about the Pentateuch.
– Desiderius Erasmus, *Onderwys om door een korte middel tot de ware godtgeleertheit te komen en kennis van de heilige schrift te geraken* (Amsterdam: 1651).
– Homer, *De dooling van Ulisses*, … (Amsterdam: G. van Goedesberg, 1651 [*printer*: T. Houthaak]).
– (Isaac de la Peyrère), *Prae-Adamitae. Sive exercitatio super versibus duodecimo, decimotertio, & decimoquarto, capitis quinti epistolae d. Pauli ad Romanos*, …; id., *Systema theologicum, ex prae-adamitarum hypothesi* (part 1, n. pl. [Amsterdam]: 1655).
– Paulus Pyl, *Den aftocht ter eeren van de krakkeelende doctoren en chirurgijns van Amsterdam*, … (Amsterdam: 1677).

Tailpiece ornament is also present in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*; *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2, Y.4 of mixed copies Y.4/Y.5 and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5). In the quarto variant T.5, the reduced yoke ornament is replaced by a new ornament depicting a flower basket.

Copies (92)

Copies examined

T.1#1 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3618 (2)
Fine copy, minor spotting to pages, brown leather covering, spine on four raised bands (cords), gilt decorated blue papers, edges sprinkled with brown and red ink, old UvA shelf-mark: 2456 (C 22[1]), bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* (OTM: O 60-3618 (1)).
Provenance: eighteenth-century owner's inscriptions of Heinrich Augustus Krippendorff (?) in black, red and brown ink on verso of last first free endpapers opposite title-page, respectively: brief note on Spinoza and on *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with the remark the latter work was printed in Amsterdam, below: 'Ex Bibliotheca Krippendorfiana', another note in the left upper corner: 'C. Krippendorff. 1785.', ex libris of the Dutch philosopher and humanist Leo Polak (1880–1941) on verso of title-page, signed 'Amst. 1921'.

T.1#2 COPENHAGEN, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin 27, 6 00012
Late-seventeenth-century brown leather binding over pasteboard, front and back cover sprinkled with black ink, red lettering panel on spine, gold-tooled title: SPIN | A – M.
Provenance: errata corrected in main work in black ink by an eighteenth-century hand, black rectangular library stamps (Royal Library), modern shelf-marks with pencil on first pastedown (Royal Library).

T.1#3 ERFURT/GOTHA, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Pol. 4° 00072(01)
Provenance: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's personal work copy, later ended up in the possession of his patron Count Johann Christian von Boineburg.
Copy contains notes by Leibniz and Von Boineburg in brown ink. The verso of the title-page of the copy contains Leibniz's objections (twenty four lines) to Spinoza's denial against the rabbinical claim Moses composed the Pentateuch.[138] The same copy comprises Von Boineburg's personal notes on Spinoza's treatise, too. All these remarks concern brief notes written on the title-page's front and verso, as well as on one of the free front endpapers of the Erfurt/Gotha copy. These remarks show also Von Boineburg has been busy collecting information about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, its cloaked author, and about the treatise's refutations, either finished or still in the making. In the upper margin of the title-page, above the first line in the title, Von Boineburg wrote the following about the treatise: 'Very brash and immoral' ('Audacissimus

138 *TTP*, ch. 8 (G 3/117–128). The marginal notes and commentary by Leibniz* of Spinoza's notions about the Pentateuch's Mosaicity were first published in: Johann C. Freiherr von Boineburg, 'Epistola D.B. a Boineburg ad Ephorum filii, cum Argentorati studiosorum causa versaretur, de Spinoza. Ex Msto', *Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen, Büchern, Uhrkunden, Controversien, Veränderungen, Anmerkungen, Vorschlägen, u.d.g.*… (Leipzig: 1710), pp. 385–388. For a present-day critical edition of these notes: Ursula Goldenbaum, 'Die *Commentatiuncula de judice* als Leibnizens erste philosophische Auseinandersetzung mit Spinoza nebst der Mitteilung über ein neuaufgefundenes Leibnizstück', in Martin Fontius, etc. (eds.), *Labora diligenter. Potsdamer Arbeitstagung zur Leibnizforschung vom 4. bis 6 Juli 1996* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1999), pp. 61–10, annex, Illustration 6 and pp. 105–107. *See* for Leibniz's stance on the *TTP*: Lærke, *Leibniz*.

ac licentiosissimus').[139] Next, between the third and fourth line, he scribbled: 'Powerfully refuted for his part by [Friedrich] Rappolt, Leipzig "Programme" edited for the occasion of [his] inaugural oration 1670, 8 May (Old Style)'.[140] Below the title-page's epigraph, Leibniz's patron scribbled biographical particulars about the author hiding behind the book: 'The author is Spinoza, a Jew from Amsterdam' ('Auctore Spinoza, judaeo Amstelodamensi.').[141] Von Boineburg also remedied the false book's imprint. It reads in his hand: 'At Amsterdam, by Johannes Blaeu, 1670' ('Amstelodami. Apud Jo. Blaeu 1670').[142] On the verso of the title-page, above Leibniz's objections, Von Boineburg scribbled the names of scholars who, according to his information, had proffered a refutation of Spinoza and of those he believed were in the process of preparing a retort:

> Against this Spinoza wrote Rappolt, Reinhold Pauli. And an anonymous annotator I.M. [i.e., Johannes Melchioris] under the title 'Epistola ad amicum, continens censuram Tractatus theologicus-politici'. Utrecht, 1671. Expected are Perizonius, Van Mansveld, Bebelius, Calovius.[143]

On the first free endpaper of the copy, Von Boineburg wrote about certain attacks on Spinoza the following: 'Against this cursed atheist. See Rappolt, Rheinhold Pauli, Perizonius. And some [other] annotator' ('Contra hunc atheum Alastorem V. Rappoltus. Reinholdus Pauli. Perizonius. Annotator quidam'). On the same page, Von Boineburg penned additional information about the treatise and its hidden author, adding more innuendo to rumours claiming 'Spinoza' was the alias of the son of Johannes Crellius, a Polish Socinian residing in Amsterdam.[144] Later, another person added to this that Spinoza was not the mask of Crellius *fils*:

> [Von Boineburg:] The author is said to be Spinoza. Under this name is hidden the son of Johannes Crellius, who today lives in Amsterdam. The talented and manner of speaking is the same [as] in the prolegomena to the 'Ethica christiana' of Crellius, which were written by this Johannes Crellius *fils*, who, if I am not mistaken, hides himself also here under the mask of Spinoza.
> [In another hand:] This Spinoza follows the Cartesian philosophy, which he attempted to prove also by the geometric method of demonstration, in a book in quarto. Amsterdam, 1663. The man with this

139 Goldenbaum, 'Die *Commentatiuncula*', annex, p. 102, Illustration 4.

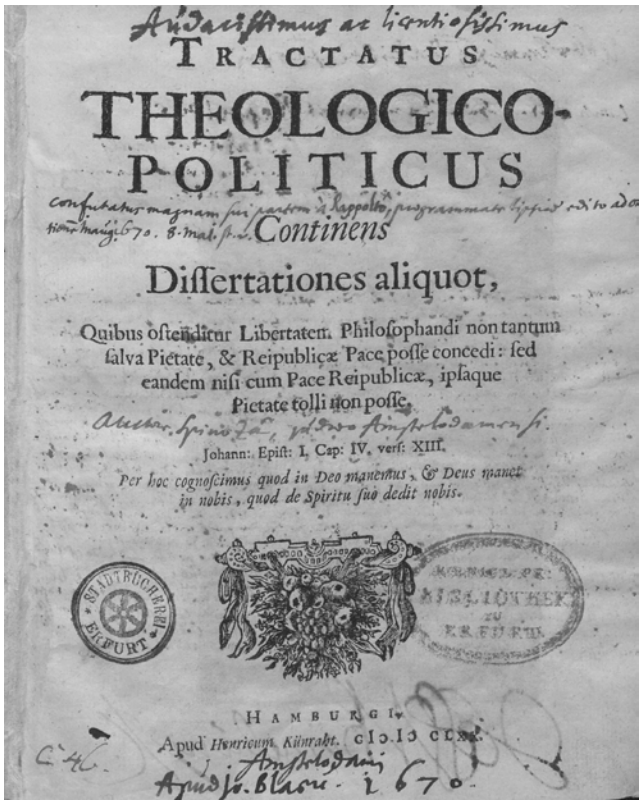
140 Ibid.

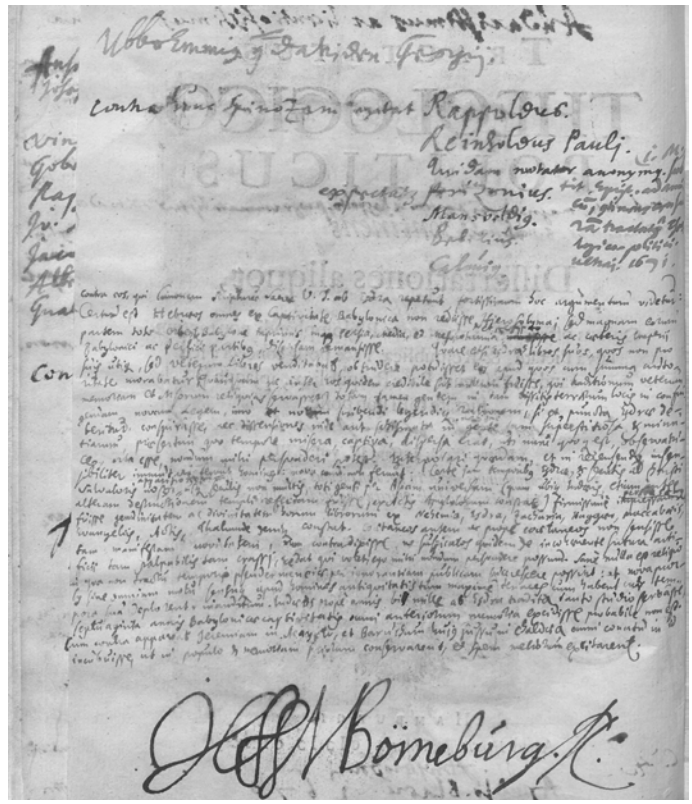
141 Ibid.

142 Ibid. Cf.: Kathrin Paasch, *Die Bibliothek des Johann Christian von Boineburg (1622–1672). Ein Beitrag zur Bibliotheksgeschichte des Polyhistorismus* (2003), p. 141.

143 'Contra hunc Spinozam agitat Rappoldus. Reinholdus Pauli. Quidam notator anonymy I.M. sub titulo Epist. ad amicum, continens censuram tractatûs theologico-politici. Ultrajecti. 1671. Expectatus Perizonius. Mansveldius. Bebelius. Calovius.' Quoted in: Ursula Goldenbaum, 'Spinozas Papageienargument und Leibniz's Antwort. Die Bedeutung von Spinozas Hebraistischen Argumenten für die Anfänge christlicher Bibelwissenschaft', in Giuseppe Velti and Gerold Necker (eds.), *Gottes Sprache in der philologischen Werkstatt: Hebraistik vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 190–214, there at pp. 209–210 and 213 (illustration). *See* also: id., 'Die *Commentatiuncula*' (Illustration 6). 'Rappoldus': Friedrich Rappolt*, 'Programma ad audiendam orationem inauguralem, professioni theologiae ordinariae praemittendam, invitatorium', in: id., *Opera theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica*, Johannes B. Carpzov (ed.) (2 parts in 1 vol., Leipzig: 1693), pp. 2160–2168. The second reference is to the Marburg theologian Reinhold Pauli (1638–1682). A refutation by him is not known. The third title concerns: J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris), *Epistola ad amicum*. 'Perizonius': meant is the Deventer theologian Antonius Perizonius (1626–1672). The latter wrote a refutation of the *TTP* (unfinished, nine chapters completed), but the rejoinder (now lost) was never published because of Perrzonius's death and worries of Graevius* about serious shortcomings in the manuscript. Cf.: Gootjes, 'The First Orchestrated Attack', pp. 37–41. News about Perizonius's riposte was probably forwarded to Von Boineburg* by Leibniz*. 'Van Mansveld': Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*. For the rebuttal: Touber, 'Philosophy and Theology', pp. 496–507; id., *Spinoza and Biblical Philology*, pp. 93–102. Perizonius owned a Latin quarto edition of the *TTP*: *Bibliotheca Perizoniana, sive catalogus exquisitissimorum rarissimorumque librorum et nummorum veterum celeberrimi ac eruditissimi Jacobi Perizonii, …* (Leiden: 1715), p. 57, no. 464. 'Bebelius': meant is the Lutheran theologian Balthasar Bebel (1632–1686). 'Calovius': Abraham Calov (1612–1686), a Lutheran theologian and polemicist. For him: Ernst Feil, *Religio. Dritter Band: Die Geschichte eines neuzeitlichen Grundbegriffs im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), pp. 33–44. Nothing is known about any rebuttal of the *TTP* by Calov.

144 The reference to a member of the Socinian Crellius family seems puzzling at first. Writings by Johannes Crellius (1590–1633) appeared in the Socinian anthology *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* (vols. 3–5). The latter's son was Christophorus Crellius-Spinovius (1622–1680) who worked as a pastor in Poland. Von Boineburg* must have been confused by the latter's name and took him for the *TTP*'s author Spinoza. For Crellius-Spinovius: Christoph Sand, *Bibliotheca anti-trinitariorum, sive catalogus scriptorum, & succincta narratio de vita eorum auctorum, …* (Freistadt: 1684), pp. 162–163.





ILLUSTRATIONS 3.16 AND 3.17 Copy of T.1. Contained in it, on the recto and the verso side of the title-page, are the notes of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and of his patron Count Johann Christian von Boineburg.

name is someone other than Crellius fils. He is a Jew in Amsterdam.[145]

T.1#4 GÖTEBORG, University Library, RAR-Saml. 4:o 184

Late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding over pasteboard, first and back endpapers marbled, red stained edges, gold-tooled spine, brown spotting to leaves, eighteenth-century shelf-mark (481) in black ink in upper margin of title-page, older shelf-marks (428, 2210, *44 /2979, 1340) in pencil on first front endpaper, black circular library (Göteborg, UL) on verso of title-page, modern bookplate (Göteborg, UL) with shelf-mark, date (?) in pencil on last back endpaper: 10, 11.44.

Fine large-paper copy, with press correction of page number 104 (in T.1 generally misnumbered '304') into 104.

Provenance: 'Stockholm [d] 3 Aprill 1747', possibly with price '7' (riksdaalers), on back pastedown in black ink.

T.1#5 HAIFA, University Library, B 3985 1670A

Fine uncut large-paper copy, incidental minor spotting to pages, late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper, underlineations with ink, errata emended with black ink (pp. 39, 49, 83, 95, 124, 149) by unidentified hand, page number '304' corrected 104, one misprint (not in errata list) corrected on p. 60 with black ink (Spinoza's hand?), two keyed text additions: p. 104 (l. 26) for 'Deuteronomium': '1.5' (not in: Wilhelm Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*, 1835), p. 106 for 'Moses inserit': 'V.B.M. 11.14. IV 32,41'.

145 'Auctor dicitur esse Spinoza. Sub quo latet Joannis Crellij filius, Amstelodami hodieque habitans. Genius, et genus dicendi, par in prolegomenis ad Crellij christianam Ethic[am], quorum scriptor Joannis Crellius hicce junior; qui sub persona, ni fallor, Spinoza, et huic, occulitur. [In another hand:] Hic Spinoza Cartesianam sequi[tur] Philosophiam, quam et Geometrico demonstrandi ritu tueri conatus est, libro in 4. Amsterd. 1663. Est vir hujus nominis, alius a Crellii filio. Judaeus Amstelodami.' (quoted in: Goldenbaum, 'Die *Commentatiuncula*', p. 103, illustration 5). Crellius-Spinovius wrote hardly any original writing. He was however involved in the publication of the writings of his father, Johannes (n. 144): *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*. 'in prolegomenis ad Crellij christianam Ethic[am]': meant probably is: anon. (Johannes Crellius), *Ethica Aristotelica, ad sacrarum literarum normem emendate*, ... ('Selenoburgi' [Amsterdam]: n.d. [1650?]). The latter work contains a theological piece by Crellius-Spinovius, entitled 'Dissertatio de virtute christianae & gentili eticae christianae'.

Provenance: Spinoza's personal copy, including a dedication for Jacobus Statius Clefman, signed 25 July 1676, five handwritten supplementary notes (*Adnotationes* 2, 6, 7, 13, and 14) by Spinoza in black ink in the external margins of pp. 2, 70, 93, 116, 117, with his underlineations, formerly owned by Daniel Friedrich Schütz (1780–1817), printed bookplate (coat of arms) of the Gräflich Wallenrodtschen Bibliothek, Königsberg, now: Kaliningrad (formed by the legal scholar and bibliophile Martin von Wallenrodt [1570–1632], text under armorial crest reads:

> Wallenrodia dum Magnis Maioribus orta Hunc reliquis Iunxit Bibliotheca libris Utere concesso, lector, tibi munere rite, Cunctaque Patronis fausta precare meis ('Reader, now that the Wallenrodt library, descended from great ancestors, added this to its other books, use the gift presented to you properly, and pray for my patrons for every good fortune').

Library merged with the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in 1909) on first pasteboard, eighteenth-century shelf-mark in black ink (D.612), circular library stamp (Haifa, UL) on recto of first flyleaf, nineteenth-century circular library stamp (Wallenrodtschen Bibliothek) on verso of title-page.[146]

T.1#6 HAMBURG, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/1667
Fine uncut large-paper copy. Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, label with older shelf-marks on pastedown (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek), bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; Isaac Vossius, *Ars historica, sive historiae, et historices natura, …* (Leiden: 1653).
Provenance: late-seventeenth-century note on first front endpaper on a chapter-by chapter refutation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Van Mansveld, *Adversus*), early-eighteenth-century note on the Dutch and French translations of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' on first of last free endpapers, with a reference to Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, black circular library stamps ('Ex Bibliotheca Gymnasii Altonani') on title-page and its subsequent verso.
Digitized copy:
https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/de/nc/detail.html?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=12237&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=ecefc560e15f7f97c59cc6e276f5c54d

T.1#7 KANAWAGA, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/S

Provenance: late-seventeenth-century owner's mark in black ink struck out, seventeenth-century handwriting in black ink on title-page: 'Spinosa author', another probably late-seventeenth-century hand wrote on title-page next to 'Hamburgi': 'H. 1–10' (older shelf-mark or auction).

T.1#8 PRAGUE, National Library of the Czech Republic, 27 J 000249, adl.7
Provenance: black circular library stamp (Prague University) on verso of title-page and on pp. 54 and 233.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.cz/books?vid=NKP:100259018 0-001&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.1#9 ROVERETO, Biblioteca civica 'Tartarotti', r-l 11.5 (2)
Provenance: black circular library stamp (Biblioteca civica) on p. 233, bound with: anon. ([Meyer], *Philosophia*).

T.1#10 THE HAGUE, KB, 341 A 33
Multiple underliners with black ink, minor brownspotting to leaves, heavily trimmed copy, nineteenth-century paper binding over pasteboard, title on top of spine in black ink (italics): 'Spinoza | Tract. theolog: po | lit:', black stained edge.
Provenance: Gustav Mo[…], 168[.] (inscription on title-page); late-seventeenth-century note on title-page ('Auct. Bened. de Spinosa'); library stamp (KB,) on sig. (*)^{v}.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=7&resultClick=

T.1#11 VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.1.O.4
Fine copy, minor brownspotting to leaves, late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular double rule on front and spine within larger rectangular single rule, corners of rule decorated with gold-tooled arabesques, gilt oblong coat of arms on front, board paper and first and back endpapers marbled.
Provenance: printed late-twentieth-century bookplate of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, pasted down on first board paper, circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on back of title-page.

146 For its provenance history, dedication, and the *Adnotationes*, *see* Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy*.

Digitized copy:
http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ18491550X

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*4*)

T.1#12–13 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-B618 (2), OTM: O 60-1955 (2) (copy once had the 'Opera' portrait, worn late-seventeenth-century leather binding, spine on six raised bands, gilt decoration and author and title printed on spine in lettering panel: 'B. DE SPINOZA | OPERA | PHILOSOPHICA', red speckled edges, eighteenth-century owner's mark in black ink on verso of title-page: 'Le Pressier', modern printed bookplate on front pastedown: 'Ex-libris R.A. Pijnappel', circular library stamp on verso of title-page, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

T.1#14 LEEUWARDEN, Tresoar, 196 Wbg (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs, bound with: *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.1#15 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 162

Canada (*2*)

T.1#16 MONTREAL, McGill University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1670b (early sprinkled calf with roll border in blind, rebacked [split joints], original endpapers with early manuscript annotations preserved: one annotation on verso of blank leaf opposite title-page, and an extensive annotation on preceding blank leaf concerning this title and: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

T.1#17 TORONTO, University Library, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, hob, Walsh 0004

France (*5*)

T.1#18–19 AIX EN PROVENCE, Bibliothèque Méjanes, In 8 20429, 1 (clean late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs over pasteboard, blind-tooled rectangular frame in larger double ruled blind-tooled frame on front cover and back, blind-tooled floral ornaments in corners, embossed stamp in inner frame, oblong library stamp [Bibliothèque Méjanes] on title-page in black ink, bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*), F. 2103 (1, 2) (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper, eighteenth-century note [possibly by a bookseller or auctioneer] on the back of the cover in black ink: 'L'auteur paraît avoir pour but de détruire toutes les religions et surtout la chrétienne. Très rare. Se vend 24', former owner: Jean-Joseph Baumier [1729?–1828], his stamp on title-page ['Legs du Docteur Baumier 1830'], oblong library stamp [Bibliothèque Méjanes] on title-page in black ink, bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.1#20–21 LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 340873 (large-paper copy, brown leather binding, marbled endpapers, red-sprinkled edges, p. 67: signature I2 not printed, circular library stamp [Lyon municipal library] on title-page, older shelf-marks on first front endpaper [1136S, 1c b1 p 26S]), Fonds CGA, F 0361.

T.1#22 PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 4 R 387(4) INV 430 FA

Germany (*15*)

T.1#23 AUGSBURG, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4 Phil 360 (fine clean large-paper copy, late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs over pasteboard).

T.1#24 AURICH, Landschaftsbibliothek, Q 914 (few underliners and notes, bookplate of book collector Christoph Friedrich von Derschau [1714–1799], poet and first president of Ostfriesland at Aurich).

T.1#25 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, NI 13164 <a> :R (full parchment binding with blind stamped tool on both boards, late-seventeenth-century corrections from list of errata made in black ink, owner's note: 'Ex bibl. Frid. Jac. Roloff', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.1#26 DRESDEN, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Phil.D.74,1

T.1#27–28 ERFURT/GOTHA, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Ilf III 80 00153, Phil 4° 00014/01 (01) (late-seventeenth-century brown calf covering, gilt covers and spine, gold-tooled title on spine: 'SPINOZA', sewn on seven raised bands, sprinkled edges, library stamp [dated 1799] of former Herzoglichen Bibliothek Gotha on verso of title-page, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.1#29 Halle-Merseburg, Franckesche Stiftungenbibliothek, 43 C 6 (formerly owned by the German aristocrat Carl Hildebrand von Canstein [1667–1719], founder of Cansteinsche Bibelanstalt [Halle, Brandenburg-Prussia], the first modern Bible society).

T.1#30 Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, 2 F 0166

T.1#31 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, GYM 2662 (large-paper copy, old signature: 'II A 130', olim: Grossherzogliches Lyceum Carlsruhe, ex libris: 'Ex Bibliothecae Illustris Caroli Hesychei').

T.1#32 Kiel, University Library, 1 an Ca 190

T.1#33 Mannheim, Universität Mannheim, University Library, Ha Z 83 (late-seventeenth-century note on title-page, adding 'Spinoza' and 'Amstelodami', twentieth-century binding).

T.1#34–35 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Theol. 4.437, 2 an Solg. 4. 576 (olim: Tobias Winkler).

T.1#36–37 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Vb 606 (1) (bound with: *Opera posthuma* [M: Vb 606 (2)]), M: Vb 607 (underlineations and marginal notes, most in red and black ink, '304' corrected '104' with black ink). Both copies came into the library after the death of Herzog August II the Younger (1579–1666).

Ireland (*3*)

T.1#38–39 Dublin, Marsh's Library, D3.5.41, P1.4.48

T.1#40 Dublin, National Library of Ireland, LO 12841 (rare copy, has press correction on p. 104, olim: British Museum).

Italy (*3*)

T.1#41 Catania, Bibliotheca Regionale Universitaria, VENTIMIL. 1.G.15 (olim: Salvator Ventimiglia [1721–1797], Archbishop of Catania, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; Johannes de Bruyn, *Defensio*; Maresius, *De abusu*).

T.1#42 Torino, University Library, CAV 655

T.1#43 Vicenza, Instituzione pubblica culturale biblioteca civica Bertoliana, RN.12 b.04 (bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris), *Epistola ad amicum*; Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

Japan (*1*)

T.1#44 Maebashi, Gunma University, University Library, 135.2 Sp5 (bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

Poland (*1*)

T.1#45 Krakow, Jagoniellian University, shelf-mark is not known (seventeenth-century notes on pp. 104–105, made in black ink by unidentified hand).

Portugal (*1*)

T.1#46 Coimbra, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21 A (large-paper copy, brown leather covering, gold-tooled coat of arms of Coimbra University on front cover, gilt spine with red lettering panel: 'SPINO | TRAC | THEOL | POLIT').

Russia (*1*)

T.1#47 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, 16.88.2.1 (rebound in 2003, formerly part of the Załuski Library [the Biblioteka Załuskich, or Bibliotheca Zalusciana], built in Warsaw between 1747 and 1795 by the brothers and Roman Catholic Bishops Józef Andrzej [1702–1774] and Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Załuski [1695–1758]).

South-Africa (*1*)

T.1#48 Stellenbosch, University Library, Church Historical Collection, TEOL. K-H sem. S P 1

Switzerland (*2*)

T.1#49–50 Basle, University Library, UBH Aleph E VI 28, UBH Steff 253:2

United Kingdom (*12*)

T.1#51 Aberdeen, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, SB 1939 Spi t 1^2 (contempary vellum 'King's' wrapper pasteboard with five laced-in thongs, provenance: King's College, given by Patrick Scougall, Bishop of Aberdeen and Henry Scougall *fils* [*fl.*1650–1678], Professor of Divinity at King's College, Aberdeen, unidentified signature on title-page: 'Gordone', old shelf-marks on title-page in black ink, late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription: 'Liber Coll. Regij Univers: A60. A.A.9. Bps', bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

T.1#52 Blickling (Norfolk), Blickling Hall, 4248 (eighteenth-century sprinkled calf covering, sewn on five raised bands, double gilt fillet border on the covers, gilt floral roll pattern along the board edges, gold-tooled spine with stamps within double fillet panels, gilt floral roll pattern at head and tail, with remnants of gilt title 'Spinosa',

red- and brown-sprinkled text block edges, manuscript initial on front fly-leaf: 'M.' [catalogue code of John Mitchell [*c.*1685–1751]], librarian to former owner Sir Richard Ellys [1682–1742], bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.1#53 Brighton, University of Sussex, SxTravers/260 (owner's stamp of Dutch author and literary critic Pierre Henri Ritter [1882–1962] on title-page).

T.1#54 Cambridge, Kings College, Keynes Cc.06.03 (original single covering of copy removed, bound in two volumes with: *Opera posthuma* [Keynes Cc.06.04]).

T.1#55 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, General Reading Room (George IV Bridge), [Mar].2/1.4

T.1#56 London, British Library, General Reference Collection, C.194.a.1216

T.1#57 London, Dr Williams's Library, 564.D.8

T.1#58–59 London, University College, Strong Room Ogden B 52 (parchment binding over stiff thick boards, from the library of the English philosopher and polymath Charles Kay Ogden [1889–1957]), Strong Room Ogden B 53/1 (sprinkled calf binding, with gilt frames and ornaments on spine; edges sprinkled, worn and split at hinges, Ogden collection).

T.1#60 London, University of London, Senate House Library, [G.S.C.] 0509 (bookplate of Harold Foster Hallett [1886–1966], professor of philosophy at King's College, British secretary of the Societas Spinozana, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.1#61 Oxford, All Souls College, 6:SR.53.b.39[Pamph.]

T.1#62 Oxford, Brasenose College, Yarb S 94

United States (*30*)

T.1#63 Austin (TX), University Library, B 3985 A3 1670 (olim: Haskell F. Norman, inscribed: Charles Sarolea).

T.1#64 Boca Raton (FL), Florida Atlantic University, BS39855 .A3 1670

T.1#65 Bloomington (IN), University Library, BS3985 .A3 (errata emended into text by erasure and insertion in ink, eighteenth-century manuscript note on title-page concerning imprint, quoting Pierre Bayle, bound in later mottled calf, full gilt spine, red edges; in a green cloth drop-back box, bound with: J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris), *Epistola ad amicum*).

T.1#66 Bryn Mawr (PA), Brynn Mawr College Library, Canaday Special Collections, 193 Sp4t Ed. 1670 (vellum binding, contemporary owner's initials in black ink on title-page: 'R.D.', illegible nineteenth-century owner's name in black ink on front flyleaf and one brief note [reading: 'Ed. Pr.'], early-twentieth-century notes with pencil on front flyleaf on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, copy from the 1951 Howard Lehman Goodhart bequest).

T.1#67 Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, University Library, *NC6 Sp476 670t (bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.1#68 Chicago (IL), The University of Chicago, University Library, alc B3985 .A1 1670 (Chicago University bookplate: 'Presented by Mr David Hutcheson, Washington DC', laid-in sheet of notations by the same).

T.1#69 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, Freidus SPINOZA

T.1#70 Dallas (TX), Southern Methodist University, University Library, 31406

T.1#71 Grinnell College (IA), Burling Library, B3985 .A3 1670

T.1#72 Haverford (PA), Haverford College, 193 Sp4t Ed. 1670

T.1#73 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985 .A3 1670 (manuscript notes on blank page at end and throughout text).

T.1#74 Lincoln (NE), University of Nebraska, University Library, BS3985.A3 1670 (bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.1#75–76 Los Angeles (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection, barcode G 0000526046 (copy 1: late-seventeenth-century vellum, forms part of the Spinoza collection of Abraham Wolf Edelman [1832–1907], acquired 1941; copy 2: brown wrappers, gift of Ernest Carroll Moore, with the

touching note reading 'rescued by him from his hotel room during the earthquake in 1906 in San Francisco').

T.1#77 Mundelein (IL), University of St Mary of the Lake and Mundelein Seminary, Feehan Library, BS3985 .A3 1670

T.1#78 New Haven (CT), University Library, BEIN 2011 1077

T.1#79–81 New York (NY), Columbia University, 193Sp4 X6 1670a (bound with: [Meyer], *Philosophia*; Pierre Serrurier, *Responsio ad exercitatem paradoxam anonymi* … [Amsterdam: 1667]), 193Sp4 X6 1670b (manuscript notes on black flyleaf, main text [pp. 43–46] has underlineations in green ink), B193Sp4 X6 (eighteenth-century owner's inscription on title-page in black ink: 'Johann [W]inrich').

T.1#82 New York (NY), The General Theological Seminary, Christoph Keller Jr Library. 201 Sp 47 (late-seventeenth-century notes and underliners, olim: Cadwallader Colden [1688–1776], New York politician and author on a work on the Iroquois, signature opposite to title-page, formerly also in the possession of John Bassett [1764–1824], Martinus Schoonmaker [1737–1824], Dutch Reformed minister in Brooklyn [their signatures on rear free endpaper], gift received from episcopal clergyman Georges Sayres).

T.1#83 Northampton (MA), Smith College, 194.9 Sp4 tp 1670 (various notations, underliners with pencil on p. 40, name 'Hetzel' written in the upper right-hand corner of front flyleaf [eighteenth-century hand?], along with a small note at the foot of the page, note on the book in another eighteenth-century hand on the verso of front flyleaf, library stamp on pasteboard: 'Dr. Leopold Hoin[e]mann, Berlin', bookplate of Smith College commemorating Edward Capen ['Harvard '42']).

T.1#84 Princeton (NJ), Princeton Theological Seminary, SCC #1977 (bound with: Maresius, *De abusu*).

T.1#85 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (formerly owned by Lessing Rosenwald, collected by Herbert McClean Evans).

T.1#86 San Marino (CA), The Henry E. Huntington Library, 705278

T.1#87 Santa Cruz (CA), University of California, University Library, B 3985.A3 (large-paper copy, eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink in upper margin of title-page: 'Mr Richard Struton', nineteenth-century inscription in brown ink: 'J. Carlyle, [Chelsea], 1848', early-twentieth-century engraved ex libris of book collector Roy Norr, gift of The Norman and Charlotte Strouse Collection of Thomas Carlyle [bookplate]).

T.1#88 Syracuse (NY), Syracuse University, Ranke 193.9S75T (corrections and underlineations in an unknown hand).

T.1#89 University Park (PA), PennState University Libraries, Eberly Family Special Collections Library, BS 3985. A3 1670 (late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, minor spotting to pages, late-seventeenth-century French note in dark brown ink about Spinoza's authorship: 'Spinosa dit nettement, qu'il est Auteur de livre Tractatus Theologico-Politicis dans sa dit neuvième livre addressée à Mr Oldenbourg. Vid. Johannis Coleris vita B. Spinosae Gallia edita p. 98 sq: ubi […] de hoc […] Spinosa scriptis […]').

T.1#90 Urbana-Champaign (IL), University of Illinois, X 193.Sp4TR (late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century full calf covering, eighteenth-century owner's inscriptions on title-page ['F.G. Gerben', 'J. Trelauny'], verso of title-page: 'Eduard Boehmer', acquired by the University of Illinois on 7 April 1926).

T.1#91 Washington (DC), The Library of Congress, B3985 .A3 1670

T.1#92 Wellesley (MA), Wellesley College, *84–265 (underlines and marginal notes on pp. 208–212, pressmark on recto of upper flyleaf, upper and lower board wanting).

References

Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 3; Jan P.N. Land, 'Over vier drukken', (A; mainly on text corruption); Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 15 (T.1); *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), pp. 32–33, nos. 361–363; Catalogus van de bibliotheek, p. 37, no. 162; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 8, no. 3.

7 Second Latin Quarto Edition: T.2 (1672) and T.2a ('1670')

In the Dutch 'Disaster Year' 1672, a new Latin edition in two issues of the bestselling *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was clandestinely launched by the book's publisher. The German bibliographer and publisher Emil Ottocar Weller (1823–1886) in *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte* (1864) first referred to this second quarto edition.[147] Once again, the place of the book's printing, Hamburg, and its reported publisher, 'Henricus Künraht', are fictitious.[148] Spinoza's surviving correspondence contains no indications proving he took any active interest in correcting or revising trial prints of the second quarto.[149] The new quarto, one single planned print run fitted with two separate title-pages produced by the firm of its printer, Israel de Paull, was published in two variants dated 1672 and '1670', respectively and in that particular order. Bamberger in his 'The Early Editions' labelled them with the sigla T.2 and T.2a.[150]

The prologue and main text of those variants have identical bibliographical fingerprints and share several notable typographical and textual features. The two title-pages of the second Latin quarto appear to be a line-by-line copy of T.1.[151] This implies remaining sheets or 'standing type' of the title-page of T.1, comprising the first nine lines 'Tractatus … posse' and including the damaged capital letter S in 'POLITICUS', were reimposed by De Paull's printing house (perhaps also the yoke ornament). Whether the new edition's printer had a large supply of type to keep type-pages standing is not known. The epigraph (1 John 4:13) in both issues T.2 and T.2a, though, was set in type afresh and has a notable typeset feature for ready identification of the second Latin quarto. In line 12 of the biblical citation the verb '*dedit*' is this time printed with an *i* without a dot: '*dedit*'.[152] This also proves the new

147 Emil O. Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte: Repertorium der seit Erfinding der Buchdruckerkunst unter falscher Firma erschienenen deutschen, lateinischen und französischen Schriften / Dictionnaire des ouvrages français portant de fausses indications des lieux d'impression et des imprimeurs* (2 vols., Leipzig: Engelmann, 1864), vol. 1, p. 274. Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 17.

148 A second copy of T.2, mentioned by Weller, turned up in a catalogue (no. 29) of the Leipzig Weg firm: *Bibliotheca Spinozana. Eine überaus reichhaltige Sammlung von Schriften von und über Spinoza. Neben fast allen bekannten Bildnissen Spinozas* (Leipzig: Antiquariats-Buchhandlung, 1893), p. 2. It ended up at Cornell University (B 3985.A3 1672) through the donation of the North American philanthropist Abraham Abraham. Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 17.

149 Steenbakkers, 'The Text', p. 34.

150 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 17. In July 1672, both the *TTP* and Spinoza were lambasted in two anonymous satirical 'auction catalogues' of the imaginary private library of De Witt*, listing imaginary manuscripts and books related to the latter's political 'sins'. Entry 33 of *Appendix van 't catalogus van de boecken van Mr. Johan de Witt* (n. pl. [The Hague]: n.d. [1672]) unites Orangist resentment against De Witt's rule with the *TTP*'s general rejection (p. 7): '"Tractatus theologico-politicus". Forged in hell with the devil by the apostate Jew and published with knowledge of Mr Jan [Johan] and his associates.' ('"Tractatus Theologico-Politicus". Door den afvalligen Joodt te samen met de Duyvel in de Hel gesmeedt, en met kennis van *Mr. Jan* en sijn Complicen uyt gegeven.'). The *Appendix* title-page's date, 5 July 1672, was perhaps deliberately picked; William* III was appointed Stadholder on 4 July. The *Appendix* was republished as: *Sleutel, ontsluytende de boecke-kas van de Witte bibliotheeck, met sijn appendix. Waer in de duystere namen der boecken klaerlijck werden vertoont en bekent gemaeckt* (The Hague: 1672). The latter's entry 33 puts forward (in part 2: 'Verklaringh over 't appendix, ofte duystere manuscripten', p. 15) the following: '"Tractatus theologico-politicus, etc.". By the apostate Jew Spinoza, forged in hell, in which in an unheard atheist manner is demonstrated that God's word must be explained and understood by philosophy, which [book] is publicly put to press with Mr Jan's knowledge.' ('"Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, & c." Door den afvalligen Jood *Spinoza*, uyt de Hel voortgebracht, waer in op een ongehoorde Atheïsten manier bewesen werdt, dat Godts woort door de Philosophie moet uytgeleyt en verstaen werden, het welck met kennis van *Mr. Ian* publijck gedruckt is.'). A reaction by Spinoza (if any) is not known. De Paull: BL.

151 'Except for the italic *Continens* the upper part of the title-page is the undistributed setting of the first edition, but all the lower part appears to have been reset.' (Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 260).

152 'Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit'. The quotation, traditionally attributed to John the Apostle and part of the segment called 'Seeing God through Love', is printed on all title-pages of the quarto editions as well as on the octavo variant T.3t. Thus, Spinoza supports the view that salvation is 'attainable through "*justitia et caritas*" alone' (Jo van Cauter, *Spinoza on History, Christ, and Lights Untamable* [2016], p. 120), i.e., Scripture's true purpose. In *TTP*, ch. 13, Spinoza explains John viewed God only 'through loving-kindness, and concludes that whoever has loving-kindness really has and knows God' (G 3/171). Hence, morally speaking, when we love our neighbours we are aware of 'God' (Verbeek, *Spinoza's Theologico-Political Treatise*, p. 5). 1 John 4:13 traditionally focuses on Christ's resurrection which Spinoza considered only 'allegorically' (cf. Spinoza to Oldenburg*, 1676.02.07, Ep 78 [G 4/328]). 1 John 4:13 is also discussed in the *TTP*, ch. 14. There it reads: 'For he [John] had said previously that God is Loving-kindness, from which (according to his own principles, accepted at that time) he infers that he who has Loving-kindness really has the Spirit of God. Indeed because no one has seen God, he infers that that no is aware of God, or acknowledges God, except by Loving-kindness toward his neighbor, and that in fact no one can come to know any other attribute of God beyond this Loving-kindness, insofar as we participate in it' (G 3/176). Also 1 John 4:13 is alluded to towards the same passage's end: 'It is only because of this love that each of us (to speak with John) is in God and that God is in

title-pages of T.2 and T.2a have been reimposed and were at the same time produced in one single print run.

Undoubtedly, De Paull first produced issue T.2. On closer inspection it appears the date of the title-page in the imprint of T.1, set in type with turned Cs as 'ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXX.', was decisively changed by the compositor of T.2 into '1672'.[153] During composition, the year of publication 1670 was altered by setting it in type as 'ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXXII.' via the addition of two serifed Roman upper-case numerals I. Both capital letters are printed in a bit higher position than the old date given in T.1. Just as the first Latin quarto, though, the title-page of variant T.2a is dated once again 'ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXX.' for 1670.[154] Perhaps the putative publisher Rieuwertsz felt uneasy about the new date 1672 on T.2 and ordered the printer to reimpose new title-pages with the date 1670 for copies of the second Latin quarto still in stock. That would suggest they had been printed two years beforehand, long before the vitriolic campaigns crushing Spinoza's treatise had started.

Regarding dating, Land and Gebhardt have argued T.2a was produced between 1674 and 1677. Nonetheless, an extant copy of variant T.2a once owned by the Amsterdam silk merchant and amateur philosopher Ameldonk Blok (a friend of Spinoza's German correspondent Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus) has an owner's inscription proving T.2a must have been printed in 1673 at the latest.[155] The brief note on the front pastedown provides a *terminus ad quem* and reads the following: 'From the library of Ameldonk Blok, in the year 1673' ('Ex libris Ameldonci Block, anno 1673').[156]

T.2/T.2a was printed with the same old-style serif roman founts of type De Paull's workshop had also used for the production of the T.1 edition. A key issue here is whether both quartos were produced by the firm's same typesetter. If the Tuinstraat compositor of T.1 is assumed to have also set in type also T.2/T.2a, one would expect primarily corrections made by him in the Preface and main text and rectifications of misprints where required. Not that within a two-year period he would however have profoundly changed his typesetting habits. Strikingly, in regard to the typeset typographical symbols in the Preface's printed text (94 mm 'Augustyn' [english] italic), one can observe the compositor of T.2/T.2a used the upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand (a typographical shorthand for the Latin 'et') far less often than the compositor of T.1 had done. In T.1, the book's typesetter used this Epsilon ampersand eighty-nine times in the Preface. In T.2/T.2a, the shorthand is printed in the prologue only seventy-four times. Perhaps, this may offer a promising clue for sorting out more information about the number of typesetters at work. (For samples, *see* the Appendix annexed to this chapter: The Four Typesetting Stages of the Latin Quartos.)

Another indication may be hidden in the orthography of both quarto editions. A promising sample for observing the compositor at work is contained in the text of the Preface's signature (*)3 in T.1, which is misprinted in T.2/T.2a as '(*)4'. It produces, in any case, the following differences in spelling when looked at the editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a:

- L. 20: '*possent*', set in type in T.2/T.2a with a sharp *s*: '*poßent*'.
- L. 23: '*et ubi*', set in type in T.2/T.2a with an ampersand: '*& ubi*'.
- L. 25: '*et Reipublicæ*', set in type with ampersand in T.2/T.2a: '*& Reipublicæ*'.
- L. 28: '*neceße*', in T.2/T.2a set in type with a double *ss*: '*necesse*'.
- L. 31: '*et specie*', set in type in T.2/T.2a with an ampersand: '*& specie*'.

Accounting as well for the usage of the Epsilon shorthands, the list suggests the possibility the typesetters of T.1 and of T.2/T.2a were perhaps two separate individuals working at the Tuinstraat printing office.

Apart from flaws indicated in the 'Errata Typographica sic corrigenda' (copied from T.1 and included in T.2/T.2a without any changes), the new quarto T.2/T.2a was an ideal opportunity to revise literals and textual errors in order to come up with an improved redaction of the printed text of T.1, its exemplar. In all, the compositor of T.2/T.2a tacitly remedied fifty-five misprints of the first

each of us'. Spinoza in a letter to Burgh* also refers to 1 John 4:13. *See*: [1675/76].00.00, Ep 76 (G 4/318). The *TTP*'s first English edition also has as epigraph 1 John 4:13. Contrariwise, for reasons unknown the epigraph of the *TTP*'s French translation quotes 2 Cor. 3:17 which is not in Spinoza's writings. *See* further Chapters 5 and 6. For background: Van Cauter, *Spinoza on History*, pp. 120–124 and 130–132.

153 'According to Gerritsen, the 1670 variant (T.2a) is the original one: T.2 resulted from "the Roman date 1670 having been press-altered to 1672 by the addition of two l's". The operation then seems deliberately planned; but for what reason is unclear.' (Steenbakkers, 'The Text', p. 34). Because of their increasing printing flaws, Kingma and Offenberg ('Bibliography', pp. 6 and 8) have even argued T.2 and T.2a were published after Spinoza's death. This, however, seems unlikely. The swelling number of flaws must be explained by setting in type and printing the quarto editions repeatedly.

154 Bamberger ('The Early Editions', p. 18) conjectured the issue was perhaps redated 1670 because of the assassination of the De Witt brothers (autumn 1672). This theory serves as an explanation for the modification but it is not supported by historical evidence.

155 Blok/Tschirnhaus: BL.

156 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res 4 Pol.g. 202 m.

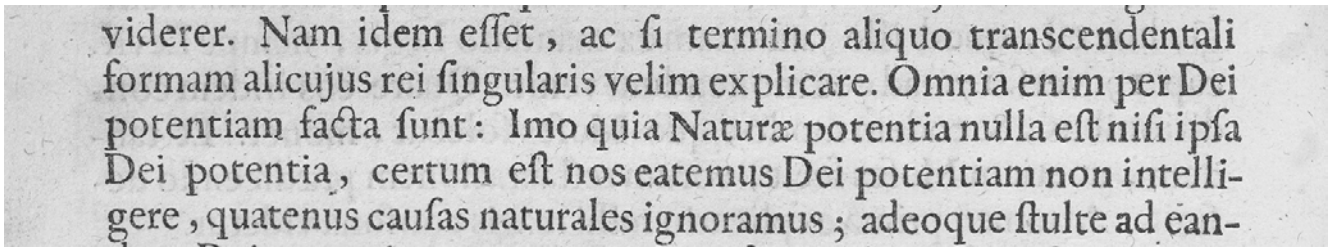

viderer. Nam idem eſſet, ac ſi termino aliquo transcendentali formam alicujus rei ſingularis velim explicare. Omnia enim per Dei potentiam facta ſunt: Imo quia Naturæ potentia nulla eſt niſi ipſa Dei potentia, certum eſt nos eatemus Dei potentiam non intelligere, quatenus cauſas naturales ignoramus; adeoque ſtulte ad ean-

ILLUSTRATION 3.18 T.2/T.2a, misprint of 'eatenus' as 'eatemus'.

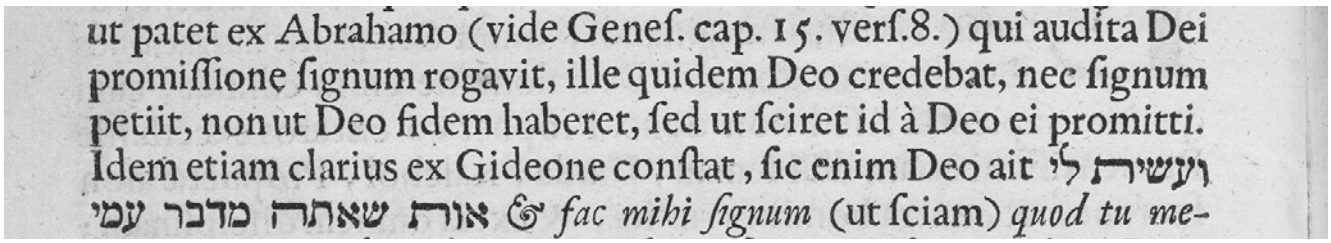

ut patet ex Abrahamo (vide Geneſ. cap. 15. verſ.8.) qui audita Dei promiſſione ſignum rogavit, ille quidem Deo credebat, nec ſignum petiit, non ut Deo fidem haberet, ſed ut ſciret id à Deo ei promitti. Idem etiam clarius ex Gideone conſtat, ſic enim Deo ait ועשית לי אות שאתה מדבר עמי & *fac mihi ſignum* (ut ſciam) *quod tu me-*

ILLUSTRATION 3.19 T.2/T.2a, misprint of 'ut Deo fidem haberet' as 'non ut Deo fidem haberet'.

Latin quarto.[157] In the main text the following corrections from the list of errata can be observed:

- P. 8, l. 5: '*facit*', emended in T.2/T.2a as: '*fecit*'.[158]
- P. 22, l. 10: 'quod lux solis', changed in T.2/T.2a to: 'aut quod lux solis'.[159]
- P. 39, l. 32: 'quod clarissime clare ostendit', altered in T.2/T.2a as: '& quod adhuc clarius ostendit'.[160]
- P. 41, l. 26: 'ut ipsos terra evomat', corrected in T.2/T.2a as: 'ne ipsos terra evomat'.[161]
- P. 95, l. 16: 'que supersunt', remedied in T.2/T.2a as: 'quae supersunt'.[162]
- P. 121, l. 30: 'paragrapho saepe 28' rectified in T.2/T.2a as: 'paragrapho 28 habentur'.[163]

The typesetter of T.2/T.2a also remedied page number 104 as in the plain version of T.1 it had been misnumbered '304'. Another correction in T.2/T.2a concerns the two misprinted words 'imperatorisu,qamvis' in chapter 5 (p. 60, l. 9) of T.1. Apart from these corrections, new literals can be found in the pagination of the second Latin quarto which serve as fine features for a ready identification of T.2/T.2a: signature (*)3 is misprinted as '(*)4', page number 42 as '24', and 207 as '213'. Other printing errors can be found in the running headlines of the main text: '*Cap*. XVI.' (instead of '*Cap*. XIV.', ch. 14, p. 161), '*Cap*. XVII.' (instead of '*Cap*. XVIII.', ch. 18, pp. 209 and 213), and '*Cap*. XX.' (instead of '*Cap*. XIX.', ch. 19, pp. 215, 217, 221, and 223). The compositor of the later Latin T.4n/T.4 quarto edition further emended the misprint on p. 161 and changed '*Cap*. XVI.' into '*Cap*. XIV.' (also correctly printed in T.5). Yet, he introduced a new flaw in the headline. On page 207, it reads '*Cap*. XX.' where it should read '*Cap*. XVIII'. Only the typesetter of T.5 noticed this misprint and made the correction required.

The compositor of the second Latin quarto also introduced textual errors as shown in chapter 12. On page 147, in line 1, the erroneous 'potuerat' (for 'poterat') is also tacitly copied in quartos T.4n/T.4 and T.5.[164]

In T.2/T.2a, the compositor corrupted several phrases. For example, in chapter 1 of T.1, line 13 on page 14 contains correctly 'certum est nos eatenus Dei potentiam non intelligere'. In T.2/T.2a, though, the adverb 'eatenus' is mistakenly set as 'eatemus'.[165] This literal turns up again in T.4n/T.4, thus proving its compositor worked with a copy of T.2/T.2a.

Another textual error can be found in chapter 2 on page 16 of the second quarto. Where T.1 has in line 22 the correct phrase 'ut Deo fidem haberet', in T.2/T.2a printed is the disfiguring phrase 'non ut Deo fidem haberet'.[166] Another typeset flaw can be found on page 169 (l. 10) of chapter 15. T.2/T.2a is here misprinting 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.'. This demerit is continued in the later quartos T.4n/T.4 and T.5. The most striking mistake of all

157 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', pp. 211–212.
158 G 3/22.4.
159 G 3/36.10.
160 G 3/53.32–33.
161 G 3/55.26.
162 G 3/109.16.
163 G 3/135.31.
164 G 3/161.1.
165 G 3/28.13–14.
166 G 3/30.22.

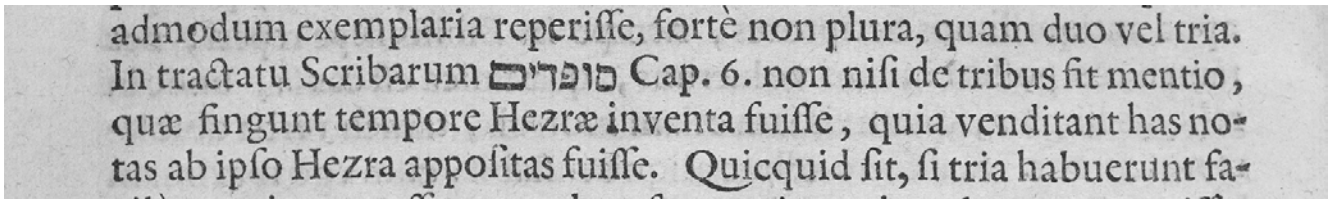

admodum exemplaria reperiſſe, fortè non plura, quam duo vel tria. In tractatu Scribarum סופרים Cap. 6. non niſi de tribus fit mentio, quæ fingunt tempore Hezræ inventa fuiſſe, quia venditant has notas ab ipſo Hezra appoſitas fuiſſe. Quicquid ſit, ſi tria habuerunt fa-

ILLUSTRATION 3.20 T.2/T.2a, misprint of 'סופרים' as 'סופדים'.

textual misprints in T.2/T.2a is the previously-mentioned 'Augensprung' at the beginning of chapter 8 (p. 104, ll. 6–7) of the two sentences 'fundamenta … ut' and 'iis … emendare'. In T.2/T.2a, their corrupted Latin text reads 'iis … emendare | fundamenta … ut', a disfiguring mistake later continued in T.4n/T.4 and T.5.[167] Of course, more corruptions could be mentioned here, but the greater part of them are already listed in the textual history annexed to the 1925 edition by Gebhardt.

The printed Hebrew in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is outside the scope of the present bibliography, but the many misprints (generally literals) in the unpointed Hebrew script demonstrate the compositor who prepared T.2/T.2a for the press had a poor knowledge of the Hebrew language or none.

On page 3, in line 26, for example, the second, third, and fourth quartos have instead of the correct 'יהוה אל' the corrupted 'יהוה של'. In this case, the typesetter mistakenly picked a serifed shin (ש) instead of a serifed aleph (א). Another example can be found on page 126 in line 9. In this instance, T.1 has, correctly, 'סופרים'. T.2/T.2a, however, have the corrupted text 'סופדים', which shows the compositor confused a resh (ר) with a dalet (ד).

Each unbound copy of the quarto edition T.2/T.2a numbers 246 pages (123 leaves); it has a title-page with ornament and the title-page's verso is blank. One single copy comprises 30,75 sheets. This means that from one ream of paper about 15.6 copies could be processed. For an assumed impression of five hundred copies 15,375 sheets of were paper needed; about 32.03 reams. Historical information substantiating the production size of the second Latin quarto is abundantly lacking, but in any case a total number of eighty-nine copies are known to be extant in international library holdings (T.2: 29; T.2a: 60).

⁘

167 The correct text of T.1 reads: '(ut) | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut | iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint.'

SECOND QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, TWO ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 3.21–3.24)

T.2 issue

Short Title

Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1672.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- With reimposed title-page of T.1.
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on title-pages of: T.1, T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künraht' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- Text decorated with simple initials.
- Contains list of errata of T.1 ('Errata typographica') (also in T.4n/T.4).

Key features for ready identification of T.2:

- Title-page, l. 12, epigraph, *i* without dot: '*dedıt*' instead of '*dedit*' (also in T.2a).
- Publication date (1672) in imprint: 'ɔ ı ɔ ı ɔ clxxii.' (T.2a is antedated '1670').
- Pagination: misprint of 42 as '24', 207 as '213' (also in T.2a).

Additional identification features:

- Title-page, l. 3: broken upper beak in upper-case capital letter S in 'POLITICUS' (also in T.1 and T.2a).
- Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johann:' (also in T.1 and T.2a).
- Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand (same shorthand in T.1 and T.2a).
- Title-page, imprint: 'Künraht' with *ht* (as in T.1 and T.2a).
- Prologue, literal: sig. (*)3 misnumbered as '(*)4' (also in T.2a and T.4n, remedied in T.4 and T.5).

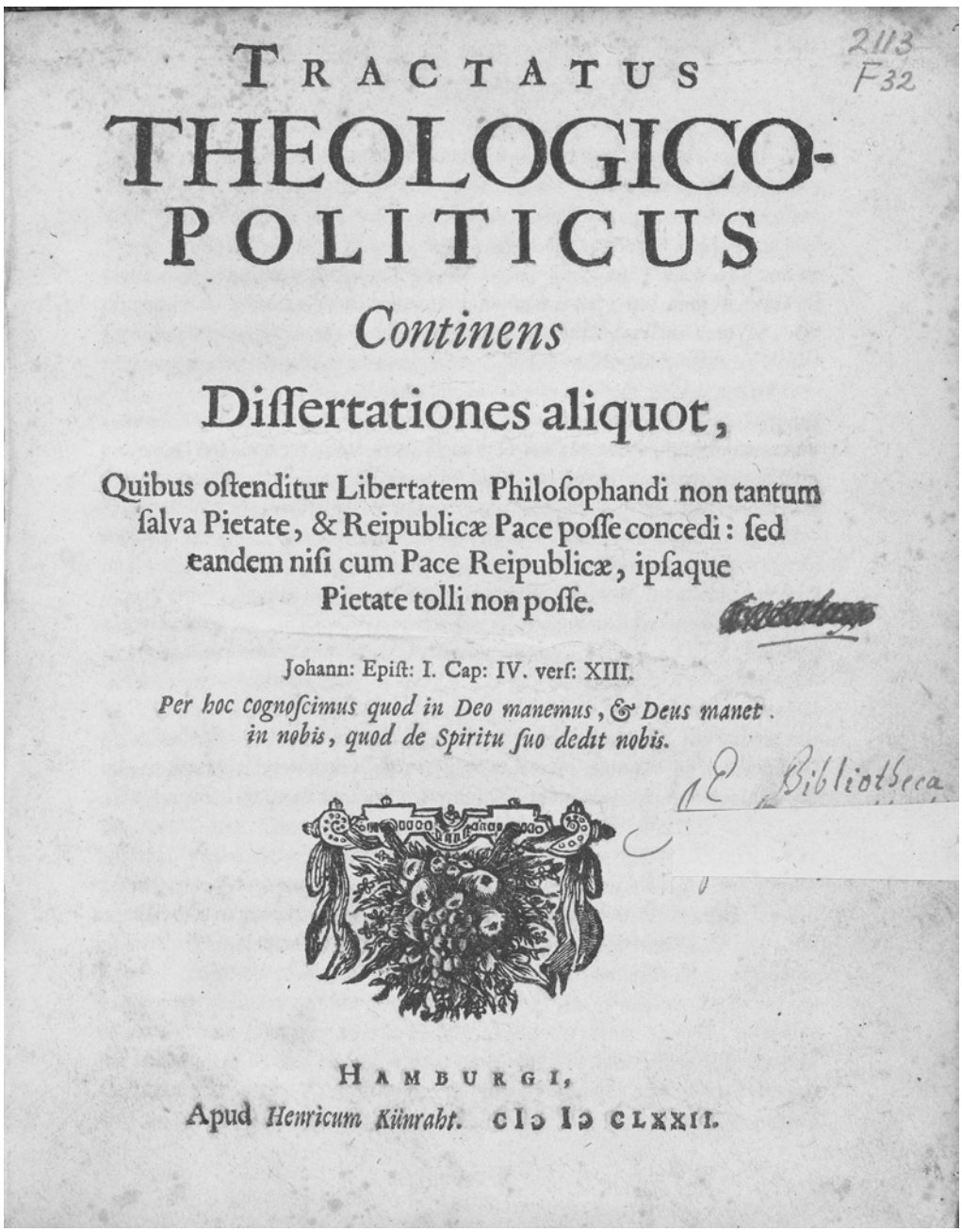


ILLUSTRATION 3.21 Title-page of issue T.2 of the second Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 42 as '24', 207 as '213') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

– P. 104, ll. 6 and 7, incorrectly reading: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (lines also swopped by the typesetter of: T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Exemplar

Quarto edition T.1 served as a printer's copy.

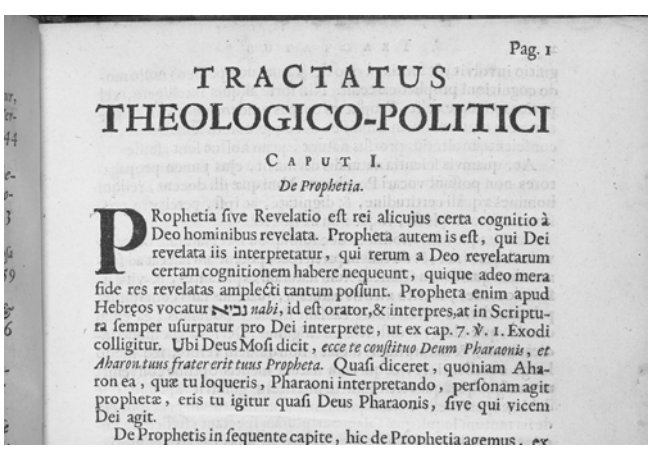
***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*))**

TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS (damaged S) | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot , | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ , ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.* | (yoke ornament) | HAMBURGI, | Apud *Henricum Künraht.* C I Ↄ I Ↄ CLXXII.

Language*(*s*) *and Typography

Latin text, printed bold unpointed Hebrew script, occasionally Dutch (Fraktur typeface, pp. 57 and 159). Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with superior letters) with occasionally printed Hebrew and Dutch, explanatory footnotes are keyed with typographical symbols (italics). Normally thirty-five lines.

Roman type of the first nine lines of the title-page is reimposed type of T.1 title-page which comprised the first nine lines 'Tractatus ... posse' (including the damaged capital letter S in 'POLITICUS'), perhaps also the yoke ornament. For the issue T.2, the epigraph (1 John 4:13) and imprint (perhaps also the yoke vignette) were typeset afresh, 'II' added to older date 'C I Ↄ I Ↄ CLXX.'. Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 257. In the epigraph, the dot on *i* is missing in '*dedit*'. Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 17.



Pag. 1

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-POLITICI

CAPUT I.

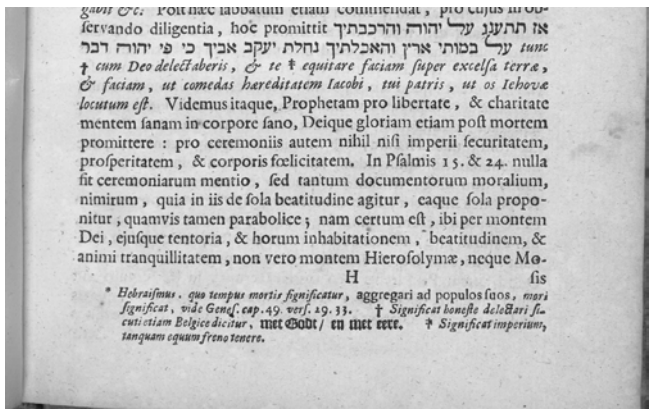
De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum a Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeo mera fide res revelatas amplecti tantum poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt orator,& interpres,at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. 7. ℣. 1. Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Moſi dicit, *ecce te conſtituo Deum Pharaonis, et Aharon tuus frater erit tuus Propheta.* Quaſi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quæ tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, perſonam agit prophetæ, eris tu igitur quaſi Deus Pharaonis, ſive qui vicem Dei agit.

De Prophetis in ſequente capite, hic de Prophetia agemus, ex

ILLUSTRATION 3.22 Page 1 of issue T.2.

Old-style serif roman types from the office of the book's printer, Israel de Paull: *c.*1663/8 'Hamburg' type specimen (several quires of main text, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry; cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 434), 94 mm 'Augustyn' (english) italic (1642 or *c.*1663/8, Bartholomeus or Reinier Voskens?) (ibid., p. 407); 11 mm 'Paragon' roman capitals (1652), 16 mm capitals 'Klein Canon' roman and italic (ibid., p. 435), 'Text' (great primer) roman and italic as well as probably also 'Text' type from a Hebrew fount (2,5 mm mem) (ibid.). Dutch Fraktur unidentified.



ſervando diligentia, hoc promittit יהוה והרכבתיך
אז תתענג על בטחתי ארין והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך כי פי יהוה רבר
tunc † cum Deo delectaberis, & te † equitare faciam ſuper excelſa terræ, & faciam, ut comedas hæreditatem Iacobi, tui patris, ut os Iehovæ locutum eſt. Videmus itaque, Prophetam pro libertate, & charitate mentem ſanam in corpore ſano, Deique gloriam etiam poſt mortem promittere : pro ceremoniis autem nihil niſi imperii ſecuritatem, proſperitatem, & corporis fœlicitatem. In Pſalmis 15. & 24. nulla fit ceremoniarum mentio, ſed tantum documentorum moralium, nimirum, quia in iis de ſola beatitudine agitur, eaque ſola proponitur, quamvis tamen parabolice; nam certum eſt, ibi per montem Dei, ejuſque tentoria, & horum inhabitationem, beatitudinem, & animi tranquillitatem, non vero montem Hieroſolymæ, neque Mo-

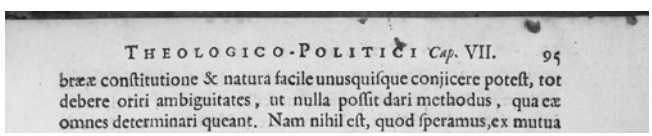
H ſis

* *Hebraiſmus, quo tempus mortis ſignificatur,* aggregari ad populos ſuos, *mori ſignificat, vide Geneſ. cap. 49. verſ. 29. 33.* † *Significat honeſte delectari ſecuti etiam Belgice dicitur,* met Godt/ en met eere. † *Significat imperium, tanquam equum freno tenere.*

ILLUSTRATION 3.23 Page 57 of issue T.2.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– Title-page: broken upper beak of capital letter S in 'POLITICUS'.
– Prologue: misprint of sig. (*)3 as '(*)4'.
– P. 19 (page number): numeral 9 hanging beneath 1 (inner forme of gathering C).
– P. 42 (page number): 42 misnumbered as '24' (inner forme of F).
– P. 43 (caption): V in 'CAPUT IV.' hanging beneath I (inner forme of F).
– P. 95 (page number): 5 gradually shifted northwest in inner forme during printing and tilted skew (hanging, inner forme of M).



THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap.* VII. 95

bræ conſtitutione & natura facile unusquiſque conjicere poteſt, tot debere oriri ambiguitates, ut nulla poſſit dari methodus, qua eæ omnes determinari queant. Nam nihil eſt, quod ſperamus,ex mutua

ILLUSTRATION 3.24 Hanging numeral 5 in page number 95.

Occurs in: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res 4 Pol.g. 202 m (T.2a variant); The Hague, KB, 2113 F 32.

– P. 104, ll. 6 and 7: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (outer forme of N).

– P. 137 (page number): numeral 7 hanging beneath 13 (inner forme of S).
– P. 161 (running headline): '*Cap*. XIV.' printed as '*Cap*. XVI.' (outer forme of X).
– P. 169, l. 10: misprint of 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.' (outer forme of Y).[168]
– P. 207 (page number): 207 misprinted '213' (inner forme of Cc).
– P. 209 and 213 (running headline): '*Cap*. XVIII.' printed as '*Cap*. XVII' (outer forme of Dd).
– P. 215, 217, 221, and 223 (running headline): '*Cap*. XIX.' printed as '*Cap*. XX.' (inner forme of Dd, outer and inner forme of Ee).

Bibliographical fingerprints of separate parts
167204 – a1 (*)2 omines$: a2 (**) pitis$,
167204 – b1 A ce : b2 Gg N$I

Collation
4°: (*)^4 (**)^2 A–Z^4 Aa – Ff^4 Gg^1 [$3 (–(*))]
123 leaves = pp. [*12*] 1–233 [*1*]

Collation Variant
No variant state found.

Direction Line
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines
Running headlines of prologue and list of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin: PRÆFATIO.; INDEX CAPITUM.

Headlines in main work in a combination of larger upper-case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italic type): TRACTATUS (verso), THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap*. I. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers).

Contents

(*)^r	(title-page)
(*)^v	(blank)
(*)2^r–(**)^v	PRAEFATIO.
(**)2^r–(**)2^v	INDEX CAPITUM. (table of contents, two-page list indicating twenty chapters)
A^r–B4^r	TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI. CAPUT I. *De Prophetia.*
B4^r–D3^v	CAPUT II. *De Prophetis.*
D3^v–F2^r	CAPUT III. *De Hebraeorum vocatione. Et an donum Propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.*
F2^r–G3^v	CAPUT IV. *De Lege Divina.*
G4^r–I^v	CAPUT V. *De Ratione, cur caeremoniae institutae fuerint, & de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione, & quibus ea necessaria sit.*
I2^r–L^v	CAPUT VI. *De Miraculis.*
L2^r–N4^r	CAPUT VII. *De Interpretatione Scripturae.*
N4^r–P^v	CAPUT VIII. *In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon & libros Iosuae, Iudicum, Rut, Samuëlis & Regum non esse autographa. Deinde inquiritur an eorum omnium Scriptores plures fuerint, an unus tantum, & quinam.*
P2^r–Q4^r	CAPUT IX. *De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur, nempe an Hesdras iis ultimam manum imposuerit: & deinde utrum notae marginales, quae in Hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur, variae fuerint lectiones.*
Q4^r–S^r	CAPUT X. *Reliqui Veteris Testamenti Libri eodem modo quo superiores examinantur.*
S^r–S4^v	CAPUT XI. *Inquiritur an Apostoli Epistolas suas tanquam Apostoli & Prophetae; an vero tanquam Doctores scripserint. Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur.*
S4^v–T4^v	CAPUT XII. *De vero Legis divinae syngrapho, & qua ratione Scriptura Sacra vocatur, & qua ratione Verbum Dei & denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet, incorruptam ad nos pervenisse.*
V^r–V3^v	CAPUT XIII. *Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere, nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere; nec de divina Naturâ aliud docere, quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt.*
V4^r–X3^v	CAPUT XIV. *Quid sit fides, quinam fideles, fidei fundamenta determinantur, & ipsa a Philosophia tandem separatur.*
X3^v–Y3^v	CAPUT XV. *Nec Theologiam Rationi, nec Rationem Theologiae ancillari; ostenditur & ratio, qua nobis S. Scripturae authoritatem persuademus.*
Y4^r–Aa^v	CAPUT XVI. *De Reipublicae Fundamentis; de jure uniuscujusque naturali & civili; deque Summarum Potestatum Iure.*
Aa2^r–Cc4^r	CAPUT XVII. *Ostenditur neminem omnia in Summam Potestatem transferre posse, nec esse necesse: De Republica Hebraeorum, qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem antequam Reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia: & denique de causis cur Respublica divina interire, & vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit.*
Cc4^r–Dd3^v	CAPUT XVIII. *Ex Hebraeorum Republica, & historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.*

168 G 3/183.10.

Dd3v–Ee4v CAPUT XIX. *Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino esse, & Religionis cultum externum Reipublicae paci accomodari debere, si recte Deo obtemperare velimus*.

Ff r–Gg r CAPUT XX. *Ostenditur, in Libera Republica unicuique & sentire, quae velit, & quae sentiat dicere licere*.

Ggv Errata Typographica sic corrigenda. (list of errata of T.1, thirteen corrections, for pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 49, 83, 95 [2×], 121, 124, 135, 149 [2×])[169]

Ornament on Title-Page

Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 37×50 mm. Same ornament on title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5); *Opera posthuma*; *De nagelate schriften*. *See*: T.1.

Simple Initials

Twenty plain closed black initials (relief woodcuts), 17×13 mm (p. 1), employed to head the first letter of the first word of prologue and chapters of main work (4 ll.), dimensions varying. A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials found in works printed by De Paull in: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Tailpiece Ornament

Relief woodcut (sig. (**)v): reduced yoke ornament, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Also in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2a, and T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma. Reflexions curieuses* (X.2, Y.4 of mixed copies Y.4/Y.5, and Y.4n/Y.4/Y.5). *See*: T.1. Tailpiece replaced by a flower basket ornament in T.5.

***Copies* (*29*)**

Copy Examined

T.2#93 THE HAGUE, KB, 2113 F 32

Minor brownspotting to leaves, late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard.

Provenance: seventeenth- or eighteenth-century notes in black ink in three hands on front free endpapers, one of the notes indicating the book was sold at auction, price: '-16-0' (16 *stuivers*), eighteenth-century owner's inscriptions (title-page), one crossed out and illegible, the other has 'Bibliotheca' (right margin of printer's mark), rest covered under paper pasted down on title-page; circular library stamp (The Hague, KB, sig (*)v).

Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=15&resultClick=1

T.2#94 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3474 (2)

Minor brownspotting to pages, vellum cover with laced-in thongs, spine has 'SPINOSA' on it in black ink, black-speckled edges, Latin owner's inscription on front pastedown with reference to the work of German jurist and political philosopher Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), bound with: B.d.S, *Opera posthuma*.

Provenance: printed eighteenth-century armorial bookplate of the Gralath family on inside cover: 'Ex Bibliotheca Gralathiana', same cover has ex libris of the Dutch philosopher and humanist Leo Polak (1880–1941), copy has pencilled corrections made by Polak presumably, nineteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on title-page: 'C. von Güldenstubbe', modern library stamp on verso of title-page (Leo Polak Stichting) in black ink.

Non-Collated Copies

Germany (*2*)

T.2#95–96 ERLANGEN-NUREMBERG, University Library, HOO/4 PHS-I 24 (leather binding, owner's inscription in lower-right corner of first free endpaper in black ink by Georg Wilhem Poezinger [1703–1753], professor of philosophy and mathematics at Erlangen University, bound with: *Opera posthuma*), HOO/4 PHS-I 26 a (calf leather binding, title and author on spine, bound with: *Opera posthuma*, olim: Johann August Dietelmair [1717–1785], theology professor at Altdorf).

Italy (*1*)

T.2#97 BRINDISI, Biblioteca pubblica arcivescovile Annibale De Leo, FA BN II 32

Russia (*1*)

T.2#98 MOSCOW, Russian State Library, IV-ЛАТ. 4°: MK VIII-32584

Spain (*2*)

T.2#99 MADRID, National Library, 3/9743

T.2#100 MADRID, Universidad Complutense, University Library, BH FLL 3660

169 Corrections made by the compositor concern misprints on pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 95 (except for the second correction), and 121 indicated in the list of errata.

Switzerland (*3*)

T.2#101–102 GENEVA, University Library, BGE Bc 1614* (2), BGE Bc 2145 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled spine and lettering panel: 'ARCANA | ATHEISMI | REVELAT', red-sprinkled edge, bookplate of William Danes, 'baronet 1704', bookplate [first front endpapers] of Gabriel Cramer [1704–1752], professor of mathematics at the *Académie de Genève*, bound after: Kuyper, *Arcana*).

T.2#103 ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, Z C 201

United Kingdom (*7*)

T.2#104–107 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Adams. 6.67.1, Keynes R.5.36, Keynes Cc.06.05, G.10.24 (2) (late-seventeenth-century full calf binding, from the library of bibliophile John Moore [1646–1714], Bishop of Norwich and Ely, then bought by King George I [1660–1727] of Britain and presented to Cambridge University Library, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).[170]

T.2#108 EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland, General Reading Room (George IV Bridge), DC.55.2

T.2#109 EDINBURGH, University Library, C* .22/471 (damaged brown calf binding over pasteboard, eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black on titlepage ['V.D. 15 | Ex Libris Bibliothecae Edinensis'], bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

T.2#110 LONDON, University of London, Special Collections, Rm * G 9.7 [Spinoza]

United States (*11*)

T.2#111 ATLANTA (GA), Emory University, Pitts Theology Library, 1672 SPIN

T.2#112 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University, University Library, *NC6 Sp476 670 tba (bound in brown cloth, brown leather shelf-back and corners, stamped in gold and blind, speckled edges, cream endpapers).

T.2#113 CHAMPAIGN (IL), University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), University Library, IUA08397

T.2#114–115 CHICAGO (IL), The University of Chicago, University Library, Rosenberger 156-20A (bound with: [Meyer], *Philosophia*), B3985 .A1 1670b (Chicago University bookplate: 'Presented by Mr David Hutcheson, Washington DC', correction of p. 42 in an older hand).

T.2#116 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

T.2#117 COLLEGE STATION (TX), Texas A&M University, BS 3985 .A3 1670 (owner's note on front cover's pastedown by the North American philosopher John Herman Randall Jr [1889–1980]: '2nd Issue ($ 325) 1800').

T.2#118 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3985.A3 1672 (manuscript notes in front).

T.2#119 KENT (OH), Kent State University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1672 (bound in brown cloth, brown leather spine and corners, stamped in gold and blind, speckled edges, cream endpapers, bookplate on p. [2] of cover: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana Adolphe S. Oko').

T.2#120–121P NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1672b, 193Sp4 X6 1672a (copy has 'Opera' frontispiece portrait, eighteenth-century notes in black ink, bound with: Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*; B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

References

Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*, vol. 1, p. 274; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 3; Land, 'Over vier drukken', (B); *Bibliotheca Spinozana*, 1893, p. 2; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 17–18 (T.2/T.2a); *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), pp. 32–33, nos. 361–363; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 8–9, no. 4.

⁘

SECOND QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, TWO ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 3.25–3.26)

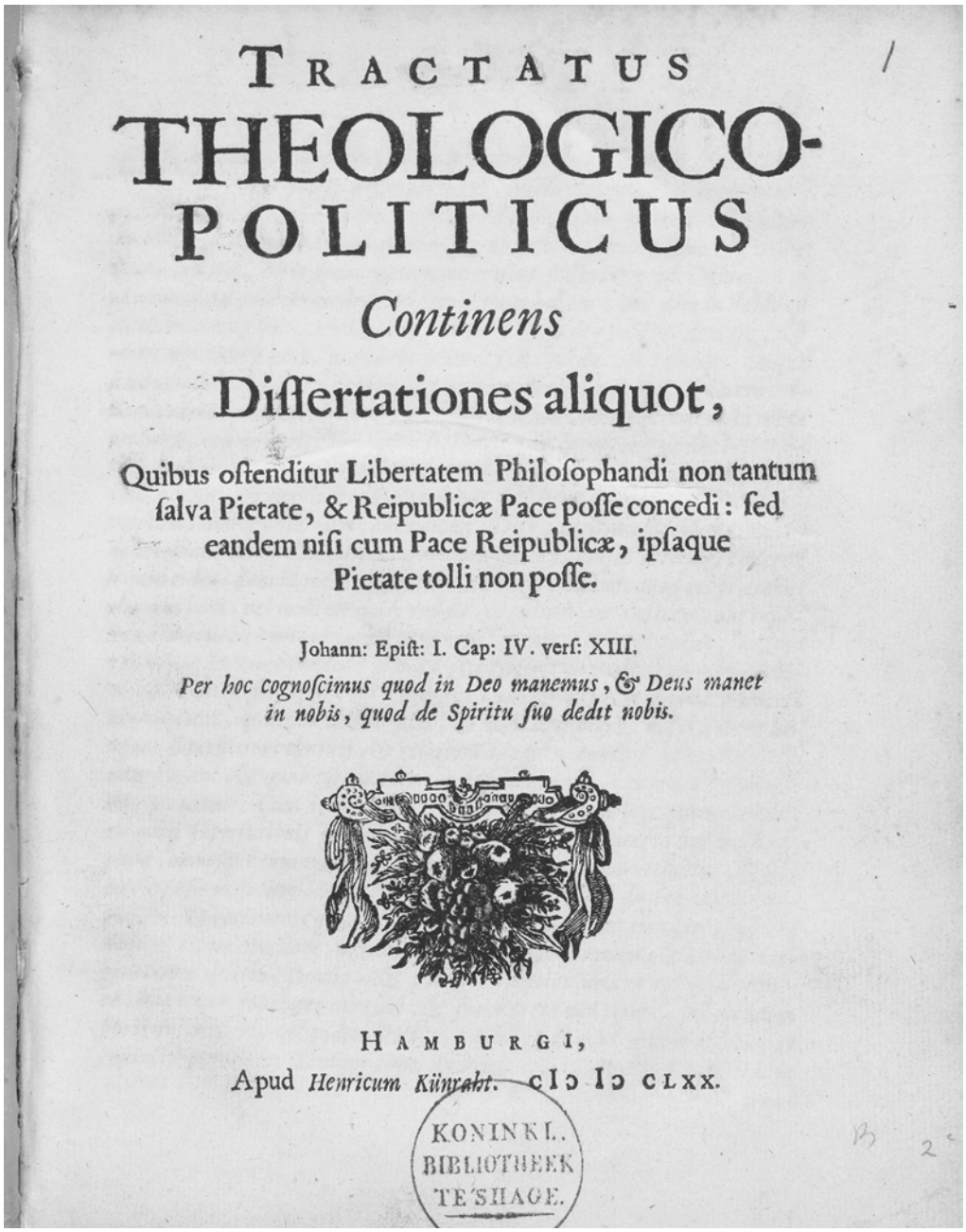
T.2a Issue

Short Title

Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künraht', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670'.

– Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.

170 For Moore's library: Jane Ringrose, 'The Royal Library: John Moore and his Books', in Peter Fox (ed.), *Cambridge University Library. The Great Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 78–89.



TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICUS

Continens

Diſſertationes aliquot,

Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum ſalva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi: ſed eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipſaque Pietate tolli non poſſe.

Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.

Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

HAMBURGI,

Apud *Henricum Künrath.* cIↃ IↃ CLXX.

KONINKL.
BIBLIOTHEEK
TE 'SHAGE.

ILLUSTRATION 3.25 Title-page of issue T.2a of the second Latin quarto edition (misprint of p. 42 as '24', 207 as '213') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

– With reimposed title-page of T.1.
– Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on the title-pages of: T.1, T.2, T.4n/T.4, T.5, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künraht' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
– Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
– Fictitious publication date '1670' in imprint: 'c I ↄ I ↄ CLXX.' (also in T.1, T.4n/T.4 and T.5); presumably published in 1672, but perhaps even in 1673 (?).
– Contains Preface.
– Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
– Text decorated with simple initials.
– Contains list of errata of T.1 ('Errata typographica') (also in T.2 and T.4n/T.4).

Key features for ready identification of T.2a:
– Title-page, l. 12, epigraph, *i* without dot: '*dedıt*' instead of '*dedit*' (also in T.2).
– Pagination: misprint of 42 as '24', 207 as '213' (also in T.2).

Additional identification features:
– Title-page, l. 3: broken upper beak in upper-case capital letter S in 'POLITICUS' (also in T.1 and T.2).
– Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johann:' (also in T.1 and T.2).
– Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand (same shorthand in T.1 and T.2).
– Title-page, imprint: 'Künraht' with *ht* (also in T.1 and T.2).
– Prologue, literal: misprint of sig. (*)3 as '(*)4' (also in T.2 and T.4n, corrected in T.4 and T.5).
– P. 104, ll. 6 and 7, incorrectly reading: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (lines are also swopped by typesetter of: T.2, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Exemplar
Quarto edition T.1 served as printer's copy.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*))**
TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS (damaged S) | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot , | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ , ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedıt nobis.* | (yoke ornament) | HAMBURGI, | Apud *Henricum Künraht.* c I ↄ I ↄ CLXX.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts
167004 – a1 (*)2 omines$: a2 (**) pitis$,
167004 – b1 A ce : b2 Gg N$I

Collation
4º: (*)⁴ (**)² A–Z⁴ Aa–Ff⁴ Gg¹ [$3]
124 leaves = pp. [*12*] 1–233 [*3*]

Collation Variant
No variant state found.
For full bibliographical description and misprints: T.2.

***Copies* (*60*)**

Copies Examined
T.2a#122 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-1956
Provenance: nineteenth-century black circular library stamp ('Zur Bibliothek des A. Fürst') and older shelfmark of Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana ('2340 H 10') in pencil on first front endpapers, another owner's stamp ('A. Fürst') on title-page over illegible owner's note dated '1866'.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=KPFjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.2a#123 COPENHAGEN, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin 27, 6 00010
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs, title written in black ink by a late-seventeenth-century hand ('TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS', below: '2) Bredenburg' and '3) Cuper', nineteenth-century hand), pages 'pasted' into window-like frames for larger copy size, minor brownspotting to pages, Bound with: Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Kuyper, *Arcana*; Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.
Provenance: owner's inscriptions (nineteenth-century hand) on first board paper in black ink on printing history of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, mentioning 'C. Schlüter, 1821', other owner's inscriptions in pencil scattered over main work, label pasted to first board paper ('Det Kongelige Bibliotek af Professor D. Simonsens Bogsamling MCMXXXII').

T.2a#124 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res 4 Pol.g. 202 m
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum binding over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs.

Provenance: owner's inscription by the Amsterdam silk merchant and amateur philosopher Ameldonk Blok in black on front pasteboard.

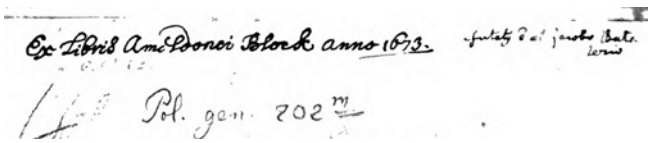


ILLUSTRATION 3.26 Owner's inscription of Ameldonk Blok: 'Ex libris Ameldonci Block, anno 1673'.

Reference by another seventeenth-century hand ('[r]efutatus à [...] Jacobo Batelerio') on the same pasteboard to a refutation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* by Jacobus Johannes Batelier.[171] Printed seventeenth-century bookplate 'Bibliotheca Palatina' (Heidelberg University), crowned coat of arms of the Palatinate between the initials C and T, identical to the coat of arms of Elector Palatine Duke Carl Theodor. (He inherited Bavaria in 1777).[172] Nineteenth-century shelf-mark of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Res 4 Pol.g.202 m) in black ink; library stamps (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 'Bibliotheca Regia Monacensis') foot of title-page and on verso; late-seventeenth-century notes (by Blok ?) in black ink in external margins on pp. 5–6, 9, 27, 109–111, 117–119, 128–129, textual corrections by the same hand (according to the list of errata): p. 83, l. 3, p. 135, l. 4, p. 149, lines 17 and 21.[173]
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10909477-1

T.2a#125 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res 4 Ph.u. 45#Beibd.2
Copy heavily trimmed.
Provenance: many late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century underlines and reader's notes (external margins) in French and Latin with red lead pencil.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10908618-2

T.2a#126 THE HAGUE, KB, 507 E 19
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum binding over pasteboard, round spine, handwritten title in black ink on the top of the spine: 'TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO | POLITICUS | & R. à MANSVELT | adv: eundem', bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*.
Provenance: nineteenth-century note with pencil: 'Tract. Theol. Polit. Editio B 2'; twentieth-century note with pencil (shelf-mark), circular library stamp on title-page (The Hague, KB).
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=1&resultClick=1

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*3*)

T.2a#127–128 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 61-1938, OTM: O 78-135

T.2a#129 AMSTERDAM, Vrije Universiteit, XG.00115 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gilt lettering panel on spine: 'OPERA | SPINOSAE', late-seventeenth-century monogram 'S.K.' in black ink on foot of title-page, bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; Kuyper, *Arcana*; B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

France (*2*)

T.2a#130–131 PARIS, Sorbonne-BIU Centrale, VC 6182, TRI 4 = 3 (olim: Collège de Louis le Grand de la Compagnie de Jésus [Paris]; Collège Louis-le-Grand [1762–93], Paris; Université royale [France]; Faculté de théologie de Paris).

Germany (*8*)

T.2a#132 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 40 Bibl. Dietz 1964 (olim: Johann Bernard Hassel [1690–1755], German theologian, 1764).

T.2a#133 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 PHIL I 1279 RARA (owner by: Johan Hinrich von Bülow [1650–1724], politician, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).[174]

T.2a#134 HANOVER, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, P-A 1469 (bound with: *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

171 Batelier*, *Vindiciae miraculorum*.

172 For Duke Carl Theodor (1724–1799) and the Bibliotheca Palatina: Armin Schlechter, 'Drucke aus der Neuburger Hofbibliothek in der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg', in Bettina Wagner (ed.), *Bibliotheken in Neuburg an der Donau. Sammlungen von Pfalzgrafen, Mönchen und Humanisten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz KG, 2005), pp. 155–180, there at pp. 178–179.

173 References to Bible passages and refutations: Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*; Huet, *Demonstratio*.

174 For Bülow's extensive library: Hans-Günther Seraphim, *Joachim Hinrich von Bülow und seine Bibliothek* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1929).

T.2a#135 Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, 4 Ha 0040

T.2a#136–137 Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena, 4 Theol.XXIX, 4 Theol.XXXVIII,12(2)

T.2a#138–139 Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amaliabibliothek, Scha Le 04778, Da 3:2 (late-seventeenth-century calf binding, signature and stamp of Freiherr Balthasar Friedrich von Logau [1645–1702], stamp 'N.N.', fire damage).

Ireland (*1*)

T.2a#140 Cork, University College Cork, Boole Library, L.5.7 (late-seventeenth-century tooled leather calf binding, spine with originally gilt panel with title: 'TRACT | THEO | POL' and paper label with shelf-mark, watermark of a foolscap or jester on the front and back flyleaves and endpaper, part of St Finn Barre's Cathedral collection).

Italy (*12*)

T.2a#141 Livorno, Biblioteca Labronica, 001 452102

T.2a#142 Manduria, Biblioteca comunale Marco Gatti, XI-4 52

T.2a#143 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, BVEE050644

T.2a#144 Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile di Padova (Facoltà teologica del Triveneto, Istituto filosofico Aloisianum), Bib. del Seminario Vescovile 600. ROSSA.B.5.-16 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, red-sprinkled edges).

T.2a#145 Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveniana, J-06-B-15

T.2a#146 Pisa, University Library, B d. 9. 30

T.2a#147 Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, F.ANT H.5 12/2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with brown gilt title on lettering panel: 'B. SPINOSAE | OPERA | POSTHVMA', late-seventeenth- or eighteenth-century mark [arrow] in black ink on spine, possibly an indication the work was placed [29 August 1690] by the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office on the index of prohibited books (a similar note in black ink in the copy reads 'Proibito' and is followed by an arrow), nineteenth-century paper library label with shelf-mark on foot of spine, handwritten notes on first endpapers, owned by: Domenico Passionei [quite likely Italian Cardinal Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761)], bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

T.2a#148–149 Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp.Ferr.IV.7040(1:int.1), Stamp.Ferr.IV.7040(1:int.1)

T.2a#150 Torino, University Library, M XII.29(2)

T.2a#151 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, BNM C 198C 081 (former owner: Congregazione dell'Oratoria di Venezia; cf. Flaminio Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello*, 1758, pp. 89–92; Simonetta Pelusi, 'Dall'oratorio di San Filippo Neri ai Redentoristi', 2007).

T.2a#152 Vicenza, Instituzione pubblica culturale biblioteca civica Bertoliana, T 001 009 028 (bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

Switzerland (*3*)

T.2a#153 Basle, University Library, UBH ib III 5:3

T.2a#154–155 Geneva, University Library, BGE Bc 1613**, BGE Bc 1614* (2)

United Kingdom (*10*)

T.2a#156 Cambridge, Trinity College, I.15.35[2] (bound with: [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

T.2a#157 Durham, University Library, Palace Green Library: Bishop Cosin's Library, Cosin O.4.5 (olim: John Cosin [1594–1672], classical high English churchman, archdeacon of East Riding and author).

T.2a#158 London, Senate House Libraries, Special Collections, [Rare] G9.7 [Spinoza] (olim: Harold Foster Hallett [1886–1966], professor of philosophy at King's College, British secretary of the Societas Spinozana).

T.2a#159 London, St Paul's Cathedral, Library of Dean and Chapter, shelf-mark is not known (brown spotting to pages, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century leather covering [boards detached], double blind rule surround, vertical quadruple rule [front board, 15 mm, back board, 30 mm], from the spine border rule, four spiky floral blind stamps [with four round florets emerging from two leaves], two further stamps [one at each head and tail of the narrower compartment adjacent to spine, parallel to the nearest stamp to all board edges], red-sprinkled edges, late-eighteenth-century owner's

note on title-page in black ink: 'St Pauls', Cathedral's library and pressmark on renewed nineteenth-century pastedown)

T.2a#160–161 MANCHESTER, University Library, JRL 573 (minor brownspotting to pages, bookplate of British peer and politician John Spencer [1734–1783], 1st Earl Spencer, on end pastedown, eighteenth-century owner's inscription on title-page: 'Benedicti Espinoza, Judaei', bookplate of Cambridge University on verso of title-page), JRL SC1040B (from the library of Hebraist Tobias Theodores [1808–1886], professor at Owens College [precursor of the Victoria University of Manchester, now University of Manchester]).

T.2a#162 OXFORD, Corpus Christi College, V.106 (seventeenth-century sprinkled calf, blind-tooled fillets towards outer edges of boards, gilt lettering to spine, red-sprinkled edges, bequest of Cuthbert Ellison, student at the college who left many books on his death in 1719 to the College, bookplate on the inside of upper board, and a manuscript inscription by Ellison on first free endpaper, copy was once chained)

T.2a#163 OXFORD, The Queen's College, Select cases, Sel.d. 72 (late-seventeenth-century parchment over pasteboard laced onto four supports, and laced in at head and tail, traces of chaining at fore-edge of upper board, provenance: Thomas Barlow [1608/9–1691], provost of The Queen's College and Bishop of Lincoln, provenance notes [1671] on title-page in black ink by Barlow: 'Lib: Tho: Barlow e Coll Reg. [...] m. dc, lxxi.', 'Author Spinosa, gente Judaeo, Religione. Cui [...] habeat Politico', note by Barlow on flyleaf facing title-page: 'Dissert. de libertate Philosophandi. 1670', Oxford library stamp [round] on verso of title-page, bookplate of Queen's College on pastedown of upper board and on title-page verso, older shelf-marks: 144/f/2, 379.C.4).

T.2a#164 OXFORD, Worcester College, CC.8.12 (owned by William Gower [*c*.1702–1777], second provost of Worcester College, 'W. Gower' on title-page).

T.2a#165 WINCHESTER, Winchester Cathedral, Morley Library (rebacked original tanned calf boards, red-sprinkled edges, one note reading 'by Spinoza').

United States (*16*)

T.2a#166 ATLANTA (GA), Emory University, Pitts Theology Library, 1669 LAFO: 2

T.2a#167 CHICAGO (IL), The Newberry, Case 4B 246 .830954 (eighteenth-century owner's inscription ['[Praet] [2] Florini'] and bookplate of Newberry library on first inside pastedown, eighteenth-century owner's inscription by another hand on first free endpapers ['Ex libris Thomae Craufurch Empt. Rotterdami mense augusti a. ae. v. 1777'], bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

T.2a#168 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

T.2a#169 GLENSIDE (PA), Westminster Theological Seminary, Montgomery Library B 3985 .A3 1670 (marbled pasteboard and flyleaves, with bookplate of John H. Dillingham [1870] and green oblong label reading: 'John Pennington & Son, Importers and Booksellers, Philadelphia').

T.2a#170 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985 .A3 1670a (manuscript notes in front of text).

T.2a#171 LINCOLN (NE), University of Nebraska, University Library, BS3985.A3 1670d (bound with: [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

T.2a#172 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California, University Library, B 3985 .A3 1670b (brown spotting to pages, bookplate on front pastedown of Martin Hirschfeldt, bound with: Kuyper, *Arcana*).

T.2a#173 NASHVILLE (TN), private collection Lenn E. Goodman (vellum binding).

T.2a#174 NEW HAVEN (CT), University Library, K8 Sp4 c670b (olim: Edward Thurland [1607–1683], English lawyer and politician).

T.2a#175–177 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1670c (eighteenth-century notes in black ink throughout main text, eighteenth-century owner's note in black ink in upper-right corner of title-page: 'Cyrillus Wijchs', owner's note 'C. Killigrew' in black ink in lower-right margin of title-page), B193Sp4 X611 (underlineations in black ink, eighteenth-century notes), B193Sp4 X61 (late-seventeenth-century note on title-page in black ink: 'contra scripserunt Regnerus a Mansvelt, Franciscus Cuperus Bredenburgius (vid. Cuper p. 6)').

T.2a#178 NEW YORK (NY), New York Public Library, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and his Circle, Pforz *557 R 10 (bound in vellum, olim: Philip Mallet [1778/9–1812] and English Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley [1792–1822], with manuscript annotations originally attributed to Shelley reattributed to [possibly] Philip Mallet except for final note by Shelley, bookplate of Sir Percy Florence Shelley [1819–1889], 'Roger Ingpen' in pencil on front free endpaper, 'Philip Mallet' in ink on front fly leaf).[175]

T.2a#179 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (modern calf binding, back with gilt-lettered red label, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century note on title-page on top of yoke ornament, reading: 'Auctore Benj: da Spinosa', collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

T.2a#180 PRINCETON (NJ), Princeton Theological Seminary, SCC #1977 (small note with scriptural reference on p. 17, former owner: Robert Swift).

T.2a#181 PROVO (UT), Brigham Young University, University Library, 211.5 Sp47t 1670

References

Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Weller, *Die falschen und fingirten Druckorte*, vol. 1, p. 274; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 3; Land, 'Over vier drukken', (B); *Bibliotheca Spinozana*, 1893, p. 2; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 17–18 (T.2/T.2a); *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), pp. 32–33, nos. 361–363; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 9, no. 5.

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8 Prohibition

After the outbreak of the Franco-Dutch War in April 1672, when the Netherlands were thrown into Louis XIV's great international war, the Dutch Republic's equilibrium completely collapsed.[176] The Sun King's troops, split up in two vast army bodies, swiftly gaining control over the southern, eastern, and central parts of the United Provinces. Louis XIV had made a deal with the bishoprics of Münster and Cologne to ascertain a military corridor in the east and facilitate a military invasion of the Republic through Liège (which fell under the authority of Cologne). Although the well-trained Dutch fleet was probably among the strongest in the world the States army was nonetheless poorly prepared for a military campaign on land. After an initial successful and overwhelming large-scale attack on Dutch territory, the French forces' march stranded at the inundated Holland Water Line (the Holland *waterlinie*, a line of redoubts protecting the coastal areas linked by flooding). In mid-June 1672, they were only at a day's march from Amsterdam, thereby turning the Dutch Republic into a fragmented warzone ruled by confusion and disorder.[177]

With the French invasion almost brought to a halt and the country largely occupied, the United Provinces fell into a state of turmoil. Many took flight to safer places and withdrew their money from the exchange banks, thus precipitating an unprecedented financial crisis.[178] In unoccupied Holland, the republican administration was largely blamed for this chaos. Orangists turned against the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, accusing him of handing over the United Provinces to Louis XIV. Taken together, war had polarized the old conflict between the ruling Wittian elite administration and supporters of the Prince of Orange.[179]

The Orangist vendetta against Johan and his brother Cornelis, a deputy of the States of Holland who accompanied naval commander Michiel de Ruyter in the raid on the Medway (1667) and the Battle of Solebay (1672), was

175 Shelley received the copy in 1813. For Shelley's pencilled annotations (pp. 50–51, criticizing Spinoza's concept of justice): Donald H. Reimann (ed.), *Shelley and his Circle: Manuscripts, 1773–1822* (Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), vols. 7–8, pp. 731–736, 737–743. Crook ('Shelley, Jews and the Land of Promise', in Alan M. Weinberg and Timothy Webb [eds.], *The Neglected Shelley* [Farnham: Ashgate, 2015], pp. 261–280, at pp. 268–269) corrected the view all annotations were by Shelley and pointed out a few of them were by Philip Mallet.

176 Economic motives are often assumed to have caused the Franco-Dutch War's outbreak. The Sun King, though, wanted France only for his own lust for power to break down the supremacy of the Dutch Republic (cf. Wouter Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005], pp. 71–72). Background: Paul Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); James R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (London and New York, NY: Longman, 1996); John A. Lynn, *The French Wars 1667–1714. The Sun King at War* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002); Olaf van Nimwegen, *The Dutch Army and the Military Revolutions, 1588–1688* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 433–442; Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar"'.

177 The *waterlinie* was developed as a protective line, running from Muiden to Woerden (close to Utrecht), and from Schoonhoven to Gorinchem.

178 Luc Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2005), p. 422.

179 De Witt: BL.

fuelled in many vitriolic political pamphlets. The majority of these pamphlets, favouring the new Stadholder, accused them of systematically betraying the country and selling out the Republic to Louis XI, thus insisting on the purge of Dutch republican rule.[180] From July 1672 onward, the Prince of Orange's lifelong appointment to the Stadholderate was dramatically felt among the formerly ruling republican elite which were placed outside Dutch politics. When eventually on 20 August 1672 an Orangist mob brutally murdered the De Witt brothers and tore them to pieces, the Stadholder was already ruling like a dictator.[181] William III had gained full control of the Dutch army and fleet. Backed by his autocratic Orangist entourage, he was now also able to influence the yearly composition of the Dutch *Vroedschappen*. Gradually, those ruling towns' magistracies were disbanded and replaced by regents loyal to the new Stadholder and the Reformed Church; 130 republican regents out of 460 were permanently removed from office.

Apparently, the political shift resounded in republican circles for a long time. A young Utrecht libertine, in an entry of his private notebook (20 March 1678–1 September 1679), wrote up a political scenario featuring the Dutch Grand Pensionary who had become the victim of fierce Orangist sentiments:

> In the year 1672, it was necessary – in so great an emergency – to create a dictator, and they should have elected De Witt during that period; we might have detained the French to one or two towns or have prevented them from crossing the rivers or we might have defeated them in battle, and the prince would not have obtained the authority he now has. They could have indeed have removed him from office after a year, for he was elected for one year only.[182]

During the ensuing Franco-Dutch war, in 1673 and 1674, Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was by the book's publisher once again clandestinely issued in a new edition (labelled T.3 by Bamberger) in the smaller octavo size. This time in one volume with the explosive *Philosophia*, a treatise commonly attributed to Lodewijk Meyer.[183] That new edition and its subsequent ban, discussed in further detail in the next chapter, was laid-up in one print run with five distinct title-pages, all with a veil of secrecy. Seven months after members of the Leiden church council came across copies of the new octavo edition of Spinoza's treatise, the ruling Orangist administration immediately had the book banned under anti-Socinian legislation.[184]

On 19 July 1674, about two years after William III came to power and the De Witt brothers were lynched by Orangists, the provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland banned the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in an official placard. Its decree outlawed the printing, circulation, and public sale of 'several Socinian and other harmful books' ('verscheyde Sociniaense ende andere schadelijcke Boecken'). The decree, *Placaet van den Hove van Hollandt, tegens de Sociniaensche Boecken Leviathan en andere* (Placard of the Hof of Holland against the Socinian Books 'Leviathan', and Others), forbade apart from Spinoza's treatise also Hobbes's *Leviathan*, the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, and the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.[185]

180 William* III had been appointed Field Marshall ('capitein- en admirael-generael over de Unie') of the army (26 February 1672). Shortly after France and England declared (6 and 7 April 1672) war on the United Provinces, the young Prince of Orange was offered the Stadholderate of Holland (4 July) and Zeeland (16 July), too. A known total of 219 pamphlets were issued against the De Witt brothers. In turn, their cause was defended in seventy-four pamphlets. Cf.: Guido de Bruin, 'Political Pamphleteering and Public Opinion in the Age of De Witt (1653–72)', in Femke Deen, etc. (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 63–95, there at p. 71.

181 After De Witt's death, the Prince of Orange ruled with a small elite clique: Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709), Grand Pensionary Gaspar Fagel*, deputy Willem Adriaan van Nassau-Odijk I (1632–1705), Everard van Weede van Dijkveld (1626–1702), and military commander Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen (1644–1703). *See*: Simon Groenveld, 'William III as Stadholder: Prince or Minister?', in Esther Mijers and David Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 17–37, there at p. 24.

182 'A° 1672 opus fuit creare in tanta necessitate dictatorem, et debuissent eligere Wittium durante hoc tempore, galli ad unam aut alteram urbem detinuissemus aut transitum fluviorum impedissemus vel praelio vicissemus, et princeps non obtinuisset illam auctoritatem quam nunc habet post annum enim potuissent illum deponere nam in annum tantum electus erat' (Steenbakkers, Touber, and Van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook', entry 10, pp. 266–267 and 315–316).

183 Anon. [Meyer*], *Philosophia*. For the political reaction of the States of Holland and T.3's subsequent ban by the High Court of Holland in July 1674, *see*: Chapter 4, *The 'Heinsius' and 'Sylvius' Issues*.

184 Between 1667 and 1675, the States of Holland officially banned thirty-nine printed works. Only six concerned politics and philosophy. Cf.: Weekhout, *De boekencensuur*, p. 72. *See* also on Dutch censorship: Wiep van Bunge, *Spinoza Past and Present. Essays on Spinoza, Spinozism, and Spinoza Scholarship* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2012), pp. 137–156.

185 Hobbes*, *Leviathan*, 1651; anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*; id., [Meyer*], *Philosophia*; *Placaet van den Hove van Hollandt*, 19 July 1674 (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 315, no. 117).

Under anti-Socinian censorship all four books were prohibited on a province-wide scale. The decree of 19 July concluded that these four works were roundly heterodox as they were blasphemous, too:

> Hence, we came to the conclusion that it is our duty to prevent and stop this harmful poison from deceiving people and, as has been [legally] prescribed, to declare and proclaim the aforesaid books to be blasphemous and soul-depraving: [they are] full of unsubstantiated and dangerous theorems and abominations, harming the true religion and worship. [We] forbid hereby each and everyone to print, disseminate, or sell these [books], on auctions or otherwise, on the penalty [expressed] in the placards of this Province, and especially one decreed on this [matter] on 19 September 1653.[186]

The Hof van Holland's decree declared that the banned books destroyed 'the teachings of true Christian Reformed Religion' ('de Leere van de Ware Christelijcke Gereformeerde Religie'). These works, according to the placard of 19 July,

> … [are] filled with blasphemies against God and his properties, and against the venerable Trinity, against the deity of Jesus Christ … and, arguably, against the authority of Holy Scripture … [and] all [run counter] to repeatedly [proclaimed] resolutions and placards of this land issued against these [blasphemies].[187]

Although the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was banned in Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland since the summer of 1674, Spinoza's treatise could circulate in the Province of Utrecht much longer, in spite of several synodal complaints. Only after new protests were tabled during a meeting of the Utrecht Provincial Synod, held between 11 and 14 September 1678, the Utrecht *Vroedschap* finally also issued (20/30 October 1678) a placard, outlawing the '*Tractatus theologico-politicus* van Spinosa', along with Hobbes's *Leviathan*, the *Philosophia*, the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, and '*B.D.S. opera Posthuma*', too. The *Vroedschap*'s decision forbade all local printers and book dealers to process such 'Socinian or Arian books' or sell works of that stock alike. They were also obliged to hand in, within three days, to the local court all copies of the foregoing works proscribed. Local authorities would heavily fine violations of the placard; printers the sum of 3,000 guilders, booksellers 1,000 guilders. Those offending against it twice even risked being banned from the town of Utrecht.[188]

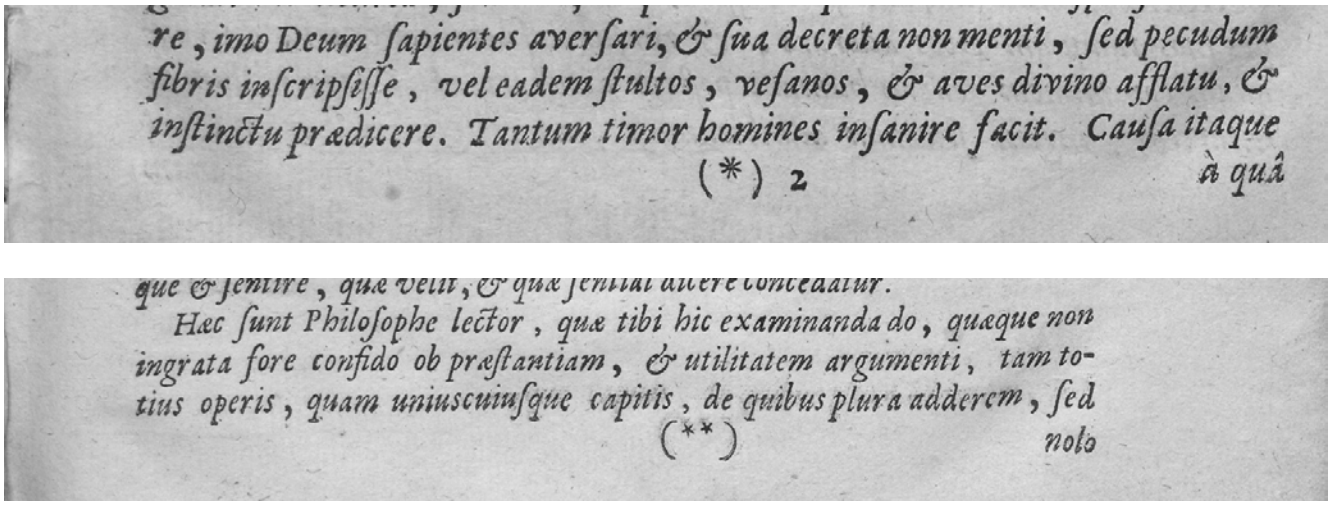
9 Third and Fourth Latin Quartos: T.4n/T.4 and T.5 (1677 or Later)

The placard of 19 July 1674 issued by the provincial High Court of Holland could not prevent the 'Theological-Political Treatise' from being printed afresh, or from being distributed, read, and debated. In 1677 or soon thereafter, two new Latin quarto editions of Spinoza's work were brought into circulation. The Dutch philosopher's then just recent death and the publication of his posthumous works (launched in the first weeks of 1678) had probably revived new interest in his writings from readers. These editions, labelled by Bamberger as T.4 and T.5, were also fitted with false title-pages comprising an imprint suggesting these books had been published at Hamburg in 1670, i.e., years before the Hof van Holland's 1674 placard. Judged by their title-pages, epigraphs, bookseller's imprints, typographical features, vignettes, and general layout it seems plausible to assume the Amsterdam printer Israel de Paull once again produced the third and fourth Latin quarto editions. Interestingly, while preparing this bibliography I came across a variant of T.4 which in this study is labelled

186 'soo ist, Dat Wy tot voor-kominge van dit schadelijck Vergift, ende om soo veel mogelijck te beletten, dat daer door niemandt en moge werden misleydt, hebben geoordeelt van Onsen plicht de voorschreve Boecken te verklaren soodanigh als voorschreve is, ende te decrieren voor Gods-lasterlijcke ende Ziel-verderffelijcke Boecken, vol van ongefondeerde en dangereuse stellingen en grouwelen, tot naedeel van de ware Religie ende Kercken-dienst. Verbiedende dien volgende als noch by desen allen ende een yegelijcken, de selve of diergelijcke te Drucken, Divulgeeren ofte Verkoopen, op Auctien ofte andersints, op peyne by de Placcaten van den Lande, ende specialijck dat van den negenthienden September sesthien hondert drie en vijftigh, daer toe ghestatueert.' (*Placaet van den Hove van Hollandt*, 19 July 1674; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 315, no. 117). Also in: *Groot placaet-boeck, vervattende de placaten, ordonnantien ende edicten van de … Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, ende van de … Staten van Hollandt en West-Vrieslandt, mitsgaders vande … Staten van Zeelandt* (9 vols., The Hague: 1658–1796), vol. 3, p. 523.

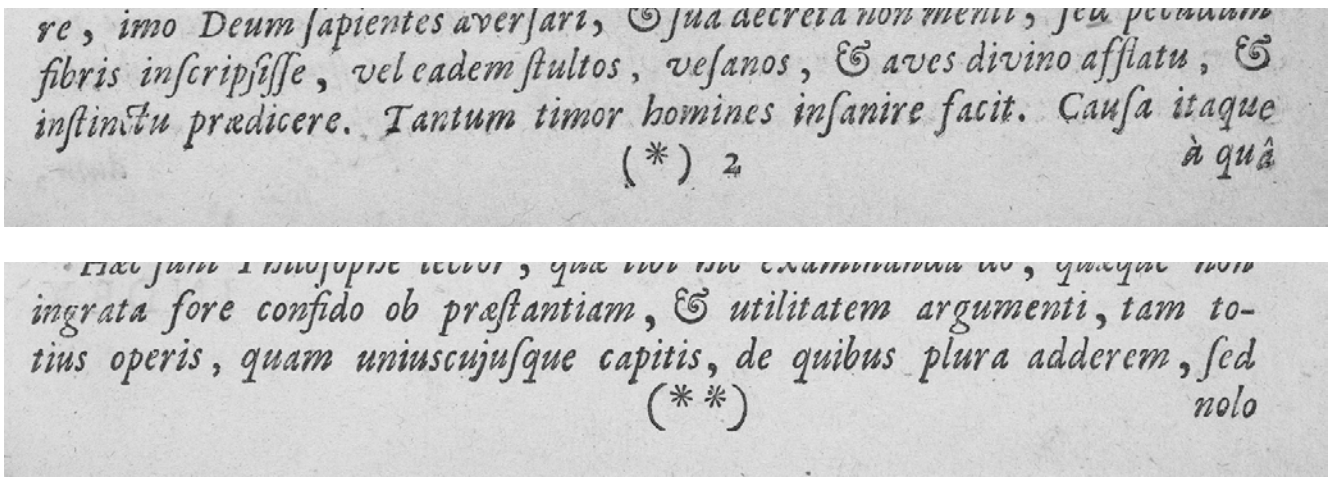
187 '… overvloeyen van alle lasteringen tegens Godt, en syne Eygenschappen, ende des selfs aenbiddelijcke Drie Eenigheydt, tegens de Godtheydt Jesu Christi … ende in effecte d'authoriteyt van de Heylige Schrifture … alles directelijck jegens iterative Resolutien ende Placaten van den Lande daer jegens ge-emaneert.' (*Placaet van den Hove van Hollandt*, 19 July 1674; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 315, no. 117).

188 W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 394–396, no. 183. *See* further: Chapter 9, *Prohibition*.


re, imo Deum ſapientes averſari, & ſua decreta non menti, ſed pecudum
fibris inſcripſiſſe, vel eadem ſtultos, veſanos, & aves divino afflatu, &
inſtinctu prædicere. Tantum timor homines inſanire facit. Cauſa itaque
(*) 2 à quâ

que & ſentire, quæ velit, & quæ ſentiat alicui concedatur.
Hæc ſunt Philoſophe lector, quæ tibi hic examinanda do, quæque non
ingrata fore confido ob præſtantiam, & utilitatem argumenti, tam to-
tius operis, quam uniuscuiuſque capitis, de quibus plura adderem, ſed
(**) nolo

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.27 AND 3.28 In the prologue, the first fingerprint in T.4n/T.4 reads: [> 1677]04–a1 (*)2 homine: a2 (**) s$,$de$.


re, imo Deum ſapientes averſari, & ſua decreta non menti, ſed pecudum
fibris inſcripſiſſe, vel eadem ſtultos, veſanos, & aves divino afflatu, &
inſtinctu prædicere. Tantum timor homines inſanire facit. Cauſa itaque
(*) 2 à quâ

Hæc ſunt Philoſophe lector, quæ tibi hic examinanda do, quæque non
ingrata fore confido ob præſtantiam, & utilitatem argumenti, tam to-
tius operis, quam uniuscujuſque capitis, de quibus plura adderem, ſed
(**) nolo

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.29 AND 3.30 The first fingerprint in T.5 reads however: [> 1677]04–a1 (*)2 $homin: a2 (**) itis$,$d.

T.4n. Three rare copies are extant: two in Switzerland and one in the United States.[189]

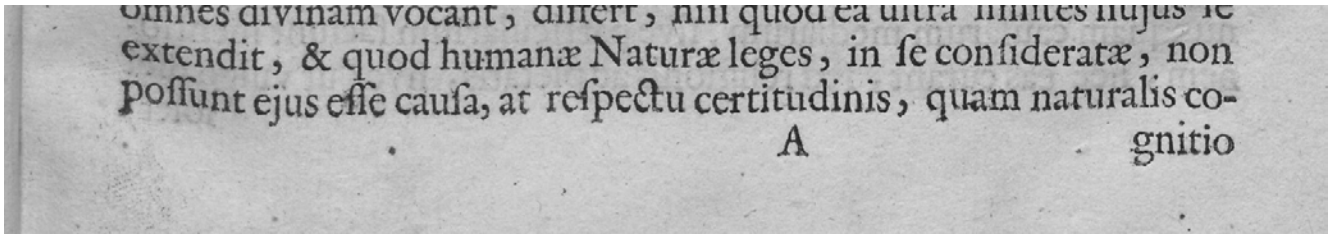
The typographical features of issues T.4n and T.4, and especially their bibliographical fingerprints, underline both variants were produced in one printing run, arguably, with two different title-pages. All typographical characteristics of the title-page of T.4n and a misprint in the Preface's direction line of signature (*)3, typeset as '(*)4', furthermore suggest it must have preceded Bamberger's variant T.4 which has a stop-press correction of signature (*)3, remedying '(*)4' into (*)3.

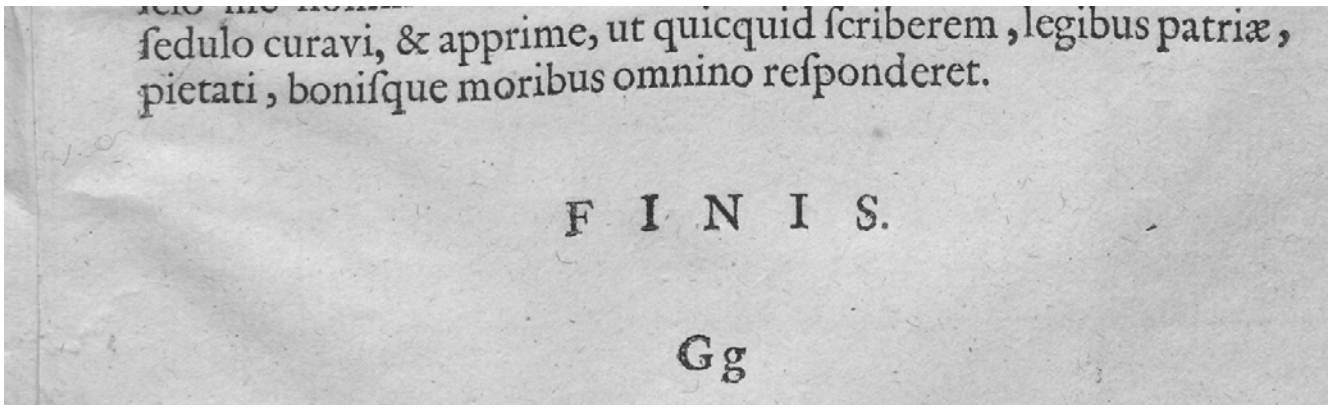
The large number of misprints in the two new Latin quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* indicate T.4n/T.4 and T.5 must have been produced in great haste. Although closely linked, these two editions were produced in separately-planned print runs. Evidence for this is established by their bibliographical fingerprints which clearly show their mutual differences in the direction lines.

The typographical and textual characteristics of T.4n/T.4 deliver further proof this third Latin quarto edition was typeset on the basis of T.2/T.2a. The printed text of T.5 in turn shows its compositor worked with a copy of T.4n/T.4.

T.4n/T.4 and T.5 can be readily identified by notable literals in their pagination. The compositor of T.4n/T.4 misnumbered page number 130 as '830'. The typesetter of T.5, though, corrected this misprint but misnumbered 192 as '92' instead. The issues T.4n/T.4 can be recognized by other key misprints lacking in T.5. In the main text of T.4n/T.4, 'Pag. 1' is set in type as 'Fag. 1'. In page number 25, the numeral 5 is printed in a lower position, 69 has a lower printed 9, 112 shows a lower 12, and the 12 in page number

189 Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70; Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985 .A3 1670b; New York (NY), New York Public Library, YBCP L35.C7.

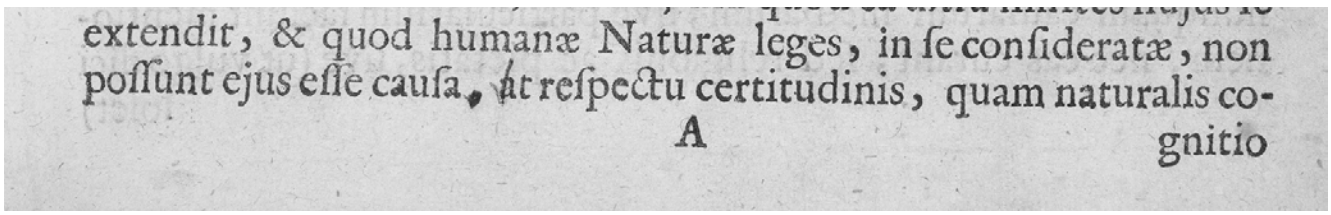

omnes divinam vocant, differt, nisi quod ea ultra limites hujus se
extendit, & quod humanæ Naturæ leges, in se consideratæ, non
possunt ejus esse causa, at respectu certitudinis, quam naturalis co-
A gnitio

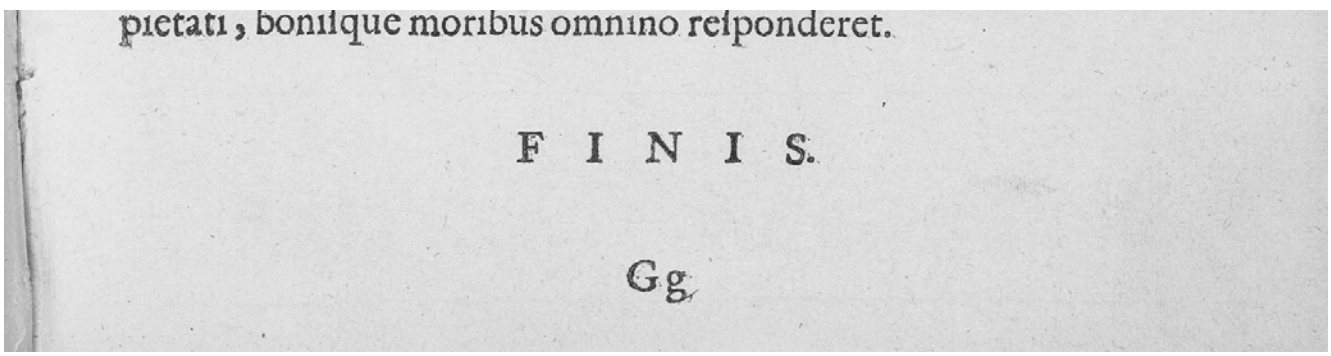

sedulo curavi, & apprime, ut quicquid scriberem, legibus patriæ,
pietati, bonisque moribus omnino responderet.

FINIS.

Gg

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.31 AND 3.32 In the main text of T.4n/T.4, the second fingerprint reads: [> 1677]04–b1 A tu: b2 Gg $N.


extendit, & quod humanæ Naturæ leges, in se consideratæ, non
possunt ejus esse causa, at respectu certitudinis, quam naturalis co-
A gnitio


pietati, bonisque moribus omnino responderet.

FINIS.

Gg

ILLUSTRATIONS 3.33 AND 3.34 The second fingerprint of T.5 reads this: [> 1677]04–b1 A u$c: b2 Gg N.

127 is printed in lower position. In the title of chapter 19 (p. 214) the verb '*esse*' in T.4n/T.4 is spelled with a 'sharp *s*': '*jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino eβe*'. In T.5, this title has '*esse*' instead of '*eβe*'.

The first two Latin quartos T.1 and T2/T.2a, published in 1670 and 1672, were issued with an imprint at the foot of the title-page, claiming the name of their publisher was called 'Künraht', with *ht*. In the imprints of T.4n/T.4 and T.5, though, this name is now spelled 'Künrath', with *th*. About the composition of the title-pages, it should be underlined that, as typographical shorthand for the Latin 'et' in the first line of the epigraph 1 John 4:13, the compositor of T.1 and T.2/T2a used an upper-case italic Epsilon ampersand.

On the title-pages of T.4n/T.4 and T.5, however, the typesetter picked a lower-case italic epsilon ampersand for the 'et'-ligature.

This lower-case italic epsilon shorthand is also printed in the biblical quotation on the title-page of the fourth issue (T.3t) of the Latin octavo edition produced in 1673,

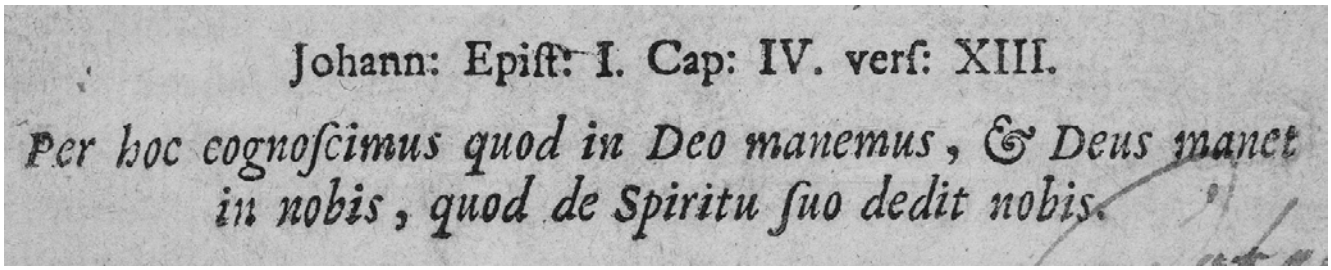

Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.
Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

ILLUSTRATION 3.35 Epsilon ampersand in the biblical quotation of T.1, T.2 and T.2a.

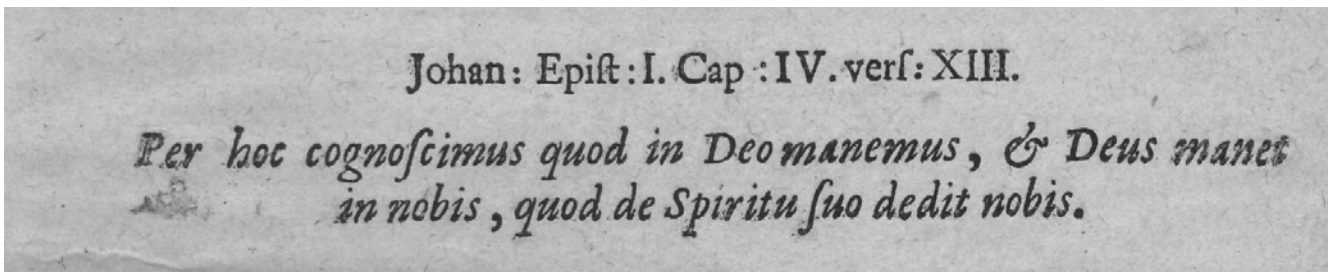

Johan: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.
Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

ILLUSTRATION 3.36 Lower-case italic epsilon ampersand in the biblical quotation of T.4n/T.4 and T.5.

preceding those two Latin quartos T.4n/T.4 and T.5 of the late 1670s. In the epigraph on T.4n/T.4 and T.5, the verb '*dedit*' clearly replaces the pointless '*dedıt*' printed on the title-pages of T.2/T.2a. Moreover, in chapter 5 of T.4n/T.4 and T.5, on page 57, its footnote 3 is keyed with a Maltese cross (✠). The footnote in T.1 and T.2/T.2a is however keyed with a double dagger (‡).

In the reference (l. 10) preceding the epigraph printed on the title-pages of T.1 and T.2/T.2a, the name of apostle John is printed as 'Johann:'. In the new variant T.4n, a 'white' has been added to divide the name and the colon. The result now is: 'Johann :'. In T.4 and T.5, though, the apostle's name is printed 'Johan :' and 'Johan.', respectively. Hence, the T.4n issue presents what seems to be an intermediate 'stage' in the printing production of the title-pages of T.1 and T.2/T.2a, and of T.4 and T.5. During the printing of the title-page of the third Latin quarto, one of the lower-case consonants *n* in 'Johann :', disappeared from the outer forme on the bed of the press. It appears the typesetter or printer compressed and rejustified this line, without adding a new letter *n*. Thus, T.5 represents the last 'stage' of the original printing of the title-pages of the Latin quartos and simply reads 'Johan.' It has one lower-case consonant *n* on its title-page, plus a full stop.

Moreover, in T.5 all colons in the rest of the biblical reference in line 10 have been replaced by single dots. This makes up the following sequence in the typesetting process of the epigraph's reference:

– 'Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.' (T.1).
– 'Johann: Epiſt: I. Cap: IV. verſ: XIII.' (T.2/T.2a).
– 'Johann : Epiſt : I. Cap : IV. verſ : XIII.' (T.4n).
– 'Johan : Epiſt : I. Cap : IV. verſ : XIII.' (T.4).
– 'Johan. Epist. I. Cap. IV. verſ. XIII.' (T.5).

In the prologue of T.4n, signature (*)3 is misprinted as '(*)4', a printing flaw emended by the compositor of T.4. These typographical key features underline T.4n does represent another issue, put to press earlier than T.4.[190] Clearly, the two issues were typeset and printed in one single run during one period, in all likelihood by one and the same compositor and printer. The title-pages of T.4n and T.4 share other typographical characteristics which are lacking on the title-page of Latin quarto edition T.5. These features are marshalled below:

– Flattened last capital letter O in 'THEOLOGICO-'.
– A 'fat' lower-case consonant *n* in '*Continens.*'
– A small diagonal ink stroke in outer right margin of yoke vignette (a trace of ink of the border of the ornament's block). Perhaps this is an unintentionally-printed teeny part of the relief-woodcut block's right edge.
– Imprint: 'Künrath', bite between 'Künr' and 'ath'.
– Year of publication: ink dot below 'CL' in 'C I Ↄ I Ↄ CLXX'.

With respect to aspects of decoration, in T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4 the ornamental tailpiece on signature (**)^{v},

190 A copy of T.5, kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II (Naples), produces further evidence both T.4n/T.4 preceded T.5. The first gathering, sig. (*)^{4}, of the foregoing copy's Preface is composed of sheets of T.5. The second, (**)^{2}, though, has sheets of T.4. Bamberger ('The Early Editions', p. 25) points to the existence of mixed copies and claimed he himself owned 'a copy which is composed of sheets of T.4 and T.5'.

ILLUSTRATION 3.37 Yoke ornament on title-page of T.4n/T4 with diagonal stroke, bite, and ink dot.

ILLUSTRATION 3.38 Flower basket tailpiece at the end of the Preface of T.5.

the reduced version of the yoke ornament adorning the title-pages of all Latin quartos, is printed at the Preface's end. In issue T.5, this tailpiece is replaced by a flower basket ornament.

The Preface's page with on its recto in the direction line the signature (*)3, misprinted in T.4n as '(*)4' and corrected in T.4, contains more clues about the number of compositors at work. Comparison with the orthography on signature (*)3 of T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5 throws light on differences in their spelling:

– L. 3: '*fælicissime*' (T.1); '*fælicissime*' (T.2/T.2a); '*fæliciſsime*' (T.4n/T.4); '*fæliciſsime*' (T.5).
– L. 3: '*cessit*' (T.1); '*cessit*' (T.2/T.2a); '*ceſsit*' (T.4n/T.4); '*ceſsit*' (T.5).
– L. 5: '*sanę*' (T.1); '*sanę*' (T.2/T.2a); '*sanæ*' (T.4n/T.4); '*sanæ*' (T.5).
– Ll. 13–14: '*et quod*' (T.1); '*et quod*' (T.2/T.2a); '*& quod*' (T.4n/T.4); '*& quod*' (T.5).
– L. 19: '*nullâ*' (T.1); '*nullâ*' (T.2/T.2a); '*nulla*' (T.4n/T.4); '*nulla*' (T.5).
– L. 20: '*possent*' (T.1); '*poſsent*' (T.2/T.2a); '*possent*' (T.4n/T.4); '*possent*' (T.5).
– L. 23: '*et ubi*' (T.1); '*& ubi*' (T.2/T.2a); '*& ubi*' (T.4n/T.4); '*& ubi*' (T.5).
– L. 25: '*et Reipublicæ*' (T.1); '*& Reipublicæ*' (T.2/T.2a); '*& Reipublicæ*' (T.4n/T.4); '*& Reipublicæ*' (T.5).
– L. 28: '*neceße*' (T.1); '*necesse*' (T.2/T.2a); '*necesse*' (T.4n/T.4); '*necesse*' (T.5).
– L. 31: '*et specie*' (T.1); '*& specie*' (T.2/T.2a); '*& specie*' (T.4n/T.4); '*& specie*' (T.5).
– L. 33: '*Hęc*' (T.1); '*Hęc*' (T.2/T.2a); '*Hæc*' (T.4n/T.4); '*Hæc*' (T.5).

To sum up, the orthography in the Preface's page with on its recto in the direction line signature (*)3 varies to a certain extent in T.1, T.2/T.2a, and in T.4n/T.4. The listed words in T.5, though, loyally follow the spelling of T.4n/T.4. This could point to three different typesetters working at the Tuinstraat office. It appears their collective personal 'signature' is visible, for example, in the frequency of italic ampersand sorts picked for the Preface and the compositors' tendency to use either upper-case italic Epsilon shorthands, lower-case italic epsilon ampersands, or a mixture of both upper- and lower-case ampersands.

When closer looked into the use of typographical shorthands for the Latin 'et', one can readily observe they are different in T.4n/T.4 and T.5. Looking at the Preface's printed text, it turns out the typesetter of T.4n/T.4 made use of two types of lower-case italic epsilon ampersands (henceforth: variants e-1 and e-2); ten of variant e-1 and ninety-one of variant e-2. The Preface of edition T.5 has sixty-four upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands (another type occurs in T.1 and in T.2/T.2a), forty lower-case italic epsilon shorthands of variant e-1, and three lower-case italic epsilon ampersands of variant e-2. Samples are further given in the Appendix annexed to this chapter (Typesetting Stages of T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5). When this is all compared to the usage of ampersands in T.1 and T.2/T.2a it might be conjectured even four separate compositors may have processed the Latin quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in the 1670s. As a result, the following image emerges:

– T.1: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands: 89.
– T.2/T.2a: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands (identical sort): 74.
– T.4n/T.4: lower-case italic epsilon ampersands: 10 (e-1).
  T.4n/T.4: lower-case italic epsilon ampersands: 91 (e-2).
– T.5: upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands (other sort than in T.1 and T.2/T.2a): 64.
  T.5: lower-case italic epsilon ampersands: 40 (e-1).
  T.5: lower-case italic epsilon ampersands: 3 (e-2).

In the Latin quarto edition T.5 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the typesetter remedied a total of sixty-nine printing flaws present in the first, second, and third quarto editions.[191] In chapter 1, for instance in line 29 on page 6, the corrupt 'nunquam' is altered to 'unquam'.[192] In this chapter, the compositor has corrected the corrupt adverb 'eatemus' (p. 14, l. 13,), copied in T4.n/T4 from T.2/T2a, to 'eatenus'.[193] On page 87 of chapter 7, both T.4n and T.4 have a corrupted version (ll. 34–35) of the phrase 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continere debet.', printed correctly in quartos T.1, T.2/T.2a, and in all variants of the Latin T.3 octavo edition.[194] In T.4n/T.4 it reads 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continere.' and lacks the finite verb 'debet'. T.5 presents the following corrupted version: 'Haec omnia inquam historia Scripturae continet.' with the newer finite form 'continet'.

Another correction of T4.n/T.4 can be observed in T.5, in chapter 17 on page 193, in line 29. In T4.n/T.4, it still reads incorrectly 'minuit.', a misprint made by the compositor of T.2/T.2a, who replaced the comma of T.1 with a full stop. T.5 has 'minuit,' which is correctly printed in the Latin octavo edition T.3, too.[195] The typesetter of T.5 further remedied in chapter 17 in line 23 of page 206 the corrupt 'insensum', an error copied in T4.n/T.4 from T.2/T.2a, as 'incensum'. He also correctly altered, in chapter 12 on page 151 in line 13 of T.5, 'adulterium'; mistakenly set in type in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4) as 'adulterinum'.[196] One other correction in T.5, in chapter 17, concerns 'amet' on page 188 in line 29. In T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4, it mistakenly reads 'amat'.[197]

Other flaws were also introduced in T4.n/T.4 and T.5 which were neither present in the earlier Latin quartos T.1 and T.2/T.2a nor in the octavo edition T.3. For instance, in chapter 6 of T4.n/T.4 and T.5 the reference to psalm 73, '(vide Psal. 73.)' in T.1 and T.2/T.2 on page 73 in line 33, is clearly a misprint: '(vide Psal. 37.)'. The flaw even returns in the second Dutch quarto edition of 1694: '(besie Psalm 37.)' (p. 92, l. 11). This is conclusive proof that the latter edition has in any case as its exemplar either T.4n/T.4 or T.5.[198] Furthermore, in chapter 8, in line 14 of page 102 in T.1 and T.2/T.2a, 'ex' is lacking from the Latin phrase 'Nam si ex ipsa Scriptura'.[199]

More importantly, in chapter 10, on page 132 in line 14 (T.3 octavo edition: p. 191, ll. 3–4), the compositor of T.4n/T.4 and T.5 forgot to set in type almost an entire sentence, except for the first word ('scilicet') of the line: '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus'. In T.4n/T.4 and T.5 the sentence's first word now has been set in italics since the rest of the line's text is also italicized: '*scilicet temporis Eljasibi, Iojadae, Ionatanis & Iaduhe* supra Darii*'.[200]

In other instances the typesetter of T.5 restored misprints of the other Latin quartos. Thus, he emended the disfiguring literal in 'Chronoghraphi', printed in line 10 on page 78 of chapter 6, to 'Chronographi'.[201] On page 14 of chapter 1, the compositor of T.5 introduced two other misprints not present in the earlier Latin quarto editions. In line 26 he has set in type 'Satet deinde' instead of the correct 'Patet deinde'.[202] Line 31 of page 14 in T.5 mistakenly reads '& Srimi Regum cap. 22. vers. 2. &c.' where it actually should read '& Primi Regum cap. 22. vers. 2. &c.'.[203]

Another striking feature of T.5 is that, for reasons unknown, this Latin quarto edition lacks the list of errata. Nonetheless, it turns out the typesetter faithfully copied those textual corrections made on pages 8, 22, 39, 41, 95, and 121 by the compositor of T.2/T.2a and T. 4n/T.4, which are inventoried in T.1's 'Errata Typographica sic corrigenda'. In addition, the compositor of T.5 made a correction from the errata list in chapter 12, on page 149 in line 21. Here, 'praestantissimis' (first restored in the Latin octavo edition T.3) is correctly printed whereas T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4 have the corrupted 'praestantissimus'.[204] This then indicates that, besides a copy of T.4n/T.4, the compositor of T.5 may have checked also a copy of octavo edition T.3.

Strikingly, the compositor of T.4n/T.4 and T.5 produced many more misprints in the Hebrew language, too. For instance, in line 26 on page 3 of chapter 1 of T.4n/T.4 the Hebrew is spoiled. The compositor of T.1 correctly set in type 'יהוה אל'; in T.2/T.2a corrupted by the typesetter as 'יהוה של'.[205] In T.4n/T.4, the space dividing those two printed Hebrew words was ignored and the new erroneous word was typeset as: 'יהוהשל'. The typesetter of T.5 copied this flaw in the Hebrew, too.

Each unbound copy of quarto edition T.4n/T.4 and T.5 numbers 246 pages (123 leaves); it has a title-page with ornament, its verso is blank. One single copy of both T.4n/T.4 and T.5 comprises 30.75 sheets. This means that from one ream of paper about 15.6 copies of an edition

191 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', pp. 211–212.
192 G 3/202.29.
193 G 3/28.13–14.
194 G 3/101.35.
195 G 3/207.29.
196 G 3/166.13.
197 G 3/202.29.
198 G 3/87.32. For the second Dutch quarto edition: Chapter 7.
199 G 3/116.15.
200 G 3/146.13–15.
201 G 3/92.10.
202 G 3/28.27.
203 G 3/28.31.
204 G 3/163.21.
205 G 3/18.2.

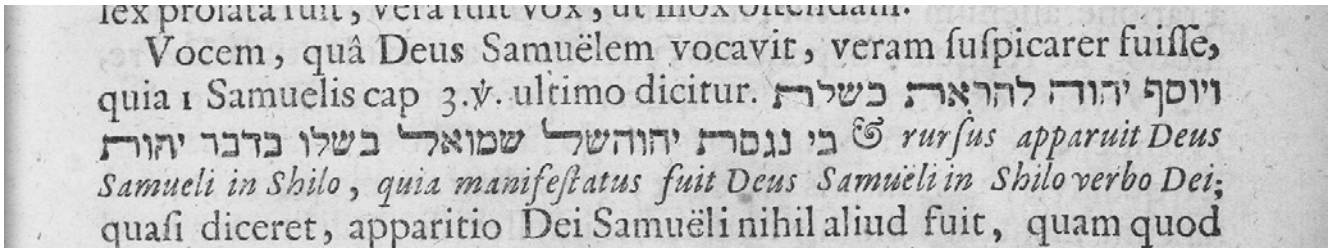

lex prolata fuit, vera fuit vox, ut mox oftendam.
Vocem, quâ Deus Samuëlem vocavit, veram ſuſpicarer fuiſſe,
quia 1 Samuelis cap 3.ẏ. ultimo dicitur. ויוסף יהוה להראת בשלה
כי נגלה יהוהשל שמואל בשלו בדבר יהוה & *rurſus apparuit Deus*
Samueli in Shilo, quia manifeſtatus fuit Deus Samuëli in Shilo verbo Dei;
quaſi diceret, apparitio Dei Samuëli nihil aliud fuit, quam quod

ILLUSTRATION 3.39 T.4n/T.4 and T.5, misprint of 'יהוה אל' as 'יהוהשל'.

could be produced. An assumed impression of five hundred copies comprises 15,375 sheets. Hence, about 32.03 reams of paper were needed to print T.4n/T.4 and T.5. Unfortunately, historical information about the production sizes or selling prices of T.4n/T.4 and T. 5 has not survived.

Up to now, a total number of fifty-four copies of the third Latin quarto edition have been identified in international library holdings (T.4n: 3; T.4: 51). Two copies of the same edition are unidentified. Another seventy-nine copies of variant T.5 are known to be extant as well. Finally, mention should be made here that it is uncertain whether one traced copy (New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary, shelf-mark RB431:6) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* belongs to the first, second, third, or to the fourth Latin quarto edition.

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THIRD QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, TWO ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 3.40–3.43)

T.4n issue

Short Title

Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670'.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also gracing T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4, T.5, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künrath' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- Text decorated with simple initials.
- Contains list of errata of T.1 ('Errata typographica') (also in T.2/T.2a and T.4).
- Published: [1677, or later].
- Issue was not known to Bamberger as well as to Kingma and Offenberg.

Key features for ready identification of T.4n:

- Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johann :'.
- Title-page, yoke ornament: small diagonal ink stroke of block in outer right. margin of vignette (also in T.4).
- 'Pag. 1' misprinted as 'Fag. 1' (also in T.4).
- Pagination: misprint of 130 as '830' (also in T.4).

Additional identification features:

- Title-page, l. 8, subtitle: ligature *æ* in 'Reipublicæ' is hanging (also in T.4).
- Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: lower-case italic epsilon ampersand (shorthand in T.4 and T.5).
- Title-page, imprint: 'Künrath' with *th* (also in T.4 and T.5).
- Fictitious date in imprint: 'ɔ ɪ ɔ ɪ ɔ CLXX.' (also in T.1, T.2a, T.4, and T.5).
- Year of publication: ink dot below 'CL' (also in T.4).
- Prologue, literal: misprint of sig. (*)3: '(*)4' (in T.2/T.2a, correct in T.4 and T.5).
- P. 104, ll. 6 and 7, flaw: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (lines swopped by typesetter of: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Exemplar

Quarto edition T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.

Title-Page (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*))

TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot , | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ , ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johann : Epist : I. Cap : IV. verſ : XIII. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand)

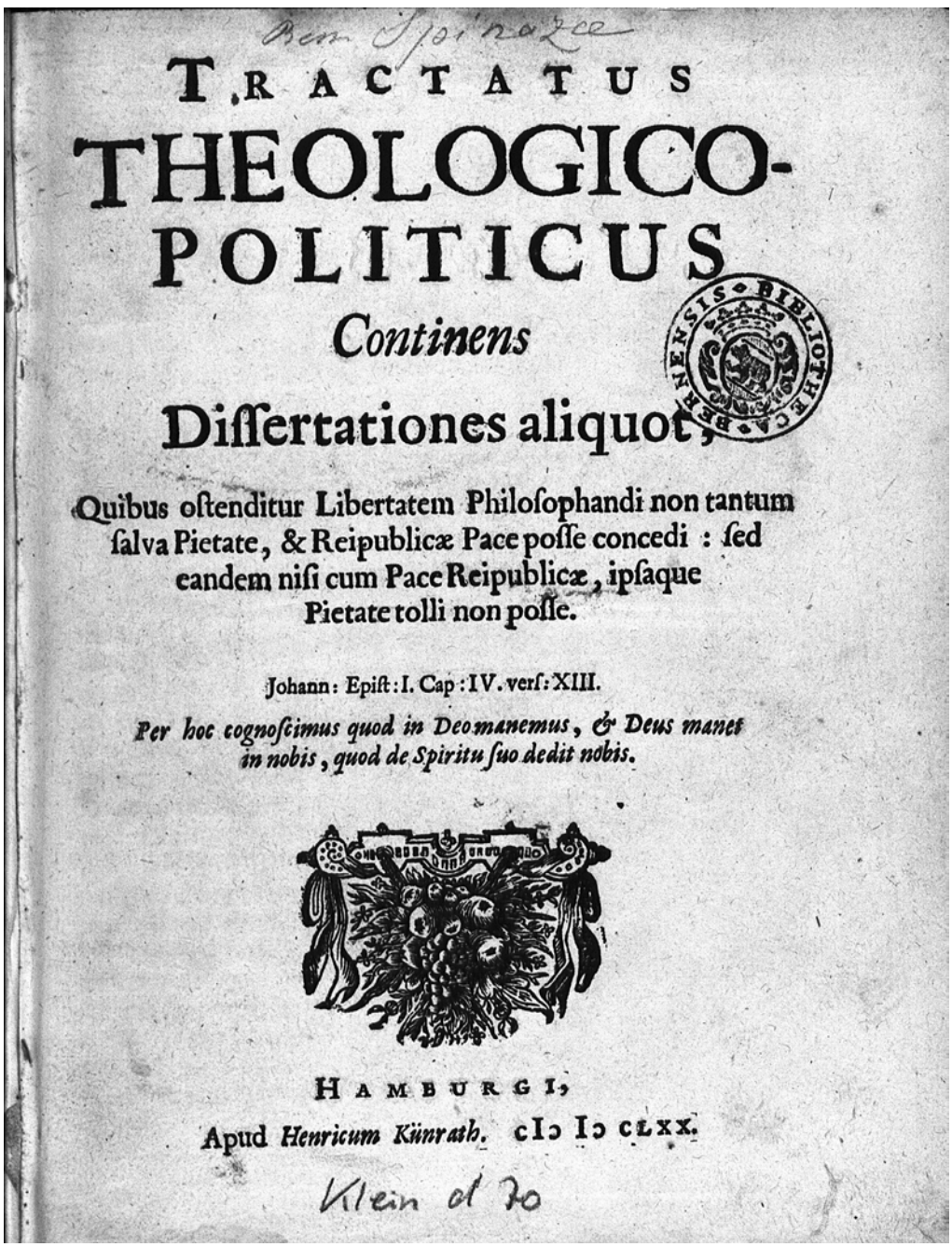
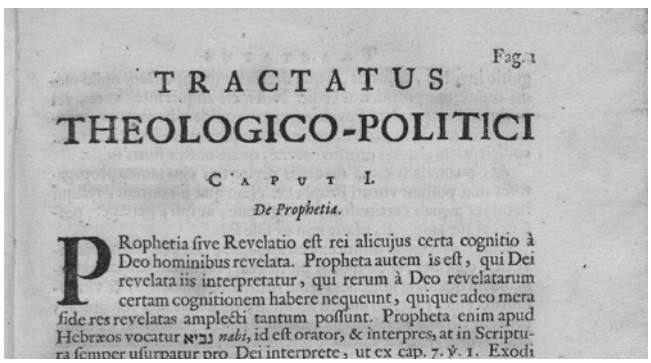


ILLUSTRATION 3.40 Title-page of issue T.4n of the third Latin quarto edition (misprint of page 130 as '830') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis. | (yoke ornament) | HAMBURGI, | Apud *Henricum Künrath.* CIↃIↃCLXX.

Language(s) and Typography

Latin text, printed bold unpointed Hebrew script, occasionally Dutch (Fraktur typeface, pp. 57 and 159). Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with superior letters) with occasionally printed Hebrew and Dutch, explanatory footnotes are keyed with typographical symbols (italics). Normally thirty-five lines.



Fag. 1

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-POLITICI

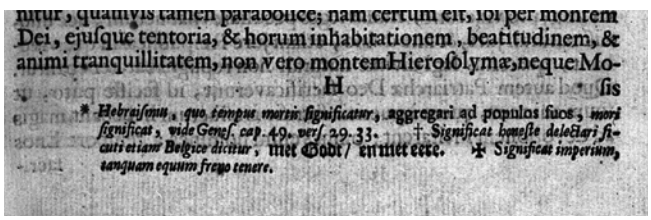
CAPUT I.

De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum à Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeo mera fide res revelatas amplecti tantum poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt orator, & interpres, at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. 7. ỽ. 1. Exodi

ILLUSTRATION 3.41 Page 1 of issue T.4n with misprint of 'Pag. 1' as 'Fag. 1'.

Old-style serif roman types from the office of the book's printer, Israel de Paull: *c.*1663/8 'Hamburg' type specimen (several quires of main text, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry; cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 434), 94 mm 'Augustyn' (english) italic (1642 or *c.*1663/8, Bartholomeus or Reinier Voskens?) (ibid., p. 407); 11 mm 'Paragon' roman capitals (1652), 16 mm capitals 'Klein Canon' roman and italic (ibid., p. 435), 'Text' (great primer) roman and italic as well as probably 'Text' type from a Hebrew fount (2,5 mm mem) (ibid.). Dutch Fraktur typeface unidentified.



nitur, quamvis tamen parabolice; nam certum eſt, loi per montem Dei, ejuſque tentoria, & horum inhabitationem, beatitudinem, & animi tranquillitatem, non vero montem Hieroſolymæ, neque Mo-

H

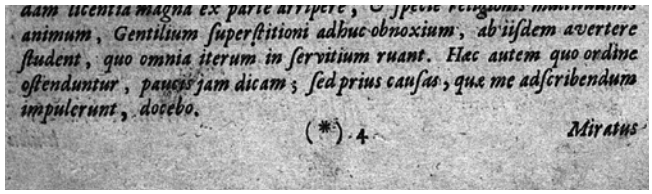
ſis

* *Hebraiſmus, quo tempus mortis ſignificatur, aggregari ad populos ſuos, mori ſignificat, vide Geneſ. cap. 49. verſ. 29. 33.* † *Significat honeſte deleßari ſicuti etiam Belgice dicitur,* met Godt / en met eere. ✠ *Significat imperium, tanquam equum freno tenere.*

ILLUSTRATION 3.42 Page 57 of issue T.4n.

Prime Notable Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– Sig. (*)3 misnumbered as '(*)4' (inner forme).



animum, Gentilium ſuperſtitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iiſdem avertere ſtudent, quo omnia iterum in ſervitium ruant. Hæc autem quo ordine oſtenduntur, paucis jam dicam; ſed prius cauſas, quæ me adſcribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 4 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.43 Misprint of signature (*)3.

Occurs in: Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70.

– 'Pag. 1' as 'Fag. 1' (outer forme of A).
– P. 25 (page number): numeral 5 hanging beneath 2 (outer forme of D).
– P. 69 (page number): numeral 9 hanging beneath 6 (outer forme of I).
– P. 73, l. 33: misprint of '(vide Psal. 73.)' as '(vide Psal. 37.)'.
– P. 104, ll. 6 and 7: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (outer forme of N).
– P. 127 (page number): numeral 12 hanging in higher position (inner forme of Q).
– P. 130 (page number): 130 misnumbered '830' (inner forme of R).
– P. 132, l. 14: line lacks '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus' except for the sentence's first word 'scilicet'; sentence now reads incorrectly the following: '*scilicet temporis Eljasibi, Iojadae, Ionatanis & Iaduhe* supra Darii*' (outer forme of R).
– P. 169, l. 10: misprint of 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.' (outer forme of Y).
– P. 207 (running headline): '*Cap*. XVIII.' misprinted as '*Cap*. XX.' (inner forme of Cc).
– P. 209 and 213 (running headline): '*Cap*. XVIII.' misprinted as '*Cap*. XVII.' (outer forme of Dd).
– P. 215, 217, 219, 221, and 223 (running headline): '*Cap*. XIX.' misprinted as '*Cap*. XX.' (inner forme of Dd, outer and inner forme of Ee, outer forme of Ff).

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

[>1676]04 – a1 (*)2 homine : a2 (**) s$,$de$
[>1676]04 – b1 A tu : b2 Gg $N

Collation

4°: (*)^4 (**)^2 A–Z^4 Aa–Ff^4 Gg^2 [$3 (–(*), –Gg2), (**) $2] 123 leaves = pp. [*12*] 1–233 [*1*]

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface and list of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin (capital letters): PRÆFATIO.; INDEX CAPITUM.

Headlines in main work in a combination of larger upper-case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italic type): TRACTATUS (verso), THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap.* I. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers).

Contents

$(*)^{r}$	(title-page)
$(*)^{v}$	(blank)
$(*)2^{r}$–$(**)^{v}$	PRAEFATIO.
$(**)2^{r}$–$(**)2^{v}$	INDEX CAPITUM. (table of contents, two-page list indicating twenty chapters)
A^{r}–$B4^{r}$	TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI. CAPUT I. *De Prophetia.*
$B4^{r}$–$D3^{v}$	CAPUT II. *De Prophetis.*
$D3^{v}$–$F2^{r}$	CAPUT III. *De Hebraeorum vocatione. Et an donum Propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.*
$F2^{r}$–$G3^{v}$	CAPUT IV. *De Lege Divina.*
$G4^{r}$–I^{v}	CAPUT V. *De Ratione, cur Ceremoniae institutae fuerint, & de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione, & quibus ea necessaria sit.*
$I2^{r}$–L^{v}	CAPUT VI. *De Miraculis.*
$L2^{r}$–$N4^{r}$	CAPUT VII. *De Interpretatione Scripturae.*
$N4^{r}$–P^{v}	CAPUT VIII. *In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon & libros Iosuae, Iudicum, Rut, Samuëlis & Regum non esse autographa. Deinde inquiritur an eorum omnium Scriptores plures fuerint, an unus tantum, & quinam.*
$P2^{r}$–$Q4^{r}$	CAPUT IX. *De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur, nempe an Hezdras iis ultimam manum imposuerit: & deinde utrum notae marginales, quae in Hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur, variae fuerint lectiones.*
$Q4^{r}$–S^{r}	CAPUT X. *Reliqui Veteris Testamenti Libri eodem modo quo superiores examinantur.*
S^{r}–$S4^{v}$	CAPUT XI. *Inquiritur an Apostoli Epistolas suas tanquam Apostoli & Prophetae; an vero tanquam Doctores scripserint. Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur.*
$S4^{v}$–$T4^{v}$	CAPUT XII. *De vero Legis divinae syngrapho, & qua ratione Scriptura Sacra vocatur, & qua ratione Verbum Dei & denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet, incorruptam ad nos pervenisse.*
V^{r}–$V3^{v}$	CAPUT XIII. *Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere, nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere; nec de divina Naturâ aliud docere, quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt.*
$V4^{r}$–$X3^{v}$	CAPUT XIV. *Quid sit fides, quinam fideles, fidei fundamenta determinantur, & ipsa a Philosophia tandem separatur.*
$X3^{v}$–$Y3^{v}$	CAPUT XV. *Nec Theologiam Rationi, nec Rationem Theologiae ancillari; ostenditur & ratio, qua nobis S. Scripturae authoritatem persuademus.*
$Y4^{r}$–Aa^{v}	CAPUT XVI. *De Reipublica Fundamentis; de jure uniuscujusque naturali & civili; deque Summarum Potestatum Iure.*
$Aa2^{r}$–$Cc4^{r}$	CAPUT XVII. *Ostenditur neminem omnia in Summam Potestatem transferre posse, nec esse necesse: De Republica Hebraeorum, qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem antequam Reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia: & denique de causis cur Respublica divina interire, & vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit.*
$Cc4^{r}$–$Dd3^{v}$	CAPUT XVIII. *Ex Hebraeorum Republica, & historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.*
$Dd3^{v}$–$Ee4^{v}$	CAPUT XIX. *Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino eβe, & Religionis cultum externum Reipublicae paci accomodari debere, si Recte Deo obtemperare velimus.*
Ff^{r}–Gg^{r}	CAPUT XX. *Ostenditur, in Libera Republica unicuique & sentire, quae velit, & quae sentiat dicere licere.*
Gg^{v}	Errata Typographica sic corrigenda (list of errata of T.1, thirteen corrections for pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 49, 83, 95 [2×], 121, 124, 135, 149 [2×])[206]

Ornament on Title-Page

Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 35×50 mm. Identical printer's mark graces the title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5); *Opera posthuma*; *De nagelate schriften*. *See*: T.1.

206 Corrections made by the typesetter concern misprints on pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 95 (except for the second correction), and on 121 indicated in the list of errata.

Simple Initials
Twenty plain closed black initials (relief woodcuts), employed to head the first letter of the first word of prologue and chapters of main work (4 ll.), dimensions varying. A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials found in the works printed by De Paull: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Tailpiece Ornament
Relief woodcut (sig. (**)^{v}): reduced version of yoke ornament, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Also in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*; *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2, Y.4 of mixed copies Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5). *See*: T.1. Tailpiece replaced by a new ornament (flower basket) in T.5.

***Copies* (*3*)**

Copies Examined
T.4n#182 Bern, University Library, MUE Klein d 70
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs over pasteboard, title-page tipped in on stub, title on spine in black ink in late-seventeenth-century handwriting: 'de Libertate Philosophandi', black speckled edges, minor brownspotting to pages.
Provenance: black circular library stamp ('Bibliotheca Bernensis') in upper-right margin of title-page, former shelf-mark (Theol. 246) on first pastedown.

T.4n#183 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985 .A3 1670b
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs.
Provenance: library stamp (Cornell, UL) on title-page.

Non-Collated Copy
United States (*1*)
T.4n#184 New York (NY), New York Public Library, YBCP L35.C7 (bound in brown cloth, brown leather shelf-back and corners, stamped in gold and blind: speckled edges, cream endpapers, copy has Astor Library stamp [1 June 1894], East Village, Manhattan, one of the three original libraries [with the Lenox Library and the Tilden Foundation] now making up the New York Public Library).

Note
Issue T.4n was unknown to Bamberger as well as Kingma and Offenberg.

⁘

THIRD QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, TWO ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 3.44)

T.4 issue

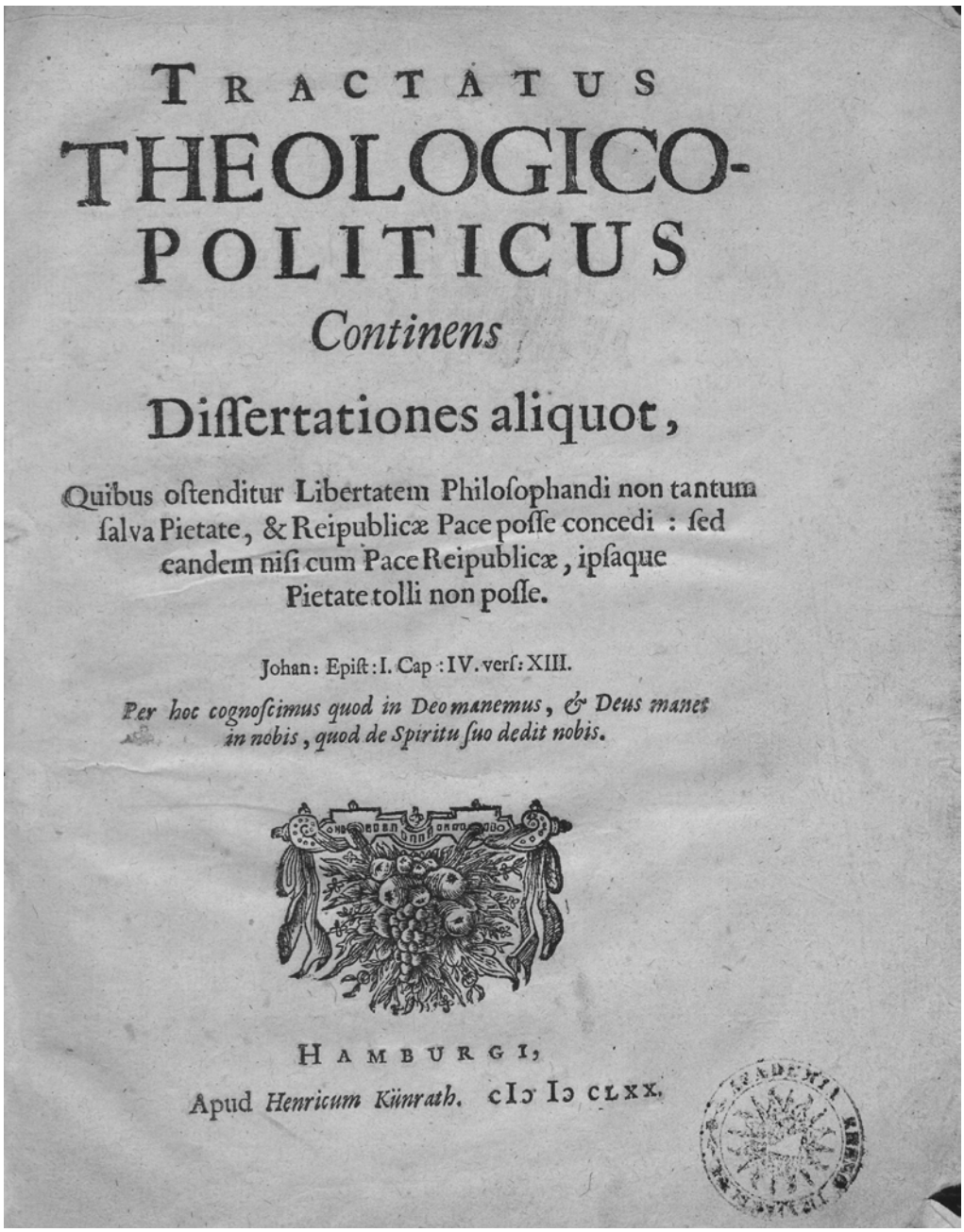
Short Title
Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670'.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on: T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n, T.5, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künrath' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- Text decorated with simple initials.
- Contains list of errata of T.1 ('Errata typographica').
- Published: [1677, or later].

Key features for ready identification of T.4:
- Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johan *:*' (*n* dislodged from 'Johann *:*' and lost).
- Title-page, yoke ornament: small diagonal ink stroke of block in outer right margin of vignette (also in T.4n).
- 'Pag. 1' misprinted 'Fag. 1' (also in T.4n).
- Literal in pagination: misprint of 130 as '830' (also in T.4n).
- Prologue, literal in sig. (*)4 of T.4n corrected into (*)3.

Additional identification features:
- Title-page, l. 8, subtitle: ligature *æ* in 'Reipublicæ' is hanging (also in T.4n).
- Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: lower-case italic epsilon ampersand (shorthand also in T.4n and T.5).
- Title-page, imprint: 'Künrath' with *th* (also in T.4n and T.5).
- Imprint of issue antedated '1670': 'ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXX.' (also in T.1, T.2a, T.4, and T.5).
- Year of publication: ink dot below 'CL' (also in T.4n).
- P. 104, ll. 6 and 7, flaw: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (lines swopped by typesetter of: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Exemplar
Quarto edition T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.



TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICUS
Continens
Dissertationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum salva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace posse concedi : sed eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipsaque Pietate tolli non posse.

Johan: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII.

Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.

HAMBURGI,
Apud *Henricum Künrath.* cIↃ IↃ CLXX.

ILLUSTRATION 3.44 Title-page of issue T.4 of the third Latin quarto edition (misprint of p. 130 as '830') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*))**

Tractatus | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot , | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johan : Epiſt: I. Cap : IV. verſ : XIII. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.* | (yoke ornament) | Hamburgi, | Apud *Henricum Künrath.* C I Ↄ I Ↄ CLXX.

Press correction in Preface (inner forme of (*)): sig. '(*)4' (inner forme, misprinted in T.4n) corrected as (*)3. For full bibliographical description and misprints: T.4n.

***Copies* (*51*)**

Copies Examined

T.4#185 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin 27, 6 00011 (S 1977)
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, laced-in vellum thongs, handwritten title on spine in black ink between two black horizontal lines: 'SPINO | SAE | Tractatus | Theolog. | Politico.'
Provenance: owner's mark in black ink on foot of title-page ('Mich. Richey. 1703'), eighteenth-century note opposite title-page with remarks about editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with false title-pages (octavo edition T.3s and French translations), older rectangular black library stamps (Royal Library), modern shelf-marks on first board paper (Royal Library).

T.4#186 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Magasin Fil. 18770
Provenance: owner's inscriptions: '(Chr. Molbech.) Hafn. 1804', 'H. Bröchner d. 28 Aug 1857', nineteenth-century notes about edition and author in black ink on first board paper, quotation in another nineteenth-century hand: 'Slave to no sect, who takes no private road, But looks through Nature up to Nature's God!'
Bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica.*

T.4#187 Ghent, University Library, BIB.TH.000172-1
Late-seventeenth-century vellum limp binding, blue-sprinkled edges, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma.*
Provenance: circular library stamp (Ghent University) on title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.be/books?id=MHNTAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.4#188 Lausanne, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, site Unithèque : réserve A (livres anciens), 1 N 11
Late-seventeenth-century half-vellum binding with marbled paper, brown spotting to leaves.
Provenance: eighteenth-century owner's mark in black on first free endpaper ('Ex bibl. Suteri') and on title-page ('A. v. W.'), black oblong, nineteenth-century book stamps on title-page and on page with errata ('Bibliot: Academ: Lausan').
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=8rBDAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.4#189 Mannheim, University Library, Sch 085/190
Minor brownspotting to pages, vellum wrapper with laced-in thongs, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica.*
Provenance: copy of the German Jesuit author François-Joseph Terrasse Desbillons (1711–1789), old shelf-marks and eighteenth-century owner's inscription on front pastedown in black ink on edition: 'Liber rarus, at valde impius', three slips of paper with eighteenth-century notes in black ink on verso of second front endpaper, rectangular library stamp in blue ink on first pastedown ('Bibliothek Desbillons Mannheim') and verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://digi.bib.uni-mannheim.de/suchergebnis/seitenansicht-suche/?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=2676&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=86e12c384aa8902ff2bba623f0a0ba37

T.4#190 Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, O 2340
Provenance: older oblong books stamps ('SHPF') on title-page. Oblong book stamp ('Js. Ae. Rabaut Pr') of Antoine Rabaut-Pommier on title-page and on p. 51. Eighteenth-century notes (corrections, not in list of errata) in Latin in black ink in external margins and in main text. Same hand wrote below the list of errata in black: 'quae supra correcta'.[207]

207 Jacques Antoine Rabaut-Pommier (1744–1820) was a member of the *Conseil des Anciens* (Upper House of the Directoire) in Paris. After an active political career, he became one of the three first

T.4#191 Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 31 H 60
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard.
Provenance: black circular library stamp (National Library) on title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.cz/books?vid=NKP:1003027036&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.4#192 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 8.24.E.25
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard.
Provenance: older shelf-mark on paper label pasted to first board paper; nineteenth-century library stamps on title-page, p. 21 and sig. Gg^{r} (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II).
Digitized copy:
https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=qyujA0i4Lx4C&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=nl&pg=GBS.PP1

T.4#193 Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y qu 23 (olim: Philosophandi theoretici Quarto no. 23)
Well-preserved untrimmed (210×167 mm) copy, (eighteenth-century?) brown half-leather calf over pasteboard, brown paper pasted on cover and shelf-back, sprinkled with black ink.
Provenance: J.F. v. S. (pencil, first flyleaf); library stamp (Utrecht, UL) in lower right corner of title-page.

T.4#194 The Hague, KB, KW 3035 E 19
Late-seventeenth-century leather binding, gilt spine, with label reading: 'SPINOSA | TRACTA | THEOLO | POLITIC', sprinkled edges with red and brown ink.

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*2*)

T.4#195 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: RON A-5785 (1)

T.4#196 Rijnsburg, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 163

Belgium (*2*)

T.4#197–198 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, FS XXXV 1.462 A RP, VH 2.443 A2 RP (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, title in black ink on spine: 'Spinosae | Opera | Omnia 1–2', bookplate of Belgian bibliophile Karel van Hulthem [1764–1832]; bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

France (*1*)

T.4#199^{p} Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, rés. p. R-1001 (1) (contains the 'Opera' portrait [bound in after index], late-seventeenth-century vellum covering, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

Germany (*8*)

T.4#200 Aurich, Landschaftsbibliothek, Q 914 (owner's inscription: 'B. Post.', bookplate of book collector Christoph Friedrich von Derschau [1714–1799], poet and first president of Ostfriesland at Aurich).

T.4#201 Freiburg/Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire/Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek, SOC LECT L 54 (early-eighteenth-century note in black ink on part-title leaf of the Ethica: 'Ethica ab Authore primum Batavorum sermone conscripta, postea ab eodem in linguam latina traducta, et methodo mathematica est disposita, omisso tamen, quod in exemplari Hollandio MSto adhuc exstare dicitur, capite de Diabolo' [The Ethica, first written by the author in the language of the Dutch, was afterwards translated by him into Latin and arranged with the mathematical method, leaving out the chapter about the devil; that existed still in the Dutch manuscript copy, so it is said], most likely this copy was formerly owned by someone from the inner circle of the German travellers Gottlieb Stolle and 'Hallmann' (*see* also: Chapter 10, n. 7), ex libris on first endpaper: 'G. Girard Prof. Luzern 1832', another inscription on title-page by the same hand: 'G. Girard Prof. Philos. in Lycea Luzerna', nineteenth-century oblong library stamp in black ink on title-page: 'Société Economique de Fribourg', bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#202 Lutherstadt Wittenberg, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars, 4Ph59–2 (water damage in places, late-seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboard, late-seventeenth-century owner's notes on refuatations in black ink on umbrella title-page: 'Lambert Velthusius, de articuli fidei, fundamentalibus et de cultu natruale oppositus Tractatui Bened. de Spinoza, Roterod. 1680. Voll. 2 4' and below: 'Christoph. Wittichij Anti-Spinoza, Amsteld, 1690. 4.', printed armorial bookplate of Ludovicus Rudolph Senft von Pilsach [1681–1718] on first pastedown: 'Ex

ministers of the Reformed Church of the *Oratoire* du Louvre in Paris. Cf.: Philippe Braunstein, etc. (eds.), *L'Oratoire du Louvre et les protestants parisien* (Paris: Labor et Fides, 2011).

Bibliotheca Senftiana', second printed eighteenth-century bookplate [unidentified] with motto 'Constantia et labore', circular library stamp [Predigerseminar Wittenberg] on title-page, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* [4Ph59-1]; *Opera posthuma* [4Ph59-3]).

T.4#203 MARBURG, Philipps-Universität, University Library, 095 XIV B 64 (vellum wrapper, handwritten name of author and title on spine, two older library stamps of the 'Bibliotheca Marburgensis', bound with: Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and *Opera posthuma*, copy has printed umbrella title-page [*Benedicti de Spinoza, OPERA OMNIA, Priora & Posthuma: quorum seriem versa pagina indicat*] and 'normal' title-page of *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#204 REGENSBURG, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/philos. 448 (late-seventeenth-century notes on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and on the following book: Christian F. Knorr, *Tractatus theologico-politicus, quo auctor quidam anonymus, conatu improbo, demonstratum ivit, Libertatem philosophandi, ... Ad veritatis lancem examinatus*, ... [Jena: 1674], olim: Johann Mattheaus Barth [1691–1757], superintendent at Regensburg, Tobias Waldemannstaetter [OFM, 1742–1802], bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.4#205 ROSTOCK, University Library, Ec-101q1–3 (eighteenth-century owner's note in black ink on title-page: 'Olai Gerhardi Tysschen P.P.P., 1771', copy bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae Pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; Van Mansveld, *Adversus*).

T.4#206 STUTTGART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HBF 1514 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, gilt ornament (coat of arms: crowned monogram on laurel) on front cover, owner's inscriptions ['Fr. Hoffmann 1701', 'F.H. Bispink 1785'] and note [by Hoffmann] on Spinoza's metaphysics, bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.4#207 WÜRZBURG, University Library, Ph.q. 41 (vellum wrapper, title on spine: 'B.D.S. Opera Posthuma', bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*).

Portugal (*1*)

T.4#208 COIMBRA, University Library, UC Bib Geral (B. Joanina), R-44-21 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering with laced-in thongs, blind-tooled rectangular single rule on covers, inner corners of rule with blind-tooled floral ornaments, embossed blind-tooled stamp on first cover, handwritten author and title on spine in black ink: 'SPINOZA | *TRACTATUS* | THEOL. POL.', modern library label with shelf-mark on foot of spine, modern circular library stamp [Coimbra University] on title-page, bound with: *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*).

Russia (*3*)

T.4#209–211 ST PETERSBURG, National Library of Russia, Д 1828 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*), 36.66.1.24 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*), 36.66.1.24a (bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

Sweden (*1*)

T.4#212 STOCKHOLM, Royal Library, RAR: 116 A (bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

Switzerland (*2*)

T.4#213 GENEVA, University Library, BGE BC 1613*

T.4#214 LAUSANNE, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, ancien site Cèdres [Collection indisponible]: Cèdres magasins, PHIL 649 (bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*)

United Kingdom (*8*)

T.4#215 BELTON (Grantham), Belton House, NT 3020393 (late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century leather covering, five raised bands).

T.4#216 BLICKLING (Norfolk), Blickling Hall, 3595 (eighteenth-century sprinkled sheepskin wrapper, sewn on four raised bands, gilt spine, with stamp, roll and fillets panels, gilt title: 'B.D.S. Tract. Theol.', red-sprinkled edges, manuscript initial on front fly-leaf: 'M.' [code of John Mitchell [*c.*1685–1751], librarian to the book's former owner Sir Richard Ellys [1682–1742]]).

T.4#217 BRIGHTON, University of Sussex, SxUniversity RareBooks/34 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#218 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library, Grylls 21.29 (late-seventeenth-century notes on title-page: 'Bened. de Spinosa', 'Amstelodami', and 'Christoph. Conrad', title on spine: 'B.de.Spinosa | Tractatus | Theologico-politic'

| Gr. Cuperi | arcana atheis | refutata | Philosophia | Scriptura | Interpres', owner's name 'Grylls' [William Grylls, died 1863] on inside cover, bound with: Kuyper, *Arcana*; anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

T.4#219 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, Keynes D.2.19 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding, simple fillet rules, gilt-leather label to spine, late-seventeenth-century corrections made according to the list of errata, armorial bookplate [motto: 'In promptu'] of John Trotter of Mortonhall [†1718], inscription by Trotter of Mortonhall on front endpaper: 'Cost 15 sh. from Mr Varenne French-bookseller near Summersethouse in ye Strand Lond. 8 July 1698', Trotter Family, of Mortonhall, copy formerly owned by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, inscription of Geoffrey Keynes [library came to CUL in 1982], bookseller's catalogue entry for another copy with the portrait slipped in, price £32 10s, bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.4#220–221 GLASGOW, University Library, Special Collections, Sp Coll RB 3658 (provenance: Alexander Dick [1703–85], Robert Keith Dick [1743–1849], William Black, eighteenth-century owner's mark in upper margin of title-page in black ink: 'Alex Cunninghames' [Alexander Dick was born Cunningham, but was forced to drop the name on succeeding to the baronetcy of Dick in 1746], manuscript inscription on front pastedown 'From Sir Robert K. Dick Bart. to William Black Prestonfield 31st Aug: 1824', William Black [*fl.*1824]: received book from Sir Robert Keith Dick, Glasgow University Library bookplate dated 1876 with succeeded shelf-mark: 'D12-k.2'), Sp Coll BC33-f.6 (provenance: Sir William Hamilton [1788–1856], professor of Logic and Metaphysics, University of Edinburgh bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*).

T.4#222 OXFORD, Harris Manchester College, HMC Stack, X1670/19 (eighteenth-century [Dutch?] owner's inscription in black ink on title-page: 'A Leyser').

United States (*13*)

T.4#223 BLOOMINGTON (IN), University Library, BS3985 .A3 1677 (shelf-marks and other notes at front and spine, ownership note of the Jesuit College of Paris on title-page, bound in later vellum, lettered in ink on spine, in maroon cloth drop-back box, bound with *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#224 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University, *NC6 Sp476 670td (minor brownspotting to pages, leather binding over pasteboards, marbled endpapers, red-sprinkled edges, copy has also Harvard shelf-mark R.B.R. 17.465 S758.4trc 1678).

T.4#225 CHARLOTTEVILLE (VA), The University of Virginia, B 3985.A3.1670 (bound in late-seventeenth-century stiff vellum dyed green, red-sprinkled edges, gift of James Reece McKeldin, mid-twentieth century).

T.4#226–227 CHICAGO (IL), The University of Chicago, University Library, alc B1873 .S74 (copy with late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription reading 'rabbi Levi Mortera' [unidentified, but in any case not the Amsterdam rabbi involved in Spinoza's 1656 banishment], Latin marginalia, bookplate of German Lutheran theologian Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg [1802–1869]), B3985.A1 1670c (title-page inscription: 'S [or J?] Jenin' and 'LJv 5/1828', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.4#228 EVANSTON (IL), Northwestern Libraries, Kestenbaum S 758s c.2 (late-seventeenth-century note in black ink on title-page with reference to: Christian F. Knorr, *Tractatus theologico-politicus, quo auctor quidam anonymus, conatu improbo, demonstratum ivit, Libertatem philosophandi, … Ad veritatis lancem examinatus*, … (Jena: 1674)).

T.4#229 HOUSTON (TX), Rice University, B 1875 .S7 (bound with *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* and *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#230 KENT (OH), Kent State University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1670c (bound in marbled paper boards, gilt vellum shelf-back and corners, brown leather labels on spine, stamped in gold, all edges stained red; brown endpapers, Van Happe crest on title-page).

T.4#231 LAWRENCE (KS), University of Kansas, University Library, Summerfield C1486 item 1 (copy has title-page of T.2a; older owner's inscriptions on first front endpaper: 'Henricus Benzelius, Upps 1749'; 'Carl Aurivillius, Upssala, 1774'; 'Carl Gustav Barkman, Stockh: 1790'; 'Amundus Ekström, 1854'; old eighteenth-century shelf-mark [1030] in black ink; eighteenth-century note in

black ink on edition and the authorship of Spinoza on lower-right margin of title-page, other eighteenth-century remarks in black ink on Spinoza's complex metaphysical notions and references to late-seventeenth-century literature on Spinoza, stamped older shelf-mark in upper-left margin of title-page [315 9], bound with: Kuyper, *Arcana*).

T.4#232 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1670d (nineteenth-century note in black ink on edition opposite title-page, signed: 'R.W.' [Robert Willis?], red underliners and marginal notes in Hebrew, bookplate: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana Adolphe Oko').

T.4#233 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (uncatalogued copy).

T.4#234 Stanford (CA), University Library, B3985 .A3 1678 (provenance: E.P. Goldschmidt & Co. [book label], Unitarian College [embossed stamp], bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.4#235 Syracuse (NY), Syracuse University, BS 3985. A3.1670d (former owner: William Pearson Tolley [1900–96], chancellor of Syracuse University, bound with: anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

Note

Two copies, either T.4n or T.4, are unidentified.

T.4#236 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, UL

T.4#237 La Jolla (CA), University of California (San Diego), University Library, B3985 1677 (copy fitted with title-page of T.2a, copy belongs unmistakably to the T.4n/T.4 branch [130 misprinted as '830'], although the prologue has the misprint sig. '(*)4' instead of the correct (*)3 [feature of T.4n] and lacks the stop-press correction [feature of T.4]).

References

Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 3; Land, 'Over vier drukken', (C); Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 24–25 (T.4/T.5); *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), pp. 32–33, nos. 361–363; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 10, no. 6.

⁘

FOURTH QUARTO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIRST AND ONLY ISSUE (ILLUSTRATION 3.45–3.49)

T.5

Short Title

Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' (Amsterdam), 'Henricus Künrath', *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), '1670'.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on: T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.3t, the first full English translation [1689], and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Künrath' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- Text decorated with simple initials.
- Published: [1677, or later].
- Dutch selling price at publication not known.

Key features for ready identification of T.5:

- Title-page, l. 10, epigraph: 'Johan.'
- Literal in pagination: misprint of 192 as '92'.
- Edition has new tailpiece ornament (flower basket) on sig. (**)v.
- List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.

Additional identification features:

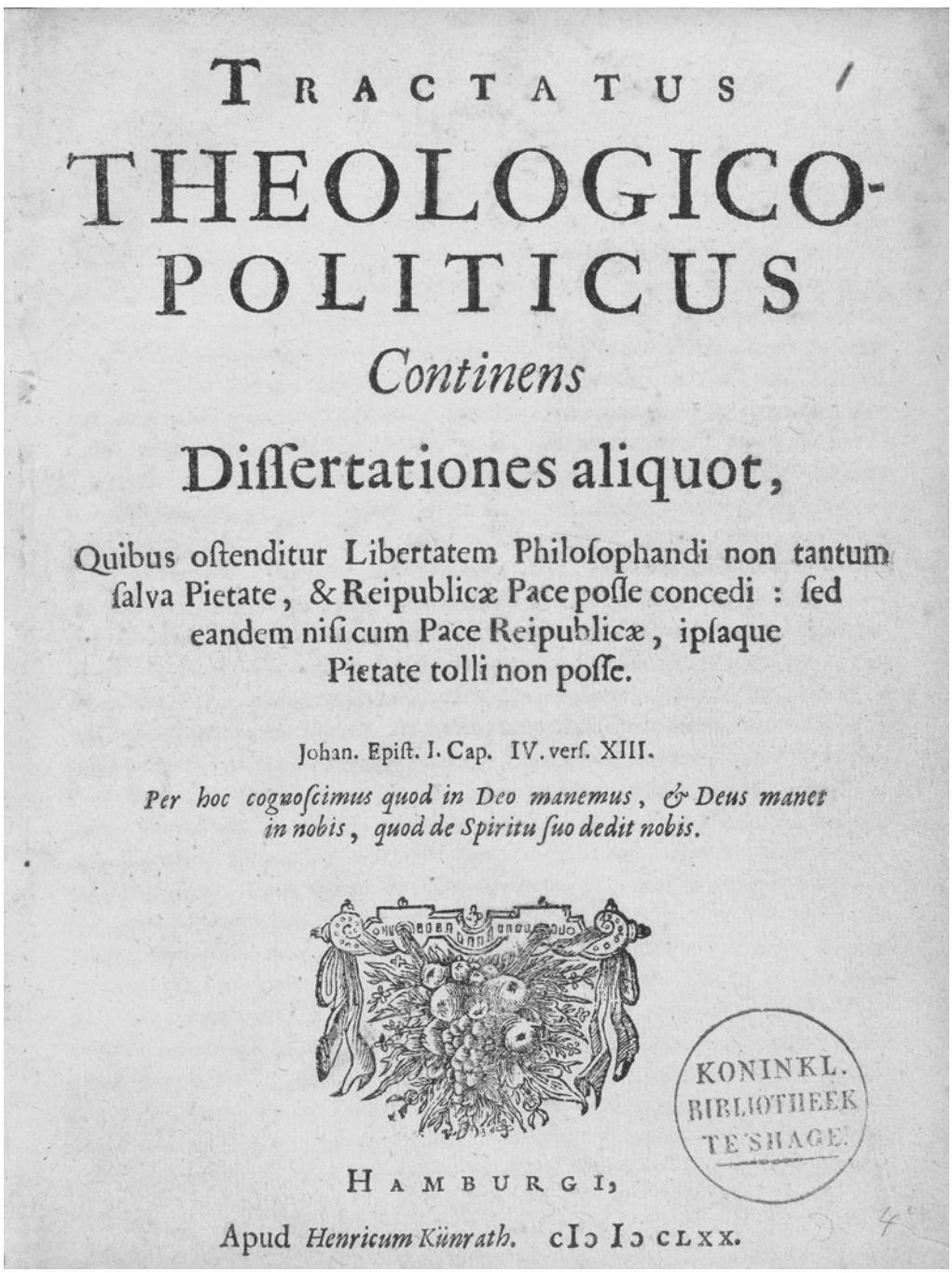
- Title-page, l. 11, epigraph: lower-case italic epsilon ampersand (same shorthand in T.4n/T.4).
- Title-page, imprint: 'Künrath' with *th* (also in T.4n/T.4).
- Imprint of issue antedated '1670': 'ↃIↃIↃCLXX.' (also in T.1, T.2a, and T.4n/T.4).
- P. 104, ll. 6 and 7, flaw: '(ut) iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (lines swopped by typesetter of: T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5).

Exemplar

Quarto edition T.4n/T.4 served as printer's copy.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* (*))**

Tractatus | THEOLOGICO- | POLITICUS | *Continens* | Diſſertationes aliquot , | Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum | ſalva Pietate , & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed | eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ , ipſaque | Pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johan.



TRACTATUS

THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS

Continens

Diſſertationes aliquot,

Quibus oſtenditur Libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum ſalva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace poſſe concedi : ſed eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipſaque Pietate tolli non poſſe.

Johan. Epiſt. I. Cap. IV. verſ. XIII.

Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

KONINKL. BIBLIOTHEEK TE 'SHAGE

HAMBURGI,

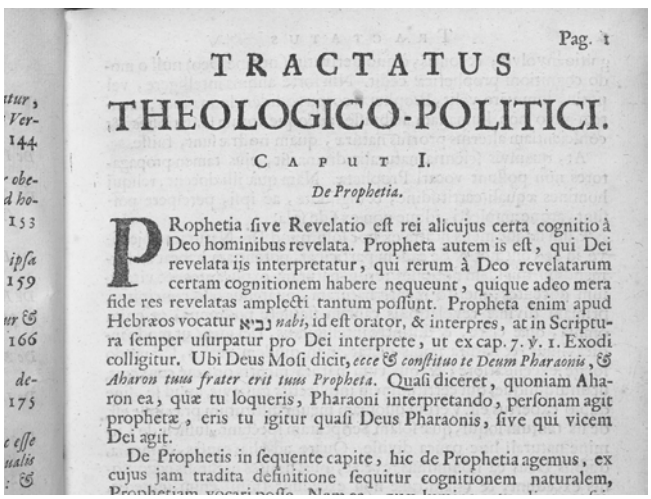
Apud *Henricum Künrath.* cIↃ IↃ CLXX.

ILLUSTRATION 3.45 Title-page of the fourth Latin quarto edition T.5 (misprint of page 191 as '92') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus.*

Epiſt. I. Cap. IV. verſ. XIII. | *Per hoc cognosſcimus quod in Deo manemus , &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet | in nobis , quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.* | (yoke ornament) | HAMBURGI, | Apud *Henricum Künrath.* CIↃIↃCLXX.

Language(s) and Typography

Latin text, printed bold unpointed Hebrew script, occasionally Dutch (Fraktur typeface, pp. 57 and 159). Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with superior letters) with occasionally printed Hebrew and Dutch, explanatory footnotes are keyed with typographical symbols (italics). Normally thirty-five lines.



Pag. 1

TRACTATUS

THEOLOGICO-POLITICI.

CAPUT I.

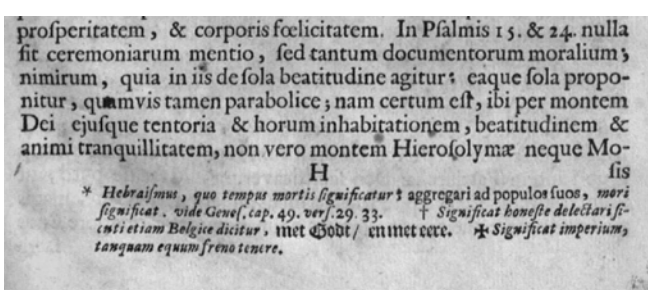
De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum à Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeo mera fide res revelatas amplecti tantum poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt orator, & interpres, at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. 7. ℣. 1. Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Moſi dicit, *ecce & conſtituo te Deum Pharaonis, & Aharon tuus frater erit tuus Propheta.* Quaſi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quæ tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, perſonam agit prophetæ, eris tu igitur quaſi Deus Pharaonis, ſive qui vicem Dei agit.

De Prophetis in ſequente capite, hic de Prophetia agemus, ex cujus jam tradita definitione ſequitur cognitionem naturalem,

ILLUSTRATION 3.46 Page 1 of issue T.5.

Old-style serif roman types from the office of the book's printer, Israel de Paull: *c.*1663/8 'Hamburg' type specimen (several quires of main text, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry; cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 434), 94 mm 'Augustyn' (english) italic (1642 or *c.*1663/8, Bartholomeus or Reinier Voskens?) (ibid., p. 407); 11 mm 'Paragon' roman capitals (1652), 16 mm capitals 'Klein Canon' roman and italic (ibid., p. 435), 'Text' (great primer) roman and italic as well as probably also 'Text' type from a Hebrew fount (2,5 mm mem) (ibid.). Dutch Fraktur unidentified.



proſperitatem, & corporis fœlicitatem. In Pſalmis 15. & 24. nulla ſit ceremoniarum mentio, ſed tantum documentorum moralium; nimirum, quia in iis de ſola beatitudine agitur: eaque ſola proponitur, quamvis tamen parabolice; nam certum eſt, ibi per montem Dei ejuſque tentoria & horum inhabitationem, beatitudinem & animi tranquillitatem, non vero montem Hieroſolymæ neque Moſis

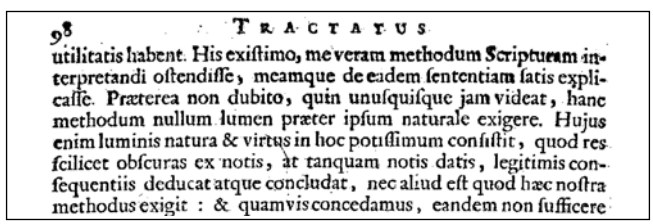
H

* *Hebraiſmus, quo tempus mortis ſignificatur* † aggregari ad populos ſuos, *mori ſignificat. vide Geneſ. cap. 49. verſ. 29. 33.* † *Significat honeſte delectari ſicuti etiam Belgice dicitur,* met Godt / en met eere. ✠ *Significat imperium, tanquam equum freno tenere.*

ILLUSTRATION 3.47 Page 57 of issue T.5.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

- P. 12, l. 26: misprint of '(scaeva scilicet)' as '(saeva scilicet)' (outer forme of B).
- P. 19 (direction line, catchword): misprint of 'cap.' as 'ca.' (inner forme of C).
- P. 23 (direction line, catchword, inner forme of C): 'Deus' misprinted 'Deu' (and hanging, occurs in: Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F.Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660; New York, New York Public Library, *KB 1670 (Spinoza)).
- P. 55 (page number): last numeral 5 hanging beneath other 5 (inner forme of G).
- P. 59 (direction line): last letters of catchword 'socie-' hanging (occurs in: Madrid, National Library, U 4754; Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F. Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2; New Haven, Yale University, University Library, BEIN 1977 377; The Hague, KB, PH928).
- P. 61, ll. 10 and 11: misprint of '(vide Exodi cap. 14.' as '(vide Exodi cap, 14.' (occurs in: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702b (2); Madrid, National Library, U 4754; Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F.Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Exeg. 228#Beibd.1, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, V.F. 8 C 35; New Haven, Yale University, University Library, BEIN 1977 377; The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 (1), 2108 E 13).
- P. 73, l. 33: misprint of '(vide Psal. 73.)' as '(vide Psal. 37.)'.
- P. 98 (page number): numeral 9 hanging beneath 8, shifted south in inner forme of N.



98 TRACTATUS

utilitatis habent. His exiſtimo, me veram methodum Scripturam interpretandi oſtendiſſe, meamque de eadem ſententiam ſatis explicaſſe. Præterea non dubito, quin unuſquiſque jam videat, hanc methodum nullum lumen præter ipſum naturale exigere. Hujus enim luminis natura & virtus in hoc potiſſimum conſiſtit, quod res ſcilicet obſcuras ex notis, at tanquam notis datis, legitimis conſequentiis deducat atque concludat, nec aliud eſt quod hæc noſtra methodus exigit : & quamvis concedamus, eandem non ſufficere

ILLUSTRATION 3.48 Hanging numeral 8 in page number 98.

Occurs in: Madrid, National Library, U 4754; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2. These foregoing copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production process.

- P. 104, ll. 6 and 7: '(ut) | iis integra superstrui possit, sed etiam vitiosa sint. Haec emendare | fundamenta cognitionis Scripturarum non tantum pauciora, ut' (outer forme of N).

– P. 132, l. 14: line lacks '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus' except for the sentence's first word 'scilicet'; sentence now reads incorrectly the following: '*scilicet temporis Eljasibi, Iojadae, Ionatanis & Iaduhe* supra Darii*' (outer forme of R).
– P. 160, l. 1: letter *c* in 'cujusque' hanging (outer forme of v).

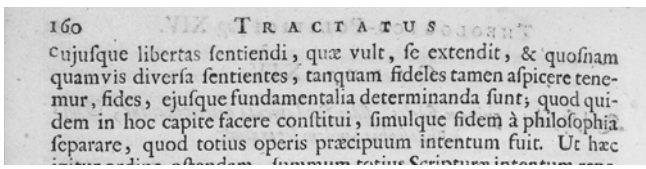

160 TRACTATUS
cujuſque libertas ſentiendi, quæ vult, ſe extendit, & quoſnam quamvis diverſa ſentientes, tanquam fideles tamen aſpicere tenemur, fides, ejuſque fundamentalia determinanda ſunt; quod quidem in hoc capite facere conſtitui, ſimulque fidem à philoſophia ſeparare, quod totius operis præcipuum intentum fuit. Ut hæc

ILLUSTRATION 3.49 Hanging sort in first word of first sentence of page 160.

Occurs in: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702b (2); Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, V.F. 8 C 35; Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F.Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Exeg. 228#Beibd.1; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2; New Haven, Yale University, University Library, BEIN 1977 377; The Hague, KB, 507 E 18 (1). These aforementioned copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production process.
– P. 160 (direction line, catch word, outer forme of V): letter *r* in 'netur' (for 'tenetur') hanging (occurs in: Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F.Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, V.F. 8 C 35; New Haven, Yale University, University Library, BEIN 1977 377; The Hague KB, 3105 A 28:2, PH928, 2108 E 13).
– P. 166 (page number): last numeral 6 hanging beneath 166 (inner forme of X).
– P. 169, l. 10: misprint of 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.' (outer forme of Y).
– P. 192 (page number): 192 misnumbered '92' (outer forme of Aa).
– P. 192 (direction line, catchword): misprint of 'Deus' as 'Deu'.
– P. 209 and 213 (running headline): '*Cap*. XVIII.' misprinted as '*Cap*. XVII.' (outer forme of Dd).
– P. 217, 219, 221, and 223 (running headline): '*Cap*. XIX.' misprinted as '*Cap*. XX.' (outer and inner forme of Ee).

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

[> 1676]04 – a1 (*)2 $homin : a2 (**) itis$,$d
[> 1676]04 – b1 A u$c : b2 Gg N

Collation

4°: (*)^4 (**)^2 A–Z^4 Aa–Ff^4 Gg^2(–(*), –Gg2) [$3, (**) $2] 123 leaves = pp. [*12*] 1–233 [*1*]

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the end of the bottom of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface and list of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin (capital letters): PRÆFATIO.; INDEX CAPITUM.

Headlines in main work in a combination of larger upper-case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italic type): TRACTATUS (verso), THEOLOGICO-POLITICI *Cap*. I. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers).

Contents

(*)^r	(title-page)
(*)^v	(blank)
(*)2^r–(**)^v	PRAEFATIO.
(**)2^r–(**)2^v	INDEX CAPITUM. (table of contents, two-page list indicating twenty chapters)
A^r–B4^r	TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI. CAPUT I. *De Prophetia.*
B4^r–D3^v	CAPUT II. *De Prophetis.*
D3^v–F2^r	CAPUT III. *De Hebraeorum vocatione. Et an donum Propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.*
F2^r–G3^v	CAPUT IV. *De Lege Divina.*
G4^r–I^v	CAPUT V. *De Ratione, cur caeremoniae institutae fuerint, & de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione, & quibus ea necessaria sit.*
I2^r–L^v	CAPUT VI. *De Miraculis.*
L2^r–N4^r	CAPUT VII. *De Interpretatione Scripturae.*
N4^r–P^v	CAPUT VIII. *In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon & libros Iosuae, Iudicum, Rut, Samuëlis & Regum non esse autographa. Deinde inquiritur an eorum omnium Scriptores plures fuerint, an unus tantum, & quinam.*
P2^r–Q4^r	CAPUT IX. *De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur, nempe an Hesdras iis ultimam manum imposuerit: & deinde utrum notae marginales, quae in Hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur, variae fuerint lectiones.*
Q4^r–S^r	CAPUT X. *Reliqui Veteris Testamenti Libri eodem modo quo superiores examinantur.*
S^r–S4^v	CAPUT XI. *Inquiritur an Apostoli Epistolas suas tanquam Apostoli & Prophetae; an*

vero tanquam Doctores scripserint. Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur.

S4v–T4v CAPUT XII. *De vero Legis divinae syngrapho, & qua ratione Scriptura Sacra vocatur, & qua ratione Verbum Dei & denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet, incorruptam ad nos pervenisse.*

Vr–V3v CAPUT XIII. *Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere, nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere; nec de divina Naturâ aliud docere, quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt.*

V4r–X3v CAPUT XIV. *Quid sit fides, quinam fideles, fidei fundamenta determinantur, & ipsa a Philosophia tandem separatur.*

X3v–Y3v CAPUT XV. *Nec Theologiam Rationi, nec Rationem Theologiae ancillari; ostenditur & ratio, qua nobis S. Scripturae authoritatem persuademus.*

Y4r–Aav CAPUT XVI. *De Reipublicae Fundamentis; de jure uniuscujusque naturali & civili; deque Summarum Potestatum Iure.*

Aa2r–Cc4r CAPUT XVII. *Ostenditur neminem omnia in Summam Potestatem transferre posse, nec esse necesse: De Republica Hebraeorum, qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem antequam Reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia: & denique de causis cur Respublica divina interire, & vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit.*

Cc4r–Dd3v CAPUT XVIII. *Ex Hebraeorum Republica, & historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.*

Dd3v–Ee4v CAPUT XIX. *Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino esse, & Religionis cultum externum Reipublicae paci accomodari debere, si recte Deo obtemperare velimus.*

Ffr–Ggr CAPUT XX. *Ostenditur, in Libera Republica unicuique & sentire, quae velit, & quae sentiat dicere licere.*

Ggv (blank; list of errata of T.1 is cancelled)[208]

Ornament on Title-Page

Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 35×50 mm. Identical printer's mark occurs on title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*; *De nagelate schriften*. *See*: T.1.

Simple Initials

Twenty plain closed black initials (relief woodcuts), 12×17 mm (p. 1), employed to head the first letter of the first word of prologue and chapters of main work (4 ll.), dimensions varying. A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials found in the works printed by De Paull: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Tailpiece Ornament

Relief woodcut (sig. (**)v): bowl or basket of flowers, 17×30 mm. An almost identical tailpiece ornament is printed as vignette on the title-page of the following work:

– Anon., *Histoire des intrigues galantes de la reine Christine de Suede, et de sa cour, pendant son sejour à Rome* (Amsterdam: J. Henri, 1697).

***Copies* (*79*)**

Copies Examined

T.5#238 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702b (2)
Front cover missing, minor brownspotting to leaves.
Bound with: *Opera posthuma* (Fa 2702 b(1)).
Digitized copy:
http://digital.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/hd/content/titleinfo/1232502

T.5#239 MADRID, National Library, U/4754
Provenance: older shelf-marks on first free endpaper (U-G-13, U 1922), library of Madrid National Library throughout volume.
Digitized copy:
http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/CompleteSearch.do?showYearItems=&field=todos&advanced=false&exact=on&textH=&completeText=&text=spinoza&pageSize=1&pageSizeAbrv=30&pageNumber=4

T.5#240 MADRID, Universidad Complutense, Bca. Histórica-F.Antiguo (F) BH, FLL 3660
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum binding over pasteboard.
Provenance: bookplate on first boardpaper of Nicholas Joseph Foucault (1643–1721), marquis de Magny, politician and archaeologist: 'EX BIBLIOTHECA | NICOLAI JOSEPH FOUCAULT | COMITIS CONSISTORIANI' with coat of arms. On the title-page in a cursive hand:

208 Corrections made on pp. 8, 22, 39, 41, 95 (except the second correction), 121, and 149.

'Donum viri nobilis Boni Viel, amici veteris 1685' (Gift from the noble sir Boni Viel, an old friend, 1685). Below 'Boni Viel' in the same hand: 'Boniti Vitalis'. In the upper-right corner of title-page signature (illegible) of unidentified owner. Copy heavily annotated by the same cursive hand (Foucault?). Above the yoke ornament, an eighteenth-century hand wrote the following: '(autore Benedicto de Spinosa)'. Owner's stamps on title-page and p. 233 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris and of another library (illegible). Older shelf-mark on title-page in black ink (24 Sp4b).[209]
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=Vgq4jgEACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.5#241 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Exeg. 228#Beibd.1
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum binding over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs, multiple underlineations with black ink.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10894545-4

T.5#242 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Diss. 945#Beibd.2
Provenance: late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century reader's notes in black ink (title-page and last back endpapers): hinting at alleged authorship by Spinoza of: 'L.A. Constans', *De jure ecclesiasticorum, liber singularis: … in qua sunt constituti, accepisse* (Alethopolis [Amsterdam]: 1665); also listing several refutations of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*: J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris), *Epistola ad amicum*; Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Kuyper, *Arcana*; Henry More, 'Ad V.C. epistola altera, quae brevem Tractatus theologico-politici confutationem complectitur, … *De libri Francisci Cuperi …*', in: id., *Opera philosophica* (London: 1679), vol. 2, pp. 564–614 (opening section edited in: Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 116–118); text passages underlined (black ink): pp. 184, 187–188, and 225–233.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10670122-9

T.5#243 NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, V.F. 8 C 35
Gathering (**)^2 of prologue composed of sheets of the T.4 edition of *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding over pasteboard.
Provenance: below biblical quotation on title-page in eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand in black ink: 'Benedictus Spinoza', nineteenth-century circular library stamp in lower-right corner of title-page (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II), one of the first front endpapers has the warning 'Proibito'.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=gBEx80hiNpEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.5#244 NEW HAVEN, Yale University, University Library, BEIN 1977 377
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, eighteenth-century owner's note in black ink between Bible quotation and reference on title-page ('authore benédicto Spinosa judeo'), in the same hand immediately following the date in Roman numerals '1670', brown spotting to pages. Handwritten correction of misnumbered page number 192.
Provenance: ex libris of Charles J. Rosenbloom (1898–1973), Pittsburgh lawyer, businessman, philanthropist, with arcadian illustration of the garden of Eden and text: ('the earth should be full of the knowledge of the Lord'), bookplate of Yale University reading 'Bequest of Charles J. Rosenbloom'.
Digitized copy:
https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/17383280

T.5#245 NEW YORK (NY), New York Public Library, *KB 1670 (Spinoza)
Clean copy, minor spotting to pages, calf leather over marbled papers, owner's inscription in brown ink in eighteenth-century hand on title-page: '+ Benedictum Spinosam Amstelodamensem q ⊕ 1677', eighteenth-century corrections of errata with brown ink throughout copy, modern pencilled monogram 'C.K.' at foot of title-page.
Provenance: embossed library stamp (New York Public Library) on title-page, square New York Public Library stamp with date 1929 and old shelf-mark (378679A).

209 For Foucault's library: Léopold V. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* [*Nationale*]*: Étude sur la formation de ce dépôt* (3 vols., Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1868–81), vol. 1, pp. 373–380.

T.5#246 THE HAGUE, KB, 507 E 18 (1)
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, blind-tooled ornament in blind-tooled rectangular double rule on front and spine, black stained edge, round blind-tooled shelf-back, handwritten title in black ink on the top of the spine: 'TRACTATUS | [THEOLOGICO] | [POLITICUS]'.
Bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* (The Hague, KB, 507 E 18(2)).
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=19&resultClick=1

T.5#247 UTRECHT, University Library, Bibl. Utenhove, quarto no. 130
Collation: 4°: (*)⁴(–(*)2, (*)3, (*)4) (**)² A–Z⁴ Aa–Ff⁴ Gg²(–Gg2) [$3, (**) signed $2].
Large section of prologue missing, printed text replaced by text in a late-eighteenth-century hand (after November 1763), sewn inside for the printed text of the 'Index Capitum' and main text, margins (192×143 mm) of text block heavily trimmed, eighteenth-century hand notes in external margins, eighteenth-century brown half-leather binding over pasteboard, dark brown paper on cover sprinkled with black ink, gold-tooled spine, two hand-lettered panels, on lower gold-tooled panel: 'SPINOSA | TRACTATUS | THEOLOGIO | POLITICUS', red stained edge. Bound with: John Craig, *Theologiae christianae principia mathematica* (London, 1699).
Provenance: 'J.F. v. S.' (pencil, first flyleaf); stamp (Utrecht, UL) in the lower-right corner on title-page.

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*6*)

T.5#248 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: RON A-5211

T.5#249ᵖ GRONINGEN, University Library, uklu 8B 868(2) (with the 'Opera' frontispice portrait, eighteenth-century owner's inscription on the book in black ink, partly legible ['Fata … rarissimorum Benedicti de Spinoza ope[rum] … rarior….'], nineteenth-century owner's inscription ['Ex libris J. Merkel 1815', with price [5, 24]] in black ink, first front endpapers used for calligraphy exercises in German, bound with: B. d. S., *Opera posthuma* [uklu 8B 868 (1)]: Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* [uklu 8B 868 (3)]).

T.5#250 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 164

T.5#251–253 THE HAGUE, KB, 2108 E 13 (modern half-leather binding over pasteboard, new blank endpapers, late-seventeenth-century underlines and notes in black ink on pp. 1, 104–105, 128–129, 133–134), 3105 A 28:2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, sprinkled edges, minor brownspotting to pages, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*), PH 928 (eighteenth-century brown leather binding with coat of arms, in modern gilt cardboard box, gilt edges sprinkled with red and blue ink, marbled endpapers, gilt spine: 'SPINOZA | OPERA', olim: Claude Antoine Cleriadus [1733–1694], marquis de Choiseul Beaupré; Haven O'More; ex libris (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica [Amsterdam]) on first pastedown, reading: 'Philosophia Hermetica').

France (*9*)

T.5#254 GRENOBLE, Bibliothèque municipale, D.4844–6 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gilt title on spine: 'OPERA B. SPINOZA', olim: Etienne le Camus [1632–1707], Bishop of Grenoble, owner's inscription on title-page in late-seventeenth-century hand: 'Bibliotheca Camusiana Oratorii Gratianop.', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#255 MARSEILLE, Bibliothèque de l'Alcazar, 27372 (blind-tooled late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, contains an autograph letter [1892] of J. Lagneau to his pupil Alain, nineteenth-century oval library stamp [Marseille Library] on title-page, bound with: *Opera posthuma* [27373]).

T.5#256ᵖ MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier, Ba 254 in-4 (copy has 'Opera' portrait, late-seventeenth-century blind-tooled vellum over pasteboard, author and title in black ink written on spine: 'Spinozae Opera | Posthuma', ex libris on first pastedown of Paul-Joseph Barthez [1734–1806], French physician, physiologist, and encyclopedist, called upon to edit or contribute several entries in the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers* of Denis Diderot [1713–1784] and Jean le Rond d'Alembert [1717–1783], eighteenth-century underliners and notes throughout volume in black ink, old shelf-mark ['46223'] and nineteenth-century circular library stamp ['ECOLE DE MÉDECINE DE

MONTPELLIER'] on title-page, bound with: *Opera posthuma*; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.5#257 Montpellier, Médiatheque de Montpellier, 43913 res (late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, decorated gold-tooled spine, panel reading: 'TRACT | THEOL | POLIT', paper label with shelf-mark, title-page with owner's inscription ['F.A. Besson [...] 1744'] in black ink, black circular library stamp [Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Ville], and nineteenth-century stamp reading 'abbé Flottes', brown spotting to pages).

T.5#258–259 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, R-3508 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper, provenance: 'Bibl. Sem. S. Sulpice' [library of the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, Paris], bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*), 2620 (1).

T.5#260–262 Paris, Sorbonne-biu Centrale, tri 4 = 2 (olim: Université de Paris; Université royale [France]; Faculté de théologie de Paris), tri 4 = 4 (Prieuré Saint-Eloi, Paris [1631–1791]), vc 6156 (eighteenth-century moroccan binding).

Germany (*15*)

T.5#263 Aurich, Landschaftsbibliothek, Q 948 (late-seventeenth-century vellum coverings with laced-in thongs, sprinkled edges, author on spine in black ink, underlined: 'SPINOZA', another hand wrote in black ink below 'Des Car', also on spine old shelf-mark in black ink [1301] and Aurich library label with modern shelf-mark, printed armorial bookplate of book collector Christoph Friedrich von Derschau [1714–1799], poet and first president of Ostfriesland at Aurich, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.5#264–268 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nl 13164, Nl 13164<a>, Bibl. Diez qu. 1964 (copy owned by the Prussian diplomat, orientalist and bibliophile Heinrich Friedrich Diez [1751–1817], olim: Königliche Bibliothek), an: Ct 3216<a> ('Ex Biblioth: Gymnasii Regii Joachimic'), an: 50 ma 49155 (Abraham Wieling, bookplate of Librarie Bergeret, Königliches Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium).

T.5#269 Freiburg im Breisgau, Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat der Erzdiözese Freiburg, Frei 164: StP Ph 542 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard with five laced-in thongs, author and title written with black ink on spine: 'B.D. Spinoza | Opera | Posthuma', eighteenth-century owner's note in black ink on title-page with a reference to Lambertus van Velthuysen's judgement [to Jacob Ostens, 1671.02.03, Ep 42] of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Letter xlviii of the posthumous works: 'Judicium de hoc tractatu vid. in Epist. 48.', late-seventeenth-century owner's remarks and underliners with black ink throughout copy, nineteenth-century oval library stamp [Bibliothek des Freiburger Priesterseminars] on title-page, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#270–271 Halberstadt, Das Gleimhaus, C 7945 (late-seventeenth-century brown leather binding, gilt spine with gold-tooled lettering, author and title: 'SPINOSAE | OPERA', bound with *Opera posthuma*), B 0346 (red-sprinkled edges, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#272–273 Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2742 (1) (bound with: Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; Christoph Wittich, *Anti-Spinoza sive examen Ethices Benedicti de Spinoza, et commentarius de Deo et ejus attributis* [Amsterdam: 1690]), S Tsch L 0048 (owner's inscription of: Eduard Boehmer).

T.5#274 Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker, Cc 323 (olim: Güstrow Kathedralschule, bound with: Franciscus Cuperus, *Mala fide, au ad minimum frigide atheismum Spinozae oppugnans, ... pro materia disputationis ... Die 19. Septembris MDCCX* (Tübingen: 1710); Johannes Musaeus, *Examen Cherburianismi, sive De luminis naturae insufficientia ad salutem, meletema, contra Edoardum Herbertum de Cherburi, Baronem Anglum P. P.* (Jena: 1711); Kuyper, *Arcana*; J.M. V.D.M. [Melchioris], *Epistola ad amicum*).

T.5#275 Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, University Library, Aa 60.4 (modern covering, notes of two owners on first front endpapers in late-eighteenth-century hand in black ink: 'Jacobi' [on pastedown], 'C.E.W.', one other note [on the French translations [1678] of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*] made by an unidentified late-seventeenth-century hand, unidentified

black [library?] stamp in lower-right corner of title-page, addition to imprint on title-page in black ink '1678' and 'Spinoza', [nineteenth-century?] marginalia on p. 3, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* and *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#276–277 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog Augustbibliothek, H: O 146 4° Helmst (olim: Universität Helmstedt, or Academia Julia/ Academia Julia Carolina, or Academia Helmstadiensis; Collegium Carolinum, Braunschweig), We 193 (private collection, bought in 1983).

Italy (*3*)

T.5#278 Cremona, Biblioteca Statale di Cremona, FA.23.1.73 (marbled endpapers, brown spotting to pages, printed armorial bookplate of Hyacinth Theodore Baron [1707–1787], French physician and medical author: oblong, in the middle of which is a hand, below is written 'Antiqui Facultatis Medicinae Parisiensis Decani, nec non castrorum Regis et exercituum Protomedici').[210]

T.5#279 Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario vescovile, BVEE050644

T.5#280 Torino, University Library, C.NOD III.174/2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, author and title on spine written in black ink: 'Spinosae | Opera Posthuma | 1677', old paper library labels [Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino] pasted to head and foot of spine, blue-sprinkled edges, notes throughout volume, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

Poland (*1*)

T.5#281 Krakow, Jagiellonian University, University Library, 905334 II (blind-tooled vellum binding, upper cover with ornamental plate with empty oblong medallion, red and dark green dappled edges, formerly owned by the Biblioteka Instytutu Filozofii, claret stamp on title-page ['Kaedry Filozoficzne Uniw. Jag.'], bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; *Opera posthuma*).

Switzerland (*3*)

T.5#282 Basle, University Library, UBH ib III 5a:1

T.5#283 Lausanne, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, ancien site Cèdres [Collection indisponible]: Cèdres magasins, PHIL 24

T.5#284 Sankt Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, VadSlg C 1025 (K1) (vellum binding, owner's inscription by Christoph Hochreutiner [1662–1742], legal scholar and Burgomaster of Sankt Gallen: 'Nobilissimus, Excellentissimusque Vir, Dominus Christophorus Hochreutinerus J.U.D. Archigrammataeus et Bibliothecae Vadiano-publicae Inspector, eandem hoc volumine exornavit, die 5 Maji, Ao. 1707', bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

United Kingdom (*9*)

T.5#285 Aberdeen, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, SB 1939 Spi t 1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboard with five laced-in thongs, provenance: Marichal College, late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on title-page: 'Liber Academiae Marischallannae. P.4.23', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

T.5#286 Cambridge, St Catherine's College, E.10.50(1–2) (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering with laced-in thongs, 'B.D.S.' at the top of the spine in ink, occasional marginal annotations and underlines throughout copy, small late-seventeenth-century inscription on front pastedown, modern pencilled shelf-mark at top of title-page, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#287 Exeter, University Library, Rare Books B 1670/ SPI (rebacked vellum covering with embossed stamp and double fillets, five blind-tooled raised bands, late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription in brown ink: 'H. Reichle i.u.d. 1691.', below in the same hand: '1720/4–5', donated to the precursor of Exeter University in 1943 by Lady Baillie, dedication in calligraphy on single sheet pasted to first free endpaper: 'University College of the South West | Exeter | In Memoriam | Sir James B. Baillie | Vice Chancellor | of | Leeds University | The Gift of | Lady Baillie | 1943', handwritten owner's note in black ink on verso of first free endpaper: 'J.B.B. d.d. W.H.H. Collega collegae, amico amicus. A.D. Kal. Jul. MCMXXX', printed twentieth-century ex libris

210 Eugène Olivier and Gonzague Vialet, *Essai de répertoire des ex-libris, et fers de reliure des médecins et des pharmaciens français antérieurs à la période moderne* (Paris: C. Bosse, 1927) p. 16, nos. 40–41.

of W.H. Haddow [Worcester College, Oxford] on first pasteboard, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#288 GLASGOW, University Library, Special Collections, Sp Coll Bk2-h.9

T.5#289 LIVERPOOL, University Library, SPEC H24.31 (badly damaged seventeenth-century vellum covering with six laced-in thongs, spine label with gilt title, red- and black-sprinkled edges, modern owner's notes on edition on first front pasteboard).

T.5#290 LONDON, British Library, C 38.d.35.(2.) (brown leather binding, owner's stamp of French Périgord antiquary Henry François Athanase WIgrin Taillefer [1761–1833] on title-page: 'du Cabinet de M^{r}. le C^{te} WIgrin Taillefer', bound with: (*Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* [C.38.d.35.(1.)]; anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*) [C 38.d.35.(3.)]).

T.5#291 OXFORD, Christ Church College, Og.3.14b(2) (seventeenth-century red morocco binding, gold fillets (outer triple fillet frame with small ornaments at corner), marbled endpapers, gilt edges, provenance: Charles Boyle [1674–1731], 4th Earl of Orrery and 1st Baron Marston, provenance note: possibly from the Orrery bequest, library bookplate [1731] of Orrery bequest, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; Johannes Bredenburg, *Enervatio*).

T.5#292 OXFORD, Worcester College, 1.c.8 (owned by: George Clarke [1661–1736], benefactor of Worcester College, 'CG' on title-page).

T.5#293 YORK, University Library, Special Collections, SC 26-6-5-29 (vellum over pasteboards, nineteenth-century circular library stamp on title-page in dark blue ink: 'The Community of the Resurrection', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; *Opera posthuma*).

United States (*23*)

T.5#294 ANN ARBOR (MI), University of Michigan, B 3985 .A2 1670 (late-seventeenth-century owner's note in black ink [right margin in transverse direction] on title-page, remedied by a late-seventeenth-century hand in black ink: 'sub nomine libertatis philosophandi hat Spinoza keine andere Absichten, | [?ganzlich] als religionem christianam zu ruiniren gehabt, weß- | wegen es (ein) völlig pestilentissimus liber genan- | net werden kan von [?...]'; same hand wrote on title-page 'Spinosae' and 'M. Neuland' (the owner's name as it seems), occasional main underlined text in black ink, bound with: Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Paulus Bredenburg, *Aanmerkingen op de ongegronde scheurklaghten van L. Klinkhamer en P. Smout* [Rotterdam: 1687]; Abraham Lemmerman, *Eenige bewijzen dat Johannes Breedenburg, staande zijn stellingen, geenszins kan gelooven, dat ér zulk een God is, als de H. Schrift leert* [Amsterdam: 1684]).

T.5#295 AUSTIN (TX), University Library, B 3985 A3 1678 (bookplate: The Wilhelm Prandtl Collection).

T.5#296–297 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University, University Library, *NC6 Sp476 670te, *NC6 Sp476 6770 (brown spotting to pages, late-seventeenth-century inscription in black ink on title-page: 'Henr. Fried. Ziegleri Past Heydensis 1570–, opera omnia quae rara occurrunt', bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#298 CHICAGO (IL), The University of Chicago, University Library, Special Collections, B 3985.A1 1670d

T.5#299 CHICAGO (IL), The Newberry, Case 4A 925 (bookplates of Louis H. Silver [†1963], Newberry trustee and a great collector of British and Continental literary first editions, and Chicago Newberry library, on first boardpaper).

T.5#300 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, UL

T.5#301^{p} EVANSTON (IL), Northwestern Libraries, Kestenbaum S 758s (copy contains 'Opera' portrait, vellum covering, author's name and title on spine in black ink: 'B. de SPINOSA | Opera omnia', contains handwritten notes in Latin about Spinoza's writings pasted on to page preceding title-page, bookseller's description, in German, tipped in before p. 3 of cover, bound with *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#302 IOWA CITY (IA), University Library, B3955 1677 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#303 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985 .A3 1670c

T.5#304 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection, B 1875 .S75r 1663

cop. 2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum, spine title: 'Spinosae', ex libris of Abraham Wolf Edelman [1832–1907], first rabbi in Los Angeles, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

T.5#305 NASHVILLE (TN), Vanderbilt University, Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Special Collections (Sevier), VU.2017.0026 (contemporary vellum binding).

T.5#306 NEW BRUNSWICK (NJ), Rutgers University, University Library, B 3985.A3 1670 (bound in late-seventeenth-century calf leather with recent gold lettering on spine, copy set together with 'Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae' of the *Opera posthuma* and its 'Indiculus capitum. Grammatices Hebraeae').

T.5#307–308 NEW HAVEN (CT), University Library, 1977 376 (bound with: *Opera posthuma*), K8 Sp4 a677 (tight vellum covering, embossed blind-tooling on front cover at the heart of blind-tooled frame, blind-tooled raised bands on spine, late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century notes in red and black on the rear pastedown (list of topics and corresponding pages), underliners in red and marginal pencil markings, bookplate: Charles J. Rosenbloom, bound with: *Opera posthuma*).

T.5#309–310 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1670e (nineteenth-century quotation on edition, opposite to title-page), 193Sp4 X6 1670f (Hebrew note in black ink, eighteenth or nineteenth century).

T.5#311 PHILADELPHIA (PA), University of Pennsylvania, University Library, NC65 Sp475 670td

T.5#312 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary vellum binding, back with handwritten title, underlinings with ink, title-page with several owner's inscriptions in black ink, place of printing on title-page ['Hamburgi'] added with the following remark: 'vel potius Amstelodami', collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

T.5#313 ST LOUIS (MO), University Library, B3985 A3 1670

T.5#314 UNIVERSITY PARK (PA), University of Pennsylvania, B 3985.1670

T.5#315 WASHINGTON (DC), The Library of Congress, B 3985.A3 1670a (extra-illustrated with an engraved portrait of Spinoza published in Paris by Petit, with a lengthy inscription in French on the front pastedown, copy formerly in the possession of the Founding Father and the United States' third president Thomas Jefferson [1743–1826], with his initials at sigs I and T).

T.5#316 WELLESLEY (MA), Wellesley College, 139.9 Sp4tr (marginal notes on pp. 14, 23, 31, and 33, ownership signature in black ink on verso of upper free endpaper, ownership signature in pencil on recto of upper flyleaf, bookplates of George Herbert Palmer and Wellesley College Library on upper pastedown, armorial binding).

References

Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, pp. 469–470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 3; Land, 'Over vier drukken', (D); Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 24–25 (T.4/T.5); *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), pp. 32–33, nos. 361–363; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 10, no. 7.

Unidentified Copies of the Latin Quarto Edition

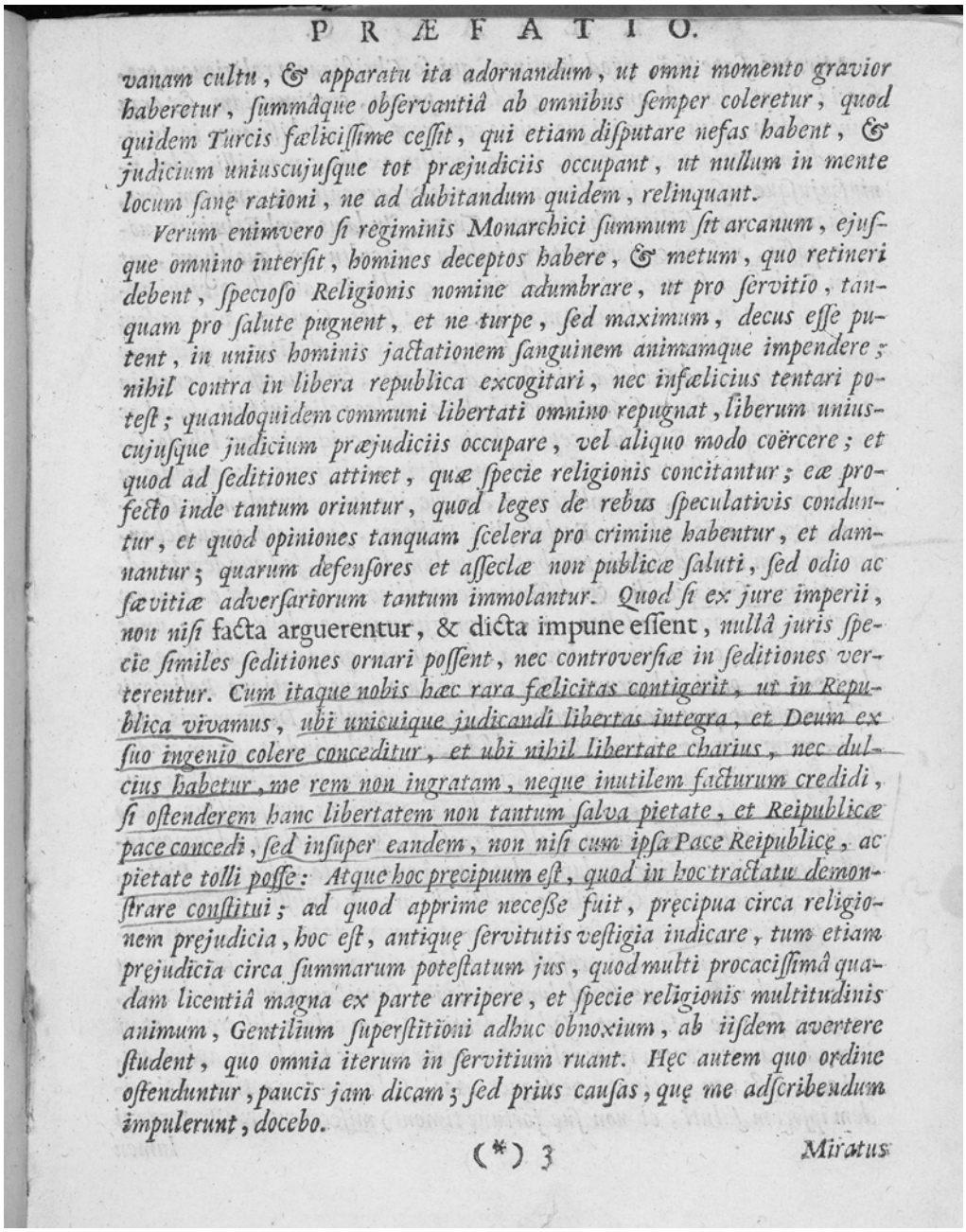
NASHVILLE (TN), private collection Lenn E. Goodman (vellum binding, bound with the *Opera posthuma*), presumably Y.4 or Y.5).

NEW YORK (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary, RB431:6 (lacks opening and final pages, umbrella title-page: *Benedicti de Spinoza, OPERA OMNIA, Priora & Posthuma: quorum seriem versa pagina indicat*, bound in in the volume are *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [edition remains unidentified, copy was not available for inspection]; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

⁘

Appendix

Typesetting Stages of T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5: The Preface's Signature (*)3



PRÆFATIO.

vanam cultu, & apparatu ita adornandum, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, ſummâque obſervantiâ ab omnibus ſemper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis fælicißime ceſſit, qui etiam diſputare nefas habent, & judicium uniuscujuſque tot præjudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum ſanę rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem, relinquant.

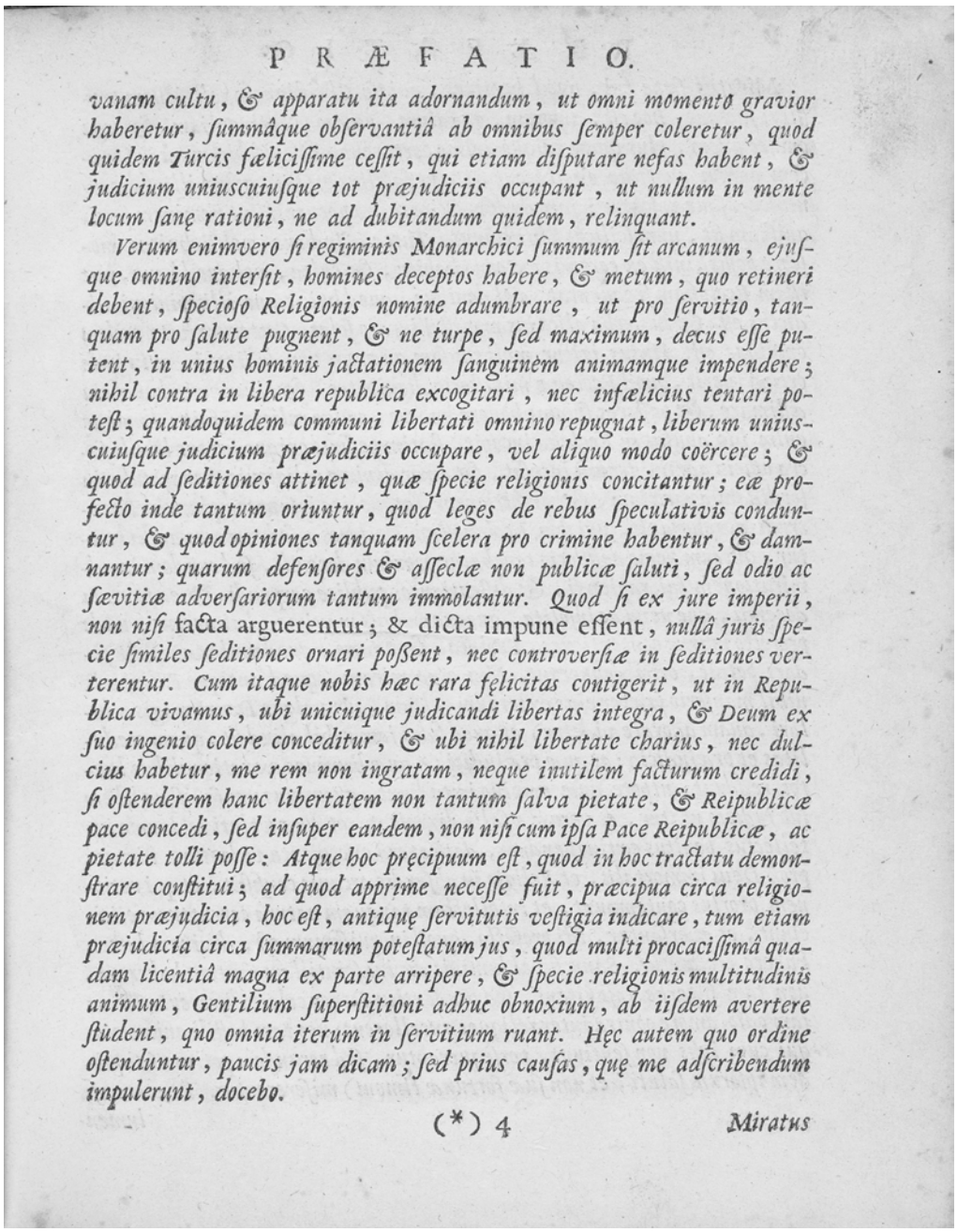
Verum enimvero ſi regiminis Monarchici ſummum ſit arcanum, ejuſque omnino interſit, homines deceptos habere, & metum, quo retineri debent, ſpecioſo Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro ſervitio, tanquam pro ſalute pugnent, et ne turpe, ſed maximum, decus eſſe putent, in unius hominis jactationem ſanguinem animamque impendere; nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infælicius tentari poteſt; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscujuſque judicium præjudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coërcere; et quod ad ſeditiones attinet, quæ ſpecie religionis concitantur; eæ profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus ſpeculativis conduntur, et quod opiniones tanquam ſcelera pro crimine habentur, et damnantur; quarum defenſores et aſſeclæ non publicæ ſaluti, ſed odio ac ſævitiæ adverſariorum tantum immolantur. Quod ſi ex jure imperii, non niſi facta arguerentur, & dicta impune eſſent, nullâ juris ſpecie ſimiles ſeditiones ornari poſſent, nec controverſiæ in ſeditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis hæc rara fælicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, et Deum ex ſuo ingenio colere conceditur, et ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratam, neque inutilem facturum credidi, ſi oſtenderem hanc libertatem non tantum ſalva pietate, et Reipublicæ pace concedi, ſed inſuper eandem, non niſi cum ipſa Pace Reipublicę, ac pietate tolli poſſe: Atque hoc precipuum eſt, quod in hoc tractatu demonſtrare conſtitui; ad quod apprime neceße fuit, precipua circa religionem prejudicia, hoc eſt, antiquę ſervitutis veſtigia indicare, tum etiam prejudicia circa ſummarum poteſtatum jus, quod multi procaciſſimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, et ſpecie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium ſuperſtitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iiſdem avertere ſtudent, quo omnia iterum in ſervitium ruant. Hęc autem quo ordine oſtenduntur, paucis jam dicam; ſed prius cauſas, quę me adſcribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 3 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.50
T.1 edition, Preface, outer forme of (*), signature (*)3, printed correctly, 35 lines.

Signature (*)3r starts with '*vanam cultu*', ends with '*docebo.*'; key typesetting features of T.1:

- Upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands.
- *æ* ligature: *fælicissime* (l. 3).
- Double *s*: *cessit* (l. 3).
- *e caudata*: *sanę* (l. 5).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& metum* (l. 7).
- '*et*', and word: *et quod* (ll. 13–14).
- Circumflex accent: *nullâ* (l. 19).
- Double *ss*: *possent* (l. 20).
- '*et*', with addition: *et ubi* (l. 23).
- '*et*', and addition: *et Reipublicæ* (l. 25).
- Sharp *s*: *neceße* (l. 28).
- '*et*', with addition: *et specie* (l. 31).
- *e caudata*: *Hęc* (l. 33).



PRÆFATIO.

vanam cultu, & apparatu ita adornandum, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, ſummâque obſervantiâ ab omnibus ſemper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis fæliciſſime ceſſit, qui etiam diſputare nefas habent, & judicium uniuscuiuſque tot præjudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum ſanę rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem, relinquant.

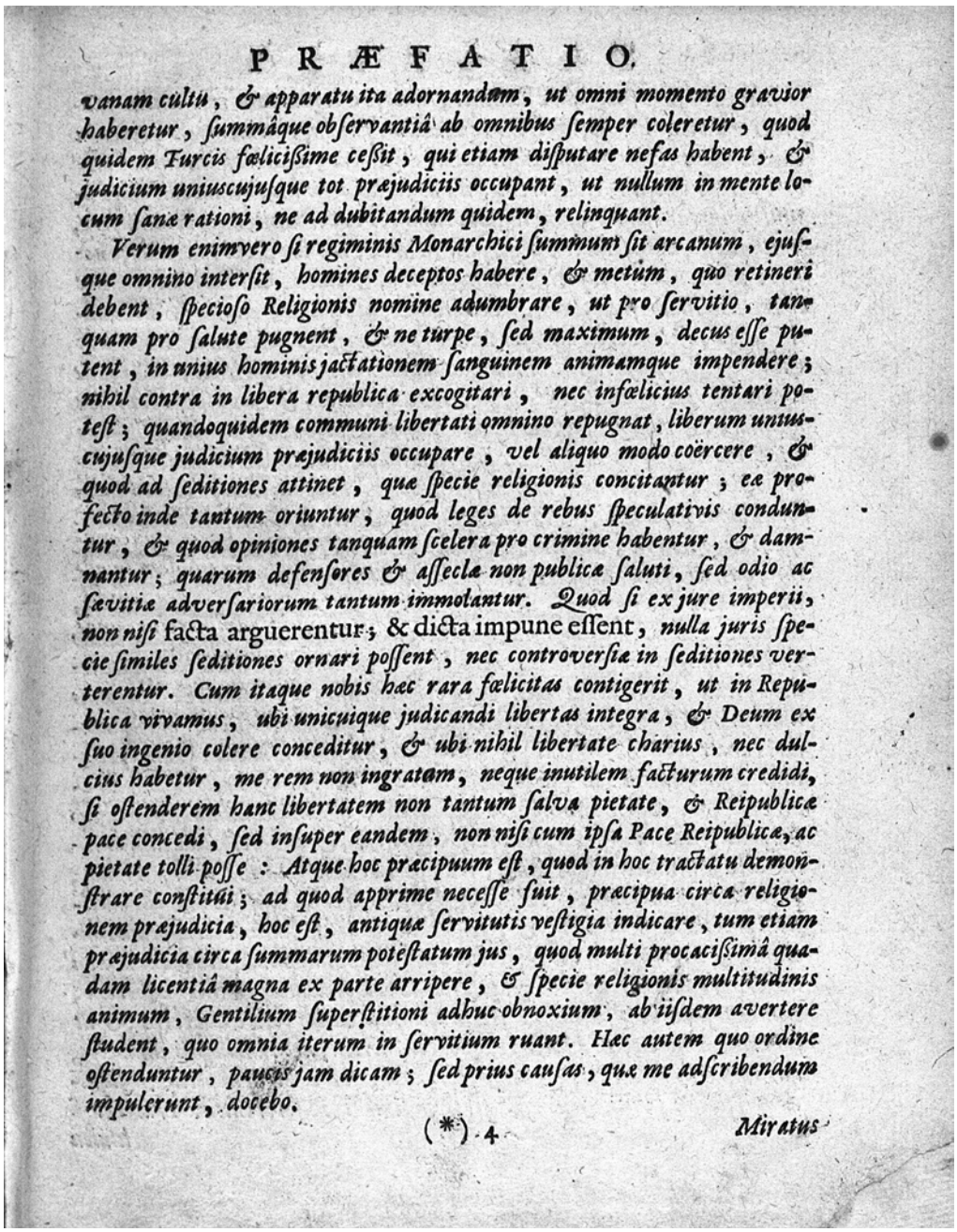
Verum enimvero ſi regiminis Monarchici ſummum ſit arcanum, ejuſque omnino interſit, homines deceptos habere, & metum, quo retineri debent, ſpecioſo Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro ſervitio, tanquam pro ſalute pugnent, & ne turpe, ſed maximum, decus eſſe putent, in unius hominis jactationem ſanguinem animamque impendere; nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infælicius tentari poteſt; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscuiuſque judicium præjudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coërcere; & quod ad ſeditiones attinet, quæ ſpecie religionis concitantur; eæ profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus ſpeculativis conduntur, & quod opiniones tanquam ſcelera pro crimine habentur, & damnantur; quarum defenſores & aſſeclæ non publicæ ſaluti, ſed odio ac ſævitiæ adverſariorum tantum immolantur. Quod ſi ex jure imperii, non niſi facta arguerentur; & dicta impune eſſent, nullâ juris ſpecie ſimiles ſeditiones ornari poßent, nec controverſiæ in ſeditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis hæc rara felicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, & Deum ex ſuo ingenio colere conceditur, & ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratam, neque inutilem facturum credidi, ſi oſtenderem hanc libertatem non tantum ſalva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace concedi, ſed inſuper eandem, non niſi cum ipſa Pace Reipublicæ, ac pietate tolli poſſe: Atque hoc prȩcipuum eſt, quod in hoc tractatu demonſtrare conſtitui; ad quod apprime neceſſe fuit, præcipua circa religionem præjudicia, hoc eſt, antiquę ſervitutis veſtigia indicare, tum etiam præjudicia circa ſummarum poteſtatum jus, quod multi procaciſſimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, & ſpecie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium ſuperſtitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iiſdem avertere ſtudent, qno omnia iterum in ſervitium ruant. Hęc autem quo ordine oſtenduntur, paucis jam dicam; ſed prius cauſas, quę me adſcribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 4 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.51
T.2 and T.2a issue, Preface, outer forme of (*), misprint of signature (*)3 as '(*)4', 35 lines.

Misprinted signature (*)4^{r}, starts with '*vanam cultu*', ends with '*docebo.*'; key typesetting features of T.2/T.2a:

- Upper-case italic Epsilon ampersands.
- *æ* ligature: *fælicissime* (l. 3).
- Double *s*: *cessit* (l. 3).
- *e caudata*: *sanę* (l. 5).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& metum* (l. 7).
- Ampersand, with addition: *& quod* (ll. 13–14).
- Circumflex accent: *nullâ* (l. 19).
- Sharp *s*: *poßent* (l. 20).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& ubi* (l. 23).
- Ampersand, and addition: *& Reipublicæ* (l. 25).
- Double *ss*: *necesse* (l. 28).
- Ampersand, with addition: *& specie* (l. 31).
- *e caudata*: *Hęc* (l. 33).



PRÆFATIO.

vanam cultu, & apparatu ita adornandam, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, ſummâque obſervantiâ ab omnibus ſemper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis fœliciſſime ceſſit, qui etiam diſputare nefas habent, & judicium uniuscujuſque tot præjudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum ſanæ rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem, relinquant.

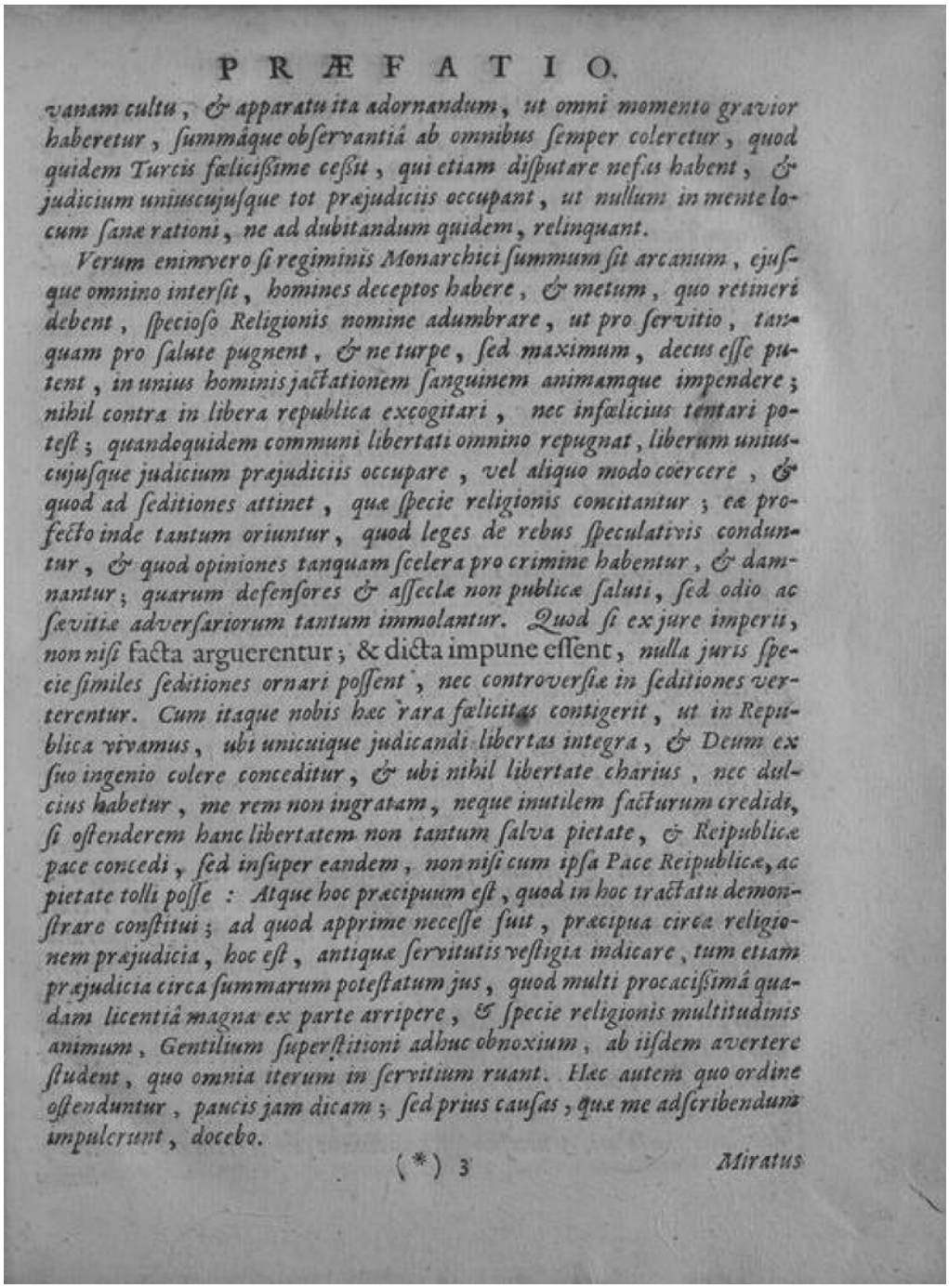
Verum enimvero ſi regiminis Monarchici ſummum ſit arcanum, ejuſque omnino interſit, homines deceptos habere, & metum, quo retineri debent, ſpecioſo Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro ſervitio, tanquam pro ſalute pugnent, & ne turpe, ſed maximum, decus eſſe putent, in unius hominis jactationem ſanguinem animamque impendere; nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infœlicius tentari poteſt; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscujuſque judicium præjudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coërcere, & quod ad ſeditiones attinet, quæ ſpecie religionis concitantur; eæ profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus ſpeculativis condantur, & quod opiniones tanquam ſcelera pro crimine habentur, & damnantur; quarum defenſores & aſſeclæ non publicæ ſaluti, ſed odio ac ſævitiæ adverſariorum tantum immolantur. Quod ſi ex jure imperii, non niſi facta arguerentur; & dicta impune eſſent, nulla juris ſpecie ſimiles ſeditiones ornari poſſent, nec controverſiæ in ſeditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis hæc rara fœlicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, & Deum ex ſuo ingenio colere conceditur, & ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratam, neque inutilem facturum credidi, ſi oſtenderem hanc libertatem non tantum ſalva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace concedi, ſed inſuper eandem, non niſi cum ipſa Pace Reipublicæ, ac pietate tolli poſſe: Atque hoc præcipuum eſt, quod in hoc tractatu demonſtrare conſtituï; ad quod apprime neceſſe fuit, præcipua circa religionem præjudicia, hoc eſt, antiquæ ſervitutis veſtigia indicare, tum etiam præjudicia circa ſummarum poteſtatum jus, quod multi procaciſſimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, & ſpecie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium ſuperſtitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iiſdem avertere ſtudent, quo omnia iterum in ſervitium ruant. Hæc autem quo ordine oſtenduntur, paucis jam dicam; ſed prius cauſas, quæ me adſcribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 4 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.52
T.4n issue, Preface, outer forme of (*), misprint of signature (*) 3 as '(*)4', 35 lines.

Misprinted signature (*)4^{r}, begins with '*vanam cultu*', ends with '*docebo.*'; key typesetting features of T.4n:

- Lower-case italic epsilon ampersands.
- *æ* ligature: *fœliciſſime* (l. 3).
- Sharp *s*: *ceſſit* (l. 3).
- *æ* ligature: *sanæ* (l. 5).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& metum* (l. 7).
- Ampersand, with addition: *& quod* (ll. 13–14).
- Without circumflex accent: *nulla* (l. 19).
- Double *ss*: *possent* (l. 20).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& ubi* (l. 23).
- Ampersand, and addition: *& Reipublicæ* (l. 25).
- Double *ss*: *necesse* (l. 28).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& specie* (l. 31).
- *æ* ligature: *Hæc* (l. 33).



PRÆFATIO.

vanam cultu, & apparatu ita adornandum, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, summâque observantiâ ab omnibus semper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis fœlicißime ceßit, qui etiam disputare nefas habent, & judicium uniuscujusque tot præjudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum sanæ rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem, relinquant.

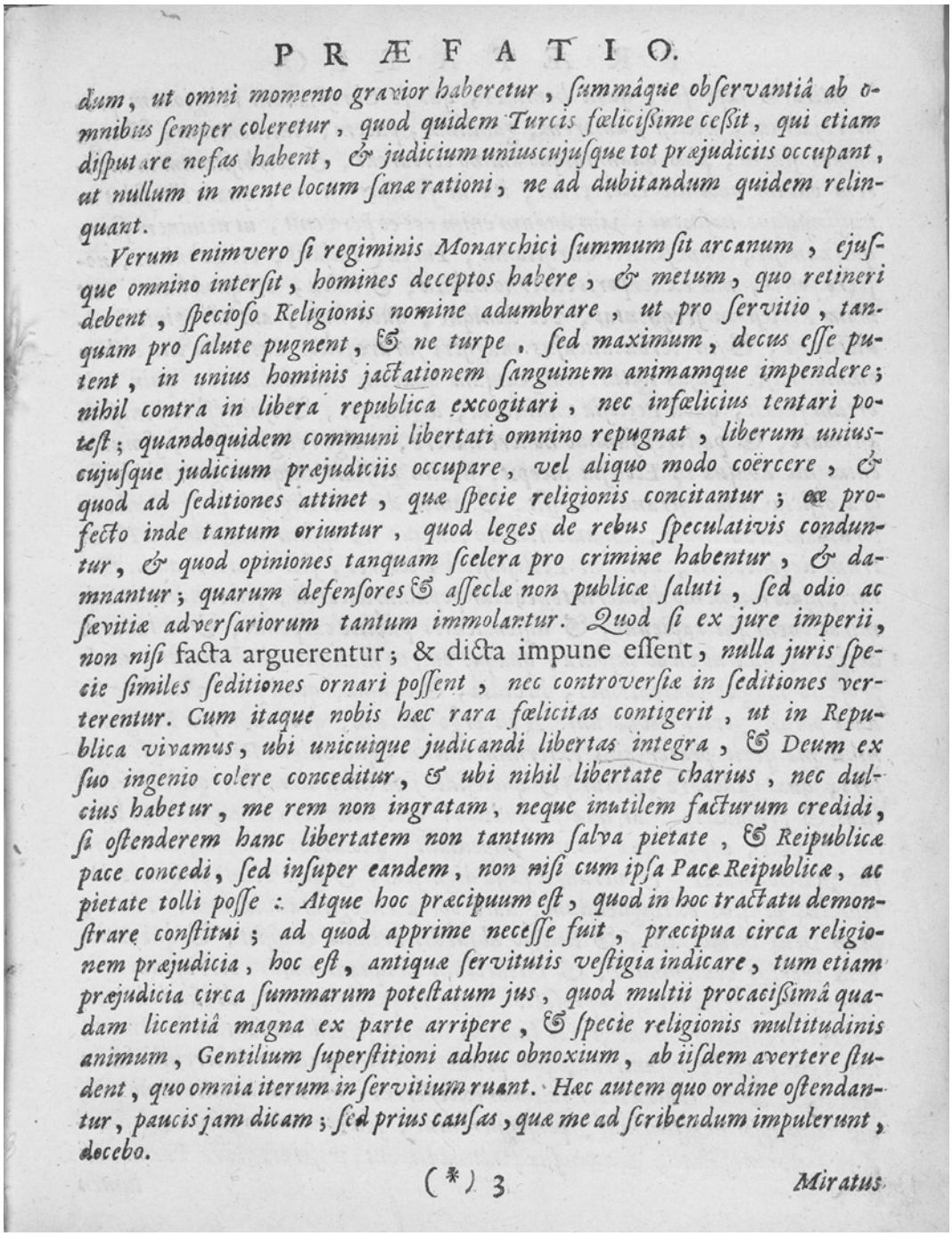
Verum enimvero si regiminis Monarchici summum sit arcanum, ejusque omnino interßit, homines deceptos habere, & metum, quo retineri debent, ßpecioso Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro servitio, tanquam pro salute pugnent, & ne turpe, sed maximum, decus esse putent, in unius hominis jactationem sanguinem animamque impendere; nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infœlicius tentari potest; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscujusque judicium præjudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coercere, & quod ad seditiones attinet, quæ specie religionis concitantur; ea profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus ßpeculativis condantur, & quod opiniones tanquam scelera pro crimine habentur, & damnantur; quarum defensores & asseclæ non publicæ saluti, sed odio ac sævitiæ adversariorum tantum immolantur. Quod si ex jure imperii, non nisi facta arguerentur; & dicta impune essent, nulla juris specie similes seditiones ornari possent, nec controversiæ in seditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis hæc rara fœlicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, & Deum ex suo ingenio colere conceditur, & ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratam, neque inutilem facturum credidi, si ostenderem hanc libertatem non tantum salva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace concedi, sed insuper eandem, non nisi cum ipsa Pace Reipublicæ, ac pietate tolli posse: Atque hoc præcipuum est, quod in hoc tractatu demonstrare constituì; ad quod apprime necesse fuit, præcipua circa religionem præjudicia, hoc est, antiquæ servitutis vestigia indicare, tum etiam præjudicia circa summarum potestatum jus, quod multi procaciſsimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, & ßpecie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium ßuperstitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iisdem avertere student, quo omnia iterum in servitium ruant. Hæc autem quo ordine ostenduntur, paucis jam dicam; sed prius causas, quæ me adscribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 3 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.53
T.4 issue, Preface, outer forme of (*), press correction of signature (*) 3, 35 lines.

Signature (*)3r, starts with '*vanam cultu*', ends with '*docebo.*'; key typesetting features of T.4 (= T.4n, except for press correction of the signature):

- Lower-case italic epsilon ampersands.
- *æ* ligature: *fœlicißime* (l. 3).
- Sharp *s*: *ceßit* (l. 3).
- *æ* ligature: *sanæ* (l. 5).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& metum* (l. 7).
- Ampersand, with addition: *& quod* (ll. 13–14).
- Without circumflex accent: *nulla* (l. 19).
- Double *ss*: *possent* (l. 20).
- Ampersand, and addition: *& ubi* (l. 23).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& Reipublicæ* (l. 25).
- Double *ss*: *necesse* (l. 28).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& specie* (l. 31).
- *æ* ligature: *Hæc* (l. 33).



PRÆFATIO.

dum, ut omni momento gravior haberetur, ſummâque obſervantiâ ab omnibus ſemper coleretur, quod quidem Turcis fœliciſſime ceſſit, qui etiam diſputare nefas habent, & judicium uniuscujuſque tot præjudiciis occupant, ut nullum in mente locum ſanæ rationi, ne ad dubitandum quidem relinquant.

Verum enimvero ſi regiminis Monarchici ſummum ſit arcanum, ejuſque omnino interſit, homines deceptos habere, & metum, quo retineri debent, ſpecioſo Religionis nomine adumbrare, ut pro ſervitio, tanquam pro ſalute pugnent, & ne turpe, ſed maximum, decus eſſe putent, in unius hominis jactationem ſanguinem animamque impendere; nihil contra in libera republica excogitari, nec infœlicius tentari poteſt; quandoquidem communi libertati omnino repugnat, liberum uniuscujuſque judicium præjudiciis occupare, vel aliquo modo coërcere, & quod ad ſeditiones attinet, quæ ſpecie religionis concitantur; ex profecto inde tantum oriuntur, quod leges de rebus ſpeculativis condantur, & quod opiniones tanquam ſcelera pro crimine habentur, & damnantur; quarum defenſores & aſſeclæ non publicæ ſaluti, ſed odio ac ſævitiæ adverſariorum tantum immolantur. Quod ſi ex jure imperii, non niſi facta arguerentur; & dicta impune eſſent, nulla juris ſpecie ſimiles ſeditiones ornari poſſent, nec controverſiæ in ſeditiones verterentur. Cum itaque nobis hæc rara fœlicitas contigerit, ut in Republica vivamus, ubi unicuique judicandi libertas integra, & Deum ex ſuo ingenio colere conceditur, & ubi nihil libertate charius, nec dulcius habetur, me rem non ingratam, neque inutilem facturum credidi, ſi oſtenderem hanc libertatem non tantum ſalva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace concedi, ſed inſuper eandem, non niſi cum ipſa Pace Reipublicæ, ac pietate tolli poſſe: Atque hoc præcipuum eſt, quod in hoc tractatu demonſtrare conſtitui; ad quod apprime neceſſe fuit, præcipua circa religionem præjudicia, hoc eſt, antiquæ ſervitutis veſtigia indicare, tum etiam præjudicia circa ſummarum poteſtatum jus, quod multii procaciſſimâ quadam licentiâ magna ex parte arripere, & ſpecie religionis multitudinis animum, Gentilium ſuperſtitioni adhuc obnoxium, ab iiſdem avertere ſtudent, quo omnia iterum in ſervitium ruant. Hæc autem quo ordine oſtendantur, paucis jam dicam; ſed prius cauſas, quæ me ad ſcribendum impulerunt, docebo.

(*) 3 Miratus

ILLUSTRATION 3.54
T.5 edition, Preface, outer forme of (*), signature (*) 3, printed correctly, 35 lines.

Signature (*)3r, starts with '*dum, ut omni*', ends with '*docebo.*'; has key typesetting features of T.4n/T.4, but T.5 has in line 1 twenty-nine fewer characters [misses: '*vanam cultu, & apparatu ita adornan*' ['*dum*']]) than in T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4:

- Lower-case italic epsilon ampersands.
- *æ* ligature: *fœlicißime* (l. 3).
- Sharp *s*: *ceßit* (l. 3).
- *æ* ligature: *sanæ* (l. 5).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& metum* (l. 7).
- Ampersand, and addition: *& quod* (ll. 13–14).
- Without circumflex accent: *nulla* (l. 19).
- Double *ss*: *possent* (l. 20).
- Ampersand, with addition: *& ubi* (l. 23).
- Ampersand, plus addition: *& Reipublicæ* (l. 25).
- Double *ss*: *necesse* (l. 28).
- Ampersand, and addition: *& specie* (l. 31).
- *æ* ligature: *Hæc* (l. 33).

CHAPTER 4

The 'Theological-Political Treatise': Latin Octavos

T.3v/T.3h/T.3s/T.3t/T.3e – First and Only Latin Octavo Edition, Five Issues

T.3v 'Villacorta' issue, title-page with French-style typography and floral vignette:

> 'Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta', *Opera chirurgica omnia*. Amsterdam, 'Jacobus Paulli', *printer*: [Israel de Paull], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

T.3h 'Heinsius' issue, floral vignette on title-page, identical ornament also on title-page of T.3t:

> 'Daniel Heinsius', *Operum historicorum collectio prima* (*secunda*). 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Isaacus Herculis', *printer*: [Israel de Paull], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

T.3s 'Sylvius' issue, floral vignette on title-page:

> 'Frans de le Boe Sylvius', *Totius medicinae idea nova*. Amsterdam, 'Carolus Gratiani', *printer*: [Israel de Paull], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

T.3t 'Tractatus' issue, title-page ('Kunraht'; 'ANNO 1673') 'copies' title-page of T.1 and T.2a, floral vignette on title-page, identical ornament also on title-page of T.3h:

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' [Amsterdam], 'Henricus Kunraht', *printer*: [Israel de Paull], *for* [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

T.3e issue, title-page with English-style typography, without vignette, no place in imprint, main work printed in 1673, title-page possibly dated ahead:

> Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: [Israel de Paull], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1674.

All published clandestinely. Three fictitious title-pages mention false authors (T.3v, T.3h, T.3s); four issues (T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, T3t) have false imprints. Lacks the list of errata of T.1. Printed exemplars: T.1 and T.2/T.2a.

Second volume printed in the Latin octavo edition: anon., [Lodewijk Meyer], *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres: exercitatio paradoxa, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem S. Literas interpretandi normam esse, apodictice demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenditur, ac refelluntur* ('Eleutheropoli' [Amsterdam]: 1673). Printed with spurious title-pages (T.3v, T.3h, and T.3s).

1 Masking the 'Theological-Political Treatise' Afresh: The Latin Octavo Edition T.3 (1673, 1674)

Copies of the first (T.1) and second (T.2/T.2a) Latin quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had likely become gradually scarce. Because the bestselling book was apparently still in demand, a new masked edition was turned out in 1673. This new edition was now printed in the handy octavo size and produced in one planned print run, in five separate issues, labelled by Bamberger with the sigla T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, T.3t, and T.3e. The edition lacks the list of errata of T.1 also contained in T.2/T.2a and T.4n/T.4. This time, Spinoza's treatise was printed together with the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, which made this impression a truly explosive cocktail of radical thought.[1] Above all, it was rumoured Spinoza was the latter book's very author, too. The Amsterdam bookseller and publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père* may, once again, have been the putative mastermind behind the Latin octavos. The names of most printers of Spinoza's other works produced during the seventeenth century are known today, but the printer of the Latin octavo edition T.3 has not been identified yet.[2] Yet, Bamberger already suggested the Latin quartos' printer also had produced the octavos which to me seems a distinct possibility.[3] The reduced yoke tailpiece ornament at the conclusion, earlier on printed on sig. (**)^{v} of the prologue of the Latin quartos T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4, also concludes (sig. B5^{r}) the 'Prologus' of the *Philosophia* contained in T.3. This typographical argument makes it reasonably certain that the Latin quartos' printer, Israel de Paull, processed the octavo edition, too.[4]

1 Anon. [Meyer*], *Philosophia*.
2 Steenbakkers, 'The Text', pp. 34–35.
3 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 20.
4 For the reduced yoke vignette: Chapter 3, *Floral-Fruit Vignettes*.

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The title-pages of four issues of the T.3 edition, T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, and T.3t, declare the book to have been printed in 1673. However, the title-page of the fifth, English-style issue T.3e has the printing year 1674. The acts of the consistory of Leiden of 8 December 1673 in any case provide a *terminus post quem* for publication of the issues T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, and T.3t. The *Kerkenraad*'s report expresses great concern about the diffusion of copies of the new octavo edition published with false title-pages (mentioned are those of T.3h and T.3s). The authors of these variants were deemed on them to be Daniel Heinsius and Frans de le Boe Sylvius, two prominent deceased professors who both had worked at Leiden University. The issues T.3v, T.3h, T.3s, and T.3t might have been printed during the second half of 1673. Without doubt T.3e was produced during this same print run, but its title-page is either dated ahead 1674 or was perhaps typeset in early 1674. After dignitaries of the Leiden church council discovered copies of the new T.3 octavo edition, the provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland legally banned the book under anti-Socinian legislation on a province-wide scale on 19 July 1674.[5]

2 A Red Herring: The Latin Octavo Edition's (Fictitious) Title-Pages

In 1673, the new octavo edition's publisher had more than enough reasons to be cautious and to circulate copies of the reprinted *Tractatus theologico-politicus* surreptitiously with spurious title-pages, designed to mislead potential watchdogs who might jeopardize his position or even cause legal prosecution.[6] Because the prologue and main text of the octavo edition T.3 were laid up in one print run, one can readily identify its five variant issues by inspecting their fictitious title-pages. The title-pages of issues T.3v ('Villacorta' variant), T.3h ('Heinsius'), and T.3s ('Sylvius') in particular differ largely in regard to both typographical design and layout. These title-pages form an integral part of the first gathering of the books in question, indicating these were printed simultaneously with the prologue.[7]

The outward appearances of the title-pages of two issues of the new Latin octavo edition, variants T.3v and T.3s, were cunning 'imitations' of title-pages gracing two medical works published in France in the early 1670s. The French-style variant T.3v, with the sham title *Opera chirurgica omnia*, is fitted with a title-page purporting the book contains the writings of the prominent Spanish medical professor Francisco Enríquez de Villacorta (1616–1680).[8] The latter's reputation as author largely depends on a noted three-volume medical work published in Lyon between 1670 and 1680.[9] The 'Villacorta' issue's Amsterdam printer has duplicated a portion of the main text, the serif roman type, and the layout of the title-pages of the three volumes of the original Lyon edition of Villacorta's medical writings. Like their 'true' edition, the 'Villacorta' issue T.3v containing the two explosive treatises falsely states it to be printed with permission of the Spanish King Carlos II.[10] The deceit was made more complete by the imprint declaring the (fictitious) publisher from Amsterdam was named 'Jacobus Paulli'. One might even cautiously conjecture this name to be an indirect reference to the Amsterdam Tuinstraat printer Israel de Paull. In the complex printing and publication history of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the fraud was first brought up, it seems, by the German Hebraist, polyhistor, and book collector Johann Christoph Wolf in his previously-mentioned *Bibliotheca Hebraea*.[11] Up to now, five copies of 'Villacorta' variant T.3v have been identified in international library holdings.

The title-page of the T.3s 'Sylvius' issue bills the work this time as a study on medical topics. This variant of the Latin octavo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* has another deceptive title: *Totius medicinae idea nova*. The title-page now claims the book to be the second edition of the medical writings of the then recently deceased Leiden scholar Frans de le Boe Sylvius (1614–1672), an anatomy professor who had been Lodewijk Meyer's former university teacher.[12] De le Boe Sylvius's 'true' *Totius medicinae idea nova* had only been published in a single edition, printed in Paris in 1671. Clearly, the spurious title-page of T.3s is cleverly modelled after the latter edition and it praises De le Boe Sylvius for being 'the most

5 *See* for this: ibid., *Prohibition*.

6 Bayle* in the 1740 edition of his *Dictionaire* (vol. 4, p. 258) claims the false title-pages were meant 'to fool the public and to evade prohibitions by magistrates'.

7 Cf. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 261.

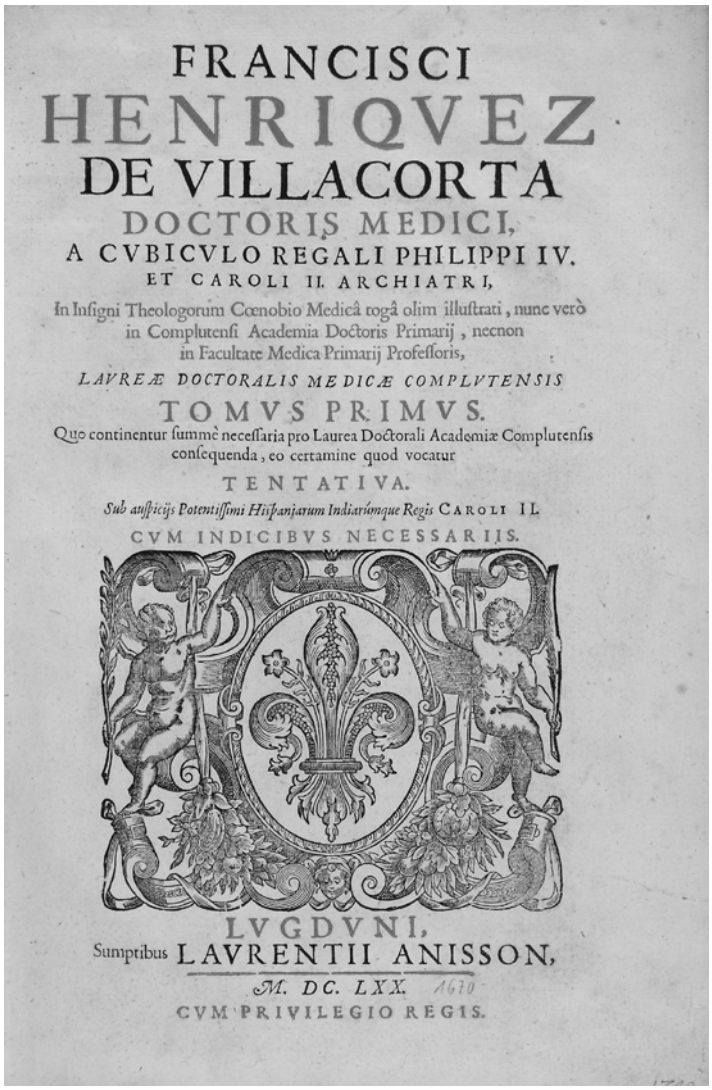
8 Enríquez de Villacorta held the chair of medicine at Alcalá University and was personal physician to the Spanish kings Philips IV (1605–1656) and Carlos II (1661–1700). He was a hard-line supporter of Galen and a specialist in the field of pyretology.

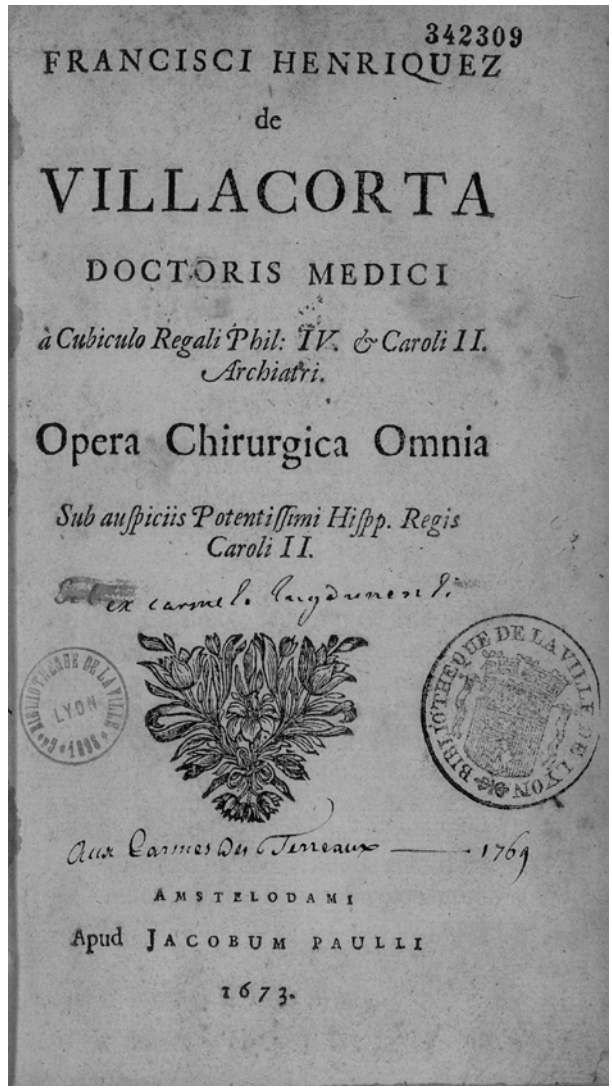
9 Francisco E. de Villacorta, … *laureae doctoralis medicae Complutensis* [*Opera medica*], … (3 vols, Lyon: 1670–1680), vol. 1.

10 'Three spurious title-pages were used, one purporting to be the Opera Chirurgica Omnia by the Spanish physician Francisco Henriquez de Villacorta, a hint these copies were earmarked for Antwerp and the Spanish Low Countries, and perhaps ultimately even Spain….' (Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 282).

11 Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240.

12 Meyer: BL.


FRANCISCI
HENRIQVEZ
DE VILLACORTA
DOCTORIS MEDICI,
A CVBICVLO REGALI PHILIPPI IV.
ET CAROLI II. ARCHIATRI,
In Insigni Theologorum Cœnobio Medicâ togâ olim illustrati, nunc verò
in Complutensi Academia Doctoris Primarij, necnon
in Facultate Medica Primarij Professoris,
LAVREÆ DOCTORALIS MEDICÆ COMPLVTENSIS
TOMVS PRIMVS.
Quo continentur summè necessaria pro Laurea Doctorali Academiæ Complutensis
consequenda, eo certamine quod vocatur
TENTATIVA.
Sub auspicijs Potentissimi Hispaniarum Indiarúmque Regis CAROLI II.
CVM INDICIBVS NECESSARIIS.
LVGDVNI,
Sumptibus LAVRENTII ANISSON,
M. DC. LXX. 1670
CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS.


342309
FRANCISCI HENRIQUEZ
de
VILLACORTA
DOCTORIS MEDICI
à Cubiculo Regali Phil: IV. & Caroli II.
Archiatri.
Opera Chirurgica Omnia
Sub auspiciis Potentissimi Hispp. Regis
Caroli II.
ex carmel. Carpentras
BIBLIOTHEQUE DE LA VILLE LYON
Aux Armes Du Terreaux 1769
AMSTELODAMI
Apud JACOBUM PAULLI
1673.

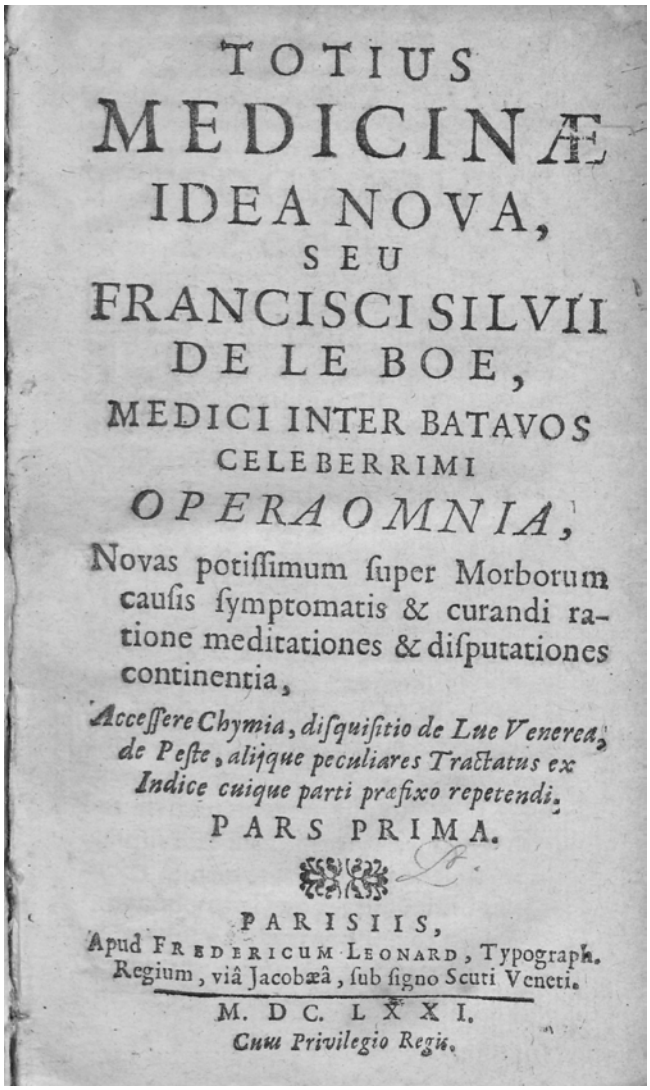
ILLUSTRATIONS 4.1 AND 4.2 (*Left*:) The Lyon edition of the first volume of Villacorta's 'true' medical writings. (*Right*:) The disguised 'Villacorta' variant T.3.v of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

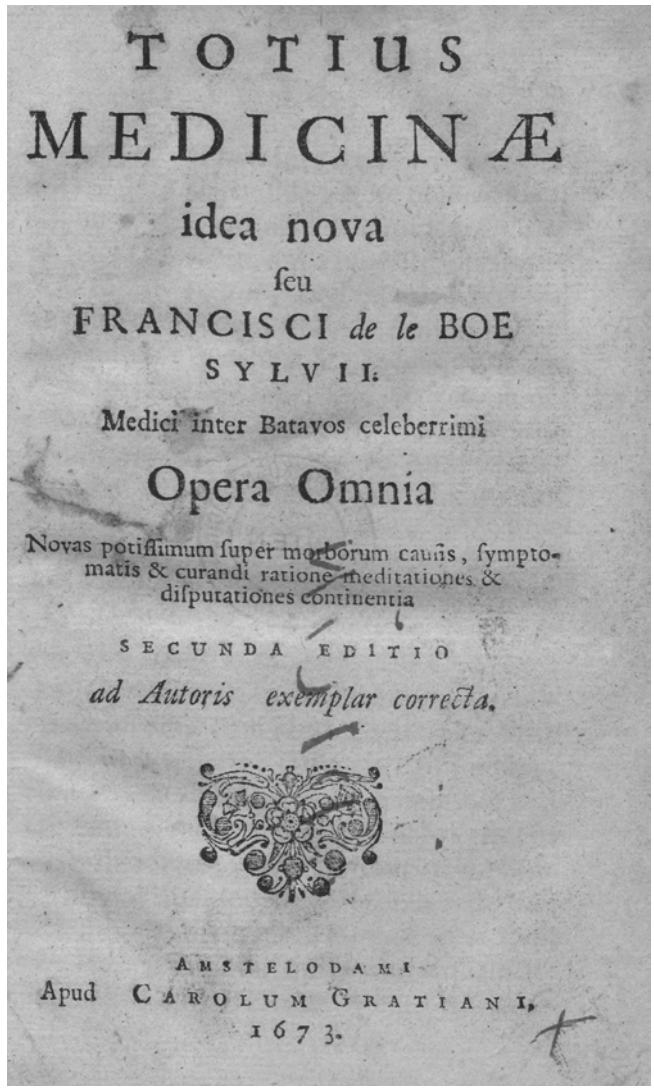
famous of Dutch physicians'.[13] Moreover, the misleading title-page suggests it contains De le Boe Sylvius's own corrected version of the first edition of his collected writings to give the work an even more scholarly repute. Even the design, layout, and typography, plus a substantial portion of the text on the title-page of the 'true' 1671 Paris edition of De le Boe Sylvius, were copied on the title-page of T.3s, as if the latter had indeed composed the work. The name in the imprint, 'Carolus Gratiani', at the foot of its title-page is again a fiction, too.

The prominent rosette ornament decorating the title-page of T.3s, as tailpiece repeated at the prologue's end (sig. B2^{r}) in all octavo issues of the new Latin edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, can be also found on title-pages of other books published by Rieuwertsz *père*. It graces, for example, Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker's Dutch translations of Descartes's *Les Passions de l'âme* and of Epictetus' Discourses. The vignette is also printed in the title-page of *Een oprecht verhaal* and on the part-title leaf of the third part of Abraham Joan Cuffeler's 1684 *Specimen artis ratiocinandi naturalis & naturalis ad Pantosophiae principia manuducens*, a work borrowing concepts from Spinoza's philosophy. Rieuwertsz *père* would clandestinely issue the latter three-part volume which was, almost certainly, printed by Israel de Paull's printing firm, too. Tellingly, also the imprint of Cuffeler's book falsely claims it to be published in Hamburg by 'Kunraht': ('Hamburgi. Apud Henricum Kunraht. ɔ I ɔ I ɔ CLXXXIV.').[14]

13 Frans de le Boe Sylvius*, *Totius medicinae idea nova, ..., opera omnia* (2 parts in 1 vol., Paris: 1671).

14 René Descartes*, *Les Passions de l'âme, of de lydingen van de ziel, ...* (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz* *père*, T. Houthaak* [*printer*],


TOTIUS
MEDICINÆ
IDEA NOVA,
SEU
FRANCISCI SILVII
DE LE BOE,
MEDICI INTER BATAVOS
CELEBERRIMI
OPERA OMNIA,
Novas potiſſimum ſuper Morborum cauſis ſymptomatis & curandi ratione meditationes & diſputationes continentia,
Acceſſere Chymia, diſquiſitio de Lue Venerea, de Peſte, aliique peculiares Tractatus ex Indice cuique parti præfixo repetendi.
PARS PRIMA.
PARISIIS,
Apud FREDERICUM LEONARD, Typograph. Regium, viâ Jacobæâ, ſub ſigno Scuti Veneti.
M. DC. LXXI.
Cum Privilegio Regis.


TOTIUS
MEDICINÆ
idea nova
ſeu
FRANCISCI *de le* BOE
SYLVII.
Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi
Opera Omnia
Novas potiſſimum ſuper morborum cauſis, ſymptomatis & curandi ratione meditationes & diſputationes continentia
SECUNDA EDITIO
ad Autoris exemplar correcta.
AMSTELODAMI
Apud CAROLUM GRATIANI,
1673.

ILLUSTRATIONS 4.3 AND 4.4 (Left:) Paris edition (1671) of De le Boe Sylvius's original *Totius medicinae idea nova*. (Right:) The masked T.3s 'Sylvius' variant of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

The rosette vignette also turns up in works produced by other Amsterdam publishers, for instance, on the title-pages of *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack* and of *Memoires du Mareschal de Bassompierre*.[15] So far, in international library holdings six copies of the 'Sylvius' T.3s variant have been identified.

Although not an imitation of an existing work published, the fictitious title-page of the 'Heinsius' T.3h octavo issue is yet another cunning red herring. This time, it claims to contain the sequel to *Operum historicum collectio*, a fake title attributed to Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655). The latter Leiden scholar was a famous classicist, theologian, and university librarian. He had however also a controversial reputation because of his quarrelsomeness arrogance and his addiction to wine.[16] Evidently the place of printing, Leiden, and the publisher's name, 'Isaacus Herculis', mentioned in the imprint at the foot of the title-page of T.3h are all fictions. The floral vignette gracing its title-page can also be found in a work published by Jan Claesz ten Hoorn in 1684, called *Ontwerp en beschryvinge van het*

1656); anon., *Epiktetus redenen*; id., *Een oprecht verhaal der laatste redenen en gebeden, …* (Amsterdam: S. van Lier [*printer*], 1661, *for*: J. Rieuwertsz *père*). For Cuffeler's 1684 *Specimen*: Chapter 3, n. 65. Glazemaker: BL.

15 Markon, *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack*; François de Bassompierre, *Memoires du mareschal de Bassompierre, …* (2 vols., Cologne and Amsterdam: A. Pietersz [*printer*], 1692). Cf.: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 353 and 358, nos. 6 and 17. The rosette ornament resembles the woodcut tailpiece in: Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris* (2 parts in 1 vol., The Hague: 1685). Cf.: Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 373.

16 For Heinsius: Van Bunge, etc., *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 404–407.

soetwater.[17] Thus far, forty-one copies of the T.3h issue have been traced in international library holdings.

The 'Heinsius' variant also came to the notice of Stolle and 'Hallmann' when they paid a visit to the bookshop of Jan Rieuwertsz *fils* in Amsterdam in late June 1703.[18] In their travel diaries, the two German travellers while mistakenly claiming it had been printed in Britain report about this disguised and clandestinely issued work the following:

> Spinoza's 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' was published in England in Latin together with the treatise 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres' with the title 'Opuscula posthuma' [by] Heinsius.[19]

In sum, the three Latin octavo issues T.3v, T.3h, and T.3s all hide behind false title-pages, billing both the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and 'Philosophy as Interpreter of Holy Scripture' as the writings of trustworthy scholars having impeccable scholarly reputations. Nevertheless, the other two octavo issues, variants T.3t and T.3e, straightforwardly mention the true contents of the book on their title-pages. Nonetheless, also these two variants are masked.

The T.3t 'Tractatus' variant has a typographically 'reduced' version of the title-pages of the Latin quartos T.1 and T.2/T.2a. Its imprint, though, falsely declares the book to be produced by publisher 'Henricus Kunraht' in Hamburg; now the name lacks the umlaut in 'Künraht'. As for its typography, the title-page of T.3t slightly differs from the two aforementioned Latin quartos. The keyword in T.3t's title, 'Tractatus', in the quartos set in a combination of upper-case capitals and lower-case capitals ('TRACTATUS'), is in T.3t set in type only in upper-case capital letters ('TRACTATUS'). Line breaks in the subtitle of T.3t occur in different places, too: 'non | tantum'; 'posse | concede'; 'Reipublicae, | ipsaque'.

Moreover, in the usage of italic type in T.3t in the lines 4 and 5 a clear difference can be spotted. T.1 and T.2/T.2a have: '*Continens* | Dissertationes aliquot,' where T.3t has 'Continens | *Dissertationes aliquot*,'. In addition, the compositor of T.1 and T.2/T.2a has typeset the accusative noun 'libertatem', the first and second ablative 'pietate', and the first 'pace' with an initial capital each. The compositor of T.3t has them set however in lower-case letters.[20] The most significant change, though, concerns the vignette on the title-page of T.3t. The yoke ornament decorating the Latin quartos is replaced in T.3t by a new relief-woodcut ornament. This vignette, a V-shaped floral vignette, also adorns the title-page of the aforementioned 'Heinsius' T.3h issue.[21] A total of eight copies of T.3t have so far been traced in international library holdings.

Like T.3t, the title-page of the fifth issue T.3e, the English-style variant, openly declares the book contains both the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Philosophia*, but its imprint mentions neither its place of printing nor its publisher. The first title-page of this variant has as its publication year 1674, and not like all other octavo issues 1673. It also promises readers to be a new edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* amended by Spinoza himself ('Ab authore longé emendatior').[22] Evidently, the title-page of T.3e seems to show the publisher's strategy for selling copies in Britain: its typographical layout and type were specifically chosen to give the book an outwardly 'English' appearance for distribution in the 'Latin Trade'. The latter term refers to the specialized importation by British importers of Latin books printed in the Dutch Republic and elsewhere, comprising the works of classical authors, the Church Fathers, and scholarly publications from book dealers on the continent.[23]

The first line of the title-page of T.3t is set in type in 'St Augustin' or 'english' (in Dutch: 'Augustyn'), a sixteenth-century serifed roman type designed by Pierre Haultin (*c*.1510–1587), a French bookseller and punchcutter.[24] The next three lines of the title-page of T.3e are typeset in 'great primer' roman and italic type (in Dutch: 'Text'), invented by the London type-founder

17 E.S. (Elia Sandra), *Ontwerp en beschryvinge van het soetwater uyt de rivier de Vegt … te brengen binnen de stad Amsterdam*; … (Amsterdam: 1684). Ten Hoorn: BL.

18 For the Stolle*/'Hallmann' diaries: Chapter 2, n. 75. Rieuwertsz *fils*: BL.

19 'Spinosae Tractatus Theologico-Politicus sey nebst dem tractätchen Philosophia Scripturae Interpres unter dem titel Heinsii Opuscula posthuma in Engelland lateinisch … heraus kommen.' (S/H, ms. B, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 83).

20 T.1 and T.2: '*Continens* | Dissertationes aliquot,'; T.3t: 'Continens | *Dissertationes aliquot*,'.

21 *See*: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 371–372, no. 10.

22 About the English-style variant T.3e, Gerritsen notes: 'Since the Leiden proceedings took place in December, 1673, the printing may have taken place enough in the year to make a revised date advisable for the part of the edition meant to be sent to England, but in any case this sort of forward dating is in no way unusual.' ('Printing Spinoza', p. 261).

23 *See* further for the trade of Dutch booksellers with British dealers: Paul Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de Beurs. De geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse boekhandels Bruyning en Swart, 1637–1724* (Amsterdam and Maarsen: APA Holland Universiteits Pers, 1987). For the 'Latin Trade': Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie (eds.), The *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Volume IV: 1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 141–173.

24 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 20–21. For the Haultin printing types: Vervliet, 'Printing Types of Pierre Haultin (ca.1510–87). Part I'; id., 'Printing Types of Pierre Haultin (ca.1510–87). Part II'; Croiset van Uchelen and Dijstelberge (eds.), *Dutch Typography*, passim.

Nicholas Nicholls. This fount was also used for seventeenth-century books that have been typeset and printed in Amsterdam.[25] The fourth line of the title-page of T.3e is typeset in Nicholls's 'double pica' (in Dutch: 'Mediaan') roman type. According to Bamberger, the small floral ornaments, neatly arranged in a V-shape, were common in London printing between 1657 and 1673, but apparently of Dutch origin.[26] Untypical for English printing practice, though, is the title of the English-style issue T.3e being letter-spaced, suggesting the book to be produced in the Netherlands. Whether its publisher used his contacts with English booksellers working in Amsterdam, such as members of the May, the Browning (in the Dutch language called 'Bruyning'), and the Arnold families, to circulate Spinoza's treatise in England is uncertain, but it would surely explain how the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was safely peddled across the English Channel.[27]

The title-page of T.3e is a cancel 'pasted to the first page after the fictitious title-pages had been removed' to make sheet π complete again.[28] The German theologian and bibliographer Eduard Boehmer (1827–1906) found tangible evidence proving title-pages of issues had been replaced by the English-style title-page of T.3e. In his paper 'Spinozana', he brings up a copy preserved in Hamburg carrying traces of a title-page of a 'Heinsius' T.3h variant or of a 'Villacorta' T.3v variant.[29] According to Boehmer, issues T.3t and T.3e give reason to believe the printer of the Latin octavo edition first produced copies with the title-pages of T.3v, T.3h, and T.3s. At a later stage, though, title-pages of several copies of those variants were removed and replaced by a title-page of T.3t. Gerritsen, though, saw things rather differently. He pointed out the English-style title-page of T.3e, part of the book's final sheet P (a single fold in the *Philosophia*) was part of the actual printing itself:

> The Amsterdam University Library copy of Kingma-Offenberg no. 12 (the so-called English edition dated 1674) virtually proves that its own title was printed as part of the book's final sheet, P (which, in contrast to the final quire of the first part, with four leaves of which two are blanks, is a single fold), and strongly suggests at least that several of the other title-pages were so printed. The evidence is on the 'English' title-page and on $P2^v$, and consists of offsets of respectively $V8^v$ and X1, two facing pages of the book, but belonging to different quires. The offsets go only one way, but it is notable that both V and X show offsetting throughout, while Y and Z do not (except for $X8^v$ offsetting onto Y1), and there is no offsetting of $V8^v$ on X1 or vice versa. The most natural explanation of this situation is that before this copy had been bound, its title-page and the single fold which makes its final quire were placed between the already folded quires V and X, and that they were so pressed before binding. The 'English' title-page must then have been part of the original printing order and cannot have been prepared as an afterthought after the title-page deceptions had been discovered at Leiden.[30]

About the production process of T.3e, Gerritsen has stated the following:

> These observations suggest in turn that, while the two sheets signed A respectively beginning the *Tractatus* and the *Interpres* parts will each have included one of the five title-pages in its proper and original place, the unused part of sheet P (a potential six leaves), may have been used to print the variant title-pages required. Investigation shows, however, that both the Heinsius version (Amsterdam copy) and the Villacorta version (Göttingen copy) have title-pages for both parts that are beyond question conjugate with A8 (i.e. that of the *Tractatus* respectively the *Interpres* part). (The disjunct second Villacorta title in BL is then probably the result of the removal of its first part). In addition Bamberger records a copy of

25 Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 21.

26 Ibid., p. 21.

27 Ibid., pp. 21–22. It is, for instance, documented by Hoftijzer (*Engelse boekverkopers*, p. 54, appendix no. 10, p. 338) that the widow of the Amsterdam book dealer and publisher Steven de Swart (*fl.*1663–1683), Abigail May (*fl.*1683–1702), in a letter (22 June 1686) offered London bookseller Samuel Smith* copies of the Socinian venture 'Bibliotheca. Fratr. Polon.', i.e., the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*. In this context, it can also be underlined (ibid., p. 70) that Mercy Bruyning-Arnold (*fl.*1673–1688), widow of the Amsterdam bookseller Joseph Bruyning, commissioned a book from Daniel Bakkamude*, printer of Spinoza's *PP*/*CM*.

28 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 20.

29 Eduard Boehmer, 'Spinozana', pp. 150–151. Bamberger states a copy of T.3e, offered in 'Catalogue 41 of the English antiquarian bookseller Charles W. Traylen', in the possession of 'Professor K.B. Smellie of London', has the new title-page dated '1674' ('The Early Editions', p. 24). According to Bamberger, the second title-page is the second one of the 'Heinsius' issue T.3h: 'Whoever cut out the spurious title of T.3H, *Operum historicorum collectio*, etc. (T.3E/H) forgot, in this case, to cut out the second one.' The present location of the 'Smellie' copy is not known, or has not been identified so far. Smellie was in all likelihood the London economist Kingsley Bryce Smellie.

30 Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 261.

the 'English' edition which still has the Heinsius title in place for the second part.[31]

The German bibliographer Johann Christoph Wolf was the first scholar to report about T.3e. In *Bibliotheca hebraea*, he has stated the issue had a fictitious title-page dated 1674 and was set together with the text of the *Philosophia*.[32] The Lutheran theologian Johann Georg Walch (1693–1775) in the first volume of *Bibliotheca theologica selecta* even mistakenly conjectured T.3e was overseen by Spinoza's London-based epistolary friend Henry Oldenburg.[33] Bamberger however concluded correctly this assumption was a sheer impossibility.[34] The correspondence between Spinoza and Oldenburg had already been interrupted in December 1665 and was revived only in the spring of 1675.[35] In their letters exchanged in 1675 and 1676, the period when Spinoza considered issuing a new edition of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' with explanatory notes (the so-called *Adnotationes*), Oldenburg harshly clashed with Spinoza. He firmly rejected Spinoza's notions about the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, all doctrines at the heart of Christian theology.[36] So, why would he act as the editor of a book whose contents he categorically rejected anyway. Up to now, eighty-four copies of the English-style T.3e issue have been traced in international library holdings, thirty-seven of which are extant in British libraries.

3 Typographical and Textual Characteristics

As has already been stated, aside from their title-pages, the prologue and the main text of T.3v, T.3.h, T.3s, T.3t, and T.3e are identical in typography and their textual appearance. Their bibliographical fingerprint and the hanging I in signature I3 on page 111, present in all copies known, confirm they were produced in one single print run. All five issues share notable typographical peculiarities found in the pagination of the main text of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Normally, the printed page numbers in the edition are followed by full stops and are positioned between round brackets. On pages 151 and 158 of all variants of the T.3 edition, though, the dot is printed outside the last bracket of the page numbers. Yet, page number 155 is followed by an 'open' full stop, whereas page numbers 170 and 237 lack the dot. Another typographical feature in the five octavo issues can be observed on page number 127. This page has the Arabic numeral 7 printed a bit beneath 12.

Clearly, production of the octavos was an excellent opportunity to emend disfiguring textual errors made by the compositor of the Latin quartos T.2/T.2a. Corrections in the Latin octavos show their compositor must have relied on a revised copy of T.1, the edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* considered most loyal to Spinoza's original, now-lost holograph and/or apograph. T.2/T.2a have in chapter 1 (p. 2, ll. 11–12) the corrupted 'ad formandam' but octavo edition T.3 (p. 2, l. 31) now has correctly T.1's 'ad formandas'.[37] The typesetter of the Latin octavos has also corrected in chapter 1 (p. 20, l. 15) the spoiled 'eatemus' of T.2/T.2a (p. 14, l. 13) in the phrase 'certum est nos eatenus Dei potentiam non intelligere'.[38] Also, the disfiguring corrupted phrase 'non ut Deo fidem haberet' of T.2/T.2a in chapter 2 (p. 16, l. 22) is emended (p. 23, l. 26) in the Latin octavos to 'ut Deo fidem haberet', which was already correctly printed in T.1.[39] One other correction of a literal in T.2/T.2a concerns 'fuerint' (misprinted twice: p. 36, l. 26/p. 88, l. 7) which should in chapter 2 actually read 'fuerunt' (p. 52, l. 28/p. 127, l. 16).

The compositor of the Latin octavo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* also remedied in chapter 8 (p. 150, ll. 15–18) the sequence 'fundamenta … ut | iis … emendare', printed mistakenly in T.2/T.2a as 'iis … emendare | fundamenta … ut' (p. 104, l. 6–7).[40] Like T.1 (p. 147, l. 18), T.3 has in chapter 12 (p. 194, ll. 24–25) '*qua ratione dicitis*'. Yet, in T.2/T.2a it reads mistakenly '*quia ratione dicitis*'.[41] Other examples of textual corrections made by the compositor on the basis of T.1 can be found in the Latin octavos, too. Thus, in T.2/T.2a chapter 17 has the incorrect reading 'num certa & indubita signa suae legationibus haberet,' (p. 199, l. 32). Like T.1, the Latin octavos (p. 286, l. 24) correctly have 'num certa & indubita signa suae legationis haberet'.[42] In chapter 20, the corrupted 'si impossible est' (p. 226, ll. 26–27) of T.2/T.2a was altered by the compositor of T.3 (p. 333, l. 9) to 'si impossibile est'.[43] The same flaw

31 Ibid.

32 Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240.

33 Johann G. Walch, *Bibliotheca theologica selecta litterariis adnotationibus instructa* (4 vols., Jena: 1757–65), vol. 1, p. 679. Oldenburg: BL.

34 Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 22.

35 Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1665.12.18, Ep 33 (G 4/176–179). Spinoza restarted the exchange by proffering his London correspondent a copy of the TTP (1675.[04/05].00*).

36 For the *Adnotationes*: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy* and *Other Sources*.

37 G 3/16.12.

38 G 3/28.13–14.

39 G 3/30.22.

40 'The foundations of the knowledge of the Scriptures are not just too slight to have allowed a whole [history of Scripture] to be built on them; they are defective.' (G 3/118.5–7; CW, vol. 2, p. 192).

41 G 3/161.18–19.

42 G 3/213.32–33.

43 G 3/240.26.

'si impossible est' returned in T.4n/T.4 (exemplar: T.2/T.2a) and T.5 (exemplar: T.4n/T.4).

Another correction concerns 'praestantissimis' (p. 215, l. 26). In T.1 and T.2/T.2a, this was misprinted 'praestantissimus' (p. 149, l. 21).[44] This typeset flaw is indicated in the list of errata (first printed in T.1) but remained unchanged by the T.2/T.2a's compositor. Although the T.3 octavo edition lacks this list of errata itself, several of the suggested textual corrections inventoried in it were now tacitly remedied (from the text presented in T.2/T.2a) by its typesetter.

– T.1, p. 8, l. 5 (ante corr.): '*facit*'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 20, l. 15 (post corr.): '*fecit*'.[45]
– T.1, p. 22, l. 10 (ante corr.): 'quod lux solis'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 31, l. 31 (post corr.): 'aut quod lux solis'.[46]
– T.1, p. 39, l. 32 (ante corr.): 'quod clarissime clare ostendit'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 57, l. 14 (post corr.): '& quod adhuc clarius ostendit'.[47]
– T.1, p. 41, l. 26 (ante corr.): 'ut ipsos terra evomat'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 60, l. 2 (post corr.): 'ne ipsos terra evomat'.[48]
– T.1, p. 95, l. 16 (ante corr.): 'que supersunt'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 137, l. 33 (post corr.): 'quae supersunt'.[49]
– T.1, p. 121, l. 30 (ante corr.): 'paragrapho saepe 28'; T.2/T.2a, p. 8, l. 5, and T.3, p. 175, l. 28 (post corr.): 'paragrapho 28 habentur'.[50]

The typesetter of T.3 also remedied six other corrections, all inventoried in the list of errata of T.1, which in T.2/T.2a had remained unchanged though:

– T.2/T.2a, p. 49, l. 29 (ante corr.): 'existentiam & aeternam veritatem'; T.3, p. 71, l. 33–p. 72, l. 1 (post corr.): 'ut aeternam veritatem'.[51]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 83, l. 2 (ante corr.): 'judicant'; T.3, p. 120, l. 4 (post corr.): 'indicant'.[52]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 95, l. 16 (ante corr.): 'quod scilicet'; T.3, p. 137, ll. 31–33 (post corr.): 'quid scilicet' (137/31–33).[53]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 124, l. 20 (ante corr.): 'persona singularis'; T.3, p. 179, ll. 26–27 (post corr.): 'persona singularis verbi active'.[54]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 135, l. 4 (ante corr.): 'Sed hoc minus'; T.3, p. 194, ll. 3–4 (post corr.): 'Sed hoc nimis'.[55]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 149, l. 17 (ante corr.): 'Veteris'; T.3, p. 215, l. 16 (post corr.): 'tam Veteris'.[56]

Another correction in T.3 can be found in chapter 15. A literal on page 169 in T.2/T.2a, also mistakenly printed in T.4n/T.4 and T.5, a misprint of 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.', has been changed on page 243 in line 21 by the T.3 typesetter to the correct biblical reference: Exod. 34:14. In T.3 it reads thus: 'Exod. xxxiv. 14.'

Several other interventions in the T.3 Latin octavos, though, concern typographical changes (spelling, rejustification) of the quartos T.1 and T.2/T.2a:

– T.2/T.2a, p. 34, l. 21 (ante corr.): 'suplicium'; T.3, p. 49, l. 22 (post corr.): 'supplicium'.[57]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 73, l. 33 (ante corr.): '(vide Psal. 73.)'; T.3, p. 106, l. 32 (post corr.): '(vide Pſ. LXXIII.)'.[58]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 153, l. 31 (ante corr.): 'Accademia'; T.3, p. 221, l. 23 (post corr.): 'Academia'.[59]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 154, ll. 4 and 9 (ante corr.): 'Haebraice'/'Haebraei'; T.3, p. 223, ll. 15 and 22 (post corr.): 'Hebraice'/'Hebraei'.[60]
– T.2/T.2a, p. 172, l. 13 (ante corr.): 'Nam Deuter. Cap. 18.'; T.3, p. 248, l. 3 (post corr.): 'Nam Deut. xviii.'[61]

During the typesetting of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Latin octavo edition, its compositor produced several new disfiguring errors in the printed text, too. Both T.1 and T.2/T.2a have in chapter 1 (p. 1, ll. 17–18 and ll. 18–19) of Spinoza's treatise the correctly printed phrases 'omnibus hominibus communis est' and 'enim a fundamentis omnibus hominibus communibus'.[62] The compositor of the T.3 edition, though, misread ('Augensprung') these two phrases and set in type (p. 2, ll. 2–4) the following: 'omnibus hominibus hominibus est' and 'enim a fundamentis omnibus communibus'.

Finally, regarding the Hebrew language, the compositor of the octavos correctly took over the majority of the passages in T.1, but he evidently also misread several Hebrew words. For instance, in chapter 9 in line 9 of page 182 the text of the T.3 editions should read 'סופרים'. Yet T.3 has the corrupted 'ספדים'. Here, the typesetter confused a resh (ר) with a dalet (ד).

Each unbound copy of the octavo issues T.3v, T.3h, and T.3t numbers 360 pages (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) and 220 pages (*Philosophia*), respectively. T.3s and T.3e have two and one leaf less, respectively. One single copy of T.3 (*Tractatus theologico-politicus* with its second volume,

44 G 3/163.21.
45 G 3/22.4.
46 G 3/36.10.
47 G 3/53.32–33.
48 G 3/55.26.
49 G 3/109.16.
50 G 3/135.31.
51 G 3/63.29.
52 G 3/97.4–5.
53 G 3/109.18.
54 G 3/138.20.
55 G 3/148.4.
56 G 3/163.18–19.
57 G 3/48.20–21.
58 G 3/37.32.
59 G 3/167.28.
60 G 3/169.4 and 9.
61 G 3/186.13–14.
62 G 3/15.21–22.

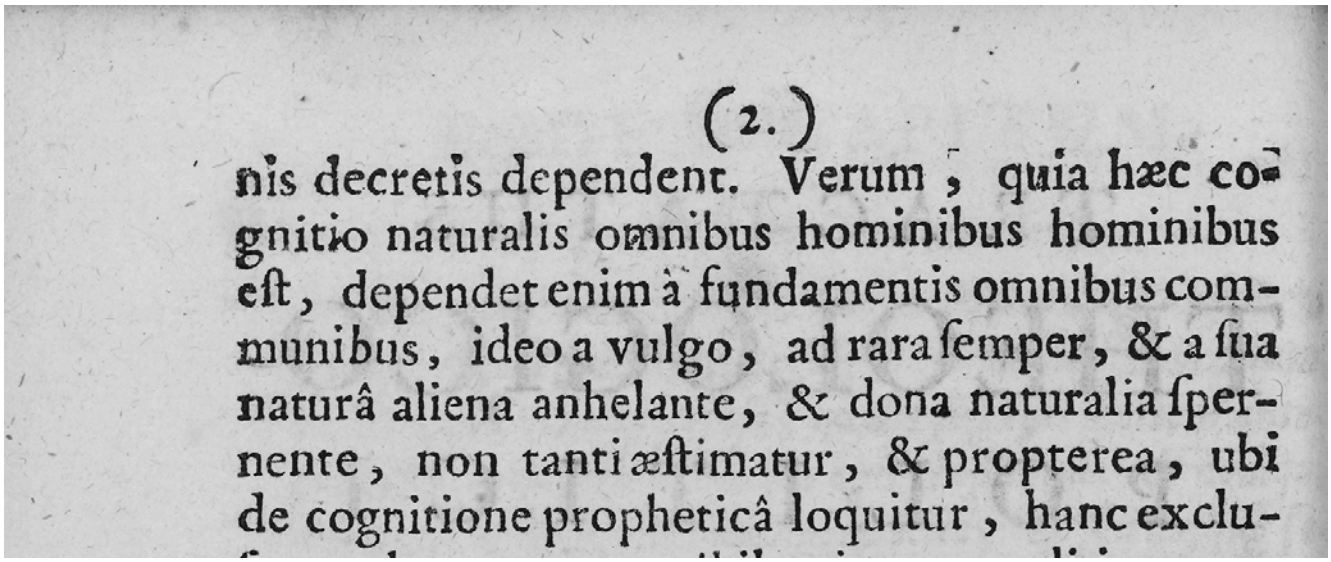

(2.)
nis decretis dependent. Verum, quia hæc cognitio naturalis omnibus hominibus hominibus eſt, dependet enim à fundamentis omnibus communibus, ideo a vulgo, ad rara ſemper, & a ſua naturâ aliena anhelante, & dona naturalia ſpernente, non tanti æſtimatur, & propterea, ubi de cognitione propheticâ loquitur, hanc exclu-

ILLUSTRATION 4.5 'Augensprung' on page 2 of the main text of the Latin octavo edition T.3.

the *Philosophia*) comprises 36.25 sheets. This means that from one ream of paper about 13.24 copies could be processed. An estimated impression of five hundred copies, i.e., 18,125 sheets, required about 37.76 reams of paper. In international library holdings 140 copies of T.3 are known to be extant.

4 The 'Heinsius' and 'Sylvius' Issues in the Leiden *Kerkenraad* Proceedings

The ruse of a newly printed Latin octavo edition of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* brought into circulation, an edition also containing this time the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, was soon revealed. On 8 December 1673, the discovery of copies of the masked T.3h 'Heinsius' and T.3s 'Sylvius' variants was duly relayed in a report of a special assembly of the *Kerkenraad* to the Reformed Church of Leiden.[63] This account provides a *terminus post quem* for the publication date of the Latin octavos as well. During the Leiden meeting, one of the acting officers notified his brothers in the consistory two cloaked issues of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* published with the *Philosophia* had been recently published in octavo.

Because their title-pages aimed to destroy the reputation of Daniel Heinsius and Frans de le Boe Sylvius, two prominent deceased professors of Leiden University with outstanding international scholarly reputations, the *Kerkenraad* asked decidedly for legal measures to suppress these works as soon as possible:

> The lord chairman has reported how a certain book, named 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', and 'Philosophia S. Scriptura interpres', has been reissued, both bound together in [one] octavo [volume], printed and published under fictitious titles of which the first is entitled 'Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius "Opera medica omnia, editio secunda"', printed in Amsterdam, by Gratianus. [The] second has the title-page 'Daniel Heinsius p.p. "Operum historicorum collectio secunda"', [and it was printed] at Leiden by Isaac Hercules.[64]

In the report the disconcerted Leiden *Kerkenraad* condemned the fact the names of two Leiden scholars were 'scandalously misused and besmirched' ('schendig misbruijckt en getraduceert') on the misleading title-pages of the T.3h 'Heinsius' and the T.3s 'Sylvius' issues.

63 Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden (Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken), 0511B: 'Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta (1584–1590) 1620–1950 (1973)', inv. no. 6, 8 December 1673.

64 'Is van D. Preside bekent gemaeckt hoe dat seker boek op nieuws uijtgekomen, genaemt Tractatus Theologico Politicus, en Philosophia S. Scriptura interpres, beijde in Octavo in een gebonden, sijn gedruckt en uytgegeven onder gefingeerde titels, waer van 't'eerste draegt Francisci de la Boe Sijlvij Opera Medica Omnia, Editio secunda, gedruckt tot Amsterdam, bij Gratianum. Tweede heeft tot een Titel-bladt Danielis Hensij p.p. operum Historicorum Collectio secunda Tot Leijden Isaak Hercules.' (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 312, no. 114).

Next, the consistory sounded the alarm. The council instructed its delegates to inform the 'friends' of those deceased scholars about the fraud and the Leiden city authorities, the acting officer who was to visit the upcoming Provincial South Holland Synod, and the new Dutch Grand Pensionary, Gaspar Fagel, too. On 8 December, the church council thus resolved that

> … not only the relatives of the aforementioned lords, but also that the notables and the deputy of the noble Synod should be informed about this in order to [further] report it to the lord Pensionary Fagel, with the objective [that] this [deceit] will be vigorously countered and averted.[65]

The acts of the Leiden *Kerkenraad* seem to imply though the consistory's watchdogs had not yet detected octavo variants of the edition other than T.3h 'Heinsius' and T.3s 'Sylvius' issues. This does not prove, however, that Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the edition's putative publisher, first issued the 'Heinsius' and the 'Sylvius' variant. Whether all variants were put into circulation together or on different moments in 1673 is not further known. The pressure to ban the treatise was carefully building up this time.

5 The States of Holland's Response to the Circulation of the 'Heinsius' and 'Sylvius' Variants

Already five days after the Leiden consistory's report of 8 December 1673, the States of Holland responded, presumably because the two recently discovered octavo issues' masked title-pages were defiling the reputation of distinguished professors at Leiden University. The college raised the matter during a meeting of 13 December.[66] The States of Holland's resolutions report the following about the complaint deputies of the Leiden civic administration had lodged:

> In the name and on behalf of their lords governors, the lords deputies of the town of Leiden have announced in the meeting how the same lords governors had been informed that, only recently, the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' and the 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres' have somewhere in this country been reprinted both in octavo and disseminated in one volume under false titles. The first treatise is entitled 'Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius "Opera medica omnia, editio secunda"', [issued] at Amsterdam by A. [sic] Gratianus, and the second, that of 'Daniel Heinsius p.p. "Operum historicorum collectio secunda"', at Leiden by Isaac Hercules. The Noble Great Powers are requested to come up with appropriate and effective measures to prevent such treacherous deceptions….[67]

This time, arguably, the quick response by the Orangist States of Holland was far more decisive compared to their earlier reaction to Spinoza's treatise had been in the spring of 1670 when the North and South Holland Synods had first tabled a motion to submit an official petition of complaint about the work's offensive contents, asking for its suppression.[68] After the granting of approval (16 March 1671) to bring those complaints to the attention of the provincial High Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, the latter college had recommended (16 April) the then still republican States of Holland to stop the work in an official placard.[69] One week later, on 24 April, the High Court took the decision to establish a

65 '… niet alleen de vrinden van de voorb Heeren, maer ook haer Agtb. hier over te begroeten, mitsgaders de Gedeputeerde des E. Synode, datse gelieve hier van kundschap te geven aen de Heer Raet pensionaris Fagel, op dat sulx op 't vigoureust mag gestut en geweert worden.' (ibid.). Fagel: BL.

66 The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 3.01.04.01: 'Inventaris van het archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1572–1795', Resoluties (Eerste Serie), 'Gedrukte resoluties van de Staten van Holland over de jaren 1524–1795, met tot 1621 ook de resoluties van de Gecommitteerde Raden, 1673 1 jan . 4–dec. 23', inv. no. 106, 13 December 1673.

67 'DE Heeren Gedeputeerden der Stadt Leyden, hebben uyt den name ende van wegen de Heeren hare Principalen ter Vergaderinge bekent gemaeckt, hoe dat de selve Heeren hare Principalen in ervaringe waren gekomen, dat onlanghs de *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* en de *Philosophia Scripturae interpres*, beyde in Octavo ergens binnen dese Landen waren herdruckt, ende in een Tomus gedissemineert, onder gefingeerde Tituls, dragende 't eerste Tractaet den Titul van *Francisco de le Boe Sylvii Opera Medica omnia, Editio secunda, Amstelodami apud A. Gratianum*; ende het tweede, die van *Danielis Heynsii P.P. Operum Historicorum Collectio secunda, Lugduni Batavorum apud Isacum Herculis*; met versoek, dat by haer Ed. Groot Mog. soodanige expedienten souden mogen werden geëxcogiteert, en in 't werck gestelt, waer door diergelijcke bedriegeryen geweert souden konnen werden;…' (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 313, no. 115).

68 Following a complaint tabled (5 August 1670) on the North Holland Synod submitted by Adriaan Pauw* *fils*, the Hof van Holland's president, the States of Holland had discussed the TTP on 25 September. Cf.: Smit (ed.), *Notulen*, pp. 199 and 201. No further action was taken.

69 379: 'Archief van de Classis Amsterdam van de Nederlands Hervormde Kerk', ms. 'Acta van de particuliere synode van Noord-Holland', inv. no. 101, 4 August 1671, art. 40 (ad art. 37). *See*: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 275.

special study committee to investigate how the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* should be dealt with, but actually legal measures to ban the book were never taken.

During the meeting of 13 December 1673, the States of Holland also resolved to establish a new study commission to reconsider the matter.[70] The committee was instructed to prepare a legal verdict which would successfully forbid the printing and circulation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, determining

> … how and in what most effective way the aforementioned [deceit] and other treacherous deceptions in regard to the publication of prohibited and profane books, laid up under false titles, could be banned and properly prevented….[71]

Appointed to the commission were also Leiden delegates, 'other commissioners of the Noble Great Powers' ('andere haer Edele Groot Mog. Gecomitteerden'), and deputies of the Hof van Holland. In addition, the States of Holland resolved during the meeting held on 13 December that the president of the provincial High Court, Adriaan Pauw *fils*, and other college members, had to give out the order for the seizure of copies of the surreptitiously circulated Latin octavos from the local bookstores. They were instructed to prepare legislation to ban those books on a province-wide scale.[72] The resolution reads the following:

> … to give such instructions and make preparations with the aim to soon confiscate and suppress [copies of] the aforementioned treatises everywhere in the province if these are offered for sale.[73]

Orders to seize copies were issued on 14 December and on 15 December. The Leiden *Kerkenraad* was informed by its chairman their earlier 'announcement' ('bekent making') of 8 December, reporting about the 'Heinsius' and 'Sylvius' issues, had successfully been imparted to the States of Holland.[74] The consistory was told letters about the matter had been dispatched to deputies of the Provincial Synod of South Holland. In addition, a 'notification' ('notificatie') had also been passed on to 'relatives here in town' ('vrienden hier inde stad'), i.e., the family of the professors Heinsius and De le Boe Sylvius.[75]

No further reports on the progress made by the commission installed on 13 December, passed on to either the States of Holland or to the Hof van Holland, are extant. Despite this unfortunate lacuna it is documented that, by order of Stadholder William III, the provincial High Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland issued a placard on 19 July 1674, outlawing the printing, circulation, and public sale of 'several Socinian and other harmful books' ('verscheyde Sociniaense ende andere schadelijcke Boecken') in the entire province.[76] This decree proscribed Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* along with Hobbes's *Leviathan*, *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, and the *Philosophia*.[77]

⁘

FIRST AND ONLY OCTAVO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 4.6–4.11)

T.3v issue

Short Fictitious Title for the 'Theological-Political Treatise'
'Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta', *Opera chirurgica omnia*. Amsterdam, 'Jacobus Paulli', *printer*: [I. de Paull?], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

70 As evinced by a marginal note in the manuscript, the States of Holland now had the political will to forbid the TTP: '*Besoigne tot weeringe van Boecken onder valsche Tituls uytgegeven werdende*, Tractatus theologico Politicus & Philosophia scripturae interpres *onder een ander Titul, op te halen.*' (Concern over the banning of books issued under false titles, 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' and 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres', [both] under another title, to be seized; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 2, p. 169).

71 '… hoe en in wat voegen best de voorsz aen andere diergelijcke bedriegeryen omtrent het uytgeven van verboden ende prophane Boecken, onder valsche Tituls gepleeght werdende, geweert, en in 't toekomende tegen gegaen souden konnen ende behooren te werden….' (ibid., vol. 1, p. 313, no. 115).

72 Pauw: BL.

73 '… soodanigen ordre te stellen, ende die voorsieninge te doen, ten eynde de voorschreve Tractaten alomme binnen dese Provincie, daer die te koop souden mogen zijn, aenstonds opgehaelt ende gesupprimeert werden.' (ibid., vol. 1).

74 The order is mentioned in: *Generaale index op de registers der resolutien van de heeren Staaten van Holland en Westvriesland, genoomen in haar Edele Groot Mog. Vergaderingen.*, … [n. pl., n. d.], letter T, ('Theologi Copoliticus 1673'): 'Theological-Political Treatise. To be seized, 14 December 1673' ('Tractaat *Theologi Copoliticus* op te haalen 14 December 1673'). For the information passed to the Leiden church council: Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden (Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken), 0511B: 'Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta (1584–1590) 1620–1950 (1973)', inv. no. 6, 15 December 1673.

75 Cf. W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 314, no. 116. For the proper meaning of 'vrienden': Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 5.

76 *See* for the placard: Chapter 3, *Prohibition*.

77 Hobbes*, *Leviathan*; anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*; anon., [Meyer*], *Philosophia*.

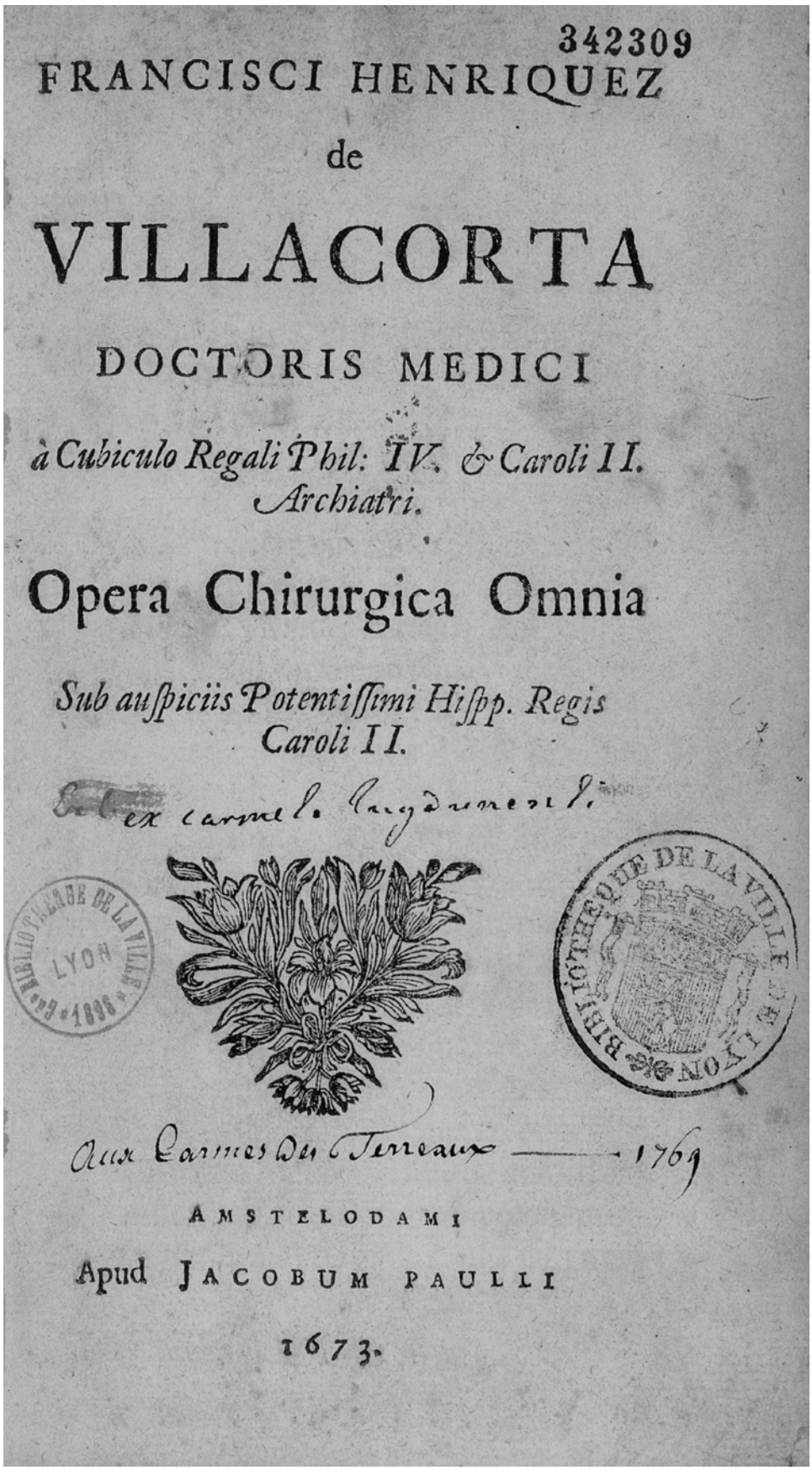


ILLUSTRATION 4.6 First title-page of issue T.3v of the Latin octavo edition: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Identical ornament also on second title-page.

– Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
– Author's name on fictitious title-page is a red herring.
– Title-page decoration: floral ornament.
– Text contains (decorated) initials.
– Contains Preface.
– Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
– List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.

Key features for ready identification of T.3v:

– False French-style title-page, 'imitation' of an edition of De Villacorta's *Opera medica* (Lyon: 1670), vol. 1.
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Jacobus Paulli' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).

Exemplars

Quarto editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.

Second part printed in T.3v issue: [Meyer], *Philosophia.*

***First Title-Page of the* Tractatus Theologico-politicus (*on outer Forme of Gathering A*)**

FRANCISCI HENRIQUEZ | de | VILLACORTA | DOCTORIS MEDICI | *à Cubiculo Regali Phil: IV. &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *Caroli II.* | *Archiatri.* (swash A) | Opera Chirurgica Omnia | *Sub auſpiciis Potentiſſimi* (swash P) *Hiſpp. Regis* | *Caroli II.* | (floral vignette) | Amstelodami | Apud Jacobum Paulli. | 1673.

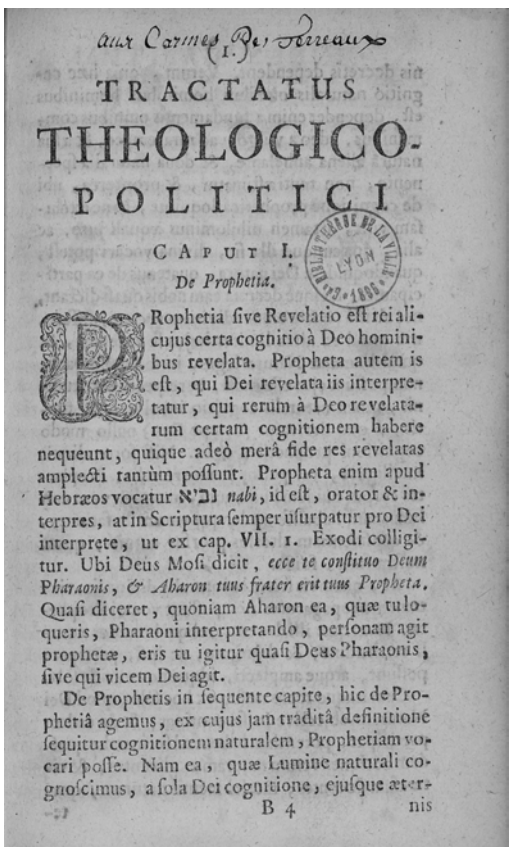
***Second Title-Page of* [*Lodewijk Meyer*], Philosophia**

FRANCISCI HENRIQUEZ | de | VILLACORTA | DOCTORIS MEDICI | *à Cubiculo Regali Phil: IV. &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *Caroli II.* | *Archiatri.* (swash A) | Opera Chirurgica Omnia | *Sub auſpiciis Potentiſſimi* (swash P) *Hiſpp. Regis* | *Caroli II.* | (floral vignette) | Amstelodami | Apud Jacobum Paulli | 1673.

Language(s) and Typography

Latin text, bold unpointed Hebrew script, occasionally Dutch (Fraktur typeface, pp. 83 and 229). Eleven Latin glosses (italic type, keyed with typographical symbols) with occasionally printed Hebrew and Dutch, explanatory footnotes are keyed with typographical symbols (pp. 76–78 [without symbol], 81, 83, 95, 100, 153, 156, 191, and 240). Old-style serifed roman founts of type, possibly from the printing office of Israel de Paull. Normally thirty-three lines.

Printed diacritics: sober use of grave, circumflex, diaeresis in several biblical names and nouns like *Israëlitas* and adverbs like *poëtice*, without acute.

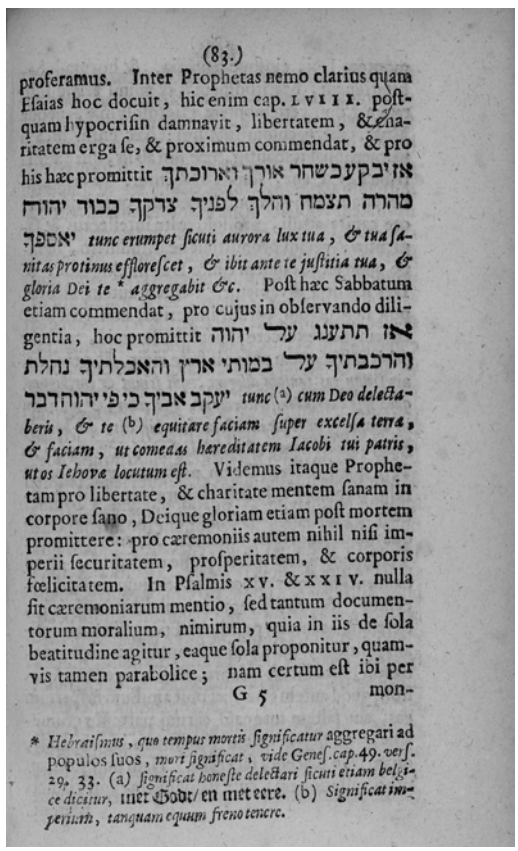

aux Carmes (I. Rei Tireaux

TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICI

CAPUT I.
De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum à Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeò merâ fide res revelatas amplecti tantùm poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt, orator & interpres, at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. VII. 1. Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Moſi dicit, *ecce te conſtituo Deum Pharaonis, & Aharon tuus frater erit tuus Propheta.* Quaſi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quæ tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, perſonam agit prophetæ, eris tu igitur quaſi Deus Pharaonis, ſive qui vicem Dei agit.

De Prophetis in ſequente capite, hic de Prophetiâ agemus, ex cujus jam traditâ definitione ſequitur cognitionem naturalem, Prophetiam vocari poſſe. Nam ea, quæ Lumine naturali cognoſcimus, a ſola Dei cognitione, ejuſque æterB 4 nis


(83.)

proferamus. Inter Prophetas nemo clarius quam Eſaias hoc docuit, hic enim cap. LVIII. poſtquam hypocriſin damnavit, libertatem, & ſanitatem erga ſe, & proximum commendat, & pro his hæc promittit אז יבקע כשחר אורך וארוכתך מהרה תצמח והלך לפניך צדקך כבוד יהוה יאספך *tunc erumpet ſicuti aurora lux tua, & tua ſanitas protinus efflorеſcet, & ibit ante te juſtitia tua, & gloria Dei te * aggregabit &c.* Poſt hæc Sabbatum etiam commendat, pro cujus in obſervando diligentia, hoc promittit אז תתענג על יהוה והרכבתיך על במותי ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך כי פי יהוה דבר *tunc* (a) *cum Deo delectaberis, & te* (b) *equitare faciam ſuper excelſa terræ, & faciam, ut comedas hæreditatem Iacobi tui patris, ut os Iehovæ locutum eſt.* Videmus itaque Prophetam pro libertate, & charitate mentem ſanam in corpore ſano, Deique gloriam etiam poſt mortem promittere: pro cæremoniis autem nihil niſi imperii ſecuritatem, proſperitatem, & corporis fœlicitatem. In Pſalmis XV. & XXI V. nulla fit cæremoniarum mentio, ſed tantum documentorum moralium, nimirum, quia in iis de ſola beatitudine agitur, eaque ſola proponitur, quamvis tamen parabolice; nam certum eſt ibi per

G 5 mon-

* *Hebraiſmus, quo tempus mortis ſignificatur* aggregari ad populos ſuos, *mori ſignificat, vide Geneſ. cap. 49. verſ. 29. 33.* (a) *ſignificat honeſte delectari ſicuti etiam belgice dicitur,* met Godt/en met eere. (b) *Significat imperium, tanquam equum freno tenere.*

ILLUSTRATIONS 4.7 AND 4.8 Pages 1 and 83 of issue T.3v.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

- P. 9, l. 18: '(Exodi XXXIII).' misprinted '(Exodi XXXIII' (without second curved mark and sentence-ending period, outer forme of B).
- P. 91, l. 33: spacing missing in 'componit,maxime' (outer forme of H).
- P. 111: hanging I in signature I3 (outer forme).
- P. 119, l. 4: 'Deuteronom. XIII.' misprinted 'Deuternom. XIII.' (inner forme of I).
- P. 127 (page number): numeral 7 hanging beneath 12 (outer forme of K).
- P. 147 (page number): numeral 7 hanging (outer forme of L).
- P. 151 (page number): point printed outside last bracket: (151) (outer forme of L).
- P. 155: page number followed by 'open' point (outer forme of M).
- P. 158 (page number): point printed outside last bracket: (158) (outer forme of M).
- P. 170 (page number): printed (170), without dot in brackets (outer forme of M).
- P. 237 (page number): printed (237), without dot in brackets (inner forme of N).

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

167308 – a1 A2 deca : a2 B2 ,$bonisq
167308 – b1 B4 nition: b2 Z2 es$co

Collation

8°: A–Y^{8} Z^{4} [$5 (–A1, –Z3, –Z4)] (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 8°: A^{4} B–O^{8} P^{2} [–P2] (*Philosophia*)
180 leaves = pp. [*24*] (1.)–(336.) (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 110 leaves = pp. [*18*] (1.)–182 [*20*] (*Philosophia*)
Title-page of T.3v is conjugate with its leaf A8.

Collation Variant

No variants found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the bottom of each page, Hebrew catchwords at the beginning of the direction line, Latin catchwords at the end.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface and list of contents printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin: *PRÆFATIO.*; *INDEX CAPITUM*.

Main work without headlines.

Contents

A^{r}	(title-page)
A^{v}	(blank)
A2^{r}–B2^{r}	PRAEFATIO
B2^{v}–B3^{r}	INDEX CAPITUM. (table of contents, three-page list indicating twenty chapters)
B4^{r}–C6^{r}	TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI. CAPUT I. *De Prophetia.*
C6^{v}–E^{r}	CAPUT II. *De Prophetis.*
E^{r}–F2^{v}	CAPUT III. *De Hebraeorum vocatione. Et an donum Propheticum Hebraeis peculiare fuerit.*
F3^{r}–G3^{r}	CAPUT IV. *De Lege Divina.*
G3^{r}–H3^{v}	CAPUT V. *De Ratione, cur caeremoniae institutae fuerint, & de fide historiarum, nempe, qua ratione, & quibus ea necessaria sit.*
H4^{r}–I7^{r}	CAPUT VI. *De Miraculis.*
I7^{v}–L6^{r}	CAPUT VII. *De Interpretatione Scripturae.*
L6^{v}–M6^{v}	CAPUT VIII. *In quo ostenditur Pentateuchon & libros Iosuae, Iudicum, Rut, Samuëlis & Regum non esse autographa. Deinde inquiritur an eorum omnium Scriptores plures fuerint, an unus tantum, & quinam.*
M6^{r}–N7^{r}	CAPUT IX. *De iisdem Libris alia inquiruntur, nempe an Hesdras iis ultimam manum imposuerit: & deinde utrum notae marginales, quae in Hebraeis codicibus reperiuntur, variae fuerint lectiones.*
N7^{v}–O6^{r}	CAPUT X. *Reliqui Veteris Testamenti Libri eodem modo quo superiores examinantur.*
O6^{v}–P3^{v}	CAPUT XI. *Inquiritur an Apostoli Epistolas suas tanquam Apostoli & Prophetae; an vero tanquam Doctores scripserint. Deinde Apostolorum officium ostenditur.*
P3^{v}–Q^{v}	CAPUT XII. *De vero Legis divinae syngrapho, & qua ratione Scriptura Sacra vocatur, & qua ratione Verbum Dei & denique ostenditur ipsam, quatenus Verbum Dei continet, incorruptam ad nos pervenisse.*
Q^{v}–Q5^{v}	CAPUT XIII. *Ostenditur Scripturam non nisi simplicissima docere, nec aliud praeter obedientiam intendere; nec de divina Naturâ aliud docere, quam quod homines certa vivendi ratione imitari possunt.*
Q6^{r}–R3^{r}	CAPUT XIV. *Quid sit fides, quinam fideles, fidei fundamenta determinantur, & ipsa à Philosophia tandem separatur.*
R3^{r}–S^{r}	CAPUT XV. *Nec Theologiam Rationi, nec Rationem Theologiae ancillari; ostenditur & ratio, qua nobis S. Scripturae authoritatem persuademus.*

S^r–T^v	Caput xvi. *De Reipublicae Fundamentis; de jure uniuscujusque naturali & civili; deque Summarum Potestatum Iure.*
T^v–$V8^r$	Caput xvii. *Ostenditur neminem omnia in Summam Potestatem transferre poβe, nec esse necesse: De Republica Hebraeorum, qualis fuerit vivente Mose, qualis post ejus mortem antequam Reges elegerint, deque ejus praestantia: & denique de causis cur Respublica divina interire, & vix absque seditionibus subsistere potuerit.*
$V8^r$–$X5^r$	Caput xviii. *Ex Hebraeorum Republica, & historiis quaedam dogmata Politica concluduntur.*
$X5^r$–$Y4^v$	Caput xix. *Ostenditur, jus circa sacra penes summas potestates omnino esse, & Religionis cultum externum Reipublicae paci accomodari debere, si recte Deo obtemperare velimus.*
$Y4^4$–$Z2^v$	Caput xx. *Ostenditur, in Libera Republica unicuique & sentire, quae velit, & quae sentiat dicere licere.*

Ornament on Title-Page

V-shaped floral vignette, relief woodcut, 34×40 mm. Also on title-page of the T.3t 'Tractatus'. Identical ornament on title-page of:

– O.D. (Olfert Dapper), *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam* ... (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1663).

Decorated Initials

Two ornamented (acanthus) initials (S, P), relief woodcuts, 20×20 mm, employed to head the first word of the text of the Preface and main work of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*: sig. $A2^r$ (5 ll., *c.*20×20 mm), p. 1 (6 ll., 20×21 mm).

An identical initial S occurs in:

– An. (Abraham Joan Cuffeler), *Specimen artis ratiocinandi & naturalis ad Pantosophiae principia manuducens* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam]: 1684), part 1, p. 1). Possibly issued by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*.

Simple Initials

Nineteen black (closed) initials (relief woodcuts), 10×10 mm (p. 22), 4 ll., employed to head the first letter of the first word of the chapters of main work.

Tailpiece Ornament

Relief woodcut (sig. $B2^r$): rosette vignette, 20×25 mm (ornament no. 16 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Also on title-page of: T.3s.

Ornament also graces the title-pages of other works printed in Amsterdam. A selective list:

– Anon., *Een oprecht verhaal der laatste redenen en gebeden*, ... (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, S. van Lier [*printer*], 1661).
– Anon. (Abraham Joan Cuffeler), *Specimen artis ratiocinandi & naturalis ad Pantosophiae principia manuducens* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam]: 1684), part-title page 3. Possibly issued by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*.
– François de Bassompierre, *Memoires du mareschal de Bassompierre contenant l'histoire de sa vie*, ... (2 vols., Cologne and Amsterdam: A. Pietersz [*printer*], 1692).
– René Descartes, *Les Passions de l'âme, of de lydingen van de ziel*, ... (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, T. Houthaak [*printer*], 1656).
– Epictetus, *Redenen, door Arianus, zijn toehoorder, vergadert*; ... (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz *père*, T. Houthaak [*printer*], 1658). Also contains Cebes of Thebes' *Pinax* or *Tabula*.
– J.R. Markon, *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack, tusschen een huysman en een heedendaaghse Quaaker*, ... (Amsterdam: A. Olofsz [*printer*], 1684).
– (Abraham de Wicquefort), *De Fransche tyrannie, dat is: Oprecht en waerachtig verhael van de grouwelijke wreetheden tot Bodegraven, Swammerdam en elders door de Franssen gepleegt*, ... (Amsterdam: J.C. ten Hoorn, 1674).
– Anon., *Historisch verhael van de Fransche tyrannye, gepleegt in de dorpen van Loenen, Loosdrecht, Waverveen, Botshol, Abkoude, Nichtevecht, &c.* (Amsterdam: J.C. ten Hoorn, 1674). Printed in: (Wicquefort), *De Fransche tyrannie*, pp. 125–166.
– *Sermoēs que pregaraō os doctos ingenious do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta cidade de Amsterdam*, ... (Amsterdam: D. de Castro Tartaz, 5435 [1675]).

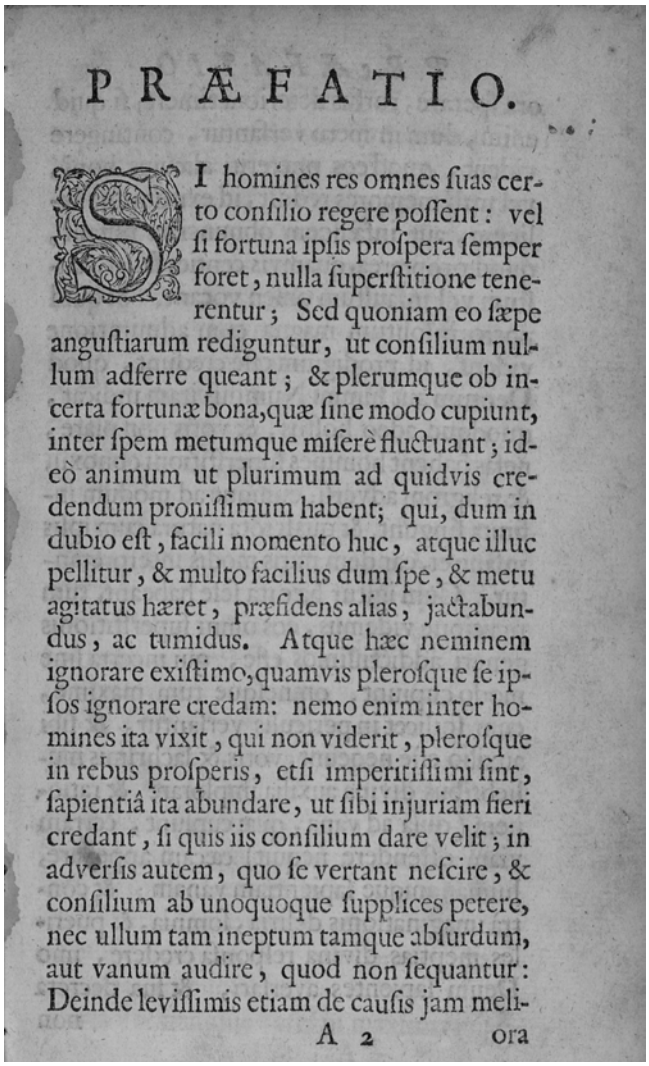
Copies (5)

Copy Examined

T.3v#1 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, 342309

Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, marbled first and back endpapers.

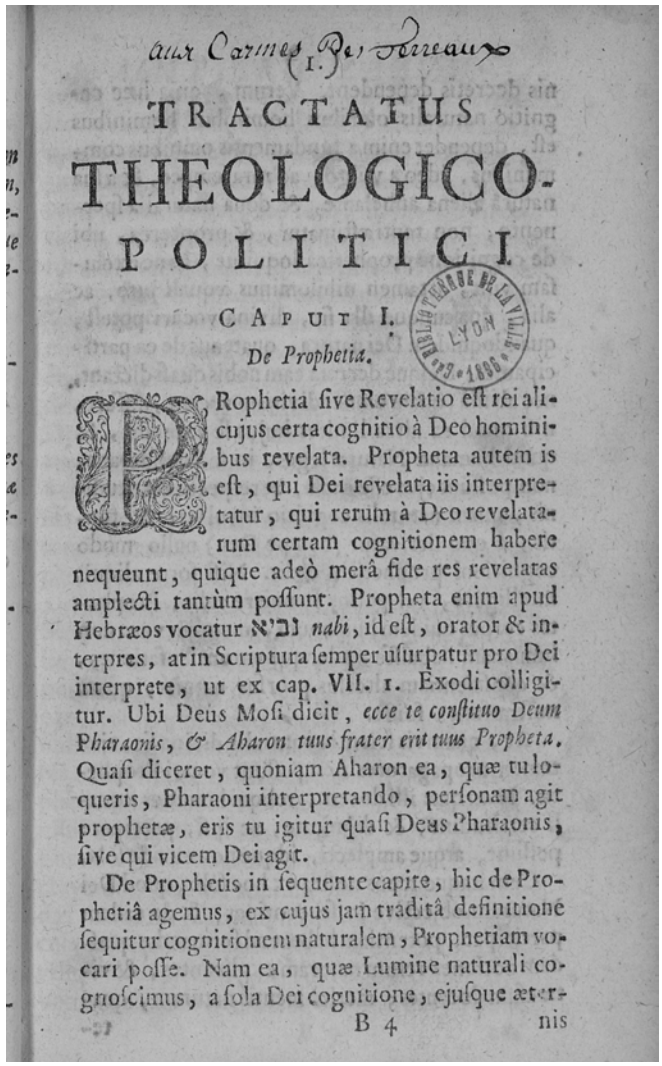
Provenance: Eighteenth-century owner's inscription (mendicant friars convent 'Grand Carmes des Terreaux', Lyon [1261–1792] in ink on first front endpapers: 'Ex libris Trollier donum D. Gacon. Ex-libris ms des Carmes des Terreaux 1769'). Late-seventeenth-century owner's notes on title-page ('Carmel. Lugdunensi' and 'Aux Carmes des Terreaux, 1769') and on p. 1 ('Aux Carmes des Terreaux'). Two nineteenth-century circular library stamps on title-page ('Bibliotheque de la ville de Lyon'; 'Bibliotheque de la ville, 1898'). Nineteenth-century



PRÆFATIO.

SI homines res omnes ſuas certo conſilio regere poſſent: vel ſi fortuna ipſis proſpera ſemper foret, nulla ſuperſtitione tenerentur; Sed quoniam eo ſæpe anguſtiarum rediguntur, ut conſilium nullum adferre queant; & plerumque ob incerta fortunæ bona, quæ ſine modo cupiunt, inter ſpem metumque miſerè fluctuant; ideò animum ut plurimum ad quidvis credendum proniſſimum habent; qui, dum in dubio eſt, facili momento huc, atque illuc pellitur, & multo facilius dum ſpe, & metu agitatus hæret, præſidens alias, jactabundus, ac tumidus. Atque hæc neminem ignorare exiſtimo, quamvis pleroſque ſe ipſos ignorare credam: nemo enim inter homines ita vixit, qui non viderit, pleroſque in rebus proſperis, etſi imperitiſſimi ſint, ſapientiâ ita abundare, ut ſibi injuriam fieri credant, ſi quis iis conſilium dare velit; in adverſis autem, quo ſe vertant neſcire, & conſilium ab unoquoque ſupplices petere, nec ullum tam ineptum tamque abſurdum, aut vanum audire, quod non ſequantur: Deinde leviſſimis etiam de cauſis jam meli-

A 2 ora



aux Carmes (I.) Des Terreaux

TRACTATUS THEOLOGICO-POLITICI

CAPUT I.

De Prophetia.

PRophetia ſive Revelatio eſt rei alicujus certa cognitio à Deo hominibus revelata. Propheta autem is eſt, qui Dei revelata iis interpretatur, qui rerum à Deo revelatarum certam cognitionem habere nequeunt, quique adeò merâ fide res revelatas amplecti tantùm poſſunt. Propheta enim apud Hebræos vocatur נביא *nabi*, id eſt, orator & interpres, at in Scriptura ſemper uſurpatur pro Dei interprete, ut ex cap. VII. 1. Exodi colligitur. Ubi Deus Moſi dicit, *ecce te conſtituo Deum Pharaonis, & Aharon tuus frater erit tuus Propheta.* Quaſi diceret, quoniam Aharon ea, quæ tu loqueris, Pharaoni interpretando, perſonam agit prophetæ, eris tu igitur quaſi Deus Pharaonis, ſive qui vicem Dei agit.

De Prophetis in ſequente capite, hic de Propheriâ agemus, ex cujus jam traditâ definitione ſequitur cognitionem naturalem, Propheriam vocari poſſe. Nam ea, quæ Lumine naturali cognoſcimus, a ſola Dei cognitione, ejuſque æter-

B 4 nis

ILLUSTRATIONS 4.9 AND 4.10 Ornamented acanthus initials S and P on signature A2r and page 1 of 'Franciscus Henriquez de Villacorta', *Opera chirurgica omnia*.

shelf-mark (13668 1[c] [g] 2f. 119) on first free endpapers.[78]

Digitized copy:

https://books.google.nl/books?id=Xpqk3tY92jsC&pg=PA266&lpg=PA266&dq=(F.+Henriquez+de+Villacorta),+Opera+Chirurgica+Omnia&source=bl&ots=Ig_41RPU96&sig=Wh6FRAcJ5J_E_B4HG-tfoKFqKRs&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwin6YmIi6XOAhXDrxoKHdLuC70Q6AEIPzAF#v=onepage&q=(F.%20Henriquez%20de%20Villacorta)%2C%20Opera%20Chirurgica%20Omnia&f=false

Non-Collated Copies

Germany (2)

T.3v#2 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Phil I 4973, 2

T.3v#3 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Pon II f 250

United Kingdom (2)

T.3v#4 LONDON, British Library, 782.b.29

T.3v#5 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, Vet. B3 f.254

References

Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, 1759, p. 420; Boehmer, 'Spinozana', p. 151; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 2, no. 4; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 18–24; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 364; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 12, no. 8.

78 Cf. for the 'Grand Carmes des Terreaux' convent: Muriel Berger, *Les Bibliothèques monastiques à Lyon sous l'Ancien Régime: Exemple des Grands Carmes des Terreaux, des récollets et des cordeliers de l'Observance* (2000).

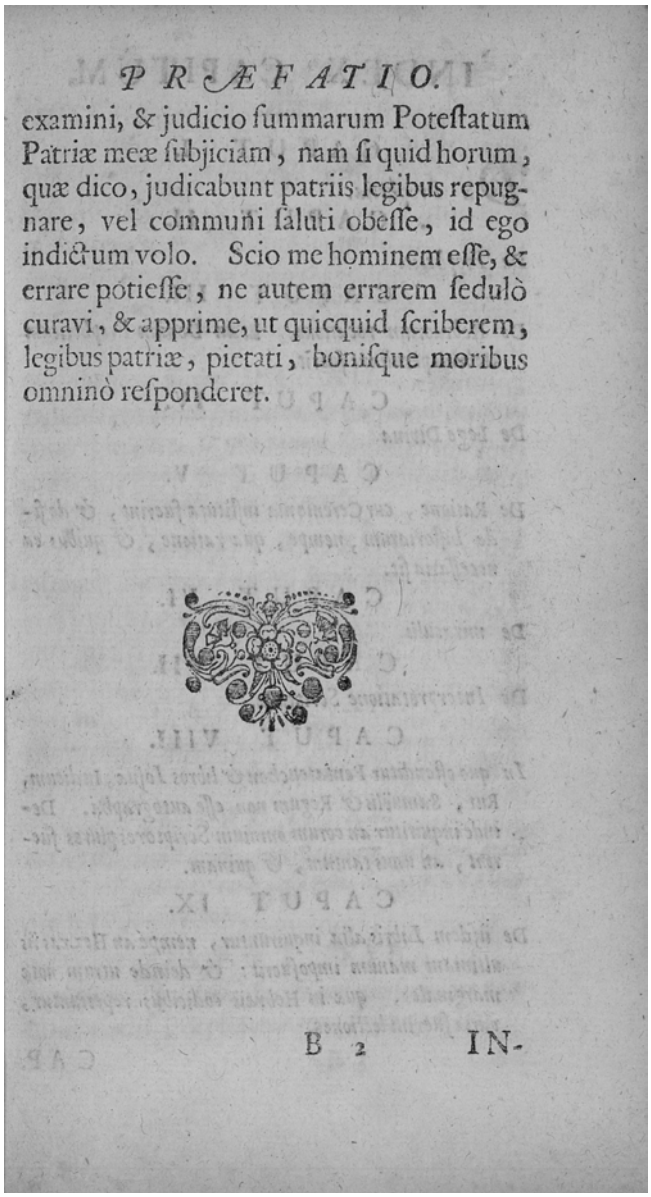

PRÆFATIO.
examini, & judicio ſummarum Poteſtatum Patriæ meæ ſubjiciam, nam ſi quid horum, quæ dico, judicabunt patriis legibus repugnare, vel communi ſaluti obeſſe, id ego indictum volo. Scio me hominem eſſe, & errare potieſſe, ne autem errarem ſedulò curavi, & apprime, ut quicquid ſcriberem, legibus patriæ, pietati, boniſque moribus omninò reſponderet.
B 2 IN-

ILLUSTRATION 4.11 Rosette tailpiece on signature B2ʳ at the end of the Preface of T3v.

⁘

FIRST AND ONLY OCTAVO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 4.12–4.13)

T.3h issue

Short Fictitious Title for the 'Theological-Political Treatise'
'Daniel Heinsius', *Operum historicorum collectio prima*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Isaacus Herculis', *printer*: [Israel de Paull?], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.
– Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
– Author's name on fictitious title-page is a red herring.
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Leiden (for [Amsterdam]).
– Title-page decoration: floral vignette (also on issue T.3t).
– Text contains (decorated) initials.
– Contains Preface.
– Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
– List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.
Key features for ready identification of T.3h:
– False title-page with reference to a fictitious work by Daniel Heinsius, issue purports to be sequel to his *Operum historicum collectio*.
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Isaacus Herculis' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).

Exemplars
Quarto editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.

Second part printed in T.3h issue: [Meyer], *Philosophia*, with identical false title-page preceding the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Treatise presented as: *Operum historicorum collectio secunda*.

***First Title-Page of the* Tractatus Theologico-politicus (*on outer Forme of Gathering A*)**
DANIELIS HEINSII P.P. | OPERUM | HISTORI- | CORUM | COLLECTIO | Prima. | *Editio Secunda , priori editione multo emen-* | *datior &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *auctior* | accedunt quædam hactenus inedita. | (floral vignette) | LUGD. BATAV. | Apud ISAACUM HERCULIS. | 1673.

***Second Title-Page of* [*Lodewijk Meyer*], Philosophia**
DANIELIS HEINSII P.P. | OPERUM | HISTORI- | CORUM | COLLECTIO | Secunda. | *Editio Secunda , priori editione multo emen-* | *datior &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *auctior* | accedunt quædam hactenus inedita. | (floral vignette) | LUGD. BATAV. | Apud ISAACUM HERCULIS. | 1673.

The title-page of the *Philosophia* bills the latter work as the augmented sequel to the *Operum historicorum collectio*.

Collation
8º: A–Y⁸ Z⁴ [$5 (–A1, –Z3, –Z4)] (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 8º: A⁴ B–O⁸ P² [$3, $5 (–A1, B5, and P2)] (*Philosophia*)
180 leaves = pp. [*24*] (1.)–(336.) (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 110 leaves = pp. [*19*] 1–182 [*20*] (*Philosophia*)

The first title-page of T.3h is conjugate with their leaf A8.

Ornament on Title-Page

Rose ornament, relief woodcut, 32×41 mm. *See*: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 371–372, no. 10. Also printed (p. 182) at the conclusion of the epilogue of the *Philosophia*. Same ornament on title-page of T.3t.

Also on:

- Anon., *Franse, Engelse, Keulse, Munsterse, en Nederlandse oorloge, ofte een pertinent verhael van het begin en voortgank der Nederlandse beroerten*:, … (Amsterdam: J. Konynenberg, 1673), closing section.
- Anon., *Historisch verhael van de Fransche tyrannye, gepleegt in de dorpen van Loenen, Loosdrecht, Waverveen, Botshol, Abkoude, Nichtevecht, &c.* (Amsterdam: J.C. ten Hoorn, 1674). Printed in: ((Wicquefort), *De Fransche tyrannie*).
- Anon., *Verhaal van 't gene verhandelt ende besloten is, in de by-een-komste tot Leyden: door eenige doops-gezinde leeraren en diaconen, die men Vlamingen noemt*, … (Amsterdam: J. Rieuwertsz, 1661).
- Anon. (Abraham Joan Cuffeler), *Specimen artis ratiocinandi & naturalis ad Pantosophiae principia manuducens* ('Hamburg' [Amsterdam]: 1684), part 3, p. 140. Possibly issued by Jan Rieuwertsz *père*.
- E.S. (Elias Sandra), *Ontwerp en beschryvinge om het soet water uyt de riviere de Vegt op driederley wyse te brengen binnen de stad Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: 1684).
- Franciscus van den Enden, *Vrye politijke stellingen* (Amsterdam: 1665). Edition sold by Pieter Arentsz Raep.

For full bibliographical description of edition: T.3v ('Villacorta').

Copies (41)

Copies Examined

T.3h#6 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol.g. 902 d-1/2

Late-seventeenth-century binding with marbled front and back endpapers, red stained edge, minor brownspotting to leaves.

Provenance: nineteenth-century owner's mark ('ex libris P. Duputel 352') on printed bookplate on verso of title-page, black book stamp of former Bavarian Royal Library on back of title-page, blue book stamp (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) on p. 97.

Digitized copy:
http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10770854_00012.html

T.3h#7 The Hague, KB, 344 J 26 [1]

Collation: lacking leaves Z3 and Z4.

Minor brownspotting to paper, nineteenth-century half-leather (calf) binding over pasteboard with marbled paper, round spine, gold-tooled lettering panel: 'SPINOZA', on the tail of the shelf-back: 1673.

Provenance: a note in a late-seventeenth-century hand on the title-page of *Philosophia* mentions the following detail: 'Philosophia S. Script. Interpres | per L. Meyer | Medicum Amstelodamensem Spinozae amicum'. Eighteenth-century note (first front endpaper opposite to the first title-page) in English reading: 'The opposite is a sham title to hide the true contents of the book which are The Works of the famous SPINOZA. 1 *Tractatus Theologo-Politicus* 2 *Philosophia Scripturae interpres*'; J.E. Macintosh (August 1830). Older shelf-mark (344 J 26) pasted in three labels on spine, one black stained edge, older shelf-marks ('K.W. 344 J 26'; E 3–10 68) with pencil; nineteenth-century library stamp (KB).

Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=11&resultClick=1

Non-Collated Copies

France (*9*)

T.3h#8–9 Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale, 12.633, 36.104

T.3h#10 Chalons-en-Champagne, Marne, Bibliothèque municipale, Garnet, Gt 10104

T.3h#11–12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-11475, D2-5209

T.3h#13 Paris, Sorbonne-BIU Centrale, TRP 6=124 (olim: Collège de Louis le Grand de la Compagnie de Jésus).

T.3h#14 Poitiers, Vienne, Médiatheque Francois Mitterand, Fonds ancien, D 7395

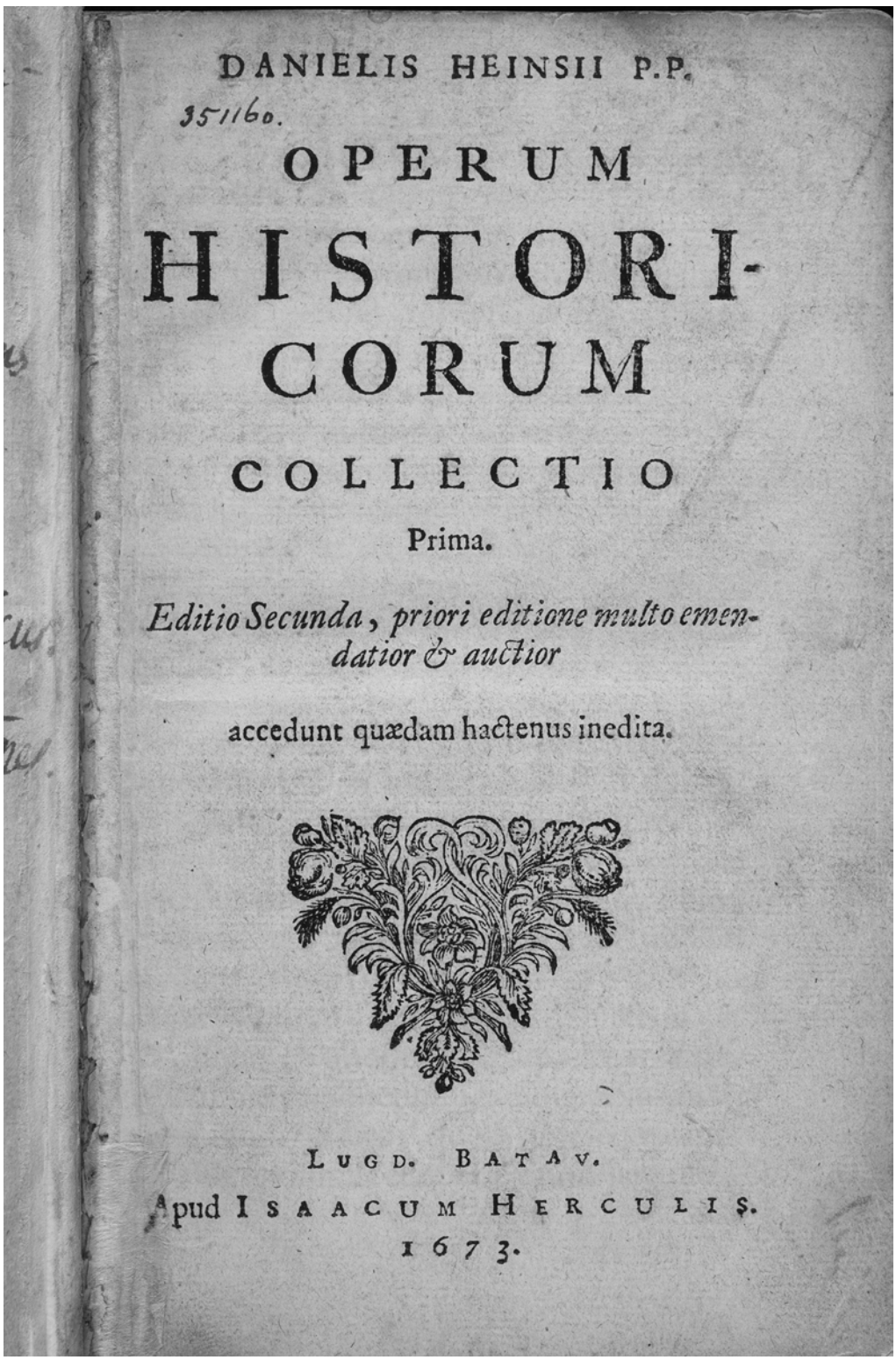
T.3h#15–16 Rouen, Seine-Maritime, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds Cas, A 1832, Mt p 1388

Germany (*10*)

T.3h#17 Augsburg, University Library, 221/BC 7700 H471(2)-1.2

T.3h#18–19 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Nl 13168–1, Nl 13168-2

T.3h#20–21 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Phil.C.496-1/2, Phil. C 497-1/2


DANIELIS HEINSII P.P.

35 1160.

OPERUM

HISTORI-

CORUM

COLLECTIO

Prima.

Editio Secunda, priori editione multo emendatior & auctior

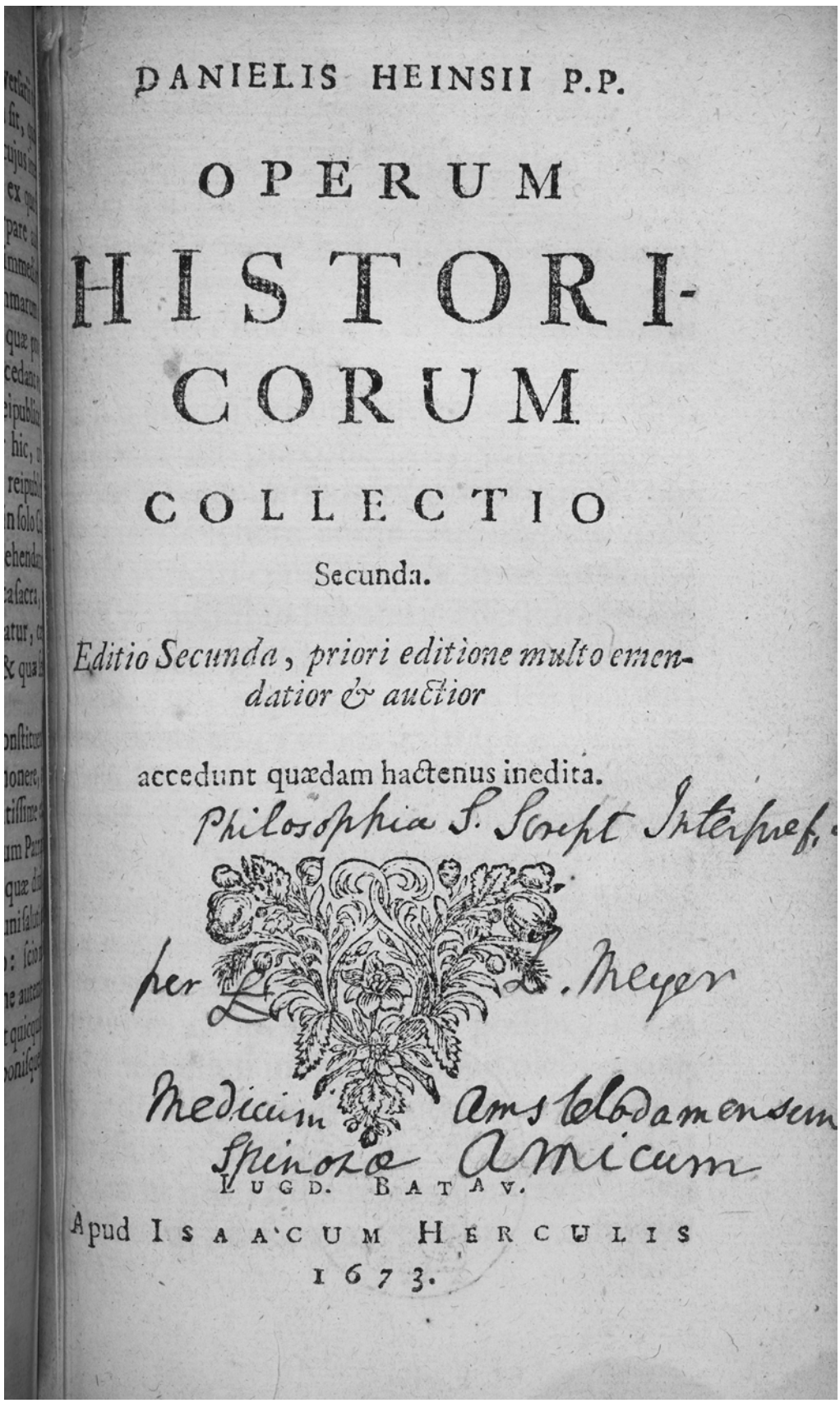
accedunt quædam hactenus inedita.

LUGD. BATAV.

Apud ISAACUM HERCULIS.

1673.

ILLUSTRATION 4.12 First title-page of issue T.3h of the Latin octavo edition: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Identical ornament also on second title-page and on the title-page of T.3h.


DANIELIS HEINSII P.P.

OPERUM

HISTORI-

CORUM

COLLECTIO

Secunda.

Editio Secunda, priori editione multo emendatior & auctior

accedunt quædam hactenus inedita.

Philosophia S. Script Interpres.

per L. Meyer

Medicum Amstelodamensem

Spinozæ Amicum

LUGD. BATAV.

Apud ISAAC UM HERCULIS

1673.

ILLUSTRATION 4.13 Second title-page of issue T.3h of the Latin octavo edition: *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

T.3h#22 Erfurt/Gotha, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Phil 8° 00120b/06 (01/02)

T.3h#23 Frankfurt am Main, Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Sankt Georgen, HM R A 639 (title-page badly damaged and replaced by handwritten title).

T.3h#24 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 PHIL I, 4975

T.3h#25 Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, FA 2744

T.3h#26 Munich, University Library, 0001/8 Polit. 833(1/2)

Italy (*3*)

T.3h#27 Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveniana, B 03-03-18

T.3h#28 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciano, C 215C 164 (bookplate of Girolamo Contarini [1770–1843], procurator of the Patriarchal Cathedral Basilica of St Mark and librarian of the cathedral library)

T.3h#29 Venice, Biblioteca della Congregazione Armena Mechitarista

Sweden (*1*)

T.3h#30 Stockholm, Royal Library, 173 B h

United Kingdom (*13*)

T.3h#31 Aberdeen, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, King's College, SB 1939 Spi t 2

T.3h#32 Blickling (Norfolk), Blickling Hall (The National Trust), 3273 (manuscript initial on front fly-leaf: 'M.' [catalogue code of John Mitchell (*c*.1685–1751)]).

T.3h#33 Cambridge, Trinity College, I.13.122

T.3h#34 Durham, Durham Cathedral, shelf-mark is not known

T.3h#35 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, General reading room (George IV Bridge), Alva.118

T.3h#36 Exeter, Exeter Cathedral, shelf-mark is not known

T.3h#37 Glasgow, University Library, Special Collections, Sp. Coll. BC 15-g.10 (former owners: Johann Hermann Gronau [1708–1769], Reformed pastor in Styrum [Mülheim]; Johann Georg Heinrich Oelrichs [1728–1799], Calvinist minister in the service of the Berlin Friedrichswerderschen Kirche; C.A. Bergman [nineteenth century]).

T.3h#38–39 London, British Library, 295.k.33, 8005 ccc 10

T.3h#40 London, The London Library, ant. (inscription on title-page: 'E Paley', inscription in Greek on second flyleaf and long inscription in English regarding the true authorship of the work).

T.3h#41 Oxford, Christ Church College, WL.8.10 (seventeenth-century gold-tooled calf binding, library bookplate [1737] of William Wake [1657–1737], priest in the Church of England and Archbishop of Canterbury).

T.3h#42 Oxford, Wadham College, e.39.18 (bookplate of Alexander Thistlethwayte esq. [1717?–1771], of Southwick, was returned as a Whig for Hampshire on the death of his younger brother, Francis Whithed, in 1751).

T.3h#43 Peterborough (Cambridgeshire), Peterborough Cathedral, shelf-mark is not known

United States (*3*)

T.3h#44 Atlanta (GA), Emory University, Pitts Theology Library, 1673 HEIN

T.3h#45 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1673

T.3h#46 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary calf binding, blind-tooled back reading: 'Tractatus/ th. Po. Spin', sprinkled edges, 'Spinoza' written in a contemporary hand in black ink on the right side of title-page ornament, bookplate of Christian Hammer (1818–1905) pasted on to front pastedown: 'Bibl. Hammer Stockholm', collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

References

Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 641; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, 1759, p. 420; Boehmer, 'Spinozana', pp. 150–151; Van der Linde,

'Notiz', p. 2, no. 5a; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 18–24; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 364; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 12–13, no. 9.

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FIRST AND ONLY OCTAVO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 4.14–4.15)

T.3s issue

Short Fictitious Title for the 'Theological-Political Treatise'
'Frans de le Boe Sylvius', *Totius medicinae idea nova*. Amsterdam, 'Carolus Gratiani', *printer*: [Israel de Paull?], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.
- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
- Author's name on fictitious title-page is a red herring.
- Title-page decoration: floral ornament.
- Text contains (decorated) initials.
- Contains Preface.
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.

Key features for ready identification of T.3s:
- Fictitious title-page modelled after the title-page of the 'true' French edition (Paris: 1671) of volume 1 of Frans de le Boe Sylvius's *Totius medicinae idea nova*, T.3s issue purports to be its second edition allegedly revised by its author.
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Carolus Gratiani' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).

Exemplars
Quarto editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.

Second part printed in T.3s issue: [Meyer], *Philosophia*, with identical false title-page. Treatise presented as: *Totius medicinae idea nova … pars secunda*.

***First Title-Page of the* Tractatus Theologico-politicus (*on outer Forme of Gathering A*)**
TOTIUS | MEDICINÆ | idea | nova | ſeu | FRANCISCI *de le* BOE | SYLVII. | Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi | Opera Omnia | Novas potiſſimum ſuper morborum cauſis, ſympto- | matis & curandi ratione meditationes & | diſputationes continentia | SECUNDA EDITIO | *ad Autoris exemplar correcta*. | (floral vignette) | AMSTELODAMI | Apud CAROLUM GRATIANI, | 1673.

***Second Title-Page of* [*Lodewijk Meyer*], Philosophia**
TOTIUS | MEDICINÆ | idea | nova | seu FRANCISCI *de le* BOE | SYLVII. | Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi | Opera Omnia | Novas potiſſimum ſuper morborum cauſis, sympto- | matis & curandi ratione meditationes & | diſputationes continentia | SECUNDA EDITIO | *ad Autoris* (swash A) *exemplar correcta*. | PARS SECUNDA. | (floral vignette) | AMSTELODAMI | Apud CAROLUM GRATIANI, | 1673.

The two words 'PARS SECUNDA.' are printed separately on a slip of paper and pasted on to second title-page of the *Philosophia* (Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 62-9887; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 69.X.3. 2vol.).

Collation
8°: A–Y^8 Z^4 [$5 (–A1, –Z3, –Z4)] (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 8°: A^4 B–O^8 P^2 [$3, $5 (–A1, B5)] (*Philosophia*) 178 leaves = pp. [22] (1.)–(334.) (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 110 leaves = pp. [*18*] 1–182 [*20*] (*Philosophia*)

Ornament on Title-Page
Rosette vignette, relief woodcut, 19×27 mm (ornament no. 16 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Identical to tailpiece ornament on sig. B2^r of prologue.

For full bibliographical description of edition: T.3v ('Villacorta').

***Copies* (*6*)**

Copies Examined
T.3s#47 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 62-9887
Brown spotting to pages, brown leather library binding, four raised bands.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=rK5pAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=true

T.3s#48 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol.g. 902 c-1/2
Provenance: eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink in Latin and German on first front endpaper on false title-pages of the Latin octavo edition, black book stamp of former Bavarian Royal Library on back of title-page.

Digitized copy:
http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10770852_00005.html

T.3s#49 VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 69.X.3. 2vol.
Gold-tooled late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, marbled first and back endpapers.

Provenance: shelf-mark also in nineteenth-century hand in black ink ('L.XIX.X3'); old circular library stamp in black on back of title-page ('Kaiserliche Koenigliche Hofbibliothek. Wien').
http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ167905000&ref=primo-search&provider=ABO&query=

Non-Collated Copies

France (*1*)

T.3s#50 PARIS, Sorbonne-BIU, Salle de réserve, TRP 6 = 124

United Kingdom (*1*)

T.3s#51 LONDON, British Library, 544.d.15 (Museum Britannicum binding, probably from the collection of Hans Sloane [1660–1753], one of the foundation collections of the British Museum library, Sloane no. e 86).

United States (*1*)

T.3s#52 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary blind-tooled binding, back labelled with the following text: 'Tractatus theologicus politicus', sprinkled edges, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

References

Boehmer, 'Spinozana', p. 151; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 3, no. 6a; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 18–24, no. 10; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 13–14, no. 10.

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FIRST AND ONLY OCTAVO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 4.16–4.17)

T.3t issue

Short Title

Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. 'Hamburg' [Amsterdam], 'Henricus Kunraht', *printer*: [Israel de Paull?], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1673.

– Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
– Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5; also on the first full English translation [1689] and the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
– Title-page decoration: floral vignette (also on issue T.3h).
– Text contains (decorated) initials.
– Contains Preface.
– Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
– List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.

Key features for ready identification of T.3t:

– Title-page modelled after the title-pages of the Latin quartos.
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Hamburg (for [Amsterdam]).
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Kunrath' ([Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).

Exemplars

Quarto editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.

Second part printed in T.3t issue: [Meyer], *Philosophia*, with its own title-page.

***First Title-Page of the* Tractatus Theologico-politicus (*Pasted on to* π^{v})**

TRACTATUS | THEOLOGICO-| POLITICUS | Continens | *Diſſertationes aliquot*, | Quibus oſtenditur libertatem Philoſophandi non | tantum ſalva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace poſſe | concedi : ſed eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, | ipſaque pietate tolli non poſſe. | Johan : Epiſt : 1. cap: IV. verſ: xiii. | *Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, &* (lower-case italic epsilon ampersand) *Deus manet* | *in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.* | (floral vignette) | HAMBURGI | Apud *Henricum Kunraht* | ANNO 1673.

***Second Title-page of* [*Lodewijk Meyer*], Philosophia**

PHILOSOPHIA S. SCRIPTURÆ | INTERPRES; | Excercitatio Paradoxa, | In quâ, veram Philoſophiam infalliblem | S. Literas interpretandi Norman eſſe, apo- | dicticè demonſtratur, & diſcrepantes | ab hac Sententiæ expenduntur, | ac refelluntur, | Παντα δοκιμαξετε τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε | 1 Theſſ. 5 verſ. 21 | (ornament) | ELEUTHEROPOLI, | ANNO C I Ↄ I Ↄ CLXXIII.

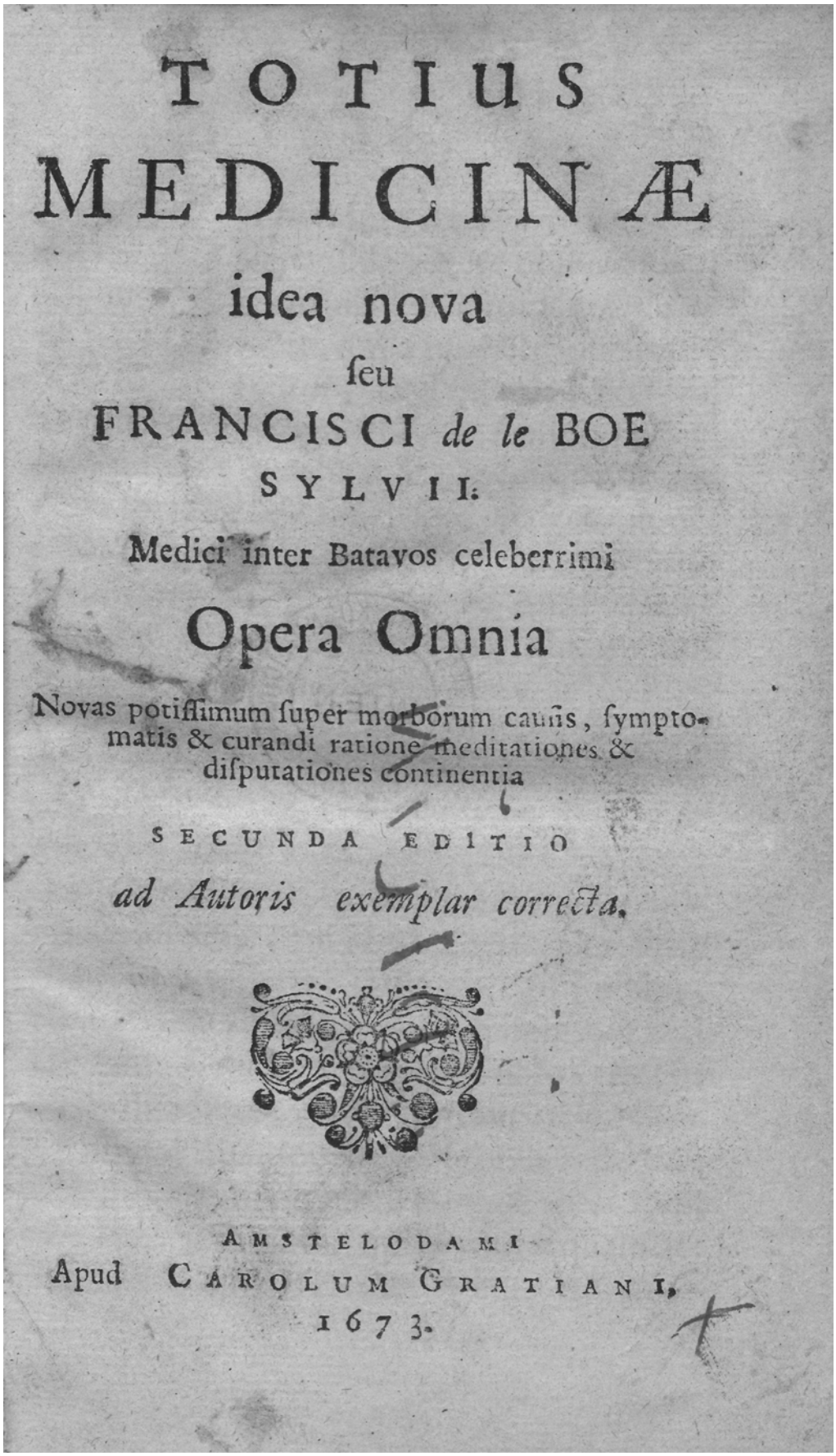
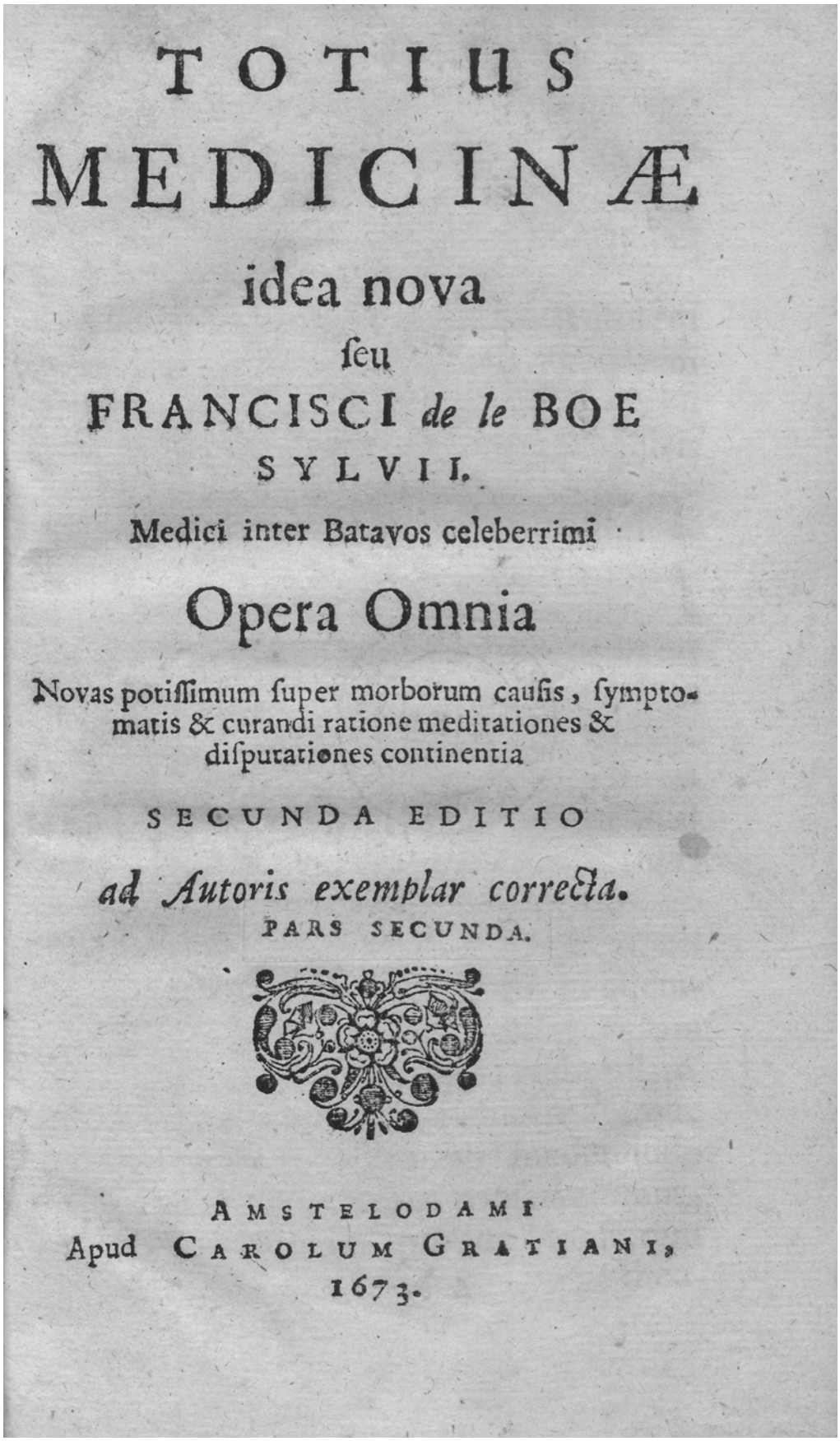

TOTIUS
MEDICINÆ
idea nova
seu
FRANCISCI *de le* BOE
SYLVII:
Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi
Opera Omnia
Novas potiſſimum ſuper morborum cauſis, ſympto-
matis & curandi ratione meditationes &
diſputationes continentia
SECUNDA EDITIO
ad Autoris exemplar correcta.
AMSTELODAMI
Apud CAROLUM GRATIANI,
1673.

ILLUSTRATION 4.14 First title-page of issue T.3s of the Latin octavo edition: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Identical ornament also on second title-page.



TOTIUS
MEDICINÆ
idea nova
seu
FRANCISCI *de le* BOE
SYLVII.
Medici inter Batavos celeberrimi
Opera Omnia
Novas potissimum super morborum causis, symptomatis & curandi ratione meditationes & disputationes continentia
SECUNDA EDITIO
ad Autoris exemplar correcta.
PARS SECUNDA.

AMSTELODAMI
Apud CAROLUM GRATIANI,
1673.

ILLUSTRATION 4.15 Second title-page of issue T.3s of the Latin octavo edition: *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

Collation
8º: π^1 A^8 (± A1) B–Y^8 Z^4 [$5 (–A1, –Z3, –Z4)] (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 8º: χ^1 A^4 (± A1) B–O^8 P^2 [$3, $5 (–A1, B5)] (*Philosophia*)
180 leaves = pp. [22] (1.)–(334.) (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 110 leaves = pp. [18] (1.)–(182.) [20] (*Philosophia*)

The title-page of T.3t proves to be a cancel: the leaf is pasted to sig. π^v on the place of a removed title-page to make sheet π complete again.[79]

Ornament on Title-Page
Rose ornament, relief woodcut, 19×27 mm. *See*: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 371–372, no. 10. Also on T.3h issue.

For full bibliographical description of edition: T.3v ('Villacorta').

***Copies* (*8*)**

Non-Collated Copies
France (*2*)
T.3t#53 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 11476 (1)

T.3t#54 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Rés. 8 D 10013 res

Japan (*1*)
T.3t#55 Kanagawa, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/S

Russia (*1*)
T.3t#56 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Да 1673 Аллиг.1

Sweden (*1*)
T.3t#57 Göteborg, University Library, rar-Saml. 8:o 40

Switzerland (*1*)
T.3t#8 Geneva, University Library, bge Bc 2146 (1)

United Kingdom (*1*)
T.3t#57 Windsor, King's College of Our Lady of Eton, Ek.7.25[01] (seventeenth-century brown panelled calf, double blind fillet to form a border, four raised bands, gold-tooled spine, spine title, bookplate of Edward Waddington [*fl.*1670–1731], English prelate, Bishop of Chichester [1724–1731], recording donation to Eton College in 1731).

United States (*1*)
T.3t#58 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to ias in 2018).

Note
The new title-page is a cancel. Boehmer ('Spinozana', p. 151) found evidence the new-typeset title-page had been pasted in the book on to π^v on the place of a removed previous title-page, thus making sheet π complete again.

References
Boehmer, 'Spinozana', p. 151; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 18–24, no. 10; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 14–15, no. 11.

∴

first and only octavo edition, one single print run, five issues (illustration 4.18)

T.3e issue

***Short Title* ('*Theological-Political Treatise*')**
Anon., *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. n. pl. [Amsterdam?], *printer*: [Israel de Paull?], *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1674.

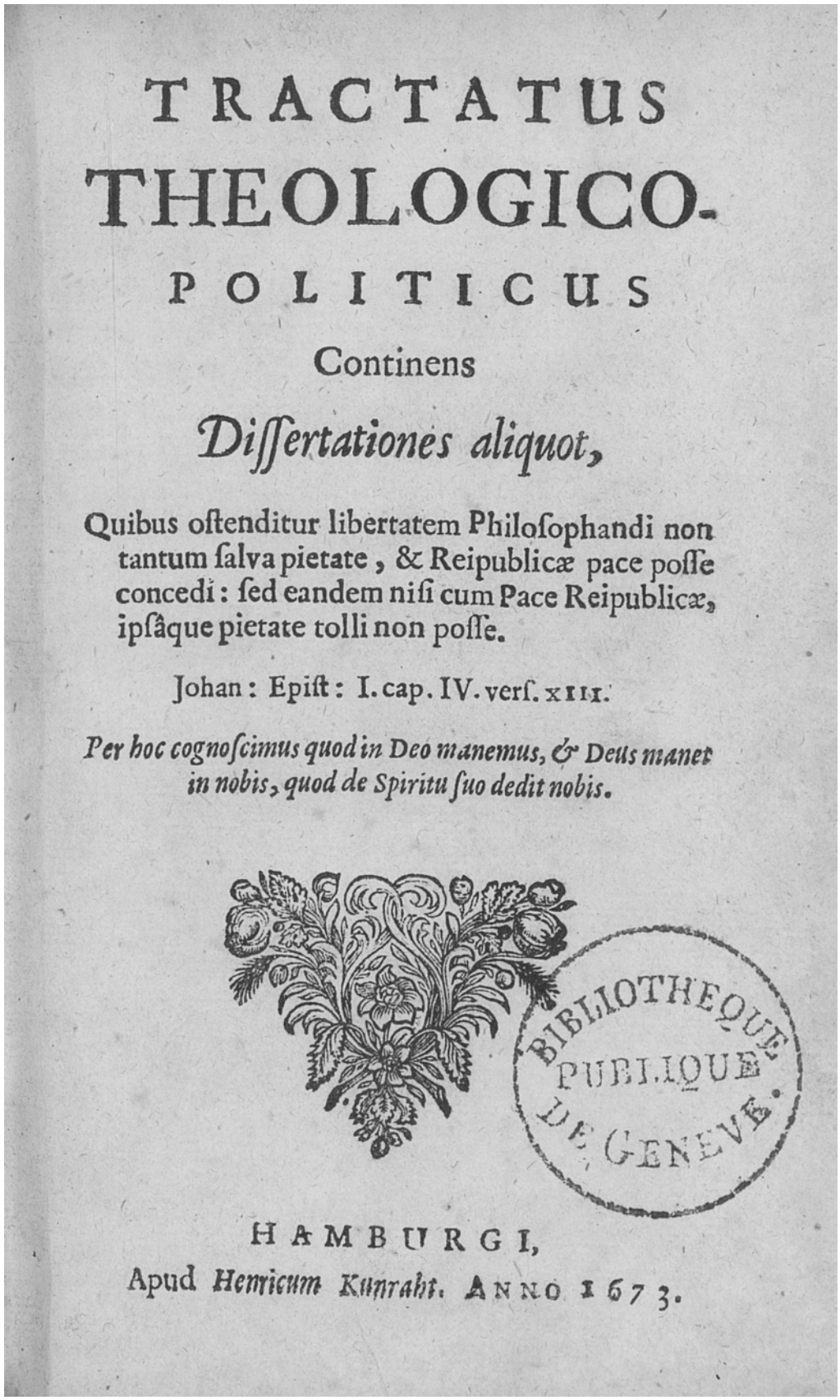
– Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch.
– No indication in imprint of place and/or publisher.
– Title-page has floral ornaments and rules.
– Text contains (decorated) initials.
– Contains Preface.
– Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
– List of errata of T.1 is cancelled.

Key features for ready identification of T.3e:
– Title-page has intentional English-style typography for trading purposes on the British Isles.
– Imprint has printing date '1674'.

Exemplars
Quarto editions T.1 and T.2/T.2a served as printer's copy.
Second part printed in T.3e issue: [Meyer], *Philosophia*, with its own title-page.

***First Title-Page of the* Tractatus theologico-politicus (*Pasted on to* π^v)**
TRACTATUS | *THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS* (swash T and U) | Cui adjunctus est | Philofophia S. Scripturæ |

79 Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 24.

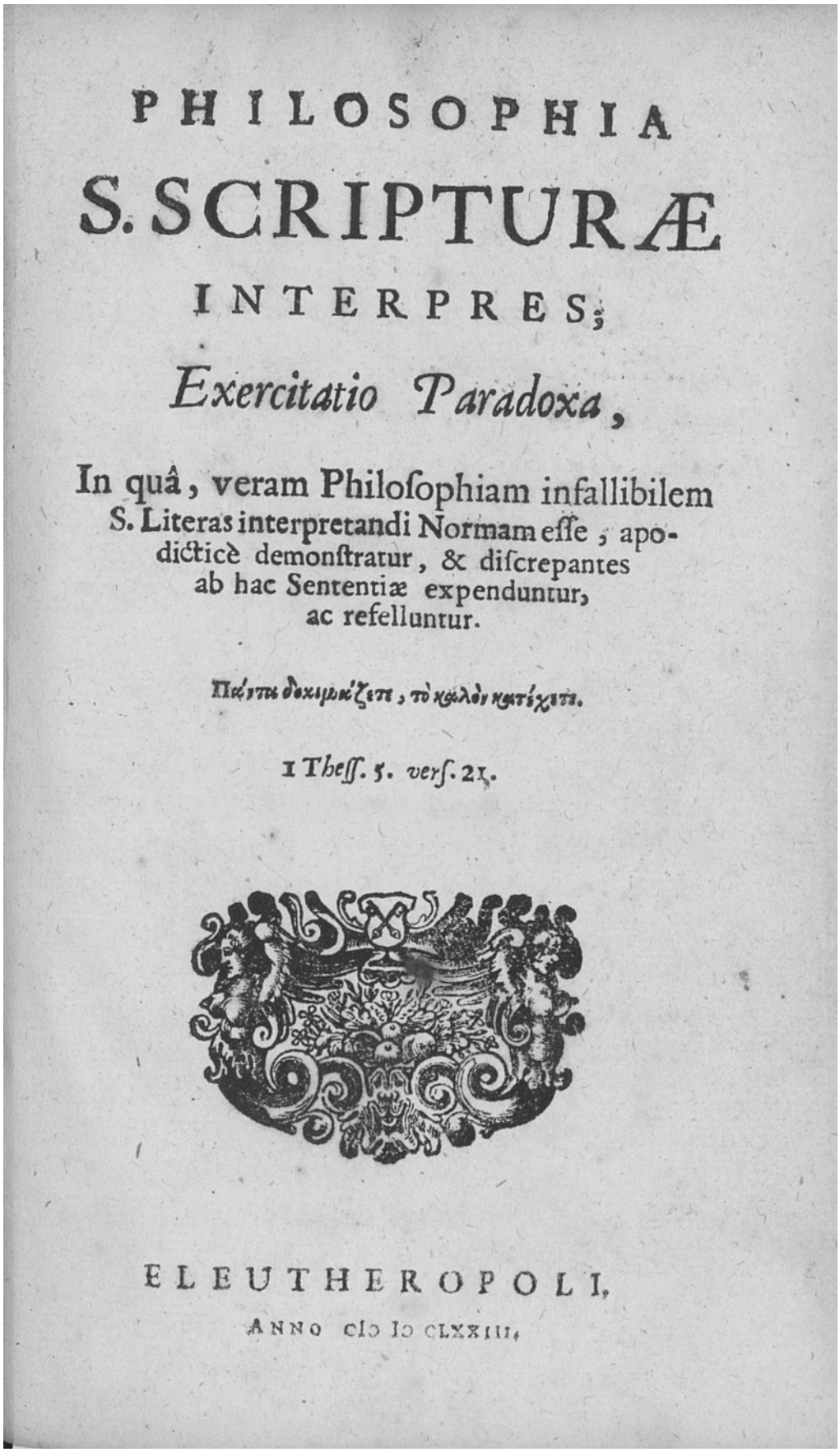


TRACTATUS
THEOLOGICO-
POLITICUS
Continens
Diſſertationes aliquot,
Quibus oſtenditur libertatem Philoſophandi non tantum ſalva pietate, & Reipublicæ pace poſſe concedi: ſed eandem niſi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipſâque pietate tolli non poſſe.
Johan: Epiſt: I. cap. IV. verſ. XIII.
Per hoc cognoſcimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu ſuo dedit nobis.

BIBLIOTHEQUE PUBLIQUE DE GENEVE.

HAMBURGI,
Apud *Henricum Kunraht.* ANNO 1673.

ILLUSTRATION 4.16 First title-page of issue T.3t of the Latin octavo edition: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Identical ornament also the title-page of T.3h.



PHILOSOPHIA
S. SCRIPTURÆ
INTERPRES;
Exercitatio Paradoxa,
In quâ, veram Philoſophiam infallibilem S. Literas interpretandi Normam eſſe, apodictícè demonſtratur, & diſcrepantes ab hac Sententiæ expenduntur, ac refelluntur.
Πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.
1 Theſſ. 5. verſ. 21.
ELEUTHEROPOLI,
ANNO CIↃ IↃ CLXXIII.

ILLUSTRATION 4.17 Second title-page of issue T.3t of the Latin octavo edition: *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

INTERPRES. | (rule) | *Ab Authore longé Emendatior.* | (rule) | (floral vignette) | (double rule) | Anno Dom. 1674.

***Second Title-Page of* [*Lodewijk Meyer*], Philosophia**
Philoſophia S. Scripturæ | INTERPRES.

Typography
Type of 1674 title-page: first line in 'St Augustin' roman (Pierre Haultin foundry), next three lines in 'great primer' roman and italic besides one in a 'double pica' roman (Nicholas Nicholls's foundry). Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 20–21.

Collation
8º:π^{1}A^{2}–^{8}B–Y^{8}Z^{4}[$5(–A1,–Z3,–Z4)](*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 8º: A^{4} B–O^{8} P^{2} [$3, $5 (–A1, B5)] (*Philosophia*)
180 leaves = pp. [20] (1.)–(334.) [4] (*Tractatus theologico-politicus*) / 109 leaves = pp. [16] (1.)–(182.) [20] (*Philosophia*)

In the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, π is a cancel and replaced by title-page.

For full bibliographical description of edition: T.3v ('Villacorta').

***Copies* (*84*)**

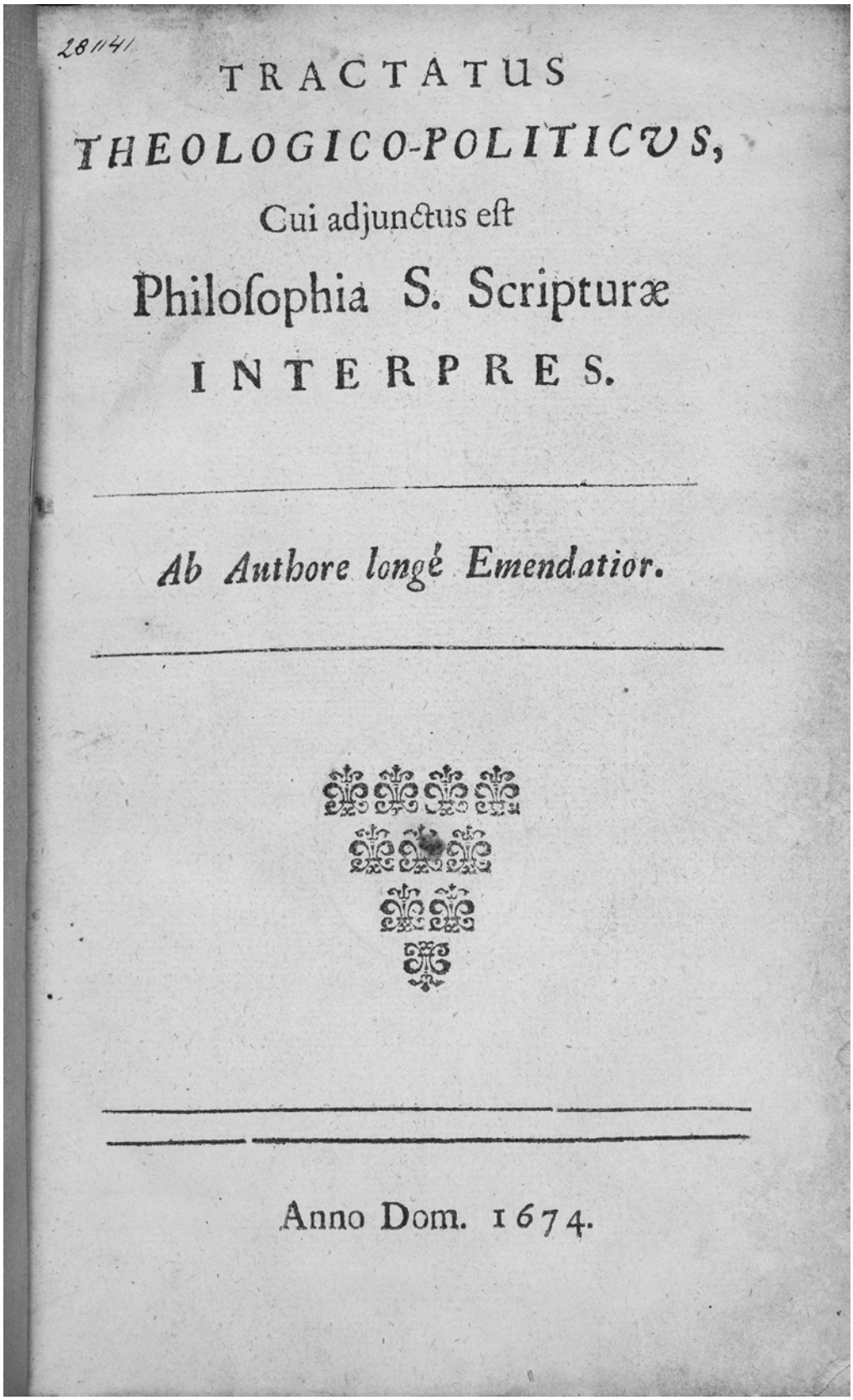
Copies Examined
T.3e#58 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OK 62-4243 (UBM 1086 E 30)
Brown calf binding, underlines in black ink throughout copy.
Provenance: faded owner's note on the work in black ink on first flyleaves by an eighteenth-century English hand, another late eighteenth-century note in Italian in black ink, signed: 'Giulio Bernardino Tomitano' (1761–1828), Italian bibliophile, eighteenth-century shelf-marks in black ink on title-page, black circular library stamp (Universiteit van Amsterdam) in black ink on verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=7SplAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

T.3e#59 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol.g. 902 da 994048
Brown half-leather calf over pasteboard, brown marbled paper pasted on cover and spine, title-page of *Philosophia* missing.
Provenance: eighteenth-century note in black ink ('ad Bibliothecam Sollinganam 1765. opus rarum. vide Vogt') on title-page, engraved bookplate of the former Bavarian Royal Library in Munich ('Bibliotheca Regis Monacensis') on first free endpaper, older shelf-marks (Cxeg 1109, Polit. Gen. 902^{0a}), black book stamp of Bavarian Royal Library on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10770857.html

T.3e#60 The Hague, KB, 1120 D 35 [1]
Repaired seventeenth-century brown leather binding over pasteboard, blind-tooled rectangular double rule on front and shelf-back with small ornament in corners, red-stained edge.
Provenance: older shelf-mark with black in left upper corner of title-page ('281141'), twentieth-century label on first board paper ('Antiquariaat Menno Hertzberger Amsterdam'), oblong library stamp ('Koninklijke Bibliotheek') on verso of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=17&resultClick=1

T.3e#61 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 58526-A Neue Mag.
Brown spotting to paper, half-leather (calf) binding over pasteboard, p. 268, chapter 17, title: letters *l* and *a* in *Republica* hardly visible.
Provenance: unknown, shelf-mark pasted on nineteenth-century paper label on front board paper ('Kais. Kon. Hofbibliothek'), also on foot of the title-page in stamped numbers and letter, older shelf-mark (117. F.92.), written on paper label in nineteenth-century handwriting, pasted on front pastedown. Note by unidentified eighteenth-century former owner on title-page, text placed between the two lower printed rules below ornament reading 'Libri rarissimi editio per-rara 5 st.', quite probably written on the title-page before the book went to auction, circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on sig. Z2^{v}. The same hand added 'Spinozae' in the upper middle margin of the title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10333867

Non-Collated Copies
Netherlands (*2*)
T.3e#62 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: RON A-5212


28114/

TRACTATUS

THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS,

Cui adjunctus est

Philoſophia S. Scripturæ

INTERPRES.

Ab Authore longè Emendatior.

Anno Dom. 1674.

ILLUSTRATION 4.18 First title-page of issue T.3e of the Latin octavo edition: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

T.3e#63 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 164

Australia (2)

T.3e#64 BRISBANE, University of Queensland, B3985 .A3 1674

T.3e#65 STRATHFIELD, Catholic Institute of Sydney, CRB 49545 (ex libris of Joseph John Spruson).

Canada (1)

T.3e#66 OTTAWA, Library and Archives Canada, LOWY B3985 A3 1674 (one leaf following p. 334, first leaf of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* lacking).

France (4)

T.3e#67 BORDEAUX, Bibliothèque municipale, T 8861

T.3e#68 LAUSANNE, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, ancien site Cèdres, PHIL 3254

T.3e#69–70 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-5209 (1), D2-5209 (2)

Germany (6)

T.3e#71 DRESDEN, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Phil.D.298.w

T.3e#72 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Phil. I 4975

T.3e#73 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2744

T.3e#74 HEIDELBERG, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, UB, M 397.22

T.3e#75 LEIPZIG, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Museum/ Studiensammlungen Klemm: IV 8,57

T.3e#76 FREIBURG IM BREISGAU, University Library, B 2177 (title-page is missing, olim: Eberhard Klüpfel).

Ireland (3)

T.3e#77 DUBLIN, Marsh's Library, D3.5.41 ('Henry Day 1698' on flyleaf, bound with four seventeenth-century pamphlets).

T.3e#78–79 MAYNOOTH, University Library, RL.2.109 (Russell), CK2699 St. Canice's Library Collection (Special Collections-JPII) (from the Otway-Maurice Collection of St Canice's Cathedral Library, Kilkenny, on long-term loan from The Representative Body of the Church of Ireland).

Italy (2)

T.3e#80 MILAN, Biblioteca Communale Centrale (Palazzo Sormani), VET.G VET.603

T.3e#81 VICENZA, Instituzione pubblica culturale biblioteca civica Bertoliana, M.012 001 004

Luxembourg (1)

T.3e#82 STRASBOURG, Bibliothèque National Universitaire, B105023

Poland (1)

T.3e#83 KRAKOW, Jagiellonian University, University Library, 11091 Theologia

South-Africa (1)

T.3e#84 CAPE TOWN, University Library, EA 2001.1 SPISwitzerland (2)

Switzerland (1)

T.3e#85 LAUSANNE, University Library, PHIL 3254

United Kingdom (37)

T.3e#86 ABERDEEN, University Library, SB 1939 Spi t 3

T.3e#87–88 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College, Hare 43.76, I.13.115

T.3e#89 CAMBRIDGE, St John's College, N.11.11

T.3e#90–91 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, F.5.90, Peterborough M.2.2

T.3e#92 DURHAM, Durham Cathedral, shelf-mark is not known

T.3e#93 DURHAM, University Library, Palace Green Library, Routh 6.G1.9

T.3e#94–97 EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland, General Reading Room (George IV Bridge), Nha.C307, Gray.310, GC.7/2.52, [Mar.] .11/2.47

T.3e#99 EDINBURGH, University Library, TR. 1091

T.3e#99 GLASGOW, University Library, Special Collections, Sp. Coll. T.C.L.3501

T.3e#100–106 London, British Library, General Reference Collection, 847.i.23 (from the collection of Hans Sloane [1660–1753], one of the foundation collections of the British Museum library, Sloane no. a 5121, British Museum binding, boards detached), 4381.aa.67, 295.k.33, 544.d.15, 782.b.29 (2) (Hans Sloane collection, Sloane no. R 2491), 8005.ccc.10, Humanities 4381.aa.67

T.3e#107 London, Lambeth Palace, LPL, I3985.(S6)

T.3e#108 London, University College, University Library, Spec. Collections, Strong Room E 150 S6 (old leather binding, with gilt bands on shelf-back, worn, on title-page: 'Edward Ledwich' and 'John Kearny', James and Caroline Morris, 1869).

T.3e#109 London, University of London, Senate House Library, [F.W.A.] 9F.31 (copy from the Family Welfare Association, blind monogram 'H' at top right corner of front endpaper, notes in an early hand about Spinoza on front flyleaf, his name added to title-page, late-seventeenth-century notes on second blank leaf, later pencilled notes on front endpaper and title-page, wrongly attributing place of publication to London).

T.3e#110–111 Manchester, The Chetham Society, Chetham's Library, 3.E.4.39, J.16.11

T.3e#112–113 Manchester, University Library, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, SC621A, R4518

T.3e#114 Oxford, Christ Church College, WL.7.45 (seventeenth-century blind tooled English mottled calf, library bookplate [1737] of bequest of William Wake [1657–1737], priest in the Church of England and Archbishop of Canterbury).

T.3e#115 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, V.106.a (MR 3)

T.3e#116 Oxford, Harris Manchester College, HMC Stack, X 1674/2 (preliminary leaf A8 is lacking)

T.3e#117 Oxford, Jesus College, H.16.22 (title-page missing and all after p. 334)

T.3e#118 Oxford, Lincoln College, N.11.28 (seventeenth-century calf over pasteboards, red morocco spine label, provenance: Michael Harding [†1697], provenance note on title-page: 'E Libris Mich: Harding e Coll: Trin: Oxon:', oblong Lincoln College Library stamp on title-page, old shelf-marks: E.1.20 [printed label], D.vii.21.).

T.3e#119 Oxford, Magdalen College, k.2.1

T.3e#120 Oxford, Merton College, MER Library, 48.A.23 (seventeenth-century calf, pairs of blind fillets towards outer edges of boards, blind stamped corner pieces, evidence of chaining on upper board, raised bands and blind tooling on spine, spine label inscribed '19', text block edges sprinkled red, blind roll tooled decoration around board edges, lacks first four pages of third group, provenance note: inscription at head of first free endpaper recto: 'Liber Collegii de Merton', Merton College bookplate on front paste down, older shelf-mark: 81.A.4).

T.3e#121 Oxford, St John's College, HB4/2.a.3.2 (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century calf binding, blind fillets on boards and spine, gilt roll around board edges, label at head of spine, provenance: Richard Rawlinson [1690–1755], English clergyman and antiquarian collector of books and manuscripts, Oxford provenance note: 'College ex dono inscription of Richard Rawlinson LL.D.' [1751], older shelf-mark: Lk.8.13, B.3.15.Mus., bookplate of St John's College [roundel]).

T.3e#122 Oxford, University College, BL: K.42.13 (seventeenth-century leather over pasteboards sewn onto four supports with raised bands, pair of blind fillets towards outer edges of boards with corner fleurons, blind roll around edges of boards, gilt decoration on spine, red- and black-sprinkled edges, traces of chaining at head of fore-edge of upper board, sewn onto end bands, repaired and rebacked, inscription on verso of p. [4] following first numbered sequence: 'The following book was printed before for it is [...] Ludo: Wolzogen Orthodoxi fides, [...] Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1668', old shelf-mark: L.12.13, University College bookplate [1700], on verso of title-page, University College bookplate of 1860 on inside of upper board).

T.3e#123 Peterborough (Cambridgeshire), Peterborough Cathedral, shelf-mark is not known

United States (*19*)

T.3e#124–125 Chicago (IL), University Library, B 3985. A1 1674, Rosenberger 156-29

T.3e#126 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

T.3e#127 COLUMBUS (OH), Ohio State University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1674 (bound in brown leather, stamped in blind, front cover detached).

T.3e#128 GAINESVILLE (FL), University of Florida, University Library, Smathers, Special Collections, 193 S758tr 1674 (bound in brown leather, stamped in blind, front cover detached).

T.3e#129 HARTFORD (CT), Trinity College, B3985 .A3 1674 (bound in nineteenth-century brown mottled sheep, upper board mostly detached leaves traces of brown and brittle, soiling on title-page).

T.3e#130 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3985. A3 1674 (manuscript notes on blank page at end and throughout text).

T.3e#131–132 KENT (OH), Kent State University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1674 (bound in marbled paper boards, brown leather shelf-back, stamped in gold and blind brown endpapers), B3985 .A3 1674a (bound in brown leather, stamped in blind, front cover detached).

T.3e#133 LAWRENCE (KS), University of Kansas, University Library, Summerfield B57

T.3e#134 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection, barcode: G0000526079 (mottled calf, rebacked, speckled edges).

T.3e#135 MILWAUKEE (WI), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, University Library, B3985 .A3 1674

T.3e#136 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1674

T.3e#137 NEW YORK (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary, B3985 .A3 1674

T.3e#138–139 PHILADELPHIA (PA), University of Pennsylvania, University Library, 119 Sp4T, NC65 Sp475 670t 1674

T.3e#140 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1.

T.3e#141 SAN MARINO (CA), The Henry E. Huntington Library, 381257 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding by the German immigrant bookbinder Charles Herring, with coat of arms in gold on both covers of John Lumley [1788–1856], 8th Earl of Scarborough).

T.3e#142 STATE COLLEGE (PA), Pennsylvania State University, PennState Libraries, B3985 .S3 1674

Note

Boehmer ('Spinozana', p. 151) claims he owned a copy of which the new title-page is a cancel. According to Boehmer, it been pasted in the book on to π^v on the place of a removed other title-page. Bamberger ('The Early Editions', p. 22) records a copy of the 'English' edition which has the 'Heinsius' title in place for the second part. Kingma and Offenberg ('Bibliography', p. 16, no. 12) claim equally: 'In this so-called English edition the title-page to the first part is a cancel. In most copies the title to Meijer's work is lacking'.

References

Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Walch, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 679; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Siegmund J. Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von merkwürdigen Büchern* (12 vols., Halle: 1752–7), vol. 9, pp. 319–320; Boehmer, 'Spinozana', p. 151; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 3, no. 7; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', pp. 14–15, no. 11; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 364; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek*, p. 37, no. 203; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 15–16, no. 12.

⁘

CHAPTER 5

The 'Theological-Political Treatise': French Duodecimos

X – First French Edition, Three Issues

X.1 'Warnaer' issue, title-page decorated with ornament A:

> Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

X.2 'Emanuel' issue, title-page decorated with small yoke ornament:

> Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

X.3 'Smith' issue, title-page decorated with ornament E:

> Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, 'Jacob Smith', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Anonymous, three spurious title-pages, with false imprints. Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen]. P. 22, l. 22: '*E-sprit*'; p. 23, l. 19: 'Iob'; p. 288, l. 21: '*Kaïn*'. Contains list of errata. Printed together with thirty-one *Adnotationes*. Exemplars: a now-lost Latin manuscript, either Spinoza's autograph manuscript or an apograph; French holograph and/or apograph by [Saint Glen] served as a printer's copy but is no longer extant. Perhaps, another printed exemplar has been: Latin quarto T.2/T.2a.

Y – Second French Edition, Five Issues

Y.1 'Warnaer' issue, title-page decorated with ornament B:

> Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Y.2 'Warnaer' issue, title-page decorated with ornament C:

> Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Y.3 'Warnaer' issue, title-page decorated with ornament D:

> Anon., *La Cléf du sanctuaire par un sçavant homme de notre siécle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Y.4/Y.5 issue (with two title-pages), 'Emanuel' and 'Smith', title-pages decorated with small yoke ornament and ornament F:

> Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.
>
> Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, 'Jacob Smith', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 issue (with three title-pages), 'Warnaer', 'Emanuel', and 'Smith', title-pages decorated with ornament G, small yoke ornament, and ornament F

> Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.
>
> Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

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Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, *printer*: 'Jacob Smith', printer unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Anonymous, six spurious title-pages, with false imprints. Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen]. Sig. *9v: 'PREEACE', p. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'; p. 23, l. 19: 'Job'; p. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'. Contains list of errata. Printed together with thirty-one *Adnotationes*. Printed exemplar: X edition.

⁘

1 The French X and Y Editions (1678) and the *Adnotationes ad Tractatum Theologico-Politicum*

Almost a decade after Spinoza's second book had first been published in the Netherlands and was forcefully lambasted and prohibited, the 'Theological-Political Treatise' received its impetus in France by way of a translation in French, too. There is the strong likelihood the philosopher's treatise was introduced in headlines to French readers by way of the publication of a book surreptitiously published in 1673 during the French occupation (1672–1674) of the Netherlands, called *La Religion des Hollandois*.[1] The author who hid behind this pamphlet was Lieutenant Colonel Jean Baptiste Stouppe, a high-ranking officer in the Swiss 'Stoppa' regiment serving in the Sun King's army and central actor in a plan to bring Spinoza to Utrecht in summer 1673. Stouppe's *La Religion* was a genuine product of French military propaganda. Personally commissioned by Louis XIV, the work had as its main objective the justification of the invasion of the Dutch Republic by Louis XIV and the contradiction induced by several Dutch pamphlets, reporting cruelties committed by French troops in the villages of Zwammerdam and Bodegraven.[2]

Stouppe in *La Religion* especially attacked the Dutch confessional identity and the unlimited toleration by the Dutch authorities of religious dissenters.[3] In so doing the pamphlet is also considered as the first public French retort in print of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, bracketing its radical notions with atheism. The work comprises six letters all dated May 1673 and, according to *La Religion*'s subtitle, addressed to an otherwise unnamed theologian from the Swiss town of Bern.[4] Stouppe in the pamphlet's third letter puts forward the following allegations in regard to Spinoza and his allegedly atheistic treatise:

> I do not believe I have told you about all the religions [practised] in this country when I have not said a word to you [in passing] about an illustrious and learned man who, as I have been assured, has a great number of followers who are entirely devoted to his sentiments. He is a man who was born a Jew [and he] is called Spinoza who neither abjured the religion of the Jews nor [has he] embraced the Christian religion. He is a very mischievous Jew and no better Christian. Some years ago, he wrote a book in Latin entitled 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' in which he seems to have as principal design to destroy all religions, particularly Judaism and the Christian [religion], and to introduce atheism, freethinking, and the freedom of all religions [instead].[5]

1 Anon. (Stouppe*), *La Religion*.

2 Cf. Léon Feer, 'Un Pamphlet contre les Hollandois', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, 31 (1882), pp. 80–91, at p. 80. François-Michel le Tellier to Jean Baptiste Stouppe*, 31 March 1673: 'Il faut coucher cela de manière que l'on ne puisse point croire que cet écrit cet fait par des françois, et au contraire, affecter dire bien du mal de la France.' (It should be put in such a way that one cannot believe this writing is made by the French, and contrariwise, it should speak well of France instead of bad; quoted in: Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire jusqu'à la Paix de Nimègue* [2 vols., Paris: Didier, 1862], vol. 1, p. 432).

3 The work was translated into Dutch (Amsterdam: 1673, 1674), German (1673), Italian (Paris: 1674), and English (London: 1680, 1681).

4 Anon. (Stouppe*), *La Religion*: 'Representée en plusieurs Lettres écrites par un Officier de l'Armée du Roy, à un Pasteur & Professeur en Theologie de Berne'. According to Walloon minister and Cartesian philosopher Johannes Theodoor Braun (1628–1708), all six letters included in the pamphlet were addressed to a Protestant theology professor by the name of Hommel. Allegedly they were in reply to Stouppe's letter of 1 April 1673. For the identification of Hommel: Johannes T. Braun, *La Veritable religion des Hollandois. Avec une apologie pour la religion des Estats Generaux des Provinces Unies. Contre le libelle diffamatoire de Stoupe, qui à pour titre La Religion des Hollandois, …* (Amsterdam: 1675), preface, sig. **3r: '… *& que ce* Pasteur & Professeur en Theologie à Bern, *dont il fait mention au Titre, est Monsieur* Hommel *qui exerce ces charges à* Bern, *fort homme de bien, & qui desire extraordinairement le Repos & Prosperité de sa Patrie*'.

5 'Je ne croirois pas vous avoir parlé de toutes les Religions de ce païs si je ne vous avois dit un mot d'un homme illustre & sçavant qui à ce que l'on m'a asseuré a un grand nombre des Sectateurs qui sont entierement attâchez à ses sentimens. C'est un homme qui est né Juif qui s'appelle Spinosa qui n'a point abjuré la Religion des Juifs ni embrassé la Religion Chrétienne: aussy il est tres-meschant Juif & n'est pas meilleur Chrétien. Il a fait depuis quelques années un livre en latin dont le tître est *Tractatus Theologo Politicus* dans lequel il semble avoir pour but principal de détruire toutes les

These introductory remarks in any case seem to imply that Lieutenant Colonel Stouppe not only must have read Spinoza's treatise but also that he had some fair knowledge about the author's background. Yet in 1673 *La Religion*, Stouppe wrongly assumed the work had been proscribed in an official province-wide placard: the provincial Hof van Holland did not ban the 'Theological-political Treatise' until 19 July 1674. Stouppe was however correct in claiming the book had however been banned in a few Dutch towns where copies had been seized from local bookshops.[6]

Tellingly, although Stouppe's criticism about the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and the Dutch theologians' tolerance towards the book is unequivocally harsh, his praise of Spinoza's manifold knowledge reveals a fascination for the latter's intellectual reputation and the clandestinity of his philosophical notions:

> This Spinoza lives in this country. He has lived for a while in The Hague where he was visited by inquisitive spirits and even by young ladies of quality pretending to have more spirit than is requisite for their sex. Because his book absolutely overthrows the foundations of all religions and [because] it has been condemned in a public decree of the States his followers dare not to expose themselves. It has been forbidden to sell it so it could not be offered for sale publicly. Among all theologians who are in this country there cannot be found one who has dared to write against the opinions this author advances in his treatise. I am all the more surprised that the author appears to have a great knowledge of the Hebrew language, of all the customs of the Jews, and of philosophy. The theologians are bold if they would say that this book does not deserves the trouble of refuting it. If they continue in silence one cannot help saying they are either lacking in charity by leaving so pernicious a book unanswered, that they approve of the sentiments of this author, or that they do not have the courage and strength to fight them.[7]

During the time or soon after the peace negotiations of Nijmegen ended the Franco-Dutch war, confirming most of the Sun King's gains, a translation in the French vernacular of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was published clandestinely in 1678. To mask the book's true contents and protect author and publisher the work was, like the Latin quartos and octavos, once again fitted with fictitious title-pages, the majority of which were carrying false imprints. Whether this French translation was issued before or after 25 June 1678, the date on which the States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland proscribed Spinoza's posthumous works in a provincial placard, is not further known.[8]

The composition of the first French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, presumably also launched by Spinoza's Amsterdam publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, is commonly attributed to a French Huguenot author and publicist called Gabriel de Saint Glen. A few scholars, though, have also put forward the hypothesis maintaining the author of the French translation was the Huguenot-émigré Jean-Maximilien Lucas (1636/46–1697), an author, bookseller, and publisher living in the Netherlands and allegedly one of Spinoza's ardent followers.[9] The new French rendition, published in two separate text editions in duodecimo and labelled by Kingma and Offenberg as X and Y, was issued in eight variant states, altogether with an impressive total of nine separate title-pages. Two issues, Y.4/Y.5 and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, were fitted with two and three title-pages, all bound in at the start of their copies.

With respect to these renditions' printing, it is certain that X preceded Y, the latter edition being considered the 'luxury' edition. Their chronological sequence becomes apparent from textual revisions in Y. Most significantly,

Religions & particulierement la Judaïque & la Chrétienne & d'introduire l'Atheisme, le Libertinage, et la liberté de toutes les religions.' (anon. [Stouppe*], *La Religion*, Cologne version, Letter 3, p. 65). *See* also: Chapter 2, n. 37 and 3, n. 115. The Paris edition (Letter 3, p. 92) refers to the *TTP* as: 'Tractatus Theologo positivus'. Because Stouppe refers to page 62 of the *TTP* there can be no doubt he read the work. Popkin (*Isaac La Peyrère*, p. 103) remarks Stouppe 'was willing to use material from Spinoza's *Tractatus* to show the Dutch were not seriously religious'.

6 Copies were seized in Leiden (16 May 1670) and in Utrecht (between 14 and 18 September 1671).

7 'Ce Spinosa vit dans ce pais; Il a demeuré quelque temps à la Haye ou il estoit visité par les Esprits Curieux & mesme par les filles de qualité qui se picquent d'avoir de l'Esprit au dessus de leur Sexes. Ses Sectateurs n'osent pas se découvrir par ce que son livre renverse absolument les fondemens de toutes les Religions, & qu'il a esté condamné par un Decret Public des Estats & qu'on a deffendue de le vendre, bien qu'on ne laisse pas de le vendre publiquement. Entre tous les Theologiens qui sont dans ce païs il ne s'en est trouvé aucun qui ait osé écrire contre les opinions que cet Autheur avance dans son traitté. J'en suis d'autant surpris que l'Autheur faisant paroître une grande connaissance de la langue Hebraïque, de toutes les Coûtumes des Juifs & de la Philosophie, les Theologiens ne sçauroient dire que ce livre ne merite point qu'ils prennent la peine de le refuter, s'ils continuent dans le silence on ne pourra s'empecher de dire ou qu'ils n'ont point de charité en laissant sans réponse un livre si pernicieux, ou qu'ils approuvent les sentimens de cet Autheur, ou qu'ils n'ont pas le courage & la force de les combattre.' (anon. [Stouppe*], *La Religion*, Cologne version, Letter 3, pp. 66–67).

8 For the banning of the *OP*/*NS*: Chapter 9, *Prohibition* and *Banned Unconditionally*.

9 Cf. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 303. For Lucas (W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 14–59): Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 644–646.

both X and Y contain thirty-one of the *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico-politicum*, thirty-nine explanatory notes clarifying obscurities in Spinoza's second book. The majority of these *Adnotationes* were by Spinoza, some were arguably made by others.[10] All issues of the printed French translation were issued under three spurious and arcane-sounding titles having a clandestine aura of some sort about them:

– *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*.
– *La Clef du san(c)tuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*.
– *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes*.

2 The French Editions' Putative Translator: Gabriel de Saint Glen

Pierre Desmaizeaux, a French Huguenot journalist and English correspondent for Franco-Dutch periodicals who fled to England in 1689, was one of the first contemporary writers to speak in detail about the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In the three-volume *Lettres de mr. Bayle* (1719), Desmaizeaux's edition of Pierre Bayle's correspondence, he brings up Spinoza frequently. He mentions the French translation and identifies its putative translator, Gabriel de Saint Glen. Desmaizeaux in the first volume of the *Lettres* declares about *Traitté des ceremonies* in a lengthy footnote that this work was

> … a translation of 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' by Spinoza, made by the lord of St Glain, [an] Angevin [and] a captain in the service of the Lords States [of Holland], who later worked for the 'Gazette of Rotterdam'. He had been a zealous Protestant, but after he came to know Spinoza, he grew into one of his disciples, and one of his greatest admirers. Apart from this, he entitled his translation 'La Clef du sanctuaire': but because this title caused a lot of turmoil, they feared it would hamper the sale of the book. And to facilitate its flow it was thought advisable in a second edition to change this into 'Traitté des Ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes'. And for the same reason when they issued a third edition they entitled [it] 'Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier'. I [Desmaizeaux] had these particulars from Mr Morelli of whom I have spoken in a note to the 'Oeuvres de mr. de St. Evremond', volume 5, pages 274, 275, in the Amsterdam edition [of] 1726. He knew in particular Mr de Saint Glen.[11]

'Morelli', as it appears from this remark, was one of Desmaizeaux's sources on Spinoza and according to Desmaizeaux's testimony in the third volume of the *Lettres* he claimed to have known Spinoza personally.[12] This 'Mr Morelli' might well be identified as someone by the name of Henriques Morales who after the latter went to England had made Desmaizeaux's acquaintance. Morales was of New Christian extraction and had settled in Amsterdam to practice as a physician. He was also one of the contemporary writers who provided the French writer and editor with an account of Spinoza's vexed visit to the French headquarters in Utrecht in the late summer of 1673.[13] Desmaizeaux, in a review of the French translation (1706) of Johannes Colerus's noted Spinoza biography (1705), first published his own version of Morales's account of the Dutch philosopher's jaunt in May 1706.[14] The review was issued in

10 'We know from his translation of the TTP that he is prone to translate very freely, sometimes producing what is more a paraphrase than a translation, and sometimes adding material not in the text he is translating. Adnotation XX, which occurs only in Saint-Glain, is particularly problematic.' (CW, vol. 2, p. 62).

11 '… une Traduction de *Tractatus Theologico Politicus* de Spinoza, faite par le Sieur de St. Glain, Angevin, Capitaine au service de Messieurs les Etats, & qui a ensuite travaillé à la *Gazette de Rotterdam*. Il avoit été zèlé Protestant, mais dès qu'il eut Spinosa, il devint un de ses Disciples, & de ses plus grands admirateurs. D'abord, il intitula sa Traduction, la *Clef du Sanctuaire*: mais ce Titre ayant fait beacoup de bruit, on craignit, qu'il ne prejudiciât au debit du Livre; & pour en faciliter le cours, on jugea à propos dans une second édition, de le changer en celui de *Traité des Ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs, tant anciens que modernes*: & pour la même raison lorsqu'on en fit une troisième édition, on l'intitula *Reflexions curieuses d'un Esprit désinteressé, sur les matiéres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. Je tiens ces particularitez de Mr. Morelli, dont j'ai parlé dans une Remarque sur les *Oeuvres de Mr. de St. Evremond*, Tom. v., pag. 274, 275, de l'édit. d'Amst. 1726. Il avoit connu particuliérement de Sr. de St. Glain.' (Pierre Bayle*, *Lettres*, Pierre Desmaizeaux* [ed.] [3 vols., Amsterdam: 1729], vol. 1, pp. 142–143, there at n. 1).

12 Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 1081–1082, at n. 5.

13 Charles de Saint-Évremond, *Œuvres meslées* (5 vols., Paris: 1740), vol. 5, pp. 283–286. *See*: Richard H. Popkin, 'The First Published Reaction to Spinoza's Tractatus: Col. J.B. Stouppe, the Condé Circle, and the Rev. Jean LeBrun', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, pp. 6–12, pp. 11–12. For background on the Utrecht trip: Chapter 3, n. 115. Morales: BL.

14 Johannes N. Colerus*, *La Vie de B. de Spinosa, tirée des écrits de ce fameux philosophe, et du témoignage de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi, qui l'ont connu particulièrement* (The Hague, 1706).

Mémoires du Trévoux, a monthly Jesuit academic journal published between 1701 and 1782.[15]

More than two decades later, Desmaizeaux reedited the same account in the third volume of the aforementioned 1729 *Lettres*, in a note to a letter by Bayle addressed to an anonymous correspondent ('Lettre CCLXXXII. A M^r. ***', Rotterdam, April 1706):

> As Mr Morelli, of whom I spoke in a note on the letter to Mr Minutoli of 26 May 1679, pages 142, and 143, had known Spinoza, and [he, i.e., Morelli] told me [Desmaizeaux] several particulars [about him], I consulted him on that very matter and this is what he [Morelli] replied to me: 'I knew particularly Mr Spinoza quite well. He has told me on more than one occasion that while being at Utrecht with Mr the Prince of Condé [and] after having conversations with him, this very Prince made great efforts to engage him to follow him to Paris and to stay in his company. [He] added [to this] that in addition to his protection, on which he could rely, he would have lodgings close to the court, and a pension of one thousand écus. To which Spinoza answered he pleaded his Highness to consider that all his power would not be able to withstand the court's bigotry. Especially since his name had already been strongly decried by the "Tractatus theologico-politicus" and that there was no security for him or satisfaction for his Highness, the priests being enemies were cursing individuals who think and write freely about religion. But he was ready to accompany his Highness in his armies, to entertain him if he would be able to do so and distract him from his military duties. Mr the Prince approved these reasons and thanked him'.[16]

Morales's claim that Saint Glen produced the French translation of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' lacks both historical background and sources. Nonetheless, the latter is the only candidate who can be cautiously linked with the French translation.

Perhaps, aside from Morelli, one of Desmaizeaux's other sources was *La Vie et l'esprit de mr. Benoit de Spinosa* (1729), a short Spinoza biography clandestinely edited ten years prior to the 1729 *Lettres de mr. Bayle* in The Hague by Charles Levier and attributed to Jean-Maximilien Lucas.[17] The anonymous author of *La Vie et l'esprit* in its footnote *n* refers only briefly to the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Its rendition was, according to him, entitled *La Clef du santuaire*. Yet the Levier edition refrains from mentioning the name of Saint Glen, the alleged translator. There, it reads only the following:

> It is a book which the author composed in Latin, entitled: 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', which is translated into French under the title 'La Clef du santuaire'.[18]

In the summer of 1719 another biography, called 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza' and doubtlessly one of Desmaizeaux's other sources consulted, appeared in the French journal *Nouvelles littéraires*. This time, it seems, its anonymous author was much better informed when maintaining the French translation of Spinoza's treatise was published under three different titles. Crucially important for the publication history of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s French X and Y duodecimo editions is that 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza' proves to be the first known historical document declaring in its footnote *h* that 'le Sieur de S. Glain', a loyal disciple of Spinoza, was the treatise's disguised French translator. Unfortunately,

15 Cf. W/Cz, vol. 2, p. 36.

16 'Comme Mr. Morelli, dont j'ai parlé dans la Remarque sur la lettre à Mr. Minutoli du 26. de Mai 1679, pag. 142, & 143, avoit connu Spinoza, & m'en avoit dit plusieurs particularitez, je le consultai sur le fait dont il s'agit, & voici ce qu'il me répondit: 'J'ai connu très-particulierement Mr. Spinoza. Il m'a dit plus d'une fois qu'étant à Utrecht avec Mr. le Prince de Condé, ce Prince après s'être entretenu avec lui, lui fit de grandes instances pour l'engager de le suivre à Paris, & d'y rester auprès de sa personne, ajoutant qu'outre sa Protection sur laquelle il pouvoit compter, il y auroit logement, bouche à cour, & mille écus de pension: à quoi Spinoza répondit, qu'il suplioit son Altesse de considerer que tout son pouvoir ne seroit pas capable de le soutenir contre la bigoterie de la Cour; d'autant plus que son nom étoit déjà fort décrié par le *Traité Théologique & Politique*; & qu'il n'y auroit point de sureté pour lui, ni de satisfaction pour son Altesse, les Prêtres etant ennemis jurez des personnes qui pensent & qui écrivent librement sur la Religion: mais qu'il étoit prêt d'accompagner son Altesse dans les Armées, pour le delasser, s'il en étoit capable, de ses travaux guerriers. Mr. le Prince gouta ces raisons, & le remercia.' (Bayle*, *Lettres*, Desmaizeaux* [ed.], vol. 3, pp. 1081–1082, at n. 5).

17 Anon. [Jean-Maximilien Lucas], *La Vie et l'esprit de mr Benoit de Spinosa* (n. pl. [Amsterdam]: n.d. [1719]). The work comprises 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinosa' and 'L'Esprit de M. Spinosa', a reworking of the mystery tract *Traité des trois imposteurs*. The hagiographic reworking was also published as: 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinosa', *Nouvelles littéraires, contenant ce qui se passe de plus considérable dans la République des Lettres*, 10 (1719), pp. 40–74. Present-day edition: W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 14–59. For its complex textual history, *see*: id., vol. 2, pp. 10–17.

18 'C'est un Livre que l'Auteur a fait en Latin, intitulé: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, lequel a été traduit en François sous le Tître de *la Clef du santuaire*.' (anon. [Lucas], *La Vie*, p. 71; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 46, there at n. *n*).

'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza' is further silent about its source:

> The Latin title is 'Tractatus theologico-politicus'. This work was translated into French by the lord De S. Glain, an Angevin, [and] a captain in the service of the Lords States [of Holland] who later worked for the 'Gazette de Rotterdam'. He had been a Calvinist, but after he came to know Spinoza he became one of his disciples, and one of his greatest admirers.[19]

According to the same note in 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza', the original French title was *La Clef du santuaire* but that one was changed because

> ... this title caused a lot of turmoil, especially in Catholic countries. [And] to facilitate the sale it was judged [that] in a second edition [its title] was to be changed into 'Traité des Ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes'. And for the same reason, when they issued a third edition, they entitled it 'Reflexions curieuses d'un Esprit désinteressé'.[20]

'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza' adds to this also that the author of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* 'made the "Remarks" to the book printed at the end of the translation of the same book'. Meant are the *Adnotationes* printed in the section 'Remarques Curieuses, Et nécessaires pour l'Intelligence de ce Livre' annexed to the 1678 French translation.[21] To sum up, the historical details in the report made by Desmaizeaux in the first volume (1729) of *Lettres de mr. Bayle* contains elements allegedly told to him by Morales, first published in the *Mémoires du Trévoux* in 1706. These elements seem further to be amalgamated with details put forward in 1719 in both *La Vie* and in 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza', the account issued in the *Nouvelles littéraires*.

The personal life and times of Gabriel de Saint Glen are poorly documented. His name was also spelled Saint Glain, Ceinglen, Ceinglein, S. Guelin, Guilain, and Saint-Guislain to make matters even more complex. Pierre Bayle was the first person to bring up the identity of Saint Glen and his occupations.[22] In a letter probably sent from Rotterdam on 10 April 1684 he tells his youngest brother Joseph Bayle the following:

> There are other small magazines with learned news in prose, the author of which is called Saint Glen, who makes also a newspaper in French prose under the title 'Nouvelles solides et choisies'. He has been dead for some time [now]....[23]

Meinsma in *Spinoza en zijn kring* only deals with Saint Glen in passing, but what he puts forward about the latter appears mainly to have been based on Desmaizeaux's remarks in the third volume of his edition of Bayle's correspondence *Lettres*.[24] Relevant biographical information, though, was unearthed in the second half of the twentieth century by Francès and by Van Eeghen.[25] According to Francès, the Huguenot 'chevalier' Saint Glen was presumably born around 1620. He was the bastard son of the nobleman Julien Urvoy and Rose de Belorient. He was not born in or around Angers (Maine-et-Loire) as claimed by Henriques Morales, but in the Côtes-du-Nord, in French Brittany. Saint Glen came to the Netherlands sometime in the 1660s and settled in The Hague, at least for a while. According to Francès, he had a brief military career as officer (captain) in the States' army. On 10 June 1669, Saint Glen married Maria Patoillat, a French girl, in The Hague.[26] He settled in The Hague about the same time

19 'Le Titre Latin est, *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*. Cet Ouvrage a été traduit en Françoit par le Sieur de S. Glain, Angevin, Capitaine au service de Messrs. les Etats, & qui a ensuite travaillé à la Gazette de Rotterdam. Il avoit été Calviniste; mais dès qu'il eût Spinosa, il devin un de ses Disciples, & de ses plus grands Admirateurs.' (anon. [Lucas], *La Vie*, p. 60; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 34, at n. *h*).

20 '... ce Titre aiant beaucoup de bruit, sur tout dans les Pays Catholiques, pour faciliter le debit, on jugea à propos dans une second Edition de le changer en celui de *Traité des Ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes*; & pour le même raison, lorsqu'on en fit une troisiéme Edition; on l'intitula *Réflexions curieuses d'un Esprit désinteressé*.' (ibid.).

21 'L'Auteur a fait des Remarques sur ce Livre, qui se trouvent à la fin de la Traduction du même Livre.' (ibid., p. 61, at n. *i*).

22 Bayle: BL.

23 'Il y a d'autres petites feuilles de nouvelles raisonnées en prose dont l'auteur s'appelloit S[aint] Guilain, qui faisoit aussi une gazette en francois et en prose sous le titre de *Nouvelles solides et choisies*; il est mort depuis quelque tems....' (Pierre Bayle*, *Correspondance*, Elisabeth Labrousse, etc. [eds.] [12 vols., Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999 ff], vol. 4, p. 71, no. 260).

24 Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 379–380.

25 Madeleine Francès, 'Un Gazetier français en Hollande: Gabriel de Saint-Glen, traducteur de Spinoza', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 20 (1955), pp. 407–420; Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, pp. 62–63. Information on Saint Glen online: 'Édition électronique revue, corrigée et augmentée du Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600–1789)'.

26 Cf. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 62. Van Eeghen's source is Meinsma who refers to the marriage registers in the municipal archives of The Hague (*Spinoza en zijn kring*, p. 380).

when Spinoza transferred (early September 1669–early February 1671) from Voorburg to that same town, too.[27] In other words, during the 1670s the two men may have met, but this all remains speculation.

After 1673 Saint Glen moved to Amsterdam, he set up a publishing agency at the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal. There, he befriended Henri Desbordes (1649–1722), the Huguenot publisher and printer of the review journal *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*. When residing in Amsterdam, Saint Glen issued the aforementioned *Nouvelles solides et choisies*, a 'gazette raisonnée' competing with the Leiden news magazine *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*.[28] Francès further reported Saint Glen also contributed to the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (also known as *Gazette d'Hollande* and *Nouvelles d'Amsterdam*), a well-read European newspaper of the era.[29] On 19 February 1684, Saint Glen made his will, signing the deed with 'Ceinglein', and passed away shortly afterwards. According to the municipal burial registers, 'Gabriel de Ceingle' was buried in the Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk on 25 February.[30]

The news of Saint Glen's death, apparently a man of some stature, was announced in the *Le Nouveau mercure galant* (formerly called *Le Mercure galant*). This French journal and literary magazine, published between 1677 and 1724, commemorated Saint Glen's death, calling him a 'domestique' (servant) of the Prince of Orange. The former's exact relations with the Stadholder and his actual position however remain fully at dusk, but it might be conjectured that he perhaps worked in the service of William III in The Hague as an intelligencer.[31] After Saint Glen's death, his widow ('wed. S. Geleyn, Franse courante druckster') went to Rotterdam where she set up the *Gazette de Rotterdam*, for which she received a patent from the States of Holland on 24 August 1691. She died in Rotterdam and was buried there in the Nieuwe- of Oosterkerk on 29 July 1713.[32]

Like it has been stated before, personal contacts between Spinoza and Saint Glen are not recorded. Therefore, it can only be hypothesized that, when the putative French translator of the Dutch philosopher's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* Saint Glen moved to Amsterdam, he already was or came into contact with members of the editorial team warding over Spinoza's written legacy and putting to press the posthumous works during the second half of 1677. Perhaps, being a professional publisher himself, Saint Glen befriended Jan Rieuwertsz *père* who, after Spinoza's death, came in the possession of his 'lessenaar' (a writing desk, perhaps a 'escritoire') with Spinoza's papers and, in all likelihood, his correspondence. Perhaps, this writing desk's contents may have contained the philosopher's *Adnotationes*, too.

If Saint Glen was indeed the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s translator, this would indicate he must have got hold of either Spinoza's holograph or an apograph with the latter's supplementary notes with the help of the Dutch philosopher's Amsterdam friends or through Rieuwertsz. It may even be speculated Rieuwertsz himself did ask and commission Saint Glen to translate the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* into French and to append also the still unpublished *Adnotationes* to it. Israel conjectured work on the translation may have started before Spinoza passed away, which in my opinion is possible but lacks any proof. Francès even has put forward the hypothesis the experienced translator Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker might have assisted Saint Glen in the French translation project.[33]

Undetermined is still whether Saint Glen used as his exemplar a Latin manuscript of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', be it the original holograph or an apograph. Research for the present bibliography in any case confirms the mysterious translator also relied for his French translation at least on a printed text Latin edition. Highly likely it was the quarto T.2/T.2a he had on his desk. This theory is supported by the biblical reference to Exod. 34:14 being incorrectly printed as a note in the external margin of the

27 Between early September 1669 and mid-October 1670, Spinoza settled in The Hague. He first rented a room on the second floor at the rear end of a house at the Stille Veerkade, possibly rented also by a widow called Johanna van Dobben. Later, the philosopher transferred around the corner to the Paviljoensgracht, renting rooms there in the house of a well-connected decorative painter called Hendrick van der Spijck*.

28 *See*: Eugène Hatin, *Les Gazettes de Hollande et la presse clandestine aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles* (Paris: Pincebourde, 1865), pp. 155–157; id., *Bibliographies historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1866), p. 86.

29 Cf. Francès, 'Un Gazetier', p. 414.

30 5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 198: De Witt, 'Minuutacten', January to August 1684, inv. no. 4963AA, p. 85. Notice of funeral: 5001: 'Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand)', inv. no. 1056, p. 265: '25 Gabriel de Ceingle man van Maria Pattoilatt achterburgw 15' (25 [February] Gabriel de Ceingle[n] husband of Maria Pattoilat Achterburgw[al] 15 [guilders]).

31 Francès, 'Un Gazetier', p. 411. For the burial of Patoillat: Rotterdam, Stadsarchief, Nederlands Gereformeerde Gemeente, 1.02: 'Begraafboeken', begrafenisregister van de kosters', inv. no. 99. She is referred to as: 'Marija Patellot', widow of 'Gabriel de Sangelijn'. Address: 'in de Lombertstraet bij de Kalverstraet'.

32 Cf. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 63.

33 Cf.: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 302; Francès, 'Un Gazetier', p. 407. Glazemaker: BL.

French translations' chapter 15 on page 386, where it reads '*Exod. ch.* 4. *v.* 14.'. T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5 (p. 169, l. 10) also misprint 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.', a reference only correct in T.1 and the octavo edition T.3 apparently not available to the treatise's translator. Moreover, on page 164 (note in external margin) in chapter 6 the French edition X, like T.1, T.2/T.2a and T.3, has the correct biblical reference to Psalm 73 ('Pseau. 73'). The later Latin quartos T.4n/T.4 and T.5 misprint '(vide Psal. 73.)' as '(vide Psal. 37.)' (p. 73, [l. 33]). In other words, those last two editions cannot be considered as Saint Glen's exemplar. Because the French translation's X and Y edition misprint the biblical reference 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.' T.3 can also be excluded.

3 Spinoza's Presentation Copy for Clefman: The *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*'s Explanatory *Adnotationes*

After a ten-year interval, Spinoza resumed his correspondence with his London correspondent Henry Oldenburg in May 1675 by passing him a copy of one of the printed Latin quarto editions of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. The second stage of their lively correspondence mainly centred on a discussion regarding negative responses by English readers to the book. In this context, Oldenburg and Spinoza their later letters primarily clashed over implications the treatise brings for theological issues: necessity and moral responsibility, miracles and ignorance, as well as the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ. Oldenburg harshly critiqued the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and warned Spinoza on more than one occasion for the work's imminent threat to established Christian religion and theology. Their spirited discussion and the fact that Oldenburg informed Spinoza English readers were dismayed and shocked by the book's contents delivers proof in the mid-1670s the work was more widely read in Britain. The strong likelihood is copies were circulating of the Latin octavo issue T.3e which was fitted with the 'English'-style title-page and an imprint declaring the variant was published in 1674.

More significantly, from the autumn of 1675 onwards, Spinoza informed Oldenburg about his plans in particular to issue a new text edition of his second book with his *Adnotationes*, marginal notes to explain passages easily to be misinterpreted by readers alike.[34] Curley has pointed out Spinoza wanted them to 'clarify' passages in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, not to 'soften' his notions.[35] In the autumn of 1675, the Dutch philosopher wrote to Oldenburg:

> I'd like you to let me know the passages in the *Theological-Political Treatise* which have caused learned men to have misgivings. *For I want to make that Treatise clearer with certain notes*, and to remove the prejudices conceived about it, if possible.[36]

In a letter of 15 November 1675, Oldenburg warmly welcomed this idea but he also, mistakenly, thought Spinoza had the intention to tone down several of his radical statements in of his treatise's announced new edition. He briefly responded to Spinoza about this plan thus:

> I can only approve your intention to clarify and soften the things in the *Theological-Political Treatise* which caused trouble to your Readers.[37]

The textual history of the *Adnotationes* reveals these explanatory notes have been transmitted in seven historical documents and editions. Five of those brief comments (2, 6, 7, 13, and 14), are contained in a Latin quarto copy (T.1) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (siglum: *Spin*) in Spinoza's own dated handwriting.[38] This annotated presentation copy also establishes a provisional *terminus ad quem* for the *Adnotationes*'s composition.[39] On 25 July 1676, Spinoza presented this dated and still extant copy of T.1, one printed on luxury paper and bound in a vellum covering with laced-in thongs, to the Pomeranian law student

34 Initially, the original plan also comprised Spinoza's wish to include the critique of the *TTP* by Lambert van Velthuysen* (to Ostens*, 1671.02.03, Ep 42 [G 4/207–218]), plus 'those arguments by which you think you can combat my treatise' appended to it, together with his own reply (to Van Velthuysen, 1675.[09–11].00, Ep 69 [G 4/300–301]). In the foregoing letter, he asked Van Velthuysen's leave to publish it. English translation: CW, vol. 2, pp. 374–385 and 460–461. Oldenburg: BL.

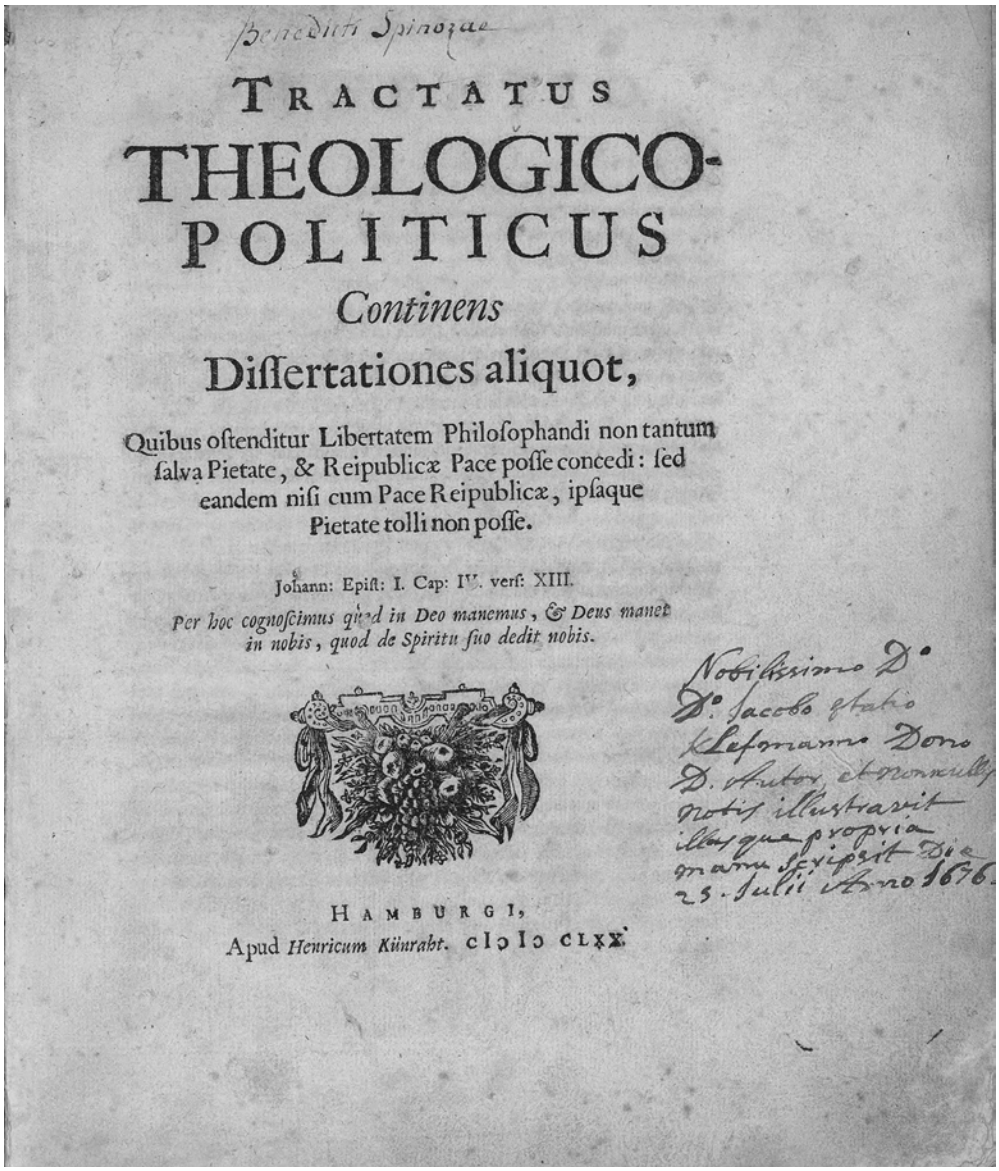
35 Cf.: ibid., p. 464, at n. 193.

36 To Oldenburg*, > 1675.[07].22, Ep 68: 'Deinde, nisi tibi molestum sit, velim, ut loca Tractatus Theologico-politici, quae viris doctis scrupulum injecerunt, mihi indicares. Cupio namque istum Tractatum notis quibusdam illustrare, & concepta de eo praejudicia, si fieri possit, tollere.' (G 4/299; CW, vol. 2, p. 459 [my emphasis]).

37 'Non possum non probare institutum tuum, quo illustrare, & mollire te velle significas, quae in Tractatu Theologico-Politico crucem Lectoribus fixere.' (Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1675.11.15, Ep 71 [G 4/304; CW, vol. 2, p. 464]).

38 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 213 and passim. Clefman: BL.

39 Cf. ibid. For an edition of the *Adnotationes*: G 3/251–267. Textual history: G 3, pp. 382–420. *See*: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, pp. 347–351; CW, vol. 2, passim.


Benedicti Spinozae

TRACTATUS

THEOLOGICO-POLITICUS

Continens

Dissertationes aliquot,

Quibus ostenditur Libertatem Philosophandi non tantum salva Pietate, & Reipublicæ Pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum Pace Reipublicæ, ipsaque Pietate tolli non posse.

Johann: Epist: I. Cap: IV. vers: XIII.

Per hoc cognoscimus quod in Deo manemus, & Deus manet in nobis, quod de Spiritu suo dedit nobis.

HAMBURGI,

Apud *Henricum Künraht.* CIↃIↃ CLXXX

Nobilissimo D.°
D.° Jacobo Statio
Klefmanno Dono
D. Autor, et nonnullis
notis illustravit
illasque propria
manu scripsit Die
25. Julii Anno 1676.

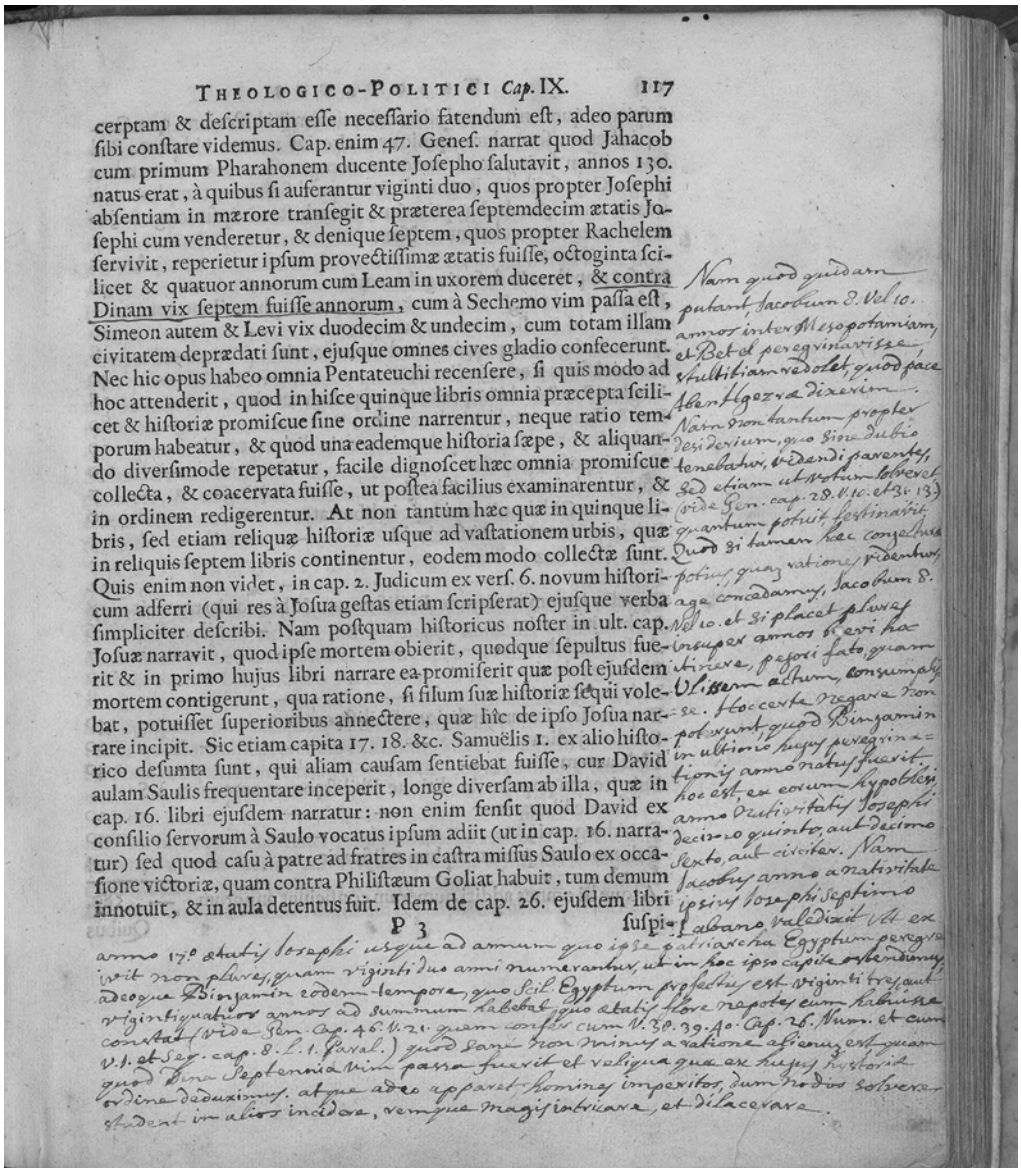
ILLUSTRATION 5.1
Dedicatory note for Jacob Statius Clefman, in Spinoza's own handwriting, in a large-paper copy of the Latin quarto edition T.1.

Jacob Statius Clefman. The latter had come over to the Netherlands to receive a sum of money from the estate of his brother Hendrick Clefman who lived and died in The Hague.[40] Seven days prior his visit to Spinoza, Jacob Statius had enrolled at Leiden University.

Particulars about Clefman are recorded in the Leiden matriculation registers. There, it reads: 'Jacobus Statius Cleefman, Pomeranus, ann. XXVIII, Juris stud., met Vande Vlijm, op de Breestraet' ('Jacobus Statius Cleefman, from Pomerania, 28 years of age, law student, [residing] with Van de Vlijm, in the Breestraat').[41] Apart from the five aforementioned supplementary notes, Spinoza also wrote

40 Haifa, University of Haifa, Younes & Soraya Nazarian Library, B 3985 1670A. Clefman* visited Spinoza, at his Paviljoensgracht residence in The Hague very likely. According to the estate of Clefman's brother, Hendrick, it is documented his legal heir and other brother Johan Clefman, Lieutenant and secretary of Colonel Baron d'Eijlenburg, was to make payment to all his siblings. *See*: The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief, 0372-1: 'Notarieel Archief Den Haag, 1597–1842', inv. no. 652, fol. 268 (13 July 1676), inv. no. 653, fol. 266 (13 July 1676), inv. no. 655, fol. 53 (20 January 1678), inv. no. fol. 445 (28 January 1678). Thanks are due to Wassenaar for sharing the archival information about the Clefman estate.

41 Leiden, University Library, ms. ASF, vol. 10, p. 508. Cf.: Willem N. du Rieu (ed.), *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV accedunt nomina curatorum et professorum per eadem saecula* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1875), col. 606. One family surnamed Van der Vlijm is recorded in the municipal archives of Leiden at the time Clefman* enrolled at the university as a law student. Cf. Leiden, Regionaal Archief Leiden (Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken), 'doop-, trouw-, en begraafboeken', inv. no. 1004,238: fol. 247r. One other individual in Leiden was also named Van der Vlijm: a certain Baafje Pietersz van der Vlijm. (ibid., inv. no. 1004,239).



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cerptam & descriptam esse necessario fatendum est, adeo parum sibi constare videmus. Cap. enim 47. Genes. narrat quod Jahacob cum primum Pharahonem ducente Josepho salutavit, annos 130. natus erat, à quibus si auferantur viginti duo, quos propter Josephi absentiam in mærore transegit & præterea septemdecim ætatis Josephi cum venderetur, & denique septem, quos propter Rachelem servivit, reperietur ipsum provectissimæ ætatis fuisse, octoginta scilicet & quatuor annorum cum Leam in uxorem duceret, & contra Dinam vix septem fuisse annorum, cum à Sechemo vim passa est, Simeon autem & Levi vix duodecim & undecim, cum totam illam civitatem deprædati sunt, ejusque omnes cives gladio confecerunt. Nec hic opus habeo omnia Pentateuchi recensere, si quis modo ad hoc attenderit, quod in hisce quinque libris omnia præcepta scilicet & historiæ promiscue sine ordine narrentur, neque ratio temporum habeatur, & quod una eademque historia sæpe, & aliquando diversimode repetatur, facile dignoscet hæc omnia promiscue collecta, & coacervata fuisse, ut postea facilius examinarentur, & in ordinem redigerentur. At non tantùm hæc quæ in quinque libris, sed etiam reliquæ historiæ usque ad vastationem urbis, quæ in reliquis septem libris continentur, eodem modo collectæ sunt. Quis enim non videt, in cap. 2. Judicum ex vers. 6. novum historicum adferri (qui res à Josua gestas etiam scripserat) ejusque verba simpliciter describi. Nam postquam historicus noster in ult. cap. Josuæ narravit, quod ipse mortem obierit, quodque sepultus fuerit & in primo hujus libri narrare ea promiserit quæ post ejusdem mortem contigerunt, qua ratione, si filum suæ historiæ sequi volebat, potuisset superioribus annectere, quæ hîc de ipso Josua narrare incipit. Sic etiam capita 17. 18. &c. Samuëlis 1. ex alio historico desumta sunt, qui aliam causam sentiebat fuisse, cur David aulam Saulis frequentare inceperit, longe diversam ab illa, quæ in cap. 16. libri ejusdem narratur: non enim sensit quod David ex consilio servorum à Saulo vocatus ipsum adiit (ut in cap. 16. narratur) sed quod casu à patre ad fratres in castra missus Saulo ex occasione victoriæ, quam contra Philistæum Goliat habuit, tum demum innotuit, & in aula detentus fuit. Idem de cap. 26. ejusdem libri

Nam quod quidam putant, Jacobum 8. vel 10. annos inter Mesopotamiam, et Bet-el peregrinatum esse, multitudinem vel otiet quod pace Hebraeorum dixerim. Non tantum propter desiderium, quo sine dubio tenebatur, videndi parentes, sed etiam ut rerum labores (vide Gen. cap. 29. v. 10. et 31. 13.) quantum potuit, festinavit. Quod si tamen haec conjectura potius quam ratione videbitur, age concedamus, Jacobum 8. vel 10. et si placet plures annos ibi versatum esse, insuper annos 8 veri hac itinere, pejori fato quam Ulissem actum, consumpsit. Hoc certe negare non possumus, quod Benjamin in ultimo hujus peregrinationis anno natus fuerit hoc est ex eorum hypothesi anno vitae Josephi decimo quinto, aut decimo sexto, aut circiter. Nam a nativitate Jacobi anno Josephi septimo ipsius Josephi Septimo Labano valedixit. Et ex patriarcha Egyptum peregrinatus non plures, quam viginti duo anni numerantur, ut in hoc ipso capite ostendemus, adeoque Benjamin eodem tempore, quo Sichem Egyptum profectus est viginti tres, aut viginti quatuor annos ad summum habebat quo aetate filios nepotes cum tribubus constat (vide Gen. cap. 46. v. 21. quem confer cum v. 30. 39. Ao. Cap. 26. Num. et cum v. 1. et Seq. cap. 8. l. 1. Paral.) quod sane non minus a ratione alienum est quam quod Dina Septennis vim passa fuerit et reliqua quae ex hujus historiae ordine deduximus. atque adeo apparet hominis imperitos, dum nodos solvere student in alios incidere, rempue magis intricare, et dilacerare.

ILLUSTRATION 5.2
Adnotatio 14 (in chapter 9), in Spinoza's own handwriting in the copy presented to Clefman on 25 July 1676.

on the book's title-page in italics a Latin dedicatory note for Clefman in brown ink:

> The author donated [this book] to the noble Mr Mr Jacobus Statius Clefman, and [he] adorned it with some notes he wrote in his own hand, on the 25th of July of the year 1676.[42]

The supplementary notes 2, 6, 7, 13, and 14, also in brown ink, contained in the copy of T.1 and presented to Clefman in the summer of 1676 do not necessarily prove Spinoza was still compiling the thirty-four other comments lacking in it. It is however uncertain when he ultimately completed these explanatory notes. The supplementary marginal notes in the Clefman presentation copy were all first published by the German historian and archaeologist Wilhelm Dorow (1790–1846) in 1835 in: *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen zu seinem 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' aus seiner in Konigsberg befindlichen noch ungedruckten Handschrift bekannt gemacht*.[43]

The Prussian scholar and librarian of the Gräflich Wallenrodtschen Bibliothek at Königsberg (nowadays Kaliningrad) Raphael J. Bock (1779–1837) first reported about the presentation copy Spinoza donated to Clefman in

42 'Nobilissimo Dº. Dº. Jacobo statio Klefmanno Dono D. Autor, et nonnullis notis illustravit illasque propria manu scripsit Die 25. Julii Anno 1676'.

43 Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*, pp. 10–17. *Adnotationes* in the copy presented to Clefman* are scribbled on pp. 2, 70, 93, 116, and 117. Reproduced in: Ernst Altkirch, 'Benedictus Spinoza. III: Im Lande Spinozas', *Ost und West. Illustrierte Monatschrift für das gesamte Judentum*, 10 (1910), pp. 79–100, pp. 82–83, 86–90.

'Nachrichten über Handschriften und alte Druckwerke der Gräflich v. Wallenrodtischen Bibliothek zu Königsberg in Preussen' (1829).[44] The copy has, in evidence, a long and complicated provenance history it appears. After the death of one of its former owners, the Königsberg theology professor Daniel Friedrich Schütz (1780–1817), the copy allegedly surfaced in Amsterdam where according to Bock it would have been put up for auction.[45]

This statement, however, is doubtful. It seems more likely to assume that Clefman took Spinoza's for him probably precious copy along with him when he returned to the east Prussian town of Königsberg in the Pomerania region. Sometime between 29 May 1817, incidentally the very day on which professor Schütz passed away, and 1829 (when Bock published the 'Nachrichten') it finally ended up in Königsberg in a way not known. The book then entered the collection of the town's Gräflich Wallenrodtschen Bibliothek. The latter library later merged with the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in 1909.[46] After the sacking of Königsberg by Red Army troops in April 1945, it is reported, someone found Clefman's copy of the book lying in a pile of rubbish in the city's heavily-damaged streets. Subsequently, after a complicated juridical quarrel, the book found its way to Haifa, Israel, its present-day location.[47] The *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s copy, presented as a gift to Clefman, is the only known book Spinoza ever signed and annotated; it also has underliners in his handwriting.

4 Other Sources of the *Adnotationes*

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, another of Spinoza's now-lost personal annotated copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was apparently still in the possession of the Amsterdam bookseller family Rieuwertsz. During the already previously-mentioned visit of the German travellers Stolle and 'Hallmann' in late June 1703 to the Amsterdam bookshop of Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*, the latter showed them that copy which also contained his handwritten *Adnotationes* and allowed them to duplicate those notes.[48] In their travel diaries, 'Hallmann' writes about it the following entry:

> In the end, he [Rieuwertsz *fils*] showed me the copy of the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' which Spinoza himself had used and to which he had appended short marginal manuscript notes, which are very easy to read. When I asked him whether he would grant me the occasion to add these also to my own copy (in order to better understand Spinoza), he promised me this [on the condition] it was done in his house [i.e., in the Beursstraat or the Beurssteeg], [something] which I quickly agreed to.[49]

'Hallmann' then further reports how he copied Spinoza's handwritten notes at Rieuwertsz's place:

> The next day, in his house I copied Spinoza's manuscript notes … He had shown Spinoza's manuscript notes to the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' to several people he knew well, but [he] had never allowed anybody to take a copy of them. This is a matter I will not go into now. Spinoza had compiled these [remarks] a few years after publishing the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', for he had realized people failed to understand him properly. Undoubtedly, he would have printed them, had he lived longer and if the book had been reprinted.[50]

44 Raphael J. Bock, 'Nachrichten über Handschriften und alte Druckwerke der Gräflich v. Wallenrodtischen Bibliothek zu Königsberg in Preussen', *Preussiche Provinzial-Blätter*, 2 (1829), pp. 505–518, at pp. 516–517. For Bock: Fritz Juntke, *Geschichte der v. Wallenrodtschen Bibliothek* (Leipzig: Harassowitz, 1927), pp. 70–83.

45 Cf. Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*, p. 7. For Schütz: Ernst Kuhnert, *Geschichte der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg von ihrer Begründung bis zum Jahre 1810* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926), pp. 228–229.

46 Former shelf-mark D.612. Cf.: Theo van der Werf, 'Klefmann's Copy of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 38/39 (2006), pp. 274–253, p. 249. Cf. also: Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*, p. 7.

47 *See* for the history of this special copy of the TTP: Van der Werf, 'Klefmann's Copy'. Some biographical particulars about Clefman* in the latter paper are flawed. Van der Werf assumed Clefman was from the German town of Wesel. He was however born and raised in the Pomerania region and lived in Königsberg most likely.

48 Stolle: BL.

49 'Zuletzt wiese er mir das Exemplar des Tractat. Theolog-politici, so Spinosa selbst gebrauchet, und dabeÿ Er einige kurtze notas marginalen Msstas gemacht, die sehr deutlich zu lesen sind. Als ich ihn bath Er möchte mir vergönnen sie gleichfalls (umb Spinozam desto besserzu capiren) meinem Exemplari beÿ zu fügen so versprach Er mir es dergestalt, wenns in seinem Hause geschehe, dazu ich mich auch gar leicht einschlüssen konnte'. (S/H, ms. A, W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 89–90).

50 'Die Sequenti schrieb ich in seiner Stube die notas Msstas Spinosae ab, … Er hatte diese notas Msstas Spinosae ad Tract. Theol: Pol: zwar unterschiedenen, die er genau gekandt, gezeiget, aber sie noch keinen Menschen lassen abschreiben. Welches ich

The copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in which 'Hallmann' duplicated the philosopher's *Adnotationes* is considered to lost; further accounts reporting about it are not known.

As evinced by the Stolle/'Hallmann' journals, by the early summer of 1703 Jan Rieuwertsz *fils* still had several other copies of Spinoza's published writings in stock which he was prepared sell to customers. During their visit, the Amsterdam bookseller offered Stolle and 'Hallmann' the possibility to also buy a copy of what seems to have been the *Opera posthuma*:

> … and he admitted Spinoza's writings were only for sale at his [bookshop] … and afterwards he offered us *the complete works* for 9 guilders.[51]

Intriguingly, the Stolle/'Hallmann' travel diaries also reveal Rieuwertsz *fils* owned also a considerable portion of Spinoza's surviving manuscripts and other copies of his books. In the book dealer's possession were three manuscripts, a printed annotated copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and one autograph letter by the Dutch philosopher which are all no longer extant:

– A 'lengthy work by Spinoza written against the Jews'. Either an unredacted holograph or apograph of what might have been the legendary apology the philosopher is assumed to have written shortly after his expulsion in 1656, or an early draft of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Rieuwertsz (either father or son) once owned the manuscript, given away to someone else.[52]
– A printed copy of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' (edition/variant unidentified), containing an unknown number of *Adnotationes*, all written neatly in Spinoza's own handwriting, containing the explanatory notes that were copied by 'Hallmann' at the house of Rieuwertsz *fils* in 1703.[53]
– A handwritten copy of the unfinished Dutch two-part *Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand* (1660–1662). According to the Stolle/'Hallmann' diaries, it would have comprised thirty-six chapters plus two subsidiary appendixes in embryo. The first Appendix discussed substance, attributes, and God, i.e., a brief version of the definitions, axioms, and propositions now in E1. Appendix 2 was on the human soul as the idea of the body, now in an expanded redaction in E2. Both were composed in a brief, discursive presentation, originally written in Latin, in a Dutch translation Rieuwertsz *père* had allegedly made after a manuscript by Spinoza; according to 'Hallmann', this text was the 'Ethics'. Nevertheless, the Dutch translation copied by Rieuwertsz *père*, Stolle/'Hallmann' journals further argue, was arranged quite differently (non-geometrically) and divided in (at least twenty-one) chapters. The Dutch rendition's chapter 21, according to the diaries, was on the devil. The version was written, 'quite spatially', on thirty-six 'Bogen' (sheets).

This copy of the *Korte verhandeling* made by Rieuwertsz and translated into Dutch, reported in the Stolle/'Hallmann' diaries, is certainly not the text of the late-seventeenth-century manuscript copy surviving today in a manuscript (75 G 15) extant in National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague. In the latter apograph, the passage on the devil is in chapter 25. Because the text of the manuscript in The Hague comprises about 100 folios it simply cannot have been the text which Stolle/'Hallmann' reported to have seen in Amsterdam in June 1703.[54]

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dahin gestellet seÿn lassen. Spinosa hatte sie einige Jahre post editum Tractat Theol. Politicum angefertigt, weil er gesehen, dass man ihn nicht recht capirt gehabt, und würde auch ohne Zweiffel haben drucken lassen, wenn Er länger gelebt, und das Buch wieder wäre aufgelegt worden.' (ibid.).

51 '… so gestund er, dass Spinosae Schrifften beÿ ihm allein zu bekommen wären … u. nachdem Er unss die gesambten Wercke for 9. Gulden gebothen, ….' (ibid., p. 88).

52 Ibid., p. 85 (S/H, ms. B). Apart from Bayle* (*Dictionaire*, 1697, vol. 2, p. 1085), Colerus* (W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 118–119), and Stolle/'Hallmann' (ibid., p. 85), the apology is mentioned by the Dutch Cocceian theologian Salomon van Til (1643–1713) in: *Het voor-hof der heydenen, voor alle ongeloovigen geopent*, … (2 vols., Dordrecht: 1694–6). There, in vol. 1, on p. 6, it reads: '… a Spanish treatise against the Old Testament, under the title of a "Vindication of his Rejection of Judaism".' ('… een Spaans tractaat op de naam van *een verantwoording voor sijn afwijking van 't Jodendom* tegen 't O.T. by een geraapt: ….'). For the 1656 ban: Chapter 6, n. 47. For Van Til: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 981–983. Van Til owned copies of Wittich's 1690 *Anti-Spinoza* and the OP. Cf.: *Bibliotheca Tilliana, sive catalogus praestantiorum in omni genere studiorum librorum, …, quos collegit … Sal: van Til*, … (Leiden: 1714), p. 61, no. 794 and p. 155, no. *b*.

53 W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 85 and 89 (S/H, mss. B and A).

54 Ibid., pp. 91–92 (S/H, ms. A). This information about the KV was reiterated in: Jacob F. Reimmann, *Catalogus bibliothecae theologicae*, … (Hildesheim: 1731), p. 983; Johann C. Mylius, *Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, … (Hamburg: 1740), p. 941. KV: G 1/13–121; pp. 407–525 (textual history); Benedictus de Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. I: *Premier écrits*, Filippo Mignini, etc. (eds.) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2009), pp. 159–180. *See* also: CW, vol. 2, pp. 46–156. A scholarly edition of the KV, a translation from Spinoza's Latin holograph by his friends, was edited in: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelvs welstand*, Filippo Mignini (ed.) (L'Aguila: Japadre Editore, 1986); Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. I, *Premier écrits*, esp. pp. 71–80. For a synopsis: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 343–345. Cf.:

– A Dutch translation (either the holograph or an apograph) of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', made by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker in 1669 or 1670, i.e., the text version that stood at the basis of its first Dutch translation. This work, called *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge* (The Orthodox Theologian, or Theological-Political Treatise), was only published in the bibliographical quarto size in 1693.[55]
– An autograph letter of Spinoza to Jarig Jelles dated mid-April 1673.[56]

In 1678, a large portion of Spinoza's *Adnotationes*, thirty-one out of thirty-nine (notes 2, 3–5, 6, 7, 8–17, 19, 20–27, 31–32, 34–38), was first issued in an annex to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s printed French translation now attributed to Saint Glen (siglum: *St Gl*). These thirty-one notes are published in the pocket-sized duodecimo editions X and Y under the following title: 'Remarques Curieuses, Et nécessaires pour l'Intelligence de ce Livre'.[57] Four of what originally ran to thirty-nine supplementary *Adnotationes* address the critique of the previously-mentioned *Epistola ad amicum*, a work anonymously published in mid-May 1671 by Johannes Melchioris, the first known reply to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* ever put into print at the behest of the Utrecht Cartesians.[58] Saint Glen, on page 30 of the French translation's printed *Adnotationes*, remarks he had put aside one of Spinoza's comments dealing with 'nabi', the Hebrew word for prophet (*Adnotatio* 1, commenting on a passage in the translation on p. 1, l. 10). Saint Glen admits his knowledge of the Hebrew language was limited and he considered it best leave out the note than make mistakes in his translation.

Another source of the *Adnotationes*, comprising thirty-six notes (lacking 15, 20, 27, and 37) transcribed from a now-lost annotated copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Spinoza's handwriting, has survived in a manuscript made by the French Huguenot bibliographer and editor Prosper Marchand (1678–1756) in about 1711. The latter, by his own account, took these comments (siglum: *March*) from marginal glosses in a copy of the treatise once in his private library.[59] Marchand had copied Spinoza's subsidiary comments but also added a few of his own.[60]

In 1757, the German polymath Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811) came in the possession of a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, also with Spinoza's supplementary notes and once apparently owned by one of Rieuwertsz's descendants.[61] In Spinoza scholarship, Von Murr earned a reputation for being the first to issue thirty-three *Adnotationes* in a Latin edition (siglum: *Murr*) called *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico politicum* (1802).[62] This publication has the following caption:

> Benedicti de Spinoza Notae Mstae marginales ad Tractatum theologico-politicus (edit. in 4to 1670)

Mogens Lærke, 'A Conjecture about a Textual Mystery: Leibniz, Tschirnhaus and Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling*', *The Leibniz Review*, 21 (2011), pp. 33–68 (on speculation about the *KV*'s transmission in the 1670s involving Tschirnhaus* and Leibniz*). *See* for the manuscript copy of the *KV*: Chapter 7, *Manuscript The Hague 75 G 15*.

55 Cf.: W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 92 (S/H, ms. A). *See*: Chapter 7.

56 1673.04.19, Ep 48B. Cf. Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas*, pp. 231–232; W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 93 (S/H, ms. A, incomplete text).

57 The edition lacks the *Adnotationes* 1, 18, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 35, and 39.

58 *Adnotationes* 16, 19–22, and 24. For the Utrecht retort: Chapter 3, *Publication and Immediate Reception*. Cf. further: Johannes J.V.M. de Vet, 'On Account of the Sacrosanctity of the Scriptures: Johannes Melchior Against Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus (1670)', *Lias*, 18 (1991), pp. 229–261, at p. 233; Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'. *See* further: Chapter 3, *Synodal Complaints*.

59 Leiden, University Library, ms. MAR 77. Title: 'Animadversiones, seu Additiones ad Tractatam B. De S. cui titulus est Tractatus Theologico-Politicus: exscriptae ex Exemplari hujusce Tractatus, cujus margini propria manu illas ipse scripserat Autor. Non mihi videntur Additiones, quod quidam volunt: Textum enim male secant: sed potius Animadversiones et Notae. Hic etiam occasione Errata quaedam restituenda curavi'. Cf.: Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 213 and passim. The manuscript copy (36 fols) by Marchand* lacks *Adnotationes* 15, 20, and 27.

60 'Sometimes he incorporates material from Saint-Glain, reproducing it in French, as if to confess that he doesn't have it from a Latin source. And Adnotations XXVIII–XXX, which occur only in Marchand, seem most unlikely to stem from Spinoza. Preus 1995 treats these notes as being Marchand's own, and I think he is probably right about that.' (CW, vol. 2, p. 62). For Curley's reference: J. Samuel Preus, 'A Hidden Opponent of Spinoza's "Tractatus"', *Harvard Theological Review*, 88 (1995), pp. 361–388.

61 Von Murr* owned two copies of the *OP*, *DRT* (1693), the *NS*, and the *PP*/*CM*. He too had an otherwise unidentified copy of *Traitté des ceremonies*, and of *La Clef du santuaire* (possibly the X.1 variant). Cf.: *Catalogus librorum quos V.C. Christophorus Theophilus de Murr … collegerat, …* (Nuremberg: 1811), p. 267, no. 4417, p. 268, no. 4440, p. 269, nos. 4447 and 4448, p. 292, nos. 4764 and 4767.

62 Cf. Benedictus de Spinoza, *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico politicum*, Christoph G. von Murr (ed.) (The Hague: 1802), p. 33; Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 213, and passim. Cf. also: Piet Steenbakkers, 'Les Éditions de Spinoza en Allemagne au XIX^{e} siècle', in André Tosel, etc. (eds.), *Spinoza au XIX^{e} siècle: Actes des journées d'études organisées à la Sorbonne 9 et 16 mars, 23 et 30 novembre 1997* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007), pp. 21–32, there at pp. 21–22. The *Adnotationes* (missing 15, 20, 27, 28, 29, and 30) from the lost copy owned by Rieuwertsz* *père* were published by Von Murr* in: Spinoza, *Adnotationes*. *See* also: Dorow, *Benedikt Spinoza's Randglossen*.

> descriptae ex originali, quod possidebat Ioh. Rieuwertsz, Typographus Civit. Amstelod.[63]

Shortly after publication of the above Latin edition, on 14 February 1803, Von Murr reacted to a then only recently issued critical review (26 January) of his 1802 *Adnotationes*, published by Paulus in the *Intelligenzblatt* of the German journal *Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*. In his reply, he explained how he had come to possess his copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with Spinoza's notes.[64] He wrote:

> In 1757, at the advice of the late Meermann, I came in Amsterdam into the possession of the copy of the 'Adnotationes' [owned by] a descendant of Jan Rieuwertsz [either *père* or *fils*]. Since then, I obtained six more copies which all agree with one another. Where the master copy of the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' of Spinoza now is, will be difficult to find out.[65]

Another of the *Adnotationes*' sources concerns a late-seventeenth-century manuscript which comprises a copy of a redacted Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, composed by Glazemaker after an original Latin autograph or a Latin apograph of the treatise. The same manuscript also includes thirty-four of Spinoza's supplementary comments (lacking notes 20, 27–30). This manuscript copy, in Spinoza scholarship known as *codex A* and extant in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague (ms. 75 G 15), was written in Dutch by an unidentified scribe. It served as printer's copy for a planned first Dutch edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, but Spinoza personally cancelled the book's publication in February 1671 through the intermediary of his friend Jarig Jelles, thus avoiding it to be made public in print.[66] The Dutch translation of the *Adnotationes* (siglum: KB) contained in *codex A* has the following title:

> Anteekenenge van Benedictus de Spinoza, op Deszelfs Godgeleerde Staatkundege Verhandelinge; Nauwkeurige en nootsakelijke aenmerkingen tot beeter verstant van dit boek.[67]

Ms. 75 G 15 also contains a Dutch translation of the *Korte verhandeling*.[68] The aforementioned Dutch subsidiary 'Anteekenenge' to the 'Godgeleerde Staatkundege Verhandelinge', the Dutch redacted version of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', are also the source of a now-lost two-part set of *Adnotationes* (siglum: *Monn I–II*, lacking 20, 27–30). They were copied by Johannes Monnikhoff (1707–1787), together with the text of the *Korte verhandeling*. Carl Schaarschmidt in his edition of the latter work was the first to refer to ms. 75 G 15 as *codex A*.[69]

Lastly, Spinoza's Latin explanatory glosses (lacking 15, 20, 27–30) are further also contained in an interleaved, annotated copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, extant in Florence (siglum: *ms. Flor*). Those subsidiary notes belong to the same branch as the glosses provided by Marchand.[70] All aforementioned sources include those

63 'Marginal Manuscript Notes of Benedictus de Spinoza to the "Tractatus theologico-politicus" (issued in 4to, 1670), transcribed from the original owned by Jan Rieuwertsz, printer in the city of Amsterdam.'

64 Cols 217–221.

65 'In Amsterdam erhielt ich 1757 die Abschrift des *Adnotatt*. auf des seel. Meermanns Empfehlung von einem Nachkommen Joh. Rieuwertsz. Ich bekam seither aus Auctionen noch *sechs* Copien, die alle mit einander übereinstimmen. Wo Spinoza's Handexemplar des Trac. theol. polit. hingekommen ist, wird schwer ausfindig zu machen seyn.' (*Intelligenzblatt*, cols 351–352). Quoted in: Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', pp. 217–218.

66 1671.02.17, Ep 44, *NS*, 'Zevenenveertigste Brief', p. 591 (G 4/227). *See* for this further: Chapter 7. Jelles: BL.

67 'Additional Notes of Benedictus de Spinoza on his "Theological-Political Treatise"; Accurate and Necessary Remarks for a Better Understanding of this Book' (fols 423–424). Contained in: The Hague, KB, ms. 75 G 15 (siglum: *codex A*). Missing are the *Adnotationes* 20, 27, 28, 29, and 30. Copied in *codex B* (75 G 16): fols 145–159. The *Adnotationes* in the manuscript are critically published in: Leen Spruit, 'I manoscritti nederlandesi delle Adnotationes al Tractatus theologico-politicus di Spinoza. Edizione critica', in Pina Totaro (ed.), *Spinoziana: Richerche di terminologia filosofica e critica testuale* (Firenze: L. Olschki, 1997), pp. 185–231, there at pp. 203–231.

68 The Hague, KB, ms. 75 G 15. *See* further: Chapter 7, *Manuscript The Hague 75 G 15*. Cf.: Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 214 and passim. Missing are *Adnotationes* 20, 27, 28, 29, and 30.

69 Olim: Halle, Königliche Universitätsbibliothek (Document 6). Acquired in 1863 and lost during the Second World War. An edition of the lost autograph copy by Monnikhoff* was published in: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Tractatus de deo et homine eiusque felicitate lineamente atque Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologicum politicum*, Eduard Boehmer (ed.) (Halle: Lippert, 1852). In the latter work, Boehmer introduced the *Adnotationes*' numbering, too. Cf. Akkerman, 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', p. 214 and passim. Cf. also: Spruit, 'I manoscritti', pp. 190–192 and pp. 203–231 (critical edition). For the edition of the *KV*: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Korte verhandeling van God, de mensch en deszelfs welstand', tractatuli deperditi De Deo et homine ejusque felicitate versio Belgica*, Carl Schaarschmidt (ed.) (Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1869).

70 Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, R.O. 15 (T.1 edition). Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 214 and passim. Background: Isaiah Sonne, 'Un manuscritto sconosciuto delle

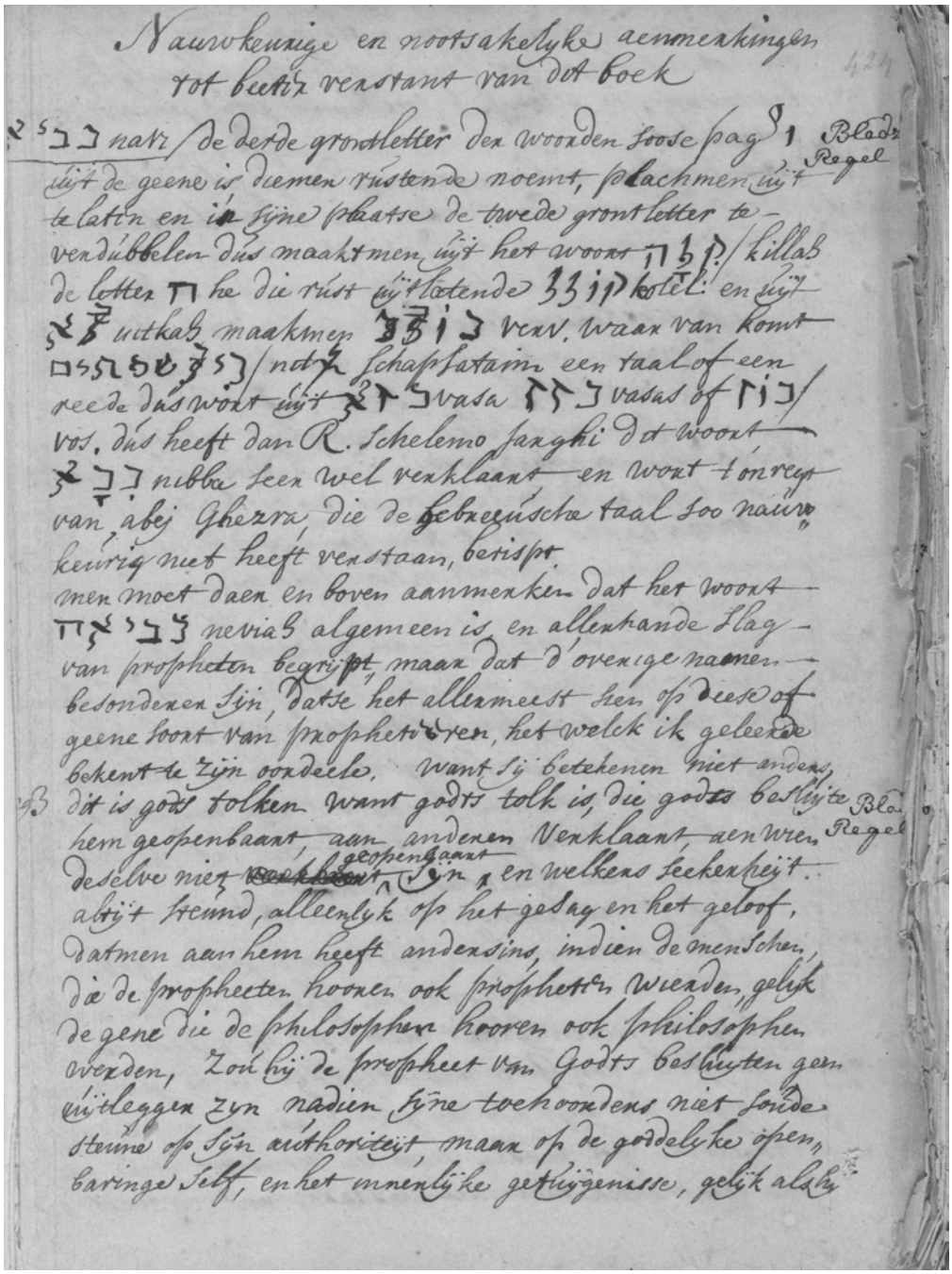


ILLUSTRATION 5.3
Adnotatio 1 in manuscript 75 G 15 (*codex A*) in chapter 1 of the Dutch translation on 'nabi', the Hebrew word for prophet.

"adnotationes" al trattato teologico-politico di Spinoza', *Civiltà moderna*, 5 (1933), pp. 305–312; Pina Totaro, 'Un manuscritto inedito delle "Adnotationes" al Tractatus theologico-politicus di Spinoza', *Studia Spinozana*, 5 (1989), pp. 205–224; id., 'Note su due manoscritti delle "Adnotationes" al Tractatus theologico-politicus di Spinoza', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 10 (1990), pp. 107–115. An overview of the *Adnotationes*, extant in seven sources, and a scholarly commentary on the different text branches is contained in: Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', pp. 215–236. The Florence copy was formerly owned by Count Philip von Stosch (1691–1756), an antiquary. On the title-page of his copy, he wrote the following: 'NB.: Les Adnotations ont ete tires de l'original exemplaire de Benoit de Spinosa, qui avoit dessein de les faire imprimer dans une seconde Edition, qu'il avoit dessein de faire de ce livre' (The 'Adnotationes' were taken out of the original copy of Benedictus de Spinoza, who planned to have them printed in a second edition which he intended to make of this book; quoted in Totaro, 'Note su due manoscritti', p. 109).

five *Adnotationes* (2, 6, 7, 13, and 14) Spinoza entered in the margins of the presentation copy donated to Clefman on 25 July 1676.

The majority of the *Adnotationes* are probably dependent on Spinoza's copy containing an unknown number of

explanatory notes once in the possession of Rieuwertsz *fils*, i.e., the copy he had shown to and was copied by 'Hallmann' in 1703.[71] Akkerman has further underlined that another (unidentified) individual entered four surviving *Adnotationes* (18, 33, 35, and 39) in Rieuwertsz's copy. The *Adnotationes* 15, 18, 20, 27–30, 33, 35, and 39 are, according to Akkerman, probably not authentic subsidiary notes composed by Spinoza, but readers' comments in all likelihood.[72] For example, *Adnotationes* 28, 29, and 30 are references to the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (1666), but unlikely composed by Spinoza.[73] *Adnotationes* 18, 33, 35, and 39 are referencing to other texts by Spinoza which make them suspicious, too. Finally, *Adnotatio* 35, an addition to chapter 17 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* on the successful transfer of the rule to the Roman people, is neither a note by Spinoza but a faithful quotation from Tacitus' *Historiae*.[74]

5 The French Duodecimo Editions' Printing History

Bibliotheca Telleriana, the catalogue (1693) of the library of the Archbishop of Reims, Charles Maurice le Tellier (1642–1710), contains an early reference to Saint Glen's French translation printed in duodecimo in 1678.[75] Under the heading 'Errores singulares' the inventory lists copies with on their title-pages the three previously-mentioned false French titles *Traitté des ceremonies*, *Reflexions curieuses*, and *La Clef du santuaire*. The catalogue states the first title was 'translated from [the] "Tractatus theologico-politicus" by Spinoza' ('traduit du *Tractatus Theol. pol.* de Spinosa') which had been published in Amsterdam, '*1678. in 12°*'. About the second, Le Tellier's library inventory states: 'The same book by Spinoza' ('Le mesme livre de Spinosa'), published in Cologne, '*1678. in 12°*'. The third title is referred to as 'The same again' ('Le mesme encore'), published in Leiden, '*1678. in 12°*'. Yet, *Bibliotheca Telleriana* refrains from reporting anything about the listed works's translator and it is not known whether the copied mentioned were X or Y editions. Tellingly, Pierre Bayle, in his noted Spinoza entry published in volume 2 of his 1697 *Dictionaire historique et critique*, also records the three spurious French titles, identifying as his source the *Bibliotheca Telleriana*.[76]

In 1708, the German professor Vincent Placcius, in a substantial entry on Spinoza in his previously-mentioned comprehensive bibliography of pen names and anonyms *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, also briefly referred to the French edition the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* but he refrains from mentioning its translator. He also pointed out the book had been issued under the aforementioned three fake titles.[77] Based on the information contained in the Le Tellier catalogue, the German bibliographer Johann Christoph Wolf in his *Bibliotheca Hebraea* mentioned the printed French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* as well.[78] He added that edition had been published in the duodecimo size, too. Wolf also quoted the fictitious titles and stated, albeit in general terms, that the copy he had seen had been printed in Cologne (issued by 'Pierre Warnaer') in 1678. He was however unaware that, actually, two separate editions (X and Y) had been in circulation. Furthermore, Wolf mistakenly refers to a copy printed in Amsterdam in '1668'.

Evidently, this reference concerns the 1678 'Jacob Smith' volume, entitled *Traitté des ceremonies*. Wolf might have seen a 'Smith' variant or a 'mixed' copy, either Y.4/Y.5 or Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, fitted with a title-page bearing the 'Smith' imprint.[79] To add more confusion, during my research for the present bibliography I could confirm the existence of extant copies of Y.4/Y.5, containing also a third title-page (also gracing X.1 and Y.1).[80]

The aforementioned *La Vie et l'esprit de mr. Benoit de Spinosa*, edited in 1719 by Levier, mentions the title *La Clef du sanctuaire* only in passing without mentioning any translator. 'La Vie de feu Monsieur Spinoza', published in the *Nouvelles littéraires* in 1719, lists all three false titles of the French translation and, in addition, it does also claim the French translator of the 'Theological-political Treatise' was Saint Glen. Based on this information, Desmaizeaux in his edition of Bayle's correspondence repeated these three sham titles and put also forward it was Saint Glen who had

71 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 222.

72 Ibid., p. 217.

73 Anon. [Meyer*], *Philosophia*.

74 I,xxv (cited in *TP*, ch. 7, § 14 [G 3/311–314; CW, vol. 2, p. 296]).

75 *Bibliotheca Telleriana, sive catalogus librorum bibliothecae illustrissimi ac reverendissimi d.d. Carolo Mauritii Le Tellier, …* (Paris: 1693), p. 145.

76 Bayle*, *Dictionaire*, 1697, vol. 2, p. 1089.

77 Placcius* owned an (unidentified) copy of the *Reflexions* (*Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 181).

78 Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240.

79 One extant copy is known: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet B3 f.117. The Oxford copy has title-pages of both *La Clef du santuaire* (X.3) and *Traitté des ceremonies* (Y.5).

80 In May 2017, I inspected a copy in the private collection of M. de Jongh (Zutphen) which has title-page Y.1 bound in between Y.4 and Y.5. Here, Y.1 is a stubbed leaf. The stub is visible after leaf *10. At the present, the De Jongh collection is housed in the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study, NJ.

composed the French translation.[81] The *Dictionaire*'s 1740 edition states that the French translation had originally been entitled *Reflexions curieuses* and that reprints had been given two other titles to mislead censors, too.[82]

In 1747, the Bremen theologian and bibliographer Johann Vogt in his *Catalogus historico-criticus librorum rariorum* generally referred to the *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé*, *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire*, and the *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs*. Vogt identified Gabriel de Saint Glen as their translator, too.[83] Johann Anton Trinius in *Freydenker-Lexicon* (1759) also brought up the three false titles hiding the French translation, but mistakenly stated the work had been printed in quarto. Trinius also pointed to Saint Glen as the translation's author whom he referred to as 'einem holländischen Hauptmann, und großen Anbeter des Spinoza, von St. Glain berrühret'. Trinius also rightly stated the French translation was the first edition publishing Spinoza's *Adnotationes*, 'die von dem Spinoza selbst herkommen, vermehret ist'.[84]

In the early second half of the nineteenth century, the bibliographer and literary historian Johann Georg Theodor Graesse in *Trésor de livres rares et précieux* also published several general statements about the French translation and Saint Glen, but his work contains no new information as such.[85] In 1961, Bamberger in 'The Early Editions of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. A Bibliohistorical Examination' briefly brought up the French translation and its translator Saint Glen, but refers to the small duodecimo format in passing only.[86]

In-depth bibliographical research of the French translation first took off with the 'Bibliography of Spinoza's Works up to 1800', a paper compiled by Jelle Kingma and Adri K. Offenberg. The two Dutch bibliographers were the first to study the typographical and orthographical characteristics of the two printed editions and their title-pages systematically. They were also able to distinguish edition X from Y and identify their separate issues, now labelled as X.1, X.2, X3, Y.1, Y.2, Y.3 and as Y.4/Y.5 (two title-pages).[87] Kingma and Offenberg were not acquainted though with issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 which is fitted with three title-pages. Y.4 and Y.5 were of course known to them, but Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, the edition with the new third title-page now extant in a unique copy in France (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés 804872), only surfaced during the preparations of the present bibliography.

6 Production History

Both editions X and Y of the French translation of Spinoza's treatise were published in duodecimo in eight variant states, altogether with nine separate title-pages, carrying the false titles *Reflexions curieuses*, *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire*, and *Traitté des ceremonies*.[88] The three X variants were printed on smaller sheets than the five Y issues. Their title-pages all differ markedly in typographical design and decoration. The issues X.1, X.3, Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, Y.5, and Y.n, entitled *La Clef du santuaire* and/or *Traitté des ceremonies*, have an imprint in Roman numerals (M. DC. LXXVIII). The title-pages of variants X.2 and of Y.4, called *Reflexions curieuses*, are the only two variants of the French translation with an imprint in Arabic numerals (1678). The correspondence of Pierre Bayle offers a *terminus ante quem* establishing that at least the *Traitté des ceremonies*, in all likelihood X.3, was printed and marketed before May 1679.

In a letter of 26 May 1679 to the Reformed Swiss minister and Labadist Vincent Minutoli, Bayle writes the following:

> While waiting until I can send you several new curious novelties from Paris (where I hope to spend the autumn), here is what I know of the Republic of Letters. I have read a book in duodecimo, printed in Amsterdam by Jacob Smith in 1678, entitled 'Traitté des Ceremonies Superstitieuses des Juifs Tant Anciens que Modernes', which is filled with the most impious doctrines I have ever read.... What it says at the end, [namely] that the Prince [read: the monarch who exercises supreme powers] is the sovereign master of religion, makes me think the author is the famous Spinoza, who has composed similar thoughts in his 'Tractatus theologico-politicus'.[89]

81 Desmaizeaux/Bayle: BL.
82 Cf. Bayle*, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258.
83 Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 687.
84 Cf. Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, pp. 420–421.
85 Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469.
86 Cf. Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27.
87 Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 16–21.
88 Ibid.
89 'En attendant que je puisse vous envoyer quelques curieuses nouveautez de Paris, où j'espère aller passer l'automne, voici ce que je sai touchant la République des Lettres. J'ai lu un livre in-12, imprimé à Amsterdam, chez Jacob Smith, l'an 1678, intitulé Traité des cérémonies superstitieuses des juifs, tant anciens que modernes, qui est bien le plus rempli de doctrines impies que j'aie jamais lu ... Ce qu'il dit sur la fin, que le prince est le souverain maître de la religion, me feroit penser que l'auteur est le fameux Spinosa, qui a composée de sembables pensées dans son

Here, the reference by Bayle is to chapter 19 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, in which Spinoza demonstrates that 'the right concerning sacred matters belongs completely to the supreme powers'. Bayle's last statement is rather odd, arguably, and it seems to suggest he had not yet read the Latin edition of the treatise but only 'recognized' its masked author, Spinoza, from what apparently others had told him about in any case the Dutch philosopher's theory of sovereignty.

The false imprints on the X and Y editions' title-pages mention three fictitious publishers or booksellers: 'Claude Emanuel' (from 'Cologne'), 'Pierre Warnaer' (supposedly at Leiden), and 'Jacob Smith' (active as a publisher in Amsterdam). It seems almost certain that these fake names were included in the imprints to mask the editions' putative publisher's name, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*. Both the X and Y editions include one issue (X.2 and Y.4) which has a title-page decorated with the reduced version of the yoke ornament. This vignette, as is already shown in chapters 2 and 3 of this bibliography, also occurs at the end of the prologue of the Latin quartos and at the conclusion of the 'Prologus' of the *Philosophia*, the second work following the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in the five known variants of its octavo T.3 text edition.[90]

The printer of the X and Y editions is unidentified, but I tend to assume that the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s publisher once again commissioned Israel de Paull to produce all of their issues. Each unbound copy of the duodecimo issues, X.1, X.2, X.3, Y.3, Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 numbers 624 pages (302 leaves). Y.1 and Y.2 have one additional leaf (303). One single copy of both editions comprises twenty-six sheets. This would mean that from one ream of paper about 18.46 copies could be turned out. For the impression of an assumed five hundred copies 13,000 sheets are needed; about 27.08 reams of paper. A total of 158 copies of the French X and Y editions are known to have survived in international library holdings (X.1: 27; X.2: 30; X.3: 53; Y.1: 2; Y.2: 3; Y.3: 0 [one copy dispersed, whereabouts unknown]; Y.4/Y5: 42; Y.n/Y.4/Y.5: 1). Another copy, a *Traitté des ceremonies* kept in Freiburg im Breisgau, is still unidentified. It concerns either the X (X.3) or the Y (Y.4/Y5, Y.n/Y.4/Y.5) edition.

7 Title-Pages, Epigraph, and Floral Vignettes

Saint Glen's French translation's issues X.1, X.2, and X.3 are preceded by three different title-pages: *La Clef du santuaire* ('Warnaer'), *Reflexions curieuses* ('Emanuel'), and *Traitté des ceremonies* ('Smith'). Of the Y edition four issues are set with a title-page called *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire* ('Warnaer'), all distinctly differing. The mixed Y.4/Y.5 variant has two title-pages, reading *Reflexions curieuses* ('Emanuel') and *Traitté des ceremonies* ('Smith'). Issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 has even three title-pages preceding the work's main text: *La Clef du santuaire* ('Warnaer'), *Reflexions curieuses* ('Emanuel'), and *Traitté des ceremonies* ('Smith').

On the title-page of the X edition's *La Clef du santuaire* it reads the following:

– X.1: LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle.

The three title-pages of *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire* preceding edition Y show minor differences in spelling and their outward typography:

– Y.1: LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle (without a dot)
– Y.2: LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | ſiecle. (with a dot)
– Y.3: LA CLÉF | DU | SANCTUAIRE, | *Par* | Un ſçauant homme de notre | Siécle. (with a comma and dot)
– Y.n: LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle. (with a full stop)

The title-pages of all Latin quartos, octavo issue T.3t, the first 1689 English translation, and the second Dutch quarto edition (1694) are fitted with the Latin epigraph 1 John 4:13, explaining the knowledge of God through loving-kindness. Those of the X and Y issues, called *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire*, have another epigraph, 2 Corinthians 3:17, underlining the call to freedom. Variants X.2, X.3, and Y4/Y.5 lack the biblical quotation. The new epigraph reads:

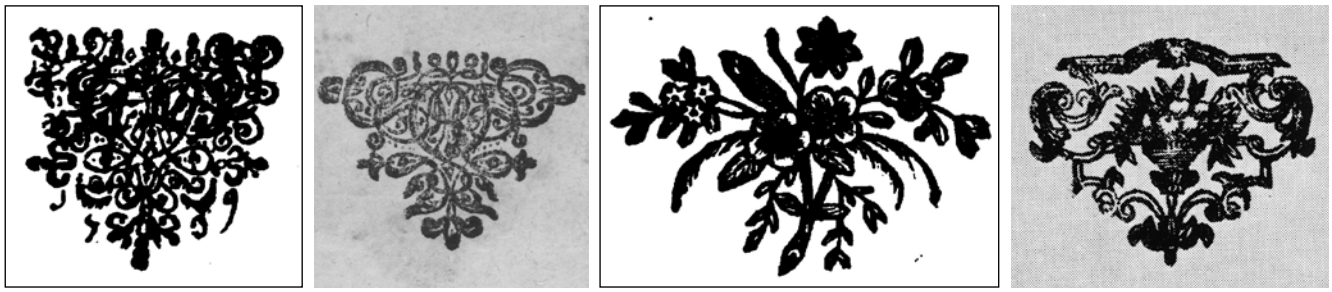
> Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord *is*, there *is* liberty.[91]

The text of 2 Cor. 3 was written by St Paul and by St Timothy. Spinoza in his writings, however, refrains from referring to this particular verse or comment on the passage entirely. The reason for replacing 1 John 4:13 by 2 Cor. 3 is at dusk, but the French editions' putative publisher, Rieuwertsz *père*, the alleged translator Saint Glen, or Spinoza's friends may have been based on the title of

Tractatus theologico-politicus.' (Bayle*, *Correspondance*, vol. 3, pp. 180–181, no. 171). Minutoli: BL.

90 For the yoke ornament, *see*: Chapter 3, *Floral-Fruit Vignettes*.

91 'Dominus autem Spiritus est: ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas'. Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.



ILLUSTRATIONS 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 AND 5.7 Ornament A (X.1), Ornament B (Y.1), Ornament C (Y.2), and Ornament D (Y.3), respectively.

the *TTP*'s title itself, arguing 'that the Republic can Grant *Freedom of Philosophizing* without Harming its Peace or Piety, and cannot Deny it without Destroying its Peace and Piety'.

In the X and Y issues, entitled *La Clef du san(c)tuaire*, carrying the new epigraph 2 Cor. 3, small variations in diacritics, punctuation, and typography can be observed:

- X.1: *La où est l'Efprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté*, | 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17.
- Y.1: *La où est l'Efprit de Dieu là eſt la liberté*, | 2. Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17.
- Y.2: *Là où est l'eſprit de Dieu , là eſt la liberté*. | 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens , Chap. 3. | verſ. 17.
- Y.3: *Là où est l'Efprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté*. | 2. Epitre aux Corinthiens , chap. 3. | vers. 17.
- Y.n: *La où est l'Efprit de Dieu , là eſt la liberté*, | 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17.

These minor differences prove the aforementioned four title-pages were no line-by-line reprints. They were each set in type and printed separately. This conclusion is further supported by five unique floral ornaments, decorating each respective title-page of *La Clef du san(c)tuaire* (X.1, Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, and Y.n).

The French translation's issue Y.4/Y.5 is set with two title-pages, entitled *Reflexions curieuses* ('Emanuel' version) and *Traitté des ceremonies* ('Smith'), respectively. They are almost identical to the corresponding title-pages of X.2 and X.3. Like X.2, the 'first' title-page (Y.4) in the imprint is dated with Arabic numerals. The imprint of its 'second' title-page (Y.5), though, is set with Roman numerals. Furthermore, the noun '*ſalut*' in the subtitle of *Reflexions curieuses* on X.2 is printed with the long *s* ('*ſalut*') where Y.4 has '*Saluſt*', with a capital letter. Both title-pages of *Reflexions curieuses* in X.2 and Y.4 are fitted with the aforementioned reduced yoke ornament, the two title-pages of X and Y decorated with an identical vignette.[92]

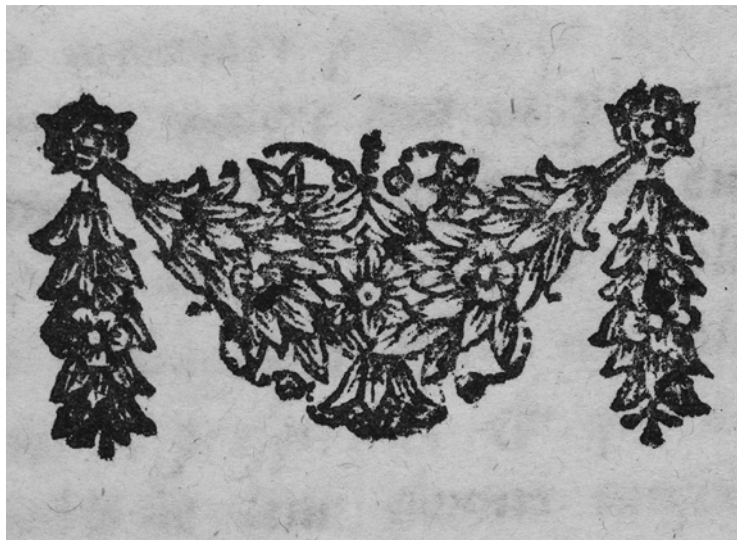
ILLUSTRATION 5.8 Reduced yoke vignette (X.2/Y.4).

The 'second' title-page of variant Y.4/Y.5, *Traitté des ceremonies*, almost entirely matches with the text printed on X.3's title-page. Yet, the two title-pages are decorated with different vignettes (ornaments E and F), proving each was processed separately.

The two title-pages of X.3 and Y.5 (both 'Smith' issues) are no line-by-line reprints either, as is evident from the position of the acute accent (´) on the capital letter E in the French noun 'Traitté'. In X.3, the accent is placed on top of letter E, and positioned in the middle of its arm. In Y.5, though, the accent on E is positioned at the capital letter's outer left.

In the newfound mixed issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, the title-pages reading *Reflexions curieuses* (Y.4, 'Emanuel') and *Traitté des ceremonies* (Y.5, 'Smith') are preceded by a rare title-page, also entitled *La Clef du santuaire* ('Warnaer'). Y.n has a unique floral vignette, depicting a flower bouquet in a bowl, an ornament which was not known to Kingma and Offenberg.

92 For the ornament, *see*: Chapter 3, *Floral-Fruit Vignettes*.



ILLUSTRATIONS 5.9 AND 5.10 Ornament E (X.3) and Ornament F (Y.5).

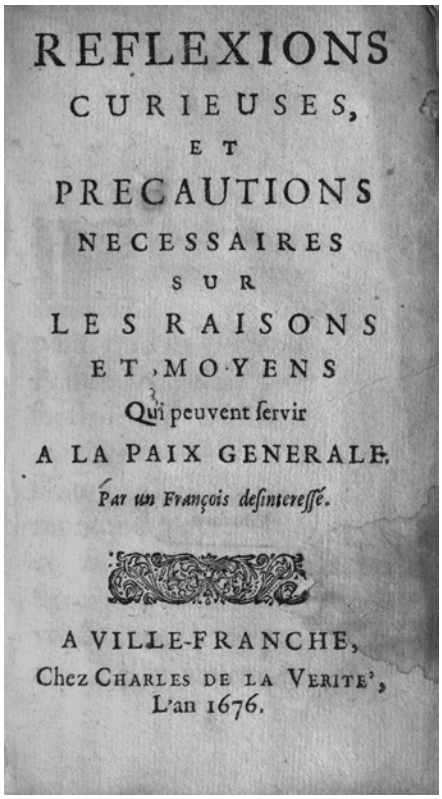
ILLUSTRATION 5.11 Ornament G (Y.n).

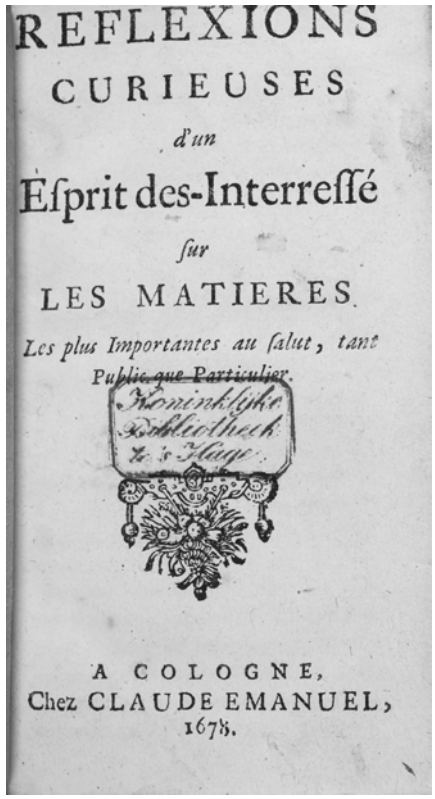
Inspection of copies holding issue Y.4/Y.5 has further led to the conclusion that both title-pages were part of the original printing of the first sheet, signed *. Title-page Y.4 is conjugate with leaf *11 whereas Y.5 is conjugate with leaf *10. There is also proof that at least two extant copies are fitted with three distinct title-pages reading *La Clef du santuaire* ('Warnaer'), *Reflexions curieuses* ('Emanuel'), and *Traitté des ceremonies* ('Smith'). Nevertheless, this variant cannot be considered as separate issue.[93]

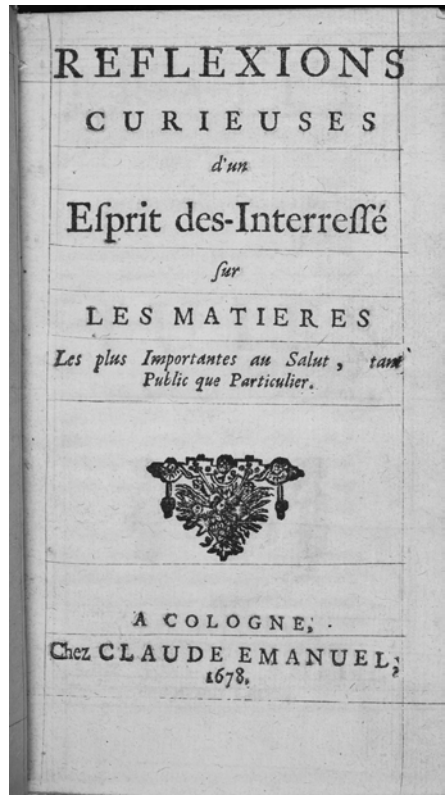
During preparations of this bibliography, I have found indications suggesting that the title-page of one particular book printed in France might have served as a model for the typography of two lines of two variants of editions X and Y. The imprint of *Reflexions curieuses, et precautions necessaires sur les raisons et moyens qui peuvent servir la paix generale*, a critical survey (1676) about the peace negotiations held in Nijmegen in 1676 to conclude the Franco-Dutch war, declares the book to be published in 'Ville-Franche' by 'Charles de la Verite'. It is my conjecture the work was printed in the Netherlands, in Amsterdam in all likelihood.[94] The serif upper-case roman capital letters in REFLEXIONS CURIEUSES of its title-page have a striking resemblance with the type of the same words printed on the duodecimo issues X.2 and Y.4. In terms of typography, these two issues seem to duplicate the first two words of the 'French' book's title. The last portion of X.2 and Y.4's title *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé*, reading 'Les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier', seeks to typographically replicate the 1676 'Ville-Franche' subtitle, reading: *Par un François desinteressé*. Tellingly, both subtitles are printed in italics, too.

93 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: ROK A 1467; Lyon, Rhône, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 807279. Cf.: *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 34, no. 373.

94 The date of the official announcement of the peace treaty, signed on 10 August 1678, was 25 September/5 October 1678. *See*: *The Peace of Nijmegen: 1676–1678/79. Proceedings of the International Congress of the Tricentennial, Nijmegen, 14–16 September 1978*, Hans Bots (ed.) (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1980).


REFLEXIONS
CURIEUSES,
ET
PRECAUTIONS
NECESSAIRES
SUR
LES RAISONS
ET MOYENS
Qui peuvent servir
A LA PAIX GENERALE.
Par un François desintereſſé.
A VILLE-FRANCHE,
Chez CHARLES DE LA VERITE',
L'an 1676.


REFLEXIONS
CURIEUSES
d'un
Eſprit des-Interreſſé
ſur
LES MATIERES
Les plus Importantes au ſalut, tant
Public que Particulier.
A COLOGNE,
Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL,
1678.


REFLEXIONS
CURIEUSES
d'un
Eſprit des-Interreſſé
ſur
LES MATIERES
Les plus Importantes au Salut, tant
Public que Particulier.
A COLOGNE,
Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL,
1678.

ILLUSTRATIONS 5.12, 5.13 AND 5.14 'French' edition: (*left*) anon., *Reflexions curieuses, et precautions necessaires sur les raisons et moyens qui peuvent servir la paix generale* (Ville-Franche: 1676); *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé*: (*middle*) issue X.2; (*right*) issue Y.4.

8 Typesetting Characteristics

Each gathering in edition X has six signed folios where Y has seven signed sheets. An exception in Y concerns quires E, I, Z and Aa, which have 6 signed folios, too. Y has a disfiguring literal in the running headline (sig. *9^{v}) of its prologue where 'PREFACE' is misprinted as 'PREEACE'. In Y, signature F4 is misnumbered 'E4' and T7 is misprinted as 'T2'. Other typographical characteristics distinguishing X from Y include variants of hyphenation and the spelling of proper names and other nouns, choices made by the compositor during typesetting. To allow ready identification of edition X and Y some prime examples are given below:

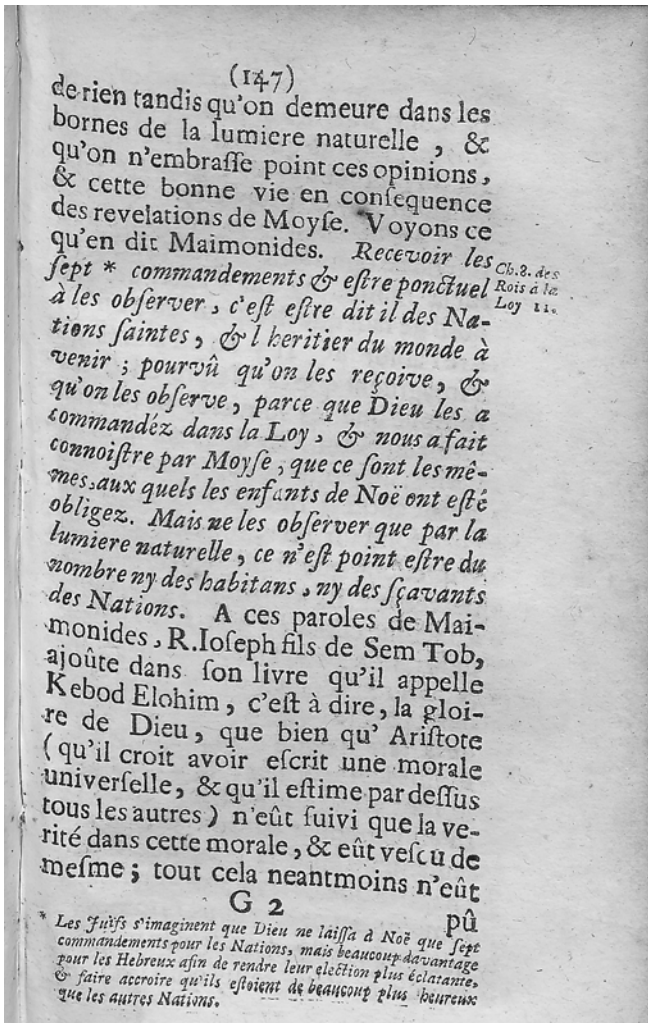
– P. 21, l. 22: 'oüi' (from 'ouïr', to hear) (X); 'oui' (Y).
– P. 22, l. 22: 'E-sprit' (X); 'Es-prit' (Y).
– P. 23, l. 19: 'Iob' (X); 'Job' (Y).
– P. 147, ll. 23–25: '(qu'il croit avoir … tous les autres)' (X); '[qu'il croit avoir … tous les autres]' (Y).
– P. 147, note *: 'Juifs' (X); 'Iuifs' (Y).
– P. 186, l. 8: 'qu'on doit ajoûter ave miracles' (X); 'qu'on doit ajoûter aux miracles' (Y).
– P. 288, l. 21: 'Kaïn' (X); 'Caïn' (Y).
– P. 362, ll. 25–26: 'l'Ecri- | ture' (X); 'l'Escri- | ture' (Y).
– P. 475, l. 14: 'Temple' (X); 'temple' (Y).[95]

The correction in Y of 'ave' into 'aux' on page 186 in the phrase 'qu'on doit ajoûter aux miracles' implies X must have preceded Y. Two text instances in those editions, at the end of chapter 5 and at the beginning of chapter 6, pages 147, 148, and 149, further stress this particular order of printing.

In edition X, the type area of page 147 numbers twenty-seven lines and is followed by a five-line footnote, printed in italics. The compositor of Y, though, set the text on page 147 in twenty-six lines, which problematized the typesetting of the book's next two pages because of the print space available. In X, the last lines of page 147 reads

> n'eût suivi que la ve- | rité dans cette morale & eût vescu de | mesme ; tout cela neantmoins n'eût | [148: pû' | contribuër à son salut],

95 Cf. Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 16–17.



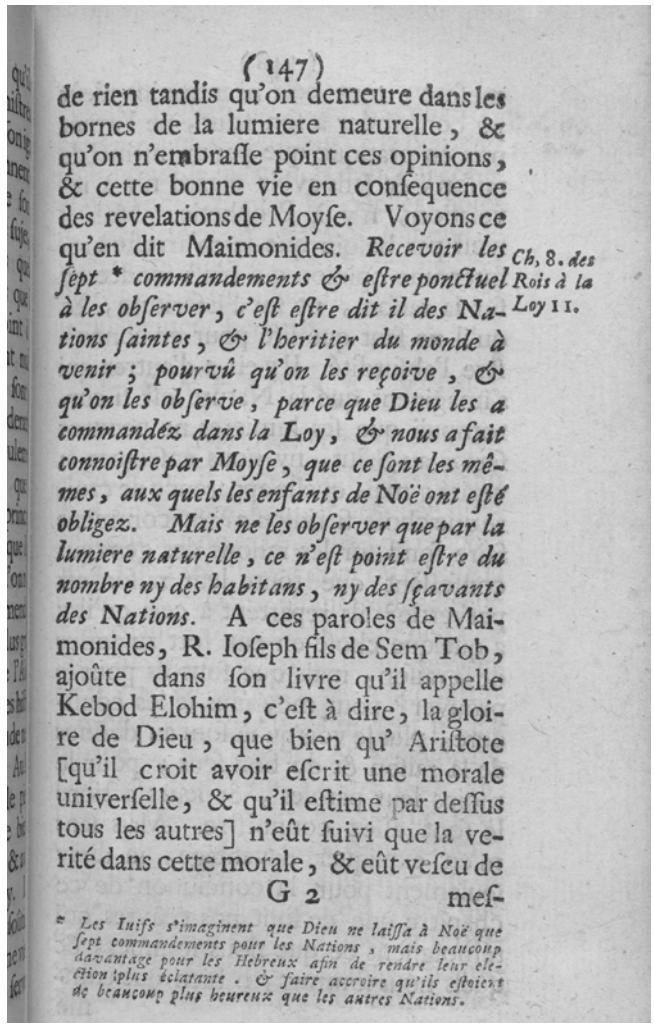
(147)

de rien tandis qu'on demeure dans les bornes de la lumiere naturelle, & qu'on n'embraſſe point ces opinions, & cette bonne vie en conſequence des revelations de Moyſe. Voyons ce qu'en dit Maimonides. *Recevoir les ſept * commandements & eſtre ponctuel à les obſerver, c'eſt eſtre dit il des Nations ſaintes, & l'heritier du monde à venir; pourvû qu'on les reçoive, & qu'on les obſerve, parce que Dieu les a commandéz dans la Loy, & nous a fait connoiſtre par Moyſe, que ce ſont les mêmes, aux quels les enfants de Noë ont eſté obligez. Mais ne les obſerver que par la lumiere naturelle, ce n'eſt point eſtre du nombre ny des habitans, ny des ſçavants des Nations.* A ces paroles de Maimonides, R. Ioſeph fils de Sem Tob, ajoûte dans ſon livre qu'il appelle Kebod Elohim, c'eſt à dire, la gloire de Dieu, que bien qu' Ariſtote (qu'il croit avoir eſcrit une morale univerſelle, & qu'il eſtime par deſſus tous les autres) n'eût ſuivi que la verité dans cette morale, & eût veſcu de meſme; tout cela neantmoins n'eût

Ch. 8. des Rois à la Loy 11.

G 2 pû

* *Les Juifs s'imaginent que Dieu ne laiſſa à Noë que ſept commandements pour les Nations, mais beaucoup davantage pour les Hebreux afin de rendre leur election plus éclatante, & faire accroire qu'ils eſtoient de beaucoup plus heureux que les autres Nations.*



(147)

de rien tandis qu'on demeure dans les bornes de la lumiere naturelle, & qu'on n'embraſſe point ces opinions, & cette bonne vie en conſequence des revelations de Moyſe. Voyons ce qu'en dit Maimonides. *Recevoir les ſept * commandements & eſtre ponctuel à les obſerver, c'eſt eſtre dit il des Nations ſaintes, & l'heritier du monde à venir; pourvû qu'on les reçoive, & qu'on les obſerve, parce que Dieu les a commandéz dans la Loy, & nous a fait connoiſtre par Moyſe, que ce ſont les mêmes, aux quels les enfants de Noë ont eſté obligez. Mais ne les obſerver que par la lumiere naturelle, ce n'eſt point eſtre du nombre ny des habitans, ny des ſçavants des Nations.* A ces paroles de Maimonides, R. Ioſeph fils de Sem Tob, ajoûte dans ſon livre qu'il appelle Kebod Elohim, c'eſt à dire, la gloire de Dieu, que bien qu' Ariſtote [qu'il croit avoir eſcrit une morale univerſelle, & qu'il eſtime par deſſus tous les autres] n'eût ſuivi que la verité dans cette morale, & eût veſcu de

Ch. 8. des Rois à la Loy 11.

G 2 meſ-

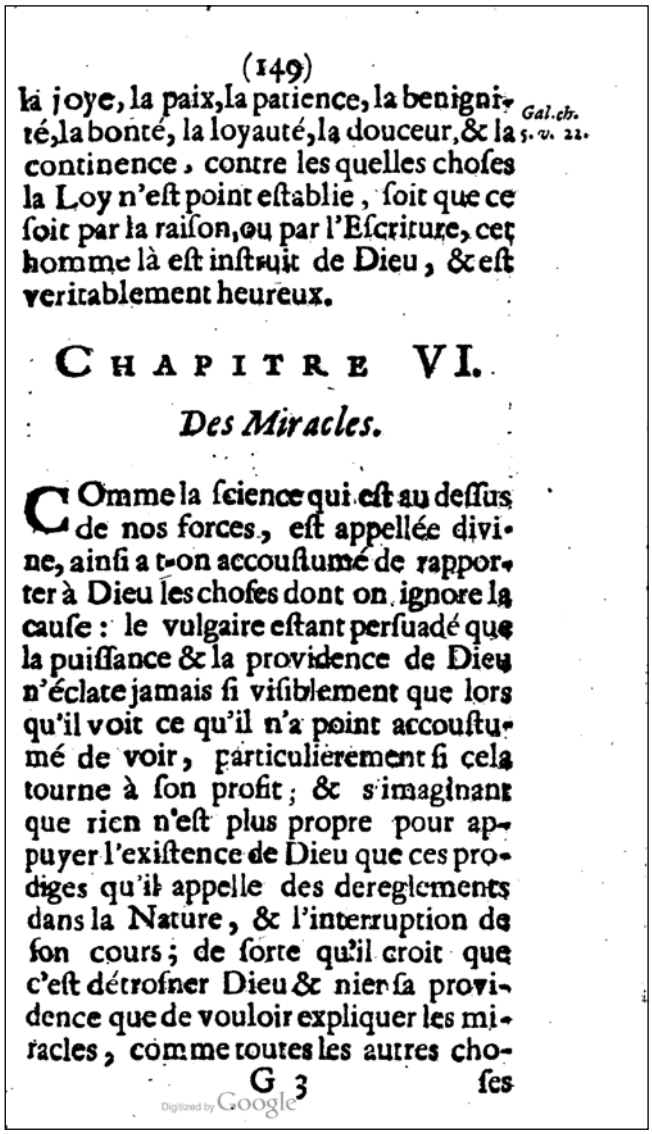
* *Les Iuifs s'imaginent que Dieu ne laiſſa à Noë que ſept commandements pour les Nations, mais beaucoup davantage pour les Hebreux afin de rendre leur election plus éclatante. & faire accroire qu'ils eſtoient de beaucoup plus heureux que les autres Nations.*

ILLUSTRATIONS 5.15 AND 5.16 Duodecimo editions X and Y, p. 147.

In this instance, Y has 'n'eût suivi que la ve | 'rité dans cette morale, & eût vescu de | mes-(me)'; four printed words less. In this instance, the book's typesetter was now one line behind X. Nevertheless, it appears the compositor apparently had the intention to follow the internal typographical arrangement of edition X planned beforehand. To keep further track with the text set in type by the typesetter in X, the compositor of Y was forced to justify the lines on those pages following page 147.[96] In both X and Y, the type area of the next page (148) runs to thirty typeset lines, but here Y's compositor was still one line behind X, which is patently shown on page 149. His solution can be also observed on page 149, which compensates for the space gradually lost on the pages 147 and 148.

On 149, the compositor added one extra line to the type area of the last portion of chapter 5 in Y. He also reduced the space given to the caption 'Chapitre vi' and of its title, '*Des Miracles*.'. Lines 1 and 2 read in X the following: 'la joye, la paix, la patience, la benigni- | té, la bonté, la loyauté, la douceur, & la'. In Y, 1 and 2 read thus: 'me dit S. Paul celuy qui a la charité, | la joye, la paix, la patience, la benigni-|té'. In summary, the Y's compositor's typesetting intervention easily restored the typographical arrangement of edition X within three pages. The last three lines

96 In printing, justification is the process of changing spaces between words in the composing stick one by one until lines were tight; this was achieved for example by splitting a word at the end of the line with a hyphen, varying the spelling of words, or using contractions. Gaskell (*A New Introduction*, p. 45): 'Moxon in the seventeenth century specified two sorts of spaces: thick spaces measuring four to the "em" (the body size of the type concerned), which is the same as the modern printer's middle space; and thin spaces, which measured seven to the em, considerably thinner than the modern thin space and in fact what would now be called a hair space.'



(149)

la joye, la paix, la patience, la benignité, la bonté, la loyauté, la douceur, & la continence, contre les quelles choſes la Loy n'eſt point eſtablie, ſoit que ce ſoit par la raiſon, ou par l'Eſcriture, cet homme là eſt inſtruit de Dieu, & eſt veritablement heureux. Gal. ch. 5. v. 22.

CHAPITRE VI.

Des Miracles.

COmme la ſcience qui eſt au deſſus de nos forces, eſt appellée divine, ainſi a t-on accouſtumé de rapporter à Dieu les choſes dont on ignore la cauſe : le vulgaire eſtant perſuadé que la puiſſance & la providence de Dieu n'éclate jamais ſi viſiblement que lors qu'il voit ce qu'il n'a point accouſtumé de voir, particulierement ſi cela tourne à ſon profit ; & s'imaginant que rien n'eſt plus propre pour appuyer l'exiſtence de Dieu que ces prodiges qu'il appelle des dereglements dans la Nature, & l'interruption de ſon cours ; de ſorte qu'il croit que c'eſt détroſner Dieu & nier ſa providence que de vouloir expliquer les miracles, comme toutes les autres choſes

G 3

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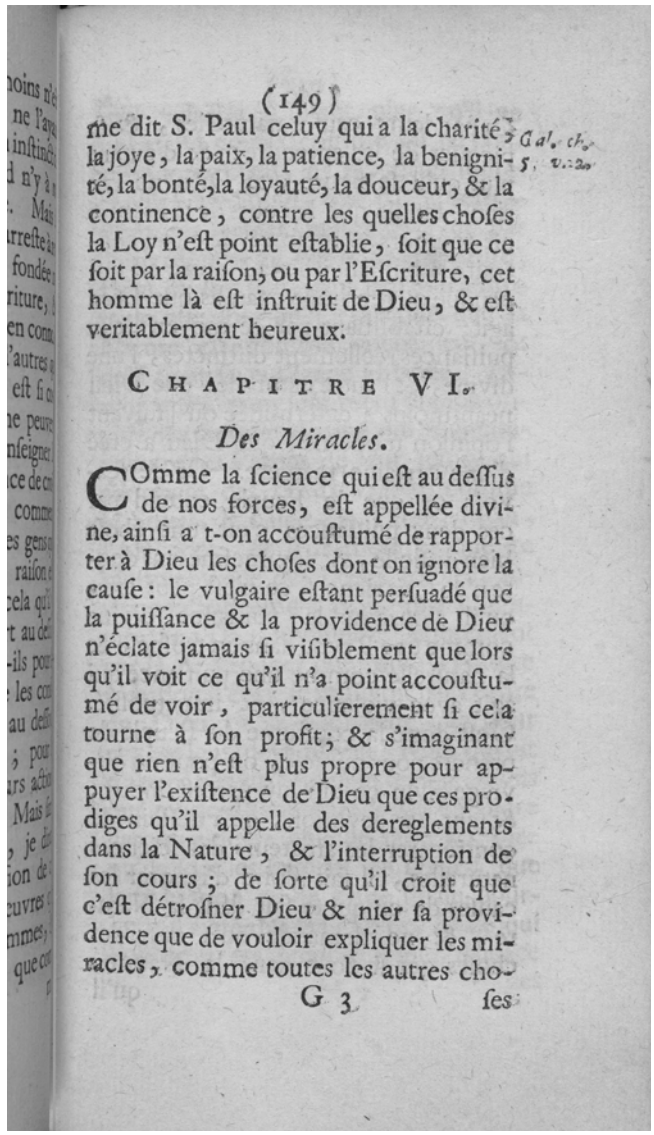

(149)

me dit S. Paul celuy qui a la charité, la joye, la paix, la patience, la benignité, la bonté, la loyauté, la douceur, & la continence, contre les quelles choſes la Loy n'eſt point eſtablie, ſoit que ce ſoit par la raiſon, ou par l'Eſcriture, cet homme là eſt inſtruit de Dieu, & eſt veritablement heureux. Gal. ch. 5. v. 22.

CHAPITRE VI.

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G 3

ILLUSTRATIONS 5.17 AND 5.18 Duodecimo editions X and Y, page 149.

of page 149 in Y prove to have concluded the compositor's typographical solution and these now read in X and Y:

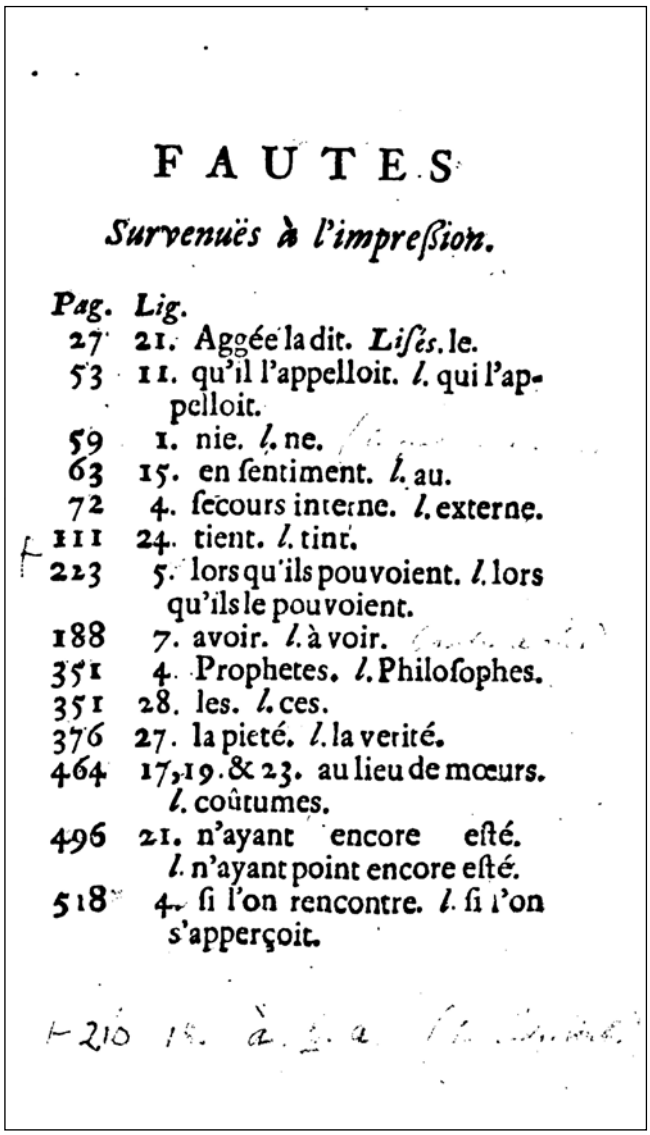
> c'est détroſner Dieu & nier sa provi-|dence que de vouloir expliquer les mi-|racles, commes toutes les autres cho-(ses) [par leurs causes naturelles]

Both French duodecimo editions X and Y contain an identical list of errata comprising fourteen corrections. The list was made after the typesetting and printing of the main text of X had been completed. As evinced by the list itself, most likely it had been a job done in the greatest haste: the correction indicated for page 223 has been printed between those corrections meant to be made by readers on pages 111 and 188. Two flaws from the list of errata were remedied in edition Y by its compositor. On page 59, in chapter 2, 'nie' in line 1 is corrected to 'ne'. Another correction by the typesetter of Y, made in chapter 7 on page 188 (line 7), introduced a new printing flaw. The list of errata instructs readers to remedy 'avoir' into 'à voir', but the edition's text however reads 'a voir'.

One instance, where both typesetters of X and Y went astray, concerns the corrupted text in chapter 1 starting on page 21, in line 24.[97] The spoiled text in X and Y reads:

> car nous voyons que | Pharaon ayant oui l'interpretation de ſon ſonge dit *que l'Eſprit des Dieux étoit en Joſeph*, & que Nabucadono- | ſor dit a Daniel *qu'il poſſedoit l'Eſprit des Dieux*. Saints & ſans aller ſi loin, |

97 Ibid., p. 17.



FAUTES

Survenuës à l'impreſſion.

Pag.	*Lig.*	
27	21.	Aggée la dit. *Liſés.* le.
53	11.	qu'il l'appelloit. *l.* qui l'appelloit.
59	1.	nie. *l.* ne.
63	15.	en ſentiment. *l.* au.
72	4.	ſecours interne. *l.* externe.
111	24.	tient. *l.* tint.
223	5.	lors qu'ils pouvoient. *l.* lors qu'ils le pouvoient.
188	7.	avoir. *l.* à voir.
351	4.	Prophetes. *l.* Philoſophes.
351	28.	les. *l.* ces.
376	27.	la pieté. *l.* la verité.
464	17,19.&23.	au lieu de mœurs. *l.* coûtumes.
496	21.	n'ayant encore eſté. *l.* n'ayant point encore eſté.
518	4.	ſi l'on rencontre. *l.* ſi l'on s'apperçoit.

ILLUSTRATION 5.19 List of errata in the X and Y edition.

> rien n'est ſi frequent chez les Latins [que cette façon de parler,]....

The passage in the French translation should actually read the following:

> car nous voyons que | Pharaon ayant oui l'interpretation de ſon ſonge dit *que l'Eſprit des Dieux étoit en Joſeph*, & que Nabucadono- | ſor dit a Daniel *qu'il poſſedoit l'Eſprit des Dieux Saints*. Et sans aller si loin, | rien n'est ſi frequent chez les Latins [que cette façon de parler,]....

Notice that the compositor of X and Y has put a full stop after '*des Dieux*' in the third sentence (first quotation), opening the next sentence with the word 'Saints & sans aller'. The correct text must read '*des Dieux Saints*. Et sans aller'.

Although the French translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was published in the Netherlands, it easy found its way to France. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, during the climax of absolutism, also the French authorities considered the work a pernicious book threatening divine religion and societal piece, like the Dutch authorities had already done by banning the work in a placard in the summer of 1674.[98] Evidence of this hostile French attitude towards the work is predominantly shown in the listing of copies of *Reflexions curieuses* and of *La Clef du san(c)tuaire* in a manuscript holding four inventories, indicating a series of suspect books seized and destroyed by police officers in Paris.[99]

The manuscript's first inventory, comprising 216 titles and dated 20 February 1687, was based on minutes made by police officers between mid-June 1678 and June 1686. This list mentions the seizure of a copy of 'La clef du sanctuaire par un scavant homme'.[100] The second catalogue, listing books impounded since 2 February 1686 from a Parisian bookseller by the name of 'Mr Pigeon' and burned by order of the 'Chambre Syndicale des Libraires' charged with inspection of foreign books, also mentions 'Un La Clef du Santuaire. 12.'.[101] A third list refers to 'deux la Clef du sanctuaire. 8.' which copies were seized on 4 and 26 March 1686 from the bookstore of one 'Mr Bridon'.[102] Lastly, a fourth list included in the manuscript reports of the Parish police force finally refers to 'Un Reflexion d'un Esprit désinteressé etc', a copy of which was confiscated on 17 December 1696 from a certain 'Mr Laurent Eude'.[103]

98 For the reception of Spinoza's writings in France: Pierre Claire, 'Spinoza à travers les journaux en langue française à la fin du XVII[e] siècle', *Cahiers Spinoza*, 2 (1978), pp. 207–239; Paul Vernière, *Spinoza et la Pensée française avant la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954); Paul-Laurent Assoun, 'Spinoza, les libertins français et la politique (1665–1725)', *Cahiers Spinoza*, 3 (1979–80), pp. 171–207. French interest in Spinoza and the prohibition of his writings, especially in the eighteenth century, is also studied in: Françoise Weil, 'La Curiosité pour Spinoza révélée dans les catalogues de ventes', in Paolo Christofolini, etc. (eds.), *Spinoza au XVIII[e] siècle. Actes des journées d'Études, organisées les 6 et 13 décembre 1987 à la Sorbonne* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1990), pp. 95–102.

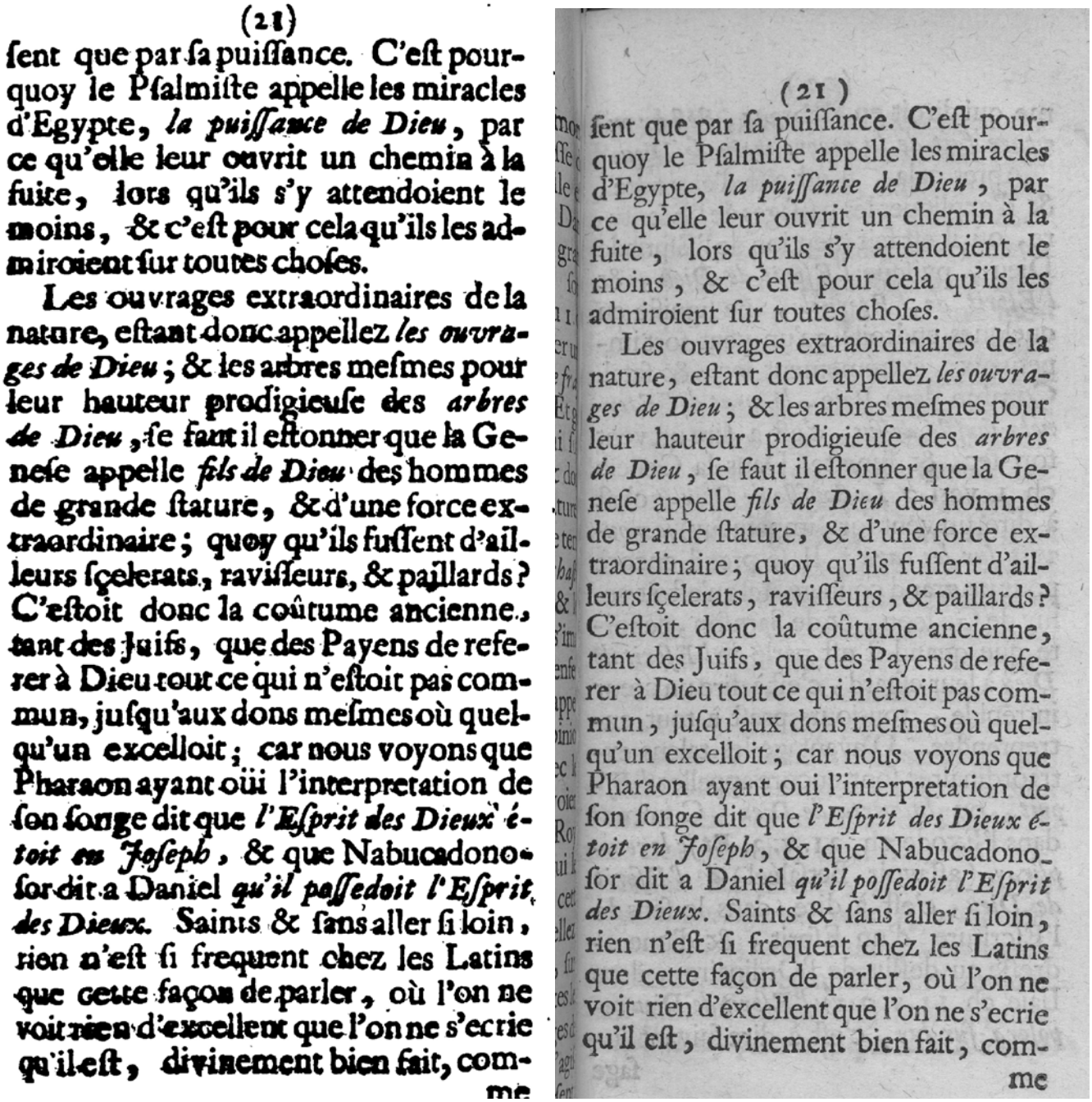
99 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. 'Manuscrits français', inv. no. 21.473. For an annotated edition: Anne Sauvy, *Livres saisis à Paris entre 1678 et 1701* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1972).

100 Ibid., p. 29, no. 204.

101 Ibid., p. 31, no. 223.

102 Ibid., p. 34, no. 325.

103 Ibid., p. 42, no. 568.



(21)

ſent que par ſa puiſſance. C'eſt pourquoy le Pſalmiſte appelle les miracles d'Egypte, *la puiſſance de Dieu*, par ce qu'elle leur ouvrit un chemin à la fuite, lors qu'ils s'y attendoient le moins, & c'eſt pour cela qu'ils les admiroient ſur toutes choſes.

Les ouvrages extraordinaires de la nature, eſtant donc appellez *les ouvrages de Dieu*; & les arbres meſmes pour leur hauteur prodigieuſe des *arbres de Dieu*, ſe faut il eſtonner que la Geneſe appelle *fils de Dieu* des hommes de grande ſtature, & d'une force extraordinaire; quoy qu'ils fuſſent d'ailleurs ſçelerats, raviſſeurs, & paillards? C'eſtoit donc la coûtume ancienne, tant des Juifs, que des Payens de referer à Dieu tout ce qui n'eſtoit pas commun, juſqu'aux dons meſmes où quelqu'un excelloit; car nous voyons que Pharaon ayant oüi l'interpretation de ſon ſonge dit que *l'Eſprit des Dieux étoit en Joſeph*, & que Nabucadonoſor dit a Daniel *qu'il poſſedoit l'Eſprit des Dieux*. Saints & ſans aller ſi loin, rien n'eſt ſi frequent chez les Latins que cette façon de parler, où l'on ne voit rien d'excellent que l'on ne s'ecrie qu'il eſt, divinement bien fait, comme

(21)

ſent que par ſa puiſſance. C'eſt pourquoy le Pſalmiſte appelle les miracles d'Egypte, *la puiſſance de Dieu*, par ce qu'elle leur ouvrit un chemin à la fuite, lors qu'ils s'y attendoient le moins, & c'eſt pour cela qu'ils les admiroient ſur toutes choſes.

Les ouvrages extraordinaires de la nature, eſtant donc appellez *les ouvrages de Dieu*; & les arbres meſmes pour leur hauteur prodigieuſe des *arbres de Dieu*, ſe faut il eſtonner que la Geneſe appelle *fils de Dieu* des hommes de grande ſtature, & d'une force extraordinaire; quoy qu'ils fuſſent d'ailleurs ſçelerats, raviſſeurs, & paillards? C'eſtoit donc la coûtume ancienne, tant des Juifs, que des Payens de referer à Dieu tout ce qui n'eſtoit pas commun, juſqu'aux dons meſmes où quelqu'un excelloit; car nous voyons que Pharaon ayant oui l'interpretation de ſon ſonge dit que *l'Eſprit des Dieux étoit en Joſeph*, & que Nabucadonoſor dit a Daniel *qu'il poſſedoit l'Eſprit des Dieux*. Saints & ſans aller ſi loin, rien n'eſt ſi frequent chez les Latins que cette façon de parler, où l'on ne voit rien d'excellent que l'on ne s'ecrie qu'il eſt, divinement bien fait, comme

ILLUSTRATIONS 5.20 AND 5.21 Duodecimo editions X and Y, p. 21.

9 Preliminary Bibliographical Research Results

The first conclusions of the investigation into the printing and publication history of the late-seventeenth-century editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and their variants processed during the 1670s conducted for this descriptive bibliography are now in order. They are visualized in the organogram printed below.

Hierarchies and interrelations between surviving and/or lost exemplars, the Latin quartos and octavo editions, the book's French translation by Saint Glen, and all their separate issues regarding typography, textual, misprints, and typeset corrections. Dotted lines in the chart represent uncertain relationships.

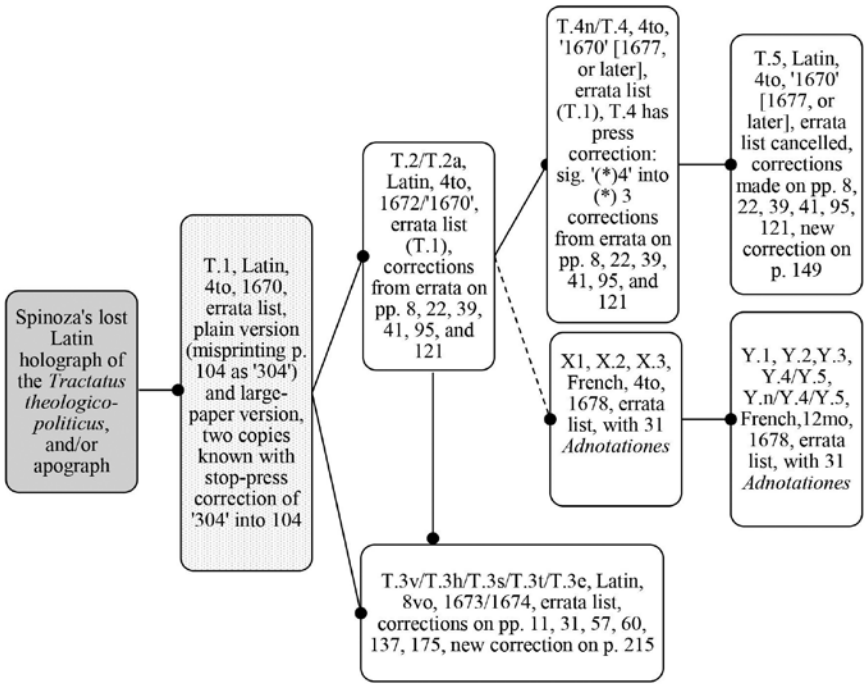


FIGURE 5.1
Preliminary bibliographical research results: the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* from Spinoza's holograph to its French translations.

FIRST DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, THREE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.22–5.24)

X.1 issue

Short Title

Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
- French text; no subsidiary languages.
- Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
- Title-page is a red herring.
- Epigraph on title-page: 2 Cor. 3:17.
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Leiden (for [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Pierre Warnaer' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
- Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
- Contains list of errata.

Key feature for ready identification of X.1:
- Title-page decoration: floral ornament A.

Additional identification features (also in X.2 and X.3):
- P. 22, l. 22: '*E-sprit*'.
- P. 23, l. 19: 'Iob'.
- P. 288, l. 21: '*Kaïn*'.

Exemplars

A now-lost Latin manuscript (either Spinoza's holograph or an apograph of it), or perhaps the Latin quarto T.2/T.2a; the autograph manuscript and/or an apograph of French translation by [Gabriel de Saint Glen], which has served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

*Title-Page (on outer Forme of Gathering *)*

LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle. | *La où eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté*, | 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette A) | A LEYDE, | Chez PIERRE WARNAER, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Language and Typography

French. Explanatory footnotes in italics, keyed with typographical symbols, notes and references to biblical passages in external margins (italic type). Larger portion of the prologue and list of contents (partly) in italics. Old-style serifed roman types from an unidentified Amsterdam printing firm. Generally, twenty-five and thirty lines. Variant X is printed on smaller sheets than edition Y.

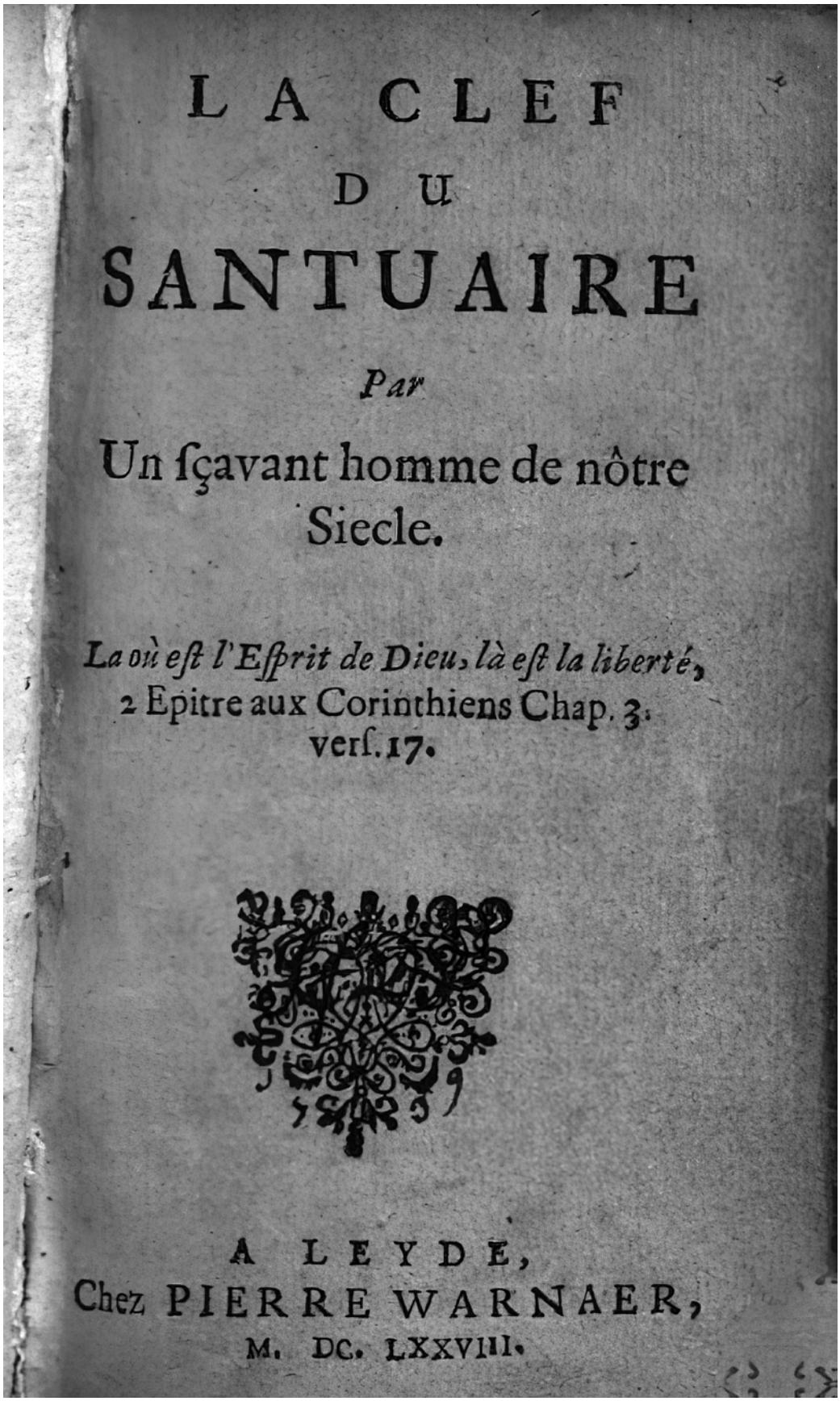
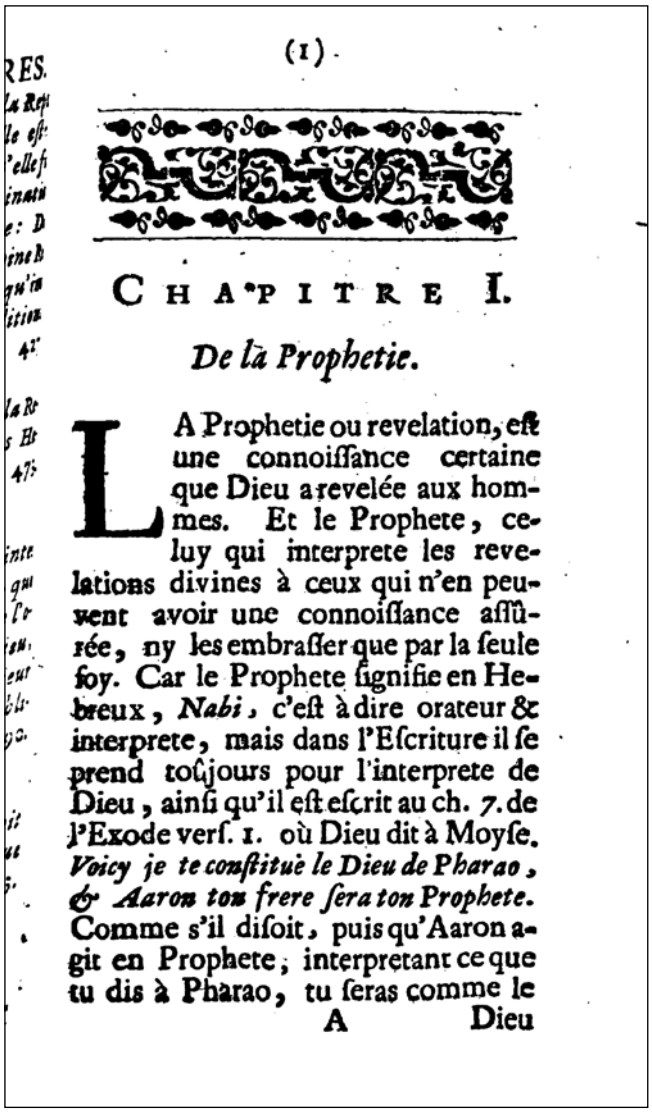

LA CLEF
DU
SANTUAIRE
Par
Un ſçavant homme de nôtre Siecle.
La où eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté,
2 Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. verſ. 17.
A LEYDE,
Chez PIERRE WARNAER,
M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.22 Title-page, decorated with ornament A, of issue X.1 of the first French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.



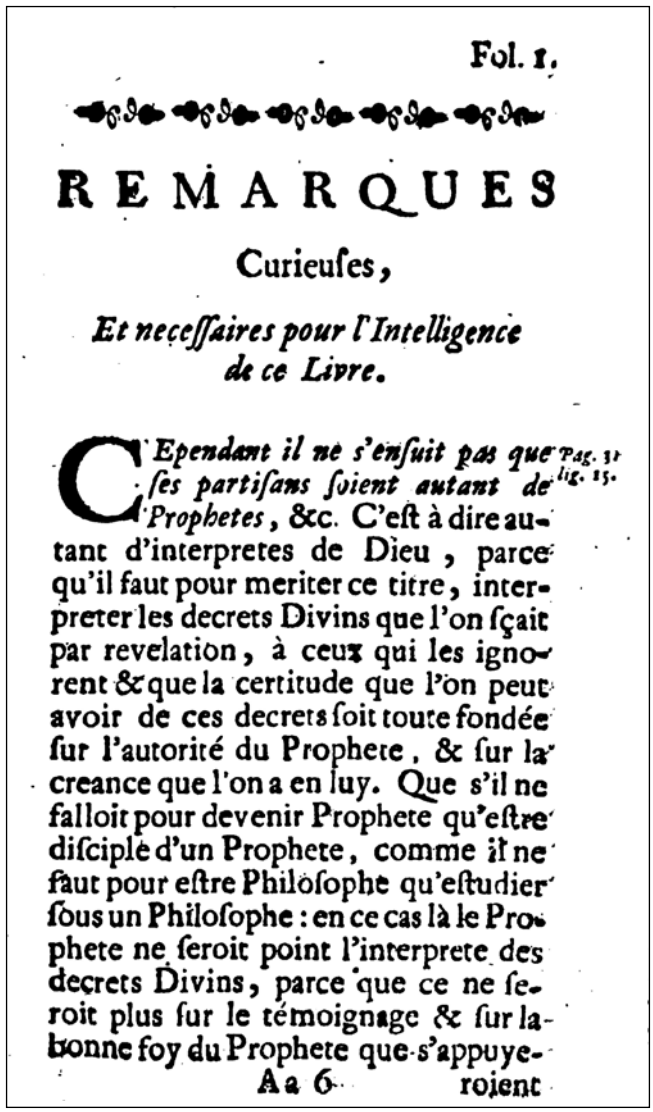
(1)

CHAPITRE I.

De la Prophetie.

LA Prophetie ou revelation, eſt une connoiſſance certaine que Dieu a revelée aux hommes. Et le Prophete, celuy qui interprete les revelations divines à ceux qui n'en peuvent avoir une connoiſſance aſſûrée, ny les embraſſer que par la ſeule foy. Car le Prophete ſignifie en Hebreux, *Nabi*, c'eſt à dire orateur & interprete, mais dans l'Eſcriture il ſe prend toûjours pour l'interprete de Dieu, ainſi qu'il eſt eſcrit au ch. 7. de l'Exode verſ. 1. où Dieu dit à Moyſe. *Voicy je te conſtituë le Dieu de Pharao, & Aaron ton frere ſera ton Prophete.* Comme s'il diſoit, puis qu'Aaron agit en Prophete, interpretant ce que tu dis à Pharao, tu ſeras comme le

A Dieu



Fol. 1.

REMARQUES

Curieuſes,

Et neceſſaires pour l'Intelligence de ce Livre.

CEpendant il ne s'enſuit pas que ſes partiſans ſoient autant de Prophetes, &c. C'eſt à dire autant d'interpretes de Dieu, parce qu'il faut pour meriter ce titre, interpreter les decrets Divins que l'on ſçait par revelation, à ceux qui les ignorent & que la certitude que l'on peut avoir de ces decrets ſoit toute fondée ſur l'autorité du Prophete, & ſur la creance que l'on a en luy. Que s'il ne falloit pour devenir Prophete qu'eſtre diſciple d'un Prophete, comme il ne faut pour eſtre Philoſophe qu'eſtudier ſous un Philoſophe: en ce cas là le Prophete ne ſeroit point l'interprete des decrets Divins, parce que ce ne ſeroit plus ſur le témoignage & ſur la bonne foy du Prophete que s'appuyeroient Pag. 31 lig. 15.

Aa 6

ILLUSTRATIONS 5.23 AND 5.24 First page of the French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and first page of the *Adnotationes*.

Prime Literals/Misprints

- P. 59, l. 1: misprint 'nie', indicated in the list of errata ('ne'), corrected in Y edition (inner forme of C).
- P. 186, l. 8: misprinted 'ave miracles' (inner forme of H), inventoried in the list of errata ('aux miracles'), corrected in Y.
- P. 386, note in external margin: misprint of biblical reference Exod. 34:14 as '*Exod. Ch. 4. v. 14.*' (outer forme of R).

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

167812 – a1 *2 rti$p : a2 **2 &$que
167812 – b1 A u$s : b2 Z2 I
167812 – c1 Z3 ent$re : c2 Aa4 $parla
167812 – d1 Aa6 ophet : d2 Bb5 honne

Collation

12°: *12 **4 A–Z12 Aa12 Bb8 [$6 (–Aa5, –Bb6), ** signed $2]
312 leaves = pp. [32] (1)–(531) [31] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6

Collation Variant

No variants found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin or in a combination of larger

upper-case and smaller lower-case letters: PREFACE.; TABLE (verso), *Des* CHAPITRES. (recto); TABLE des CHAPITRES (verso); TABLE.; REMARQUES (recto and verso). Main work without headlines.

Contents

*r–v	(blank)
*2r	(title-page)
*2v	(blank)
*3r–**2v	PREFACE.
3r–4v	TABLE *Des* CHAPITRES. (table of contents, twenty chapters)
Ar–B5r	CHAPITRE I. *De la Prophetie.*
B5v–C10r	CHAPITRE II. *Des Prophetes.*
C10r–Er	CHAPITRE III. *De la vocation des Hebreux, & si le don de Prophetie ne se trouvoit que parmi eux.*
Er–F2r	CHAPITRE IV. *De la Loy divine.*
F2r–G3r	CHAPITRE V. *Pour quelle fin des ceremonies ont esté instituées, & de la foy des histoires, à sçavoir en quel sens, & à qui elles sont necessaires.*
G3r–H9v	CHAPITRE VI. *Des Miracles.*
H9v–K9r	CHAPITRE VII. *De l'interpretation de l'Escriture.*
K9v–L10r	CHAPITRE VIII. *Que les cinq premiers livres de la Bible n'ont point esté écrits par Moyse, ny ceux de Josué, des Juges, de Rut, de Samuel, & des Roys par ceux dont ils portent le nom. On examine en suite si plusieurs Escrivains s'en sont mélez, ou s'il n'y en a eu qu'un, & qui c'est.*
L10v–M12v	CHAPITRE IX. *Quelques autres particularitez touchant les mesmes livres, à sçavoir si Esdras y a mis la derniere main: & si les notes qui se trouvent à la marge des livres Hebreux estoient des leçons differentes.*
Nr–N12r	CHAPITRE X. *Où le mesme ordre est observé dans l'Examen du reste des livres du vieux Testament.*
N12v–O8v	CHAPITRE XI. *Si les Apostres ont escrit leurs Epîtres entant qu'Apôtres & Prophetes, ou entant que Docteurs; & quel estoit leur Office.*
O9r–P6v	CHAPITRE XII. *Du veritable original de la Loy divine, & pourquoy l'Escriture est appellée sainte, & Parole de Dieu; Ensuite il est montré qu'entant qu'elle contient la Parole de Dieu, elle a toûjours esté incorruptible.*
P7r–Qv	CHAPITRE XIII. *Que l'Escriture n'enseigne que des choses fort simples, qu'elle n'exige que l'obeïssance, & qu'elle n'enseigne de la Nature divine que ce que les hommes peuvent imiter en un certain genre de vie.*
Qv–Q10r	CHAPITRE XIV. *Ce que c'est que la foy, quels sont les fidelles, & les fondements de la foy, & que celle-cy doit estre separée de la Philosophie.*
Q10r–R8r	CHAPITRE XV. *Que la Theologie ne releve point de la jurisdiction de la raison, ny la raison de celle de la Theologie, & la raison pourquoy nous sommes persuadez de l'Autorité de l'Escriture.*
R8v–S9v	CHAPITRE XVI. *Des fondements de la Republique, du droit naturel & civil de chaque particulier, & de celuy des Souverains.*
S10r–V9r	CHAPITRE XVII. *Que nul ne peut faire un transport absolu de tous ses droits au souverain, & qu'il n'est pas expedient: De la Republique des Hebreux, ce qu'elle estoit du vivant de Moyse, & ce qu'elle fut apres sa mort avant la domination des Roys, & de son excellence: Des causes de la chûte de cette divine Republique & qu'il estoit presqu'impossible qu'elle subsistât sans seditions.*
V9r–X5r	CHAPITRE XVIII. *Quelques reflexions Politiques sur la Republique, & sur les Histoires des Hebreux.*
X5v–Y5r	CHAPITRE XIX. *Que l'administration des choses saintes doit dépendre des Souverains, & que nous ne pouvons nous acquitter de l'obeïssance que nous devons à Dieu, qu'en accomodant le culte exterieur de la Religion, à la paix de la Republique.*
Y5r–Z2r	CHAPITRE XX. *Que dans une Republique libre il doit estre permis d'avoir telle opinion que l'on veut, & mesmes de la dire.*
Z2v–Aa4v	TABLE *Des matieres principales*, Contenues en ce Livre.
Aa5r	FAUTES *Survenuës en l'impreßion* (list of errata, thirteen corrections, for pp. 27, 53, 59, 63, 72, 111, 188, 223, 351 [2×], 376, 464, 496, 518)
Aa5v	(blank)
Aa6r–Bb8v	REMARQUES Curieuses, *Et necessaires pour l'Intelligence de ce Livre.* (text portion in volume holding the majority (thirty-one) of Spinoza's own *Adnotationes* in French)

Ornament on Title-Page

Floral fruit vignette A, relief woodcut, *c.*10×*c.*10 mm: interlaced tailpiece.

Simple Initials
Twenty-two plain initials (relief woodcuts), 4, 3 and 2 ll. (12×7 mm, 11×6 mm, and 6×6 mm), employed to head the first letter of the first word of Preface and chapters of main work. Nineteen other black initials (2 ll.) in list of contents.

Other Ornaments
Two types of small mirrored floral ornaments between two single rules (15×45 mm), wide horizontal block, placed on p. 1 to introduce the text of the main work.

Also in: *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2); *Traitté des ceremonies* (X.3). Different block in: *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire* (Y.1, Y.2, Y.3); *Reflexions curieuses*/*Traitté des ceremonies* (issue Y.4/Y.5).

Long ornamented 'line' of floral motives (2×47 mm), on 'Fol. 1.' of the 'Adnotationes', appended to the text of the main work.

In: *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2); *Traitté des ceremonies* (X.3). Other block in: *La Clef du san*(*c*)*tuaire* (Y.1, Y.2, Y.3); *Reflexions curieuses*/*Traitté des ceremonies* (Y.4/Y.5).

***Copies* (*27*)**

Copies Examined

X.1#1 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OK A 61-1505
Gilt red morocco binding, gilt edges, marbled endpapers, owned (1934) by: (Leo Polak (1880–1941), old shelf-mark: UBM 2452 E 26)
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding over pasteboard, gilt floral ornament in gilt-tooled rectangular triple rule on front and spine, marbled endpapers.
Provenance: nineteenth-century notes on the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and its disguised French text editions in black ink on first free endpapers, older shelf-mark (2452 E 26) in pencil on first front endpapers, black circular stamp ('Leo Polak stichting') on verso of title-page, ex libris of the Dutch philosopher and humanist Leo Polak on pasteboard, signed '1934'.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=ZYhjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

X.1#2 Ghent, University Library, BIB j BIB.TH.002722
Provenance: older (struck out) shelf-mark of Ghent (UL) in black ink on first front endpapers (TH 2722), nineteenth-century circular stamp of same library on title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.be/books?id=2gBcAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

X.1#3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-5213
Provenance: note on authorship on title-page ('Spinosa') in black ink, possibly late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century, older shelf-marks in black ink (D^2 2782, D 7264), eighteenth-century black circular library stamp ('Bibliothecae Regiae') on title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k955608/f1.image.r=spinoza.langEN

Non-Collated Copies
Netherlands (*2*)
X.1#4 Leiden, University Library, 180 G 8

X.1#5 The Hague, KB, 1138 J 68

Austria (*1*)
X.1#6 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *43.Y.142 ALT PRUNK

Canada (*1*)
X.1#7 Montreal, Université de Monréal, University Library, 199.492/Tf.F/Livre/rare

France (*5*)
X.1#8–9 Montpellier, Réseau des Médiathèques, 42734, L839 (Patrimoine-Sabatier d'Espeyran)

X.1#10–11 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 4-D2-35005, 8-T-10483

X.1#12 Paris, Sorbonne-BIU Centrale, R 5 = 364

Germany (*5*)
X.1#13 Augsburg, University Library, 221/BG 6440 S758 (engraved nineteenth-century ex libris, [eighteenth-century?] handwriting in brown ink on title-page ['Spinosa'], ['Orbi resplendens'] of revd. J. Jones and W. Wilds, modern note in pencil: 'Burned by the common hangman, this edition is very [rare]').

X.1#14 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Phil.C.498

X.1#15 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 phil I,4982

X.1#16 Rostock, University Library, Fa-4171

X.1/#17 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Xb 7002Sweden (1)

Sweden (*1*)
X.1#18 Stockholm, Royal Library, 173

Switzerland (*1*)
X.1#19 Basle, University Library, Frey-Grynn, J vii 40

United Kingdom (*3*)
X.1#20 Cambridge, University Library, X.16.46 (copy came to the library [1715] with the books of John Moore [1646–1714], Bishop of Ely, presented by King George I [1660–1727]).

X.1#21 London, British Library, General Reference Collection 4017.de.16

X.1#22 Manchester, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Shackleton Collection, R168272 (title-leaf wanting, manuscript title-page substituted, with transcription of Leiden title-page appended opposite).

United States (*5*)
X.1#23 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

X.1#24 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985.F8 S13 1678 tiny

X.1#25 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1678a (inscription on title-page by a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century hand: 'est hereticus').

X.1#26 New York (NY), New York Public Library, **P 08-80

X.1#27 Washington (DC), The Library of Congress, B3985.F5 L8 ft MEADE SpecMat / Mini (owner's inscription in black ink on foot of title-page: 'Er: von Roland 1717', note on edition in the same hand on verso of endpaper opposite title-page).

References
Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Guillaume-François de Bure (ed.), *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de mr. G ... de P ...* (Paris: 1757), p. xiii, no. 184; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 10; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 370; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 17–18, no. 13.

⁘

first duodecimo edition, one single print run, three issues (illustration 5.25)

X.2 issue

Short Title
Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
– French text; no subsidiary languages.
– Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen]
– Title-page is a red herring.
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Cologne (for [Amsterdam]).
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Claude Emanuel' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
– Contains preface.
– Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
– Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
– Contains list of errata.
Key features for ready identification of X.2:
– Title-page, l. 7, spelling: '*falut*'.
– Title-page decoration: small yoke ornament.
Additional identification features (also in X.1 and X.3):
– P. 22, l. 22: '*E-sprit*'.
– P. 23, l. 19: 'Iob'.
– P. 288, l. 21: '*Kaïn*'.

Exemplars
A now-lost Latin manuscript (either Spinoza's holograph or an apograph of it), or Latin quarto T.2/T.2a (?); the autograph manuscript and/or an apograph of French translation by [Gabriel de Saint Glen], which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

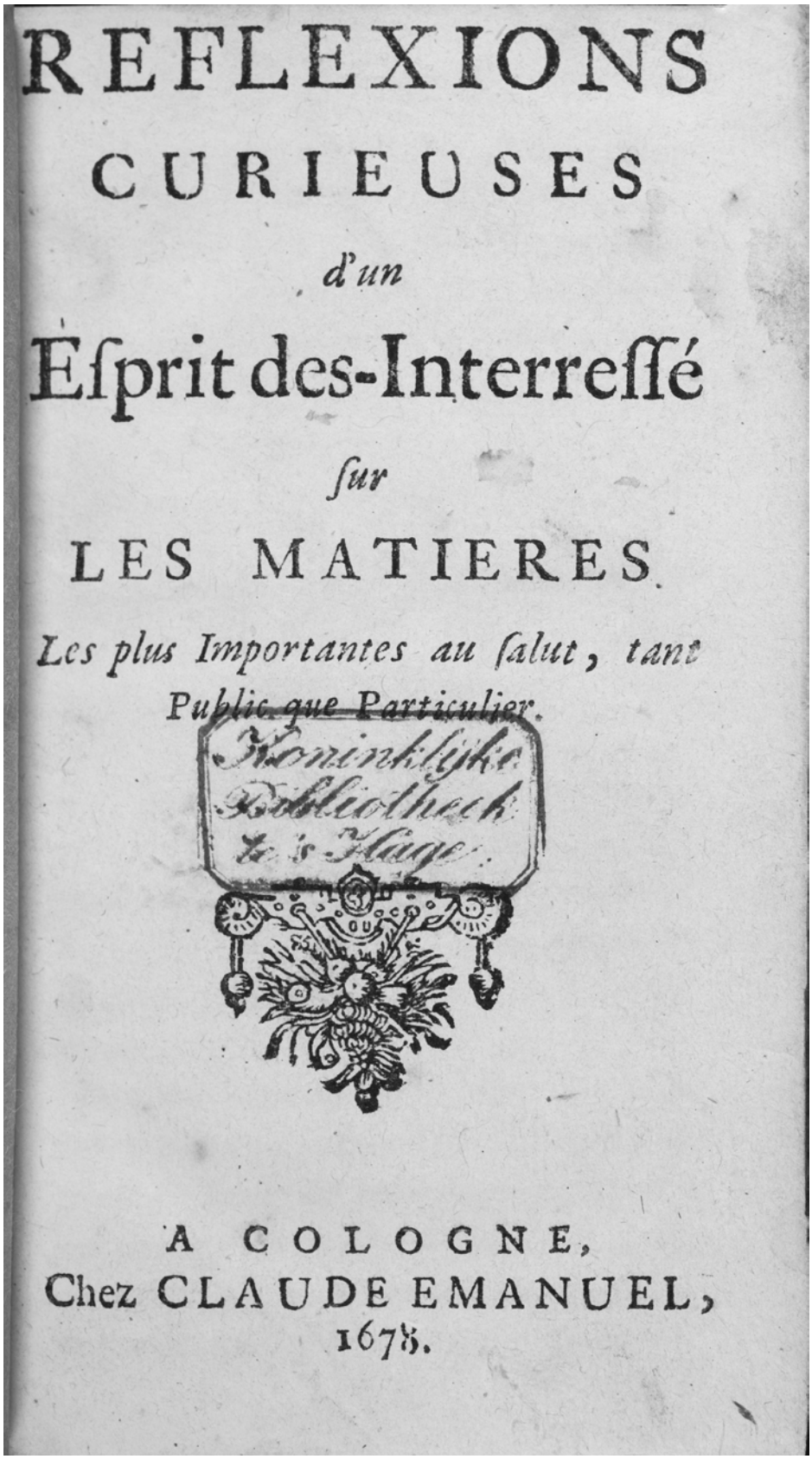

REFLEXIONS
CURIEUSES
d'un
Eſprit des-Interreſſé
ſur
LES MATIERES
Les plus Importantes au ſalut, tant
Public que Particulier.
Koninklijke
Bibliotheek
's Hage.
A COLOGNE,
Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL,
1678.

ILLUSTRATION 5.25 Title-page, decorated with small yoke ornament, of issue X.2 of the first French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* *)**
REFLEXIONS | CURIEUSES | *d'un* | Eſprit des-Interreſſé | *fur* | LES MATIERES | *Les plus Importantes au ſalut, tant* | *Public que Particulier*. | (reduced yoke ornament) | A COLOGNE, | Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL, | 1678.

Collation
12°: *12 **4 A–Z12 Aa12 Bb8 [$6 (–Aa5, –Bb6), ** signed $2] 312 leaves = pp. [32] (1)–(531) [12] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6

Ornament on Title-Page
Reduced yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Also on title-pages of: *Reflexions curieuses* (Y.4). Tailpiece in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*. *See*: T.1.

For full bibliographical description: X.1.

***Copies* (*30*)**

Copies Examined
X.2#28 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol.g. 902 dm
Late-seventeenth-century calf leather binding over pasteboard.
Provenance: library stamp of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, older partly illegible shelf-mark ([…].822, struck out) on first front endpapers.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10770858-7

X.2#29 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-5215
Provenance: note on authorship on one of the first front endpapers ('Spinosa autheur') in black ink, probably late seventeenth or eighteenth century, older shelf-marks in black ink (D2 2783, D 2704.1), eighteenth-century black circular library stamp ('Bibliothecae Regiae').
Digitized copy:
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9556 1m

X.2#30 Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, 31 L 000165
Seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard.
Provenance: front and back cover of the binding has a large blind-tooled oblong coat of arms of Ignaz Karl (*fl.*1665–1700), Count of Sternberg ('IGNATIUS CAROLUS S.R.I. COMES DE STERNBERG'), late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription and shelf-mark in black ink on title-page ('Ex Bibliotheca Ill. Dmn. Dmi. Ignatij Caroli S.R.I. à Sternberg'; K.12° […] 19), nineteenth-century shelf-mark (31.h.60) in black ink on front cover, owner's inscriptions in black ink on the French translation on one of the first free endpapers.
Digitized copy:
https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=vdRjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=nl&pg=GBS.PP7

X.2#31 The Hague, KB, 1138 J 67
Late-seventeenth-century marbled leather binding over pasteboard, round back, detailed gilt-tooled (floral ornaments) spine, gilt red lettering panel: 'REFLEXIONS | D'UN ESPRIT | DES-INTERESSÉ', red-stained edge, marbled endpapers with twentieth-century hand notes (older shelf-marks?) with pencil, one reading strangely: 'Elzevier, auctore de Spinoza'. One other eighteenth-century explanatory note in black ink with a reference to the French edition X.3 (*Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses*).
Provenance: nineteenth-century owner's stamp (The Hague, KB).
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=12&resultClick=1

X.2#32 Utrecht, University Library, Rariora Y oct 1902
Nineteenth-century or early-twentieth-century (restored?) brown leather binding over pasteboard, simple gilt back, gilt lettering panel: 'REFLEXIONS | CURIEUSES', red sprinkled edge, nineteenth-century notes in black ink on the authorship of the book and other hidden editions).
Provenance: eighteenth-century note in black ink on title-page ('Par Spinoza'), circular library stamp (Utrecht, University Library) in outer lower right corner, C4741 (second part, p. 30).

X.2#33 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 75.H.78
Stained late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, minor brown spotting to leaves.
Provenance: late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century owner's mark ('Ex. lib. franc: Prehorow[itzij] L.B. de [L]uaszego[eits]') on foot of title-page in black ink, early-twentieth-century notes on the edition in black ink, printed late-twentieth-century bookplate of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

pasted to first board paper, circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ182990402

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*1*)

X.2#34 Groningen, University Library, uklu, kwa 3405 (late-seventeenth-century gilt calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular rule on cover, gold-tooled spine with lettering panel: 'REFLEXIONS', red stained edges, unidentified [German?] library stamp on title-page in purple ink, old library signatures ['2190', 'Böi 97']).

Belgium (*1*)

X.2#35 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, fs xxxv 1.460 A 1 (rp)

Finland (*1*)

X.2#36 Helsinki, University Library, H 778.viii.22

France (*5*)

X.2#37 Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque communautaire et interuniversitaire, 65762 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding [damaged] with gold-tooled inverted monogram 'DD', gold-tooled spine with lettering panel: 'REFLEXIONS | DE | SPINOZA', label ['Bibliotheca Lamoniana D' pasted on front board paper], paper label on foot reading 'Legs Antoine et Marie-Louise Grenier', owner's note on last pastedown: 'Émile Broussais' [1855–1943], circular library stamp [Bibliothèque communautaire et interuniversitaire] on title-page).

X.2#38–40 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fb 26550, D 88687, D2-501

X.2#41 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, T-1048

Germany (*3*)

X.2#42 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Phil. 5274.

X.2#43 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Phil 1,4984

X.2#44 Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2746 (brown spotting to pages, eighteenth-century owner's note in black ink on title-page: 'l'auteur de ce livre est Benoit | Spinoza vid: Voigt Catalog: p. 68 | livre fort rare').

Sweden (*1*)

X.2#45 Uppsala, University Library, Filos teoret.

Switzerland (*2*)

X.2#46–47 Geneva, University Library, bge Bc 1614, bge S 19689

United Kingdom (*2*)

X.2#48 London, British Library, 855.a.12

X.2#49 Manchester, University Library, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, 10501

United States (*8*)

X.2#50 Berkeley (CA), University of California, University Library, Bancroft B3985 F7 1678 \t\

X.2#51 Cambridge (MA), University Library, *nc 6 Sp476 E h 678 Caa

X.2#52 Chicago (IL), University Library, Special Collections, Ludwig Rosenberger Library of Judaica, Rosenberger 156–16

X.2#53 Cincinnati (OH) Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

X.2#54 Los Angeles (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection, shelf-mark is not known

X.2#55 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1678c

X.2#56 New York (NY), The New York Public Library, **p

X.2#57 University Park (PA), PennState University Libraries, Eberly Family Special Collections Library, B 3985.F5S3 1678 (eighteenth-century French owner's note on the contents of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' written on endpaper facing title-page).

References

Placcius, *Theatrum*, 1708, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469;

Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 11; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 371; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 18, no. 14.

⁘

FIRST DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, THREE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.26)

X.3 issue

Short Title
Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, 'Jacob Smith', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
- French text; no subsidiary languages.
- Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
- Title-page is a red herring.
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Jacob Smith' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
- Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
- Contains list of errata.

Key feature for ready identification of X.3:
- Title-page decoration: floral ornament E

Additional identification features (also in X.1 and X.2):
- P. 22, l. 22: '*E-sprit*'.
- P. 23, l. 19: 'Iob'.
- P. 288, l. 21: '*Kaïn*'.

Exemplar
A now-lost Latin manuscript (either Spinoza's holograph or an apograph of it), or Latin quarto T.2/T.2a (?); the autograph manuscript and/or an apograph of French translation by [Gabriel de Saint Glen], which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering **)**
TRAITTÉ | *Des* | Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes | DES | JUIFS | tant Anciens que Modernes. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette E) | A AMSTERDAM, | (rule) | Chez JACOB SMITH, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Collation
12°: $*^{12}$ $**^{4}$ A–Z^{12} Aa^{12} Bb^{8} [$6 (–Aa5, –Bb6), ** signed $3] 312 leaves = pp. [*32*] (1)–(531) [*31*] 1–30

One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6

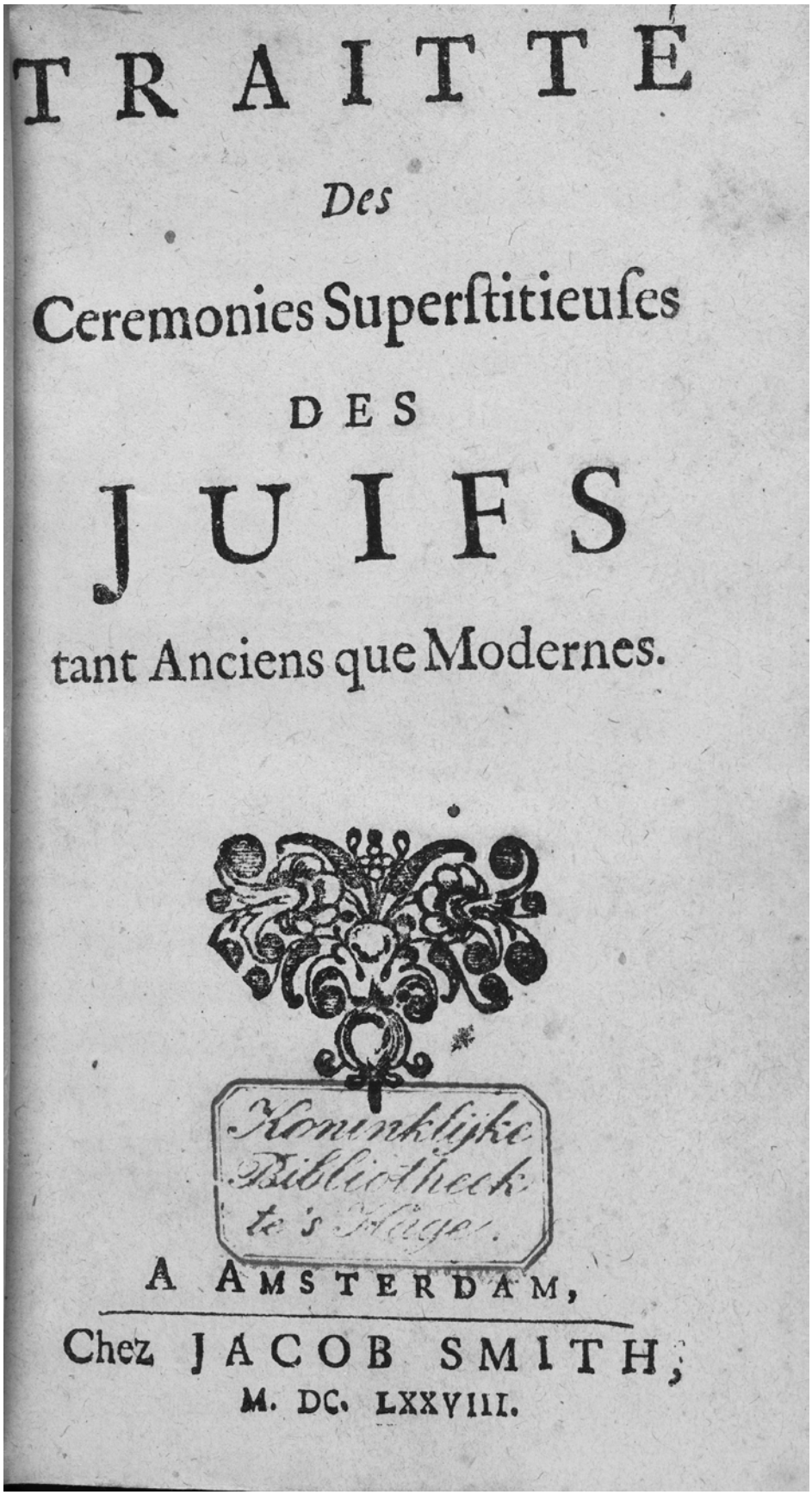
Ornament on Title-Page
Floral fruit vignette E, relief woodcut, 22×28 mm.

For full bibliographical description: X.1.

***Copies* (*53*)**

Copies Examined
X.3#58 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: ROK A 1045
Provenance: older shelf-mark of the Amsterdam Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana ('Ros. 1883 G 4').
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=WYNjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

X.3#59 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Pol.g. 902 dn
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, shelf-mark (Pol.g. 902 dn) and owner's mark ('GLvL') on first front endpapers.
Provenance: personal copy of Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, German polymath and first editor of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* (1802). The latter scholar wrote in the upper margin of the title-page in black ink: 'B. de Spinoza'. At the right side of the ornament, he wrote his own name: 'De Murr'. Another hand wrote the capital letters X (upper right corner) and R (in front of the word 'Juifs' in line 5) of the title-page. The copy contains many underlines and marginal French annotations in black ink by Von Murr. He filled in the corrections suggested in the list of errata (page of 'Fautes' vertically crossed out with a full stroke of the pen with black ink). On folio 1 of the *Adnotationes*, Von Murr wrote the following: 'Traduit du manuscript de Spinoza'. Other annotations by another eighteenth-century (?) hand, also in English. Library stamp (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10770859-7


TRAITTÉ

Des

Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes

DES

JUIFS

tant Anciens que Modernes.

Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's Gravenhage

A AMSTERDAM,

Chez JACOB SMITH,

M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.26 Title-page, decorated with ornament E, of issue X.3 of the first French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

X.3#60 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, SALA FARN. 06. A 0042
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard.
Collation: Preface complete, but text of page 1 (following 2) also in an eighteenth-century handwritten hand in black ink preceding page 2, gathering *12 bound in the following manner: $*3^{12}$, $*2^{12}$, $*5^{12}$, $*4^{12}$, $*7^{12}$, $*6^{12}$, $*9^{12}$, $*8^{12}$, $*11^{12}$, $*10^{12}$.
Provenance: eighteenth-century inscription on authorship on title-page in black ink: 'Ouvrage traduit du latin de Spinosa, par de Saint-Glain', circular library (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II) on title-page, Giuseppe Maria Parascandolo (*fl.*1822–1838).

X.3#61 The Hague, KB, 589 K 38
Late-seventeenth-century half- leather (calf) binding over pasteboard, yellow paper on cover sprinkled with black ink, round back, gilt lettering panel on spine: 'CEREMONI | SUPERSTIT. | DES Juifs', red-stained edge, minor spotting to paper.
Provenance: late-nineteenth-century owner's stamp on title-page (KB), shelf-mark on three small oblong labels pasted on back, repair with two modern endpapers, shelf-marks (18 a 4, 589 K 38) in early-twentieth-century handwriting, copy heavily trimmed.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayThumbnails.do?ItemID=%20ned-kbn-all-00007272-001%20&ItemNumber=26&resultClick=1

X.3#62 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.8Z.19
Gilt brown calf armorial binding, marbled pasteboards and flyleaves.
Provenance: eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on the last first endpaper: 'Est hic rarissimus liber, | cuius latina edition | ediit sub titulo: Spino- | zae tractatus Theologico-politicus | valet [...] b.', in another probably early-nineteenth-century hand: 'versio facta per D. de | S. Glain', owner's inscription on verso of title-page: 'Adami Francisci Kollari Pannerii Neosoliensis 1762.' (Adam František Kollár, 1718–1783, historian), circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on back of title-page, twentieth-century bookplate (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) on pastedown.
https://books.google.nl/books?id=lEVjAAAAcAAJ&pg=PP17&dq=traité+des+ceremonies+superstitieuses+anciens+que+modernes&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwij7eiik5LPAhVDDxoKHQxgAIQQ6AEIZzAJ#v=onepage&q=trait%C3%A9%20des%20ceremonies%20superstitieuses%20anciens%20que%20modernes&f=false

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*3*)

X.3#63–65 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OK 63–2883, 589 K 38, 444 G 33

Austria (*1*)

X.3#66 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 593098-A.Alt.Mag.

Belgium (*1*)

X.3#67 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, FS XXXV 1.463 A (RP)

France (*9*)

X.3#68 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 805551 (incomplete copy, main text runs up to p. 288)

X.3#69–70 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8 T 10481, 8 T 10482

X.3#71–75 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2-5210, D2-5211, D2-5212, 26550, P92/1846

X.3#76 Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Rés. 8 D SUP 21 RES

Germany (*7*)

X.3#77 Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek, I 149–174 (vellum wrapper, handwritten notes [corrections of errata], formerly in the possession of the Brunswick retiree Georg Winter ['Georg Winter | März 1894'], older shelf-marks in pencil on pasteboard).

X.3#78 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Phil. C.499

X.3#79–80 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 TH TH I, 608/57-v

X.3#81 Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2747

X.3#82 Leipzig, University Library, Philos. 468-m

X.3#83 Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Günther Uecker, Id II g 917 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding).

Italy (2)

X.3#84 NAPLES, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, BIB. PROV. 5. 509 (olim: Andrea Tontoli).

X.3#85 ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb.G.VI.134

Norway (1)

X.3#86 TRONDHEIM, University Library, GO Ap8 Spi

Sweden (1)

X.3#87 UPPSALA, University Library, Filos teoret

Switzerland (1)

X.3#88 LAUSANNE, University Library, TH 771

United Kingdom (11)

X.3#88–90 ABERDEEN, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, King's College, SB 1939 Spi j (bound in brown leather, stamped in gold, all edges gilt, brown coated endpapers, front cover detached), BCL B6244 (two eighteenth-century owner's inscriptions on title-page in brown ink ['Stephen Jollie', 'Etienne Jolly'] in the same hand, below another late-seventeenth-century handwritten text reading the following: 'ce n'est q'une Traduction de Tractatus Theologico-Politici de B.D. Spinoza', text pencilled cross on title-page).

X.3#91 CAMBRIDGE, King's College, Keynes.Cc.6. 13/1–2 (copy divided in two parts [vol. 1: pp. 1–288; vol. 2: pp. 289–531, 1–30], three title-pages, bound in in this particular order: Y.5 [text added in black ink: 'Premiere Partie'], Y.4, and X.1, title-page of 'second' volume bound in, preceded by a perfectly hand-drawn imitation in black ink of Y.5 [with text: 'Seconde Partie'], eighteenth-century French marbled calf binding, bound by Nicolas-Denis Derome [1731–1790] the Younger [Parisian bookbinder and one of the Gardes en Charge of the Community of the Master Binders and Guilders of the City and University of Paris], gold-tooled triple fillets on sides and spines, gold-tooled title on spine, gilt edges, College library stamp in red ink opposite to X.1, bequest of the British economist John Maynard Keynes [1883–1946]).

X.3#92 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College, F.1.56 (old shelfmark : 'E.1.60').

X.3#93 EDINBURGH, University Library, DPL 829 (calf binding, red sprinkled edges, from the library of John Hutton [1649/50–1712], also owned by the Dumfries Presbytery Library, Edinburgh Library stamp in black ink on title-page).

X.3#94 LONDON, British Library, 220.b.17 (eighteenth-century owner's note on title-page in black ink on translator: 'Saint-Glain').

X.3#95 LONDON, Lambeth Palace, B585.S6 (nineteenth-century Lambeth Palace Library in black ink on title-page).

X.3#96 OXFORD, All Souls College, r.20.8 (late-seventeenth century mottled calf covering, college device in gilt on upper board, pairs of blind fillets towards outer edges of upper and lower boards, gilt decoration on spine, red- and yellow-sprinkled text block edges, College bookplate [John Henderson Smith, 'The Book-Plates of All Souls' College, Oxford', 1899, no. 9] on inside of upper board).

X.3#97 OXFORD, Bodl., Douce S 579 (title-page lost, replaced by a handwritten sheet imitating the original title-page of *Traitté des ceremonies*, copy formerly in the possession of the English antiquary Francis Douce [1757–1834]).

X.3#98 OXFORD, Harris Manchester College, X 1678/20 (late-seventeenth-century or early- eighteenth-century calf wrapper, sewn on four supports, blind-tooled double fillets towards outer edges of boards, marbled edges, Jacobean armorial bookplate [motto: 'Virtus vincint invidiam'] of Marquess Charles Cornwallis [1738–1805] on the inside of upper board, bookplate of donor reverend James Martineau [1805–1900] on inside of lower board reading: 'From the Library of the Rev. James Martineau', note on first free endpaper about provenance: 'James Martineau from R.M. Mar. 20. 1885').

X.3#999 WINDSOR, Eton College, Ei.3.34 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf gilt binding over pasteboard, gilt spine, gilt lettering panel: 'CEREMONI | DES | IUIFS', copy donated to Eton College by its former fellow Dr John Reynolds [1671–1758] in 1751, editor of Pomponius Mela's first-century *Chorographia*, with Reynolds's bookplate).[104]

United States (11)

X.3#100 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard Divinity School, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, R.B.R. 17 .465 S758 4trcf 1678 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, seventeenth-century owner's monogram ['M.B.']

104 For the Reynolds's collection in Eton College library: Robert Birley, *The History of Eton College Library* (Eton: The Provost & Fellows of Eton, 1970), pp. 41–44.

on first pastedown, two eighteenth-century black ink stamps on front pasteboard, eighteenth-century shelf-mark ['R. 48'] in black ink on title-page, transferred from the Harvard Law Library in 1924).

X.3#101 CHICAGO (IL), University Library, Special Collections, B 3985 A6 S2 (brief notations in several hands on front flyleaf, title-page and back pastedown).

X.3#102 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark is not known

X.3#103 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3985.F8 S13 1678b tiny

X.3#104 KENT (OH), Kent State University Libraries, B 3985 .A3 1670 (severely damaged brown leather binding, textual underlines, notes on the French translation on first front flyleaf in nineteenth-century hand, formerly owned by Columbia University, bookplate of Adolphe S. Oko [1883–1944]: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana, Adolphe S. Oko').

X.3#105 NEWARK (DE), University of Delaware, B 3985. F5 T73 (illegible owner's inscription on title-page dated '1751').

X.3#106 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1678e (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, two metal fastenings, eighteenth-century note [auction price?] on title-page: '41–10').

X.3#107 PITTSBURGH (PA), University Library, Bradford Campus Library, B 3985.F7 1678 (late-seventeenth-century red morocco binding, first front endpaper reads : 'Shapiro, Valdentine (London 59) Rose Judaica no. 4', title-page: 'August 25, 1970 Margaret Lowenthal gift', bookplate of University Pittsburgh, Bradford).

X.3#108 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary vellum binding, bookseller's ticket pasted on to front free paper, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

X.3#109 STANFORD (CA), Stanford University, Taube Collection, TBR 0031 CB

X.3#110 TUCSON (AR), University of Arizona, University Library, B 3985.F7 1678 (owner's note in black ink on first endpapers, dated 12 April 1704).

References

Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 12; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 18–19, no. 15.

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SECOND DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.27)

Y.1 issue

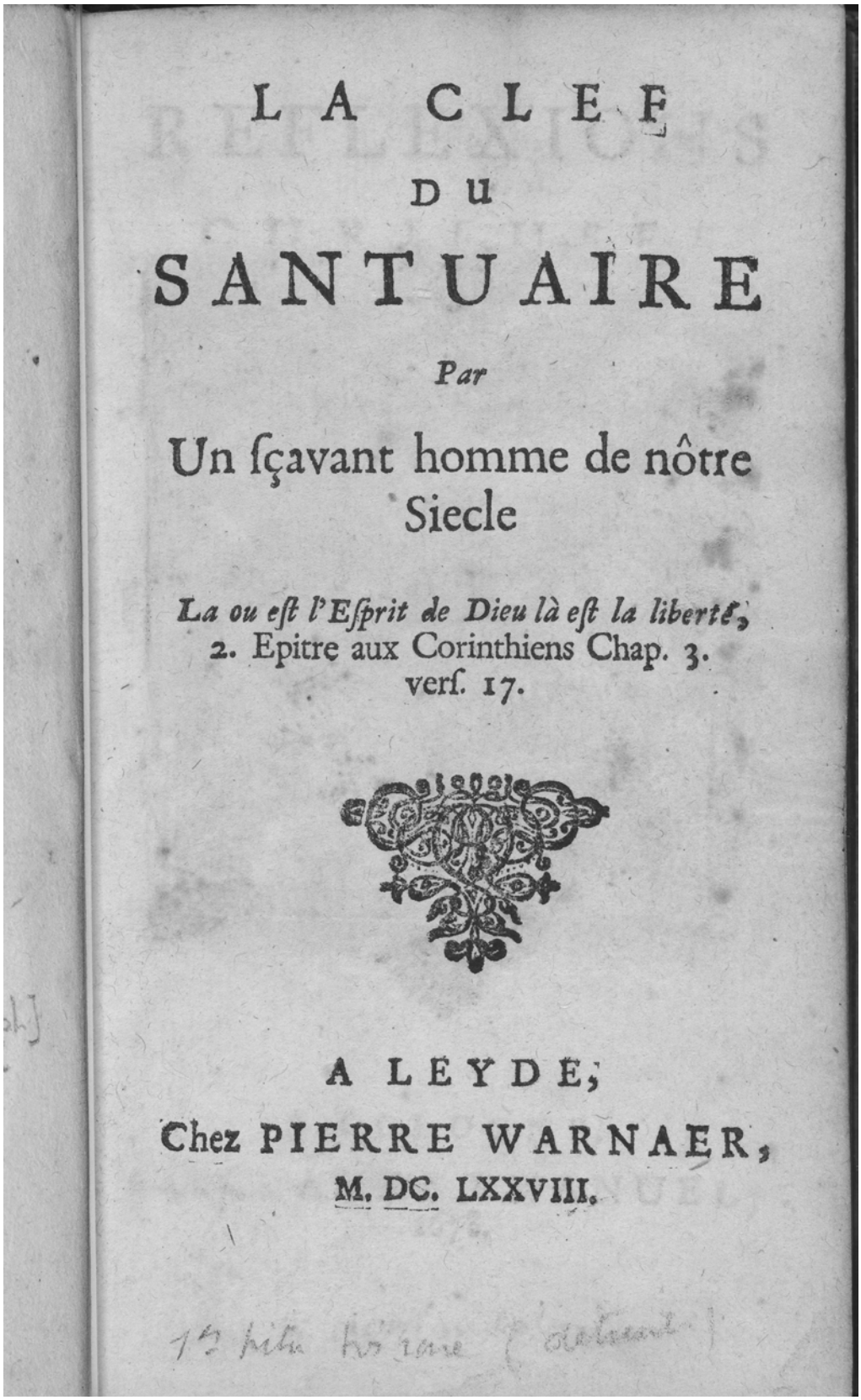
Short Title

Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
- French text; no subsidiary languages.
- Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
- Title-page is a red herring.
- Epigraph on title-page: 2 Cor. 3:17.
- Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Leiden (for [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Pierre Warnaer' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
- Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
- Contains list of errata.

Key feature for ready identification of Y.1:
- Title-page decoration: floral ornament B.

Additional identification features (also in Y.2, Y.3, Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5):
- Sig. *9^{v}: 'PREEACE'
- P. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'.
- P. 23, l. 19: 'Job'.
- P. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'.



LA CLEF
DU
SANTUAIRE
Par
Un ſçavant homme de nôtre Siecle

La ou eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu là eſt la liberté,
2. Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. verſ. 17.

A LEYDE;
Chez PIERRE WARNAER,
M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.27 Title-page, decorated with ornament B, of issue Y.1 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

Exemplar
French duodecimo edition X.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering π*)**
LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle | *La ou eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu là eſt la liberté,* | 2. Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette B) | A LEYDE, | Chez PIERRE WARNAER, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Language and Typography
French text. Explanatory footnotes in italics, keyed with typographical symbols, notes and references to biblical passages in external margins (italic type). Larger portion of the Preface and list of contents (partly) in italics. Old-style serif roman types from an unidentified printing firm. First line of text of title of chapter 14 is set in much larger lower-case letters ('Ce que c'est que la foye, quells'). Variants of Y edition printed on larger sheets than X.

Prime Literals/Misprints
- Sig. *9v: 'PREFACE' misprinted as 'PREEACE' (inner forme).
- P. 127: F4 misprinted as 'E4' (inner forme).
- P. 129: F5 misprinted as 'E5' (outer forme).
- P. 131: F6 misprinted as 'E6' (inner forme).
- P. 386, note in external margin: biblical reference Exod. 34:14 misprinted as *'Exod. Ch. 4. v. 14.'* (outer forme of R).
- P. 445: misprinting T7 as 'T2' (outer forme).

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts
167812 – a1 *2 i$pre : a2 **2 &$que
167812 – b1 A u$s : b2 Z2 IN.
167812 – c1 Z3 nt$re : c2 $Aa4 parla
167812 – d1 Aa6 ophete : d2 Bb5 honne

Collation
12°: π^1 $*^{12}$ $**^4$ A – Z^{12} Aa^{12} Bb^8 [$7 (–*7, –E7, –L7, Z7, –Aa5, –Aa7), ** signed $2]
313 leaves = pp. [*33*] (1)–(531) [*31*] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6.

Collation Variant
No variants found.

Direction Line
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines
Running headlines printed in larger upper-case letters in upper middle margin or in a combination of larger upper-case and smaller lower-case letters: PREFACE.; TABLE (verso), *Des* CHAPITRES. (recto); TABLE des CHAPITRES (verso); TABLE.; REMARQUES (recto and verso). Main work without headlines.

Contents

$*^r$	(title-page)
$*^v$	(blank)
$*2^r$–$**2^v$	PREFACE.
$**3^r$–$**4^v$	TABLE *Des* CHAPITRES. (list of contents, twenty chapters)
A^r–$B5^r$	CHAPITRE I. *De la Prophetie.*
$B5^v$–$C10^r$	CHAPITRE II. *Des Prophetes.*
$C10^r$–E^r	CHAPITRE III. *De la vocation des Hebreux, & si le don de Prophetie ne se trouvoit que parmi eux.*
E^r–$F2^r$	CHAPITRE IV. *De la Loy divine.*
$F2^r$–$G3^r$	CHAPITRE V. *Pour quelle fin des ceremonies ont esté instituées, & de la foy des histoires, à sçavoir en quel sens, & à qui elles sont necessaires.*
$G3^r$–$H9^v$	CHAPITRE VI. *Des Miracles.*
$H9^v$–$K9^r$	CHAPITRE VII. *De l'interpretation de l'Escriture.*
$K9^v$–$L10^r$	CHAPITRE VIII. *Que les cinq premiers livres de la Bible n'ont point esté écrits par Moyse, ny ceux de Josué, des Juges, de Rut, de Samuel, & des Roys par ceux dont ils portent le nom. On examine en suite si plusieurs Escrivains s'en sont mélez, ou s'il n'y en a eu qu'un, & qui c'est.*
$L10^v$–$M12^v$	CHAPITRE IX. *Quelques autres particularitez touchant les mesmes livres, à sçavoir si Esdras y a mis la derniere main: & si les notes qui se trouvent à la marge des livres Hebreux estoient des leçons differentes.*
N^r–$N12^r$	CHAPITRE X. *Où le mesme ordre est observé dans l'Examen du reste des livres du vieux Testament.*
$N12^v$–$O8^v$	CHAPITRE XI. *Si les Apostres ont escrit leurs Epîtres entant qu'Apôtres & Prophetes, ou entant que Docteurs; & quel estoit leur Office.*
$O9^r$–$P6^v$	CHAPITRE XII. *Du veritable original de la Loy divine, & pourquoy l'Escriture est appellée sainte, & Parole de Dieu; Ensuite il est montré qu'entant qu'elle contient la Parole de Dieu, elle a toûjours esté incorruptible.*

P7r–Qv CHAPITRE XIII. *Que l'Escriture n'enseigne que des choses fort simples, qu'elle n'exige que l'obeïssance, & qu'elle n'enseigne de la Nature divine que ce que les hommes peuvent imiter en un certain genre de vie*.

Qv–Q10r CHAPITRE XIV. *Ce que c'est que la foy, quels sont les fidelles, & les fondements de la foy, & que celle-cy doit estre separée de la Philosophie*.

Q10r–R8r CHAPITRE XV. *Que la Theologie ne releve point de la jurisdiction de la raison, ny la raison de celle de la Theologie, & la raison pourquoy nous sommes persuadez de l'Autorité de l'Escriture*.

R8v–S9v CHAPITRE XVI. *Des fondements de la Republique, du droit naturel & civil de chaque particulier, & de celuy des Souverains*.

S10r–V9r CHAPITRE XVII. *Que nul ne peut faire un transport absolu de tous ses droits au souverain, & qu'il n'est pas expedient: De la Republique des Hebreux, ce qu'elle estoit du vivant de Moyse, & ce qu'elle fut apres sa mort avant la domination des Roys, & de son excellence: Des causes de la chûte de cette divine Republique & qu'il estoit presqu'impossible qu'elle subsistât sans seditions*.

V9r–X5r CHAPITRE XVIII. *Quelques reflexions Politiques sur la Republique, & sur les Histoires des Hebreux*.

X5v–Y5r CHAPITRE XIX. *Que l'administration des choses saintes doit dépendre des Souverains, & que nous ne pouvons nous acquitter de l'obeïssance que nous devons à Dieu, qu'en accomodant le culte exterieur de la Religion, à la paix de la Republique*.

Y5r–Z2r CHAPITRE XX. *Que dans une Republique libre il doit estre permis d'avoir telle opinion que l'on veut, & mesmes de la dire*.

Z2v–Aa4v TABLE *Des matieres principales*, Contenues en ce Livre.

Aa5r FAUTES *Survenuës en l'impreßion* (list of errata, thirteen corrections, for pp. 27, 53, 59, 63, 72, 111, 188, 223, 351 [2×], 376, 464, 496, 518)

Aa5v (blank)

Aa6r–Bb8v REMARQUES Curieuses, *Et necessaires pour l'Intelligence de ce Livre*. (text holding the majority (thirty-one) of Spinoza's own *Adnotationes* in French)

Ornament on Title-Page

Floral fruit vignette B, relief woodcut, 19×25 mm: interlaced tailpiece.

Simple Initials

Twenty-two plain initials (relief woodcuts), 4, 3 and 2 ll. (12×9 mm, 8×5 mm, and 5×3 mm), employed to head the first letter of the first word of Preface and chapters of main work. Nineteen other black initials (2 ll.) in list of contents.

Other Ornaments

Two types of small mirrored floral ornaments between two single rules (11×46 mm), wide horizontal block, placed on p. 1 to introduce the text of the main work.

Also in: *La Clef du san(c)tuaire* (Y.1, Y.2, Y.3); *Reflexions curieuses*/*Traitté des ceremonies* (Y.4/Y.5). Different block in: *La Clef du san(c)tuaire* (X.1); *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2); *Traitté des ceremonies* (X.3).

Long ornamented 'line' of floral motives (2×42 mm), on 'Fol. 1.' of the 'Adnotationes', appended to the text of the main work.

In: *La Clef du san(c)tuaire* (Y.1, Y.2, Y.3); *Reflexions curieuses*/*Traitté des ceremonies* (Y.4/Y.5). Other block in: *La Clef du santuaire* (X.1); *Reflexions curieuses* (X.2); *Traitté des ceremonies* (X.3).

***Copies* (2)**

Copies Examined

Y.1 #111 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 165
Copy has title-pages of Y.4/Y.5.

Y.1#112 THE HAGUE, KB, PH1782
Late-seventeenth-century gilt leather binding, marbled endpapers, copy also has title-pages of Y.4/Y.5, title on gilt spine reading: 'REFLEX | CURIEUS'.
Provenance: formerly owned by French collector Claude-Alexandre de Villeneuve [1702–1760], comte de Vence, with his gilt coat of arms, ex libris (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica [Amsterdam]) on first pastedown, reading: 'Philosophia Hermetica', below another ex libris reading: 'Instituut Collectie Nederland').

References

Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius,

Freydenker-Lexicon, p. 420; Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 469; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 10; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 370; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 19–20, no. 16.

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SECOND DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.28)

Y.2 issue

Short Title
Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
– French text; no subsidiary languages.
– Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
– Title-page is a red herring.
– Epigraph on title-page: 2 Cor. 3:17.
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Leiden (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Pierre Warnaer' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
– Contains preface.
– Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
– Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
– Contains list of errata.
Key feature for ready identification of Y.2:
– Title-page decoration: floral ornament C.
Additional identification features (also in Y.1, Y.3, Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5):
– Sig. *9^{v}: 'PREEACE'.
– P. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'.
– P. 23, l. 19: 'Job'.
– P. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'.

Exemplar
French duodecimo edition X.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering π*)**
LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | ſiecle. | *Là où eſt l'eſprit de Dieu , là eſt la liberté.* | 2. Epitre aux Corinthiens , Chap. 3. | verf. 17. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette C) | A LEYDE, | Chez PIERRE WARNAER, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Collation
12°: π^{1} *^{12} **^{4} A–Z^{12} Aa^{12} Bb^{8} [$7 (–*7, –E7, –L7, Z7, –Aa5, –Aa7), ** signed $2], T7 signed T2
313 leaves = pp. [*33*] (1)–(531) [*31*] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6.

Ornament on Title-Page
Floral fruit vignette C, relief woodcut, 19×25 mm.
For full bibliographical description: Y.1.

***Copies* (*3*)**

Copy Examined
Y.2#113 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: ROK A 1467
Provenance: ex libris of Biblioteka Łańcucka (Poland), old shelf-mark of Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana (Ros 19 C 23).
Marbled endpapers. 'Mixed' copy, copy has three title-pages, bound in in this particular order: Y.2, Y.4, Y.5.
Provenance: black library stamp ('Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana') and older shelf-mark ('Ros 19 C 23') in pencil on first free endpapers.

Non-Collated Copies
France (*1*)
Y.2#114 PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8 T 10484

United States (*1*)
Y.2#115 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1678b (copy also has title-pages of Y.4/Y.5).

References
Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 10; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 370; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 20, no. 17.

∴

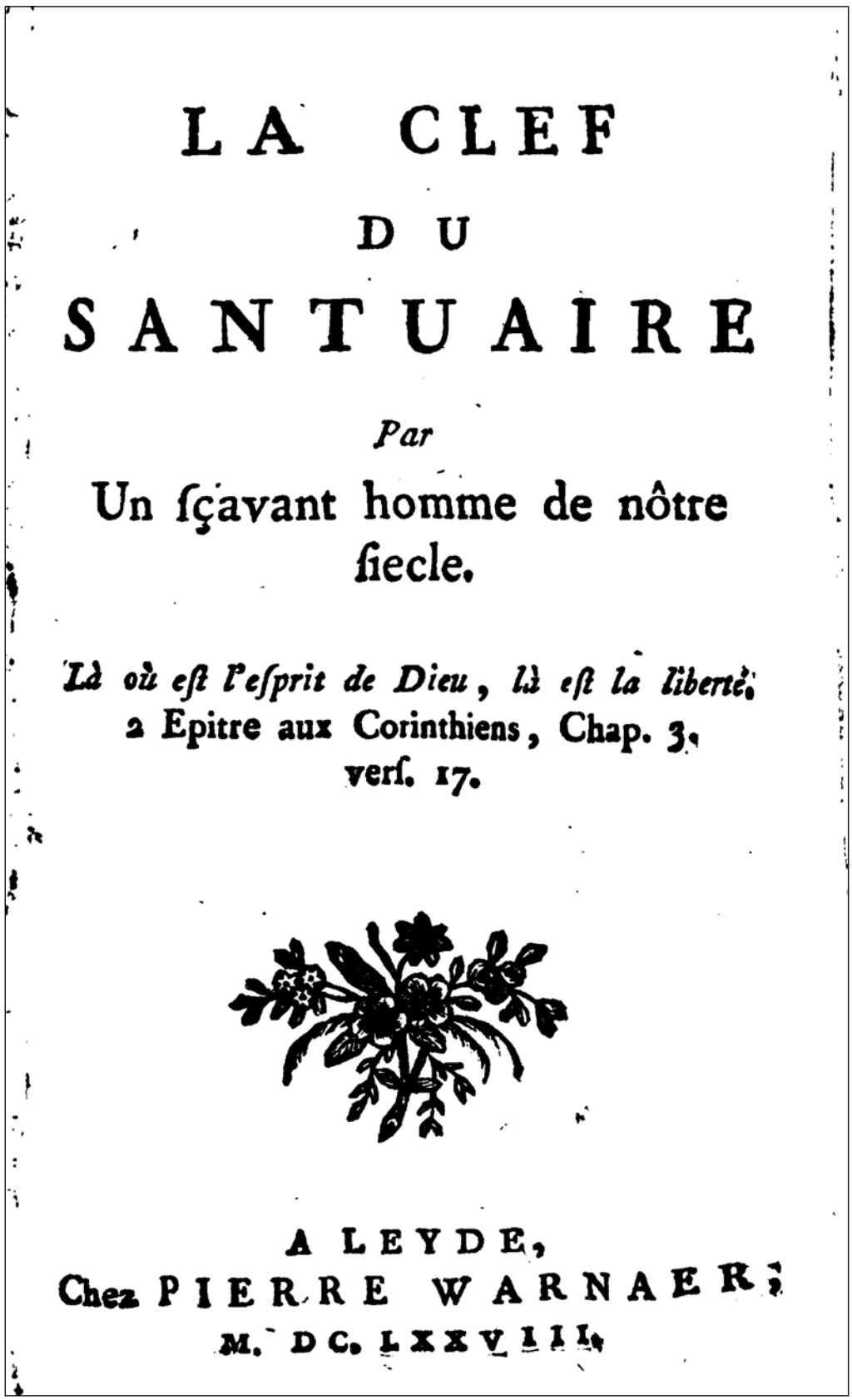

LA CLEF
DU
SANTUAIRE
Par
Un ſçavant homme de nôtre ſiecle.
Là où eſt l'eſprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté.
2 Epitre aux Corinthiens, Chap. 3. verſ. 17.
A LEYDE,
Chez PIERRE WARNAER;
M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.28 Title-page, decorated with ornament C, of issue Y.2 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

SECOND DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.29)

Y.3 issue (dispersed)

Short Title
Anon., *La Cléf du sanctuaire par un sçavant homme de notre siécle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *f.* [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
– French text; no subsidiary languages.
– Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
– Title-page is a red herring.
– Epigraph on title-page: 2 Cor. 3:17.
– Cover-up place of publication in imprint: Leiden (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
– Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Pierre Warnaer' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
– Contains preface.
– Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
– Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
– Contains list of errata.

Key feature for ready identification of Y.3:
– Title-page decoration: floral ornament D.

Additional identification features (also in Y.1, Y.2, Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5):
– Sig. *9^{v}: 'PREEACE'.
– P. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'.
– P. 23, l. 19: 'Job'.
– P. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'.

Exemplar
French duodecimo edition X.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering π*)**
LA CLÉF | DU | SANCTUAIRE, | *Par* | Un ſçauant homme de notre | Siécle. | *Là où eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté*. | 2. Epitre aux Corinthiens , chap. 3. | vers. 17. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette D) | A LEYDE, | Chez PIERRE WARNAER, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Collation
12^{o}: π^{1} $*^{12}$ $**^{4}$ A–Z^{12} Aa^{12} Bb^{8} [$7 (–*7, E7, –L7, Z7, –Aa5, –Aa7), ** signed $2], T7 signed T2
312 leaves = pp. [*32*] (1)–(531) [*31*] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6.

Ornament on Title-Page
Floral fruit vignette D, relief woodcut, 19×25 mm.
For full bibliographical description: Y.1.

***Copy* (*o*)**
Y.3 variant is known to have survived in one single copy (olim: Baarn, Menno Hertzberger, title-pages of Y.4/Y.5 bound in copy) now unfortunately dispersed, whereabouts are not known.

Note
Kingma and Offenberg ('Bibliography', p. 21, no. 18) point out the following: 'The titlepage on π1 has been printed on paper of octavo size. In the copy described π1 was pasted in between *1 and *2'.

References
Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 4, no. 10; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 370; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 20, no. 17.

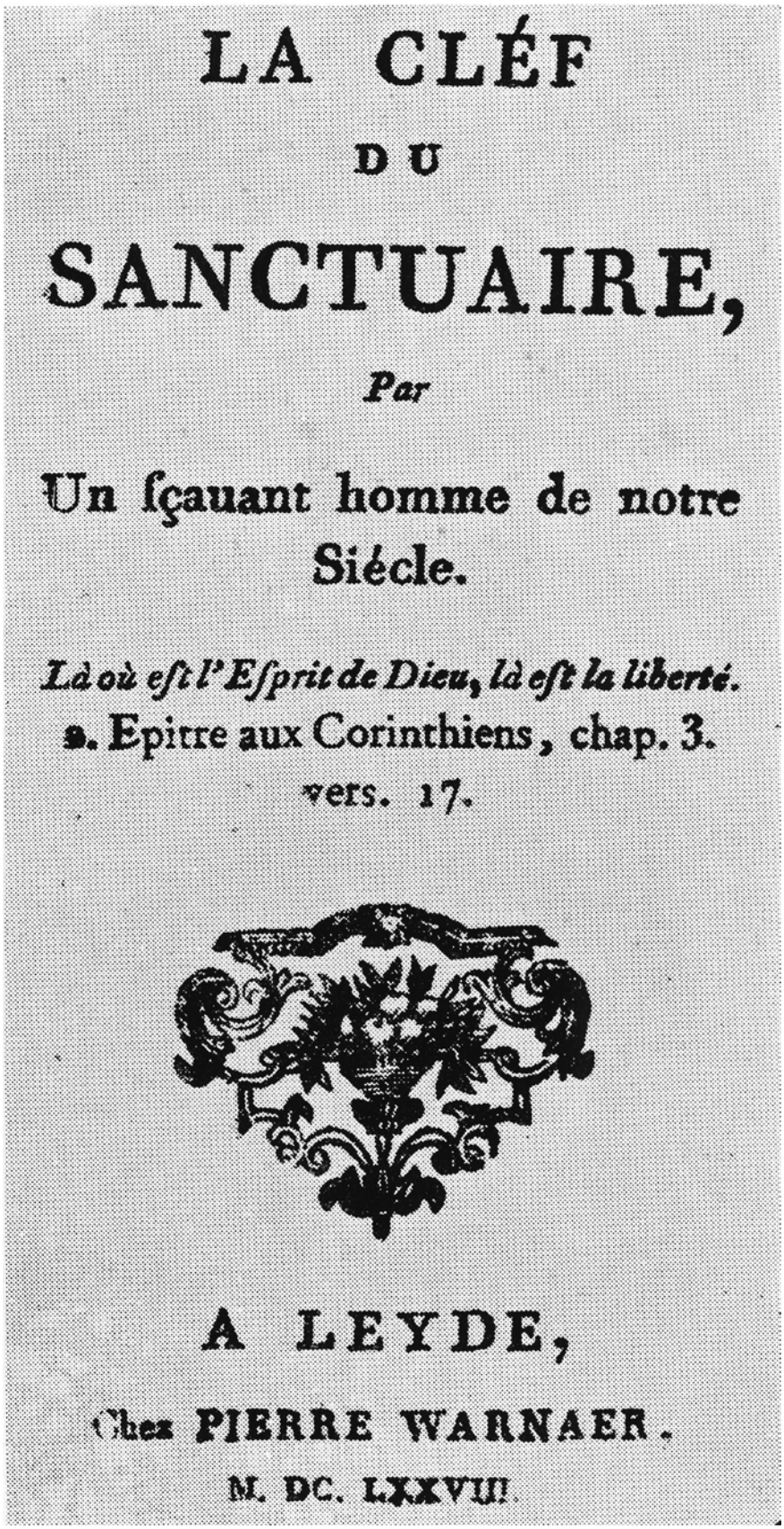

LA CLÉF
DU
SANCTUAIRE,
Par
Un ſçauant homme de notre Siécle.
Là où eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu, là eſt la liberté.
2. Epitre aux Corinthiens, chap. 3. vers. 17.
A LEYDE,
Chez PIERRE WARNAER.
M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.29 Title-page, decorated with ornament D, of issue Y.3 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

SECOND DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.30–5.31)

Y.4/Y.5 issue (fitted with two title-pages)

Short Titles

Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, 'Jacob Smith', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
- French text; no subsidiary languages.
- Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
- Title-pages are a red herring.
- One cover-up place of publication in imprint: Cologne (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publishers in both imprints: 'Claude Emanuel' and 'Jacob Smith' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
- Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
- Contains list of errata.

Key features for ready identification of Y.4/Y.5:
- Two false title-pages, decorated with small yoke ornament and ornament F.
- First title-page (Y.4), l. 7, spelling: '*Salut*'.

Additional identification features (also in Y.1, Y2, Y.3, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5):
- Sig. *9^{v}: 'PREEACE'.
- P. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'.
- P. 23, l. 19: 'Job'.
- P. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'.

Exemplar

French duodecimo edition X.

First Title-Page

REFLEXIONS | CURIEUSES | *d'un* | Eſprit des-Interreſſé | *sur* | LES MATIERES | *Les plus Importantes au Salut , tant* | *Public que Particulier.* | (reduced yoke ornament) | A COLOGNE, | Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL, | 1678.

Second Title-Page

TRAITTÉ | *Des* | Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes | DES | JUIFS | tant Anciens que Modernes. | (ornament F) | A AMSTERDAM, | (rule) | Chez JACOB SMITH, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Collation

12º: *^{12} **^{4} A–Z^{12} Aa^{12} Bb^{8} [$7 (–*7, –E7, –L7, Z7, –Aa5, –Aa7), ** signed $2], T7 signed T2
312 leaves = pp. [*32*] (1)–(531) [*31*] 1–30
One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6.

Collation Variant

Signature F4 (signed 'E4') and T7 (signed 'T2') are still misprinted, but the signatures F5 and F6 (F: inner and outer form) have been set in type again and printed correctly this time. Occurs in: Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés 807279.

Ornaments on Title-Pages

Y.4: small yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 373–374). Tailpiece also in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*. *See*: T.1.

Y.5: ornament F, relief woodcut: tailpiece (rosette with leaves hanging downwards), 19×*c*.36 mm.
For full bibliographical description: Y.1.

Copies (*42*)

Copies Examined

Y.4/Y.5#116 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: ROK A 1054
Eighteenth-century addition in black ink on title-page ('par Spinosa'), olim: Ros 1883 G 51. Copy has title-page of Y.5 only.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=aYdjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Y.4/Y.5#117 GHENT, University Library, Ac 328
First and back endpapers decorated with red and blue stamped arabesqued ornaments, older shelf-marks on last free endpapers in pen.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=wk1bAAAAQAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Y.4/Y.5#118 LYON, Rhône, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 807279
Eighteenth-century brown leather binding, gilt rectangular triple fillets on cover, marbled endpapers, copy has also a third title-page (Y.1) pasted in.

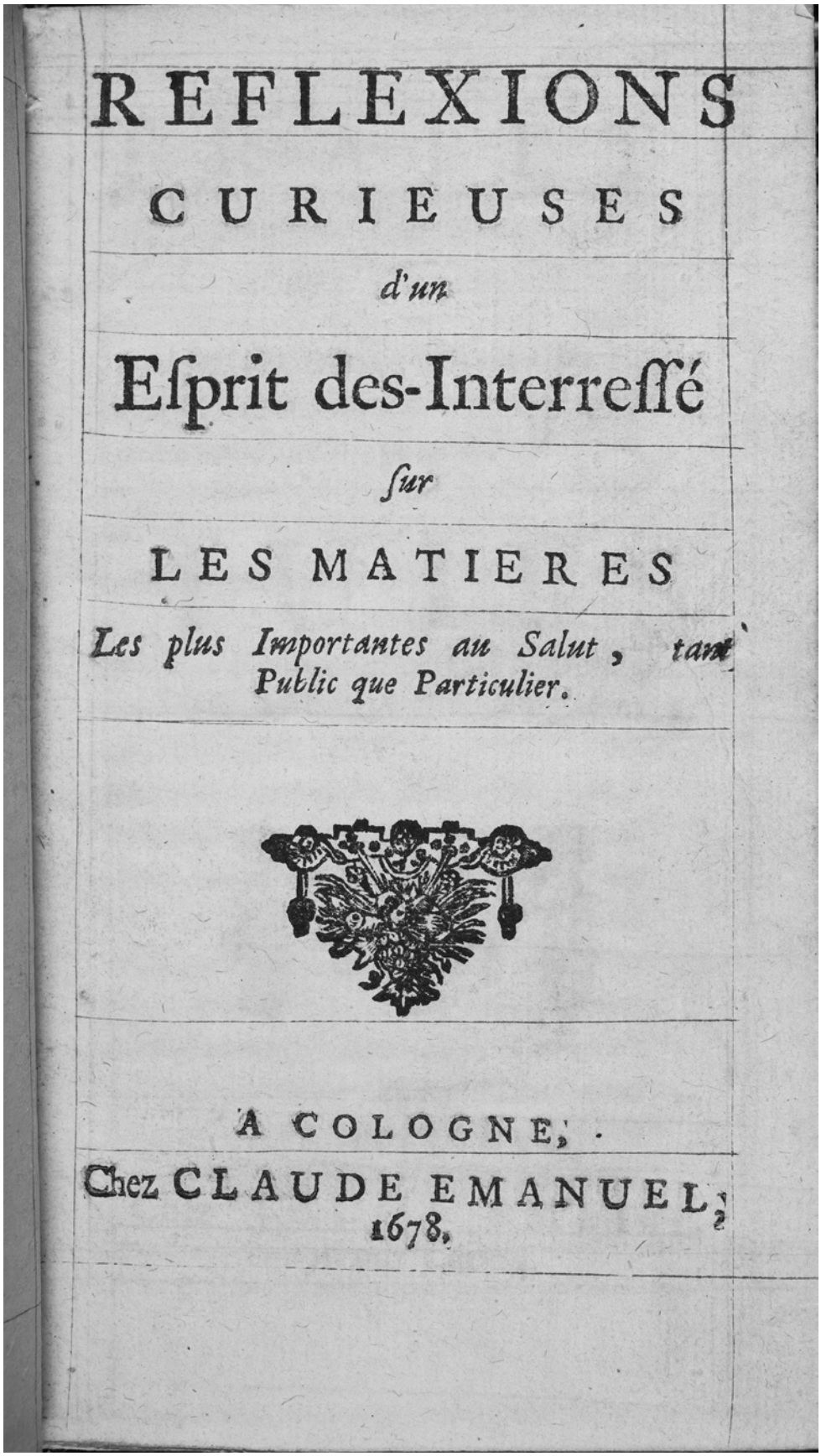
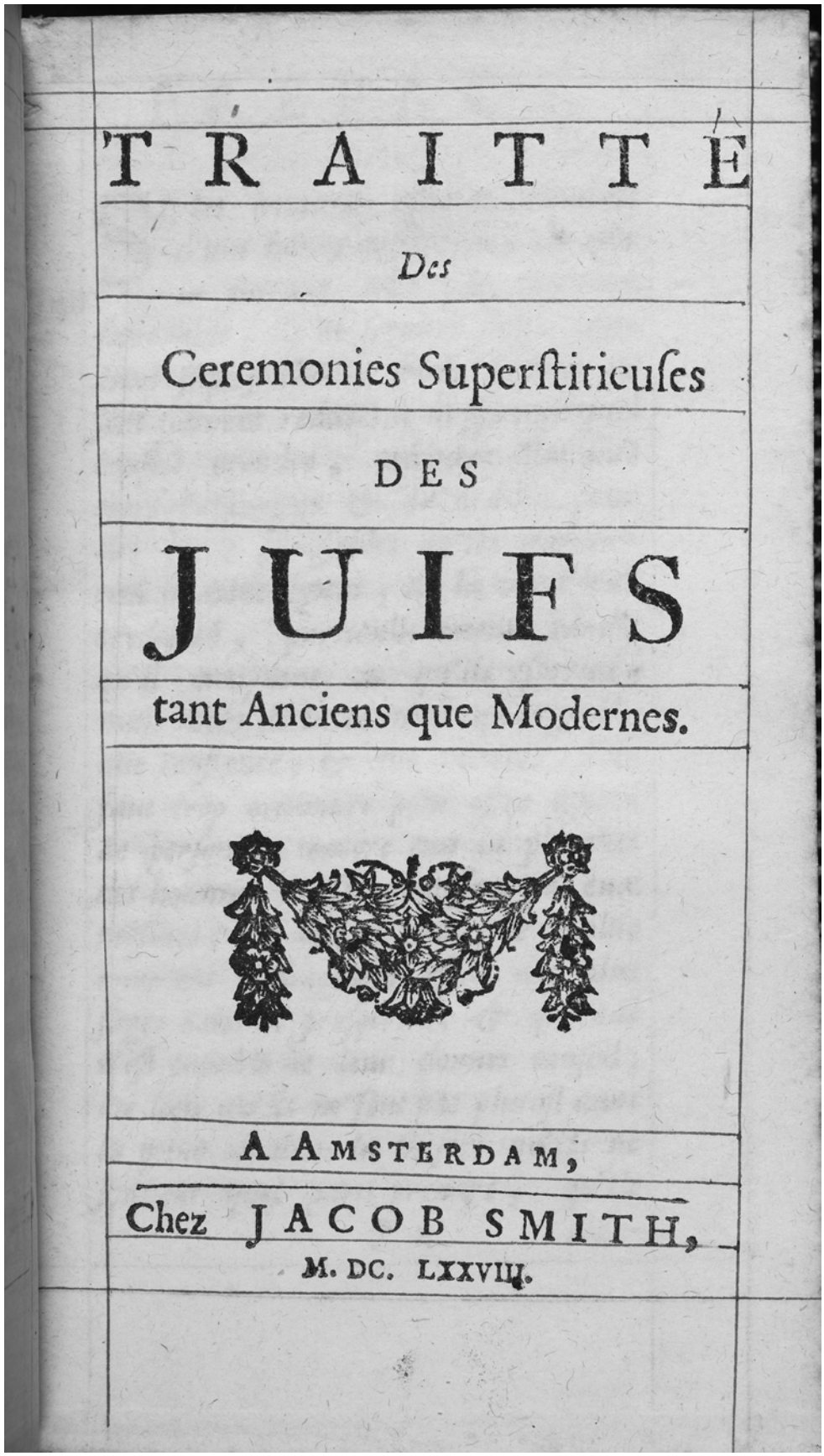

REFLEXIONS
CURIEUSES
d'un
Eſprit des-Interreſſé
ſur
LES MATIERES
Les plus Importantes au Salut, tant
Public que Particulier.
A COLOGNE,
Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL,
1678.

ILLUSTRATION 5.30 First title-page, decorated with small yoke ornament (Y.4), of issue Y.4/Y.5of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.


TRAITTÉ

Des

Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes

DES

JUIFS

tant Anciens que Modernes.

A AMSTERDAM,

Chez JACOB SMITH,

M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.31 Second title-page, decorated with ornament F (Y.5), of issue Y.4/Y.5 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

Provenance: eighteenth-century note on title-page of Y.5 in black ('traduit de Spinosa. Par de Saint-Glain'), nineteenth-century notes on the hidden contents of the book by the French book collector Stéphane Mestre (1813–1877) in black ink on one of the first front endpapers, nineteenth-century circular black library stamps ('Biblioth de la Ville de Lyon') on title-pages.[105]
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=Bp39eHKUUP8C&pg=PA484&lpg=PA484&dq=Reflexions+Curieuses+d'un+Esprit+Des-Interressé+sur+les+Matieres+les+Plus+Importantes+au+Salut&source=bl&ots=NUN5NIP12r&sig=DgGxZiiS1Wmk-EjcT1XKok9D8h4&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNwsz4iZ7PAhVBfxoKHXpKDvwQ6AEINTAD#v=onepage&q=Reflexions%20Curieuses%20d%E2%80%99un%20Esprit%20Des-Interress%C3%A9%20sur%20les%20Matieres%20les%20Plus%20 Importantes%20au%20Salut&f=false

Y.4/Y.5#119 Lyon, Rhône, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 805649
Provenance: nineteenth-century circular black library stamp ('Biblioth de la Ville de Lyon') on title-pages.
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.fr/books?vid=BML37001101523632

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*4*)

Y.4/Y.5#120–121 Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: ROK A-1046 (Ros 1883 G 15), OTM: OK 61-1496 (previous owner [1939]: Leo Polak [1880–1941], old shelf-mark: UBM 2452 E 12).

Y.4/Y.5#122 Deventer, Stads- en Athenaeum Bibliotheek, 47 E 56

Y.4/Y.5#123 The Hague, KB, KW 1746 G 122 (late-seventeenth-century black leather binding, gilt tooling on fore-edge of boards, gilt edges, ex libris of Mr Canot de Lalobbe on first marbled pastedown, gilt spine with red panel reading 'REFLEXIO | CURIEUSE', copy has third title-page of X.1).

Canada (*1*)

Y.4/Y.5#124 Ottawa, University Library, B 3985 .F7 S 25 1678 (copy lacks title-page of *Traitté des ceremonies* [Y.5]).

Germany (*4*)

Y.4/Y.5#125 Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek Freie Universität, 38/75/21497(3)

Y.4/Y.5#126 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, NI 13224 (eighteenth-century notes written in black ink on first flyleaf regarding the French translation and its assumed author).

Y.4/Y.5#127 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 6A.6733 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled spine with lettering panel: 'REFLEXIONS | CURIEUSES', binding likely produced by the Electoral Bookbindery in Dresden, marbled first and last free endpapers, blue-marbled edges, copy lacks the title-page of *Traitté des ceremonies* [Y.5], olim: Berlin, Zentralstelle für Wissenschaftlichen Altbestände).

Y.4/Y.5#128 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 PHIL I, 4986

France (*6*)

Y.4/Y.5#129 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés 807279 (calf covering, marbled papers, first title-page of X.1, followed by title-pages Y.4 and Y.5, eighteenth-century owner's note on edition and French translation in black ink on first front endpapers, note contains the remark the fictitious titles of the French translation were deliberately printed to mislead the authorities, round nineteenth-century library stamps [Lyon municipal library] throughout copy).

Y.4/Y.5#130 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8 T 10484

Y.4/Y.5#131 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 16 D2-501 (brown leather binding, nineteenth-century owner's notes on first free endpapers on French translation in black ink).

Y.4/Y.5#132–133 Paris, Sorbonne-BIU Centrale, RR 6=366, VCM 6 = 6070

Y.4/Y.5#134 Versailles, Yvelines, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds VE 2, Rés. O 4 hIn 12

Italy (*5*)

Y.4/Y.5#135 Crescentino, Biblioteca civica de Gregoriana

Y.4/Y.5#136 Ferrara, University Library, Biblioteca del Dipartimento di scienze giuridiche

105 Cf. for Mestre: Yves Jocteur-Montrozier, '"Je ne mourrai point tout à fait": la collection raffinée d'un bibliophile lyonnais du Second Empire, Stèphane Mestre', *Gryphe*, 9 (2004), pp. 17–26.

Y.4/Y.5#137 Torino, University Library, Biblioteca dell'Accademia delle Scienze, B/2.VIII.187 (late-seventeenth-century brown, leather binding over pasteboard, olim: Carlo Francesco Giacinto Caisotti di Chiusano [1754–1831]).

Y.4/Y.5#138–139 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, BNM-187 C 183 (gilt red-Moroccan binding), BNM-147 D 204 (olim: bookplate of the Collegio Santissimo Rosario).

Spain (*1*)

Y.4/Y.5#140 Barcelona, Biblioteca Episcopal, 241.615: 296 Tra (copy lacks title-page Y.4).

United Kingdom (*5*)

Y.4/Y.5#141 Cambridge, King's College, Keynes.Cc.6.13/1–2 (copy in two parts, sprinkled calf binding with gold-tooled double fillets and decorative roll, broken-line gilt tooling on fore-edge of boards, four raised bands on spine with gold-tooled decorations and title, red-sprinkled edges, minor brown spotting to pages, copy has three title-pages, bound in in this particular order: Y.5, Y.4, and X.1, title-page of second part bound in is a perfect hand-drawn imitation in black ink of Y.5, College library stamp in red ink opposite to X.1, bequest of the British economist John Maynard Keynes [1883–1946], printed King's College bookplate on front paste-down of the British landowner, philanthropist, and High Sheriff of Berkshire Richard Benyon de Beauvoir [Englefield House, Berkshire] with motto: 'Vincam vel moriar').

Y.4/Y.5#142 Cambridge, Trinity College, Crewe 32.9 (inscription on front flyleaf 'Est verso Tractatus Theologico politic *B. de Spinoza* per D. de S. Glain', bequeathed [2015] by Mary Innes-Ker, Duchess of Roxburghe [1915–2014], daughter of Robert Crewe-Milnes, 1st Marquess of Crewe), Crewe 8.10 (blue morocco, gilt edges, by DeRome, sold [*Catalogue ... Formed by M. Guglielmo Libri*, 1859, p. 338, no. 2527] on the sale of a portion of the London library of the Italian scholar, book thief, and forger Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja [1803–1869], 1–12 August 1859).[106]

Y.4/Y.5#143 Edinburgh, University Library, RE.5.41 (nineteenth-century gilt calf binding ['Reid Bequest College Library Edinburgh'], note 'par B. de Spinoza' in nineteenth-century hand with pen on title-page).

Y.4/Y.5#144 Oxford, Bodl., Vet B3 f.117 (late-seventeenth-century brown leather gold-tooled binding over pasteboard, copy has title-pages of *La Clef du santuaire* [X.3] and *Traitté des ceremonies* [Y.5], owner's note reading 'Debure 863', possibly referring to the Parisian bookseller and bibliographer Guillaume Debure [1734–1820], older shelf-mark of Bodleian Library ['ArchBodl B T.65']).[107]

Y.4/Y.5#145 Reading, University Library, OVERSTONE-SHELF 6A/12 (full green morocco gilt covering, bookseller's label: Pickering, bookseller, 196, Piccadilly).

United States (*12*)

Y.4/Y.5#146 Boca Raton (FL), Florida Atlantic University, B3985.F7S35 1678

Y.4/Y.5#147–148 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library (two copies, shelf-marks are not known, copy 1 only has title-page of Y.5, copy 2 has Y.4/Y.5).

Y.4/Y.5#149–150 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3985.F8 S13 1678a tiny (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, red-stained edges, wanting title-page Y.4), B 3985.F8 S13 1678b tiny (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, red-stained edges, lacks title-page Y.5).

Y.4/Y.5#151–152 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 X6 1678d (bookplate of Adolphe S. Oko [1883–1944]: 'Bibliotheca Spinozana, Adolphe S. Oko'), 193Sp4 X6f (title-page Y.4 wanting).

Y.4/Y.5#153 Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania, B3985.F5 S3 1678 (full-leather eighteenth-century blind-tooled binding, gilt-stamped spine title, mottled edges).

Y.4/Y.5#154 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary calf binding, guilded back with red label, bound in in the copy is also the title-page of Y.1, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

106 Libri: Maccioni Ruju, P. Alessandra, and Marco Mostert, *The Life and Times of Guglielmo Libri* (*1802–1869*). *Scientist, Patriot, Scholar, Journalist and Thief. A Nineteenth-Century Story* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

107 For Debure: *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, Jules Balteau, et al. (eds) (Paris: Letouzey, 1933 ff), vol. 7, p. 683.

Y.4/Y.5#155 PRINCETON (NJ), University Library, B 3985.F5 S 3 1678 (gilt calf skin, marbled endpapers, seventeenth-century owner's notes on title-page: 'tradotta dal latina d. Spinosa', 'B. de Spinosa').

Y.4/Y.5#156 STANFORD (CA), Stanford University, TBR 0031 CB (eighteenth-century note on first flyleaf on masked title-pages of French translation, wanting missing title-page Y.5).

Y.4/Y.5#157 WASHINGTON (DC), Library of Congress, B3985.F5 E5 Pre-1801 Coll.

References

Placcius, *Theatrum*, ch. 2, p. 176; Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, 1715–33, vol. 1, p. 240; Bayle, *Dictionaire*, 1740, vol. 4, p. 258; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 420; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', 1871, p. 4, nos. 11–12; Bamberger, 'The Early Editions', p. 27; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 34, no. 372; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 21, no. 19.

∴

SECOND DUODECIMO EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, FIVE ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 5.32–5.34)

Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 issue (fitted with three title-pages)

Short Titles

Anon., *La Clef du santuaire par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle*. 'Leiden' [Amsterdam], 'Pierre Warnaer', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Anon., *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. 'Cologne' [Amsterdam], 'Claude Emanuel', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Anon., *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Amsterdam, 'Jacob Smith', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*] (*bookseller*), 1678.

Printed with thirty-one *Adnotationes* ('Remarques Curieuses').
- French text; no subsidiary languages.
- Translation from the Latin by [Gabriel de Saint Glen].
- Title-pages are a red herring.
- Epigraph on first new title-page: 2 Cor. 3:17.
- Cover-up places of publication in two imprints: Leiden and Cologne (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publishers in all three imprints: 'Pierre Warnaer', 'Claude Emanuel', and 'Jacob Smith' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *père*]).
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('Tables des chapitres', twenty chapters).
- Contains index ('Table des matieres principales').
- Contains list of errata.

Key feature for ready identification of Y.n/Y.4/Y.5:
- Three false title-pages with ornament G, small yoke ornament, and ornament F
- Title-page, l. 7, spelling: '*Salut*'.

Additional identification features (also in Y.1, Y.2, Y.3, and Y.4/Y.5):
- sig. *9v: 'PREEACE'.
- p. 22, l. 22: '*Es-prit*'.
- p. 23, l. 19: 'Job'.
- p. 288, l. 21: '*Caïn*'.

Exemplar

French duodecimo edition X.

First Title-Page

LA CLEF | DU | SANTUAIRE | *Par* | Un ſçavant homme de nôtre | Siecle. | *La où eſt l'Eſprit de Dieu , là eſt la liberté,* | 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens Chap. 3. | verſ. 17. | (ornament: floral fruit vignette G) | A LEYDE, | Chez PIERRE WARNAER, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Second Title-Page

REFLEXIONS | CURIEUSES | *d'un* | Eſprit des-Interreſſé | *sur* | LES MATIERES | *Les plus Importantes au Salut , tant* | *Public que Particulier.* | (reduced yoke ornament) | A COLOGNE, | Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL, | 1678.

Third Title-Page

TRAITTÉ | *Des* | Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes | DES | JUIFS | tant Anciens que Modernes. | (ornament F) | A AMSTERDAM, | (rule) | Chez JACOB SMITH, | M. DC. LXXVIII.

Collation

12°: *12 **4 A–Z12 Aa12 Bb8 [$7 (–*7, –E7, –L7, Z7, –Aa5, –Aa7), ** signed $2], T7 signed T2

312 leaves = pp. [32] (1)–(531) [31] 1–30

One leaf missing in quire *, *3–*7 signed *2–*6.

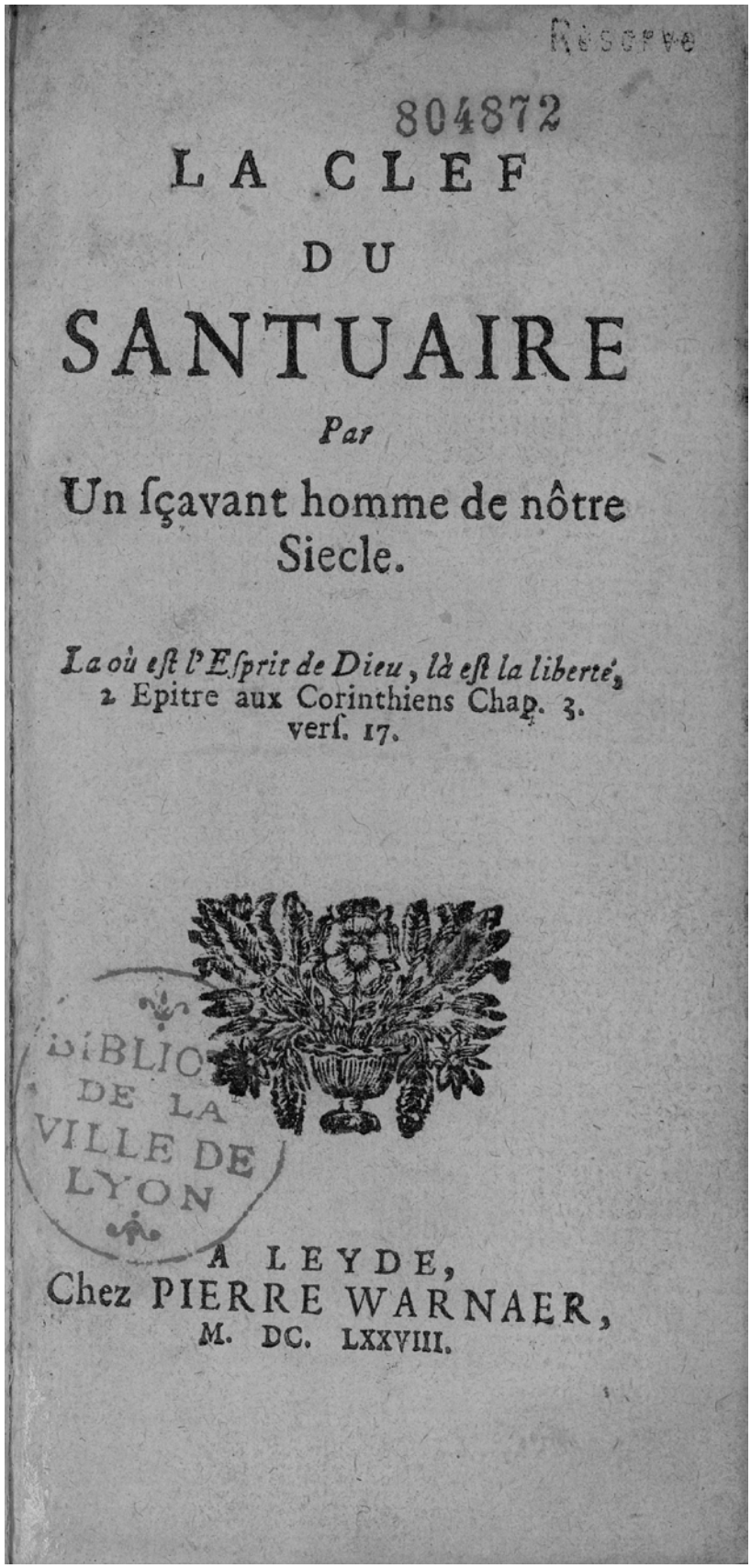
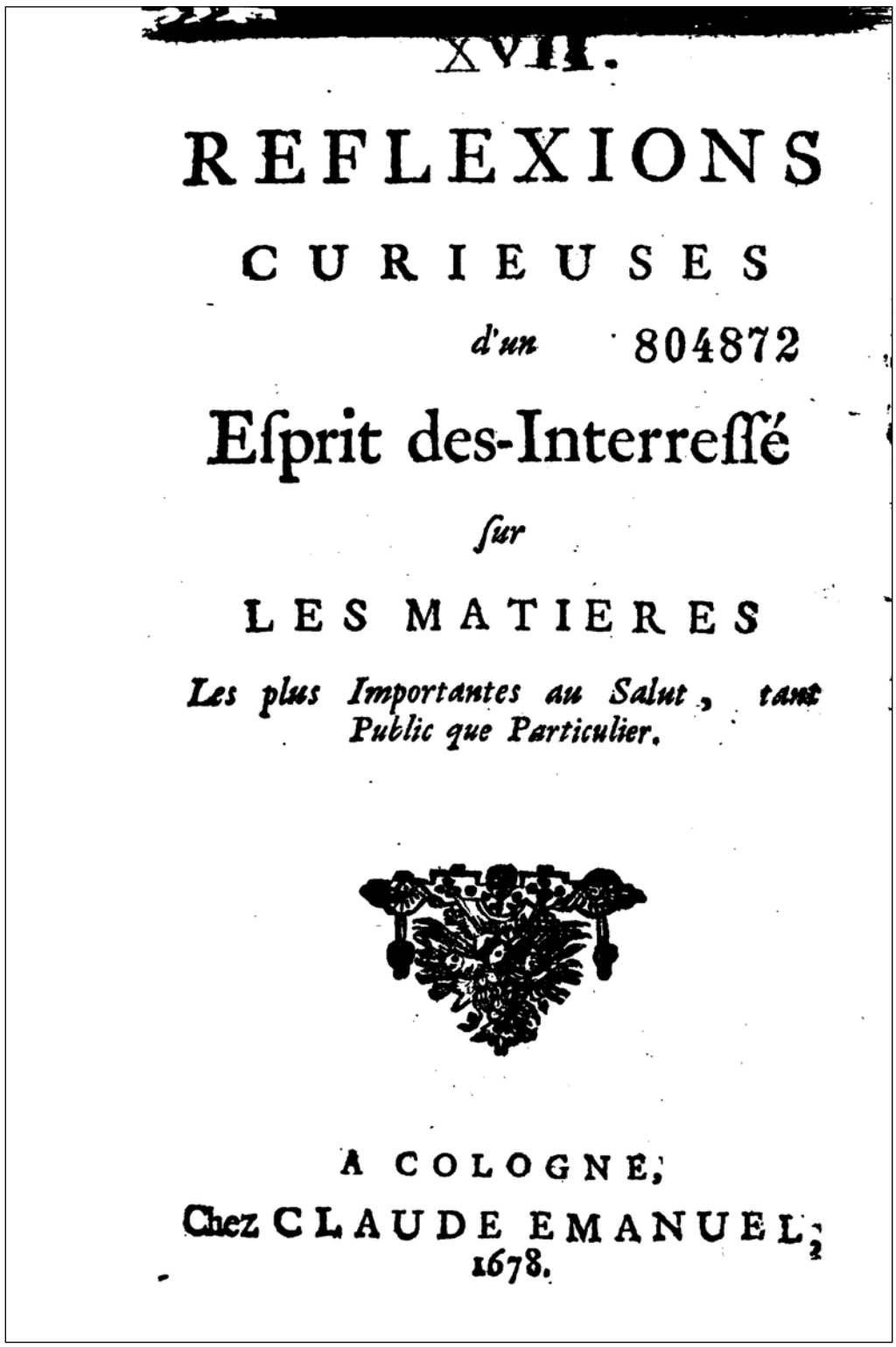


ILLUSTRATION 5.32 First title-page of issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, decorated with ornament G (Y.n).


XVII.

REFLEXIONS

CURIEUSES

d'un 804872

Eſprit des-Interreſſé

ſur

LES MATIERES

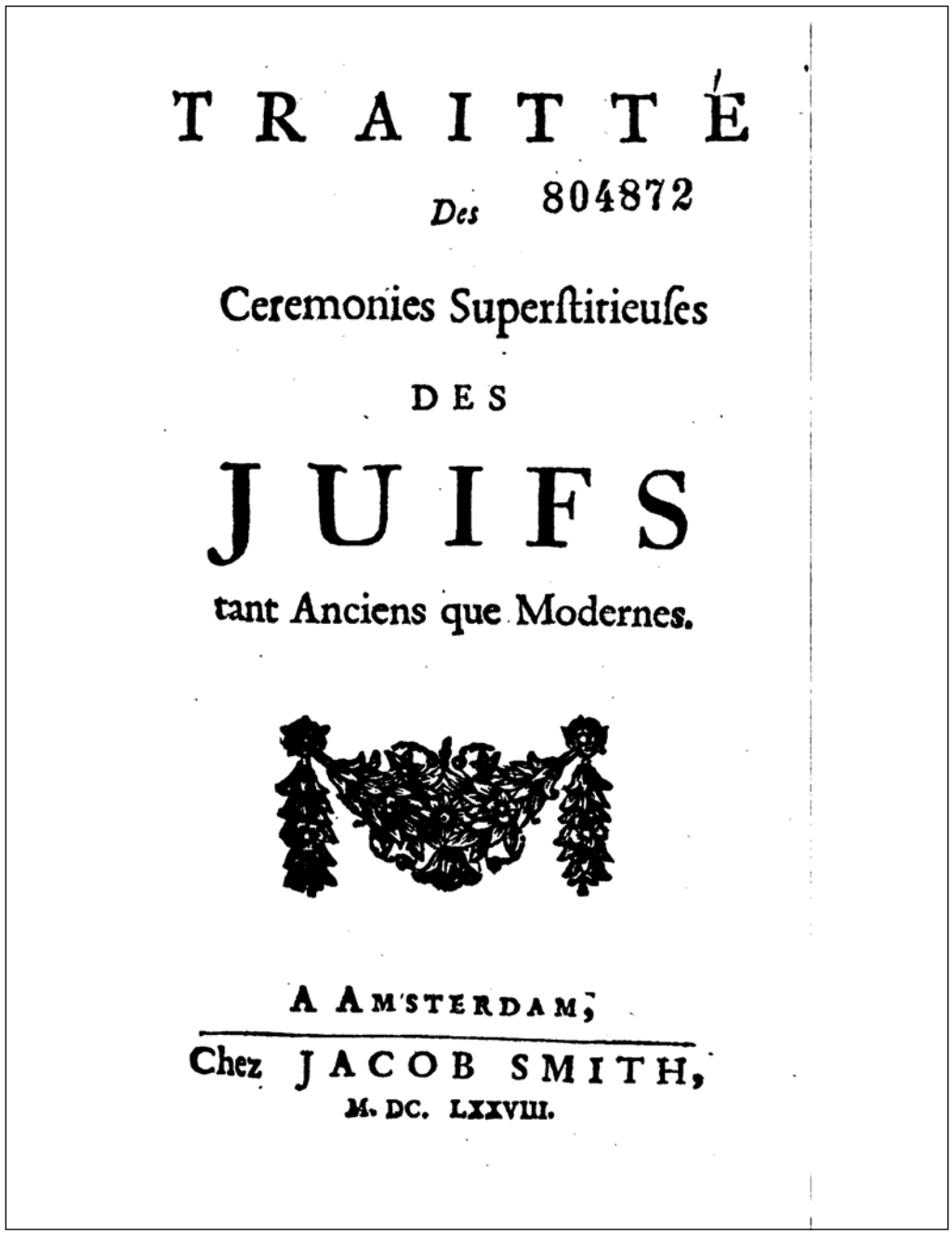
Les plus Importantes au Salut, tant Public que Particulier.

A COLOGNE,

Chez CLAUDE EMANUEL,

1678.

ILLUSTRATION 5.33 Second title-page of issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, decorated with small yoke ornament (Y.4).


TRAITTÉ

Des 804872

Ceremonies Superſtitieuſes

DES

JUIFS

tant Anciens que Modernes.

A AMSTERDAM,

Chez JACOB SMITH,

M. DC. LXXVIII.

ILLUSTRATION 5.34 Third title-page of issue Y.n/Y.4/Y.5 of the second French duodecimo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, decorated with ornament F (Y.5).

Ornaments on Title-pages
Y.n: ornament G, relief woodcut, *c.*10×*c.*10 mm.

Y.4: small yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 19×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The printing office', pp. 373–374). Printed as tailpiece in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4); *Opera posthuma*. *See*: T.1.

Y.5: ornament F, relief woodcut: tailpiece (rosette with hanging pendents), 19×36 mm.

For full bibliographical description: Y.1.

***Copy* (*1*)**

Copy Examined
Y.n/Y.4/Y.5#158 Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés 804872

Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=WWkcvgAACAAJ&pg=PP5&hl=nl&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false

Note
Y.n, the first title-page bound together with Y.4/Y.5, is never mentioned in bibliographical listings of Spinoza's works before. Variant was neither known to Bamberger nor to Kingma and Offenberg.

Unidentified Copy of the Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes

Freiburg im Breisgau, University Library, F2745,im

Either X.3 or Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, Y.n/Y.4/Y.5, copy unavailable for inspection.

CHAPTER 6

The 'Theological-Political Treatise': English Quarto and Octavo

English Quarto Edition of Chapter 6 ('On Miracles'), First and Only Issue

> Anon., *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*. London, *printer*: unidentified, *for*: Robert Sollers (*bookseller*), 1683.

Anonymous. Translation by [Charles Blount]. Exemplar: possibly the Latin quarto edition T.1 or T.2/T.2a, or the Latin octavo edition T.3. The translator's holograph and/or an apograph of it, which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

First Full English Octavo Edition, First Issue of Two States

> Anon., *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political*. London, printer and bookseller unidentified, 1689.

Anonymous. Translated by [Charles Blount]. Exemplar: possibly the Latin quarto edition T.1, or the Latin octavo edition T.3.

⁘

1 Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* in Restoration Britain

In the course of 1670, the first copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had also reached Stuart Britain. The earliest immediate overall-negative responses to Spinoza's treatise by anti-atheist English apologists were fuelled by an anxiety the book would revive the 'ancient Atheists', such as Diagoras (fifth century BCE) of Rhodes, Protagoras (*c*.490–*c*.420 BCE) of Abdera, and Theodorus (*c*.340–*c*.250 BCE) of Cyrene.[1] Their reactions to the Dutch philosopher's treatise expressed also fear for the spread of speculative atheism on the British Isles.[2] Because of growing accounts of inscrutable miracles and healing stories disseminated all around England, British Protestants felt therefore acutely obliged to intensively rethink the doctrine of the cessation of miracles and to rearticulate faith in general. God's existence was not problematic for them.[3] It were precisely Spinoza's firm rejection of miracles and his textual criticism of Scripture that attracted the attention of intellectuals and clergymen alike. In their

1 For the early reception of Spinoza's writings in Stuart England and apologists' reactions: Tjitze J. de Boer, 'Spinoza in Engeland', *Tijdschrift voor wijsbegeerte*, 10 (1916), pp. 331–336; Rosalie L. Colie, 'Spinoza and the Early English Deists', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20 (1959), pp. 23–46; id., 'Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107 (1963), pp. 183–219; Johannes J.V.M. de Vet, 'Learned Periodicals from the Dutch Republic and the Early Debate on Spinoza', *Miscellanea Anglo-Belgica* (Leiden: 1987), pp. 27–39; Luisa Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration: Henry More and Philip van Limborch', in Sarah Hutton (ed.), *Henry More (1614–1687). Tercenary Studies* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 201–208; id., 'Spinoza and the English Thinkers. Criticism on Prophecies and Miracles: Blount, Gildon and Earbery', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 191–211; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, esp. pp. 252–257 (Boyle*) and 265–270 (Locke*); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 106–129; Sarah Hutton (ed.), *British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*. Cf. also: Wayne I. Boucher, *Spinoza in English: A Bibliography from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 1991).

2 The term 'atheist' was introduced in English in the sixteenth century. Initially, it meant loosely 'godless', a qualification which was later broadened to Catholicism, 'the high way to Atheisme', and to upsettingly-marked evil living, and the like. Cf. Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, p. 216. For the term 'atheist', *see* further: Michael C.W. Hunter, 'The Problem of "Atheism" in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 35 (1985), pp. 135–157, there at pp. 139–140. *See* on atheism also: Chapter 3, n. 13.

3 The cessationism doctrine, put forward from the third century CE onward, was revived in the sixteenth century. It upheld that speaking in tongues, prophecy, healing, and miracles 'had ceased after the early church had been established'. Because of swelling claims of miracles and miraculous healings, English Protestant theologians felt obliged to rethink the cessation doctrine. They began 'to incorporate a belief in, and experience of, miracles into their religious practice and theology' (Jane Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006], p. 1). Three major stances were defended in the miracles debate: (1) impossibility ('atheism'), (2) superfluity of miracles (enthusiasm), and (3) the possibility of miracles which were potentially 'plausible, but only with very great evidence' (ibid., p. 3). Background: Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic. Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 80, 124, 256, 479, and 485; Robert M. Burns, *The Great Debate on Miracles. From Joseph Glanvill to David Hume* (Lewisburg, PA, London, and Toronto: Bucknell University Press/Associated University Presses, 1981).

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consternation about what they thought were dangerous notions, they felt it their duty to defend the Protestant faith against scepticism, irreligion, and atheism. Spinoza's questioning in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* of Christ's nature in particular was of major concern to many of his English critics for obvious reasons. On 7 February 1676, to give just an example of his stance in Christology from his letters, Spinoza would write to his London-based correspondent Henry Oldenburg he accepted 'Christ's suffering, death, and burial literally', but 'his resurrection allegorically'.

Whether this untypical reverence was rhetorical or not, this puzzling claim was in any case an outright rejection of the central tenet of the Christian faith, enshrined as well as part in the Nicene Creed. The then current raging debate in Restoration Britain, regarding the Churches' authority in politics and the state, as well as the struggles over the 'confutation of atheism' deeply troubled scholarly discussions about the relationship of revelation and reason among supporters of the 'New Philosophy', too.[4] When Spinoza's treatise was first being read and accordingly refuted by English intellectuals, most of the book's opponents' outraged retorts instantly paired his name automatically with that of Thomas Hobbes (for many of his contemporaries the reincarnation of Epicurus and Lucretius), by many labelled as the perverted leading conspirator in the cause of atheism. In their scathing ripostes, his adversaries even went further, portraying Spinoza as that 'junior Hobbes', and as an 'improved' arch-atheist version of the controversial British philosopher.[5]

One of the first intellectuals in Great Britain who became rather intimately familiar with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and its inception at an early stage was Henry Oldenburg. After paying a visit to Spinoza in Rijnsburg, he had entered into a long-lasting correspondence with the Dutch philosopher in late August 1661. About four years later, Spinoza in a now-lost letter of early September 1665 would inform Oldenburg for the first time about his new philosophical project in progress 'about Angels, prophecy and miracles'. Several months after the book's publication, the London scholar laid hands upon a now-lost printed copy of Spinoza's published Latin treatise.[6] That is evinced by a list (no. 2, 3/13 October 1670), entitled 'The Catalogue of my Books. Taken A[nno]. 1670. Octob. 3d. H. Oldenburg' (caption in Oldenburg's handwriting). This list comprises an inventory of Oldenburg's private library which mentions a copy of the 'Tractatus Theologico Politicus de Libertate Philosophandi'.[7]

As the matter stood, at the time when Oldenburg obtained the book, his correspondence with the Dutch philosopher had long been interrupted (since mid-December 1665), in all likelihood due to the brunt of the Second Anglo-Dutch naval war (1665–1667). That he apparently wanted to know more about the treatise they once discussed in their exchange shows however the London scholar's preoccupation with Spinoza's 'Treatise on Scripture'. About this project, in his letters he had told the philosopher 'the work will be worthy of you and something I shall want very much to see' (second half of September 1665) and also that he wanted 'to see for myself what you have written on that subject' (late October 1665). How Oldenburg came in the possession of a copy of Spinoza's second book in the autumn of 1670 is not documented. He may simply have purchased a copy of it, but it might also be considered whether perhaps the Dutch philosopher himself, or one of his friends in Amsterdam, directed the book to London.

The fact remains that Oldenburg, in his correspondence with Spinoza, had always expressed a keen interest in the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. He exchanged four letters with the Dutch philosopher in the second half of 1665 in regard to the latter's writing project 'regarding scripture'.[8] Ten years later, in the spring of 1675, Spinoza sought to revive his epistolary exchange with Oldenburg by directing to London a copy of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Apparently, Oldenburg found out the philosopher had communicated it to him, in all likelihood through the intermediary of Tschirnhaus who had just started a customary Grand Tour by travelling to England in the first week of May 1675. The book's copy never reached Oldenburg however.[9] Nevertheless, the offer in any case triggered a spirited discussion in their renewed correspondence, mainly about overall-negative reactions by

4 'From about 1580 onward a steady stream of books and broadsides, pamphlets and prints, tracts and tomes, cried out against the spread of atheism in England. Between 1650 and 1720 a torrent of anti-atheist works joined what was by then a distinct genre of Christian apologetics which gave the title as well as the form to many of these texts: the confutation of atheism.' (Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, p. 2). *See* also: ibid., pp. 48–57.

5 Ibid., p. 32. Hobbes: BL.

6 Cf. for the early inception of the *TTP* and those letters: Chapter 3, *Of 'Angels, Prophecy and Miracles'*. Oldenburg: BL.

7 London, British Library, Add. ms. 4255, fols 228–235 (retrograde); fol. 230^{r} (*TTP*). Cf. Noel Malcolm, 'The Library of Henry Oldenburg', *The Electronic British Library Journal*, 4 (2005), pp. 26 and 29; also p. 50 ('Consolidated Catalogue'), no. 279.

8 *See*: 1665.09.04*, 1665.09.14–28, Ep 29 (G 4/164–165); 1665.[10].[01], Ep 30B; 1665.10.[22], Ep 31 (G 4/167–169).

9 1675.[04/05].00*. Confirmed in: Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1675.06.08, Ep 61 (G 4/272.3–5). Tschirnhaus: BL.

English readers. Possibly, the exchange of their epistolary arguments also may have contributed to the composition and contents of Spinoza's *Adnotationes* appended after his death in 1678 to Saint Glen's French translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, already discussed at length in the previous chapter of this bibliography.[10]

After Oldenburg's death (September 1677), the Anglo-Irish royalist Arthur Annesley purchased the greater part of the London scholar's library.[11] *Bibliotheca Angleseiana*, the auction catalogue (1686) of Annesley's vast library (8,500 items) mentions three copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. The now all-dispersed copies from the Annesley library were all sold at auction, despite a stop made by public order to the sale of seditious books. The book collection's auction catalogue lists one copy of Spinoza's treatise dated 1670, according to the auctioneer's annotated copy sold for 4*s*. This annotated copy also inventories a 'large-paper copy', from 1670, sold for: 3*s* 6*d*, and the English-style octavo variant (T.3e) of 1674, which was sold for: 5*s* 1*d*.[12] Whether the aforementioned copies were indeed once part of Oldenburg's private library is not known unfortunately, but this certainly is a distinct possibility.

2 Early Responses

In the early 1670s, Spinoza's treatise was first read, discussed, and refuted out of hand by a select group of contemporary English intellectuals only, in particular by prominent leaders of the loosely-bound modernist group of Cambridge 'Neoplatonists'. They did so in their letters and, more importantly systematically from 1677 onwards, also publicly in their printed retorts. Those liberal Platonist theologians were all like-minded atomist philosophers devoted to rational Christian religion and they were staunch defenders of individual conscience and toleration. They abhorred rigid dogmatist Protestant doctrines, such as predestination and other materialist notions, and, generally spoken, they were supporters of the Copernican world view, too.[13] By 1671, in evidence, more copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* began circulating in Britain.

Until eventually copies of the 1674 English-style T.3e issue were imported in Britain and sold to the general reading public, most British scholars were in all likelihood first introduced to Spinoza's philosophy mainly through copies of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' sent over by colleagues from the Continent. In early 1671, for instance, the Arminian theologian Philippus van Limborch, one of Spinoza's ardent Dutch adversaries who was in a regular epistolary contact with the British philosopher John Locke and several of the moderate rationalist Cambridge theologians, sent over from Amsterdam to Oliver Doiley, Doctor of Laws, Fellow of King's College, and then rector of Cambridge university a copy of Latin quarto edition T.1.[14]

In the book's accompanying letter of 23 January 1671, the theology professor Van Limborch informed the Cambridge don that an (unidentified) Amsterdam bookseller, who would soon visit Cambridge, was to be handing over a work entitled 'Discursus Theologico-politicus' to him on his behalf. Perhaps, the individual crossing the Channel was one of several English booksellers working at Amsterdam.[15] Van Limborch in his letter to Doiley qualifies 'Benedictus Spinoza', the book's anonymous author,

10 *See* for background: Chapter 5.

11 Cf. Malcolm, 'The Library', esp. pp. 10, 29, and 50. Annesley: BL.

12 Thomas Philipps (ed.), *Bibliotheca Angleseiana, sive catalogus variorum librorum in quavis lingua, & facultate insignium: quos cum ingenti sumptu, & summa diligentia sibi procuravit. Honoratiss. Arthur Comes D'Anglesey, …* (2 vols., London: 1686), vol. 1, pp. 8, no. 198 (1670, 'large-paper copy'), 15, no. 261 (T.3e), and 20, no. 28 (1670). For T.3e, *see*: Chapter 4. The 1670 copies of the TTP may concern the first Latin quarto edition T.1. However, its variants T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5 (Latin quartos) are also dated '1670'. They were however issued in 1672 (T.2), and in or after 1677 (T.4n/T.4, and T.5), respectively. For the sale's stop: Thomas A. Birrell, 'Books and Buyers in Seventeenth-Century English Auction Sales', in Robin Myers, etc. (eds.), *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions since the Seventeenth Century* (New Castle, DE, and London: Oak Knoll Press/British Library, 2001), pp. 51–64, there at p. 60.

13 The Neoplatonists or Platonists, a 'group' of kindred liberal divines interested in philosophy all educated in Cambridge, were not connected to a specifically-defined philosophical school. Background: Constantinos A. Patrides, *The Cambridge Platonists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); G.A. John Rogers, etc. (eds.) *The Cambridge Platonists in Philosophical Context: Politics, Metaphysics, and Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997). For their contacts with Dutch Arminians: Rosalie L. Colie, *Light and Enlightenment. A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

14 Van Limborch* corresponded with Ralph Cudworth*, Henry More*, and Peter Gunning (1614–1684), the Cambridge Regius professor of Divinity, after he had all sent them in 1666 a copy of Simon Episcopius's *Operum theologicum. Pars altera* (Gouda: 1665). Cf. De Boer, 'Spinoza in England', pp. 331–332. They exchanged ideas centring on re-establishing dialogue and consensus between Remonstrants and liberal Protestants in Oxford and Cambridge, such as the Latitudinarians and the Neoplatonists (Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration', p. 201). Van Limborch owned copies of the PP/CM, the TTP, and the OP. *See* for this: *Bibliotheca librorum quibus usus est vir plurimum reverendus Philippus van Limborch …* (Amsterdam: 1712), p. 80, nos. 460 and 461. Locke/Doiley: BL.

15 *See*: Chapter 4, *A Red Herring*, there at n. 27 among other notes.

as a Jewish apostate and a deist, adding to this that in his opinion he might even be considered a full-blown atheist.[16] After a cutting introduction, Van Limborch warns Doiley for the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s explosive contents and worriedly expresses his abhorrence of the book's radical necessitarian underpinnings thus:

> The carrier of this letter, a bookseller from Amsterdam, will hand over to you on my behalf this 'Discursus theologico-politicus', whose supposed author is Benedictus Spinoza, a former Jew who became a deist, if not an atheist. I cannot recall having read so pestilential a book. He ridicules the prophets and apostles and according to him no miracles took place or ever can. There is a fate and even God is bound to it. He describes God in such a way that he seems to cancel him completely. I wanted to confide this with you, of refined erudition, so you know what monsters are produced in our United Provinces. Such men touch not a specific article [of faith], but the very soul of religion. You ought to show this work not to anyone, but only to the learned, who have an experienced ability to distinguish between good and evil.[17]

Because of the lack of further historical evidence, it is hard to determine when exactly Doiley read the work.

Four years after he had directed the copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* to Doiley in Cambridge, Van Limborch responded equally harsh to the book's doctrines once again. This time he vented his criticism in a letter dispatched on 30 December 1674 to another Neoplatonist, Henry Jenkes, the professor of rhetoric at Gresham College (London) and Fellow of the Royal Society.[18] With devilish pleasure, it seems, Van Limborch informed his London correspondent he had come to understand (without revealing his source) Spinoza himself had been upset when learning his book had become the object of general disapproval by British readers, the mechanist philosopher Robert Boyle in particular. About this condemning, Van Limborch writes to Jenkes the following:

> I have learned Spinoza, the author of the profane 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', has heard not without surprise and confusion that in England his tract is unanimously rejected by all. He thought it especially unpleasant because the renowned philosopher Robert Boyle judges unfavourably about his treatise. Apparently, he had foolishly counted on the applause of eminent philosophers. We truly congratulate England it generates and breeds no profane philosophers, but Christian [philosophers] for whom we pray all the best from the father of lights.[19]

On 19/29 March 1675, Jenkes replied to Van Limborch's letter sent to him on 30 December of the previous year. He

16 True or not, Van Limborch* in a letter of 23 January 1682 to the French theologian Jean le Clerc (1657–1736) claimed to have met Spinoza personally: 'Memini me ante sexennium ad convivium vocatum, cui, praetor meam exspectationem, author hic intererat: inter precandum signa animi irreligiosi ostendebat, adhibitis gestibus, quibus nos, qui Deum precabamur, stultitiae arguere velle videbatur.' ('I recall, six years ago, I was invited to a meal where, against my expectation, also this author was present. During prayer, he showed with signs his godless soul with which he seemed to accuse us, who prayed to God, of silliness'; Jean le Clerc, *Epistolario*, Mario Sina and Maria G. Zaccone-Sina [ed.] [3 vols., Florence: L. Olschki, 1987–94], vol. 1, p. 35). On 19 June 1703, the German travellers Stolle* and 'Hallmann' put forward about the same story (S/H, ms. B, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 82).

17 'Lator harum, bibliopola Amstelodamensis, meo nomine tibi tradet infamem illum Discursum Theologico-Politicum, cujus autor creditur Benedictus Spinoza, qui ex judaeo factus est deista, si non atheus. Non memini, me pestilentiorem librum unquam legisse. Ridet prophetas et apostolos, nulla unquam ipsi contigere miracula, imo nec contingere possunt; datur fatum, cui ipse Deus alligatus est; ita tamen Deum describit, ut eum plane videatur tollere. Volui te eruditionis defaecatae et judicii subacti virum ejus participem facere, ut cognoscas, quae monstra producat Batavia nostra. Impetunt ejusmodi homines non hunc aut illum articulum specialem, sed ipsam religionis animam. Tu illum non quibusvis sed doctis, et qui sensus ad discretionem boni et mali exercitatos habent, solummodo ostendes.' (quoted in: Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas*, p. 292; De Boer, 'Spinoza in England', p. 333. On 28 February/10 March 1671, Doiley* replied to Van Limborch's letter of 23 January to thank him for sending a copy of *De legibus naturae disquisitio philosophica* (London: 1672) by Bishop-philosopher Richard Cumberland (1632–1719). Doiley told Van Limborch he considered the latter work as an 'antidote to the poison of that Theological Political Treatise which is full of Hobbesian errors' (cf. De Boer, 'Spinoza in England', p. 333). For Van Limborch's letter of 23 January: Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration', p. 129; Israel, 'The Early Dutch and German Reaction', p. 85. Van Limborch: BL.

18 Jenkes: BL.

19 'Intelligo Spinozam, profani Tractatus Theologico-Policiti autorem, nuper non sine admiratione ac quadam perturbatione audivissem tractatum suum in Anglia unanimi omnium consensu improbari; imprimis autem male ipsum habebat, celeberrimum Philosophum Robertum Boyle non benigne de suo tractate judicare. Philosophorum praesertim eminentiorum applausum stolide sibi promiserat. Verum gratulamur Angliae, quod Philosophos non profanos, sed christianos producat ac alat, quibus omnia prospera a Patre luminum praecamur.' (quoted in De Boer, 'Spinoza in England', p. 334). *See* for the letter: Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration', pp. 130–131. Boyle: BL.

answered his Cambridge correspondent Spinoza's treatise had met with strong opposition and dislike in their 'Academy':

> Regarding the author of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', B. Spinoza, it does not surprise me he takes it ill his book is not valued at all. It is certain in what you write, because the work has in our Academy as many adversaries as it has pious and sincere Christian readers. I have at least, although I read his infamous book with the greatest attention, without prejudice or evil will, found nothing else than an ongoing effort (albeit cunningly) to undermine and tear away the foundations of revealed religion. But it is all in vain. May the God of truth illuminate the eyes of his mind, that he sees his errors and come to his senses. Because he once used to declare himself a Cartesian scientist I cannot refrain from wishing him a better mind. Was he but a Christian, or that he never had become the author of 'Theological-Political Treatise'.[20]

In the early 1670s, also the theologian-philosopher and poet Henry More, since 1641 Fellow of Cambridge's Christ College and one the most prominent representatives of the British Neoplatonist group, proffered in one of his letters another reaction to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. On 4/14 December 1671, the latter had dispatched a letter to Robert Boyle with whom he was on civil terms, despite their many differences of opinion in matters philosophical.[21] Henry More in this letter discussed the predictable dangers of the mechanist philosophy and of atheism, mainly in relation to his recently-issued irenical *Enchiridion methaphysicum*.[22] In this ethical manual, he rigidly attacked Cartesian metaphysical doctrines and took issue to seek support for his concept of a 'spirit of nature' by minutely scrutinizing Boyle's air-pump conclusions.[23]

More's letter of 4/14 December also critiques Boyle's hydrostatical and pneumatic experiments as well as it is a riposte to Boyle's disapprobation of his *Enchiridion*.[24] A few days beforehand, the Cambridge don had already informed Boyle that one of his correspondents (unidentified) had written him a letter about Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, a work he had however probably never seen himself.[25] Nonetheless, apparently he had gathered enough information about the contents of the Dutch philosopher's treatise to connect the book with the materialist philosophy of René Descartes, More's former idol, whose philosophical underpinnings he ultimately

20 'Quod attinet authorem Tractatus Th. Polit. B. Spinozam non miror male habere eum quod liber ejus hic nullo in pretiosit. Certissimum enim est quod scribis et narras, nam tot fere habet adversarios in Academia nostra quot lectores pios et candidos h.e. Christianos. Ego certe quamvis attente et defixis oculis perlegerim infamem illius librum, sine ullo praejudicio aut malo affectu, nihil tamen aliud reperi in toto, quam quod prorsus conetur, licet subdole, omnia fundamenta religionis revelatae convellere et evertere, sed irrito labore et conatu. Deus veritatis illuminet oculos mentis ejus, ut videat errorem suum et resipiscat. Et quoniam antehac confessus est se cartesianum esse philosophum, non possum non ipsi meliorem mentem optare. Utinam Christianus esset, aut saltem nunquam fuisset author Tract. Th. Politici.' (quoted in: ibid., p. 335). Their 'Academy': meant is probably Gresham College, the London Royal Society's regular meeting place in Bishopsgate Street.

21 The polymath Robert Hooke (1635–1703), Boyle's assistant and Curator of Experiments (1663) of the Royal Society, was also familiar with Spinoza's writings. He had, apparently in quires, copies of the PP/CM, the TTP, and of the OP. Cf.: Edward Millington (ed.), *Bibliotheca Hookiana. Sive catalogus diversorum librorum, …* (London: 1703), p. 5, nos. 7, 24, and 23; Will Poole, etc. (eds.), *Robert Hooke's Books Database*, 2015, p. 15. On 24 July 1678, Hooke wrote in his diary he had recently been engaged in 'much discourse about Spinosa quakers', without further clarifying the remark. Boyle/More: BL.

22 For More's critique of the mechanist philosophy: Alan Gabbey, 'Henry More and the Limits of Mechanism', in Hutton (ed.), *Henry More (1614–1687)*; Jasper Reid, *The Metaphysics of Henry More* (Dordrecht, etc.: Springer, 2012), pp. 279–312. For More's critical stance on Descartes*: Alan Gabbey, 'Philosophia Cartesiana triumphata: Henry More 1646–1671', in Thomas M. Lennon, etc. (eds.), *Problems of Cartesianism* (Montreal: Mc Gill – Queen's University Press, 1982), pp. 171–250. *See* on a reply by More* to Spinoza's philosophy also: Colie, *Light and Enlightenment*, pp. 66–93.

23 Henry More*, *Enchiridion metaphysicum, sive, de rebus incorporeis succincta & luculenta dissertation* (London: 1671). The book ambitiously takes issue to defend the existence of immaterial substances. Boyle* reacted to the book in a work on experimental methodology: *An Hydrostatical Discourse …* (London: 1672). *See*: Robert Boyle, *Works*, Michael C.W. Hunter and Edward B. Davids (eds.) (14 vols., London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999–2000), vol. 7. More had already reversed atheism in *The Immortality of the Soul, so Farre Forth as it is Demonstrable from the Knowledge of Nature and the Light of Reason* (London: 1659). For a critical edition: Henry More, *The Immortality of the Soul*, A. Jacob (ed.) (Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1987).

24 The letter by More* to Boyle* starts thus: 'Mr. *Foxcroft* being at my chambers yesterday, and acquainting me so explicitly how you have taken offence at what concerns you in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, it has quickened me to do that, which I was sometimes thinking to do, since I saw you last. For I had some such inklings before now. But when I was with you, you seemed not to be concerned for yourself, but for *Des Cartes*.' (4/14 December 1671, Robert Boyle, *Correspondence*, Michael C.W. Hunter, etc. [eds.] [6 vols., London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001], vol. 4, p. 231).

25 Cf. Gabbey, 'Philosophia Cartesiana triumphata', p. 171, and passim.

considered as a version of ancient Pythagoreanism and deeply anti-Christian.[26]

Thus, Henry More in his letter to Boyle of 4/14 December not only doggedly rejected Descartes's natural physics and underlined his own position on the 'necessity' of incorporeal active principles and the nature of incorporeal substance but he lambasted Spinoza, too.[27] In regard to the latter's 'Theological-Political Treatise', he wrote Boyle about the Dutch philosopher's controversial treatise, Cartesianism, and their imminent danger of advocating speculative atheism in the same breath the following:

> Certainly, all those of the atheistical party, that have observed my zeal in the behalf of religion, in almost all my writings, must, as once I heard a known physician say of them of our profession, that God Almighty has sent none but a company of fools upon his errand, take me to be one of the chief of them; or think me a juggler and deceiver, I not declaring against that philosophy, which is the pillar of many of those men's infidelity, and of their atheism; and it is not a week ago, since I saw a letter, that informed me, that *Spinosa*, a Jew first, after a Cartesian, and now an atheist, is supposed the author of *Theologico-Politicus*. I suppose, you may have seen the book. Wherefore what could I have done less, than declare my sense of the Cartesian philosophy, and vindicate myself, from the imputation of so fond a blindness, as not to be aware of the danger of that philosophy, if it be credited; and, which is best of all, to put it quite out of credit, in that sense I oppose it, by demonstrating the great weakness thereof, in its pretences of solving, though but the easiest and simplest phaenomena, merely mechanically? which, I think, I have done irrefutably, nay, I am unspeakably confident of it: and have therewithal ever and anon plainly demonstrated the necessity of incorporeal beings; which is a design, than which nothing can be more seasonable in this age; wherein the notion of a spirit is so hooted at by so many for nonsense. This yet I am very confident in myself, I have proved over and over again, by invincible arguments, to be no figment in this discourse; which, whatever the opinions of other men are, is a satisfaction to my own mind, which I value more than any thing this world can afford me. And if in a compliment to Des Cartes, I should not have taken my full stroke at this daring monster, that struts thus confidently in this present degenerate age, I had been perfidious to the church of God, and to the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ; whom, however I compliment others, I am bound to the utmost in my power really and cordially to serve.[28]

Several years later, as it will be discussed later in this chapter at length, Henry More also launched an attack in print on Spinoza's writings in two 'Epistolae'-style essays, called 'Ad V.C. epistola altera' (1677) and 'Demonstrationis duarum propositionum', or *Confutatio* (1678), which were both published in the Cambridge scholar's *Opera philosophica* (1679).

On 14/24 December 1671, a few days after Henry More had written his outraged letter to Boyle, Sir Thomas Blount also made briefly mention of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in one of his letters.[29] On the latter date, this British barrister, archivist-lexicographer, and notoriously-known *franc-tireur*, dispatched a parcel holding a short message and two copies of books to the English historian and antiquary Anthony Wood, a specialist in the history of the city and university of Oxford.[30] Apart from a copy of the *Tuba stentoro-phonica*, a pamphlet on the speaking trumpet by the diplomat-spy and inventor Sir Samuel Morland (1625–1695), Blount's package also contained a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[31] In the postscript appended to the package's accompanying letter of 14/24 December, also announcing that the young 'Duke of Somerset is dead', Blount remarks about the two books enclosed thus:

26 More*, by his own account, read the *TTP* only as late as 1677 and reacted hurriedly to it. He had briefly corresponded with Descartes (1648–1649) and was one of the first to promote the Cartesian philosophy (in relation to dualist theology) in Britain. Later, though, he developed into an ardent critic of Descartes's mechanist physics and its 'misguiding' implications.

27 *See* also the letter by More* to Descartes* of 5 March 1649 (AT V, 298–317). More's atomist philosophical theology was primarily opposed to the Cartesian concept of *automata* which More thought could easily be appropriated by defenders of atheism.

28 Boyle*, *Correspondence*, Hunter, etc. (eds.), vol. 4, p. 232. For More's correspondence with Descartes*: AT V, 628–647. For Cartesianism in Britain: Sarah Hutton, 'Cartesianism in Britain', in Steven Nadler, etc. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook*, pp. 496–513.

29 Blount: BL.

30 Anthony Wood: BL.

31 Samuel Morland, *Tuba Stentoro-Phonica, an Instrument of Excellent Use*, … (London: 1671). *See*: Oldenburg* to Martin Lister, 23 December 1671. In: Henry Oldenburg, *Correspondence*, Alfred R. Hall and Marie Boas Hall (eds.) (13 vols., Madison, Milwaukee, WI, and London: University of Wisconsin Press/Mansell/Taylor & Francis, 1965–85), vol. 8, pp. 428–430. 'Duke of Somerset': meant is William Seymour (1652–1671), 3rd Duke of Somerset.

> Here is a pestilent book com from Hamburg called Tractatus Theologo-Politicus, also extant Sir Samuel Morelands Tuba Stentoro-phonica.[32]

The English philosopher and political theorist John Locke, the founder of empiricism and a fanatical collector of books on religious toleration, also took an interest in Spinoza, at least to a certain extent. Locke's concerns were particularly centred on theological debate and the eternal salvation of souls. For the latter, toleration meant individual responsibility and the freedom of worship. Nonetheless, he refused to allow the privilege of toleration to what he saw as inherently-immoral 'Hereticks', i.e., atheists, those 'who deny the Being of a God', and 'Romanists', Roman Catholics who obeyed a foreign prince.

Locke was not primarily interested in Spinoza's ideas about the liberty to philosophize and the freedom of thought which he even strongly denied to those rejecting divine revelation. Evidence he was at least familiar with Spinoza's writings is borne out by his unpublished manuscripts (1664–1666), containing miscellaneous notes about medical issues, Helmontian alchemy, and financial matters. Locke in one of these manuscripts wrote a brief remark regarding Spinoza's learned 1663 exposition of Descartes, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, thereby asking himself the following:

> What did Spinoza write beyond Parts 1 & 2 of the 'Principles' of Descartes in quarto 1663. Lodewijk Meyer. What did he [Spinoza] write.[33]

So, apparently, this remark proves Spinoza's work on the 'Principles of Philosophy' had in any case aroused Locke's interest.

As for the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, it is documented that the English philosopher purchased a copy of the book on 16 March 1672.[34] While perusing the work, Locke duplicated several passages from it in a copy of a King James Bible (1648) also present in his private library.[35] The strong likelihood is that Locke wrote those quotations, all from the treatise's chapter 1 ('Of Prophecy') together with his own comments, between 1672 and 1675.[36] Although a date is not known he must have entered these annotated citations from Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise' in the Bible copy before transferring to France to work in the service of the English politician Caleb Banks (1659–1669) as a tutor and medical attendant from 1677 to 1679.[37]

The remaining master catalogue (1674) of Locke's final library shows he owned the English-style octavo issue (T.3e) of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' (1674).[38] The British philosopher's 'Catalogue de livres deffendus et qu'on trouve avec peine', compiled by him on two folded sheets in (May?) 1679 (endorsed 'Libri 79'), also mentions a copy of the *Traitté des ceremonies*, one of the 1678 duodecimo variants (either X.3 or Y.4/Y.5) of the treatise's French translation. The 'Catalogue' lists a 'Tractatus Theologico=politicus en Francois soubs le nom de Ceremonies des Juifs'.[39] In addition, the surviving list (1686) of Locke's library in Holland mentions two sets of the *Opera posthuma*.[40] Another inventory (1693) of his

32 Quoted in: Theo C.G. Bongaerts (ed.), *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount (1618–1679). A Recusant Antiquary* (Amsterdam: APA – Holland University Press, 1978), p. 123.

33 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Locke f. 27 (Pocket memorandum book, 1664–6), p. 5: 'Spinoza quid ab eo scriptum praeter partem 1 & 2 principiorum Cartesii. 4º. 63. Meyer Ludovicus. Quid ab eo scriptum' (quoted in: John Locke*, *Epistola de tolerantia*, Raymond Klibansky [ed.] and John Wiedhofft Gough [transl.] Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. xxxi. For the copy of the *PP*/*CM* in Locke's private library: John R. Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), no. 2742. *See*: Colie, 'Spinoza and the Early English Deists', p. 31.

34 Locke* may have bought a copy of the first quarto edition (T.1), but it was absent in his final library. On 11 November 1675, the courtier Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–1683), Locke's patron and friend, bought the copy from Locke for his own library. Cf. Kim I. Parker, etc., *The Biblical Politics of John Locke* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), p. 165.

35 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Locke 16.25 (first interleaf).

36 *TTP*, ch. 1 (G 3/15–29). Paraphrases of Spinoza by Locke* are at 1 Sam. 3:21 (King James Bible [1648], introductory notes, 17): 'In more est apud Judaeos religionis sive devotionis causa omnia ad deum referre omissa causarum mediarum inertia'; 'Appeared & revealed himself by the wonders &c. i.e. Shamuel deum audiverit loquentem'. Another quote, recording Spinoza's definition of a prophet, is at Exod. 7:1 (King James Bible [1648], p. 63). Cf.: Parker, etc., *The Biblical Politics of John Locke*, p. 165.

37 For Spinoza's influence on Locke*: John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For background on differences between Locke and Spinoza: Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1650–1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 135–163.

38 *See*: Harrison and Laslett, *The Library*, nos. 2743–2744; Parker, etc., *The Biblical Politics*, p. 165.

39 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Locke b.2, fols 26–29. Cf. John Lough, 'Locke's List of Books Banned in France in 1679', *French Studies*, 5 (1951), pp. 217–222, at p. 217; Locke*, *Epistola de tolerantia*, Klibansky (ed.) and Wiedhofft Gough (transl.), p. xxxii. Meant is: *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs tant anciens que modernes*. Three variant states of the French duodecimo edition are known: X.3, Y.4/Y.5, and Y.n/Y.4/Y.5. *See* for this: Chapter 5.

40 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Locke b.2, fol. 44^{v}. Cf. Harrison and Laslett, *The Library*, no. 2518. One copy is extant in: Edinburgh, University Library, Special Collections, JA 2017. Inscribed on the inside front board is 'John Locke'.

library also lists that 1677 Latin edition as well as another copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[41]

Whether Locke read all these books is quite uncertain. In 1699 in *Mr. Locke's Reply*, part of his controversy with the Bishop of Worcester, Edward Stillingfleet, over substance theory and rational certainty, the British philosopher would put forward, about the issue of life after death, the following remark:

> I am not so well read in *Hobbes* or *Spinosa*, as to be able to say, what were their Opinions in this Matter.[42]

Given the similarities of their political theories, Thomas Hobbes probably must have been sympathetic to Spinoza's treatise, too. According to *Brief Lives*, a work by the English antiquarian writer-babbler John Aubrey, Hobbes would have read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in the early 1670s. Allegedly, the noted English poet and politician Edmund Waller (1606–1687) had directed a copy to Hobbes's former pupil and patron William Cavendish, 3rd Earl of Devonshire, a Royal Society's original Fellow (1663) and royalist. Hobbes, according to the latter's undated reaction rephrased by Aubrey *Brief Lives*, had allegedly been awestruck by Spinoza's courage in putting to press such a fearless work, putting it thus:

> When Spinoza's <<Tractatus theologico-politicus>> first came out, Mr. Edmund Waller sent it to my lord of Devonshire and desired him to send him word what Mr. Hobbes said of it. Mr. Hobbes told his lordship [Cavendish]: 'Ne judicate ne judicemini' [Matthew 7:1]. He told me that he [read: Spinoza] had out throwne him [Hobbes] a barre's length, for he durst not write so boldly.[43]

The account in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* does not add up to much. It is neither clear what passage in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* Hobbes would have exactly referred to nor what Aubrey was trying to testify in *Brief Lives* about Hobbes's perhaps hidden convictions never put to paper anyway.

Spinoza in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* brings up Hobbes's political notions, in *Adnotatio* (33), clarifying his statement in the treatise's chapter 16 ('On the Foundations of the Republic'), in which he upholds that each person 'when he wishes, can be free'. In the explanatory note 33, he argues that '(contrary to Hobbes) reason urges peace in all circumstances'. It must be assumed that, by 1674, Spinoza had in any case read Hobbes's *Leviathan* and *De Cive*, a copy of which he had in his own private reference library.[44] For in early June that same year, he mentions Hobbes once again in a letter addressed to his Amsterdam friend Jarig Jelles. In it, the Dutch philosopher answers Jelles's question asking him what he thought specifically set his views aside from those of Hobbes. Their political divergences, according to Spinoza's own account, were particularly in the areas of rights of nature and powers. Sceptically, he informs Jelles thus:

> As far as Politics is concerned, the difference you ask about, between Hobbes and me, is this: I always preserve natural Right unimpaired, and I maintain that in each State the Supreme Magistrate has no more right over its subjects than it has greater power over them. This is always the case in the state of Nature.[45]

41 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Locke f.16, p. 211 (inventory of Locke's private library, made by Sylvester Brownover [*fl.*1678–1699]). Cf. Locke*, *Epistola de tolerantia*, Klibansky (ed.) and Wiedhofft Gough (transl.), p. xxxii.

42 John Locke, *Reply to ... the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second Letter Wherein, ..., What his Lordship has Said Concerning Certainty by Reason, ... is Examined* (London: 1699), p. 422.

43 Quoted in: Karl Schuhmann, *Hobbes une chronique. Cheminement de sa pensée et de sa vie* (Paris: Vrin, 1998), p. 206. *See* further: John Aubrey*, *Brief Lives*, Andrew Clark (ed.) (2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), vol. 1, p. 357 (edition reads: 'he had cut through me a bar's length'); Vivian de Sola Pinto (ed.), *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century. Selected Short Lives* (London: Harrap, 1951), p. 189 (De Sola Pinto proposes: 'outthrowne'). Cf. further: Edwin Curley, '"I Durst Not Write So Boldly", or How to Read Hobbes' Theological-Political Treatise', in Daniela Bostrenghi and Emilia Giancotti Boscherini (eds.), *Hobbes e Spinoza: Atti del Convegno Internazionale Urbino, 14–17 ottobre, 1988* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1992), pp. 497–593. Waller befriended Hobbes*. His later poems were heavily influenced by the latter. Cavendish: BL.

44 Hobbes*, *Leviathan*; id., *Elementa philosophica de cive* (Amsterdam: 1647). For *Adnotatio* 33: CW, vol. 2, p. 289, there at n. 17 (G 3/195.4).

45 1674.06.02, Ep 50: 'Quantum ad Politicam spectat, discrimen inter me, & Hobbesium, de quo interrogas, in hoc consistit, quod ego naturale Jus semper sartum tectum conservo, quodque Supremo Magistratui in qualibet Urbe non plus in subditos juris, quam juxta mensuram potestatis, qua subditum superat, competere statuo, quod in statu Naturali semper locum habe.' (G 4/239; CW, vol. 2, p. 406). Ep 50 was a reply to a (lost) letter by Jelles* (< 1674.[04].02*). Spinoza's response is advanced in the *TTP*'s ch. 16 (G 3/189) and in *TP*, ch. 2 (§ 2–4 [G 3/276–277]). For background on Spinoza's and Hobbes's philosophy: William Sacksteder, 'How Much of Hobbes Might Spinoza Have Read', *Southwestern Journal of Philosophy*, 11 (1980), pp. 25–39; Arrigo Pacchi, 'Leviathan and Spinoza's Tractatus on Revelation: Some Elements for a Comparison', in id., *Scritti Hobbesiani (1978–1990)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1998), pp. 123–144, 1998; Curley, '"I Durst Not Write So Boldly"'; Noel Malcolm, 'Hobbes, Ezra, and the Bible: The History of a Subversive Idea', in id., *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), pp. 383–431; Karl Schumann, 'Methodenfragen bei Spinoza und Hobbes: Zum Problem des

Hence, what Spinoza simply argues here is that he rejected in Hobbes's *Leviathan* and *De Cive* the intrinsic binding of the transference of the natural right whenever we make pledges. That stance was boldly countered by the Dutch philosopher's own upending preference for a self-interested contract, bound only by perceived utility and by doing whatever a person can do and not by previous agreements whatsoever.

3 Two Early Critics: Henry Oldenburg and Robert Boyle

Henry Oldenburg, returning in the summer of 1661 from a brief trip to his birthplace Bremen, paid a visit to Spinoza in Rijnsburg. There, they enthusiastically partook in discussions relating to fundamental issues as metaphysics and the New Philosophy. Still uncertain is how contacts between Oldenburg and Spinoza were exactly established or arranged and, more significantly, by whom. Possibly, the intermediary who brought Spinoza to the scholar's notice was perhaps Oldenburg's relative Johannes Coccejus, a leading Hebrew scholar and German theology professor from Bremen lecturing at Leiden University. Another likely candidate bringing Spinoza to the spotlight might have been the Dutch Collegiant and Hebrew scholar Adam Boreel (1603–1665). He befriended Oldenburg and had close links with the Rijnsburg Collegiants and with prominent Jewish scholars in Amsterdam, like rabbi Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657).[46]

By the time Oldenburg paid Spinoza a visit in the Leiden hinterland, the latter had only composed the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione, et de via, qua optime in veram rerum cognitionem dirigitur*, what is assumed to be his first work, and he was probably still in the process of composing and polishing the *Korte verhandeling*. The visit by Oldenburg however underlines he must already have had a reputation of some sort as an original, independent thinker drifting away from his Dutch-Sephardic upbringing and refining his skills as a natural philosopher probing deeply into the Cartesian system.[47] Impressed by this young Dutchman, Oldenburg eagerly initiated a 'philosophical' correspondence with Spinoza immediately upon his return to London. In his first letter to the Dutch philosopher, composed on 26 August 1661, he

Einflusses', in id., *Selected Papers on Renaissance Philosophy and on Thomas Hobbes*, Piet Steenbakkers and Cees Leijenhorst (eds.) (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2008), pp. 45–71; Don Garrett, '"Promising" Ideas: Hobbes and Contract in Spinoza's Political Philosophy', in Melamed and Rosenthal (eds.), *Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise*, pp. 192–209.

46 Among many other works, Coccejus* published a translation of the *Mishnah*. He also issued a treatise, called *Protheoria de ratione interpretandi sive introductio in philologiam sacram* (1630). In it, he lauds the overall erudition of rabbis such as 'Rashi' (1040–1105) and David Kimchi (*c.*1160–*c.*1235). For Boreel: Walter Schneider, *Adam Boreel. Sein Leben und Seine Schriften* (Giessen: Munchöw, 1911); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, cols 164–166; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 6, 44–46; Francesco Quatrini, *Adam Boreel (1602–1665): His Life and Thought* (2017).

47 Textual history of the *TIE*: G 2, pp. 319–340; Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. I, pp. 21–58. For a synopsis: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 341–343. *See* also: Don Garrett, *Meaning in Spinoza's Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 73–96; Eugenio Canone and Pina Totaro, 'Index locorum du "Tractatus de intellectus emendatione"', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers (eds.), *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 69–106. For Spinoza's involvement with hermeneutics and methodology: Alan Gabbey, 'Spinoza's Natural Science and Methodology', in Don Garrett (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza's Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 142–191. It is assumed, Spinoza composed the *TIE* around or soon after the *Mahamad* (college of lay leaders) of the Amsterdam *Talmud Torah* congregation put him to a *herem* (27 July 1656). For background: Asa Kasher and Shlomo Biderman, 'Why Was Baruch de Spinoza Excommunicated?', in David S. Katz and Jonathan I. Israel (eds.), *Sceptics, Millenarians and Jews* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 98–141, at p. 100. For the *herem*'s formula: Israel S. Revah, *Spinoza et Dr. Juan de Prado* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1959), pp. 57–58; Herman P. Prins Salomon, 'La Vraie excommunication de Spinoza', in Hans Bots, etc. (eds.), *Forum Litterarum. Miscelânea de Estudos Literários, Linguísticos e Históricos oferecida a J.J. van den Besselaar* (Amsterdam and Maarsen: APA-Holland University Press, 1984), pp. 181–199; W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 262–265. English translation from the Portuguese: Paul Mendes-Flohr, 'The Sephardi Community of Amsterdam. The Writ of Excommunication Against Baruch Spinoza (July 27, 1656)', in id., and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 57. The ban's text derives from chapter 139 of the *Kol Bo* ('All is Within'), a Jewish ritual and civil law anthology printed in Naples in 1490 (cf. Steven Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], p. 128). The sole (unsigned) copy of the surviving Portuguese text, published by Van Vloten (Benedictus de Spinoza, *Ad Benedicti de Spinoza Opera quae supersunt omnia supplementum* [Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1862], pp. 290–293), is in the *Mahamad* minute book. *See*: 334: 'Archief van de Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente', ms. 'Escamoth A' (register of rules and regulations), inv. no. 19, p. 408, 6 Ab 5416. Background: Odette Vlessing, 'The Excommunication of Baruch Spinoza. A Conflict between Jewish and Dutch Law', *Studia Spinozana*, 13 (1997), pp. 15–47; id., 'The Excommunication of Baruch Spinoza: The Birth of a Philosopher', in Jonathan I. Israel and Reinier Salverda (eds.), *Dutch Jewry. Its History and Secular Culture 1500–2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 141–172; Jonathan I. Israel, 'Philosophy, Commerce and the Synagogue: Spinoza's Expulsion from the Amsterdam Portuguese Synagogue in 1656', in id. and Salverda (eds.), *Dutch Jewry*, pp. 125–140.

referred to their earlier Rijnsburg encounter as a meeting during which

> … we talked about God, about infinite Extension and Thought, about the difference and agreement of these attributes, about the way the human soul is united with the body, and about the Principles of the Cartesian philosophy and of the Baconian.[48]

The epistolary friendship between Spinoza and Oldenburg comprised two stages in their lifetime. Between 26 August 1661 and 18 December 1665, and between [April/May] 1675 and 18 October 1676, they exchanged (at least) thirty-five letters and parcels, ranging from short messages and books to lengthy accounts, scholarly reports, all spanning the private and the public realms. Spinoza passed along continental news to Oldenburg about scholarly subjects, books, and politics. He also informed his London correspondent about his own occupations, like his philosophical writing projects, and dutifully answered Oldenburg's questions, too. As for Oldenburg, he dispatched letters to the Dutch philosopher with news about, for example, the London Royal Society and its members' endeavours and trials in natural philosophy, a subject being of great importance to the both of them.

More importantly, through Oldenburg's contacts, Spinoza was also in the position to communicate (1662–August 1663) with Robert Boyle. At least for a while, the latter British empiricist, Spinoza and Oldenburg first started writing on the corpuscular chemistry and on the physical properties of cohesive attraction.[49] During the early 1660s, Boyle in his private meetings with Oldenburg, his amanuensis, and by way of the latter's correspondence will undoubtedly have learned far more details about Spinoza's philosophical notions.[50] This is evinced by one of Oldenburg's letters, sent to Spinoza in the autumn of 1665, in which he informed the Dutch philosopher both he and Boyle had spoken about 'your Erudition, and your profound meditations', without however stipulating what subjects they had discussed.[51]

A few years beforehand, in autumn 1661, Oldenburg had spent Spinoza a Latin translation of Boyle's *Certain Physiological Essays*. The latter work comprised an account of chemical tests, with examples. In it, Boyle particularly focused on the mechanical properties of pure nitre or saltpetre (a main component of gunpowder), i.e., the fertilizer potassium nitrate (KNO_3), and on the physical characteristics of the cohesive force of smooth singular bodies *in vacuo*. In the book's accompanying letter of 11/21 October 1661, Oldenburg also kindly asks his Dutch correspondent to give his critique of the five-part work as he informs him thus:

> Here is the little book I promised you. Do let me know your judgment of it, particularly regarding the Experiments he has included on Niter, and on Fluidity and Solidity.[52]

Spinoza in his reply, he objects to aspects of Boylean corpuscular chemistry. He also assaults Boyle's interpretation of the physical property of cohesive attraction, i.e., the tendency of similar particles or surfaces to cling to one another because of what Boyle called 'pressure'. The philosopher's reply was probably first 'prepublished' in

48 'Habebamus Rhenoburgi sermonem de Deo, de Extensione, & Cogitatione infinita, de horum attributorum discrimine, &. convenientia, de ratione unionis animae humanae cum corpore; porro de Principiis Philosophiae Cartesianae, & Baconianae.' (1661.08.26, Ep 1; G 4/5–6; CW, vol. 1, pp. 163–164).

49 To Oldenburg*, 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36); to Spinoza, 1663.04.03, Ep 11 (G 4/48–52); to Oldenburg, 1663.07.27, Ep 13 (G 4/63); to Spinoza, 1663.08.14, Ep 16 (G 4/73–75). Although there are doubts Spinoza and Boyle* were directly in contact by letter, I have found evidence proving they might have exchanged at least two now-lost letters; with or without Oldenburg's help. The likely existence of a letter to Boyle (text unknown) is constituted by a chronological correspondent inventory (*c.*1700) compiled by classical scholar and linguist William Wotton (1666–1726), advancing his project in composing Boyle's biography. It lists one undated incoming letter from Spinoza to Boyle: 'Spinoza 317'. The reference may be to a holograph, but it cannot be ruled out Wotton's inventory lists a copy or minute from a further unidentified letter, by Spinoza to Oldenburg, and then passed to Boyle. For Wotton's list: London, Royal Society, ms. BP 36, fols 180–189. Cf.: Boyle, *Correspondence*, Hunter, etc. (eds.), vol. 6, Appendix 3, p. 408 ('Wotton's list'). A letter by Boyle to Spinoza can be also inferred from quite an erratic addition in a letter (1663.07.27, Ep 13) published in the *NS* (p. 481; not in the *OP*), in which the Dutch philosopher responds to another letter (1663.04.03, Ep 11). It concerns a reply to Oldenburg's remarks on Spinoza's critique of Boyle's 1661 *Certain Physiological Essays* (Chapter 2, n. 8). It reads: '… en aan de welken ik ook zijn brief heb getoont, *na dat ik hem ontvangen had*, ….' (my emphasis). My translation reads in English: '… and to whom [i.e., 'others' who had read Boyle and Descartes] I have also shown his letter [Boyle's], after I had received it; ….'. This erratic statement suggests Spinoza circulated Boyle's letter in an edited version among his friends and admirers in Amsterdam.

50 To Oldenburg*, 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36).

51 To Spinoza, 1665.04.28, Ep 25 (G 4/158).

52 To Spinoza, 1661.10.21, Ep 5: 'Libellum, quem promiseram, en accipe, mihique tuum de eo judicium, imprimis circa ea, quae de Nitro, deque Fluiditate, ac Firmitudine inserit Specimina, rescribe.' (G 4/14). Oldenburg* had already promised to send the copy (through an intermediary) in his first letter to Spinoza (1661.08.26, Ep 1) as soon as 'it has been printed'. Oldenburg* gift copy concerned: Boyle*, *Certain Physiological Essays*.

manuscript, amongst friends and admirers in Amsterdam, in an edited version and highly likely entitled 'Comments on the Most Noble Robert Boyle's book on Niter, Fluidity & Solidity' ('Epistola continens annotationes in librum nobilissimi viri Roberti Boyle, de nitro, fluiditate, & firmitate'). In turn, Boyle, through the intermediary of Oldenburg, answered Spinoza's critique of his *Certain Physiological Essays*.[53]

Said more concisely, it appears that, from an early start, Oldenburg and Boyle both considered Spinoza chiefly to be a sceptical, primarily Cartesian philosopher and an expert practitioner in physics and mathematics.[54] Apart from the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents, Oldenburg may also have informed Boyle about his interpretation of what Spinoza had expounded to him in his letters about some of the metaphysical doctrines contained in the *Ethica*'s embryonic instalments, too. When this proves to be the case, it most certainly must have attracted Boyle's attention.[55] The English mechanist philosopher had, in his young-adult years, also himself composed a work called 'The Aretology or Ethicall Elements' (1645), referred to by him in his correspondence as 'my *Ethics*'.[56]

Possibly, Boyle in *A Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly Received Notion of Nature*, a lengthy treatise he had begun composing in about 1666 and which was only first published in 1686, indirectly refuted Spinoza's substance theory in relation to the Christian concept of God.[57] In this natural philosophical key text, which mechanistically elucidates and contextualizes various views of the natural world and places the Dutch philosopher willingly between 'atheists' and 'theists', Boyle upholds in its section 4 that

> … even in these times there is lately sprung up a sect of men, as well professing Christianity, as pretending to philosophy, who (if I am not misinformed of their doctrine) do very much symbolise with the ancient heathens, and talk much indeed of God, but mean such a one as is not really distinct from the animated and intelligent universe, but is on that account very differing from the true God that we Christians believe and worship.[58]

Over time, particularly Oldenburg's epistolary interest in Spinoza and in his writings would gradually shift from a once happy meeting of minds and an attitude of curiosity to an austerely critical stance when it came to matters theological. Especially when in their letters, published in the posthumous works in 1677, they started discussing far-stretching theological key subjects such as miracles, prophecy, scriptural exegesis, and Spinoza's equation of God with nature. A letter of 8 June 1675 of Oldenburg to Spinoza gives the impression that the former, at least for a

53 Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1663.04.03, Ep 11 (G 4/48–52). Spinoza's original reply was contained in a letter to Oldenburg: 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6, G 4/15–36. *Certain Physiological Essays* contains essays presenting a subtle view of experimentation. Boyle* underscored in it that unsuccessful tests should be recorded, too: 'Essay, of the Unsuccessfulness of Experiments' (pp. 37–66); 'Essay II, Of the Un-succeeding Experiments' (pp. 67–105). A second edition (1669) included a new annex, too: 'Of Absolute Rest in Bodies'. *See*: Boyle, *Works*, Hunter and Davids (eds.), vol. 2. Spinoza inspected its Latin translation: *Tentamina quaedam physiologica diversis temporibus & occasionibus conscripta* (London: 1661). Neither the Latin nor the English edition were in Spinoza's private library when, upon his death, an inventory was made on 2 March 1677. For further background: Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 185–201. *See*: Spinoza to Oldenburg*, 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36).

54 To Spinoza, 1665.09.14–28, Ep 29 (G 4/164–165); 1665.10.[22], Ep 31 (G 4/167–169). *See*: Colie, 'Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', pp. 193–202.

55 *See* as an illustration for Spinoza's remarks on his *E* his first letter to Oldenburg* (1661.09.00, Ep 2 [G 4/7–9]), expounding his theory of substance, extension, and attribute.

56 Boyle*, *Correspondence*, Hunter, etc. (eds.), vol. 1, pp. 34 and 41–42. Cf. for Boyle's 'Aretology': Michael C.W. Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 59. Boyle published another work on ethical issues: *Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects, …* (London: 1665).

57 For Boyle*, 'vulgar' meant 'common', 'ordinary'. All experiments ever conducted by him culminated in *A Free Enquiry* which critically discusses the ancient Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of the 'plastic nature'. For Boyle, who refused to treat nature as a sole agent, a mechanistic explanation of the workings of the impersonal machine making up the natural world alone lay bare the properties and powers of a personal, omnipotent God acting freely and arbitrary. In this deterministic view, material nature was free from purpose, willing and unaware, and 'motion does not belong essentially to matter'. Only God would act as an incorporeal agent: '… ; the Motions of all Bodies, at least at the beginning of Things, and the Motions of most Bodies, the Causes of whose Motions we can discern, were impress'd on them, either by an External Immaterial Agent, God; or by other Portions of Matter (which are also Extrinsecal Impellers) acting on them.' (Robert Boyle, *A Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly Received Notion of Nature*, Michael C.W. Hunter and Edward B. Davids [eds.] [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996], VI, p. 90). *A Free Enquiry* was first published in London in 1686. A Latin edition, authorized by Boyle* and issued by Scottish physician David Abercromby (*fl.*1682–1702), appeared in 1687, the year in which also Newton published his *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (London: 1687). Present-day edition: Boyle, *A Free Enquiry*; id., *Works*, Hunter and Davids (eds.), vol. 10. *See* further: Michael C.W. Hunter and Edward B. Davis, 'The Making of Robert Boyle's "Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly Receiv'd Notion of Nature" (1686)', *Early Science and Medicine*, 1 (1996), pp. 204–271.

58 Boyle*, *A Free Enquiry*, Hunter and Davids (eds.), IV, p. 47.

brief period, seems to have clearly struggled to fathom the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents and the book's radical metaphysical and theological implications.[59] Earlier that same year, in a now-lost letter to Spinoza he had given a harsh critique of the treatise.[60] Spinoza had forwarded the copy of the treatise to Oldenburg, in all likelihood with Tschirnhaus's help who was visiting England and went to London in the spring of 1675; the book however went missing. Oldenburg in a letter (now lost) had thanked him for the gift, but it never reached Spinoza either.

A few months later, Oldenburg apologized to his Dutch correspondent by remarking he had come to realize finally that that previous judgement had been unfortunately without enough consideration.[61] The aforementioned letter of 8 June 1675 was another effort to thank Spinoza. Oldenburg in this letter writes about his overhasty judgement thus:

> *In it* [i.e., his first thank-you letter dispatched to Spinoza] *I indicated my opinion of that Treatise, which now, having subsequently examined and weighed the matter more carefully, I certainly think was premature*. At that time certain things seemed to me to tend to the detriment of Religion, when I measured it by the standard provided by the common herd of Theologians, and the accepted Formulas of the Confessions (which seem to be too full of partisan zeal).[62]

Accordingly, Oldenburg immediately adds to the former remark that he had now become fully convinced that

> … you are so far from trying to harm true religion, or solid philosophy, that on the contrary you are working to commend and establish the authentic purpose of the Christian Religion, and indeed, the divine sublimity and excellence of a fruitful Philosophy.[63]

Oldenburg wrote to Spinoza stating that he believed 'that in your heart you have this intention [to advance the cause of true Christianity]'. He urged his Dutch correspondent to soon write back to him to inform him 'what you are now preparing and thinking about for that purpose'. What Oldenburg was really up to here is puzzling, to say the least. Perhaps, this was a cunning plan to draw Spinoza into a correspondence on the unpublished *Ethica* about which Tschirnhaus may have first informed Oldenburg and Boyle during meetings with the two scholars.[64]

Shortly afterwards, Oldenburg changed his rather seemingly receptive opinion and found repugnant certain theological implications of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' on Reformed Christology once again. When Spinoza kindly asked Oldenburg in a letter (now lost) to distribute copies in England on his behalf of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the latter scholar hastened to answer him, in a letter of 22 July 1675, to send these *not* to his private address (at Pall Mall, Westminster). By then, Spinoza's treatise was already a banned book in Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland for almost one year. As the matter stands, Oldenburg's plain reply to Spinoza in regard to his request to circulate copies indicates he clearly had no intentions whatsoever to become openly associated with either the banned treatise or the Dutch philosopher so badly received by the Cambridge Neoplatonists. Not surprisingly, since Oldenburg's temporary imprisonment during the Second Anglo-Dutch War in the Tower of London from 20 June to 3 October 1667, he had become evidently cautious about his correspondence traffic with the continent.[65]

59 Oldenburg* never received Spinoza's copy. He might however have read a copy which was in his possession since October 1670.

60 1675.[04/05].00[a]*.

61 1675.06.08, Ep 61 (G 4/271–272).

62 The remark about his premature critique is italicized in the OP (XVII, p. 445): '*Indicaveram in iis me de Tractatu illo sententiam; quam utique, dehinc re proprius inspectâ, & perpensâ, nimis immaturam fuisse nunc existimo*. Quaedam mihi videbantur tunc temporis vergere in fraudem Religionis, dum eam ex eo pede metiebar, quem Theologorum vulgus, & receptae Confessionum Formulae (quae nimiùm spirare videntur partium studia) suppeditant.' (G 4/272; CW, vol. 2, p. 434). Curley points out he thinks the italics were absent in the autograph letter, but merely do express an intervention by the Amsterdam editors.

63 'At totum negotium intimius recogitanti multa occurrunt, quae mihi persuasum eunt, te tantum abesse, ut quicquam in Verae Religionis, solidaeve Philosophiae damnum moliaris, ut contra genuinum Christianae Religionis finem, nec non divinam fructuosae Philosophiae sublimitatem, & excellentiam commendare, & stabilire allabores.' (G 4/272; CW, vol. 2, p. 434).

64 Soon afterwards, Spinoza indeed wrote Oldenburg* a brief now-lost letter in which he brought up the *E* and his plan to publish the work (1675.07.05*).

65 The London Post Office was supervised by Sir Henry Bennet (1618–1685), 1st Earl of Arlington, the Secretary of State of the Southern Department (today's British Home Office). With respect to war politics, Arlington's information policy forced Oldenburg* to have all his incoming foreign letters opened at the Post Office's Foreign Office, particularly those from France and the Dutch Republic. The objective was to inspect whether they contained 'Civill news', i.e., sensitive political information. As a kind of prudent cipher, Oldenburg told his foreign correspondents to send him their letters with the code anagram/

Here is what Oldenburg wrote to Spinoza on 22 July about any copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* the Dutch philosopher had offered to send him:

> As for other matters, I won't decline to receive copies of the Treatise you mention. I should only like to ask this: that they be addressed, when the time comes, to a certain Dutch merchant living in London, who will make sure that they are passed on to me afterward. There'll be no need to mention that you have sent me books of this kind. Provided they come safely into my possession, I have no doubt that it will be convenient for me to distribute them from here to my friends, and to get a just price for them.[66]

Thus, Oldenburg in his letter of 22 July instructed Spinoza to send the books 'of this kind' not to Pall Mall, but instead to a Dutch merchant in London he apparently was in touch with. He urged the Dutch philosopher kindly also to refrain from mentioning his name in any letter accompanying the package. In other words, Oldenburg was far from keen being openly linked with Spinoza, even in a private letter sent to a Dutch acquaintance in London he apparently trusted well enough to receive copies of the treatise on his behalf. Spinoza's answer, composed after 22 July 1675, shows he wanted to respect his correspondent's request and, accordingly, he thanked Oldenburg 'very much for your most friendly warning'.[67]

The identity of the Dutch entrepreneur residing in London remains unfortunately a mystery. Spinoza's request in any case proves that by then he was actively promoting his book by circulating copies among friends and correspondents abroad. As for large-scale distribution in Restoration England it seems likely to assume Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the treatise's putative publisher, would have taken care of the shipment of the majority of the copies of the book, perhaps with the help of an English bookseller working in Amsterdam or The Hague. Whether copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, meant for further distribution, were indeed directed from Amsterdam via a Dutch trader staying in London to Oldenburg in Westminster is not known.

With respect to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Oldenburg and Boyle were at the same time deeply confused and worried by Spinoza's metaphysical notions, as evinced by a letter of Georg Hermann Schuller dispatched to Spinoza on 25 July 1675. Schuller informed him in it that Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus, by then in London and occasionally dispatching letters to Schuller about his daily routine and encounters with scholars such as John Collins (1625–1683) and Isaac Newton (1643–1727), had recently provided him with a written account of a rendezvous with Boyle and Oldenburg. Schuller writes to Spinoza that, according to Tschirnhaus,

> … Messrs. Boyle and Oldenburg had formed a strange conception of Your person. Not only has he disabused them of this conception, he has also added reasons inducing them, not only to think most worthily and favorably again of your person, but also to value most highly the *Theological-Political Treatise*.[68]

Whether the last above remark was indeed Tschirnhaus's correct interpretation of his conversations with the two British scholars should be sincerely doubted. Perhaps, Oldenburg and Boyle were only acting politely and

address 'Monsr Grubendol, London'. This would secure that, by his own account, these letters 'will come more safely to my hands, than if they were directed to my owne name'. At long last, Oldenburg was even temporarily imprisoned (25 June 1667) for 'dangerous designs & practices', i.e., on suspicion of exchanging political news in letters with parties overseas ('Regulation 18b'). Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) wrote about Oldenburg's arrest in his diary: 'I was told, yesterday that Mr. Oldenburg, our Secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower, for writing news to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do any thing.'. Background: Douglas McKie, 'The Arrest and the Imprisonment of Henry Oldenburg', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 6 (1948), pp. 28–47.

66 1675.07.22, Ep 62: 'De caetero, non renuam aliquot dicti Tractatus exemplaria recipere. Hoc duntaxat rogatum te velim, ut suo tempore mercatori cuidam Belgico, Londini commoranti, inscribantur, qui mihi postmodum tradenda curet. Nec opus fuerit verba de eo facere, libros scilicet istiusmodi ad me fuisse transmissos: dummodo enim in potestatem meam tuto pervenerint, nullus dubito, quin commodum mihi futurum sit, eos amicis meis hinc inde distribuendi, justumque pro iis precium consequendi.' (G 4/273; CW, vol. 2, p. 435). The letter with Spinoza's request is no longer extant.

67 > 1675.[07].22, Ep 68 (G 4/299).

68 '… caeterum refert D^{um} Boyle & Oldenburgh mirum de Tua persona formasse conceptum, quem ipse eisdem non solum ademit, sed rationes addidit, quarum inductione, iterum non solum dignissime et faventissime de eadem sentiant, sed & T. Theol. Politicum summe aestiment, ….' (Schuller* to Spinoza, 1675.07.25, Ep 63 [G 4/276; CW, vol. 2, p. 437]). Colie ('Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', p. 183) writes: 'At the same time, even in the din of the Hobbist controversies, Spinoza's work could not go entirely unnoticed; though he was often shrugged off as a mere disciple of the sage of Malmesbury, his work dismissed as the natural spawn of Hobbist error, Spinoza ultimately engaged intellectual attention as a figure of note in his own right.'. Tschirnhaus: BL.

strategically, thus fiendishly avoiding to disclose to their German visitor their real opinion of Spinoza's treatise. Not surprisingly, both men were loyally adhering to their religious Protestant convictions and rejected the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents by all means.

Especially the voluntarist natural philosopher Robert Boyle, who took up the view 'God was the immediate Author of things' and was as deeply religious as he was uncompromising, saw the natural world as God's 'curious engine' and treated theology as paramount. After a conversion experience at a young age while travelling on a Grand Tour to the Savoy in 1641, Boyle would undertake a long-life search for Christianity's truth, something which also shines through his published writings. For instance, in the prologue to *An Examen of Mr. T. Hobbes his Dialogus Physicus de Naturâ Aëris*, a fierce attack published in 1662 on Thomas Hobbes whom he disliked and thought incompetent, Boyle characterized himself as one of the 'Orthodox Christian Naturalists'.[69] What is more, Boyle was also a propagator of the Gospel in New England and financed translations in many languages, too. Moreover, he donated money to pious causes and founded the noted Boyle Lectures in his will (28 July 1691). These missionary lectures (eight sermons each year on the first Sunday of every month),

> ... for proving the Christian Religion, against notorious Infidels ... that are among Christians themselves, ...

were considered straightforward defences of Christianity's truth against Judaism, Islam, atheism, and other forms of 'irreligion' (such as deism), which in Boyle's opinion were seemingly disrupting Christian society.[70]

Being a convinced theist and a strong advocate of the divine designer argument, Boyle made no difference between reason and revelation. He was profoundly convinced that God was the 'divine maker of the universe' who has 'ends unknown to us' as he puts it in *A Free Inquiry*.[71] God, according to Boyle, was an omnipotent, incorporeal creator who had made the world freely and maintains it, not out of necessity.[72] More particularly, Boyle appears to have developed an intense dislike for the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents and its rigid rejection of miracles, according to him being one of the 'three grand arguments' for Christianity which he principally saw as cogent, special signs of God's special grace (but not as proofs of God's existence).[73] To put it differently, Boyle immensely worried about the implications of Spinoza's biblical criticism for the central tenets of Christian theology, fearing it would make the New Philosophy appear an accomplice to atheism and work contrary to the Christian faith. This stance is exemplary for Boyle's struggle, enduring throughout his entire scholarly life, to reconcile his distinctive mechanical programme in natural philosophy with Christianity.

In an undated 'reply' (on miracles), globally referred to by what one of his amanuenses described as 'Mr. Boyle's Answer to Spinosa', Boyle too reacted to Spinoza, addressing him as one of the 'Embracers of the Cartesian [Philo] sophy'. Here is one of Boyle's statements, setting out to refute Spinoza's 'error' regarding the substance question:

69 Robert Boyle*, *An Examen of Mr. T. Hobbes his Dialogus Physicus De Naturâ Aëris ... With an Appendix Touching Mr. Hobbes's Doctrine of Fluididity and Firmness* (London: 1662). Included in the expanded 1662 edition of: id., *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, Touching the Spring of the Air, and its Effects* (*Made, for the Most Part, in a New Pneumatical Engine*) (Oxford: 1660). *See*: Boyle, *Works*, Hunter and Davids (eds.), vol. 3, pp. 111–112. The work, a critique of Hobbes's *Dialogus physicus, sive, De natura aeris conjectura sumpta ab experimentis nuper Londini habitis in Collegio Greshamensi*, ... (London: 1661), is an advanced defence of the *New Experiments*' first edition. In the latter work, Boyle first described controlled pneumatic experiments with his air-pump, a 'pneumatic engine' or *machina Boyleana* as fellow natural philosophers called the contraption. Boyle in the book specifically undertook to exemplify a 'working philosophy' of scholarly knowledge, because he maintained neither systematic philosophy nor formal rules were sufficient for amassing scientific knowing.

70 In Boyle's view, at least, speculative atheists in particular were irrational and self-contradictory. Tellingly, the first lecture, dealing with the role of religion in society, was presented in 1692 by the English classical scholar and FRS Richard Bentley (1662–1742) with the title 'The Folly of Atheism'. Cf.: 'Jacob, Bentley, Newton, and Providence: The Boyle Lectures Once More', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 30 (1969), pp. 307–318. For background on Boyle's views on science and religion: id. *The Excellency of Theology, Compar'd with Natural Philosophy* (London: 1674). *See*: Colie, 'Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', pp. 193–202.

71 Boyle*, *A Free Enquiry*, Hunter and Davids (eds.), VI, p. 101.

72 Boyle* 'represented almost an ideal type of "the Christian virtuoso"' (Michael C.W. Hunter [ed.], *Robert Boyle Reconsidered* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003], p. 1 [Introduction]). For Boyle's teenage conversion: Hunter, *Boyle*, pp. 48–49. *See* for Boyle's religious position: James R. Jacob, 'Robert Boyle and Subversive Religion in the Early Restoration', *Albion. A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 6 (1974), pp. 275–293.

73 Cf. Colie, 'Spinoza and the Early English Deists', p. 199; Wootton, *The Invention of Science*, p. 460.

> I say then, as has been already noted; that God is a most free Agent; and his Divine Wisdom does accompany all that he does, in such a manner, as not to impair his Freedom; ….

About the possibility of miracles and the laws of nature, Boyle writes further:

> That the great God; the most Free & Omniscient Author of Things, can have no Ends, to which it may be congruous, that some of the arbitrary Laws he has establish'd, in that little portion of his Workmanship that we men inhabit, should now and then, (thô very rarely) be control'd or receded from.[74]

In another untitled manuscript, composed during the 1670s or 1680s, Boyle abstracts his critical reply to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the book's rigid denial of miracles. For him, miracles were essential for salvation and testifiers of God's veracity and benevolence. For Spinoza however these were simple violations of natural laws and the result of anti-rational superstition. In the aforementioned manuscript, Boyle therefore states the following:

> Show in the Paper against Spinosa that we ought not to confound all things that may be effected with mechanicall Powers whatever the Agents be that sett them on worke and that we cannot conclude a thing to be no miracle meerly because tis possible to be produc'd by matter & motion.[75]

In the winter of 1675, Henry Oldenburg for his part started exchanging letters about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with Spinoza in their revived correspondence. Their spirited epistolary discussion took off after the Dutch philosopher had informed his London correspondent about his plan to issue a new edition of his treatise with explanatory comments, now known as the *Adnotationes*.[76] In a letter of 15 November, Oldenburg asked Spinoza to react to the work's English readers' overall negative responses while still offering him, it seems, an openness to academic discussion to some extent.[77]

First, Oldenburg writes in the foregoing letter that readers in Britain are generally offended by 'those passages in the work which seem to speak ambiguously about God and Nature' and many do feel 'you confuse these two things'.[78] Second, he continues, they disapprove the book is questioning 'the authority and value of miracles'. Clearly, in evidence, this remark must point to the general concern felt by British Protestants in Stuart England towards reassessment of the cessation doctrine.[79] The third point to address in the readers' critique, Oldenburg concludes, is that people think 'you conceal your opinion' regarding the true nature of Christ, 'as well as your opinion concerning his Incarnation and Atonement'. The fact that Oldenburg in his correspondence with Spinoza brought up these topics is remarkable, to say the least, especially since from the early 1660s he had remained completely silent about all religious matters in his letters exchanged with correspondents in his vast network.

Here, particularly Oldenburg's last remark on Christology was a view central to his disagreement with Spinoza in late 1675 and early 1676. Looking more closely into the contents and the critical tone of Oldenburg's letters, it is obvious many elements of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents lay bare their differences of opinion regarding key issues of orthodox scriptural interpretation and of Christianity as a whole. As it stood, the traditional focal

74 London, Royal Society, ms. BP/1 ('Boyle Papers'), vol. 7 (theology section), 'Letter on Miracles' (0595), fols 112–116, there on fol. 113r. *See*: Colie, 'Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', pp. 199–202 and 213–219 ('Mr. Boyle's Answer to Spinosa').

75 London, Royal Society, ms. BP/1 ('Boyle Papers'), vol. 3 (theology section), 0476, fol. 102r. Quoted in: ibid.

76 Starting with: 1675.11.15, Ep 71 (G 4/304). For the *Adnotationes*, *see*: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy* and *Other Sources*.

77 1675.11.15, Ep 71 (G 4/304).

78 For instance: *TTP*, ch. 1 (G 3/26 and 28), ch. 2 (G 3/37–42), ch. 3 (G 3/45–46), ch. 4 (G 3/64).

79 *TTP*, ch. 6 (G 3/81–96). Regarding the English debate on miracles (Shaw, *Miracles in Enlightenment England*), members of the Royal Society closely followed that discussion. Boyle* in particular was fascinated (ibid., p. 75) by the efforts of the Irish healer Valentine Greatrakes (1628–1682) who allegedly cured Lady Anne Conway* from her migraines. During Greatrakes's visit to England (1666), Boyle attended some sixty healing sessions (ibid., p. 76). One of his work diaries (10–16 April 1666) comprises 'Accounts of cures performed by Greatrakes during his visit to England in 1666' (London, British Library, Add. ms. 4293, fols 50–53). Greatrakes himself addressed Boyle in a semi-scholarly account with testimonials by people who had 'witnessed' his healings and testified positively about his work's medical results: *A Brief Account of Mr. Valentine Greatraks, and Divers of the Strange Cures by Him Lately Performed Written by Himself in a Letter Addressed to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.*, … (London: 1666). Boyle's name, together with that of FRS John Wilkins (1614–1672), appears many times in *A Brief Account*'s annexed 'Testimonials'. Boyle, though, was inclined to the view Greatrakes's healing powers were incomparable to biblical miracles, although he considered the possibility whether the latter's 'cures' might comprise 'an extraordinary Gift of God'. Cf.: Hunter, *Boyle*, p. 151.

point of Scripture and established theology has the conviction Jesus suffered, died, was buried, descended into hell, and ultimately rose from the dead. Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:3–4 writes about Jesus' resurrection the following:

> For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures.

Another statement about the truth of the resurrection can be found in 1 Corinthians 15:14: 'And if Christ be not risen, then *is* our preaching vain, and your faith *is* also vain'. Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:17–19 finally concludes:

> And if Christ be not raised, your faith *is* vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

The Nicene Creed, a profession of faith in Christian liturgy, adopted by the first Council of Nicaea in 325 CE, further affirms the resurrection of Jesus thus: 'On the third day he rose again in accordance with the Scriptures'.

For Oldenburg, like Boyle in his letters a staunch defender of the Reformed Christian faith, the major obstacle in fathoming and accepting Spinoza's doctrines was his rigid heterodox stance towards Christology. Offended by the Dutch philosopher's bold denial of Christ's resurrection, he could not accept such a stance as an historical fact and considered it being principally to be contrary to nature and to reason alike. Spinoza in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* claims with fervour in chapter 6, on miracles, about this thus:

> So we conclude here, without qualification, that everything Scripture truly relates as having happened must have happened, as all things do, according to the laws of nature. And if anything should be found which can be conclusively demonstrated to be contrary to the laws of nature, or to have been unable to follow from them, we must believe without reservation that it has been added to the Sacred Texts by sacrilegious men. For whatever is contrary to nature is contrary to reason; and what is contrary to reason is absurd, and therefore to be rejected.[80]

Spinoza in his next letter to Oldenburg dated [1 January 1676] makes the following allegorical reflection about the resurrection of Christ who, in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, is portrayed as a divine philosopher. While referring to 1 Corinthians 15, he notices the following:

> I conclude, then, that the resurrection of Christ from the dead was really spiritual, and was revealed only to the faithful, according to their power of understanding, that is, that Christ was endowed with eternity, and that he rose from the dead (here I understand 'dead' in the same sense in which Christ said, 'let the dead bury their dead'), and at the same time that he gave, by his life and death, an example of singular holiness, and to that extent he raises his disciples from the dead, insofar as they follow this example of his life and death. It would not be difficult to explain the whole teaching of the Gospel according to this hypothesis. Indeed only on this hypothesis can 1 Cor. 15 be explained and the arguments of Paul be understood.[81]

Intriguingly, in terms of Christology, in this passage Spinoza conjointly with many Christian authors refers not to 'Jesus' but to 'Christ'. Judaism in general does not accept him as Messiah nor accepts he was raised from the dead but, for instance someone like Maimonides (alias Rabbi Moses ben Maimon, or 'RaMBaM', *c.*1135–1204), saw him as a failed prophet foreseen by the prophet Daniel who had damaged Jewish faith and brought about a false God.

Spinoza in another letter to Oldenburg, one from 7 February 1676 contends about Christ thus:

80 'Quare hic absolute concludimus, omnia, quae in Scriptura vere narrantur contigisse, ea secundum leges naturae ut omnia necessario contigisse, & si quid reperiatur, quod apodictice demonstrari potest, legibus naturae repugnare, aut ex iis consequi non potuisse, plane credendum id a sacrilegis hominibus Sacris Literis adjectum fuisse: quicquid enim contra naturam est, id contra rationem est, & quod contra rationem, id absurdum est, ac proinde etiam refutandum.' (*TTP*, ch. 6; G 3/91; CW, vol. 2, pp. 163–164).

81 'Concludo itaque Christi a mortuis resurrectionem revera spiritualem, & solis fidelibus ad eorum captum revelatam fuisse, nempe quod Christus aeternitate donatus fuit, & a mortuis, (mortuos hic intelligo eo sensu, quo Christus dixit: sinite mortuos mortuos suos sepelire) surrexit, simulatque vita & morte singularis sanctitatis exemplum dedit, & eatenus discipulos suos a mortuis suscitat, quatenus ipsi hoc vitae ejus, & mortis LXXV. exemplum sequuntur. Nec difficile esset totam Evangelii doctrinam secundum hanc hypothesin explicare. Imo Caput 15. Ep. 1. ad Corinthios ex sola hac hypothesi explicari potest, & Pauli argumenta intelligi.' ([1676].[01].[01], Ep 75 [G 4/314–315; CW, vol. 2, p. 472]). Cf. also: Rom. 1:3–4, 2 Tim. 2:8, John 3:16–18, 3:36, 11:25–27, 14:6, and 20:31.

> However that may be, I accept Christ's suffering, death, and burial literally, as you do, but his resurrection, allegorically. I grant, certainly, that the Evangelists relate the resurrection too in such detail that we can't deny that they themselves believed that the body of Christ was resurrected and ascended into heaven, where he sits on the right hand of God. We also can't deny that they believed this could also have been seen by non-believers, if they had been present at the same time in the places where Christ himself appeared to the disciples. Nevertheless, they could have been deceived about this, without harm to the teaching of the Gospel, as also happened to other prophets. I've given examples of this in my preceding letter. But Paul, to whom Christ also appeared afterward, gloried that he knew Christ not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit.[82]

About the apostle Paul, Spinoza's favourite superior Bible character who, he believed, philosophized more than the other apostles and distanced himself from Jewish superstition, the Dutch philosopher is crystal clear. According to him, the Apostle Paul did not believe in Christ's physical resurrection either. Not surprisingly, Henry Oldenburg for his part considered Spinoza's spiritual notions on Christ's resurrection to be markedly dangerous. Especially because the philosopher in his opaque statement avoids making it distinctly clear precisely when he was interpreting events either literally or allegorically.

In Oldenburg's disappointed opinion, in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* the Dutch philosopher's doctrines were openly undermining the essence and truth of Christianity. In a letter of 11 February 1676, Oldenburg concludes decisively the following about Spinoza's daring claims:

> Finally, you do not support your claim that Christ's passion, death and burial are to be taken literally, but his Resurrection allegorically, with any argument that is clear to me. In the Gospels the Resurrection of Christ seems to be related as literally as the other things. And the whole Christian Religion and its truth rests on this article of the Resurrection. Take this away, and the mission of Christ Jesus and his heavenly Teaching both collapse. It cannot escape you how much trouble Christ took, once he had been raised from the dead, to convince his disciples of the truth of the Resurrection, properly so called. To try to turn all those things into allegories is the same as if someone did his best to undermine the whole truth of the Gospel Narrative.[83]

To sum up now, Oldenburg considered Spinoza's doctrines on Christology weird and unacceptable as well as also unjustifiable, even dangerous in regard to Christian theology. During his life, Oldenburg, like Boyle, had been preoccupied with the aim of uniting Christendom and 'ye extreme necessity of plucking up above all yt Atheisme so deeply rooted'.[84] As early as 1656, reacting to a theory circulating the rumour that Jesus, Moses, and Mohammed were political impostors (the 'three impostors thesis'), he already from Oxford had anxiously reported to Dutch Hebrew scholar-Collegiant Adam Boreel that in his opinion 'religion falls into contempt, the raillery of the profane grows sharper, and the hearts of those who fear God are crucified'.[85] It should finally also be pointed out here that

82 'Caeterum Christi passionem, mortem, ac sepulturam tecum literaliter accipio, ejus autem resurrectionem allegorice. Fateor quidem hanc etiam, ab Evangelistis iis narrari circumstantiis, ut negare non possimus, ipsos Evangelistas credidisse, Christi corpus resurrexisse, et ad coelum ascendisse, ut ad Dei dextram sederet, et quod ab infidelibus etiam potuisset videri, si una iis in locis affuissent, in quibus ipse Christus discipulis apparuit, in quo tamen salva Evangelii doctrina potuerunt decipi, ut aliis etiam prophetis contigit, cujus rei exempla in praecedentibus dedi. At Paulus cui Christus postea etiam apparuit, gloriatur quod Christum non secundum carnem, sed secundum spiritum noverit.' (1676.02.07, Ep 78 [G 4/328a–329a; CW, vol. 2, p. 481]). For Spinoza's stance on 'Christ according to the flesh': Van Cauter, *Spinoza on History*, pp. 158–172. *See*: Van Bunge, *Spinoza Past and Present*, pp. 72–80 (Spinoza on Moses and Christ).

83 'Denique quod affirmas, Christi passionem, mortem et sepulturam literaliter quidem accipienda esse; Resurrectionem verò cujus allegorice, nullo, quod mihi apparet argumento a Te fulcitur. Aeque literaliter tradi in Evangeliis videtur Resurrectio Christi, ac reliqua. Et hoc Resurrectionis articulo tota Religio Christiana, ejusque veritas nititur, eaque sublata Christi Jesu missio, ac Doctrina coelestis collabascit. Latere te non potest, quantopere laboraverit Christus a mortuis resuscitatus, ut discipulos suos de Resurrectionis proprie sic dictae veritate convinceret. Omnia illa in allegorias vertere velle, idem est, ac si quis omnem Evangelicae Historiae veritatem convellere satagat.' (1676.02.11, Ep 79 [G 4/330; CW, vol. 2, p. 483]).

84 Oldenburg*, *Correspondence*, Hall and Boas Hall (eds.), vol. 1, p. 385.

85 Ibid., pp. 89–91. As evinced by his correspondence with Boreel, leader of the Dutch Collegiant movement (n. 134), Oldenburg* was devoted to fight atheism. To save Christianity, he expected Boreel to write an answer to the 'three impostors thesis'. Cf.: ibid., esp. pp. 39 and 216. Cf. also Oldenburg's correspondence with John Beale (1603?–1683?): ibid., p. 154. Boreel's reply, 'Jezus Nazarenus legislator', was never printed. Oldenburg and Boyle* owned copies of the retort. Cf.: Richard H. Popkin, 'The Crisis of Polytheism and the Answers of Vossius, Cudworth, and Newton', in id. and James E. Force (eds.), *Essays on the Context, Nature, and Influence of Isaac Newton's Theology* (Dordrecht and Boston, MA, and London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 9–25, there at p. 16. *See*: Sarah Hutton, 'Henry Oldenburg (1617/20–1677) and Spinoza', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*,

Oldenburg's true religious, prudentialist outlook particularly shines through in 'Admonitions and Directions of a Good Parent to his Child especially a Son', an unpublished religious paper written for his son Rupert, composed shortly before his death in 1677. In this devout paper, Oldenburg underlines the importance of performing acts of piety and in fatherly fashion he urges his son to keep to his daily prayers, to read the Bible, and to seek friends helpful 'in acquiring knowledge of the works and creatures of God', or in 'Artificial good things and Mechanical Ingenuities [since] all good is of God'. The best summary of the work's piety is expressed by Oldenburg's remark that in Scripture

> … you'd meet with histories, yt none but God could tell you … ye Inspired Writers thereof were ye Servants of ye most high God, wch were sent to show ye ways of peace.[86]

4 First Public Reaction to Spinoza in England: Stillingfleet's *A Letter to a Deist* (1677)

In Restoration Britain, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* found a more substantial readership after the treatise had conjointly with the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* been published in the English-style issue T.3e, with its either correctly dated or postdated title-page's imprint stated the book to be issued in 1674. That variant T.3e, one out of five octavo variants laid up in one print run (1673) by its putative publisher Rieuwertsz *père* in presumably Amsterdam, had a typography designed for dissemination in the 'Latin Trade', the British import of Latin books from the continent.[87] Scarce evidence proving that indeed copies of Spinoza's treatise were actively disseminated by English and Scottish booksellers can be found in a letter composed two months after the Dutch provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland had officially forbidden the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.

This letter, dated 19 September 1674, was written by stationer Robert Scott (*c*.1632–1709/10), a publisher and book importer working at the Prince's Arms in London's Little Britain, and an agent of the Oxford University Press, too. Scott's letter, accompanying a shipment of books, was addressed to Archibald Hislop (*fl*.1670–1697), a book trader, printer, and bookbinder working 'In the Parliament-Yard at the sign of the Bible' at Edinburgh, who imported thousands of titles and paper from London. Scott's letter, one of very few accounts known to report about the public distribution of Spinoza's treatise by British book retailers, details the following about the twelve copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* shipped to Edinburgh. Scott informs the latter about the shipment thus:

> … there is 12 of ye Tractatus Theol polit: which is a prohibited books is sold for £8 in London [charged at three pounds]….[88]

Although it is uncertain which edition was shipped to Hislop, the above remark underlines that the news about the book's official prohibition in the Dutch Republic had been travelling fast across the Channel. Perhaps, Scott's

pp. 106–119, at pp. 115 and 117. For background on the 'three impostors thesis': Richard H. Popkin, 'Spinoza and the Three Impostors', in Curley and Moreau (eds.), *Spinoza: Issues and Directions*, pp. 347–358; Iliffe, '"Jezus Nazarenus Legislator"', in Berti, etc. (eds.), *Heterodoxy, Spinozism and Free Thought*; Silvia Berti, 'Unmasking the Truth: The Theme of Imposture in Early Modern Europe', in James E. Force and David S. Katz (eds.), *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin. Essays in his Honour* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 21–36.

86 London, British Library, Add. ms. 4458, fol. 110. Cf.: Michael C.W. Hunter, *Establishing the New Science. The Experience of the Early Royal Society* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989); Hutton, 'Henry Oldenburg', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, p. 114; Joanna Picciotto, *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: MA, and London: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 100.

87 For T.3e, *see*: Chapter 4, there also at n. 23 ('Latin Trade'). Not the TTP (although mentioned) but the *Philosophia* was attacked in *The Scriptures Genuine Interpreter Asserted, or a Discourse Concerning the Right Interpretation of Scripture*, … (London: 1678), a work by John Wilson 'M.A., sometime of Kath. Hall, Cambridge'. P. 71: 'Indeed the whole design of his book, and of that other Tract that is prefixed to its latter Edition (written, as is supposed, by the same Author) is utterly to undermine and overthrow the credit of the Scriptures.'. In the right margin on the same page, it reads: *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*. Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.

88 John Grant, 'Archibald Hislop, Stationer, Edinburgh, 1668–1678', *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 12 (1921–1925), pp. 35–51, at p. 49 (Appendix). More people were interested in Spinoza, especially in his 'Ethics'. On 5 May 1678, for instance, the Scottish clergyman James Fall (1647–1711) wrote in a letter to Lord Tweeddale James Hay (1625–1697), Lord Chancellor of Scotland: 'I hear there is lately come out a piece writne by that Famous author of the Tractatus Theologico-politicus, I am sorry such books are printed but since they are my curiosity leads me to desire a sight of them.' (ibid., p. 200). On an earlier occasion, Fall had advised Tweeddale to contact Reinier 'Leers a great bookseller in Rotterdam' to find out further printing details about the *E*. Cf.: Murray C.T. Simpson, *The Library of the Reverend James Nairn (1629–1678). Scholarly Book Collecting in Restoration England* (1987), vol. 1, p. 110. In 1688, Scott also sold copies of the PP/CM. Cf.: *Catalogus librorum Roberti Scott, bibliopola regii Londinensis*, … (London: 1688), p. 122, no. 195. For Scott: Leonora Rostenberg, 'Robert Scott, Restoration Stationer and Importer', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 48 (1954), pp. 49–76.

statement also indicates that it was even more attractive for British traders to deal in copies of Spinoza's treatise because of its banning anyway.

As had mainly after the controversy over Hobbes's writings also been the case on the European continent, in Britain controversy about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* began raging towards the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the book became the target of a series of spirited assaults, too.[89] English academics scribbled their vitriolic remarks about the treatise in obscure notebooks and in printed theses while others, most of them being prominent Neoplatonist theologians, published harsh attacks on Spinoza in the vernacular.[90] On 8 February 1676 ('Old Style'), William Jane, a local ordinary in the established Church of England, signed a grant of imprimatur with which he officially endorsed an early manuscript version of *A Letter to a Deist*, printed one year later.[91] The 1677 work's Anglican author was the London archdeacon and later (1689) Bishop of Worcester Edward Stillingfleet. On the last page of *A Letter*, Stillingfleet declares he had 'finished' *A Letter to a Deist*, subtitled 'A Letter of Resolution to a Person Unsatisfied about the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures', on 11 June 1675 ('Old Style').

Stillingfleet was a member of the Royal Society and a fervent supporter of the empirical work done by his friend Robert Boyle.[92] A keen controversialist, the former would later also earn a reputation for his lengthy controversy fought out with John Locke between 1697 and 1699 over substance theory and rational certainty.[93] A major representative of the Latitudinarian ('liberal Anglican') milieu, Stillingfleet is to be credited as the first English critic of Spinoza's theological notions and biblical criticism writing publicly in print: in *A Letter*, he predominantly brackets the atheism of Hobbes and Spinoza with philosophical deism.[94] The term 'deism' (from 'deus') is, it seems, controversial, but refers merely to the elevation of natural religion dominated by free examination and reason. During the Restoration, deism was a term primarily linked to libertine circles at the court of King Charles II (1630–1685), merely pleading for 'the reasonableness of Christianity'.[95] Stillingfleet's stance is evident about those who, like Spinoza, advocated deism. Supporters of the deist thought, according to *A Letter*, particularly maintained a '*mean Esteem of the* Scriptures, *and the* Christian Religion'.[96]

A Letter's prologue predominantly expresses Stillingfleet's concern about the growing popularity of the

89 Several prominent British scholars made scattered remarks about Spinoza and the TTP as early as 1672. For instance, the Puritan theologian Richard Baxter* disdained the latter treatise in passing in *The Certainty of Christianity without Popery, or Whether the Catholick-Protestant, or the Papist Have the Surer Faith.*, … (London: 1672): 'And so when such a fellow as *Hobbs*, or *Benedictus Spinosa* in his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, shall stretch their wits to disgrace the Scripture and the Christian cause, all this shall seem only to fall upon the Protestants; whereas if we could not better defend Christianity than the present principles of Popery enable them to do, we must confess that the Infidel were far hardlier answered than any Sectary that we have to deal with.' (p. 3). Another brief attack by Baxter followed three years later in *More Proofs of Infants Church-Membership and Consequently their Right to Baptism, or a Second Defence of our Infant Rights and Mercies.*, … (London: 1675): 'I take it to be *Plainly provable* that the Scripture is certainly true: And yet I take it to be quite above this confident mans ability well to solve all the difficulties objected? were it but those poor ones of *Benedictus Spinosa* in his late pestilent *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.' (p. 307). *See* also: Richard Baxter, *Catholick Theologie: Plain, Pure, Peaceable: for Pacification of the Dogmatical Word-Warriors*, … (London: 1675), bk 1, part 3, pp. 108, 117, and 118, bk 2, p. 152.

90 Christine M. Shepherd (*Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th Century* [1974]) lists several late-seventeenth-century Scottish scholars who assailed Spinoza, frequently coupling the latter with Thomas Hobbes* and with atheism. At Edinburgh: John Wishart, *Prae-lustri & prae-potenti principi, Ioanni Lauderdaliae Duci: marciae marchioni, Lauderiae comiti vicecomiti metellano.…* (Edinburgh: 1672); id., *Plurimum honorando Senatui Edinburgeno: … Spicelegia haec philosophica*, … (Edinburgh: 1676); id., *Theses hasce philosophicas* (Edinburgh: 1680); Alexander Cockburn, *Theses philosophicae quas, savente Deo, adolescentes aliquot e lyceo Leonardino ad Lauream magisterialem aspirantes*, … (Edinburgh: 1679), pp. 6–7, and 9; Andrew Massie (1682). At Aberdeen: George Skene (1696) and at Glasgow: John Tran (1699). King's College Aberdeen acquired a 1674 copy (T.3e, now dispersed) of the TTP (bound with: Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*) among many other books around 1700 from a bequest of the Scougal library (cf. Simpson, *The Library*, vol. 1, p. 201). The bequest did not comprise any copies of the writings of Descartes* or Hobbes.

91 Edward Stillingfleet*, *A Letter to a Deist, in Answer to Several Objections against the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures* (London: 1677). Israel (*Radical Enlightenment*, p. 603) mistakenly claims the book to be published in 1675. Background: Sarah Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 261–274. Jane/Locke: BL.

92 Stillingfleet: BL.

93 Stillingfleet* accused Locke* of being an Epicurean, thus paving the way to atheism (cf. Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, pp. 92 and 132). The idea put forward by Locke 'that God might "super-added" non-material properties to matter' bothered Stillingfleet particularly when 'combined with Locke's argument that philosophical certainty was based solely on clear and distinct ideas' (ibid., p. 135). Background: ibid., p. 136.

94 For background: James A. Herrick, *The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680–1750* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997).

95 'The fact that Epicurus and Lucretius had provided actual arguments for their alleged atheism meant that Stillingfleet saw Hobbes and Spinoza as atheists for appearing to parallel many of those ancient arguments.' (Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, p. 223).

96 Stillingfleet*, *A Letter*, preface.

Tractatus theologico-politicus, without however mentioning Spinoza's name.[97] Worried, the London archdeacon discloses his uneasiness a future translation of the Dutch philosopher's treatise into English would, at least in his view, encourage the dissemination of the book's radical approach towards biblical criticism, Mosaic law, prophecy, and miracles.[98] At the outset, Stillingfleet explicitly warns readers for the atheist tenets expounded in Spinoza's treatise. He writes thus in the prologue:

> *There is a late* Author, *I hear is mightily in vogue among many, who cry up any thing on the* Atheistical side, *though never so weak and trifling. It were no difficult task to lay open the false Reasonings, and inconsistent* Hypotheses *of his Book; which hath been sufficiently done already in that language wherein it was written. But if for the* Advancement *of* Irreligion *among us, that* Book *be, as it is talked, Translated into our Tongue, there will not, I hope, want those who will be as ready to defend* Religion *and* Morality *as others are to decry and despise them*.[99]

In sum, when Stillingfleet composed his prologue to *A Letter* in the late spring of 1675 and warned readers for the 'Irreligion' advanced in Spinoza's treatise, there were apparently already rumours afoot whispering the book would soon be translated into English. This was indeed the case. More than a decade later, the fear expressed in Stillingfleet's retort an English translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* would be circulated in Britain became a reality. In 1689, one year after the Glorious Revolution overthrew James II of England's rule and incidentally in the same year Stillingfleet was created Biskop of Worcester, *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political* was surreptitiously issued in London by an otherwise unknown publisher.[100] From then on, Spinoza's fully translated work could see also its way to a large group of English readers who were not Latinate.[101]

In 1697, eight years after *A Treatise* had been published, Stillingfleet embarked upon an apologetical writing project which he entitled *Origines sacrae*, addressing in it issues in the controversial relationship between the New Philosophy and established Protestant faith. He had already published a popular anti-atheist, apologetical work with the same title in 1662 beforehand which went through five editions. In the new *Origines sacrae*, Stillingfleet stated he wanted to deal with Spinoza, 'a man too well known in the world, (and whom I intend to consider at large afterwards)'. Despite the announcement, and probably because of his time-consuming controversy with Locke also including discussions about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Stillingfleet was only able to finish the manuscript of the *Origines sacrae* (2) up to its chapter 2.[102] In this new second *Origines sacrae*, he defends the stance that the 'atheistical hypotheses' of the New Philosophy were real threats to piety and religion. Meant by Stillingfleet was Spinoza's position on imagination-driven thinking and his claim final causation is 'repugnant to the nature of things' in particular.[103] *Origines sacrae* (2) contains quotations taken from Spinoza's 'Ethics', especially from the Appendix to Part 1, and from the *Tractatus de emendatione intellectus*.

Like many of Spinoza's other opponents, Stillingfleet was of the opinion that the philosophical system of Spinoza, 'a strict follower of Des Cartes's notions in his Metaphysical Meditations', bore the fruit of the Cartesian

97 Israel (*Radical Enlightenment*, p. 603) declares Stillingfleet* 'purposely refrains from naming either author or book'. In the prologue's margins, its title is however printed in italics: '*Tractat. Theol. politic.*'

98 'To Stillingfleet and the vast majority of his contemporaries a society of atheists was impossible because society required a set of virtues atheists by definition could not possess and religious beliefs atheists necessarily denied.' (Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, p. 214).

99 Stillingfleet*, *A Letter*, 1677, preface.

100 Its second issue was launched with the following lengthy title: anon. (Benedictus de Spinoza), *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political, Containing Some Few Discourses, To Prove That the Liberty of Philosophizing* (*That is Making Use of Natural Reason*) *May be Allow'd without Any Prejudice to Piety, or to the Peace of Any Commonwealth; And That the Loss of Public Peace and Religion It Self Must Necessarily Follow, Where Such a Liberty of Reasoning is Taken Away* (London: 1737).

101 The work was preceded by: anon., *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature* (London: 1683), a rationalist work assaulting revealed religion and prophecies. A description of the booklet can be found in this Chapter 6: *Blount's English Translation* and passim. In an attempt to prove reports in the Scriptures on miracles are unsubstantiated, its assumed anonymous deist author, Blount*, has faithfully translated in the polemical booklet the larger majority of the TTP's chapter 6.

102 Note in their controversy and debates about the TTP for example a statement about divine revelation in: anon. (Edward Stillingfleet*), *The Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr. Locke's Second Letter; Wherein his Notion of Ideas is Prov'd to be Inconsistent with it Self, and with the Articles of the Christian Faith* (London: 1698). There, at p. 30, it reads: '… all Revelation may be nothing but the Effects of an exalted Fancy, or the Heats of a disordered Imagination, as *Spinosa* affirmed'. Also John Locke* refers (p. 414) to the TTP in his *Reply to … the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer*: 'For 'tis with such Candid and Kind insinuations as these, that you bring in both *Hobbes*, and *Spinosa*, into your Discourse here about God's being able, if he please, to give to some parcels of Matter ordered as he thinks fit, a Faculty of thinking.'

103 Cf. Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 261–262 and 265–266.

philosophy. He never declared Descartes to be an atheist, though he was convinced atheists might well use his philosophical system for their own evil purposes. According to *Origines sacrae* (2), the philosophy of the 'true disciple to the Leviathan, Spinoza' aimed at eroding the sacrosanct status of theology and Holy Scripture, a dangerous position paving the way to immorality and to societal chaos.[104] In addition, Stillingfleet took also issue with Spinoza's denial of final causes (claiming them to be 'mere fictions of men's brains') and with the philosopher's epistemological view on error. The portion on Spinoza's 'argument *from the necessity of all things*', although announced by Stillingfleet, is lacking in *Origines sacrae* (2).[105] First published in 1702, a fragment of the work was later published in London in 1709. One year later, it was included in Stillingfleet's posthumously collected works.[106]

During the remainder of his life, the Anglican theologian-preacher and Bishop of Worcester Stillingfleet remained occupied with radical biblical criticism. He continued his personal stock-in-trade crusade against the spectre of atheism and, like Leibniz, he seems to have been particularly fascinated by Spinoza, too.[107] His extensive private reference library (about 10,000 printed books, now being kept in the Dublin Marsh's Library) contained several copies of Spinoza's books.[108] Stillingfleet owned *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and the *Opera posthuma*, but he also came in the possession of several copies of refutations composed by Spinoza's main critics, such as Frans Kuyper, Christoph Wittich, and Johannes Bredenburg.[109] So, apparently, he maintained a strong interest in works criticizing Spinoza's philosophical doctrines: his library also contained copies of other noted contemporary retorts, like those for example by the French advocate of religious toleration Noël Aubert de Versé (1642/45–1714) and by the French Labadist Pierre Yvon (1640–1707).[110]

5 Cudworth's Confutation of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus: The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678)

Another public British retort defending free will against the New Philosophy and refuting the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was composed by Henry More's close friend the Neoplatonist Ralph Cudworth. He also attacked Spinoza's biblical criticism in *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, a lengthy anti-determinist work running to a whopping 900 pages in folio which Cudworth had started composing in 1671.[111] The Regius Professor

104 Edward Stillingfleet*, *Origines sacrae: or, a Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion, …* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836), p. 430. Background: Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 266–271.

105 Ibid., p. 437.

106 Edward Stillingfleet*, *Origines Sacrae: or, a Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Reveal'd Religion., …* (Cambridge: 1702); id., 'Origines Sacrae: or, a Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Reveal'd Religion…. The Second Volume' (London: 1709). The latter fragment forms the second part of: *The Works of Dr. Edw. Stillingfleet* (London: 1710). For Stillingfleet's statement about Spinoza: id., *Origines Sacrae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836), p. 430.

107 Hutton ('Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, p. 266) points out Stillingfleet* quoted Spinoza in one of his unpublished sermons (Cambridge, St John's College, [James 579] ms. O.81): 'This contains a brief discussion of the implications of Richard Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* and Spinoza's *Tractatus*, including two quotations from the latter, both of which concern prophecy'. According to the library catalogue of St John's, the manuscript contains four sermons. On Jer. 17:9 (fol. 1^{r}, preached at Mercers' Chapel, 11 November 1682), on Luke 16:31 (fol. 25^{r}, Whitehall, 23 February 1683), on 2 Tim. 3:5 (fol. 50^{r}: 'a Lent Sermon', St Clement's, 4 April 1683), and on John 20:29 (fol. 75^{r}, Easter Day 1683). Extracts are included in: Gerard Reedy, *The Bible and Reason, Anglicans and Scripture in Late Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), Appendix 1.

108 Cf. Luisa Simonutti, 'Spinoza and the English Thinkers. Criticism on Prophecies and Miracles: Blount, Gildon and Earbery', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 191–211; Israel, 'Philosophy, Commerce and the Synagogue', p. 604.

109 Cf. 'Bibliotheca Stillingfleetana'. This handwritten late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century catalogue can be accessed at: http://picus.unica.it/index.php?page=Filosofo&id=102&lang=en *OP*: p. 469, no. 49; *TTP*: p. 473, no. 48. Refutations: Kuyper*, *Arcana*, p. 478, no. 73; Wittich*, *Anti-Spinoza*; Bredenburg*, *Enervatio*.

110 Noël Aubert de Versé, *L'Impie convaincu, ou dissertation contre Spinosa: dans laquelle l'on refute les fondemens de son athéisme* (Amsterdam: 1685); Pierre Yvon, *L'Impiété convaincüe en deux traitez, …* (Amsterdam: 1681). Cf. Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 264–265.

111 Ralph Cudworth*, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe: The First Part; Wherein, All the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is Confuted; and its Impossibility Demonstrated* (London: 1678). The book was reworked into an abridged edition by clergyman Thomas Wise (1670/71–1726) with the following title: *The Confutation of the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism* (London: 1706). A modern edition was published in 1995 (Bristol: Thoemmes Press). Background: Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, pp. 165–181. For Cudworth's atomism: Joel M. Rodney, 'A Godly Atomist in Seventeenth Century England: Ralph Cudworth', *The Historian*, 32 (1970), pp. 243–249. Also Newton studied *The True Intellectual System*. For his manuscript notes on the book:

of Hebrew and Master of Christ's College Cudworth, like the aforementioned Spinoza critic Stillingfleet, was offered the membership of the London Royal Society; whether he accepted that honour is not known. In *The True Intellectual System*, a forceful attempt to confute 'All the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism', he lambasted Spinoza and other contemporary natural philosophers. In addition, he also introduced in the work the term 'consciousness' into the English philosophical lexicon ('the essence of cognition exists in express consciousness'). In regard to the 'Theological-Political Treatise', Cudworth corresponded with several Dutch Arminian theologians, such as Philippus van Limborch, who had sent over a copy of Spinoza's second book to Cambridge University's rector Oliver Doiley in early January 1671. Cudworth in turn spent Van Limborch a copy of *The True Intellectual System*.[112]

Of Cudworth's book, a massive uncompleted repository of classical learning originally conceived in three portions, was only shortly after Spinoza's demise published in London in 1678. During Cudworth's lifetime, only one volume (part 1) was published: '*Against* Atheism', which was *The True Intellectual System*'s unofficial title. Parts 2, on moral absolutes in nature, and 3, concerning free will (both prepared by part 1) remained unpublished. The bulky work took up issue to prove Democritus' atomism is only sufficiently right when the dualism in substance of body and mind is taken into account. It therefore sought to direct its energy in its support in bridging theology and philosophy. It also promotes the necessitarian concept of the *anima mundi*, 'Plastick Nature', or 'Spirit of Nature', the governing agency in nature apart from God, such as the anti-Christian idea of self-movement.

The True Intellectual System was a philosophical project with explicit theological ramifications. Cudworth in the work tears radical biblical criticism to pieces. He seeks to demonstrate 'the absolute impossibility of atheism', i.e., speculative irreligion. He positions professed atheists against representatives of theist thought, accusing the atheist thinkers of purposely ignoring the truth of the *prisca theologia*, the original theology of the teachings of Moses, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, and of neglecting the central themes of universal philosophy. Frequently, Cudworth warned readers in the book for the erring doctrines that 'Modern Atheistick Writers' upheld about the Pentateuch's Mosaicity. For Cudworth, being a Christian Platonist convinced Moses' teachings had been confirmed by miracles, primarily fatalists like Hobbes and Spinoza had called into question the Pentateuch's Mosaicity together with the New Testament and, for that matter, the Christian faith as a whole.[113]

Explicit references to Spinoza in *The True Intellectual System* are sparse. Though it seems Cudworth was mainly concerned the Dutch philosopher was reviving the ancient atheist tradition based on the assumptions 'that nothing can be generated out of nothing' and that 'everything that exists is either a body or accidents of a body'. Already in the book's prologue, bringing up Strato of Lampsacus (*c.*335–*c.*269 BCE), he seems to accuse Spinoza of having '*Awakened* and *Revived*' lately the Greek Peripatetic philosopher's hylozoic atheism, 'though not Bare-faced, but under a Disguise'. Spinoza, for Cudworth, got it all wrong and most definitely bore the brand of Hobbesian atheist materialism. He was also of the opinion Spinoza attributed life to matter itself and rejected *ex nihilo* creation (deeply troubling also for Henry More), a position inherited and defended in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim theological and philosophical tradition alike.[114]

Cudworth indirectly refers to Spinoza in *The True Intellectual System*, when stating the following remark:

> This Argument is thus urged by a Modern Writer, agreeably to the Sense of the Ancient Democriticks; … *From hence, that Nothing can move it self, it cannot be rightly inferred, as commonly it is, that there is an*

Danton B. Sailor, 'Newton's Debt to Cudworth', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), pp. 511–518. Newton had at least some fair knowledge about the *TTP*, too. A copy of Spinoza's treatise was kept in the private library (1,100 items) of the British mathematician and theologian Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), now extant in the following manuscript list: 'A Catalogue of the books of Dr Isaac Barrow sent to S.S. by Mr Isaac Newton, Fellow of Trin: Coll: Cambs. July 14. 1677'. For a reconstruction from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D878 (fols 33–59): Mordechai Feingold, 'Isaac Barrow's Library', in id. (ed.), *Before Newton. The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 333–372. For the *TTP*, there: at p. 365, no. 904.

112 Cf. Luisa Simonutti, 'Liberté et vérité: Politique et morale dans la correspondance hollandaise de More et de Cudworth', in Rogers, etc. (eds.), *The Cambridge Platonists*, pp. 17–37, p. 109. Van Limborch/Doiley: BL.

113 Cf. Sheppard, *Anti-Atheism*, p. 38.

114 E1p17s ('God acts from the laws of nature alone, and is compelled by no one') reads: 'God's omnipotence has been actual from eternity, and will remain in the same actuality to eternity'. For the creation *ex nihilo* doctrine (Gen. 1:1, close to the Platonic view of the 'craftsman' god), *see*: Gerhard May, *Creatio ex Nihilo*, 2004; Janet M. Soskice, 'Creatio ex Nihilo: Its Jewish and Christian Foundations', in David B. Burrell, etc. (eds.), *Creation and the God of Abraham* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 24–39. Jewish philosopher and Talmudist Maimonides saw *creatio ex nihilo* as the sole metaphysical theological concept shared by Judaism, Christianity, and by Islam (ibid., p. 24). More: BL.

> *Eternal Immoveable Mover* (that is, a God) *but only an Eternal Moved Mover; or that one thing was moved by another from Eternity, without any first Mover. Because as it is true, that nothing can be Moved, but from it self; so it is likewise true, that nothing can be moved but from that which was it self also moved by something else before*; and so the progress upwards must needs be infinite, without any Beginning or first Mover. The plain Drift and Scope of this Ratiocination, is no other then this, to shew that the Argument commonly taken from Motion, to prove a God, (that is, a *First Mover or Cause*) is not Ineffectual and Inconclusive; but also on the contrary; it may be demonstrated from that very Topick of Motion; that there can be no Absolutely First Mover, No First in the order of Causes, that is, no God.[115]

Cudworth in *The True Intellectual System*'s lengthy chapter 4, demonstrating 'the Idea of God' by way of an 'Answer to the First *Atheistick Argument*', presents Spinoza as 'a *Late Writer*' who is upholding the stance '*God Reigneth over men, only in the Civil Soveraigns*'. Cudworth in this chapter assails the '*Groß Impudence of Atheists*' in '*denying the word* GOD, *to have any Signification, or that there is any other* Idea *answering to it*', besides the 'mere *Phantasm of the sound*'. Cudworth, further building on the already previously-mentioned notorious 'three impostors thesis', was of the opinion the Dutch philosopher was promulgating a Machiavellist state of dominance. According to Cudworth, a realm ruled by politicians, '*The* Old Atheistick Cabal', betraying the minds of their subjects via belief in God and religious piety, thus threatening moral conduct. This author, he argues, provides readers with

> … another *Atheistick Account of Religions* so generally prevailing in the world, from its being a fit *Engine of State*, and Politicians generally looking upon it, as an *Arcanum Imperii, a Mystery of Government*, to possess the Minds of the People with the Belief of a God, and to keep them busily employed in the *exercises of Religion*, thereby to render them the more *Tame* and *Gentle*; apt to *Obedience*, *Subjection*, *Peace* and *Civil Society*.[116]

At this very instance, Cudworth explicitly points out to readers he is referring to Spinoza, particularly because the title of the latter's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is printed in the book's external margins: '*Tract. Theol. Polit.*'. He is, arguably, however evidently confusing here Spinoza with the champion of the absolutist theory of sovereignty, Thomas Hobbes, who in chapter 35 of *Leviathan* claims 'the kingdom of God is a civil kingdom'.[117] Later, in the same chapter of *The True Intellectual System*, where two running headlines together read 'Of Miracles. *And how* […]' | '[…] *they Confirm* a Prophet', Cudworth indirectly refers to the cloaked author of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* once more. This time, he calls him a 'late *Theological Politician*'. Before putting forward arguments in a long defence of 'true' miracles, he concludes the treatise is unworthy of any refutation because of its weakness, falseness, and irrelevance:

> As for that late *Theological Politician*, who writing against *Miracles*, denies as well those of the Former, as of this Latter Kind, contending that a Miracle is nothing but a Name, which the Ignorant Vulgar gives, to *Opus Naturae Insolitum*, *any Unwonted work of Nature, or to what themselves can assign no Cause off*; as also that if there were any such thing done, Contrary to *Nature* or *Above* it, it would rather Weaken than Confirm, Our Belief of the Divine Existence; We find this Discourse every way so Weak, Groundless, and Inconsiderable; that we could not think it here to deserve a Confutation.[118]

The True Intellectual System was reprinted several times, even still in the nineteenth century. It was however badly received by Cudworth's contemporaries, such as his friend and colleague Henry More who accused him of introducing atheism by the back door. Finally, Cudworth, in one of his extant manuscripts on free will and clearly meant for publication, also brings up Spinoza, now dubbing the latter in it as 'a kind of hylozoick atheist'.[119] In the catalogue of Cudworth's private library, called *Bibliotheca Cudworthiana*, strange enough the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* itself is abundantly absent. Yet, the catalogue does list a copy of the 1663 *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*.[120]

115 Cudworth*, *The True Intellectual System*, p. 76.
116 Ibid., p. 656.
117 Hobbes*, *Leviathan*.
118 Ibid., p. 707.
119 London, British Library, Add MS 4982, 55 ('Writings on Free Will by Dr. Cudworth'). Cf. John A. Passmore, *Ralph Cudworth. An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. 6.
120 *Bibliotheca Cudworthiana, sive catalogus variorum librorum plurimis facultatibus. Insignium bibliothecae instructissimae Rev. Doct. Dr. Cudworth*, …, Edward Millington (ed.) (n. pl. [London]: 1690/1), p. 29, no. 104.

6 Spinoza in More's *Opera Philosophica* (1679) and in Conway's *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (1670s)

As has been already stated at an early stage in this chapter, the reputed Neoplatonist theologian-philosopher and poet Henry More was among one of the first British intellectuals who gave a judgement of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in the early 1670s, being it then still in his private exchange. In a letter to Robert Boyle, dated 4/14 December 1671, the Cambridge theologian had unequivocally linked the treatise to the materialism of Descartes's philosophy which More considered a serious threat to Christian piety.[121] Some years later, on 3 April 1677, Henry More wrote another letter, referencing to Spinoza's work once more. This time, he dispatched a letter about the treatise to the British woman philosopher Anne Finch, Viscountess Conway, informing his once 'Heroine pupil' and friend about his own work and occupations.[122] Henry More had met Lady Conway through her brother, the anatomist John Finch (1626–1682), later Fellow of the Royal Society, back then a student at Christ's who asked More to take his sister on privately as a pupil. John Finch was also an amateur philosopher who left behind a manuscript treatise setting out his own philosophical observations, which prove him critical of Descartes, but rather sympathetic to Hobbes.

According to More's letter to Conway of 3 April, he had arrived in London 'thus late' than he had originally planned. The reason for this was because he had stayed much longer in Cambridge where he had been waiting for a local bookbinder to sew and bind for him quires of a copy of a refutation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. The riposte bound for him, it appears, was *Arcana atheismi revelata* (1676), a work written by the Rotterdam Collegiant pamphleteer and printer Frans Kuyper, the driving force behind the Socinian anthology *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*.[123]

Kuyper's refutation *Arcana*, according to More's letter a gift from some Dutch friend, had been handed to him by Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont, who he had first met in 1670 and would lead to making the acquaintance with Conway.[124] That wandering Flemish alchemist had passed More the copy during a visit by the latter Neoplatonist to Ragley Hall (south of Alcester, Warwickshire), the country seat of Lady Conway's royalist husband Colonel Edward Conway (*c*.1623–1683), the then future 3rd Viscount of Conway. Van Helmont would also attack Spinoza in *A Cabbalist Dialogue* five years later (1682), disdaining the Dutch philosopher's 'vulgar' equation of God with nature as it is upheld in the *Ethica*.[125]

Henry More in the letter of 3 April 1677 further informed Viscountess Conway that, while waiting for *Arcana* to return from binding, he had started reading the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (in the context of his study of kabbalism). Likewise, he argued, he could better quickly fathom the contents of Kuyper's *Arcana* and thus prepare and refine his own rebuttal of Spinoza's treatise. He makes about all the foregoing the following remark:

> I come thus late to London by reason of Cuperus his Confutation of Tractatus Theologicopoliticus which Monsieur Van Helmont gave me at Ragley from a friend in Holland, in quires, which whyle it was a binding at Cambridge I fell a reading Theologicopoliticus the better to understand Cuperus his confutation when it came from binding. But I found this Theologicopoliticus such an impious work, that I could not forbeare confuting him whyle a reade him. This and other thinges spent so much time

121 More* had already published a work, on witchcraft cases, against the blaze of atheism, dedicating the work to Anne Finch*, Viscountess Conway: *An Antidote against Atheism or, an Appeal to the Naturall Faculties of the Minde of Man, Whether There be not a God* (London: 1652).

122 Conway: BL.

123 Kuyper*, *Arcana*; anon., *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*. Henry More* was horrified by the rejoinder, primarily because of Kuyper's denial God's existence could be read in the book of nature. Cf. Michael J. Petry, 'Kuyper's Analysis of Spinoza's Method', in Konrad Cramer, etc. (eds.), *Spinozas Ethik under ihre frühe Wirkung* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1981), pp. 1–18, p. 4.

124 Van Helmont: BL.

125 'And yet this Subject so *vile* and *void*, which is by us deservedly said to occupy the least part of the Universe, is notwithstanding in this vulgar *Hypothesis*, concluded to be co-extended, yea, co-existing, and co-ordinate with God, and therefore is lifted up unto so high an estimation, that all the doctrine in the whole *Pagan* Philosophy is exhausted or drawn from this Subject alone: which also is established the measure of all *Theorems*, *Maxims*, and *Conclusions* concerning *Spirits*, or concerning *God*; (which they call a Demonstration *a posteriori*, that is, from effects, or *posterior Considerations*) whence it becomes an accursed *Materialism*, and consequently *Atheism*.' (Franciscus M. van Helmont*, *A Cabbalistic Dialogue in Answer to … a Learned Doctor in Philosophy and Theology, that the World was Made of Nothing* [London: 1682], p. 11). Aside from the vast library at Ragley Hall, Conway had a small reference library of her own, containing some books presented to her as a gift by Henry More*. Four extant copies, two by John Wilkins, one by Thomas Browne, and one by Richard Verstegan (1550–1640), contain her marks of ownership. *See* further: Michael Edwards, 'The Lost Library of Anne Conway', *The Seventeenth Century*, 36 (2019), pp. 1–29.

> that I am a moneth or six weekes later here then I intended. Proposing this Confutation of mine shall make up some part of this Philosophicall volumn. And as for Cuperus, that pretends to confute him, truly I do not know that he is better then he whom he pretends to confute.[126]

By 1677, as is evidenced by the above citation, More was ready to do battle and deal with Spinoza's radical biblical criticism and metaphysics. His concern about the impact of Spinoza's influence and the promotion of a Cartesian form of speculative atheism let him to write two polemical anti-Spinoza essays, both published in his collected writings in Latin translations in 1679.[127]

The first work by More scolding the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was called 'Ad V.C. epistola altera', a treatise hurriedly composed in 1677.[128] More composed this diatribe, addressed to a still unidentified correspondent, to particularly refute the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and its denial of miracles.[129] The second treatise, written within a year of the first, was 'Demonstrationis duarum propositionum', also dubbed *Confutatio*.[130] The latter essay is considered one of the first contemporary detailed reactions to the then only very recently printed posthumous works of Spinoza.

For Henry More the Dutch philosopher evidently was a wickeder Descartes, destroying God and expanding the view, in More's words, 'that there is no God beyond Nature'. More, defender of an absolute and morally perfect God, in his *Confutatio* debunked the *Ethica*'s geometric composition method, which he believed demolished the philosophical side of theology and ethics.[131] He too stated in it that in Spinoza's metaphysics matter, nature, and God are equally the same.[132] Because the *Ethica*'s development can also be closely followed in Spinoza's letters, More referred to the printed correspondence section included in the posthumous works in detail, too. In the *Confutatio*, he assails Spinoza's metaphysical propositions on substance theory in particular, also connecting the Dutch philosopher with Hobbesian philosophy.[133] Evidently, Henry

126 Majorie H. Nicholson and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *The Conway letters: The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More and Their Friends, 1642–1684* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 429. The 'friend in Holland' may well have been the Quaker merchant Benjamin Furly (1636–1714), a friend of Van Helmont.

127 Henry More*, *Opera omnia, tum quae latine, tum quae anglice scripta sunt, nunc vero latinitate donate* (London: 1679).

128 Id., 'Ad V.C. epistola altera, quae brevem tractatus Theologico-politici confutationem complectitur, … De libri Francisci Cuperi…, Arcana atheismi revelata, &c', in: id., *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, pp. 563–614. 'V.C.' patently stands for: '*Vir Clarissimus*'. Cf.: Gabbey, 'Philosophia Cartesiana triumphata', pp. 214–215. More: BL.

129 'To More, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* limited God by the postulate of fixed laws or nature, and attempted to liberate human behaviour from the control of conscience, by the evidence of an empirical ethical relativism.' (Colie, 'Spinoza in England (1665–1730)', p. 186). More* in an undated letter darkly referred to supporters of the New Philosophy as '*course-grain'd Philosophers as those* Hobbians *and* Spinozians, *and the rest of that Rabble*', slighting '*Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such expreß mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are so inclinable to conceit to be impossible*; …' (p. 16). The letter was published in the introduction of: Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus: or Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions* (London: 1681). The Latitudinarian clergyman-philosopher Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), More's disciple and FRS, in the book sought to produce evidence for the reality of witchcraft, thus proving a world of spirits and rejecting atheism.

130 Henry More*, 'Demonstrationis duarum propositionum quae praecipuae apud Spinozium atheismi sunt columnae', in: id., *Opera omnia*, vol. 1, pp. 615–635. Opening section in: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 115–118. For an analysis: Hans-Peter Schütt, 'Zu Henry Mores Widerlegung des Spinozismus', in Konrad Cramer, etc. (eds.), *Spinozas Ethik under ihre frühe Wirkung* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1981), pp. 19–50. In *Korte en bondige weederlegging, van het wiskunstig bewijs van B.D. Spinosa, …, in zijn na zijn dood, uijtgegeeven werken*, … (n. pl.: 1687), the Dutch translation's prologue of the *Confutatio*, Frans Kuyper* (the work's editor-translator) quotes from a letter (9 August 1686) by More. According to this letter, More would have given permission to publish his work and to oversee its printing. For this purpose, according to Kuyper, More read the Dutch rendition, a claim which arguably was an outright falsehood.

131 Cf. Petry, 'Kuyper's Analysis of Spinoza's Method'. *See* also: Reid, *The Metaphysics*, p. 15.

132 More* refers to: Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–62); Spinoza to Hudde*, 1666.01.07, Ep 34 (G 4/179); Spinoza to Burgh*, [1675/76].00.00, Ep 76 (G 4/317–342). In the 'Ethics,' the pair concept 'Deus, sive Natura'/'Deus, seu Natura' is mentioned four times: E4praef ('infinitum Ens, quod Deum, seu Naturam appellamus', 'Ratio igitur, seu causa, cur Deus, seu Natura agit'), E4p4dem ('ipsa Dei, sive Naturae potentia', 'infinitae Dei seu Naturae potentiae').

133 According to Spinoza, all natural things (*natura naturata*, constituting variety) are produced in one single substance ('Deus seu Natura', i.e., 'God, *or* Nature', *natura naturans*). God is his own cause (*causa sui*, E1p6) and exists necessarily (E1p7), without any bereft of purpose. E1p11: 'God, or a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses eternal and infinite essence, necessarily exists.'. E1p11dem (the classical ontological monist argument for God's existence): 'If you deny this, conceive, if you can, that God does not exist. Therefore (by A7) his essence does not involve existence. But this (by P7) is absurd. Therefore God necessarily exists, q.e.d.' (G 2/53). Unique substance has at least two active infinite attributes, extension and thought, expressing God's essence (existence) complemented by its non-essential finite modes (composite things, states of God/nature) and by infinite modes (laws following from the 'absolute nature' of God's attributes motion and rest). Any mode of extension, individuated by the ratio of motion and rest, is mirrored by a corresponding mode under the attribute of thought.

More considered these what he perceived as flawed, pernicious ideas actually to be the foundations of the main hylozoist 'columns of atheism', i.e., Spinoza's stance on necessary existence pertaining to self-active substance and the claim there being only one substance in the universe, existing *a se*.

Although Henry More's objections to Spinoza's metaphysical doctrines went fairly unobserved in Britain in his own time, Frans Kuyper decided to translate the 'Demonstrationis' into Dutch.[134] In 1687, the latter Collegiant polemicist published the larger portion of his translation anonymously in the following retort: *Korte en bondige weederlegging, van het wiskunstig bewijs van B.D. Spinosa* (Short and Concise Refutation of the Mathematical Proof of B. de Spinoza).[135]

Anne Conway, a follower of the Cambridge Neoplatonist school and a ferocious reader, would for her part offer a debunking of Spinoza's metaphysical doctrines, too. Her cosmological, theodicean rebuttal of the Dutch philosopher's notions is contained in book 9 of the 'Principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae de deo, Christo, & creatura id est de spiritu & materia in genere'. This anonymous treatise, Lady Conway's only published work, was translated from English into Latin and subsequently published as the second treatise of the noted *Opuscula philosophica* collection, surreptitiously issued in octavo by a certain 'M. Brown' in Amsterdam in 1690.[136] Lady Conway worked out in her 'Principia', composed during the 1670s when she encountered and embraced Quakerism, a monistic tripartite ontology of spirit (God, infinitely good, Christ, and 'Creature'), and not of matter, based on God's attributes. Her Platonist study, issued in the *Opuscula philosophica*, was published posthumously at the behest of Van Helmont, whose 'Two Hundred Queries … Concerning the Doctrine of the Revolution of Souls' (1684) is part of the same 1690 collection as well.

Two years later, the work was translated back into English by *'J.C. Medicinae Professor'*, who must be identified as either the German physician émigré to England Jodocus Crull (1660–1713) or the British physician John Clarke. This 1692 translation received the following title: *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy, Concerning God, Christ, and the Creatures, viz. of Spirit and Matter in General*. About the book's objective, the title-page promises in its subtitle that it sought to undertake an effort to offer a viewing frame resolving

> … all those Problems or Difficulties, which neither by the School nor Common Modern Philosophy, nor by the *Cartesian*, *Hobbesian*, or *Spinosian* could be discussed.

Because of Viscountess Conway's study of the Lurianic kabbalah in *The Principles*, she primarily attacked Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' and diagnosed Spinoza as a blatant material pantheist. The Dutch philosopher, in her view, undertook to reinforce the false outlook and conclusions of Thomas Hobbes by uniting in his philosophical writings a corporeal God with all singular things situated within in his own tightly-closed system. After studying the metaphysical systems of the 'atheistical' trinity Descartes,

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Similar claims about 'Deus, sive Natura' are in: *TTP*, ch. 1 (G 3/28), 3 (G 3/48) and 6 (G 3/83). Background studies: Chapter 2, n. 24.

134 The open-minded Protestant Collegiant movement rejected any church organisation or specific fixed creed. The movement flourished between 1620 and 1690 as the direct by-product on the issue of predestination of the Dordrecht Synod (1618–1619). Collegiant thought was practised in circles of dissenting Mennonites, Remonstrants, Socinians, and the like. It had roots running back to the fourteenth-century pietist *Devotio moderna* movement. In their 'gesprekken' (conversations) or 'colleges' (hence: Collegiants), they promoted a pragmatic, radical, and personal form of a universal, apostolic Christianity, arguing Christ is the very cause of human salvation. They distanced themselves from institutionalized church rituals (such as baptism and communion), the Holy Trinity, predestination, and violence. They held central meetings in Rijnsburg, the residence of Spinoza between the summer of 1661 and the spring of 1663. *See*: Jacobus C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten: geschiedkundig onderzoek* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1895); Fix, *Prophecy and Reason*; Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente*, esp. pp. 417–429; Wiep van Bunge, 'Spinoza and the Collegiants', *Philosophia Osaka*, 7 (2012), pp. 13–29. Two of Spinoza's friends, Joosten de Vries* and Balling*, were active members of the Amsterdam Collegiant 'college', too. The Rijnsburg Collegiants (the former college of Warmond) owned a guest quarter called 'Grote Huis' ('Large House'). Cf.: (Elias van Nimwegen), *Historie der Rijnsburgsche vergadering* (Rotterdam: 1775), p. 37.

135 More*, *Korte en bondige weederlegging*.

136 Anon. (Anne Finch*/Conway), 'Principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae de Deo, Christo & creatura id est de spiritu & materia in genere', in: anon., *Opuscula philosophica quibus continentur, principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae. Ac philosophia vulgaris refutata quibus subjuncta sunt C.C. de problemata de revolutione animarum humanorum*, id. and Franciscus Mercurcius van Helmont (eds.) (Amsterdam: 1690). Modern English edition: Anne Conway, *The Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, Taylor Corse and Allison P. Coudert (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Conway's treatise was edited together with two other tracts: 'De revolutio animorum humanorum', by Van Helmont, and 'Philosophia vulgaris refutata', by the mysterious French author Jean Gironnet, a treatise previously-published anonymously in Frankfurt in 1668. *See* for Conway: Andrew Pyle (ed.), *The Dictionary of Seventeenth-Century British Philosophers* (2 vols., London: Continuum, 2000); Sarah Hutton, 'Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. p. 231 (on 'J.C. Medical Professor').

Hobbes, and Spinoza, of what she evidently saw as bankrupt 'so-called' philosophies, her conclusion is briefly the following:

> *Cartes* acknowledged God to be plainly Immaterial, and an Incorporeal Spirit. *Hobbs* … so confounds God and the Creatures in their Essences, and denies that there is any Essential Distinction between them … [and] *Spinosa* also confounds God and the Creatures together, and makes but one Being of both'; all which are diametrically opposite to the Philosophy here delivered by us.[137]

7 Baxter's Attack on Spinoza in *The Second Part of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace* (1680)

Richard Baxter, a controversial British philosophical theologian, was a prolific writer, renowned preacher, and book collector. Initially friendly with both Robert Boyle and Henry More, he was one of the prominent Puritan church leaders in Stuart England. One of his merits was paving the way for the 'Toleration Act' (1689), a bill accepting minor deviations in doctrine and liturgy as maintained by moderate nonconformists within the Anglican Church and thereby loosening restrictions.[138] Baxter felt obliged to defend nonconformist Protestant arguments by also attacking Spinoza's 'Epicurean principles of Philosophy about God and *Nature*'. Apparently, he saw the Dutch philosopher's metaphysical notions as the inevitable outworking of the mechanical philosophy, about which earlier in his life he had followed the ongoing scholarly debate with much interest. Baxter, an early critic of Thomas Hobbes and Edward Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Cherbury, in two chapters of his *The Second Part of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace* targeted Spinoza's theory of a corporeal, single, and self-active God

> … moving the world as a Clock or Watch by meer invariable necessity, that never did or can do a miracle, or alter the necessitating course of nature….[139]

The work's lengthy prologue is dated 16 April 1680. The book itself was published in London shortly afterwards. Baxter in *The Second Part*'s preface argues against those

> … *that seek our blood and ruine by the false accusation of Rebellious principles, to tell me if they can* what body or party of men on earth have more sound *and* Loyal principles *of* Government *and* obedience…. *Is it the new* Philosophers; *such* Cartesians *as* Spinosa, *and such as* Hobbes *that you prefer? I shall tell you after, what are their politicks*.[140]

Baxter in *The Second Part* especially addressed questions prompted by what he saw as the final consequence of the radical political views of the 'Atheistical Politician' Spinoza. Baxter, according to the prologue's statement, regarded the latter Dutch philosopher to be a full-blown Cartesian and an 'improved' Hobbes, the personification of the inevitable and complete endangerment of religion and the destruction of the commonwealth. For this reason, Baxter gave chapter 1 of *The Second Part* the following title:

> *The Principles of* Spinosa *and such Bruitists against Government and Morality recited, and confuted, and the fundamental reasons of Government asserted.*

Baxter in chapter 1 focuses predominantly on what he refers to as those 'shameful words' set forth by 'this Apostate *Jew*' Spinoza and by all other 'Bruitist' philosophers, all aiming to subvert 'humanity, morality and Government'. Accordingly, he gives his own translation into English of a small portion of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s chapters 16 ('On the Foundations of the Republic') and 19 ('The Right Regarding Religion'). Before exposing the threat to the state posed by the political principles of '*Hobbes, Spinosa, Pomponatius, Vaninus*, &c' and dissociating their opinions from Anglican nonconformism, Baxter assails Spinoza by boldly putting forward the following allegation:

> We suppose the Reader will think we have tediously digressed against this Apostate *Jew*: but the reason is, because the pernicious book having most subtilly assaulted the Text of the old Testament, is greedily sought and cryed up (with *Hobbes* his equal) in this unhappy time, even among those whose place make them more regardful of the interest of Magistrates at

137 Conway, *The Principles*, pp. 148–149.

138 The Act received royal assent on 24 May 1689. Dissenting Protestants were required to register the public locations of their meetings. Catholics, Non-Trinitarians, and atheists were excluded. The work by Baxter* upsetting More* was: *Methodus theologiae christianae* (London: 1681). Baxter's friendship with More deteriorated after publication of the former work, resulting in a printed clash with the Cambridge Neoplatonist on philosophy. Boyle: BL.

139 Richard Baxter*, *The Second Part of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace*, … (London: 1680), pp. 1–21 and 107–132. The book was a sequel to: id., *The Nonconformist Plea for Peace: or An Account of their Judgment*, … (London: 1679). Hobbes/Cherbury: BL.

140 Baxter*, *The Second Part*, preface. Baxter* had first starting attacking Spinoza and the *TTP* scatteredly in tracts on religious topics as early as 1672. *See* for this: n. 89.

> least; even by those *Atheists* whom God calls Fools, *Psal.* 14.1. but by themselves are called Wits, and our business is more to defend the truth than our selves.[141]

Chapter 1 is accordingly closed with a 'summ of our Judgments' (fifty counter-arguments) against 'the Principles of this *Maledictus Spinosa* and his tribe'.

In *The Second Part*'s chapter 4, containing a judgement of the *'Seditious and Rebellious Principles and Practices'*, Baxter furthermore opposes to

> … the inhumane opinion of *Spinosa in Tract. Theol. Polit.* and such other Infidels, who hold that sensuality is mans chief interest, and that every man hath right to any thing that he desireth if he can but get it, and that he is bound to keep his Oaths and Covenants no longer than it is for his own interest, and that he hath as good title as the Governour or possessor had, if he can but get his place or possessions, and may destroy any if he can, that hinder his desires.[142]

Next, Baxter in a separate section in chapter 6, called 'The Political Alphabet', eventually also provides readers with 'a summ of *Spinosa's Posthumous* works', while at the same time also confuting Hobbes's *De Cive*.[143] The heading of this portion reads:

> *The marrow of* Spinosa's Opera posthuma *which I read not till after the writing of what is before. To which* Hobbes *much agreeth*.[144]

The 'summ' of *The Second Part*'s chapter 6 contains fifty-five pointedly-formulated abstracts of notions expounded by Spinoza in the *Ethica* and in the *Tractatus politicus*, some with specific reference to passages contained in the *Opera posthuma*, too.[145] In 1682, Baxter in a work on the life and times of his close friend Sir Matthew Hale once again labelled Spinoza as the typical arch-atheist, when writing about Hale's and his own dislike for the New Philosophy as embodied by Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza:

> We both greatly disliked the Principles of *Cartesius* and *Gassendus* (much more of the Bruitists, *Hobs* and *Spinosa*); especially their Doctrine de *Motu*, and their obscuring, or denying *Nature it self*, even the *Principia Motus*, the *Virtutes formales*, which are the Causes of Operations.[146]

The anti-Catholic, liberal Anglican Dean and later Archbishop (1691) of Canterbury John Tillotson (1630–1694), a Fellow of the Royal Society and son-in-law of another Fellow, John Wilkins, linked up Spinoza with Hobbes in one of his letters exchanged with Baxter. He did so only in passing, but it proves exactly how in intellectual circles both 'radical' philosophers triggered heated discussions in relation to religion and atheism and made people accuse their opponents of secretly supporting atheist thought, even prominent representatives in the Church of England. In the late spring of 1680, targeting one of his friend's latest sermons, Tillotson wrote a reply to Baxter about the latter's apparently earlier negative response regarding a debate 'particularly designed against me'. In all likelihood, that sermon was 'The Protestant Religion Vindicated from the Charge of Singularity and Novelty', preached by Baxter at Whitehall before his master King Charles II on 2 April 1680. This sermon had caused quite a stir and induced several in Tillotson's audience to accuse him of Hobbism. Tillotson in the foregoing letter particularly expressed his fear his opponents, including also Baxter, would be

> … very glad to find me struck at in the odious company of Spinosa & M^{r} Hobbs, as of the same Atheistical principles with them.[147]

141 Ibid., p. 8. Baxter hints at the libertine Italian philosophers Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) and Lucilio Vanini (1585–1619). Like Baxter*, the Scottish lawyer and statesman James Dalrymple (1619–1695), 1st Viscount of Stair, also portrayed Spinoza as an execrable atheist alongside Vanini and Hobbes*. Cf.: *Physiologia nova experimentalis in qua, generalis notiones Aristotelis, Epicuri, & Cartesii supplentur, …* (Leiden: 1686), pp. 16–17 ('Exploratio prima de communibus naturalibus quae toti Phisiologiae praesternuntur', 'postulatum quartum'). Boyle* lauded the book by Dalrymple.

142 Baxter*, *The Second Part*, pp. 63–64.

143 Hobbes*, *Elementa philosophica*.

144 Ibid., pp. 111–116.

145 E1p6; E1p8; E1p13; E1p15; TP, ch. 2, 3, and 6. There is no doubt Baxter read those works. Yet, a manuscript catalogue of his private library (1,448 titles), now kept in the Dr William's Library (London), makes no mention of any copies of Spinoza's printed writings.

146 Richard Baxter*, *Additional Notes of the Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, …* (London: 1682), p. 6. Matthew Hale (1609–1676) was a legal scholar specialized in English common law, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Lord Chief Justice of the London King's Bench. The French mechanical priest-philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician Pierre Gassendi was the first to explain parhelia as being ice crystals. He experimented with a barometer among many other natural philosophical 'firsts' in astronomy. *See* on Gassendi: Antonia Lolordo, *Pierre Gassendi and the Birth of Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Descartes/Hobbes: BL.

147 Tillotson to Baxter*, 2 June 1680 (London, Dr William's Library, DWL/RB/2/2.78). Cf.: Neil H. Keeble and Geoffrey F. Nutall (eds.),

Baxter, it seems, replied to Tillotson with an unpublished manuscript called 'Baxter's Duty of Propagating True Religion against Spinoza and Hobbes'.[148]

Richard Baxter referred to Spinoza's philosophy in passing once again in *A Treatise of Knowledge and Love Compared in Two Parts*, published nine years after *The Second Part* had been put to press.[149] After having first remarked in the book's Part 1 about the New Philosophy that a 'very great, if not the far greatest part of that part of Philosophy called *Physicks*, is *uncertain* (or certainly false)', he states about Descartes, Gassendi, and the latter's 'brothers' Hobbes and Spinoza thus:

> *Cartesius, Gassendus*, &*c*. Except those whose modesty causeth them to say but little, and to avoid the uncertainties; or confess them to be uncertainties. To enumerate instances would be an unseasonable digression. *Gassendus* is large in his Confessions of uncertainties. I think not his Brother *Hobs*, and his second *Spinosa* worth the naming.[150]

8 Blount's English Translation (1683) of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*'s Chapter 6: *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*

In an officially-published decree dated 21 July 1683, the University of Oxford condemned Hobbes's *Leviathan* and *De Cive*, works that were rigidly qualified as being 'hateful to God and Man'. The same decree also decried the 'Heretical and Blasphemous' works of John Milton (1608–1674), of John Owen (1616–1683), and those of Richard Baxter, published in both English and Latin. All of their works among those of several other authors were said to be 'repugnant to the holy Scriptures'. Accordingly, the university's vice chancellor had those banned books removed from the university library's shelves and saw to it these were publicly burned in the Bodleian's Quadrangle, 'by the hand of our Marshal in the court of our Scholes'.[151]

Despite the strict measures taken by the University of Oxford's board, another deist plea for rationality, enquiry, and reason, though, was disseminated clandestinely during the same year among the British reading public, called *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*.[152] This thirty-six-page treatise was, arguably, a new determinist contribution to the ongoing English discussion on the cessation doctrine. Among a few other short texts, this booklet contained an English translation of a large portion of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In this way, the anonymously printed work silently introduced Spinoza's radical biblical criticism in Britain via the back door to English readers who were not Latinate.[153] The tract's title-page contains an epigraph from Pliny the

Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter. Volume 2: 1660–1696 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), letter 1052. I am indebted to Emeritus Prof. Neil H. Keeble (University of Stirling) for informing me about Baxter's letter's existence. Dr Alison Searle (University of Leeds) and Dr Johanna Harris (University of Exeter) kindly provided me with a digital photo of the letter. Tillotson: ODNB.

148 London, Dr William's Library, DWL/RB/v.146. Tillotson's was published as: *The Protestant Religion Vindicated, ...: In a Sermon Preached before the King at White-Hall, April the 2d. 1680* (London: 1680; repr, 1686). Tillotson in *Remarks upon the Present Confederacy, and Late Revolution in England* (London: 1693) was accused by its anonymous author (John Pitts?) of having 'contributed more to the spreading and rooting of *Atheism* than 50 *Spinoza's*, *Hobbs's*, or *Vaninus's*'. Cf. Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empire. Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1997), p. 358.

149 Richard Baxter*, *A Treatise of Knowledge and Love Compared in Two Parts: I. Of Falsely Pretended Knowledge, II. Of True Saving Knowledge and Love*, ... (London: 1689).

150 Ibid., II, ch. 6, p. 47. Descartes/Hobbes: BL.

151 Hobbes*, *Leviathan*; id., *Elementa*. The Congregation's decree condemned 'certain Pernicious books and Damnable Doctrines Destructive to the Sacred Persons of Princes, the State and Government of all Humane Society'. The decree debunked twenty-seven 'Propositions' allegedly 'false, seditious and impious and most of them to be also Heretical and Blasphemous, infamous to Christian Religion and destructive of all Government in Church and State' (*The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford Past in their Convocation July 21, 1683, Against Certain Pernicious Books and Damnable Doctrines Destructive to the Sacred Persons of Princes, their State and Government*, ... [London: 1683], p. 7). The books' burning is mentioned in: Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford*, ... (2 vols., London: 1721), vol. 2, p. 664 (644). Baxter: BL.

152 Anon., *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature*, [Charles Blount] (transl.) (London: 1683). In 1689, an English translation of the complete *TTP* was published surreptiously under the following title: *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political*. A bibliographical description is provided in this chapter. A reprint of this translation was launched in 1737 (n. 100). An abstract of the *TTP*, covering the first chapters of the work and followed by a brief account of Spinoza's life and writings, was published in: anon., *An Account of the Life and Writings of Spinosa. To Which is Added, an Abstract of his Theological Political Treatise*, ... (London: 1720).

153 Cf. Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (4 vols., New York, NY: Haskell House Publishers, 1971), vol. 4, p. 83. For *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature*, *see* further: Simonutti, 'Spinoza and the English Thinkers', pp. 198–204. For a study of naturalism and libertine thought of Blount*: Ugo Bonanate, *Charles Blount. Libertinismo e deismo nel Seicento inglese* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1972).

Elder's *Naturalis historia*: 'Or what is not deemed miraculous, when first it comes into knowledge'.[154] The title-page further states the book was produced for book dealer Robert Sollers by 'the King's arms and Bible', a prominent printing house at St. Paul's Church Yard.[155]

There is the strong likelihood the *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*'s cloaked editor was the freethinker and prolific Charles Blount, the fourth son of traveller Sir Henry Blount (1602–1682) who befriended Hobbes and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Charles Blount is considered a pioneering and popularizing deist in England as well as a controversial, eclectic pamphleteer in the cause of the 'Popish Plot' (1678), the framed Roman Catholic conspiracy against the English throne.[156] He was a frequenter of the radical anti-court London Whig Green Ribbon Club, including many prominent politicians, meeting at the King's Head tavern at Chancery Lane End. Blount is known to have exchanged letters with Hobbes in the English philosopher's last year of his life.

Frequently, Blount was identified with Epicurus whereas some of his contemporaries might have wrongly accused him of plagiarism. Possibly, he had even connections with Dutch Protestants who partook in discussions on the work of Spinoza and philosophical deism which would explain his interest for the philosopher's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, too.[157] In one Blount's essays, *Anima Mundi* (1679), a defence of natural religion which was publicly burned by his enemies, he abundantly mocked pagan views on the soul. In the same work, he lambasted assertions of an afterlife in a collage of cynical heterodox views which he confronted with orthodox Christian notions.[158]

Blount in another work, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1680), assailed both 'priestcraft' and various Christian concepts, especially the doctrine of the Eucharist.[159] The same work also strongly criticized the English translation of a work by the Greek sophist Flavius Philostratus (*c*.170–*c*.247 CE).[160] Blount's last two books clearly reveal strong influence of Hobbes and of Edward Herbert.[161] His later *The Oracles of Reason* (1693), a collection of letters dedicated to Hobbes in which Blount expressed doubts about Scripture's revelatory contents once again, was in turn scrutinized doggedly in a work called *Mr. Blount's Oracles of Reason Examined and Answered*.[162]

Cleverly, Charles Blount billed his concise 1683 diatribe *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* as an '*innocent Discourse*', promoting in it however Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* of which he translated its chapter 6 on miracles. Combined with a set of quotations borrowed from *Telluris theoria sacra orbis*, a work composed by the natural philosopher Thomas Burnet (*c*.1635–1715), Blount in the work blatantly assailed the popular belief in miracles based on ontological grounds.[163] At the same time, in *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* he undertook to prove that what in the scriptural sense appear to be miracles actually are nothing more than natural phenomena, having their very cause in the power of an infinite God-creator.[164]

Conjointly with Spinoza and Burnet, Blount in the booklet's 'Premonition to the Candid Reader' contended prima facie the Hebrew Bible's authors had never intended to communicate scholarly knowledge to their devout readers. This 'Premonition', it appears, was lifted from Burnet's *Telluris*, too.[165] According to that same prologue, Tanach's authors had presented solely stories, accounts, and moral lessons focused on piety which Christians could easily fathom. Hence, Blount in the 'Premonition' explicitly contends that, when speaking about 'natural *things*', Bible authors had simply always encouraged and induced readers of Scripture to intensify their veneration of God:

154 'Quid non miraculo est, cum primum in notitiam venit?' (bk 7, 1,6–7).

155 Sollers: BL.

156 Cf. Colie, 'Spinoza and the Early English Deists', p. 30.

157 Cf. Wayne Hudson, *The English Deists. Studies in Early Enlightenment* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 62–63.

158 Anon. (Charles Blount*), *Anima Mundi: or, An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the Ancients Concerning Mans Soul after this Life: According to Unenlightned Nature* (London: 1697).

159 Id., *Great is Diana of the Ephesians: or, the Original of Idolatry, Together with the Politick Institution of the Gentiles Sacrifices* (London: 1680).

160 Id., *The First Two Books of Philostratus concerning the Life of Apolonius Tyaneus* (London: 1680).

161 Hobbes/Cherbury/Blount: BL.

162 Josiah King, *Mr. Blount's Oracles of Reason … in Which … the Holy Scriptures and Revealed Religion are Asserted against Deism & Atheism* (Exeter: 1698).

163 Thomas Burnet*, *Telluris theoria sacra orbis nostri originem & mutationes generales, quas aut jam subiit, aut olim subiturus est, complectens: libri duo priores de diluvio & Paradiso* (London: 1681); Hobbes, *Leviathan*. Burnet's 'Sacred Theory' was a historical attempt to reconcile scholarly knowledge with Scripture and agreed with Spinoza that humankind was ignorant of the natural causes of phenomena which had been always explained as being miraculous events. Burnet provides, for example, a rational account of Noah's flood.

164 The rejection of miracles was a persistent mark of deism. Cf. for a scholarly evaluation of atheism and deism: Hudson, *The English Deists*; id., etc. (eds), *Atheism and Deism Revalued. Heterodox Religious Identities in Britain, 1650–1800* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

165 Burnet, *Telluris*, 1681, bk 2, preface, p. 141.

> *It is the Judgement of most of the ancient Fathers of the Christian Faith, and of the most learned* Theologues *among the Moderns; that the Authors of the* holy Scriptures, *when they speak of* natural *things, do not design to instruct men in* Physical *Speculations and the Science of Natural Philosophy; but aim only to excite* pious Affections *in their breasts, and induce them to the Worship and Veneration of the* true God, *whom they celebrated in their Writings*; ….[166]

In brief, according to the *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*'s prologue, the Hebrew Bible's authors were cunningly addressing '*the common* Sence *and preconceiv'd* Opinions *of the Vulgar*'.

Nevertheless, as the book's 'Premonition' further points out, people however should better attempt to understand rather '*from the Light of Nature or right* Reason' that 'the Power of God and the Power of Nature are one and the same'. Thus, according to Blount's 'Premonition', all the natural things presented in the Bible as miracle have proceeded only

> … *from the fixt and immutable order of* Nature, *and necessarily flowed from a Series of Causes ordain'd according to her eternal Laws, that is, from God's* Decrees.[167]

The prologue of *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* also seeks to clarify that human beings have only a limited and inadequate knowledge of the causal relations of things. Moreover, people are, arguably, fully '*ignorant of the Principles of natural things*'. Even so, Blount in the 'Premonition' argues, God's power and nature itself are infinite. By contrast, human understanding is finite and people are intrinsically incapable of fathoming how far the universal divine laws of nature 'extend themselves'. The last portion of the 'Premonition' ultimately contends that atypical 'miracles' reported in Scripture are commonly 'admired' by human beings. Nonetheless, Blount continues to construe, if and when one maintains these phenomena were supernatural and against nature,

> …: *then I dare not believe that any such Miracle hath ever happen'd in Nature, left I oppose God to God, that is, that God* changes *his own Decrees; which, from the Perfection of the* divine Nature, *I know to be impossible*.[168]

Next, Blount in a twenty-five-page text provides readers with a translation of the larger portion of the text of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in which Spinoza also treats of the sheer natural impossibility of miracles. The Dutch philosopher in this chapter has stressed that 'nothing happens in nature which does not follow from its laws' and that

> … in their Chronicles and histories men relate their own opinions more than the events they're reporting.[169]

Ergo, to interpret scriptural miracles and to understand how these allegedly would have taken place one must know the beliefs of those who originally related them and left written records of them. Chapter 6 further stipulates 'we do not confuse the things which really happened with imaginary things', adapted according to the belief of those who passed them on in written records.[170] Because Blount translated the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s chapter 6 in *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*, this also reveals he viewed Spinoza's rejection of miracles also the programmatic focus of his own rationale of deist argumentation.[171] Unlike Spinoza, though, Blount does not maintain theology and philosophy to be separate domains.[172]

Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature ends with three citations from writers seemingly free from the suspicion of atheism. These authors were St Augustine, Edinburgh's regent Thomas Burnet, and English churchman Thomas Sprat (1635–1713), an English historian and Founding Fellow of the Royal Society appointed Bishop of Rochester one year after Blount's booklet was published.[173] In so presenting readers with quotations from the works of the last three writers, Blount sought to promote his criticism of the populace's blind devotion to the idea of an incorporeal God-creator and its belief in miracles.[174]

No particulars about the printing and publishing history of *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* are documented. Because the biblical reference to '*Psalm* 73'

166 Anon., *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature*, [Blount] (transl.), preface.

167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.

169 G 3/83; G3/92.

170 G 3/92.

171 *TTP*: ch. 6 (G 3/81–96). In the abstract by Blount* from p. 4 onwards. The treatise's concluding sections, on scriptural examples, are left out from Blount's translation.

172 Cf. Hudson, *The English Deists*, p. 66.

173 St Augustine in a homily on 1 John 6:10 and in the 'City of God' states miracles may have been suitable in the days of the early church, but in his own time these were unwarranted.

174 St Augustine, letter 143,7 (to Marcellinus); Burnet, *Telluris*, 1681, bk 1, ch. 11, p. 137. The third passage is borrowed from: Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: 1667), p. 360.

(l. 31) on page 14 of chapter 6 in Blount's translation is correct and not misspelled '37', it can be construed the latter must have consulted a printed copy of either T.1, T.2/T.2a, or the T.3 octavo edition. The other later quartos T.4n/T.4 and T.5 (p. 169, l. 10), it has already been explained in this bibliography's chapter 3, do misprint '(vide Psal. 73.)' as '(vide Psal. 37.)'. All issues of the T.3 octavo edition (p. 106, l. 32) also correctly have '(vide Pf. LXXIII.)'. Up to now, twenty-eight copies of Blount's *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* are known to be extant in international library holdings.

9 Browne's Quick Response to Blount: *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature* (1683)

Upon publication *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* was immediately rigidly attacked by an obscure Anglican divine named Thomas Browne in a retort also published in London in 1683. The riposte, printed 'for *Samuel Smith* at the *Princes Arms* in *St. Pauls Church-Yard*', was called *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*.[175] Smith, a 'Latin trader', was official bookseller to the Royal Society and printer of several issues of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. He had a wide-spread international network and corresponded with the Rotterdam bookseller Reinier Leers (1654–1714).[176] The lengthy subtitle of *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature* reads the following:

> An Answer to a Late Translation out of *Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Mr. *Hobb's Leviathan*, &c. Published to Undermine the Truth and Authority of Miracles, Scripture, and Religion, in a Treatise ENTITULED *MIRACLES no Violation of the LAWS of NATURE*.

From this title alone, it is obvious clergyman Browne considered *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* a subversive, deist attack and a covert atheist attempt to undermine 'the Foundations of both Law and Gospel'. In *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*, he rightly claimed the tract's masked author was not an original writer, but a blatant plagiarist who had only stolen the works of others. Accordingly, Browne disclosed the book's author had made a translation of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. He made it also clear that *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* contained arguments ruling out God's providence that were brutally lifted from Burnet's *Telluris*.

Browne's remarks in his reply to Blount on Spinoza's notion of divine will and human understanding fairly proves he had well prepared himself by studying the 'Theological-Political Treatise' and the *Ethica* as well. He writes:

> This conceit he does not farther explain or make out in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*; and therefore, to run up, his Argument to the head, I shall consult his *Opera Posthuma* for a Scheme of his principles from whence to deduce it. There, in the *First Part of his Ethics*, which treats *de Deo*, he has this Doctrine, *That there is but one Substance in the World*.... (followed by Browne's abstract from Part 1).[177]

On the first page of his riposte, Browne immediately blames the concealed '*Compiler*' of *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*, Charles Blount, for the

> ... *Collection* of the several parts of his Work out of several Authors, and the *tacking* of them together.

Browne furthermore disdains the booklet's disguised author for hiding his own opinion:

175 Thomas Browne, *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature: Or, an Answer to a Late Translation out of Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus, Mr. Hobb's Leviathan, &c. Published to Undermine the Truth and Authority of Miracles, Scripture, and Religion, in a Treatise Entituled Miracles no Violation of the Laws of Nature* (London: 1683). Constantijn Huygens (1628–1697), son of Constantijn Huygens *père* and the elder brother of the Dutch physicist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) was a regular visitor to the bookshop of Samuel Smith* when visiting London. Constantijn's diary contains several entries about these visits. On 18 April 1697, for instance, he wrote: 'At eleven o'clock I rode to Smith's, the bookseller, and bought the newest [Philosophical] Transactions, and another two [or] three books.' ('Ten elff ueren reed naer Smith, de boockseller, en kocht de nieuwste Transactions en twee dry boecken meer.'; *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens, den zoon, van 21 October 1688 tot 2 Sept. 1696.* (*Handschrift van de Nederlandse Koninklijke Akademie te Amsterdam*) [Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1877], p. 473).

176 London bookseller and printer John Dunton (1659–1733) wrote about Smith and his bookshop thus: 'Mr. Samuel Smith, Bookseller to the Royal Society, deals very much in Books of a Foreign growth, and speaks French and Latin with a great deal of fluency and ease. His Shop is very beautiful, and well furnished.' (*The Life and Errors of John Dunston, Citizen of London*, ... [2 vols., London: J. Nichols, 1818], vol. 1, p. 207). Browne's *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* is advertised in 'A Catalogue of late physick Books sold by *Samuel Smith*, at the *Prince's Arms* in *St. Paul's Churchyard*' for the price of 1 shilling. The catalogue is annexed to: Robert Boyle*, *Memoirs for the Natural History of Humane Blood, Especially the Spirit of That Liquor* (London: 1683/4).

177 Ibid., pp. 37–38.

> The *Translation* of each part out of the Latin: A Method much in use of late, to Copy out the pernicious Authors, as well as Practices, of former times, and instead of sitting down and putting their own Invention upon the Rack, to take a more easie and compendious way of doing Mischief, by Transcribing or Translating for the greedy reception of the present Age, whatever has been formerly written tending to the subversion either of Religion or Civil Authority.[178]

Accordingly, Browne qualifies Blount's treatise as a plain plagiarist tool engineered to promote deist and atheist principles:

> The Book (to assign to each Author his share in it) consists of Two Parts. The latter, which is the main, from the middle of the third Page to the end of the Book, is wholly (except for two or three Authorities in the last page) a bare Translation of the Sixth Chapter of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, written by *Spinoza*. Which Chapter he seems to have made choice out of that Author, as effectual by it self to compass the design of his whole Treatise: *viz*. To instill the Principles of *Deisme* or *Atheisme* into the minds of readers.[179]

Next, Browne writes about the contents of the 'Premonition to the Candid Reader':

> Introductory to the Book there is a *Premonition to the Reader*. And here we might justly expect from him to speak himself, and to give us a free and ingenuous Account of his Authors, his Translation, and the Design of it. But the greatest part of this too is Borrowed (or translated, whether you please) out of Mr. Burnett's *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, and the rest only brief touches of what he has aftermore at large out of *Spinoza*.[180]

Accordingly, Thomas Browne also makes some claims about the main inspiration of *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* and the disguised author's intention to smuggle Spinoza into the English debate on miracles by stating the following:

> *Spinoza* indeed is the Great Patron of his Assertion, *viz. that there is no such thing as a Miracle, if we take the word to signifie a Work above or beside Nature*.[181]

Browne in his retort also turns against Hobbes and Burnet but, at the same time, he argues they were however unlike the calibre of Spinoza and they had also been misused intentionally by Blount. Especially the late Thomas Hobbes, Browne states,

> … admits and supports [the veracity of particular] miracles in that very sense, wherein he is produced to deny them here.[182]

On *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*'s page 23, the divine Browne finally then starts rallying against Spinoza himself by endeavouring to debunk his metaphysics. Page after page he attacks the Dutch philosopher. In conclusion, the English divine puts forwards the following conclusion about the hidden underpinnings of Spinoza's philosophical reasoning:

> Here we have a full discovery of his Sense and Scope in this Argument; and it plainly terminates in one of these two, *Atheism* or *Idolatry*. For to make God and Nature the same thing, is either to advance a Creature into the place of God, or (what *Tully* [Cicero] says of *Epicurus*) *Oratione relinquere Deum, re tollere*.[183]

∴

FIRST AND ONLY EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN SMALL QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 6.1–6.3)

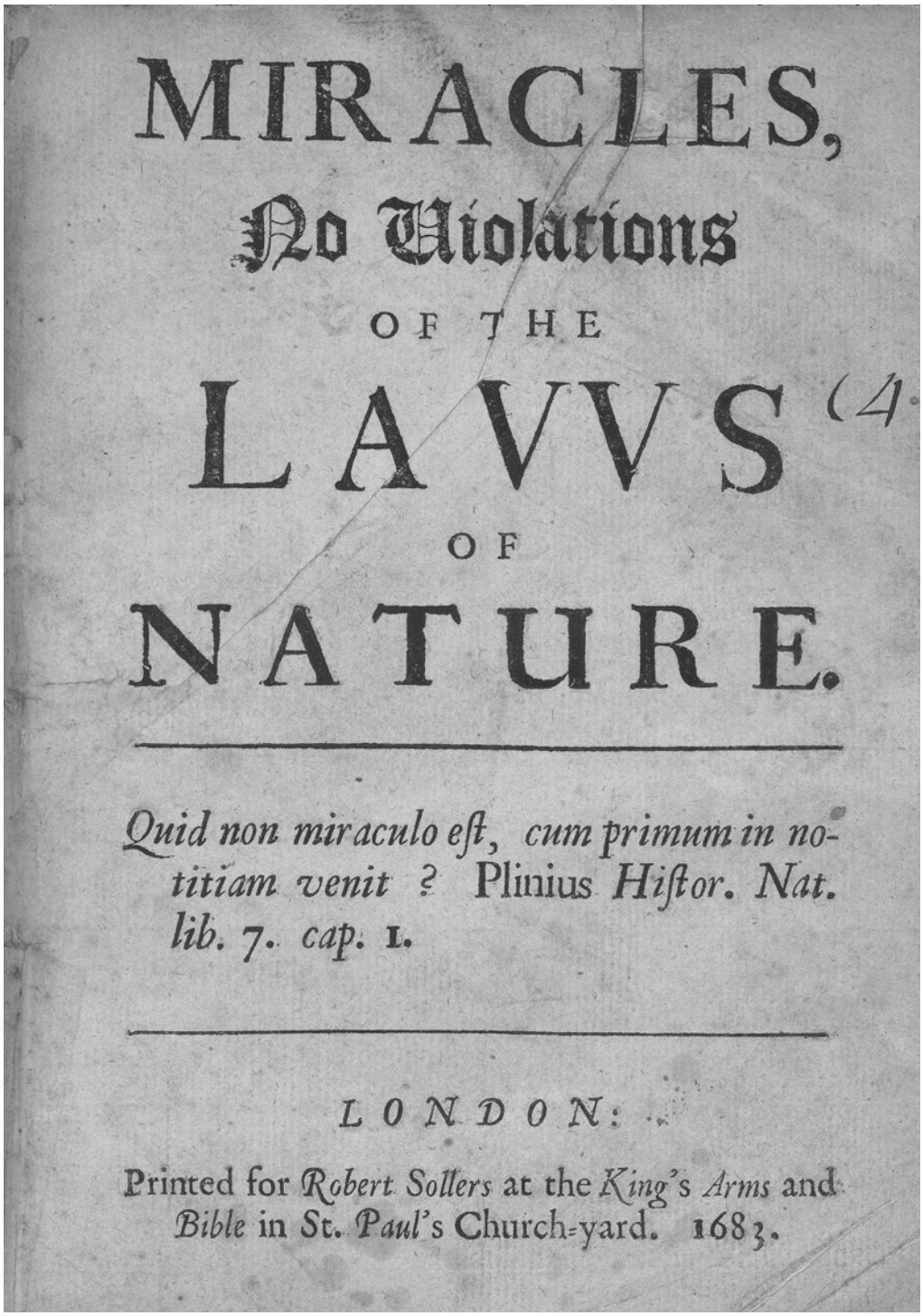
Short Title

Anon., *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature*. London, *printer*: the King's Arms and Bible, *for*: Robert Sollers (*bookseller*), 1683.

Contains: translation of chapter 6 ('On Miracles') of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

- English text; subsidiary language: Latin.
- Translated from the Latin by [Charles Blount].
- Epigraph on title-page from Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (book 7, 1,6–7).

178 Browne, *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*, 1683, p. 1.
179 Ibid., p. 2.
180 Ibid.
181 Ibid., p. 3.
182 Ibid.
183 Ibid., p. 39.



MIRACLES,
No Violations
OF THE
LAWS (4
OF
NATURE.

Quid non miraculo eſt, cum primum in notitiam venit ? Plinius *Hiſtor. Nat. lib. 7. cap.* 1.

LONDON:
Printed for *Robert Sollers* at the *King's Arms* and *Bible* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1683.

ILLUSTRATION 6.1 Title-page of the English translation of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

– Imprint with the name of bookseller Robert Sollers.
– Imprint has address of Sollers's London printing firm: 'the *King's Arms* and *Bible* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard'.
– Place and date of publication in imprint.
– Title-page has typographical rules dividing text portions.
– Contains 'Premonition to the Candid Reader' (text lifted from Thomas Burnet's *Telluris theoria sacra orbis*).
– Contains excerpts from Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Burnet's *Telluris*.
– Contains preface ('Premonition to the Candid Reader').
– English bookseller's price at publication not known.

Exemplar

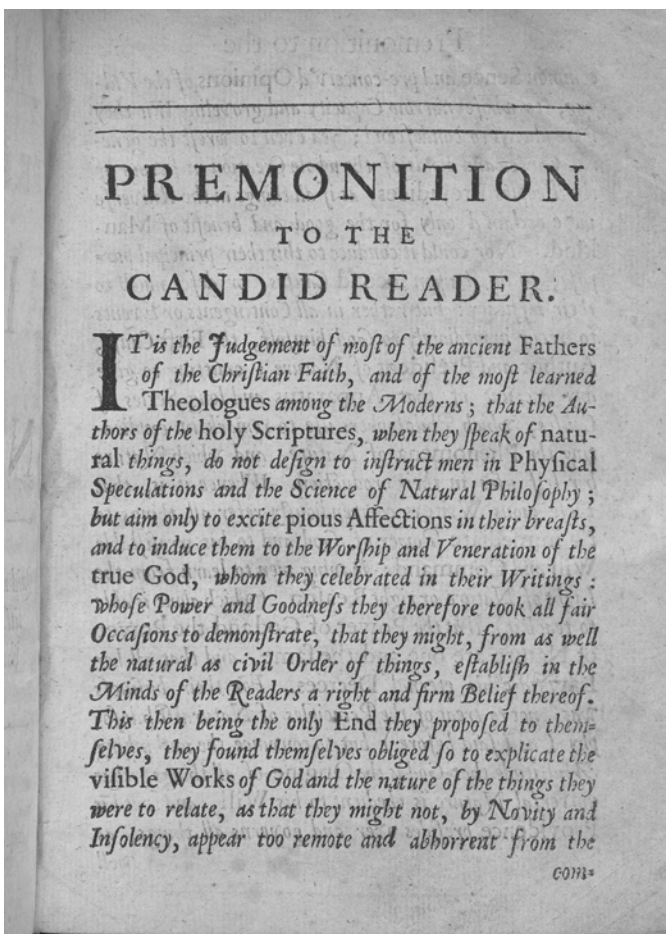
Quarto edition T.1, or T.2/T.2a, or the octavo edition T.3; the translator's autograph manuscript and/or an apograph, which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering π*)**

MIRACLES, | No (swash N) Violations (swash V) | OF THE | LAVVS | OF | NATURE. | (rule) | *Quid non miraculo eſt, cum primum in no-* | *titiam venit ?* Plinius *Hiſtor. Nat.* | *lib.* 7. *cap.* 1. | (rule) | *LONDON*: | Printed for *Robert Sollers* at the *King's Arms* and *Bible* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard. 1683.

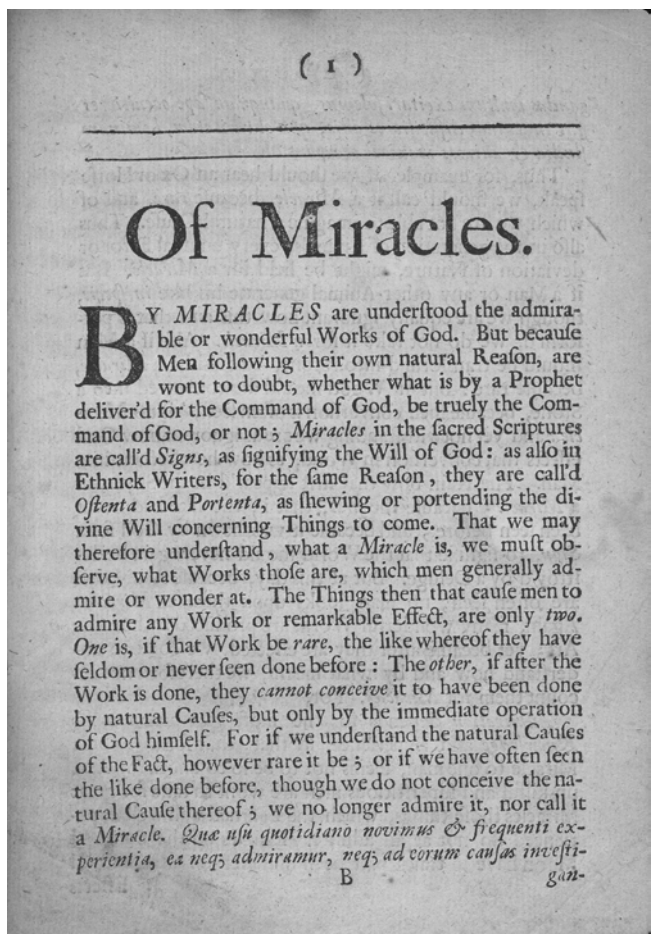
Language and Typography

English and Latin, quotations in full text, italic type. Old-style serifed roman types of the book's printing house: the King's Arms and Bible, St Paul's Church Yard. Normally thirty-three lines.



PREMONITION
TO THE
CANDID READER.

IT is the Judgement of moſt of the ancient Fathers of the Chriſtian Faith, and of the moſt learned Theologues among the Moderns; that the Authors of the holy Scriptures, when they ſpeak of natural things, do not deſign to inſtruct men in Phyſical Speculations and the Science of Natural Philoſophy; but aim only to excite pious Affections in their breaſts, and to induce them to the Worſhip and Veneration of the true God, whom they celebrated in their Writings: whoſe Power and Goodneſs they therefore took all fair Occaſions to demonſtrate, that they might, from as well the natural as civil Order of things, eſtabliſh in the Minds of the Readers a right and firm Belief thereof. This then being the only End they propoſed to themſelves, they found themſelves obliged ſo to explicate the viſible Works of God and the nature of the things they were to relate, as that they might not, by Novity and Inſolency, appear too remote and abhorrent from the com-



(1)

Of Miracles.

BY *MIRACLES* are underſtood the admirable or wonderful Works of God. But becauſe Men following their own natural Reaſon, are wont to doubt, whether what is by a Prophet deliver'd for the Command of God, be truely the Command of God, or not; *Miracles* in the ſacred Scriptures are call'd *Signs*, as ſignifying the Will of God: as alſo in Ethnick Writers, for the ſame Reaſon, they are call'd *Oſtenta* and *Portenta*, as ſhewing or portending the divine Will concerning Things to come. That we may therefore underſtand, what a *Miracle* is, we muſt obſerve, what Works thoſe are, which men generally admire or wonder at. The Things then that cauſe men to admire any Work or remarkable Effect, are only *two*. *One* is, if that Work be *rare*, the like whereof they have ſeldom or never ſeen done before: The *other*, if after the Work is done, they *cannot conceive* it to have been done by natural Cauſes, but only by the immediate operation of God himſelf. For if we underſtand the natural Cauſes of the Fact, however rare it be; or if we have often ſeen the like done before, though we do not conceive the natural Cauſe thereof; we no longer admire it, nor call it a *Miracle*. *Quæ uſu quotidiano novimus & frequenti experientia, ea neq; admiramur, neq; ad eorum cauſas inveſti-*

B gan-

ILLUSTRATIONS 6.2 AND 6.3 First page of prologue and page 1 of the main text.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts
166808 – a1 B $n : a2 E2 g$ma

Collation
4^{o}: π^{4-1} B–E^{4} [$2]
38 leaves = pp. [*6*] (1)–(31) [*1*]
Preface without pagination.

Collation Variant
No variants found.

Direction Line
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines
Running headlines of prologue printed in upper middle margin, combination of larger upper-case (capital letters) and smaller lower-case (plus italics) letters: Premonition to the (verso), candid Reader. (recto); Premonition to the, &c.

Main work without headlines.

Contents

$\pi 2^{r}$	(title-page)
$\pi 2^{v}$	(blank)
$\pi 3^{r}$– $\pi 4^{4}$	PREMONITION TO THE CANDID READER.
B^{r}–$E4^{r}$	Of Miracles.

Simple Initials
Two plain black initials (relief woodcut, 3 ll.), employed to head the first letter of the first word of the preface and of the main work.

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T-E/04#10–12 LONDON, BrL, General Reference Collection, 700.e.20.(1.) (from the collection of Hans Sloane [1660–1753], one of the foundation collections of the British Museum library [now BrL], Sloane nos. m 243 and d 421, copy could be either of them), 11623.e.12.(11.), 115.b.1.

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T-E/04#18 OXFORD, Exeter College Library, P6 30 (6)

T-E/04#19 OXFORD, Magdalen College Library, a.8.12(9)

T-E/04#20 OXFORD, Worcester College Library, TA.37.29(1)

United States (*8*)

T-E/04#21 Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, University Library, Houghton *EC65 A100 683m2

T-E/04#22 Los Angeles (CA), University Library, BT97.A2 B6

T-E/04#23 New Haven (CT), Yale University, University Library, Mhc8 1683 B62

T-E/04#24–25 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, spinoza 193Sp4 X6 1683, 1683 B65

T-E/04#26 Oxford (MS), The University of Mississippi Libraries, bt97.A2 B5

T-E/04#27 Philadelphia (PA), Temple University Libraries, bt97.A2 B5

T-E/04#28 Washington (DC), The Library of Congress, bt97.A2 B5 English Print (convolute, bound with: Browne, *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*, 1683; Fernando de Tejeda, *Miracles Unmasked: A Treatise Proving that Miracles are not Infallible Signes of the True and Orthodoxe Faith*, … [London: 1625]).

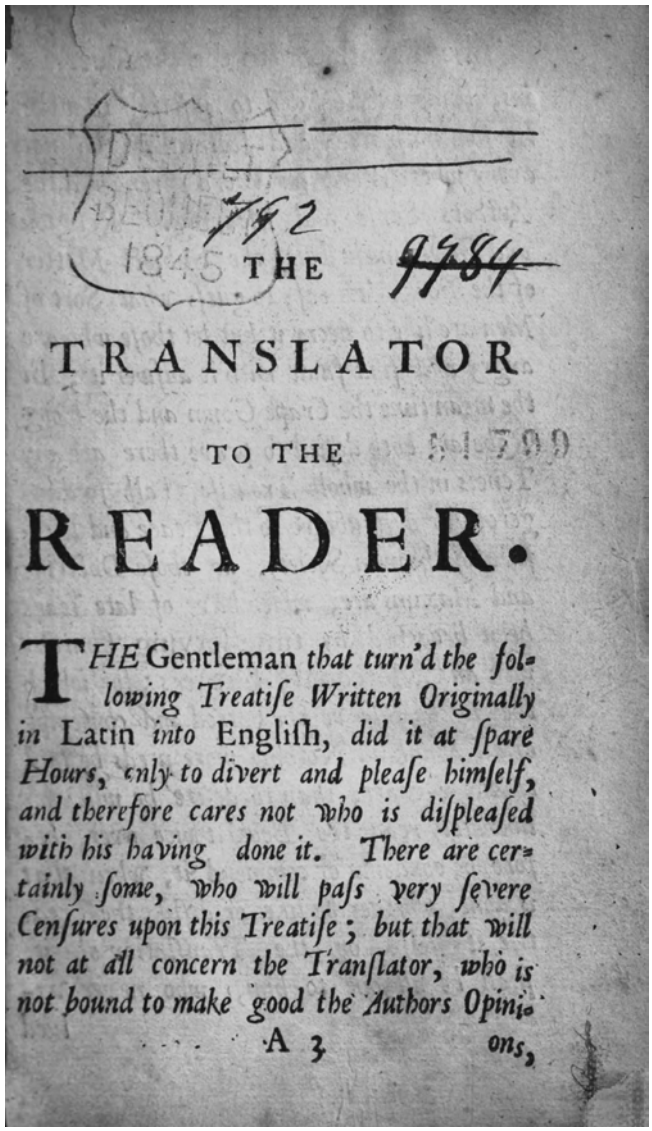
Note

The book was announced (Edward Arber [ed.], *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D., with a Number of Easter Term 1711 A.D. A Contemporary Bibliography of English Literature in the Reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne*, …, [3 vols., London: E. Arber, 1903–6], vol. 1, p. 11) in the London 'Term Catalogues' (for Michaelmas), a list of books produced and published in London.

⁘

10 The First Full Edition of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in English: *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political* (1689)

In 1689, six years after publication of Blount's *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature*, Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was finally published in a full English translation. This book, *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political*, was surreptitiously issued in London, shortly after English Parliament passed the aforementioned lenient 'Toleration Act'.[184]



THE
TRANSLATOR
TO THE
READER.

THE Gentleman *that turn'd the following Treatiſe Written Originally in* Latin *into* Engliſh, *did it at ſpare Hours, only to divert and pleaſe himſelf, and therefore cares not who is diſpleaſed with his having done it. There are certainly ſome, who will paſs very ſevere Cenſures upon this Treatiſe; but that will not at all concern the Tranſlator, who is not bound to make good the Authors Opini-*

A 3 *ons,*

ILLUSTRATION 6.4 First page of the translator's introduction to the first English translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

In 'THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER' (sigs A3^{r}–A4^{r}), about the anonymous translator, the British pamphleteer Charles Blount to all appearances, it is stated the following:

> *The* Gentleman *that turn'd the following Treatise Written Originally in* Latin *into* English, *did it at spare Hours, only to divert and please himself, and therefore cares not who is displeased with his having done it. There*

184 Cf. Richard H. Popkin, 'The Deist Challenge', in Ole P. Grell, etc. (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 195–215, there at p. 207; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 605.

> *are certainly some, who will pass very severe Censures upon this Treatise; but that will not at all concern the Translator, who is not bound to make good the Authors Opinions, being only obliged to justify that the Version hath truly and faithfully* (*tho' not every where Word for Word*) *render'd the Authors Sense and Meaning.*

In the treatise's introductory portion, the anonymous English translator of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* advises the reader to 'deliberately read the Book twice over, before he condemn or commend it'. The first full English text edition was published without an imprint mentioning any publisher or a printer. *A Treatise* is not inventoried in the 1698 London 'Term Catalogues' either. Perhaps, this is an indication the book was presumably produced outside the approval of censors, possibly because of its illegal status in the Netherlands.[185] The title-page underlines the edition was 'Translated out of Latin' but its subtitle gives an English translation of the subtitle of the Latin quartos (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5). Specifically, it adds to the 'Freedom of Philosophizing' the deist phrase '(That is Making Use of Natural Reason)'. The title-page of *A Treatise* also has the biblical quotation 1 John 4:13 printed on the title-pages of the Latin quartos and on the title-page of one variant (T.3t) of the Latin octavo edition: 'Hereby know we, that we dwell in God, and God in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit'.

Because on page 320 (ll. 6–7) in chapter 15 of *A Treatise*, the biblical reference Exod. 34: 14 is printed correctly ('*Exod.* 34.14.'), this at least suggests the English translator had as his exemplar either the Latin quarto edition T.1 or octavo edition T.3 on his desk. The quarto editions T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4 and T.5 (p. 169, l. 10) all misprint 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' of T.1 as: 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.'. This typeset flaw, though, was remedied in T.3: 'Exod. xxxiv. 14.' (p. 243, l. 21). For this reason, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5 cannot have served as the disguised translator's exemplar. Forty copies of *A Treatise* are extant in international library holdings.

In the early summer of 1737, the first issue of the complete English text edition of Spinoza's treatise was reprinted in London under the same title, this time stating to be 'sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster'. The second issue was first announced in June 1737 in the eighth volume of *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*. In 'A Register of Books for June, 1737' it reads thus: 'A Treatise partly Theological and partly Political. Translated from the Latin of Spinosa. Pr. 51.'.[186] Another announcement can be found in the sixth volume of the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* in its issue of July 1737: 'A Treatise partly Theological, and partly Political. Sold by the Booksellers, pr. 51'.[187]

⁘

FIRST COMPLETE ENGLISH EDITION OF THE 'THEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL TREATISE', ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN OCTAVO, TWO ISSUES (ILLUSTRATION 6.5–6.7)

first issue

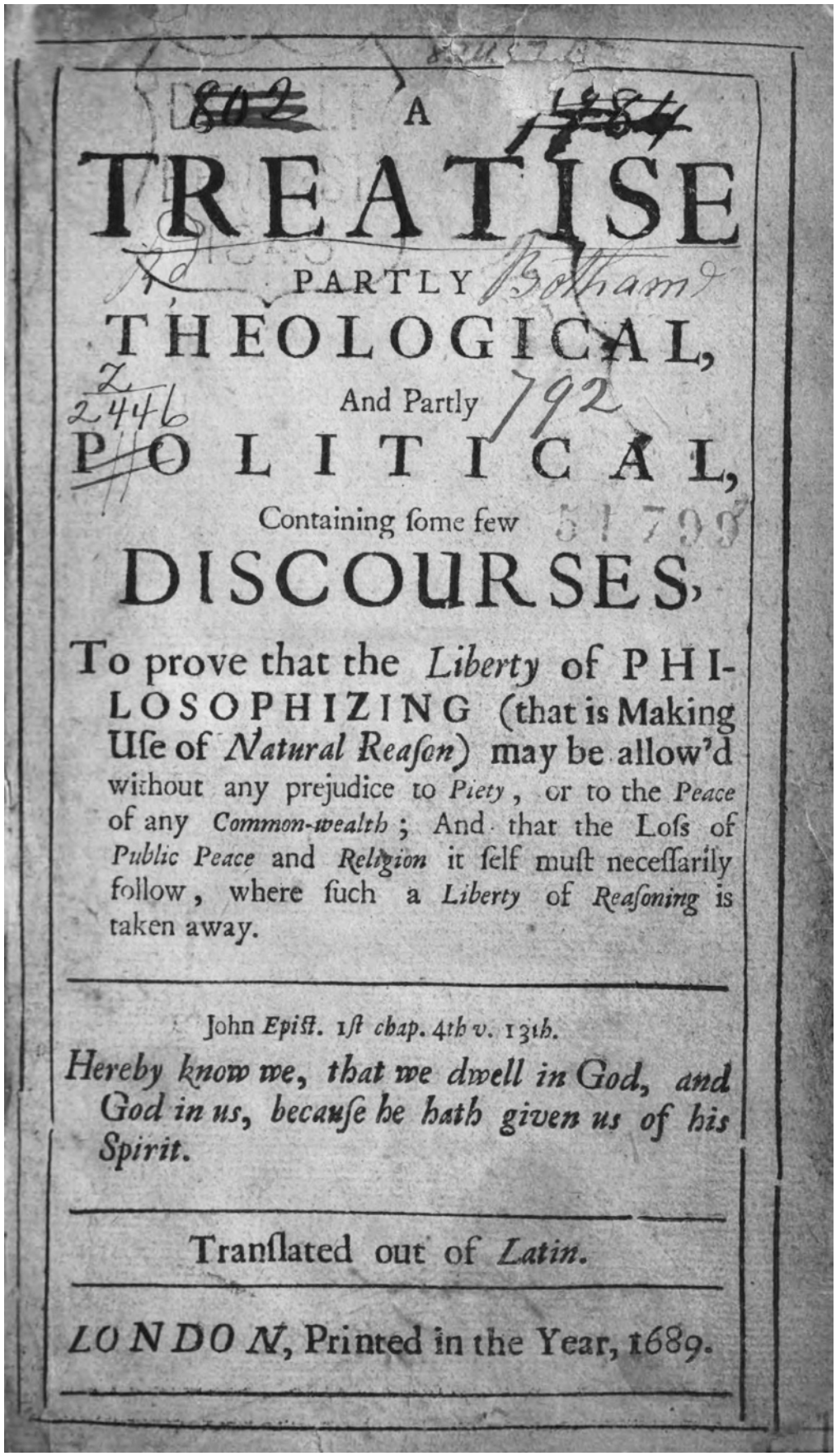
Short Title
Anon., *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political.* London, printer and bookseller unidentified, 1689.

- English text; subsidiary languages: Latin and Dutch.
- Translated from the Latin by [Charles Blount].
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5, T.3t; as well as on the second Dutch quarto edition [1694]).
- Place and date of publication in imprint.
- Title-page has typographical rules dividing text portions.
- Contains prologue ('The Translator to the Reader').
- Contains preface ('The Preface').
- Contains table of contents (twenty chapters).
- English bookseller's price at publication not known.

Exemplar
Possibly quarto edition T.1 or octavo edition T.3; the translator's autograph manuscript and/or an apograph, which served as printer's copy, is no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering A*)**
[Within a double rule]:
A | TREATISE | PARTLY | THEOLOGICAL,| And Partly | POLITICAL, | Containing ſome few | DISCOURSES, | To prove that the *Liberty* of PHI- | LOSOPHIZING (that is Making | Uſe of *Natural Reaſon*) may be allow'd | without any prejudice to *Piety* , or to the *Peace* | of any *Common-wealth*; And that the Loſs of | *Public Peace* and *Religion* it ſelf must neceſſarily | follow , where ſuch a *Liberty* of *Reaſoning* is | taken away. | (rule) | John *Epist. 1st chap. 4th* v. 13*th.* | *Hereby know we, that we dwell in God, and* | *God in us, becauſe he hath given us of his* | *Spirit.* | (rule) | Tranſlated out of *Latin.* | (rule) | *LONDON*, Printed in the Year, 1689. | (rule).

185 Cf. Arber, *The Term Catalogues*, vol. 2.
186 Cf.: p. 374, no. 14.
187 Vol. 6, p. 400, no. 25.



A
TREATISE
PARTLY
THEOLOGICAL,
And Partly
POLITICAL,
Containing ſome few
DISCOURSES,

To prove that the *Liberty* of PHILOSOPHIZING (that is Making Uſe of *Natural Reaſon*) may be allow'd without any prejudice to *Piety*, or to the *Peace* of any *Common-wealth*; And that the Loſs of *Public Peace* and *Religion* it ſelf muſt neceſſarily follow, where ſuch a *Liberty* of *Reaſoning* is taken away.

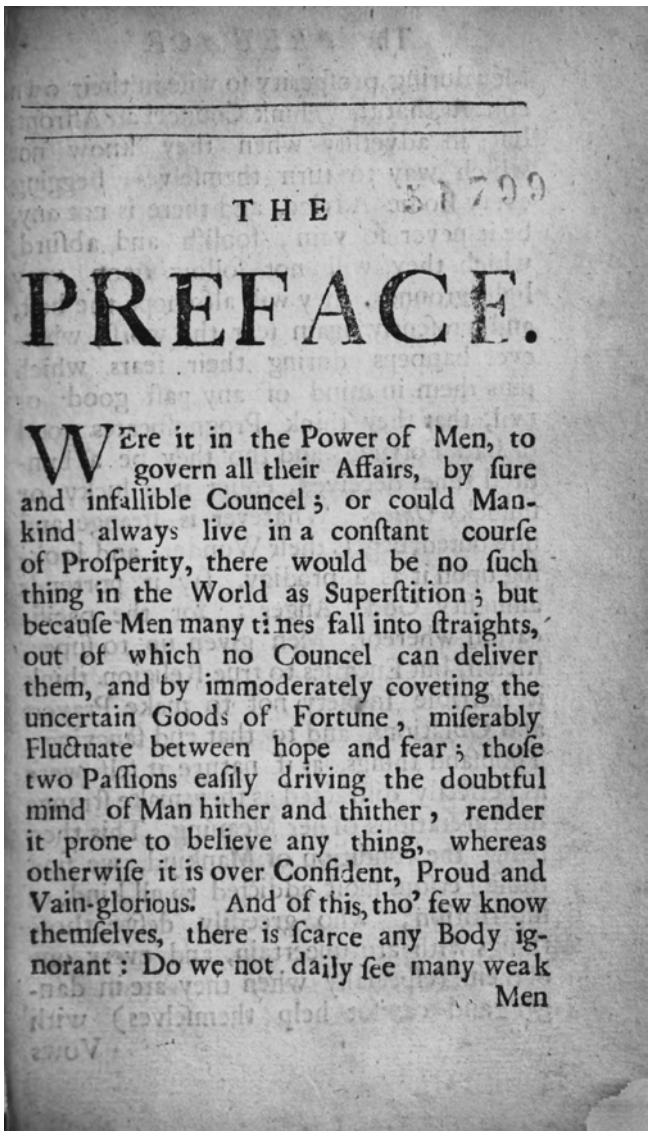
John *Epiſt. 1ſt chap. 4th v. 13th.*

Hereby know we, that we dwell in God, and God in us, becauſe he hath given us of his Spirit.

Tranſlated out of *Latin.*

LONDON, Printed in the Year, 1689.

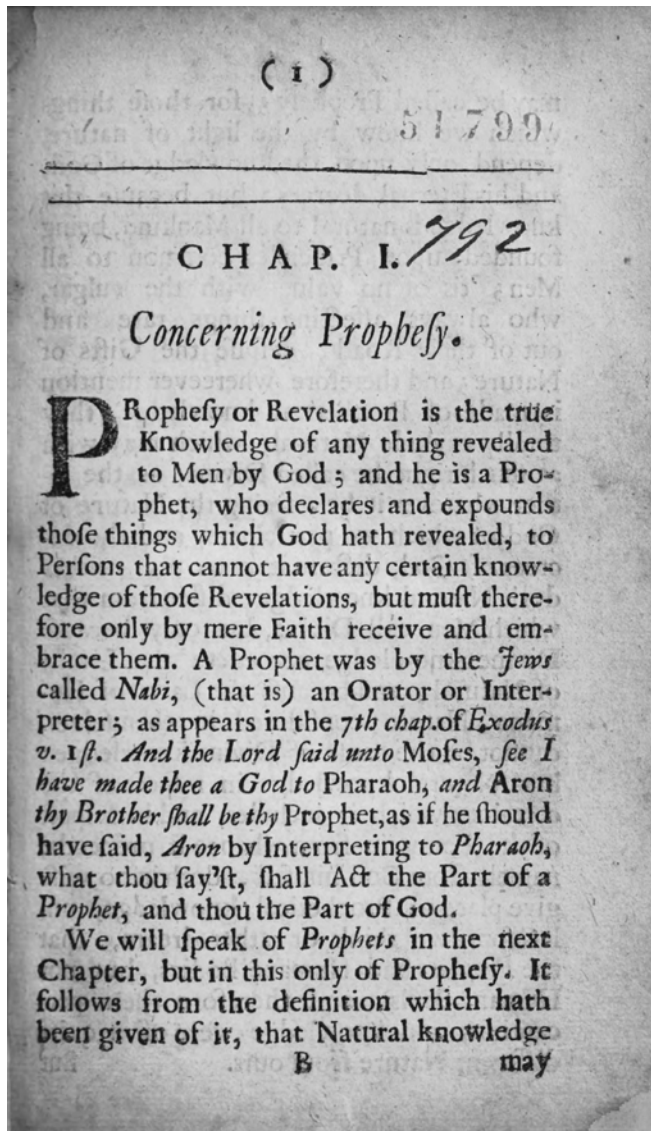
ILLUSTRATION 6.5 Title-page of the first English translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.



THE

PREFACE.

WEre it in the Power of Men, to govern all their Affairs, by ſure and infallible Councel; or could Mankind always live in a conſtant courſe of Proſperity, there would be no ſuch thing in the World as Superſtition; but becauſe Men many times fall into ſtraights, out of which no Councel can deliver them, and by immoderately coveting the uncertain Goods of Fortune, miſerably Fluctuate between hope and fear; thoſe two Paſſions eaſily driving the doubtful mind of Man hither and thither, render it prone to believe any thing, whereas otherwiſe it is over Confident, Proud and Vain-glorious. And of this, tho' few know themſelves, there is ſcarce any Body ignorant: Do we not daily ſee many weak Men



(1)

CHAP. I.

Concerning Propheſy.

PRopheſy or Revelation is the true Knowledge of any thing revealed to Men by God; and he is a Prophet, who declares and expounds thoſe things which God hath revealed, to Perſons that cannot have any certain knowledge of thoſe Revelations, but muſt therefore only by mere Faith receive and embrace them. A Prophet was by the *Jews* called *Nabi*, (that is) an Orator or Interpreter; as appears in the *7th chap.* of *Exodus v. 1ſt. And the Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *ſee I have made thee a God to* Pharaoh, *and* Aron *thy Brother ſhall be thy* Prophet, as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Aron* by Interpreting to *Pharaoh*, what thou ſay'ſt, ſhall Act the Part of a *Prophet*, and thou the Part of God.

We will ſpeak of *Prophets* in the next Chapter, but in this only of Propheſy. It follows from the definition which hath been given of it, that Natural knowledge

B may

ILLUSTRATIONS 6.6 AND 6.7 First page of the preface and page 1 of the main text.

Language(s) and Typography

English, occasionally printed Dutch (p. 302) and Latin (p. 389). No explanatory marginal footnotes. Old-style serifed roman types. Normally thirty-one lines. Sloppy printing.

Prime Literals/Misprints

- P. 3, l. 3 (inner forme of B): 'Prophets' misprinted as '*Propht s*'.
- P. 12, ll. 2–3 (outer forme of B): 'Scripture' misprinted as 'Sripture'.
- P. 37, l. 11 (outer forme of D): '(as they are future) but)' misprinted as: 'as they are future) but'.
- P. 68, l. 17 (outer forme of F): 'Commonwealth' misprinted as 'Common-weath'.
- P. 95, l. 23 (inner forme of G): 'Opinions' misprinted as 'Opnions'.
- P. 103, chapter title (outer forme of H): 'to whom' misprinted as 'tow hom'.
- P. 130, page number: 130 misnumbered '120' (inner forme of K).
- P. 133, l. 15 (outer forme of K): 'Human' misprinted as 'Hman'.
- P. 187, l. 7 (inner forme of N): 'opinion' misprinted as 'opiuion'.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

168908 – a1 A3 good$t : a2 A4 es.$up
168908 – b1 b h$: b2 b4 eing
168908 – c1 A t$: c2 Gg hing

Collation
8°: A^{8} b^{8} B–Z^{8} Aa–Ff^{8} Gg^{2} [$4, (–A2), sig. A is title-page]
241 leaves = pp. [*30*] 1–452 [*3*], page numbers within round brackets

Collation Variant
No variants found.

Direction Line
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines
Running headlines of foreword, preface and list of contents printed in larger upper-case and small lower-case letters in upper middle margin: The Translator to the Reader.; The *PREFACE*; *A* TABLE. No headlines in main work.

Contents

(A)^{r}	(title-page)
(A)^{v}	(blank)
A3^{r}–A4^{r}	THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER. (unsigned, no date)
A5^{r}–b5^{v}	THE PREFACE.
b6^{r}–b8^{v}	A TABLE of the several CHAPTERS. (table of contents, list indicating twenty chapters, without pagination)
B^{r}–C6^{r}	CHAP. I. *Concerning Prophesy*.
C6^{r}–E4^{r}	CHAP. II. *Of Prophets*.
E4^{v}–G^{r}	CHAP. III. *Of the Calling of the* Jews, *and whether the Gift of Prophesy were peculiar only to the* Jews.
G^{v}–H4^{r}	CHAP. IV. *Of the Divine Law*.
H4^{r}–I6^{v}	CHAP. V. *The reason why Ceremonies were instituted? to what end? and to whom the Belief of Scripture Histories are necessary.?*
I7^{r}–L5^{v}	CHAP. VI. *Of Miracles*.
L6^{r}–O^{r}	CHAP. VII. *Of the Interpretation of Scripture*.
O^{v}–P4^{r}	CHAP. VIII. *Sheweth that the* Pentateuch, *Books of* Josua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, *and the* Kings, *were not Written by the Persons whose Names they bear, and then inquires whether the Writers of all these Books were diverse Persons, or but one, and who?*
P4^{v}–Q8^{v}	CHAP. IX. *Whether* Esdras *perfected the Books, which we suppose he wrote? and whether the Marginal Notes, which are found in the* Hebrew *Copies be divers readings?*
R^{r}–S2^{r}	CHAP. X. *The rest of the Books of the* Old Testament *in like manner examined.*
S2^{r}–T^{r}	CHAP. XI. *Enquires whether the Apostles wrote their* Epistles, *as Apostles and Prophets, or only as Teachers; and sheweth what is the Office of an Apostle.*
T^{r}–U^{r}	CHAP. XII. *Of the true Original Hand-writing of the* Divine Law; *why Scripture is called* Holy*? and why the Word of God?* Lastly, *that the Scripture, as it contains the Word of God, is derived down to us pure and uncorrupted.*
U^{v}–U7^{r}	CHAP. XIII. *Shews, that the Scripture teacheth nothing but what is very plain; intending nothing but Mens Obedience; neither doth it teach or declare any other thing of the Divine Nature, than what a Man may in a right course of life, in some degree imitate.*
U7^{r}–X5^{v}	CHAP. XIV. *What is Faith? Who are Believers. The Fundamentals of Faith stated. Faith distinguis'd from Philosophy or Reason.*
X5^{v}–Y5^{v}	CHAP. XV. *Theology or Divinity is no Handmaid to Reason, nor Reason to Divinity: Why we believe the Authority of the Holy Scripture.*
Y5^{v}–Z8^{v}	CHAP. XVI. *Of founding Commonwealths. Of every Man's Natural and Civil Right. Of the Right of Supreme Powers.*
Aa^{r}–Cc6^{v}	CHAP. XVII. *'Tis neither necessary or possible, to transfer all things upon the Supreme Powers: Of the Jews Commonwealth, what it was during the life of* Moses, *and what after his death before they chose Kings, and of its Excellency: What were the Causes of the destruction of so divine a Commonwealth, and why it could not subsist without Sedition.*
Cc7^{r}–Dd6^{r}	CHAP. XVIII. *Certain Political Maxims Collected from the Government and Histories of the* Jews *Commonwealth.*
Dd6^{v}–Ff^{v}	CHAP. XIX. *Religion, and all things pertaining to it, are subject to no other Power, but that of the Supream Magistrate. Publick External Forms of Religious Worship, ought to be accommodated to the Peace of the Commonwealth.*
Ff2^{r}–Gg2^{v}	CHAP. XX. *In a Free Commonwealth it should be lawful for every Man to think what he will, and speak what he thinks.*

Simple Initials
Twenty-three plain closed black initials (woodcuts), employed to head the first letter of the first word of foreword, preface and chapters of main work (initial to translator's foreword 3 ll., others 2 ll.), dimensions varying.

Decoration

Double printed rule preceding translator's foreword (sig. A3^{r}). Sig. A4 and catchword 'CHAP.' between double rule. Singe rule after main text of Preface. Text list of contents (A TABLE of the several CHAPTERS.) between double and single rule. Single printed rules preceding chapter titles. No rule preceding title of chapter 9 (p. 216). Double rules before chapter 17 (p. 353), 18 (p. 397) and 19 (p. 412). Catchword 'CHAP.' under single rule (pp. 289 and 396). P. 240: catchword 'CHAP.' between double rule. P. 452: 'FINIS' between double rules. Rules all sloppy and with varying dimensions.

***Copies* (*40*)**

Copy Examined

T-E/08#29 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 4494

Collation: 8^{o}: A–Z^{8} b^{8} B–Z^{8} Aa–Ff^{8} Gg^{2} ($4]), sig. A2 missing.

Heavy brownspotting to leaves, modern brown leather over pasteboard, blind tooled ornamented rectangle with single outward floral motives.

Provenance: early-twentieth-century paper label pasted down to foot of last board paper with name and address of former owner or bookseller [William Salloch, Ossining, NY]; several older shelf-marks [802 [7]84, z2446, 51799, 'Botham 792'] and library stamp on title-page ([‘Demilt. Beques. 1845’]), sig. A3^{r} (792, 9784 [struck out]) and on p. 1 [51799, 792]; older library stamps [‘Demilt. Beques. 1845’, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek]; medical recipe written in black ink on back of title-page, signed: 'R. Botham'.

Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10862350-8

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*1*)

T-E/08#30 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 166

Canada (*2*)

T-E/08#31 HALIFAX, Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University, Killam Memorial Library, B 3985.E5A5

T-E/08#32 TORONTO, University Library, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Walsh 00049

Japan (*1*)

T-E/08#33 KANAGAWA, Tokia University, University Library, T/135.2/S

United Kingdom (*21*)

T-E/08#34 BRISTOL, Arts & Social Sciences Library

T-E/08#35 CAMBRIDGE, King's College Library, Keynes Cc.06.09 (bookplate of the Duke of Leeds, book label of the British economist John Maynard Keynes [1883–1946], autograph signature of William Congreve).

T-E/08#36–37 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library, G.13.31, I.4.51

T-E/08#38–39 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, G.13.31, B125:2.9.Reel 703:27

T-E/08#40 DURHAM, University Library, Ushaw College Library, Ushaw XIV.A.3.11

T-E/08#41–43 EDINBURGH, University Library, Special Collections, E.B. 1929 Spi, E.B.1939 Spi, TR.13

T-E/08#44 LONDON, BrL, General Reference Collection, 4014 aaa.42

T-E/08#45 LONDON, Dr Williams's Library, shelf-mark unknown

T-E/08#46 LONDON, Lincoln's Inn

T-E/08#47 LONDON, Middle Temple Library, WINGS 4985

T-E/08#48 LONDON, School of Economics Library, R(SR)273

T-E/08#49 MALDON, Thomas Plume's Library

T-E/08#50 OXFORD, Bodl., Vet. A3 e.360

T-E/08#51 OXFORD, Magdalen College, u.9.32 (dark-brown leather binding over millboard, blind-tooled double double-fillet borders, with ornaments at corners, provenance: Thomas D. Weldon, old shelf-mark: Vet.76 (NL)).

T-E/08#52 OXFORD, Queen's College Library (Tunnel), UU.C.95 (late-seventeenth- or early- eighteenth-century blind-tooled calf over pasteboards, red-sprinkled text block edges, spine damaged, lacking final leaf of text Gg8 [pp. 451–452], bookplate of Queen's College on pastedown of upper board, Queen's College Library

stamp [round] on recto of title-page, older shelf-marks: 143/c/6, 145/d/12, 381.G.3).

T-E/08#53 Oxford, Exeter College

T-E/08#54 Surrey, Reigate Public Library

United States (*14*)

T-E/08#55 Cambridge (MA), University Library, Phil 3819.50*

T-E/08#56 Champaign (IL), University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), University Library, X 193 SP4TRE

T-E/08#57 Charlottesville (VI), University of Virginia, B3985 .E5 A5 1689

T-E/08#58 Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, shelf-mark not known

T-E/08#59 Dallas (TX), Southern Methodist Library, Special Collections, 02109

T-E/08#60 Evanston (IL), Northwestern University, University Library, 199 S75tX 1689

T-E/08#61 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3985.E5 A5 1689

T-E/08#62 Los Angeles (CA), University Library, Spinoza Collection, barcode G0000526129

T-E/08#63 New Haven (CT), University Library, BEIN K8 Sp4 cg689 (bookplate of the English jurist and Spinoza specialist Sir Frederick Pollock [1845–1937], 3rd Baronet PC, author of: *Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy* [1880], autograph of Thomas Holt White).

T-E/08#64–65 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1689, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1689a

T-E/08#66 San Marino (CA), Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 138254

T-E/0867 Washington (DC), The Library of Congress, B3985.E5 A5

T-E/08#68 Washington (DC), Jefferson Exhibit Coll. Folger Shakespeare Library, 154-895q

References

Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 33, no. 370; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 22, no. 20.

⁘

CHAPTER 7

The 'Theological-Political Treatise': Dutch Quartos

First Dutch Quarto Edition, First and Only Issue

> Anon., *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandeling*. 'Hamburg' [Amsterdam], 'Henricus Koenraad', *printer*: unidentified, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*] (*bookseller*), 1693.

Anonymous, with false imprint. Translation from the Latin by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker. Technical Latin glosses in external margins made by an unknown editor. Contains list of errata. Possible exemplars: Spinoza's lost holograph and/or an apograph of it; Glazemaker's autograph manuscript and/or apograph, serving as printer's copy, no longer extant; perhaps also T.1.

Second Dutch Quarto Edition, First and Only Issue

> Anon., *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde*. 'Bremen' [Amsterdam?], *printer*: 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl', *for*: an unidentified bookseller, 1694.

Anonymous, with false imprint indicating a fictitious printer. Translation from the Latin, translator unknown. Editorial foreword, signed by the book's cloaked printer. Without the marginal notes. Edition has instruction for one text correction. Exemplars: T.4n/T.4 or T.5, possibly also *De rechtzinnige theologant*. Holograph of Dutch translation is lost.

1 The Dutch Quarto Editions of 1693 and 1694

The German travellers Stolle and 'Hallmann', it has already been previously mentioned, spent time in Amsterdam in the early summer of 1703.[1] During their stay, they paid a visit to Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*'s bookshop in about late June.[2] The latter showed his visitors a manuscript containing a Dutch translation, either the apograph or a copy of it, of Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise'. In the German scholars' travel diaries, according to an entry composed by 'Hallmann', the Amsterdam bookseller

> … showed me the manuscript of the Dutch version of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, but he kept its author [read: translator] however secret, and [he] said to me this: that he had translated many other similar writings in this language. It was written [in a] very small [hand] and illegible.[3]

Virtually certain, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s unnamed translator referred to in the diary entry was Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker. He was a professional translator from Amsterdam who regularly worked for Rieuwertsz *père*, translating works into Dutch for him, such as the writings of Descartes.[4] In addition, in 1677, Glazemaker produced

1 For the travel journals of Stolle* and 'Hallmann': Chapter 2, *A Book 'Now in the Press'*, there also at n. 75.

2 Rieuwertsz* *père* had passed away in 1687. Recently, I unearthed the notarial instrument with which he transferred (18 June 1686) his bookshop in the Beursstraat or Beurssteeg to his son Jan (5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 85: Van Loosdrecht', 'Minuutacten', inv. no. 5696, 7 and 18 June 1686). He entrusted 'the entire shop including all that belonged to it, such as books, paper, tools, and everything else belonging to the property' ('de gantsche winckel met alles wat daer toebehoort, soo boecken, papieren, gereetschappen, als andersints in eijgendom is'). Shortly before, on 17 May, the banns of Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*'s upcoming marriage had been announced. The notary's deed suggests the father saw the marriage as a good opportunity to retire: 'to quit from the aforementioned business and transfer it to his aforementioned son, [who] was to continue this business on his own costs' ('om uijt de gem: neering te scheijden, ende selve aen sijn gem: soon over te geven, om deselve dan voortaen voor sijn eijgen reeckeninge te doen').

3 '… wies er mir noch das Mssctum von der Niederländischen Version des Tractatus Theologico Politici, davon Er aber den Autorem gar heimlich hielt, und mir dieses sagte: dass Er viel andre dergl. Schrifften in diese Sprache vertiret hätte; Es war aber sehr klein und unleserlich geschrieben.' (S/H, ms. A, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 92).

4 Glazemaker*, according to Rieuwertsz* *fils*'s testimony, wrote the *TTP*'s Dutch translation: 'Dieser Glahsemacker habe viel ins Holländische übersetzt, unther andrem auch die philosophiam scriptura interpretem, unter dem Titel de Philosophie de Uit legere, der Chrilare [!], wie auch die opera posthuma Spinoza….' (This Glazemaker has translated many [works] into Dutch, among others the 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres', under the title 'De philosophie d'uytleghster der H. Schrifture', and Spinoza's posthumous writings; S/H, ms. A, W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 94). For his work as a translator (*E*/*Zk*): Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 101–203. For his translation of Descartes*: Chapter 3, n. 48.

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for him also *De nagelate schriften*, the Dutch translation of the *Opera posthuma*, with the exception of the *Ethica*'s Parts 1 and 2. Those portions had already been translated in the early 1660s by Pieter Balling.[5] Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Spinoza's second book, provided the basis for the first printed Dutch edition of the work issued in 1693: *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge* (The Orthodox Theologian, or Theological-Political Treatise). The book, fitted with marginal technical Latin glosses like in the Dutch twin volume of the printed posthumous writings, was clandestinely published in the quarto size by a certain 'Henricus Koenraad'. Not in Hamburg, as its title-page and those of T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5, and T.3t falsely declares, but in Amsterdam. Although still a matter of speculation, it is my educated guess Jan Rieuwertsz *fils* was *De rechtzinnige theologant*'s publisher.

A second Dutch quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, perplexingly called *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde* (An Orthodox Theologian, or Theological Politics), was published by a fictitious printer, called 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl', in 1694. The work seems to have no direct editorial interrelation with the Dutch 1693 edition or can be connected with book dealer Rieuwertsz *fils* either, but these two different text versions do share a common root. Tellingly, the book's printer bills himself in the book's foreword as a cousin of 'Henricus Koenraad': 'onsen vedder Henricus Koenraad'.[6]

Twenty-one copies of the first quarto edition are known to be extant in international library holdings. The second edition has survived in just nine copies.

Suffice it to say that both titles of the two printed Dutch translations, *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge* and *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge*, are truly provocative and deceiving. Those two editions, readily identified by the usage on its title-pages of *De rechtzinnige* and *Een rechtsinnige*, conceal the fact that their contents are straightforward radical assaults on traditional Reformed theology. They underline the haphazardness of Holy Scripture's entire textual corpus and disdain the belief in those natural events which are explained in the Bible as miracles, like for example in verses 147:15 and 147:18 of Book 5 of Psalms. Spinoza, in chapter 6 of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', points out the psalm's author calls, in verse 15, the wind and cold 'the command and word of God', and in 18 he refers to the natural workings of the wind and heat as 'the word of God'. Decidedly, Spinoza remarks about those two examples that they 'are nothing but the very action and order of nature'.

Hardly anything is known about the printing of both disguised late-seventeenth-century Dutch editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Nevertheless, particularly the editing and publication history of the 1693 quarto edition is well-documented and it is recorded that its earliest origins even date back to 1671. Spinoza, in a letter written in The Hague on 17 February 1671, informed his trusted Amsterdam friend Jarig Jelles he had recently received a visit from a Dutch university professor, in either Voorburg or The Hague. This professor, according to Spinoza, had warned him that 'a' or 'the' Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was being prepared for the press. In a tone of urgency, Spinoza writes to Jelles the following:

> When Professor … visited me recently, he said, among other things, that he had heard that my *Theological-Political Treatise* has been translated into Dutch, and that someone (he didn't know who) intended to have it printed. I beg you, therefore, very earnestly, to please find out about this, to prevent the printing, if that's possible. This is not only my request, but also that of many of my friends, who would not like to see this book prohibited. If it's published in Dutch, that will doubtless happen. I don't doubt that you will do me and the cause this service.[7]

5 *See* for those works: Chapters 8 and 9. Balling: BL.

6 Michiel Wielema, *Ketters en verlichters* (1999), p. 45 (Word version). In Wielema's *The March of the Libertines: Spinozists and the Dutch Reformed Church (1660–1750)* (Hilversum, Verloren, 2004), the English translation of *Ketters en verlichters*, his earlier remark, that in the book's foreword 'Von der Weyl' called himself a relative of 'Hendrik Koenraad', is missing. It is also stated that, although the 1694 Dutch edition is entitled *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, in its chapter 1, on page 1, the work is referred to there as 'DEN *RECHTSINNIGE* THEOLOGANT.' This suggests '*Een*' on the book's title-page is a printing flaw. Hence, the printer's copy could have read 'De' or 'Den'. Wielema also brings up a work by the Dutch libertine author Hendrik Wyermars (1685–1757): *Den ingebeelde chaos, en gewaande werels-wording der oude, en hedendaagze wysgeeren, veridelt en weerlegt, Byzonder de gevoelens hier omtrent van T. Lucretius Carus en Dirk Santvoort, …* (Amsterdam: 1710). In it, Wyermars claimed it was the Mennonite physician Antonius van Dale* who had been involved in the publication of both the 1693 *DRT* and the 1694 *ERT*. Van Dale, Wyermars upheld, had invented the title of the *TTP*'s Dutch translation: '(… als *Spinoza* zeer wel heeft aangemerkt, in zijn *Godgeleerde Staatkundige verhandeling*, of gelijk het *Antonius van Dalen* zegt genoemt te hebben; *de Rechtzinnige Theologant*) ….' (as Spinoza has rightly remarked [about the Pentateuch's Mosaicity] in his 'Theological-Political Treatise', which [work] Antonius van Dale gave as its title 'De rechtzinnige theologant….'; *Den ingebeelde chaos*, p. 164).

7 'De hoogleraar …… my onlangs bezoekende, zeide onder andere dingen, dat hy gehoort had dat mijn Godgeleerde Staatkundige

This statement gives reason to believe Spinoza was perhaps aware the Dutch translation was already scribally circulating in a *prepublished* version in Amsterdam and further afield, within a 'closed' coterie of readers for personal use only. From the above account it also appears Jelles possibly knew the individual who was busy preparing the treatise's printing. Subsequently, the theory can now be put forward that this was precisely why Spinoza turned to Jelles in the first place, begging him in his letter to halt all pre-press preparations. Jelles, at an early stage in response to entreaties and demands of friends and admirers and the like in Spinoza's inner or outer 'circle', may have persuaded the latter to let him, or someone else publish a Dutch rendition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, suitable enough for production in print. For this purpose, Jelles possibly had advised him to commission from a professional Amsterdam translator (Glazemaker) a well-edited and reliable Dutch translation of it. The reason for this was probably that Pieter Balling, the earlier Dutch translator ('P.B.') of the Dutch renderings of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and of Parts 1 and 2 of the Latin *Ethica*'s had passed away in 1664.

Whether, Spinoza initially had approved of publishing the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is not known, but this seems to be a distinct possibility. He had however his reservations, as is evinced by the latter book's Preface, begging the 'common people' in it not 'to read these things' and urge them 'to neglect this book entirely'. In addition, it may also be questioned whether Jan Rieuwertsz *père* was involved in the project, too. Nevertheless, as becomes evident from the letter of 17 February 1671, Spinoza decidedly backed out in an act of self-imposed censorship. He instructed Jelles in the letter to cancel the Dutch translation's printing immediately. Probably because of the general vituperation directed against the Latin edition and repeated accusations of atheism, possibly landing him in hot water by allowing a Dutch rendition to be put to press.[8] And, as the letter further clearly shows, he was nervous about the whole matter after consultation with 'many' of his friends and in a hurry, too.

The unidentified Dutch professor who had informed Spinoza about the Dutch translation's printing, it has been proposed, may have been the Cartesian Leiden professor of philosophy Theodorus Craanen.[9] Contacts between Craanen and Spinoza are however not recorded. Nevertheless, the former is known to have responded to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a note he composed for Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in the spring of 1672.[10] Craanen in his comment made only brief mention of the book and told his German correspondent rumours were circulated that Spinoza had written the treatise.[11] Craanen further informed Leibniz about the treatise and the chances Spinoza would enter a public discussion about his second book. Here is what Craanen wrote:

> The 'Theological-Political Treatise', which some people ascribe to Spinoza, has so far been refuted by nobody, apart from a letter of which the son of Maresius [i.e., Henri des Marets] is asserted to be the author; any day now a book about this treatise will posthumously appear, by [Van] Mansveld, professor of philosophy in Utrecht. I don't think, though, the author will reply to it, unless with an epistolary disquisition to a friend of his. As for the author of the book 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres': that is not Spinoza, but I think some physician from Amsterdam.[12]

Verhandeling in de Nederlantsche taal vertaalt was, en dat iemant, zonder te weten wie, voorgenomen had de zelfde te doen drukken. Ik verzoek dieshalven zeer ernstiglijk van u dat gy hier naar belieft te vernemen, om, indien het mogelijk is, het drukken daar af te beletten. Dit is niet alleenlijk mijn verzoek, maar ook dat van veel mijner goede bekenden, die niet gaerne zouden zien dat men dit boek zou verbieden, gelijk zonder twijffel geschieden zal, zo het in de Nederlantsche Taal uitgegeven word. Ik vertrou vastelijk dat gy dit my en de zaak te geval zult doen.' (1671.02.17, Ep 44, *NS*, 'Zevenenveertigste Brief', p. 591 [G 4/227; CW, vol. 2, p. 390]). The editors of the 1677 posthumous writings deliberately suppressed the professor's name in the correspondence section.

8 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 234. In the *TTP*'s Preface, Spinoza announces he was prepared to submit his treatise's claims 'to the examination and judgment of the supreme Powers of my Country. For if they judge that any of the things I say are in conflict with the laws of my country, or harmful to the general welfare, I wish to withdraw it.' (G 3/14.23–24; CW, vol. 2, p. 76).

9 Cf. Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, p. 485.

10 Craanen: BL.

11 The note for Leibniz* was enclosed in a letter of Friedrich Walther (1649–1718), tutor to the Danish Crown Prince Christian V, who had visited the Netherlands and had made inquiries about the *TTP*.

12 'Tractatus Theologico politicus, quem Spinozae nonnulli adscribunt, nullum hactenus refutatorem habet, nisi epistolam aliquam, cujus Maresii filium auctorem autumant: propediem prodibit liber in eundem Tractatum posthumus Mansfeldii, Professoris Philos. Ultrajectini, sed cui authorem non puto responsurum nisi dissertatione Epistolica ad amicum aliquem suum. Authorem quod attinet libri: Philosoph. S. Script. Interpres, non est Spinoza; sed ut opinor Medicus aliquis Amstelodamensis.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 1:1, p. 202, no. 131). Referred to by Craanen* are the

Evidently, Craanen's remark the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had not been publicly refuted was, arguably, a misconception, also implying the latter had followed the debate about Spinoza's treatise probably only as an interested bystander. For, the book had been first publicly castigated in print in the previously-mentioned *Epistola ad amicum*. That theological rejoinder had been written by the German Protestant pastor Johannes Melchioris. He had composed the riposte in the summer of 1670, at the instigation of Cartesian scholars of the Utrecht *Collegie der Scavanten*, which was surreptitiously published in mid-May 1671.[13] Since spring 1670, through the information network of the Utrecht theologian Frans Burman (1), erstwhile rector of Utrecht University and one of the leaders of the urban Cartesian circle, the Utrecht Cartesians, knew too well Spinoza was the author who hid behind the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Between June and September 1670, members of the *Collegie* had supervised and helped prepare Melchioris's text for the press to ensure the success of their orchestrated theological assault on Spinoza.[14]

The original manuscript (siglum: *Glazemaker*) of Glazemaker's early Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is no longer extant. Yet, his translation is known to have survived in at least three text versions:

– The first version, loyal to Glazemaker's now-lost manuscript, was published in 1693 in *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693). Possible other exemplars of the latter printed edition are: (1) Spinoza's lost holograph and/or an apograph of it; (2) Glazemaker's autograph manuscript and/or apograph, serving as printer's copy, no longer extant; (3) or perhaps also T.1.
– A second, corrected redaction of Glazemaker's lost manuscript and revised by a second translator/editor which has survived, in an undated manuscript copy (siglum: *KB*/'Verhandelinge', 322 pp.), under the title 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge'. Possibly this translator/editor was someone around Spinoza, like for instance Johannes Bouwmeester, a prominent member of the Amsterdam literary society *Nil volentibus arduum* ('Nothing is arduous to the Eager'). 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' was written, by different hands, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and is known in Spinoza scholarship as *codex A*. Because of pre-press preparations and notes made by a typesetter in it, starting in chapter 6 and broken off in 11, this was without question the manuscript Spinoza asked Jelles to prevent from being printed. Once in the possession of the Dutch physician Johannes Monnikhoff, the corrected redaction is now kept in the National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague (ms. 75 G 15). It has been suggested the manuscript was formerly owned by the Amsterdam leather goods trader and lay philosopher Willem Deurhoff, a controversial propagator of Spinoza's philosophical system in the disguise of Reformed theology. Monnikhoff fanatically admired Spinoza and collected his writings.[15]
– A series of substantial portions of another hitherto unknown third version (siglum: *Van Blijenbergh*) of Glazemaker's original translation came to light during the preparation of this bibliography. These fragments are contained in *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der H. Schriften* (The Truth about the Christian Religion and the Authority of Holy Scripture), put to press in 1674. The latter work was composed by the Dordrecht retailer and amateur philosopher Willem Laurensz van Blijenbergh, one of Spinoza's early correspondents and critics, who deserves the reputation of being the first public detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Dutch.[16]

Aside from the three above text redactions of Glazemaker's early Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, it has already been stated that also another Dutch rendition of Spinoza's treatise survived. *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (1694), comprising the treatise's fourth known redaction, purports the book as a reprint of *De rechtzinnige theologant* (1693). It however lacks the Latin glosses and represents a textual status markedly different from the first printed 'Glazemaker' edition. Unfortunately, the

following two refutations of the *TTP*: Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*; anon., [Meyer*], *Philosophia*. The said letter, by legal scholar Henri des Marets (*c*.1628–1725), is now lost. The latter's father was the Groningen theologian Samuel Maresius (1599–1673). In his 1670 *Vindiciae dissertationis*, Maresius disclosed (p. 4) the *TTP* had been composed by 'Spinoza, a lapsed Jew and blasphemer and a formal atheist', aligning the treatise with generally retorted works like Machiavelli's *Il Principi* and Hobbes's *Leviathan*. The Groningen theologian also accused Spinoza of having intentionally misused the Cartesian method.

13 For the *Collegie*, *see*: Chapter 3, *Publication and Immediate Reception*.

14 J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris), *Epistola ad amicum*.

15 Deurhoff/Monnikhoff: BL.

16 Van Blijenbergh*, *De waerheyt*. For an overview of the history of *TTP*'s Dutch translation, *see*: Jeroen M.M. van de Ven, '"Van bittere galle by een gebonden". Over de laat zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse vertalingen van Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus', in Henri Krop (ed.), *Spinoza en zijn kring. Een balans van veertig jaar onderzoek* (Rijnsburg: Uitgeverij Spinozahuis, 2019 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 116]), pp. 106–118.

editor and/or translator of the 1694 edition remains unidentified up to this day.

Before the status of its redaction can be properly assessed with historical certainty, more in-depth examination of this second printed Dutch quarto edition *Een rechtsinnige theologant* is required. For this reason, the inspection of the book's printing flaws proved to be a rewarding method for making several preliminary statements about the book's exemplar. Regarding printing errors, unlike the 1693 Dutch edition *De rechtzinnige theologant*, the 1694 *Een rechtsinnige theologant* does have in its chapter 15 on page 209 (l. 26) the printing flaw 'Exod. 4: 14', instead of the correct biblical reference Exod. 34:14. This directly excludes T.1 as its Latin exemplar, which lacks the aforementioned misprint. Nevertheless, this also does suggest a possible relationship with the Latin quartos T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5 that have the same flaw 'Exod. 4. vers. 14.'

The French X and Y editions printed in duodecimo have the same misprint, but cannot have served as the book's exemplar since *Een rechtsinnige theologant* explicitly states on its title-page the book was translated from the Latin and not from the French: 'Uit het Latijn in 't Hollands vertaald.' Investigation of other relevant printing flaws further reveals the second 1694 Dutch edition has two striking typesetting errors which conclusively exclude, next to T.1, also T.2/T.2a as the book's exemplar, likewise further pointing in the direction of T.4n/T.4 and T.5.

First, the 1694 *Een rechtsinnige theologant* has in its chapter 6 (p. 92, l. 11), instead of the correct reference to psalm 73, the following misprint: '(besie Psalm 37)'. This Bible reference is correctly printed in T.1, in T.2/T.2a ('vide Psal. 73.', p. 73, l. 33) and in the Latin T.3 octavo edition ('(vide Ps. lxxiii.)', p. 106, l. 31). It also occurs in *De rechtzinnige theologant* ('bezie Psalm lxxiii', p.111, l. 26) and is even correct in manuscript 75 G 15 ('(bezie psalm 73.)', p. 181/fol. 214^{r}), too. In T.4n/T.4 and T.5, though, the reference to psalm 73 is printed (p. 73, l. 33) incorrectly as '(vide Psal. 37.)'.

In second place, the compositor of both T.4n/T.4 and T.5 forgot to set in type almost an entire sentence in chapter 10 (p. 132, l. 14), except for the line's first word 'scilicet'. Missing is '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus'. At this instance, it now reads in both T.4n/T.4 and T.5 '*scilicet temporis Eljasibi, Iojadae, Ionatanis & Iaduhe* supra Darii*'; with 'scilicet' this time printed in italics, in accordance with the rest of the corrupted sentence's typography. The sentence, though, has been correctly set in type in the 1673 Latin octavo edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and is also correctly translated into Dutch in *De rechtzinnige theologant* of 1693. Yet, in *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, the aforementioned Latin sentence, '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus', has not even been translated. This also conclusively points to either T.4n/T.4 or T.5 as the book's exemplars.

Since *De rechtzinnige theologant* was put to press in 1693, *Een rechtsinnige theologant*'s unidentified translator might, one would assume, have read the first Dutch quarto edition as back-up version to correct his own redaction. Given the aforementioned printing flaws, this though appears not to have been the case. Finally, in regard to dating, the foregoing conclusions seem to imply that the second Dutch edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* must have been translated in or before 1694, its publication year, which can be backdated to 1677 or later, the assumed publication dates of the book's likely exemplars T.4n/T.4 or T.5.

2 *Vervolg van 't Leven van Philopater* (1697) about the Translator of *De Rechtzinnige Theologant* (*Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693, Text Version 1)

Corroborated by historical evidence, in Spinoza scholarship there is general agreement that Glazemaker composed the original first Dutch translation (siglum: *Glazemaker*) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[17] He may have grounded this translation on the first 'true' printed Latin quarto edition of 1670, T.1, but Akkerman has also considered the possibility Glazemaker made this translation based on a Latin now-lost manuscript by Spinoza, or on a copy of it. Hence, this then would be a translation composed not reliant on the printed T.1 quarto. Another of Akkerman's suggestions is the speculation Glazemaker may have started translating the treatise even before the first Latin quarto edition was published in either late 1669 or early 1670.[18]

Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker was first mentioned as the translator of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s 1693

17 Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240 ('translatus a Joanne Hendriksen'); Trinius (*Freydenker-Lexicon*, 1759, p. 421) mentions Bremen as the second Dutch edition's place of printing. About the redaction by Glazemaker*, Akkerman ('*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 227) notes: 'La preuve interne est livrée par la façon de traduire, qui dans le *Tractatus theologico-politicus* ressemble tant à celle que nous avons dans l'*Ethica*, que déja une lecture de quelques pages suffit pour obtenir la conviction que la traducteur doit être la même personne: on remarque le même choix des mots, les même purismes, la même grammaire, et avant tout le même genre de fautes et négligences.' *See* for background on his work as a translator: Chapter 7, *Glazemaker's Dutch Translation*.

18 Ibid., pp. 225 and 234–235.

Dutch rendition in *Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater* (Sequel to the Life of Philopater). *Vervolg*, a prohibited book, was clandestinely published in 1697 and is ascribed to Johannes Duijkerius (1661/2–1702), an Amsterdam schoolmaster specializing in writing on moral and catechism topics, cynically dubbed by one of his critics a 'Suygeling van spinosa' (an infant of Spinoza).[19] The foregoing novel was put to press four years after *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker/Theologant* 1693) had been published. The *Vervolg* is the sequel to *Het leven van Philopater*, an anonymously-issued theological roman à clef (1691) by Duijkerius. The latter work describes how its protagonist, Philopater, developed from an adherent of Reformed orthodoxy into a proponent of Cartesianism, and eventually into a fervent advocate of Spinoza's philosophical system.[20]

In *Vervolg*, a friend of the book's protagonist Philopater, Physiologus ('Scientist'), informs a group of fine gentlemen about the genesis and the publication history of the Dutch translation of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' thus:

> Sir, please read [this book], Philopater said, so we know what its title is. Next, he addressed the same [person] again, while reading [aloud]: '*De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge*. Translated from the Latin. At Hamburg, by Henricus Koenraad. 1693'.... I will say this, Philopater said, it is the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus' by Benedictus de Spinoza, known to us all. But, addressing himself to Physiologus, he [Philopater] asked him: 'How is this work rendered in Dutch?' 'This happened', he [Physiologus] answered, 'because it was translated from the Latin into Dutch, as you can see. Yet, to give you an answer straightforwardly, please know, old Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker – whose name has become famous for translating the works of Mr Descartes and [of] many others – has also translated the works of this author [Spinoza]. Now you know the "Ethica", the "Political Treatise", the "Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect", and "Several Letters from Learned Men" have been printed in Dutch. This work [i.e., the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*] is also translated by the same J.H. Glazemaker, and this manuscript remained in the hands of the person who had contracted the translator. It could have been printed many years ago, but the ecclesiastical [authorities] who judged their rule could be hampered [by it] sometimes worked against it until, eventually, it has been forgotten, but now it has been put to press [i.e., *De rechtzinnige theologant*]. I can also say you gentlemen furthermore about the matter that, after a copy of the original was given to another good friend (who in turn passed it without doubt to someone else), many others were born. By comparing the most recent ones with the original [read: Glazemaker's] translation their manifold and poor transcription show little appreciation for the [original] translator when they would issue it under his name, or at least when it was believed the most recent [corrupted] copy was translated by Glazemaker and put to press [meant is presumably: *Een rechtsinnige theologant*], too'.[21]

19 J. Rodenpoort, *Gedragh en naam des schryvers van Philopater stukx wijse geschetst* ('s-Hertogenbosch: n. d. [1697]), p. 9. Duijkerius* has always denied having been the *Vervolg*'s author, a repudiation possibly being the plain truth.

20 Anon. (Johannes Duijkerius*), *Het leven van Philopater, opgewiegt in Voetiaensche talmeryen, en groot gemaeckt in de verborgentheden der Coccejanen* (Groningen [Amsterdam]: 1691); [id.?], *Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater. Geredded uit de verborgentheeden der Coccejanen, en geworden een waaragtig wysgeer* (Groningen [Amsterdam]: 1697). Critical edition: Johannes Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater & Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater*, Gerardine Maréchal (ed.) (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991). The printer's name (cf. ibid., p. 16) of the two Philopater novels, 'Sieuwert van der Brug', is fictitious and an alias for Amsterdam publisher Aart Wolsgryn (*c*.1657–1697). According to Colerus* (W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 136), the latter had a bookstore 'at the corner of the Rosmarijnsteeg' ('op den hoek van de Rozemaryn-steeg'). On 14 May 1698, Wolsgryn was arrested for the illegal printing the pro-Spinoza novels. He was severely punished and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment. A copy in Ghent (University Library, A 790') of the 'Philopater' novel contains an eighteenth-century 'key', disclosing the names of several individuals cloaked in the work.

21 'Lees eens op mijn Heer was het zeggen van Philologus, op dat we eens horen wat de Tytel zeid. Hier op zig weer na de zelve wendende las hy: De Rechtzinnige Theologant, of Godgeleerde Staatkundige verhandelinge. Uit het Latijn vertaalt. Te Hamburg, by Henricus Koenraad. mdcxiii.... 'Ik zal 't dan zeggen, zeide *Philopater*, 't is het *Tractatus Theologico Politicus van Benedictus de Spinoza*, ons allewel bekent. Maar, zig wendende na *Physiologus*, vroeg hy: Hoe komt dit werk in de *Nederduitsche* taal? Dat komt, repliceerde deeze, om dat het uit de *Latijnsche* in de *Nederlantsche* is getranslateert, gelijk je zien kunt: dog om u evenwel regt te antwoorden, zoo gelieft te weten dat de *Oude Jan Hendrikze Glazemaker*, wiens naam befaamt genoeg is door 't vertaalen der Werken van de Heer *Cartesius* en verscheiden anderen, ook de werken van dezen *Auteur* vertolkt heeft: nu weetje dat de *Zedekunde*, *Staatkundige verhandeling*, *Verbeetering van 't verstand en verscheiden Brieven van geleerde Mannen* in 't Neerduits gedrukt zijn. Dit werk is dan ook door den *zelfden J.H. Glazemaker* vertaalt en dus in geschrift by den geen die de Vertaaler te werk gestelt, blijven leggen. Het had voor lange jaaren al gedrukt geweest, maar de ecclesiastijke, die hun gezag hier door oordeelden benadeelt te konnen worden, hebbender zoo nu en dan wat tegen gewoelt: tot dat eindelyk, en nu het vergeten scheen, dit evenwel het licht ziet. Wijders

Physiologus in *Vervolg* adds to this the information that the previous owner of the original manuscript of Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* was an individual much devoted to Spinoza's writings, without however mentioning the latter's name.[22] According to Physiologus, this man was dedicated to publishing the Dutch translation with explanatory technical Latin glosses ('konstwoorden') in the style of the *Zedekunst*, Glazemaker's Dutch rendition of the *Ethica* published in *De nagelate schriften*. 'Philopater' states about 1693 *De rechtzinnige theologant* thus:

> This is why I must say that this gentleman, well-known to me, a medical doctor and a noted philosopher who had the original [manuscript] by J.H. Glazemaker, has fully shown his particular assiduity and generosity by editing [it] and as amateur, most importantly, made sure the true copy was printed to make it universally known. Moreover, to ensure this work would deserve full recognition he has enriched it [the text] in the external margins with glosses (as is [also] the case of the Descartes's writings and Spinoza's 'Ethica') so these can serve those [readers] who had Latin regarding [the quality of] its translation.[23]

Since in the 1694 *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, printed by 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl', those marginal subsidiary Latin notes are absent, arguably, the information given by 'Philopater' must refer to *De rechtzinnige theologant*, the first Dutch translation published in 1693. In *Vervolg*, Physiologus concludes his account by further referring to another Dutch rendition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, once apparently also scheduled for publication:

> I tell you mainly this, gentlemen, he continued, because I know there are in any case two translations that can be found which, I believe, were made out of personal pleasure, [and] certainly copies of those are in the possession several people. Moreover, I have information it is a possible a second impression, based on one of those copies, will be put to press because a certain gentleman, who has arrived from [the Dutch Province of] Friesland, told me he had seen two printed pages (from the beginning) of the work. Yet he told me it was badly executed regarding paper and type, and it had no uniformity with the true copy [made] by Glazemaker.[24]

In the light of the intriguing aforementioned remarks made in the *Vervolg* the following conclusions can be summarized about Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* published in 1693:

- Glazemaker made the first Dutch translation (siglum: *Glazemaker*) of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.
- The manuscript of his translation remained in the hands of the unidentified individual (Jarig Jelles?) who commissioned it from Glazemaker.
- Over time, many handwritten copies of Glazemaker's Dutch translation were put into circulation. Usually, these copies were badly corrupted text versions of the original translation.
- A further unnamed individual, returning from Friesland, had seen two already-printed pages of yet another inferior translation (unknown) scheduled to be put into press.
- At an unknown date, a 'medical doctor and an illustrious philosopher' came into possession of Glazemaker's original translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a way not documented. Subsequently, the otherwise

weet ik'er u *Heeren* nog dit van te zeggen dat 'er een *afschrift* van 't *origineel* buiten twijffel aan een singulier goed vriend en die weer aan een ander was gegeven, geboren wierden dat de *laatsten* by 't *eerste* te confronteren door veelvoudig en kreupel uitschrijven tot weinig respect van den *Vertaaler* zou geweest zijn, indien het op zijn naam, of ten minste indien men geloofde dat zodanig een *laatste afschrift* ook van *Glazemaker* dus vertaalt was, was uitgekomen.' (account of Physiologus on the TTP in: anon. [Duijkerius*?] *Vervolg*, pp. 194–195).

22 Possibly, 'Physiologus' refers to a didactic Christian Greek work compiled between the second and fourth century CE by an unknown author from Alexandria.

23 'Hierom moet ik zeggen dat dien Heer, my zeer wel bekent, *Doctor* in de *Medicynen* en illuster *Philosooph*, wien het Origineel van *J.H. Glazemakers* hand onder zig had, zijn bezondere yver en liberaliteit suffisant getoont heeft in 't bezorgen, dat de *ware Copie* dus *curieus* gedrukt door den liefhebberen nu kan universeel gemaakt worden: en op dat dit werk zijn volslagen aanzien zou hebben, heeft hy, conform *Cartesius* werken en de *Zedekunst* van *Spinosa*, het zelve verrijkt met *konstwoorden*, op de *kant*, 't geen yder die zelfs de *Latijnsche* taal kundig is, kan dienen in opzigt van 't welvertalen.' (Physiologus's account on the TTP in: ibid., p. 195).

24 'Ik verhaal dit u hierom alleen *Heeren*, vervolgde hy, om dat ik weet dat 'er een stuk of twee vertaalingen die ik geloof uit eigen liefhebbery geschied te wezen gevonden worden, daar zekerlijk ook afschriften onder deze en gene van zullen berusten: daarenboven heb ik informatie dat 'et misschien kon gebeuren, dat 'er nog een tweede druk na een van die afschriften gedrukt in de wereld zal komen, want my is van zeker Heer verhaalt die nu eerst uit *Vriesland* is gearriveert, dat hy daar een gedrukt blad of twe, zijnde het begin van dit werk gezien heeft, maar hy wist te zeggen, behalven dat 'et maar slegjens wierd uitgevoert ten opzigt van papier en letter, dat het geen uniformiteit had met het ware afschrift van *Glazemaker*.' (Physiologus's account on the TTP in: ibid., pp. 195–196).

unidentified owner finally edited Glazemaker's manuscript and had it printed in 1693 under the title *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693). The same owner also composed the technical Latin glosses printed in the external margins of the Dutch rendition.

3 Manuscript The Hague 75 G 15: 'God-Geleerde Staat-Kundige Verhandelinge' (*KB*/'Verhandelinge', Text Version 2)

Because of the purist elements and multiple inaccuracies of Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Fokke Akkerman has put forward the likely scenario Jarig Jelles had it revised and corrected by another probably more experienced 'second' translator before the final manuscript was circulated among friends and admirers. This well-edited text is scribally transmitted in 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', a copy preserved in the National Library of the Netherlands (ms. 75 G 15, siglum: *KB*/'Verhandelinge') at The Hague. Both its text and the signatures in the direction lines at the foot of the manuscript's recto pages clearly suggest it was an autonomous redaction which was not used to edit and publish *De rechtzinnige theologant* or *Een rechtsinnige theologant* in 1693 and 1694, respectively.[25]

According to Akkerman, the Dutch translation's 'second' translator of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' was, in all likelihood, not Lodewijk Meyer. In the capacity as 'official' editor of the *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* he prepared the latter work for the press in 1663 and composed the book's Preface, cross-references, captions in the 'Metaphysical Thoughts'.[26] Akkerman's theory, though, conjectures Jarig Jelles may have asked the Amsterdam physician Johannes Bouwmeester to improve Glazemaker's Dutch translation.[27] Bouwmeester, too all appearances a trusted friend of Spinoza, was in any case also instrumental in the plan broached to bring the philosopher to Utrecht in the late summer of 1673.[28]

Like Meyer, Bouwmeester was a talented and highly-experienced Latinist and translator. A prominent member of the Amsterdam literary society *Nil volentibus arduum*, the latter is credited for being the author ('*I.B.M.D.*') of the laudatory poem '*Ad Librum.*', included in *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Pieter Balling, the translator of E1 and E2 and of the Dutch philosopher's adumbration of 1663 adumbration of Descartes, had died in 1664. Because of this, as evinced by a letter of [June] 1665, Spinoza asked a still unknown 'special' friend in Amsterdam to translate E3 (by then running to 80 propositions). Johannes Bouwmeester is in any case quite a strong candidate for being the letter's unknown addressee.[29]

Nil volentibus arduum's proceedings confirm Bouwmeester also served as a translator of other Latin works into Dutch. Probably because of his interest in philosophy he was commissioned by its members to compose a Dutch translation of an Arabic 'Bildungsroman', originally called *Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*, by the Andalusian writer Abu Jafaar Ebn Tophail (*c*.1105–1185).[30] The novel tells the story of the life of a young boy, called Hayy bin Yaqzan, who lives on an isolated tropical island where he is raised by a goat and learns all about nature. The exemplar of Bouwmeester's translation was a Latin translation, called *Philosophus autodidacticus*, allegedly composed by the British Arabic literature expert and oriental scholar Edward Pococke (1648–1726). Although Pococke *fils* was the 1671 translation's nominal author, it turns out his famous father, the Arabist Edward Pococke (1604–1691), actually hid behind the Latin book. Bouwmeester's Dutch rendition was issued

25 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 232.

26 *See* for this: Chapter 2. Meyer: BL.

27 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', pp. 234–235. Bouwmeester: BL.

28 For the Utrecht jaunt: Chapter 3, n. 115.

29 < 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28 (G 4/162–163). The letter, surviving in an ADf version, was rejected for inclusion in the posthumous works' correspondence section. Although for long Bouwmeester* has been considered in Spinoza scholarship its recipient, tangible historical evidence supporting this claim is missing. Because of their Neo-Latinist expertise, other candidates for being the letter's addressee are, in my view, Lodewijk Meyer* and Pieter Serrarius. Simon Joosten de Vries* can be excluded because in the aforementioned letter of [June 1675] Spinoza mentions him as another candidate for authoring the Dutch translation of E3. For background: Mertens, 'Van den Enden and Religion', pp. 74–75. There, at n. 43.

30 29 December 1671: 'Bouwmeester [is charged] to translate a certain Arabic book from the Latin; [it should be finished] before May on the fine of one ducaton' ('Bouwmeester zeker Arabisch boek uit het latyn vertaalen; tegen Mey op boete van een dukaton'); 26 April 1672: 'Bouwmeester, Vincent, and Lingelbach submit what had to be ready before May on the fine of one ducaton: the first history of "Hai Ebn Yokdhan"' ('Bouwmeester, Vincent en Lingelbach leveren in 'tgeen op de boete van 1 dukaton voor Mey moest klaar zyn: de eerste Historie van Hay Ebn Yokdhan, ….'); 11 October 1672: 'Bouwmeester [presents each member of the society with a copy of:] the aforementioned life of "Hai Ebn Yokdhan", translated by him from the Latin' ('Bouwmeester als boven het Leeven van Hay Ebn Yokdan, door hem uit het Latyn overgezet'; ibid., p. 93). (All quoted in: Dongelmans, *Nil volentibus arduum*, pp. 79–80, 85, no. 126, and 93, no. 109).

ILLUSTRATION 7.1 Chapter 6 of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Fols 207v–208r in *codex A* are fitted with handwritten 'printing' type area, running headlines and pagination, direction lines, and compositor's notes for signature L4 in brown ink, to be typeset and printed on page 84 of the planned book.

under the title *Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan* (The Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan) in Amsterdam in 1672 by Spinoza's publisher, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*.[31]

Being a seasoned businessman, the latter Amsterdam bookseller made an effort to interest potential readers by advertising *Het leeven* in the Dutch news serial *Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*:

> At Amsterdam, at Jan Rieuwertsz's, bookseller, was published: 'Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan', written by Abu Jafaar Ebn Tophail in Arabic, and translated in Dutch from the Latin translation by Edward Pocock, Master of Arts. In [this work] is shown how someone, withheld from communication with people or education, can acquire knowledge about himself and of God. [After] being born, this philosopher [was] placed in a box and put to sea, then driven ashore by the flood on an island without inhabitants. [He was] raised by a goat, and saw no human beings until turning 50 years [of age]. In quarto.[32]

Although his role is entirely hypothetical, Bouwmeester is also a likely candidate for being one of the members of the editorial team responsible for putting to press Spinoza's posthumous writings in 1677.[33] In sum, as has been argued

31 Edward Pococke, *Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, …, Johannes Bouwmeester* (ed.) (Amsterdam: 1672). Pococke's Latin exemplar is: Abu Jafaar Ebn Tophail, *Philosophus autodidactus, sive Epistola Abi Jaafar, ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yokdhan*, …, Edward Pococke (ed.) (Oxford, 1671). The Latin rendition by Pococke is listed in the auction catalogue of Bouwmeester's private reference library: *Catalogus variorum … librorum … Joannis Bouwmeesteri*, p. 10, no. 196. For Tophail: Hendrik Lagerlund, *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy. Philosophy between 500 and 1500* (2 vols., Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), vol. 1, pp. 531–533. Stanislaus von Dunin-Borkowski claims a copy of the *OP*, bound with *Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, was kept in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam (*Der Junge De Spinoza. Leben und Werdegang im Lichte der Weltphilosophie* [Münster: Assendorffschen Buchhandlung, 1910], p. 237). I was however unable to trace this very copy. Pococke *père* and *fils*: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

32 'Tot Amsterdam, by Jan Rieuwertsz. Boeckverkoper, werdt uytgegeven: het Leven van Hai ebn Jokhdan, in het Arabisch beschreven door Abu Japhar ebn Tophail, en uyt de Latijnsche Oversettinge van Eduard Pocock A.M. in het Nederduyts vertaelt: waer in getoont werdt, hoe iemant, buyten eenige omgangh met Menschen ofte onderwysinge, kan komen tot de kennisse van zig selven en van Godt: also dese Philopsooph, door sekere toeval, eerst geboren zijnde, in een Kisje geleyt en in Zee geset, door de Vloet aen een Eylandt geworpen wierdt, daer geen Menschen woonden, en door een Geyt opgevoet en tot sijn 50 Iaren geen Mensch gesien en had. In 4.' (*Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant*, 8 November 1672).

33 *See* further: Chapters 8 and 9.

by Akkerman, the latter Amsterdam medical doctor perhaps served as the 'second' translator of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', Glazemaker's translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

The text copy of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' contained in the The Hague manuscript 75 G 15 (*codex A*) is undated. Its handwriting however gives the strong impression it has been copied during the later second half of the seventeenth century. The manuscript itself, it seems, is in that of the *initiati* around Spinoza who copied the new translator/editor's the text. Its subtitle reads the following: 'Translated from the Latin, and with Notes from its Author' ('Uijt het Latijn vertaald, en met Anteekeninge des Schrijvers voorzien'). The text of 75 G 15 is written in dark brown ink by different Dutch hands. 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' is contained on the folios 99–422. The translation features a separate, handwritten title-page (fol. 100^{r}) in Dutch calligraphy reading the following:

> *Godgeleerde* | *Staat-kundige* | *Verhandelinge*, | *Inhoudende*, *enige redeneeringen*, | Door de welke word getoond, dat de vrijheid | van te philosopheren, niet alleenlijk | behoudens de godvruchtigheid, en vre|de vande gemeene staat, magh wer-|den toegestaan: Maar de zelv|de niet dan met de vreede | vande gemene staat | zelve, en de godvruch|tigheid, noegh geno-|men kan worden. Johannis eerste briev. Cap. IV. V. XIII. | *Hier aan kennen wij, dat wij in God blijven, en dat God in ons, om dat hij ons van synen geest gegeven heeft*. (Dutch translation of 1 John 4:13:)

Manuscript 75 G 15 also includes a text version of the *Korte verhandeling*.[34] More importantly, it also comprises thirty-four of the *Adnotationes* (lacking notes 20, 27, 28, 29, 30), already discussed in chapter 5 of the present bibliography. The *Adnotationes* have the following Dutch title: 'Aantekeningen bij het Godgeleerd-Staatkundig Vertoog' (Additional Notes to the Theological-Political Treatise).[35]

Codex A includes a 'Voor-Reeden' (prologue, fols 101–111; pp. 1–22) to the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* and a table of its contents (fols 112–113; pp. 23–26). The Preface, table of contents, and the main text of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' are all set in semi-'print' frames, drawn on each page in dark brown ink. Like many other works printed in the seventeenth century, *codex A* has written running headlines ('Eerste Hooftdeel', etc.) and keyed notes in Dutch and in Latin, all placed in the external margins and at the foot of the page. The work is paginated, 1–608. Each page has a written direction line with catchwords for the first word of its following page. Those catchwords are placed at the end of the foot of each page, in the lower right outer corner; another example of how the text should look like when in print. Signatures are not in the direction lines, but they are indicated in brief notes in the outer external margins. In the main text of *codex A*, words and phrases are struck out with black ink and corrected in several instances.[36] The paper of pages 164 to 379 of *codex A* is heavily thumbed and stained with inkspots.[37] The manuscript shows, unmistakably, evidence of editorial intervention. It contains many captions and instructions in ink, all scribbled in the codex by a compositor. Those details prove abundantly the manuscript was used as a copy-text for a typesetter in a printer's workshop.

In other instances, *codex A* shows how the compositor made calculations and also numbered the lines of each page.[38] When busy typesetting the text of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', he marked page breaks with horizontal lines in the body of the text. He also scribbled signatures in the manuscript's external margins with their respective indications of pagination. Because the compositor's notes start on the third page of chapter 6 ('Seste Hooftdeel'), treating of miracles, Akkerman has put forward the following in my view convincing theory. At an earlier stage, a tidy copy-text of the previous chapters 1 to 5 (ten gatherings A – K, comprising eighty pages) had already been conveyed to a printer.

Apparently, to increase production speed the compositor may have been later allowed to make his own editorial notes in the remainder of the manuscript pages of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' itself.[39] The compositor's captions and corrections, in the external margins in *codex A*, start in chapter 6 on folio 205^{v} (p. 164, 'l2/82'). His notes abruptly are stopped in chapter 11, on folio 308^{v} (p. 379 of the translation, 'x prima w/161'), presumably when the printer halted preparations of the three-fifths portion of the book. Akkerman has also construed that the work was treated by an unknown compositor to produce a book in the bibliographical quarto size, in gatherings of eight pages each.

34 For the *KV*, *see*: Chapter 5, n. 55.

35 For the *Adnotationes*: Chapter 5, *Spinoza's Presentation Copy* and *Other Sources*.

36 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 232.

37 Ibid., p. 231. For background on proofreading and compositors practice: Chapter 2, n. 40.

38 '… le compositeur avait calculé que six lignes du manuscrit occuperaient quatre lignes du livre imprimé.' (Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 232).

39 Ibid., p. 233.

All of the aforementioned aspects and details make it plausible to assume that *codex A* included the text-copy of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' planned to put to press in early 1671. The compositor's work on the manuscript was, in all likelihood, cancelled soon after 17 February 1671 when Spinoza instructed Jelles to stop the translation's printing preparations at once. If this all proves to be historically correct, it then suggests Spinoza's friends must have copied the 'second' translator's 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' in any case before mid-February 1671. Who in 1670 or in early 1671 hatched the plan to have Glazemaker's Dutch translation corrected and prepared for the press remains an unsolved mystery as yet. Of course, Jan Rieuwertsz *père* immediately springs to mind for being the Dutch translation's likely publisher and printer but there is no historical evidence supporting this conjecture.

4 Glazemaker's Dutch Translation: A New Third Redaction in Van Blijenbergh's 1674 *De Waerheyt* (*Van Blijenbergh*, Text Version 3)

In the early 1670s, in a way not further known, a manuscript copy (now lost) of 'a' or 'the' Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* ended up in the hands of Willem van Blijenbergh, a merchant-magistrate and amateur-philosopher from Dordrecht. The latter, a nephew of the noted Dordrecht painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678), was one of the sharper pencils in the drawer of Spinoza's early correspondents. Between late December 1664 and early June 1665, they had exchanged almost a dozen letters discussing flagging moral issues in 'Parts I and II of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy'; Metaphysical Thoughts', among others about the exact status of good and evil.[40] In Spinoza scholarship, these letters, all written in Dutch, are sometimes referred to as 'The Letters on Evil'. Van Blijenbergh also met Spinoza personally in mid-March 1665, in Voorburg presumably. There, they must have continued their discussion on pressing subjects in *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Because of their philosophical and theological differences, the Dutch philosopher finally put a stop to their strained correspondence as is evidenced by his last letter to Van Blijenbergh of 3 June 1665.

How and exactly when Willem van Blijenbergh got hold of the Dutch translation's manuscript remains unclear, but the salient fact is he had access to its text and published portions of it almost two decades before Glazemaker's text was eventually printed in *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693). Van Blijenbergh in his rebuttal, dedicated to the Dordrecht Burgomasters and *Vroedschap*, scrutinized Spinoza's treatise in seventeen chapters. The book's preface was signed by Van Blijenbergh on 8 September 1674, very shortly after the provincial Hof van Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland in an official placard of 19 July had proscribed the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.

Very likely, the hitherto unknown third redaction, owned by Van Blijenbergh, comprised either a copy of a translation loyal to Glazemaker's original manuscript (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693), or an improved version (siglum: KB/'Verhandelinge') of it by a 'second' translator. In 1674, Van Blijenberg published portions of this redaction (siglum: *Van Blijenbergh*) in *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de authoriteyt der H. Schriften*, a work composed to refute the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.[41]

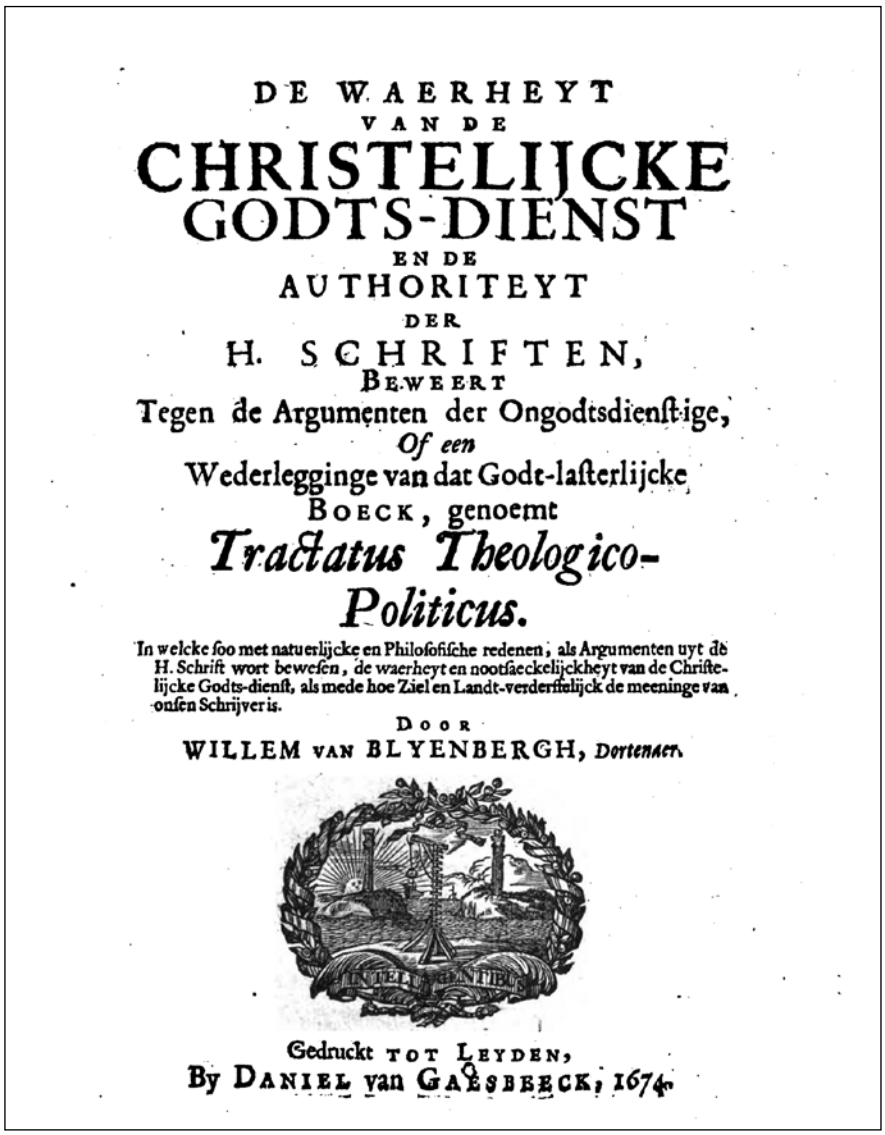
With *De waerheyt*, the Dordrecht retailer introduced readers who were not Latinate in the vernacular to Spinoza's philosophical notions about God's essence and God's eternal perfection, his denial of miracles, and his rejection of the Bible as a work revealing God's truth. Being the first public Dutch detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in print, Van Blijenbergh also linked Spinoza's teachings in this daring treatise at the same instance with irreligion and heterodoxy. To put it differently, he irrefutably composed *De waerheyt* particularly to warn Dutch readers against the philosopher's biblical scepticism and virulent atheism, aiming to undermine traditional Reformed Christian theology and society as a whole.

De waerheyt was a sequel to another anti-atheist work, called *De kennisse Godts en godts-dienst, beweert tegen d'uytvluchten der atheisten* (The Knowledge of God and the Worship of God, Argued Against the Atheists' Excuses), published by Van Blijenbergh in Leiden in 1671.[42] He had, by his own account, written *De kennisse Godts* to lambast those people 'who does not want to believe in anything'

40 For their exchange: Chapter 2, *Balling's Translation*.

41 Van Blijenbergh*, *De waerheyt*. I am indebted to Albert Gootjes who has kindly pointed out to me *De waerheyt* contains a series of quotations from the TTP's Dutch translation.

42 Willem van Blijenbergh*, *De kennisse Godts en godts-dienst, beweert tegen d'uytvluchten der atheisten, …* (Leiden/Amsterdam: 1671). Van Hoogstraten, in a letter of September 1663, claims Van Blijenbergh sent him a copy of *De kennisse Godts*. The remark suggests that that was the work's first edition. This 1663 copy seems not to have survived. Cf. further: Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), p. 340.



DE WAERHEYT
VAN DE
CHRISTELIJCKE
GODTS-DIENST
EN DE
AUTHORITEYT
DER
H. SCHRIFTEN,
BEWEERT
Tegen de Argumenten der Ongodtsdienſtige,
Of een
Wederlegginge van dat Godt-laſterlijcke
BOECK, genoemt
Tractatus Theologico-Politicus.

In welcke ſoo met natuerlijcke en Philoſofiſche redenen, als Argumenten uyt de H. Schrift wort beweſen, de waerheyt en nootſaeckelijckheyt van de Chriſtelijcke Godts-dienſt, als mede hoe Ziel en Landt-verderffelijck de meeninge van onſen Schrijver is.

DOOR
WILLEM VAN BLYENBERGH, *Dortenaer.*

Gedruckt TOT LEYDEN,
By DANIEL van GAESBEECK, 1674.

ILLUSTRATION 7.2
Title-page of Willem van Blijenbergh's refutation of Spinoza: *De waerheyt van de christelijcken godts-dienst* (Leiden: 1674). The work is an assault on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and contains numerous quotations from a hitherto unknown surviving third Dutch text redaction of the latter treatise.

('welcke niets en willen gelooven'), except for 'the naked and natural reason' ('de bloote en natuurlijcke reden').

Soon after the riposte's publication, Van Blijenbergh must have begun composing *De waerheyt*. About two years prior to the publication of *De waerheyt* by its Leiden publisher Daniel van Gaasbeeck (*fl.*1655–1693), the Dordrecht retailer had been shopping around the work's manuscript in scholarly networks, as is evinced by a letter of the Utrecht Cartesian theologian Frans Burman *père* to Van Blijenbergh. How contacts between the two men were established is unclear. In all likelihood, Van Blijenbergh must have been familiar with the efforts of the Utrecht Cartesian network made in 1670 to prepare a rejoinder to the 'Theological-Political Treatise'.[43] Given the sheer length (467 pp.) of *De waerheyt* and the date of Burman's letter, 2 September 1672, Van Blijenbergh must have already started composing the book's manuscript in 1670 or 1671.

Burman *père*'s letter also reveals he was acting as an intermediary in finding booksellers possibly interested to put to the press Van Blijenbergh's manuscript of *De waerheyt*. The former Utrecht theologian in any case discussed the work's publication with Meinardus van Dreunen, an Utrecht bookseller, city and university printer working close to the Munsterkerkhof (nowadays the Domplein). Van Dreunen, a publisher of some repute, had issued among many other works the writings of both Burman *père* and the Dutch anatomist and microscopist Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680). Tellingly, Van Dreunen had also put to print in 1665 an ordinary disputation on Cartesian philosophy

43 For the Utrecht Cartesian network and their efforts to demolish the *TTP*'s arguments with theological counterarguments: Chapter 3, *Publication and Immediate Reception*. Burman *père*: BL.

Spinoza's erstwhile pupil Casearius had defended that same year on 14 July at Utrecht University.[44]

From Burman's letter of 2 September 1672, it becomes further apparent the trunk holding Van Blijenbergh's manuscript of *De waerheyt* (referred to by Burman as 'this treasure' ['dien schat']) was, by then, in the hands of an unnamed Amsterdam friend, acquaintance, or colleague of Burman *père*. This contact, be it someone with an academic background or a publisher, had been treating the work with 'special attention', according to Burman. Unclear is though what the latter exactly meant by this and for what reason Van Dreunen had dispatched Van Blijenbergh's manuscript to Amsterdam. Here is what Burman *père* writes about the then still unpublished manuscript of his riposte to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*:

> Because I was in Leiden your pleasant letter was forwarded to me a bit late. When I came home [in Utrecht] I have spoken with Mr Van Dreunen, who told me, that his trunk, which contained your manuscript, was safely stored at [the house of] a certain gentleman [much] appreciated by me in Amsterdam and that your manuscript had his special attention. Thus he was of the opinion that it was properly kept, should it be [kept] somewhere. However, now it was not at his disposal. He was however confident that [the fact that it was well-stored] would make you feel comfortable. If not I will see whether it is possible to do something in this matter. Like you I would be not pleased that this treasure, which will be of value to many, would return damaged.[45]

In the late spring and summer of 1670, the Utrecht *Collegie* had also monitored and put to press the German theologian Johannes Melchioris's *Epistola ad amicum* (1671), the first public theological rejoinder to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in print.[46] So, presumably, perhaps Burman saw in Van Blijenbergh's *De waerheyt* a new opportunity to demolish the arguments put forward in Spinoza's treatise with a new series of counter-arguments. Whether Burman studied Van Blijenbergh's work, gave him instructions, made useful suggestions, corrected the holograph or apograph of it, or shared it with other Cartesians in Utrecht is unfortunately not known. Why *De waerheyt* was eventually published in 1674 by Van Gaasbeeck in Leiden and not by Van Dreunen in Utrecht is also an unsolved matter.

Van Blijenbergh in *De waerheyt*'s prologue remarks Spinoza's treatise, questioning God's divine identity and thereby rejecting the Bible as the written record of God's primary and revealed eternal truth, was crammed with 'learned horrors' ('studieuse gruwelen'). For this reason, according to *De waerheyt*, he considered the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* a 'heap of concepts forged in hell' ('een ophoopinge van in de hel gesmede concepten'). The Dordrecht retailer also informs readers particularly it has been the treatise's 'ruinous' attack on the Bible and 'the foundations of Christianity' ('de Fondamenten van het Christendom') which had strongly motivated him 'to smother this monster with all possible means under its own mother' ('om dit gedrocht door alle mogelijcke middelen onder de Moeder te smooren'). Since the world's beginning, Van Blijenbergh continues in *De waerheyt*'s preface, 'no wickeder book has ever been put to press' ('soo langh de Werelt gestaen heeft, geen heylooser Boeck in 't licht is gekomen'). This *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, according to him, was a treatise fiercely 'bound in acrid bile' ('van bittere galle by een gebonden').

De waerheyt is packed with substantial portions from a now-lost version (from either its original holograph or an apograph) of 'a' or 'the' Dutch translation of Spinoza's treatise. This new redaction seems to contain textual elements which are closely related to both Glazemaker's original

44 Johannes Casearius*, *Positiones philosophiae miscellanea* (Utrecht: 1665). Supervisor was a member of the Utrecht *Collegie der Scavanten*, the professor physics and mathematics Johannes de Bruyn. Another disputation on a theological subject defended by Casearius at Utrecht University during the same year and published by Van Dreunen was: *Disputationum theologicarum de Sacra Coena. De nostri cum Christo unione* (Utrecht: 1665). The latter disputation was supervised by Burman* *père*.

45 'UEd. aangenamen is my, tot Leiden synde, wat laat nagesonden. Thuis komende hebbe ik met M^r^ van Dreunen gesproken, die my seide, dat syn koffer, daar UE schrift in is, tot Amsterdam, by seker Heer, my geroemd, in goede bewaringe was; ende dat UE schrift bysonderlik in syn schuld-boek lag. Soo dat hy meind het soo wel bewaard is, als ergens konde syn. Altijd hy konde het nu niet magtig worden. Hy vertrouwde UE soud daar in gerust syn. Soo niet, ik sal sien, of het nog verder mogelik is iets daar in te doen. Alsoo ik soo ongeerne als UE soude sien, dat dien schat, die velen nog soo voordeelig sal syn, soo ongelukkiglik soude ankomen.' (Leiden, University Library, BPL 246; quoted in: Gootjes, 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians', there at n. 58). Another now-lost letter by Burman* *père* to Van Blijenbergh* of 26 November 1671 also concerned the *TTP* and in all likelihood also Van Blijenbergh's 1674 *De waerheyt*. *See* for this: *Catalogue d'une riche et très intérresante collection de manuscrits, livres d'heures, autographes et albums; … délaissés par mr. Jean Henri van Swinden, …* (Amsterdam: F. Muller, 1866), p. 53, no. 545: 'Burman, Franc., Théologien renommé. Lt. aut. sig. en Holl., à W. van Blyenburg à Dordrecht, d'Utrecht, 26 Nov. 1671. Lettre très-remarquable sur l'*Ethica* de Spinoza, qui fut refutée par Blijenburg'. Meant is of course not the *E*, but the *TTP*. Reported in: Gootjes, 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians', there at n. 55.

46 *See*: Chapter 3, *Publication and Immediate Reception*.

Dutch translation (siglum: *Glazemaker/Theologant* 1693) and the cancelled revised manuscript of 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (siglum: KB/'Verhandelinge'). The fact that Van Blijenbergh included those quotations in *De waerheyt* underlines that, almost ten years after the break-up by Spinoza of their correspondence, he apparently had remained in contact with people around or interested in Spinoza. In a way not known, they must have given him access to the Dutch translation or, perhaps, sold a copy of it to the Dordrecht grain broker.[47] A printed copy of *De waerheyt* listed on the inventory of Spinoza's reference library proves the Dutch philosopher was even familiar with Van Blijenbergh's rejoinder and the text version of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Dutch translation included in it.[48]

Long before Van Blijenbergh started composing *De waerheyt* in 1670 or 1671, many intellectuals in the Netherlands already knew Spinoza had composed the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Therefore, it is highly surprising the Dutch philosopher is not mentioned in *De waerheyt* as the treatise's concealed author. Even more perplexing is that the Dordrecht retailer does however refer to Lodewijk Meyer's prologue to *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. Oddly enough, Van Blijenbergh even praises Spinoza as the latter book's author and brings up the appended 'Metaphysical Thoughts', too. He lauds him by remarking the following: 'Benedictus de Spinoza, a man with a profound philosophical mind' ('*Benedictus de Spinosa*, een Man van een diep Philosofisch verstand').[49]

That Van Blijenbergh was unaware Spinoza was the concealed author of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* seems highly improbable. For he went to a lot of trouble gaining access to a surreptitiously-circulated manuscript containing the Dutch translation of the treatise in the first place. He had been also in an epistolary contact with Burman *père*. The latter, like others in the Utrecht Cartesian network, was since the summer of 1670 familiar with the fact Spinoza wrote the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. During his vexed trip to Utrecht, he had met up with several members of the town's Cartesian *Collegie der Scavanten*, in any case with the professor of history and rhetoric Johannes Georgius Graevius who had passed Spinoza an invitation calling him to Utrecht with the help of his intermediary Johannes Bouwmeester.[50]

Thus, if indeed it was no secret to Van Blijenbergh Spinoza had composed the treatise, he must have refrained deliberately from mentioning the latter as the book's author. This suggests that, while he assaulted the philosopher's radical Bible criticism, he was also actively protecting Spinoza's identity at the same time. Actually, also Johannes Melchioris in his 1671 *Epistola ad amicum*, the cleverly-conceived product of the Utrecht Cartesian network, had protected Spinoza's identity by referring with the anagrams 'Xinospa' and 'Zinospa' to the disguised author's name. Evidently, these were just cunning word games for those well-informed intellectuals in Dutch and German academia involved in the debate about the Dutch philosopher.[51]

Possibly, because the latter's treatise had been banned by the then only very recently-issued placard of 19 July 1674, Van Blijenbergh refrained from connecting in *De waerheyt* Spinoza with the 'Theological-Political Treatise'. Since he abundantly praises him however in *De waerheyt* as the author of the *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, this new game appears even more intriguing. It seems a form of protective fascination mixed with sheer horror, a stance Van Blijenbergh shared with the Utrecht Cartesian network and with a formidable scholar such as for instance Leibniz.[52]

Although only a matter of pure speculation, the distinct possibility should nonetheless finally also be considered that, after the vexed epistolary 'break-up' of early June 1665, Van Blijenbergh had stayed in indirect or even in direct

47 Apart from his friendship with his nephew Van Hoogstraten, the (Dordrecht?) network of Van Blijenbergh* included: '... Mons. van der Geest, van groeningen, bax, Dº bebber, bosschaart, besius, van Kapel, Sasbout....' (Van Hoogstraten to Van Blijenbergh*, 14 September 1674, postscript, letter dispatched from London to Dordrecht). Quoted in: anon., 'Twee brieven van Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Rotterdamsche librije*, 8 (1891), pp. 62–64, there at p. 64. Another contact may have been the Cocceian Dordrecht minister David Flud van Giffen (Chapter 9, n. 62): *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 3, pp. 138–139. In the same letter, also a certain Mr Sonneman is mentioned who, apparently, was one of Van Blijenbergh's acquaintances. Tellingly, the former is said in it to have read 'met groot vermaak uE principia' (with great pleasure your 'Principles'). Van Blijenbergh did not publish any work with that title or wrote a manuscript about Cartesian physics. Thus, the reference must be to a copy of Spinoza's 1663 PP/CM, or to its Dutch 1664 rendition, apparently borrowed by Van Hoogstraten from Van Blijenbergh.

48 Cf.: Offenberg, *Spinoza's Library*, p. 319, no. 45.

49 Van Blijenbergh*, *De waerheyt*, p. 121: '... hetgeen *L. Meyer* in de voor-reden van *B. de Spinosa* over de beginselen der Philosophie van *Des-Cartes* belooft....' (... what L. Meyer promises in the Preface to B. de Spinoza's 'Principles of Philosophy' of Descartes....).

50 For the trip: Chapter 3, n. 115. Graevius/Bouwmeester: BL.

51 *See* for this: Chapter 3, n. 114.

52 Cf. Ursula Goldenbaum, *Zwischen Bewunderung und Entsetzen. Leibniz' frühe Faszination durch Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Delft: Eburon, 2001).

contact with Spinoza and/or with his friends and followers in a way not known. This could also explain why the Dordrecht retailer avoided disclosing the Dutch philosopher as the author of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and why he praised him as 'een Man van een diep Philosofisch verstand' who wrote the 'Principles of Philosophy' and the 'Metaphysical Thoughts'.

Van Blijenbergh's *De waerheyt* comprises portions of a new and only until recently unknown text version of 'a' or 'the' Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. For this reason, it seems relevant to present readers of this descriptive bibliography with two prime examples from all Dutch redactions of the treatise's text known to be still extant. Below, I have placed Van Blijenbergh's *De waerheyt* in chronological order between

– Glazemaker's original translation, printed in *De rechtzinnige theologant* (1693),
– the The Hague manuscript 75 G 15 (codex A), containing the revised Glazemaker redaction 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' Spinoza cancelled before 17 February 1671,
– and the treatise's printed second Dutch edition *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (1694).

The words and phrases in the examples below put in italics indicate mutual differences. The first example concerns a passage from the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s chapter 3 ('On the Calling of the Hebrews').[53] Here, between the texts hardly any differences can be observed. The second is a passage from the treatise's chapter 4 ('Of the Divine Law').[54] This example, though, gives the distinct impression *De waerheyt* follows the revised Glazemaker redaction of 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' in 75 G 15 far more loyally. Collation of other relevant surviving passages quoted by Van Blijenbergh in *De waerheyt* seems to confirm the newfound third redaction of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Dutch translation included in the riposte highly likely has been composed after the revised Glazemaker-translation surviving in manuscript 75 G 15 (*codex A*). For the purpose of the collation below, lists composed by Fokke Akkerman with text variants have been loyally followed.[55]

Example 1: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, chapter 3 (G 3/46–47)

– Anon. (Spinoza), *De rechtzinnige theologant*, 1693, pp. 49–50 (Glazemaker, late 1669/early 1670):

Alles wat wy eerlijk begeren, word voornamelijk tot deze drie dingen gebracht; *namelijk*, de zaken door hun eerste *oorzaken* te verstaan. De hartstochten te bedwingen, of de hebbelijkheit *des deuchds* te verkrijgen. En *eindelijk veiliglijk* met een gezond ligchaam te leven. De middelen, die regelrecht tot het eerste en twede dienstig zijn, *en die* gelijk naaste en uitwerkende oorzaken aangemerkt konnen worden, zijn in de menschelijke natuur zelve begrepen; invoegen dat der *zelver verkrijging*, *voornamelijk* in onze *macht bestaat*, *of* van de *enige wetten* der menschelijke natuur afhangt: en om deze oorzaak, moet men gantschelijk vast stellen, dat deze gaven aan *geen volk eigen en bezonder*, maar altijd aan het geheel menschelijk geslacht *gemeen zijn*: ….

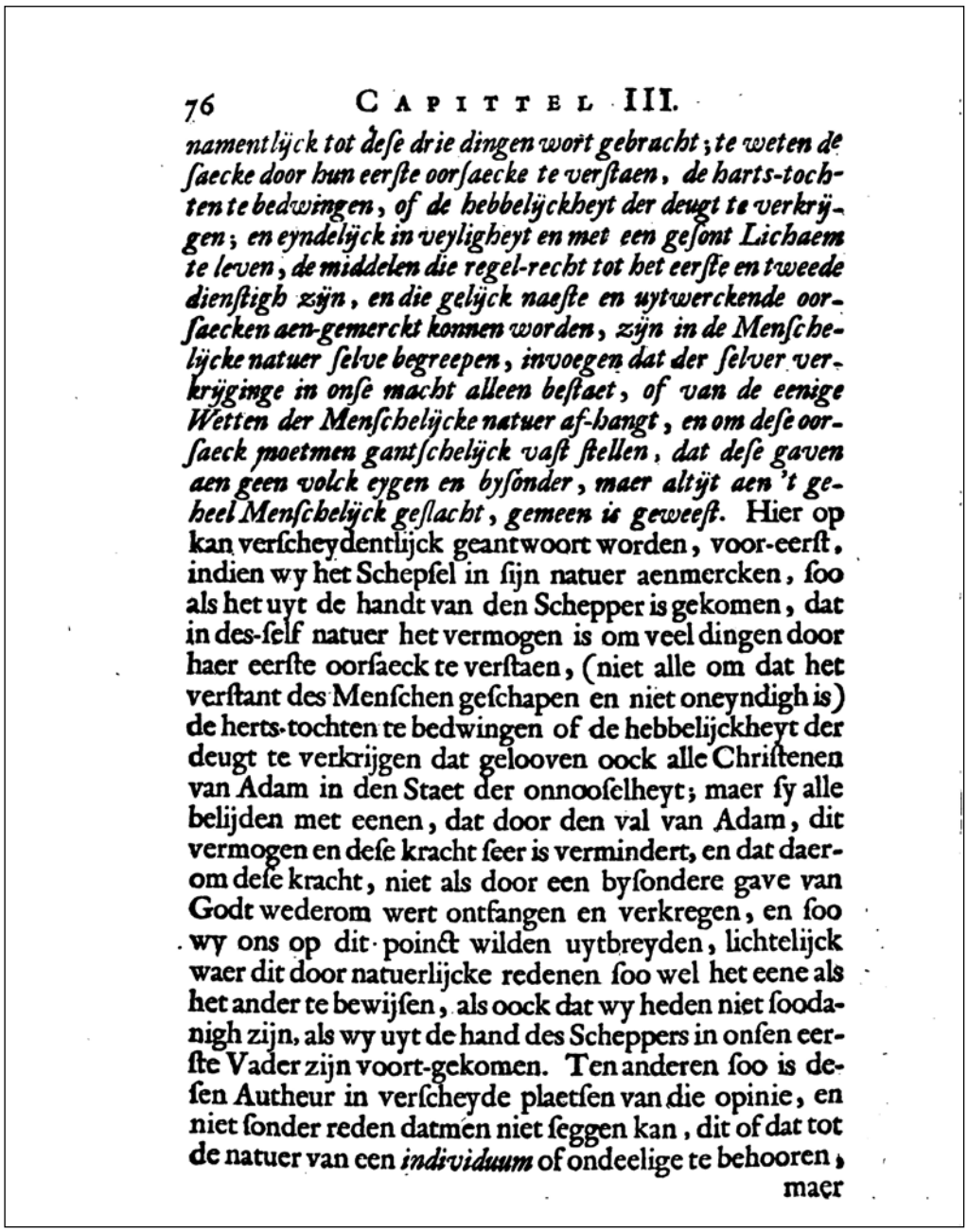
– The Hague, ms. 75 G 15/*codex A*, p. 63/fol. 155^{v} (before 17 February 1671):

Alles wat wy eerlyk begeeren, word voornamelyk tot deze drie dingen gebragt, *namelyk* de zaaken door hun eerste oorzaaken te verstaan, de hartstogten te bedwingen, ofte de hebbelykheid *des deugds* te verkrygen, en *eyndelyk met* een gezond lighaam te leeven. De middelen die regel regt

53 'Whatever we honourably desire is related above all to these three things:
[i] understanding things through their first causes;
[ii] gaining control over the passions, or acquiring the habit of virtue; and finally,
[iii] living securely and healthily.
The means which lead directly to the first and second of these, and can be considered their proximate and efficient causes, are contained in human nature itself. So acquiring them depends chiefly on our power alone, or on the laws of human nature alone. For this reason we must maintain, without qualification, that these gifts are not peculiar to any nation, but have always been common to the whole human race….' (G 3/46–47; CW, vol. 2, pp. 113–114).

54 'We can easily deduce what we must maintain in answer to the first question from the nature of God's will, which is distinguished from his intellect only in relation to our reason. That is, in themselves God's will and God's intellect are really one and the same; they are distinguished only in relation to the thoughts we form about God's intellect. For example, when we attend only to the fact that the nature of a triangle is contained in the divine nature from eternity, as an eternal truth, then we say that God has the idea of a triangle, *or* understands the nature of the triangle. But afterward we may attend to the fact that the nature of the triangle is contained in the divine nature solely from the necessity of the divine nature, and not from the necessity of the essence and nature of the triangle – indeed, that the necessity of the essence and properties of the triangle, insofar as they are too conceived as eternal truths, depends only on the necessity of the divine nature and intellect, and not on the nature of the triangle. When we do that, then, the same thing we called God's intellect we call God's will *or* decree. So in relation to God we affirm one and the same thing when we say that from eternity God decreed and willed that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, or [when we say] that God understood this. From this it follows that God's affirmations and denials always involve eternal necessity *or* truth.' (G 3/62–63; CW, vol. 2, p. 131).

55 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*' (pp. 227–230). *See* further in this chapter: *Manuscript The Hague 75 G 15*.



76 CAPITTEL III.

namentlijck tot deſe drie dingen wort gebracht; te weten de ſaecke door hun eerſte oorſaecke te verſtaen, de harts-tochten te bedwingen, of de hebbelijckheyt der deugt te verkrijgen; en eyndelijck in veyligheyt en met een geſont Lichaem te leven, de middelen die regel-recht tot het eerſte en tweede dienſtigh zijn, en die gelijck naeſte en uytwerckende oorſaecken aen-gemerckt konnen worden, zijn in de Menſchelijcke natuer ſelve begreepen, invoegen dat der ſelver verkrijginge in onſe macht alleen beſtaet, of van de eenige Wetten der Menſchelijcke natuer af-hangt, en om deſe oorſaeck moetmen gantſchelijck vaſt ſtellen, dat deſe gaven aen geen volck eygen en byſonder, maer altijt aen 't geheel Menſchelijck geſlacht, gemeen is geweeſt. Hier op kan verſcheydentlijck geantwoort worden, voor-eerſt, indien wy het Schepſel in ſijn natuer aenmercken, ſoo als het uyt de handt van den Schepper is gekomen, dat in des-ſelf natuer het vermogen is om veel dingen door haer eerſte oorſaeck te verſtaen, (niet alle om dat het verſtant des Menſchen geſchapen en niet oneyndigh is) de herts-tochten te bedwingen of de hebbelijckheyt der deugt te verkrijgen dat gelooven oock alle Chriſtenen van Adam in den Staet der onnooſelheyt; maer ſy alle belijden met eenen, dat door den val van Adam, dit vermogen en deſe kracht ſeer is vermindert, en dat daerom deſe kracht, niet als door een byſondere gave van Godt wederom wert ontfangen en verkregen, en ſoo wy ons op dit poinct wilden uytbreyden, lichtelijck waer dit door natuerlijcke redenen ſoo wel het eene als het ander te bewijſen, als oock dat wy heden niet ſoodanigh zijn, als wy uyt de hand des Scheppers in onſen eerſte Vader zijn voort-gekomen. Ten anderen ſoo is deſen Autheur in verſcheyde plaetſen van die opinie, en niet ſonder reden datmen niet ſeggen kan, dit of dat tot de natuer van een *individuum* of ondeelige te behooren, maer

ILLUSTRATION 7.3
Chapter 3 ('On the Calling of the Hebrews') of Van Blijenbergh's rejoinder *De waerheyt van de christelijcken godts-dienst*, page 76.

tot het eerste en tweede dienstig zyn, *en die* gelyck naaste en uytwerkende oorzaaken aangemerkt konnen worden, zyn inde menschelyke natuur zelve begreepen; invoege dat de *zelvde verkrijging voornamentlijk* in onze *magt be alleen bestaat*, ofte van de *wetten alleen* der menschelyke natúur afhangd. En om deze oorzaak moetmen gantschelyk vast stellen, dat deze gaaven aan geen volck *eygen, en bezonder*, maar altyd aant geheel menschelyk geslagt *gemeen hebben geweest.*

– Van Blijenbergh, *De waerheyt*, 1674, pp. 75–76:

... dat *alle het gene* wy eerlijck begeeren, voor-namentlijck tot dese drie dingen wort gebracht; *te weten* de saecke door hun eerste *oorsaecke* te verstaen, de harts-tochten te bedwingen, of de hebbelijckheyt *der deugt* te verkrijgen, en *eyndelijck in veyligheyt en met* een gesont Lichaem te leven, de middelen die regel-recht tot het eerste en tweede dienstigh zijn, *en die* gelijck naeste en uytwerckende oorsaecken aen-gemerckt konnen worden, zijn in de Menschelijcke natuer selve begreepen, invoegen dat *der selver verkrijginge* in onse *macht alleen bestaet, of* van de *eenige Wetten* der Menschelijcke natuer af-hangt, en om dese oorsaeck moetmen gantschelijck vast stellen, dat dese gaven aen geen volck *eygen en bysonder*, maer altijt aen 't geheel Menschelijck geslacht, *gemeen is geweest.*

– Anon. (Spinoza), *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, 1694, p. 40:

Alles wat wy eerlijk begeeren word voornamelijk tot dese drie dingen gebracht, *namelijk*, de saken door hun eerste *oorsaken* te verstaan. De hartstochten te bedwingen, of de hebbelijkheid *des deugts* te verkrijgen. En *eindelijk in veiligheid*, *met* een gesond lichaam te leven. De middelen die regel recht tot het eerste en twede dienstig zijn, *en dan* gelijk naaste en uitwerkende oorsaken aangemerkt konnen worden, zijn in de menschelijke natuur selve begrepen; Invoegen dat *der selver verkrijging*, *voornamelijk* in *onse macht alleen bestaat*, *of alleen* van de *euwige wetten* der menschelijke natuur afhangt. En om dese oorzaak moetmen gantschelijk vaststellen, dat dese gaven aan geen volk *eigen of bysonder*, maar altijd aan 't geheel menschelijck geslacht *gemeen hebben geweest*.

Example 2: *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, chapter 3 (G 3/62–63)

– Anon. (Spinoza), *De rechtzinnige theologant*, 1693, p. 74 (Glazemaker, late 1669/early 1670):

… *men* kan dit lichtelijk uit de natuur van Gods wil afleiden, die niet van Gods verstand *onderscheiden word*, dan ten opzicht van onze *reden en verstand*; dat is Gods wil en *verstand*, zijn waarlijk in zich een en 't zelfde, en worden niet onderscheiden, dan ten opzicht van onze gedachten, die wy van Gods verstand vormen. *Tot een voorbeeld: als wy alleenlijk hier op merken, dat de natuur van de driehoek, van eeuwigheit in de goddelijke natuur als een eeuwige waarheit is begrepen, zo zeggen wy, dat God het denkbeeld van de driehoek heeft, of de natuur van de driehoek verstaat: maar als wy daar na hier op merken, dat de natuur van de driehoek, dus in de goddelijke natuur is begrepen, uit d'enige noodzaaklijkheit van de goddelijke natuur, en niet uit de nootzaakelijkheit van de wezentheit en natuur des driehoeks, ja dat de noodzakelijkheit der wezentheit en eigenschappen van de driehoek, voor zo veel zy ook als eeuwige waarheden, begrepen worden, van d'enige noodzakelijkheit der goddelijke natuur en verstand afhangt, en niet uit de natuur van de driehoek, zo noemen wy dan dat geen, het welk wy Gods verstand geheten hebben, Gods wil of besluit*. Wy zeggen dieshalven, ten opzicht van God, een en 't zelfde, als wy zeggen, dat God van eeuwigheit *gewilt en besloten heeft*, dat *de drie hoeken* van een driehoek met twee rechte hoeken gelijk zijn, *of* dat God *dit* verstaan heeft. *Hier* uit volgt, dat Gods *bevestigingen en ontkenningen*, *altijd* een eeuwige noodzakelijkheit of waarheit insluiten.

– The Hague, ms. 75 G 15/*codex A*, p. 63/fol. 155^{v} (before 17 February 1671):

… *men kan* dit ligtelyk uyt de natuur van gods wil af leyden, die niet van gods versta nd *onderscheiden word*, dan ten op zigt van onze *reeden en verstand onderscheiden* word, dat is gods wil, en *gods verstand*, zyn waarlyk in zig een en 't zelvde, en worden niet onderscheiden, dan ten opzigt van onze gedagten, die wy van gods verstand vormen: *tot een voorbeeld als wy alleenlyk hyer op merken, dat de natuur van de driehoek van eeuwigheid in de goddelyke natuur als een eeuwige waar heid is begrepen, zo zeggen wy, dat god het denkbeeld van de drie hoek heeft, of de natuur van de drie hoek verstaat; maar als wy daar naar hier op merken, dat de natuur van de driehoek dus in de goddelyke natuur is begreepen, uyt de noodzaakelykheid van de goddelyke natuur alleen, en, niet uyt de noodzaakelykheid van de wezentheid en natuur des drie hoeks, jaa dat de noodzaakelykheid der wezentheid en eygenschappen van de drie hoek, voor zo veel zy ook als eeuwige waarheden begreepen worden, van d'eenige noodzakelykheid der goddelyke natuur en verstand afhangd, en niet uyt de natuur van de drie hoek, zo noemen wy het geen 't welk wy gods verstand geheeten hebben, gods wil of besluyt*. Wy zeggen dies halven, ten opzigt van god een en 't zelve, als wy zeggen, dat god van eeuwigheid *beslooten en gewild heeft*, dat *drie hoeken*, van een drie hoek met twee regte hoeken *gelyk zouden zyn*, *ofte* dat god *dit* verstaan heeft. *Hier* uyt volgd, dat gods *verzeekeringen*, en ontkenningen *altyd* een eeuwige noodzaakelykheid, of waarheid insluyten….

– Van Blijenbergh, *De waerheyt*, 1674, p. 109:

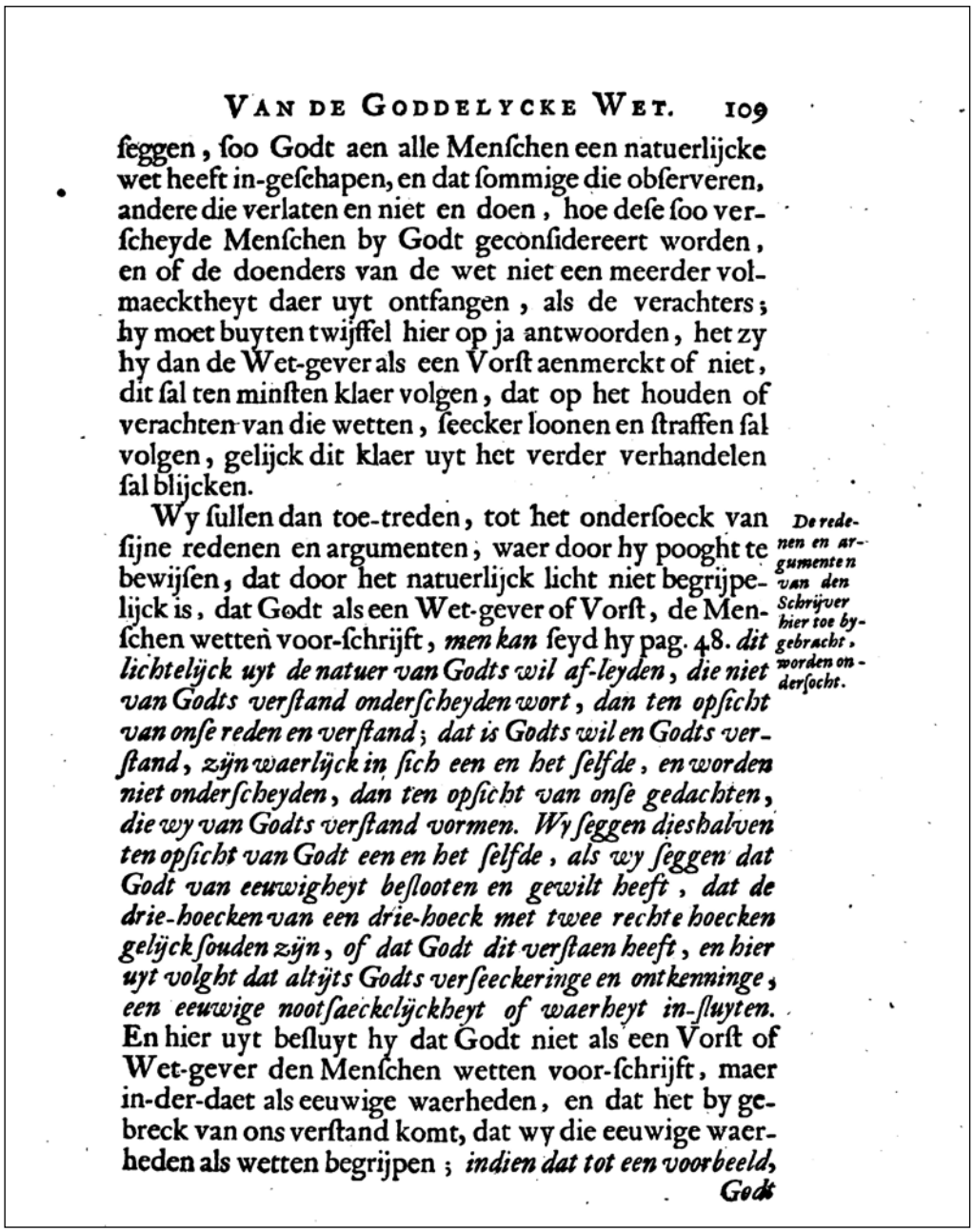
… *men kan* … dit lichtelijck uyt de natuer van Godts wil af-leyden, die niet van Godts verstand *onderscheyden wort*, dan ten opsicht van onse *reden en verstand*; dat is Godts wil en *Godts verstand*, zijn waerlijck in sich een en het selfde, en worden niet onderscheyden, dan ten opsicht van onse gedachten, die wy van Godts verstand vormen.

[text in *De waerheyt*'s quotation lacking]

Wy seggen dieshalven ten opsicht van God een en selfde, als wy seggen dat Godt van eeuwigheyt *beslooten en gewilt heeft*, dat *de drie-hoecken* van een drie-hoeck met twee rechte hoecken *gelijck souden zijn*, *of* dat Godt *dit* verstaen heeft, *en hier* uyt volght dat altijts Godts *verseeckeringe en ontkenninge*, een eeuwige nootsaeckelijkheyt of waerheyt in-sluyten.

– Anon. (Spinoza), *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, 1694, pp. 60–61:

… *kan men* lichtelijk uit de natuur van Gods wil af leiden, die niet van Gods verstand *word onderscheiden*, dan ten opsicht van onse *reden*, dat is, Gods wil, en *Godts verstand*, zijn waarlijk in sich, een en 't selfde; en worden niet



VAN DE GODDELYCKE WET. 109

seggen, soo Godt aen alle Menschen een natuerlijcke wet heeft in-geschapen, en dat sommige die observeren, andere die verlaten en niet en doen, hoe dese soo verscheyde Menschen by Godt geconsidereert worden, en of de doenders van de wet niet een meerder volmaecktheyt daer uyt ontfangen, als de verachters; hy moet buyten twijffel hier op ja antwoorden, het zy hy dan de Wet-gever als een Vorst aenmerckt of niet, dit sal ten minsten klaer volgen, dat op het houden of verachten van die wetten, seecker loonen en straffen sal volgen, gelijck dit klaer uyt het verder verhandelen sal blijcken.

De redenen en argumenten van den Schrijver hier toe bygebracht, worden onderzocht.

Wy sullen dan toe-treden, tot het onderzoeck van sijne redenen en argumenten, waer door hy pooght te bewijsen, dat door het natuerlijck licht niet begrijpelijck is, dat Godt als een Wet-gever of Vorst, de Menschen wetten voor-schrijft, *men kan* seyd hy pag. 48. *dit lichtelijck uyt de natuer van Godts wil af-leyden, die niet van Godts verstand onderscheyden wort, dan ten opsicht van onse reden en verstand; dat is Godts wil en Godts verstand, zijn waerlijck in sich een en het selfde, en worden niet onderscheyden, dan ten opsicht van onse gedachten, die wy van Godts verstand vormen. Wy seggen dieshalven ten opsicht van Godt een en het selfde, als wy seggen dat Godt van eeuwigheyt beslooten en gewilt heeft, dat de drie-hoecken van een drie-hoeck met twee rechte hoecken gelijck souden zijn, of dat Godt dit verstaen heeft, en hier uyt volght dat altijts Godts verseeckeringe en ontkenninge, een eeuwige noodsaeckelijckheyt of waerheyt in-sluyten.* En hier uyt besluyt hy dat Godt niet als een Vorst of Wet-gever den Menschen wetten voor-schrijft, maer in-der-daet als eeuwige waerheden, en dat het by gebreck van ons verstand komt, dat wy die eeuwige waerheden als wetten begrijpen; *indien dat tot een voorbeeld, Gods*

ILLUSTRATION 7.4
Chapter 4 ('Of the Divine Law') of Van Blijenbergh's rejoinder *De waerheyt van de christelijcken godts-dienst*, page 109.

onderscheiden, dan ten opsicht van onse gedachten, die wy van Gods verstand vormen. *Tot een voorbeeld, als wy alleenlijk hier op merken, dat de natuur van de Driehoek van eeuwigheid in de Goddelijke natuur word begrepen, (of vervat,) als een euwige waarheid, so seggen wy, dat God het denkbeeld van de Driehoek (of des Driehoeks) heeft; of de natuur des Driehoeks verstaat; Maar als wy daar na hier op merken, dat de natuur van de Driehoek dus in de Goddelijke natuur is begrepen, uit de noodsakelijkheid van de Goddelijke natuur alleen, ende niet uit de noodsakelijkheid van de wesendheid en natuur des Driehoeks, ja, dat de noodsakelijkheid der wesentheid, en eigenschappen van de Driehoek, voor so veel sy ook als euwige waarheden begrepen worden, van de enige noodsakelijkheid, der Goddelijke natuur en verstand af hangt; en niet uit de natuur van de Driehoek, dan noemen wy dat geen, het welk wy Gods verstand geheten hebben, Gods wil of besluit. Waarom wy*, ten opsichte van God, *een ende het selfde bevestigen*, als wy seggen, dat God van euwigheid *heeft besloten, en gewilt*, dat *de Driehoeken* van een Driehoek, met twe rechte hoeken, gelijk souden zijn, *of*, dat God *dit selfde* verstaan heeft. *Hier* uit volgt, dat Gods *versekeringen, en ontkenningen, altijd* een euwige noodsakelijkheid, of waarheid insluiten.

5 The Amsterdam Editions of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. Final Conclusions

Summarized in the organogram below are my final research conclusions presented in this study in regard to the printing and publication history of the Latin *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, of their variant states, and of its French, Dutch, and English translations. Given are their intricate relationships in terms of their typography, textual misprints, and typeset corrections. Although the status of *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde*, printed in 1694, is still rather undefined because of the lack of in-depth research, this edition is included in the chart, too. Dotted lines with black balls and those without indicate increasing uncertain interconnections.

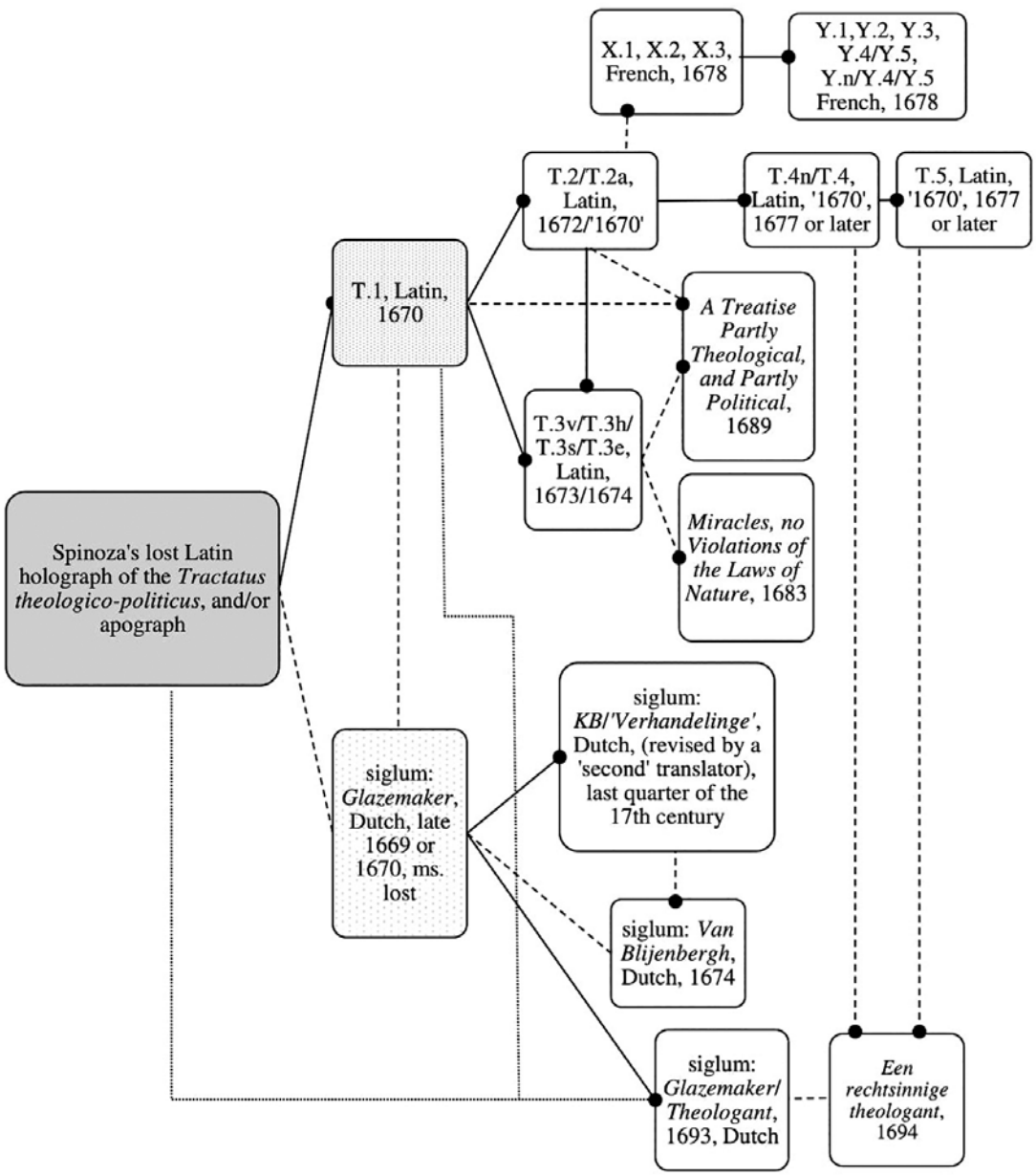


FIGURE 7.1 The Amsterdam editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Final conclusions: from Spinoza's holograph to its Dutch translations.

6 A Cancelled Dutch Translation (1687): the 'Tractaet Theologi Politicy in t'Duijts'

Six years before 'Henricus Koenraad' published Glazemaker's Dutch translation in *De rechtzinnige theologant* in 'Hamburg', someone further unknown from Delft made also an effort to put a Dutch translation of Spinoza's treatise to press. Evidence for this is supported by the Amsterdam Reformed Consistory's acts. Unfortunately, both the Delft sponsor's name and the translation's origin and textual status are shrouded in mist. Because of this, no claims about a possible relationship between the foregoing 'Delft' translation and the Dutch text by Glazemaker, the revised second Dutch text redaction of a 'second' translator, or the newfound third text version presented in Van Blijenbergh's *De waerheyt* can therefore be made.

The (now-lost) 'Delft' manuscript, according to the proceedings of the Amsterdam *Kerkenraad*, had been conveyed for printing to the brother of Timotheus ten Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. The latter was a bookseller, publisher, and printer from Amsterdam who specialized in historical books and works with Cartesian contents and notions obviously taken from Spinoza's writings as well as in trashy books sold by street vendors.[56] During an assembly of the Amsterdam church council held on 9 January 1687, presided over by Henricus Rijnsdijk, it was reported the consistory had been warned, in one letter or more letters by someone unknown from Delft, that Jan Claesz ten Hoorn was busy printing a Dutch translation of Spinoza's treatise on his presses.[57] The account of the church council reads thus:

> [In the external margin: The printing of Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise']. [It is] tabled that [efforts have been made] at Delft to prevent the printing of Spinoza's treatise, called 'Tractatus theologico-politicus', in a Dutch [translation] by Jan ten Hoorn at the 'Herenlogement' at Amsterdam, said to be now in the press. Since this book in Latin is already proscribed by the States of Holland at the instigation of the Christian Synod, it is feared publication in Dutch will cause many more horrible results. [Therefore] it is resolved that the honourable brothers, together with the quarter's elders, will make [some] penetrating inquiries and question Jan ten Hoorn about the matter themselves. After the investigation, the [outcome] shall be [first] discussed with the honourable chairman and, accordingly, the outcome will be reported to the Noble Great Powers with the objective to prevent [publication of] such a harmful work.[58]

Subsequently, members of the *Kerkenraad*, 'Colega la Mair' and a certain 'Sr de Seuter' among others, went to Ten Hoorn's bookshop 'over het Oude Herenlogement' to ask the latter book trader questions about the matter.[59] When Ten Hoorn had been informed about this, according to a consistory's resolution (16 January 1687) detailing the conclusions of the *Kerkenraad* members, he had first denied 'that such a work was under his press' ('ontkent dat sulcken boeck bij hem onder de pers was'). He had also boldly told the church council's representatives he had never received from a Delft client either letters or a manuscript of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s Dutch translation ('noch nooyt van Delft yets sulcx ontfangen hadt').

When the *Kerkenraad*'s acting officers had confronted Ten Hoorn with some letters of complaint they had received from Delft ('confrontatie van brieven uijt Delft

56 Timotheus ten Hoorn* and Jan Claesz ten Hoorn* ('beyde *Ten Hoorens*') and their 'dirty trash booth' ('vuyle Prullekraam') are lambasted for having put to press an edition by Glazemaker* of Descartes's 'Principles' by a fictitious character called 'Apollo' in the following pamphlet: anon., *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus. Ontstaan over het drukken van de Beginselen van de wijsbegeerte van den heer Renatus Descartes* (Amsterdam: 1690), p. 4. In the pamphlet, Lodewijk Meyer* and other Cartesians are also ridiculed, too (ibid.). Rieuwertsz* and Glazemaker* are also referred to (ibid.), but they are treated with respect for being the loyal publisher and translator of the 'Principles of Philosophy'. The edition discussed is: René Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae: of Beginselen der wysbegeerte*…. (Amsterdam: 1690). *See* further for this: Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 1, pp. 325–331.

57 For the auction catalogue of the private library of Rijnsdijk*: *Catalogus … rarissimorum librorum … Henrici Ryndyk*, … (Amsterdam: n.d. [1689]). The catalogue lists no works by Spinoza.

58 "t drucken van Spinoose traact theolog. & politigh. Text:' Wort Ingebracht dat tot Delft onderlaten zijnde het drucken van het extractaat van Spinosa genoemt tractaet theologi, politicy In t' duijts t' amsterdam, by Jan ten hoorn bij t' heere logement soüde onder de parsen sijn en dewyl dit boeck reets bij de heeren staaten van hollant op de Instantie vande Christelycke Synodus, In t' latyn is verboden en der selfs uytgeven in t' duyts van noch meer schadelycke gevolgen gelijck te vreesen is, soo is geresolveert dat d'E. broederen met d'ouderlingen van het quartier alder naeuwst en selfs by Jan ten hoorn nae de saeck sal informeeren, en nae bevint van saecken sulcx met d' EE praeses comuniceeren om sulcx dan vorder aen d'tafel van haer Ed. groot achtbaarheden over te brengen op dat een soo schadelycken werck mocht verhindert werden.' (376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 15, p. 164, 9 January 1687; quoted in Gerardus F.L. Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn and Spinoza's *Tractaet*', *Quaerendo*, 13 [1983], pp. 239–240, there at p. 239).

59 'Sr de Seuter': perhaps Nicolaas le Seuter. Cf.: Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe* (7 vols., Amsterdam: 1760–7), vol. 2, p. 166.

geschreven'), the latter eventually confessed. He had, he admitted, received 'such books and papers' indeed ('bekent dat sulcke boeken en papieren te hebben ontfangen'). Accordingly, Ten Hoorn had informed his bookshop's visitors that he actually had never realized what evil was contained in the assignment ('sonder te weeten datter yets quaets in stack'). He further told them that, after he had discovered the work's blasphemous contents ('dat hij naderhandt de godloosheyt van t'schrift hem te weeten gecomen sijnden') he had torn up everything already printed and had burned the Dutch translation's manuscript ('alles hadt verscheurt en verbrant') he had been asked to process.

Ten Hoorn's testimony, though, was severely doubted and he was subsequently accused of lying ('notoire leugen', 'sulcken godtloos leugen door Jan ten Hoorn'). In the end, the consistory's account concludes, they had decided to rebuke Ten Hoorn for his lies ('om hem over die leugen te bestraffen') and the consistory's acting officers told the Amsterdam bookseller he was to appear before the *Kerkenraad* for further questioning.[60]

On Thursday 23 January 1687, Ten Hoorn went to see the disconcerted church council. During interview, he assured its members once again he had destroyed the printed sheets of the Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, together with the manuscript ('al het ghedruckte van dat tractaet ghescheurt en het exempelaer selfs verbrant hadt'). As a result, the *Kerkenraad* urged the Amsterdam printer to mention to them the name of 'the author' (i.e., the translator) and that of the Delft initiator who had commissioned the work ('om den autheur of aenrader tot het drucken van dat exempelaeren ons te openbaren').[61] Ten Hoorn, according to the consistory's account of the 23th, had subsequently declared the identity of these two individuals ('betuijcht noch autheur te kennen, noch aenrader gehadt te hebben') was not known to him. Next, the Amsterdam church council's praeses brought the matter to a close. As a result, the *Kerkenraad* could do nothing more than reprimand Ten Hoorn for lying to the consistory's acting officers ('over zijn leugen bestraft worden t'geen door d'E preses gedaen zijnde').[62]

60 376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 15, p. 165, 16 January 1687.

61 Ibid., p. 167, 23 January 1687; Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn', p. 239.

62 376: 'Archief van de Hervormde Gemeente; Kerkenraad', 'Algemeen', ms. 'Protocolboeken', inv. no. 15, p. 167, 23 January 1687; Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn', p. 240.

7 *De Rechtzinnige Theologant* (*Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693, Text Version 1). Textual Characteristics

In this chapter it has already been previously stated that in the 1697 *Vervolg*, the sequel to *Het leven van Philopater*, the work's anonymous author claimed that a 'medical doctor and an illustrious philosopher' had obtained the now-lost manuscript of the original Dutch translation of Spinoza's treatise made by Glazemaker. The latter, according to *Vervolg*, had edited the manuscript and also composed (in the style of the *Zedekunst*) its 'konstwoorden', the technical Latin glosses now printed in the external margins of *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693). In other words, Glazemaker made an independent Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* after a now-lost Latin manuscript by Spinoza, published in 1693 in *De rechtzinnige theologant* (siglum: *Glazemaker*/*Theologant* 1693). When the latter printed Glazemaker-redaction is set against the redactions of the late-seventeenth-century 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (the revised text of Glazemaker's translation known as *codex A*), the Latin quartos, and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (1694), it soon becomes apparent that *De rechtzinnige theologant* contains several notable textual dissimilarities.

It should be noticed in this context that the 1694 Dutch edition presents itself as a re-edition of *De rechtzinnige theologant*. In spite of this claim, *Een rechtsinnige theologant* lacks the technical Latin glosses present in the external margins of the Dutch Glazemaker-redaction published in 1693. According to *Een rechtsinnige theologant*'s editorial foreword, written in grammatically-corrupted Dutch, the lost manuscript which had served as printer's copy had no explanatory glosses:

> … [except that] the handwritten copy of the translator, which we used to set in type our [work], does not include such [glosses].[63]

According to Akkerman's findings, the textual differences between Glazemaker's text in *De rechtzinnige theologant* and *codex A* should be divided into two key categories. The first category concerns orthographical and grammatical differences which can be explained by the translation process itself. One such example can be found in the treatise's prologue. The text of the 1670 *Tractatus*

63 '… ; behalven dat de geschrevene Copie van den oversetter, daar wy het onse na geset hebben, de selve niet en heeft.' (*ERT*, sig. *2^{v}).

theologico-politicus reads in the Preface: '[…] *potius vellem, ut* […] *negligent, quam* […] *molesti sint, et* […] *obsint*'.[64] The author of 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (before 17 February 1671) faithfully translates the Latin in the following manner: 'En terwijl zij aan zigh zelven geen voordeel doen, aan andere hinderen, die….' (fol. 111^{r}).[65]

Nonetheless, Glazemaker's text in *De rechtzinnige theologant* is a far freer translation (sig. ***3^{r}): 'en terwijl zy aan zich zelven geen voordeel doen, zijn zy ook hinderlijk aan die, die' [vrymoediger]. Another case in *De rechtzinnige theologant* is the Dutch translation in chapter 2 (p. 34, l. 33/p. 35, l. 1) of the Latin phrase '& nihil humani ab ipsis alienum existimandum'. The text in *codex A* (fol. 141^{r}, ll. 8–10) reads: '… di moet gedagt worden, dat al 't geen menschelyk is, van haar niet vreemd en is geweest….'[66] Glazemaker's text, *De rechtzinnige theologant*, has a far more freer translation: '… hebben … en [geächt] dat hen alles, het welk menschelijk waar, kon overkomen.'[67]

The second category, distinguished by Akkerman, concerns translation variants related to intentional editorial interventions in Glazemaker's original text.[68] To put it differently, for philosophical key concepts Glazemaker principally prefers Dutch purist words. For instance:

– 'geschiedenissen' (*historia*: histories, stories, [historical] accounts or narratives).[69]
– 'grondslagen' (*fundamentum*: foundation, fundamental principle).[70]
– 'verbond' (*pactum*: contract, covenant, agreement).[71]
– 'achtbaarheid' (*majestas*: majesty).

The unknown 'second' editor of the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' in *codex A*, though, replaced those four key nouns with the following synonyms:

– 'historien'.
– 'fondementen'.
– 'testament'.
– 'majesteit'.[72]

A specific term also introduced by Glazemaker is the Dutch expression '(gemene) kundigheit', the technical equivalent for the Latin noun *axioma*. Contrariwise, the editor of 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' has translated that technical term as 'geloofsspreuk'.[73]

Akkerman refers to other examples which strongly seem to support the conclusion Glazemaker made an autonomous translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* indeed. The first three printed Latin quarto editions (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4) have in chapter 1 on page 12 the following phrase (ll. 26–27): '*sunt ne haec* (scaeva scilicet) *ejus opera?*'.[74] Both the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (fol. 128^{v}) and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (p. 15, ll. 5–6) have in this same instance 'verkeerde werken' and '(averechse) werken', respectively. Glazemaker's text in *De rechtzinnige theologant* seems to be a translation of the Latin adjective 'saeva', not of 'scaeva'. He translates thus (p. 18, l. 29): '*zijn dit niet* (te weten toornige) *zijn werken?*'. This corrupted and more simpler reading can also be found in the corrected Latin quarto edition T.5, set in type after T.4n/T.4, its immediate exemplar.[75]

Next, all printed Latin quarto editions have, in chapter 4 the phrase 'ex solo defectu cogitationis' (p. 51, l. 29).[76] Glazemaker's translation in *De rechtzinnige theologant* reads (p. 78, l. 24): 'by gebrek van kennis'. Nevertheless, both 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (fol. 182^{v}) and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (p. 64, ll. 27–28) have the following Dutch phrase: 'by gebrek van denking'.[77]

Another example occurs in the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in its chapter 17. Latin quarto edition T.5 presents on its pages 190–191 (ll. 35/1) a correction of a quotation from the 'Histories of Alexander the Great', probably by the Roman historian Quinten Curtius Rufus, which has been mistakenly typeset in the first three printed quartos.[78] In T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4, this typesetter's flaw reads: '*Majestatis enim salutis esse tutelam*'. T.5 has the corrected version from Curtius: '*Majestatem enim salutis esse tutelam*'. Still, both quotations are incomplete and lack the genitive case of the noun *imperii*. Glazemaker's text in *De rechtzinnige theologant* (p. 292, ll. 17–18), quotes Curtius however correctly:

> *… dewijl d'achtbaarheit en 't gezach van de heerschappy, de beschutting en bescherming van de welstand was.*

De rechtzinnige theologant's two doublings are absent in a Dutch translation of Curtius, published in 1663 which was

64 G 3/12.17–18.
65 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 224.
66 Ibid., p. 229.
67 G 3/37.6–8.
68 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 227.
69 Cf. CW, vol. 2, p. 634.
70 Ibid., pp. 631–632.
71 Ibid., pp. 621–622.
72 Ibid., p. 228.
73 Cf. Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 228. For a preliminary list of minor mistakes by Glazemaker* corrected in the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge': ibid., p. 229. For those made in the latter manuscript: ibid., pp. 229–230.
74 G 3/26.26–7.
75 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 224.
76 G 3/65.29.
77 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 225.
78 Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, bk 8, ch. 5 (G 3/205.2).

composed by Glazemaker.[79] There, it reads in his translation the following: 'dewijl d'achtbaarheid van de heerschappij de beschutting van de welstant was: ….'[80]

Since the mid-sixteenth century it was customary to divide each chapter of the Bible into verses of a few short lines or sentences. Most biblical quotations in the printed Latin editions, though, are indicated with references to a numbering of verses different to the current numbering now familiar to readers. Eighteen of those 'other' references can be found in Glazemakers's text printed in *De rechtzinnige theologant* of 1693. Only five of them present the 'correct' present-day numbering in Scripture.[81]

When the textual condition of the surviving Dutch redactions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is examined in their minute details, Akkerman's definitive conclusion is that the text of 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', as it is preserved in manuscript 75 G 15, does present the most superior state of the Dutch translation of Spinoza's second work. In other words, the revised text redaction contained in *codex A* in the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', made by a 'second' translator/editor, is considered as the version most faithful to the original Latin text of Spinoza's now-lost holograph, translated by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker.

8 The Lexical Similarity of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*'s Extant Four Dutch Redactions

Armed with the view Glazemaker has made an autonomous Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, some conclusive remarks are finally to be made about the overall lexical similarities of all four surviving Dutch translations: (1) Glazemaker's translation published in the 1693 *De rechtzinnige theologant*, (2) the improved redaction of Glazemaker's lost manuscript in 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (*codex A*), (3) the fragmentarily translation in the *De waerheyt* (commonly following *codex A*'s text) published by Willem van Blijenbergh in 1674, and, lastly, (4) *Een rechtsinnige theologant*, printed in 1694.

Traditionally, scholars have always collated larger text units by text sampling, i.e., systematic philological comparison of selected text portions considered to be representative for closer examination. With the increasingly-rapid pace of evolving research possibilities provided by present-day computational analysis, collation of fully-transcribed texts can now be automated in a thorough and most efficient way. Hence, technically spoken, old-fashioned sampling becomes unnecessary when comparing parallel texts. In digital transcripts, sentence pairs can now be automatically collated and subsequently analysed line-by-line with an algorithm, allowing to compute their very similarities. Such an automatic collation of the four surviving Dutch translations of Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise' has been recently executed by Van der Deijl.[82]

In regard to the textual roots of these four Dutch translations and their highly-complex lexical similarity, the following conclusions can be drawn from Van der Deijl's computational analysis:

- The 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge', in *codex A*, has an independent translation of chapters 5 and 9 markedly different from Glazemaker's translation printed in the 1693 *De rechtzinnige theologant*.
- Both *De rechtzinnige theologant* and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (1694) are different text versions. Yet, their lexical similarity rises after the Preface and then drops after chapter 4. This indicates chapters 1 to 4 of both printed editions share a common root.
- In all of its chapters, *Een rechtsinnige theologant* is a text version not reliant on the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' (*codex A*), except for 5. Mutually independent are in *Een rechtsinnige theologant* its Preface and chapters 5 to 20, except for chapter 9 which appears to have been translated by three different translators.
- Each text version of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s four surviving Dutch translations seems to contain an autonomous variant redaction of chapter 9.
- The redactions of chapter 5 in *Een rechtsinnige theologant* and the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' overlap to a high degree, but chapter 5 in *De rechtzinnige theologant* and *Een rechtsinnige theologant* is not reliant on one another.
- Traditional sampling by Van der Deijl of the translation now surviving in small text portions in the 1674 *De waerheyt* supports my earlier conclusion Van Blijenbergh's translation follows in all chapters the 'God-geleerde Staat-kundige Verhandelinge' in *codex A*, especially in 5 and 9.

In regard to the complex lexical similarity and textual roots of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s now-known Dutch translations, Van der Deijl's suggestion is that several copies of one Dutch translation circulated in manuscript,

79 Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historie, van 't leven en bedrijf van Alexander de Groot, …*, Jan H. Glazemaker* (transl.) (Amsterdam: 1663), p. 528.

80 Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 229.

81 Ibid., p. 225.

82 Lucas van der Deijl, 'The Dutch Translation and Circulation of Spinoza's Tractatus Theologico-Politicus in Manuscript and Print (1670–1694)', *Quaerendo*, 50 (2020), pp. 207–237.

either in separate chapters or in a completed full copy. This conclusion also furthers the distinct possibility that many more still unknown different intermediary versions in Dutch may have been produced in the period between the first Latin quarto edition T.1's publication (late 1669 or early 1670) and the publication of Glazemaker's Dutch translation in *De rechtzinnige theologant*, issued by the mysterious publisher 'Henricus Koenraad' in 1693.

9 The *Trouhartige Waarschouwing* (1704) about *Den Hemel op Aarden* (1703) and *De Rechtzinnige Theologant*

Almost ten years after publication of the 1697 Philopater sequel *Vervolg*, in which the book's author made claims about Glazemaker's translation of *De rechtzinnige theologant*, the general reviling vituperation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had not diminished. His adversaries would continue to assault the work in vitriolic pamphlets and books for many decades to come.[83] Like its Latin and French editions, also the Glazemaker translation first printed in 1693 was considered a threat to the Christian faith and the piety of ordinary churchgoers, too. For, those who were not Latinate were now able to read Spinoza's provocative treatise in the vernacular.

Conjointly with *De rechtzinnige theologant*, another work, called *Den hemel op aarden* (Heaven on Earth) was lambasted in a similar way. This work, heavily leaning on Spinoza's *Ethica* and published by the liberal Dutch pastor Frederik van Leenhof (1647–1715) in Zwolle in 1703, also met with the strongest opposition. The book's contents were considered by its opponents a scornful blow to traditional Reformed theological doctrine.[84] Van Leenhof in *Den hemel op aarden* maintained that everybody can live in a sacred 'heaven on earth' and also took up the view there was a necessary order of nature. In addition, Van Leenhof upheld, salvation can be obtained from the rational, secular knowledge of God's order only. Like Spinoza, he rejected a transcendental, personal God. Even God himself was unable to abrogate nature's necessity.

Clerical reactions to Van Leenhof's work were straightforwardly hostile. They were brought to a head in various publications which were put to press against *Den hemel op aarden*.[85] Except for the Provincial Synod of Zwolle, all other Dutch Synods were shocked and condemned the book to be scandalous, irreligious, and misleading for its efforts propagating downright philosophical notions related to Spinoza overtly. Because of the book's striking parallels with expressions and definitions contained in Spinoza's writings, it was heavily assailed in *Trouhartige waarschouwing aan alle slag van menschen* (Loyal Warning to All Kind of People), a work surreptitiously published in 1704. In the latter riposte, its disguised author sought to underline the dangers hidden in *Den hemel op aarden* and reverse them.[86] According to the *Trouhartige waarschouwing*, Van Leenhof was openly and straightforwardly propagating Spinoza's works and the radical doctrines contained in them.

In the same year the *Trouhartige waarschouwing* was published in Amsterdam, also the previously-mentioned Enkhuizen pastor Frans Burman *fils* launched an attack on Van Leenhof in print. Four years earlier, it has been pointed out in chapter 3, Burman *fils* had published *Burmannorum pietas* to defend his father Frans Burman against Philip van Limborch's accusations the former Utrecht theologian had in his works expressed veiled sympathies for Spinoza's metaphysical doctrines.[87] In 1704, Burman *fils* in *'t Hoogste goed der spinozisten, vergeleken met den Hemel op aarden* this time accused his colleague Van Leenhof of heresy and besmirching Christianity with 'the bodily and dirty teachings of Epicurus'. Moreover, he blamed him for reviving 'Spinozistery' ('spinozism'), an anachronistic Dutch term putting Van Leenhof on a par with virulent atheism, Spinoza in particular.[88] For long, Van Leenhof's *Den hemel op aarden* would be rated unceasingly in the Netherlands and beyond as one of the most influential forerunners of works in the vernacular popularizing Spinoza.

The *Trouhartige waarschouwing*'s disguised author in the work's epilogue also brings up *De rechtzinnige theologant* to warn readers for the pernicious contents of this first Dutch edition of Spinoza's treatise. *De rechtzinnige theologant*, it is contended in the *Trouhartige waarschouwing*'s epilogue, is nothing more than a Pandora's box, propounding a host of foolish misconceptions about the 'pure truth' ('zuivere waarheid') and the 'holy wisdom' ('geheiligde wysheid') of Scripture and the Christian faith. Van

83 Glazemaker: BL.

84 Frederik van Leenhof, *Den hemel op aarden; of een korte en klaare beschrijvinge van de waare en stantvastige lydschap, …* (Zwolle: 1703). For Van Leenhof and the controversy about *Den hemel op aarden*: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 406–435; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 590–596.

85 Cf. for a list of refutations of the book: ibid., pp. 595–596.

86 Anon., *Trouhartige waarschouwing aan alle slag van menschen: wegens de over-eenstemminge tusschen Den hemel op aarden, … en de schriften van den Godverzaker Benedictus de Spinoza, ten opsigte van verscheidene stellingen en spreekwyzen* (Amsterdam: 1704).

87 For Burman* *fils*'s defence in *Burmannorum pietas* of his late father: Chapter 3, *Publication and Immediate Reception*.

88 Frans Burman* (II), *'t Hoogste goed der spinozisten, vergeleken met Den hemel op aarden van den heer Fredericus van Leenhof…. Waar in de vergelijkinge word opgemaakt uyt de Tractatus theologico-politicus van Spinoza, …* (Enkhuizen: 1704).

Leenhof's anonymous detractor cunningly remarks that, first and for all, Spinoza himself had prevented (1671) the printing of a Dutch rendering of his 'Theological-Political Treatise'. He would have been well aware that the Dutch authorities would ban such a rendering in the vernacular, especially after repeated accusations of atheism levelled against the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* since it was first published. Because of the Latin work's subsequent ban (19 July 1674), the *Trouhartige waarschouwing* further argues, for long no one had effectively had the courage to put to press a Dutch translation of the treatise. Only recently, the riposte's cloaked author continues bitterly, 'free minds' ('vrye verstanden') had purposely violated the book's ban and boldly renamed this

> … disastrous creature and child of darkness [from start to finish] as the 'Orthodox Theologian' with the aim of letting it look like an Angel of light. In this way, it came to light in the year 1693 as a white-painted whore who, because of her public ungodliness, was banned for ever from the fatherland, despite ban and fine. [It was published with the very objective] to kick in the reins of the genuine word of the living God (if this could be possible anyway) and cut off the arteries of the heart. It is meant to fool the world, which is submerged in evil and darkened by nature, [teaching] that there is actually no truth in [what] Holy Scripture teaches or is contained in it….[89]

The *Trouhartige waarschouwing*'s author further expresses his concern that *De rechtzinnige theologant* would call forth irreligious and immoral responses. It would deceive young ignorant readers and make them doubt, even reject, established theological doctrines and commonly accepted acts of worship. Worried, the author of the *Trouhartige waarschouwing* then warns for the nasty consequences which *De rechtzinnige theologant* could bring into effect:

> Yes, after free spirits boldly entitled the G.S.V. [as the] 'Orthodox Theologian' and recommended this work regularly to young book lovers (even to young girls in whose houses and hands it was [already] present), it is obvious all should be warned for the deceit and poison. [Especially] the parents [who were] to keep [this book] from their children's hands.[90]

Unclear is how many copies of *De rechtzinnige theologant* (1693) and of *Een rechtsinnige theologant* (1694) were eventually printed. Up to the present, twenty copies of the first Dutch edition and nine copies of the second are known to be extant in libraries holdings. In spite of these few surviving copies, there are indications one of the two editions remained in any case popular for several decades.

In 1714, the Leiden printer and bookseller Samuel I Luchtmans (1685–1757) published a catalogue of all the books (331 different book titles) held in stock by his firm, simply called *Catalogus librorum*.[91] Tellingly, the latter catalogue also lists 'Spinoza regtsinnige Theologant 4.'. Yet, it is uncertain whether the reference concerns the 1693 quarto edition or the one published one year later. According to a handwritten note scribbled by Luchtmans on a leaf's recto in an interleaved copy of *Catalogus librorum* preserved in Amsterdam, in 1714 he had still eleven copies of that Dutch translation in stock. Whether this number of copies is representational for the book's common availability in other bookstores at the start of the eighteenth century is unclear. In sum, all this however seems to add to the conclusion that, about twenty years after the Dutch translations' publication, the work was apparently in 1714 a book still sought after by readers.[92]

⁘

FIRST QUARTO EDITION, FIRST AND ONLY ISSUE, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN (ILLUSTRATION 7.5–7.14)

Short Title

Anon., *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandeling*. 'Hamburg' [Amsterdam], 'Henricus

89 '… dit rampzalige wanschepsel en kind der duysternisse, op dat het soude scheynen een Engel des lights te zyn van vooren tot agteren herdoopt met de naam van de *Regtzinnige Theologant*: en zo is het eerst Anno. 1693. als een geblankette kamer-hoer die om haar openbaare Goddeloosheid voor eeuwig het Vaderland uitgebannen was boven ban en boet te voorscheyn gekomen: om het waaragtige woord van den levendigen Godt (indien het mogelyk waare) de lendenen in te trappen en de hard-aders af te steken; dat is om de waerelt die dog in het booze ligt en van naturen verduistert is wys te maken dat'er eigentlyk geen *waarheid* in de H. Schrift geleert wordt of te vinden is: ….' (anon., *Trouhartige waarschouwing*, p. 93).

90 'Ja nadien die schriften 't zederd men aan de G.S.V. den naam van Rechtzinnige Theologant heeft derven geeven van de Vrye Geesten hier en daar aan de leesgraage jeugd zelfs aan Jufferen zyn aangepreezen en in der zelver huyzen en handen gevonden moet elk dus voor 't bedrog en 't vergift gewaarschuwt zyn en de ouderen om die uit de handen hunner kinderen te weeren.' (ibid., p. 96). The abbreviation 'G.S.V.' patently stands for: 'Godtgeleerde Staatkundige Verhandeling'.

91 *Catalogus librorum quos Samuel Luchtmans vel ipse typis mandavit, vel quorum major ipsi copia suppetit* (Leiden: 1714), p. 24.

92 Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, University Library, Special Collections, 'Archief van de firma Luchtmans (1697–1848)', stocklists of Luchtmans publications, no. 665.

DE

RECHTZINNIGE

THEOLOGANT,

OF

GODGELEERDE

STAATKUNDIGE

VERHANDELINGE.

Uit het Latijn vertaalt.

KONINKL.
BIBLIOTHEEK
TE 'S HAGE.

Te HAMBURG,

By HENRICUS KOENRAAD.

MDCXCIII.

ILLUSTRATION 7.5 Title-page of the first Dutch quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Independent translation by Glazemaker.

Koenraad', *printer*: unknown, *for*: [Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*] (*bookseller*), 1693.

- Dutch text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew and Latin.
- Autonomous translation from the Latin by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker.
- Cover-up publication address in imprint: Hamburg (i.e. [Amsterdam]).
- Fictitious publisher in imprint: 'Henricus Koenraad' (i.e. [Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*]).
- Title-page has arabesqued ornaments.
- Technical Latin glosses in external margins.
- Contains table of contents ('D'inhout der hooftdelen dezes boeks', twenty chapters).
- Contains list of errata.
- Dutch bookseller's price at publication not known.

Exemplars

Possibly Spinoza's lost Latin holograph and/or apograph of it; the autograph and/or an apograph of Glazemaker's translation, which has served as printer's copy, are no longer extant; perhaps also T.1.

Title-Page (*on outer Forme of Gathering* *)

De | RECHTZINNIGE | THEOLOGANT, | of | GODGELEERDE | STAATKUNDIGE | VERHANDELINGE. | *Uit* (swash U) *het Latijn* (swash L) *vertaalt.* | (arabesqued ornaments) | Te HAMBURG, | By Henricus Koenraad. | mdcxciii.

Language(*s*) *and Typography*

Dutch (incidentally printed in Fraktur typeface, p. 87), unpointed bold Hebrew (with translation into Dutch). Latin glosses in external margins (italic type, keyed to Dutch terms with superior letters), explanatory footnotes, keyed with typographical symbols. Old-style serif roman types from an otherwise unidentified Amsterdam printing firm. Normally thirty-three lines.

Pag: 1

DE

RECHTZINNIGE

THEOLOGANT:

Of

GODGELEERDE STAATKUNDIGE

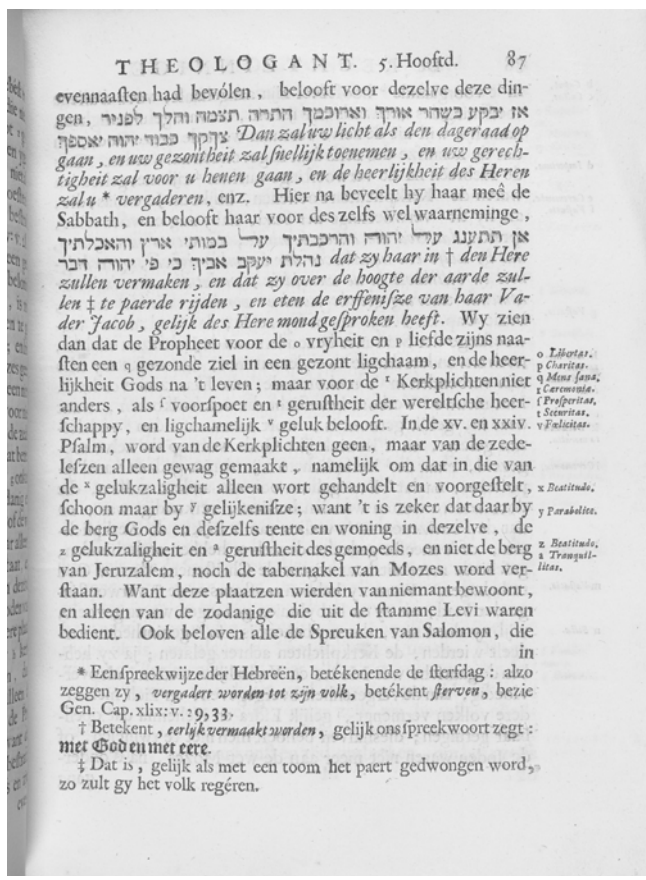
VERHANDELINGE.

't EERSTE HOOFTDEEL.

Van de Prophetie.

PRophetie of Openbaring, is een zekere kennis, van eenige zaak, van God den menſchen geopenbaart: maar de geen is een Propheet, die Gods openbaringen aan de genen uitlegt en verklaart, dewelke geen zekere kennis van de dingen, die God geopenbaart heeft, konnen hebben, en dieshalven de geopenbaarde dingen, alleenlijk met een zuiver geloof konnen omhelzen. Want een Propheet word by de Hebreën genoemt נביא *Nabi*; dat is, redenaar en verklaarder: maar in de Schrift word deze naam altijd voor Gods verklaarder en uitlegger gebruikt, gelijk in 't twede boek van Mozes Cap. vii: 1. afgenomen word, daar God tot Mozes zegt: *Zie ik ſtel u tot Pharaös God, en Aäron uw broeder, zal uw Propheet zijn.* Als of hy zeide, dewijl Aäron met de dingen, die gy ſpreken zult, aan Pharaö te verklaren, de Perzoon van Pro-

A pheet



THEOLOGANT. 5. Hooftd. 87

evennaaſten had bevólen, belooft voor dezelve deze dingen, אז יבקע כשחר אורך וארוכתך תהרה תצמח והלך לפניך צדקך כבוד יהוה יאספך *Dan zal uw licht als den dageraad opgaan, en uw gezontheit zal ſnellijk toenemen, en uw gerechtigheit zal voor u henen gaan, en de heerlijkheit des Heren zal u* * *vergaderen*, enz. Hier na beveelt hy haar meê de Sabbath, en belooft haar voor des zelfs wel waarneminge, אז תתענג על יהוה והרכבתיך על במותי ארץ והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך כי פי יהוה דבר *dat zy haar in* † *den Here zullen vermaken, en dat zy over de hoogte der aarde zullen* ‡ *te paerde rijden, en eten de erffeniſze van haar Vader Jacob, gelijk des Here mond geſproken heeft.* Wy zien dan dat de Propheet voor de o vryheit en p liefde zijns naaſten een q gezonde ziel in een gezont ligchaam, en de heerlijkheit Gods na 't leven; maar voor de r Kerkplichten niet anders, als s voorſpoet en t geruſtheit der wereltſche heerſchappy, en ligchamelijk v geluk belooft. In de xv. en xxiv. Pſalm, word van de Kerkplichten geen, maar van de zedeleſzen alleen gewag gemaakt, namelijk om dat in die van de x gelukzaligheit alleen wort gehandelt en voorgeſtelt, ſchoon maar by y gelijkenisze; want 't is zeker dat daar by de berg Gods en deſzelfs tente en woning in dezelve, de z gelukzaligheit en a geruſtheit des gemoeds, en niet de berg van Jeruzalem, noch de tabernakel van Mozes word verſtaan. Want deze plaatzen wierden van niemant bewoont, en alleen van de zodanige die uit de ſtamme Levi waren bedient. Ook beloven alle de Spreuken van Salomon, die

in

o *Libertas.* p *Charitas.* q *Mens ſana.* r *Ceremonia.* s *Proſperitas.* t *Securitas.* v *Felicitas.* x *Beatitudo.* y *Parabolice.* z *Beatitudo.* a *Tranquillitas.*

* Een ſpreekwijze der Hebreën, betékenende de ſterfdag: alzo zeggen zy, *vergadert worden tot zijn volk*, betékent *ſterven*, bezie Gen. Cap. xlix: v.: 9,33.

† Betekent, *eerlijk vermaakt worden*, gelijk ons ſpreekwoort zegt: **met God en met eere.**

‡ Dat is, gelijk als met een toom het paert gedwongen word, zo zult gy het volk regéren.

ILLUSTRATIONS 7.6 AND 7.7 Pages 1 and 87 of main text.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– P. 13: sig. B3 (outer forme) misprinted as 'A 3'.

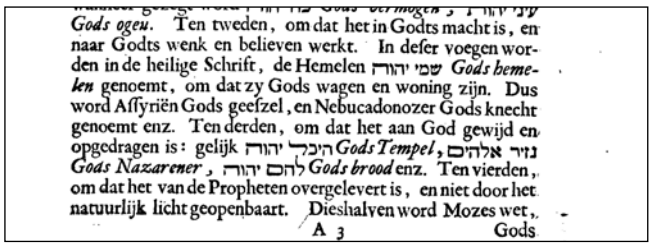
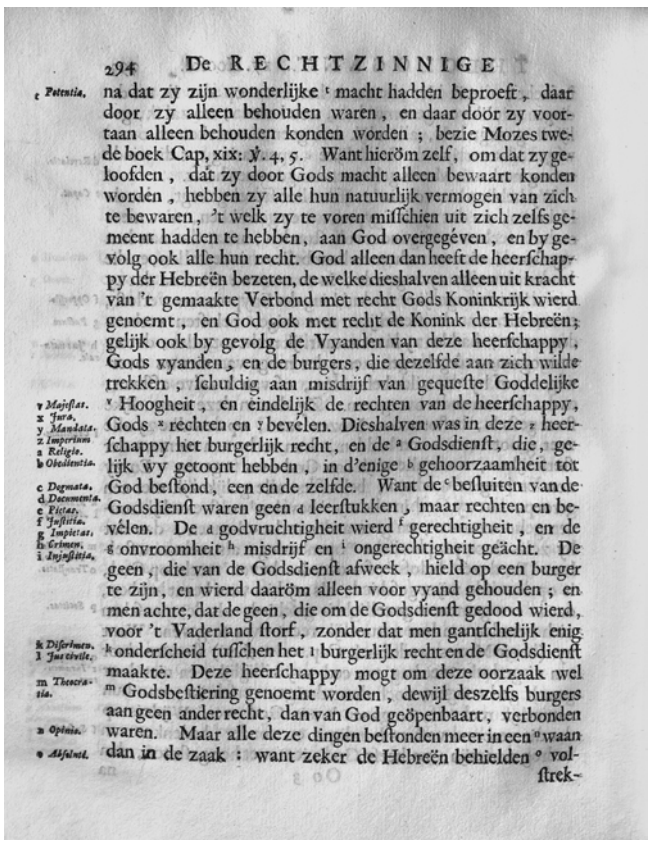

Gods ogen. Ten tweden, om dat het in Godts macht is, en naar Godts wenk en believen werkt. In defer voegen worden in de heilige Schrift, de Hemelen שמי יהוה *Gods hemelen* genoemt, om dat zy Gods wagen en woning zijn. Dus word Aſſyriën Gods geeſzel, en Nebucadonozer Gods knecht genoemt enz. Ten derden, om dat het aan God gewijd en opgedragen is: gelijk היכל יהוה *Gods Tempel*, נזיר אלהים *Gods Nazarener*, לחם יהוה *Gods brood* enz. Ten vierden, om dat het van de Propheten overgelevert is, en niet door het natuurlijk licht geopenbaart. Dieshalven word Mozes wet,
A 3 Gods

ILLUSTRATION 7.8 Misprint of signature B3.

Occurs in: Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, RON A-5815; Utrecht, University Library, F OCT 881; The Hague, KB, 3112 F 17, PH851.

– P. 204 (page number): 204 misnumbered as '205' (outer forme of Cc).
– p. 294 (page number): smaller 2 printed (hanging) beneath 94 (inner forme of Oo).


294 De RECHTZINNIGE

t Potentia. na dat zy zijn wonderlijke t macht hadden beproeft, daar door zy alleen behouden waren, en daar door zy voortaan alleen behouden konden worden; bezie Mozes tweede boek Cap. xix: v. 4, 5. Want hieröm zelf, om dat zy geloofden, dat zy door Gods macht alleen bewaart konden worden, hebben zy alle hun natuurlijk vermogen van zich te bewaren, 't welk zy te voren misſchien uit zich zelfs gemeent hadden te hebben, aan God overgegéven, en by gevolg ook alle hun recht. God alleen dan heeft de heerſchappy der Hebreën bezeten, de welke dieshalven alleen uit kracht van 't gemaakte Verbond met recht Gods Koninkrijk wierd genoemt, en God ook met recht de Konink der Hebreën; gelijk ook by gevolg de Vyanden van deze heerſchappy, Gods vyanden, en de burgers, die dezelfde aan zich wilde trekken, ſchuldig aan misdrijf van gequeſte Goddelijke v Hoogheit, en eindelijk de rechten van de heerſchappy, Gods x rechten en y bevelen. Dieshalven was in deze z heerſchappy het burgerlijk recht, en de a Godsdienſt, die, gelijk wy getoont hebben, in d'enige b gehoorzaamheit tot God beſtond, een en de zelfde. Want de c beſluiten van de Godsdienſt waren geen a leerſtukken, maar rechten en bevélen. De a godvruchtigheit wierd f gerechtigheit, en de g onvroomheit h misdrijf en i ongerechtigheit geächt. De geen, die van de Godsdienſt afweek, hield op een burger te zijn, en wierd daaröm alleen voor vyand gehouden; en men achte, dat de geen, die om de Godsdienſt gedood wierd, voor 't Vaderland ſtorf, zonder dat men gantſchelijk enig k onderſcheid tuſſchen het l burgerlijk recht en de Godsdienſt maakte. Deze heerſchappy mogt om deze oorzaak wel m Godsbeſtiering genoemt worden, dewijl deszelfs burgers aan geen ander recht, dan van God geöpenbaart, verbonden waren. Maar alle deze dingen beſtonden meer in een n waan dan in de zaak: want zeker de Hebreën behielden o volſtrek-

t Potentia. x Jura. y Mandata. z Imperium. a Religio. b Obedientia. c Dogmata. d Documenta. e Fictæ. f Juſtitia. g Impietas. h Ertneen. i Injuſtitia. k Diſcrimen. l Jus civile. m Theocratia. n Opinio. o Abſolut.

ILLUSTRATION 7.9 Hanging sort in page number 294.

Occurs in: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Exeg. 858e.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

169304 – a1 *2 eit$: a2 ***3 ook$hind
169304 – b1 A er : b2 Yy3 jkofb

Collation

4°: *4 **4 ***4 ****2 A–Z4 Aa–Yy4 [$3, ****2 unsigned]
194 leaves = pp. [28] 1–360 [1]

Collation Variant

Stop-press correction of misprinted signature B3 on p. 13 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Exeg. 858e).

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface printed in upper middle margin, larger upper-case letters (capital letters): VOORREEDEN.

Running headlines in main work in a combination of larger upper-case (capital letters) and smaller lower-case letters: De RECHTZINNIGE (verso), THEOLOGANT. 1. Hooftd. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers).

Contents

*1r	(title-page)
*1v	(blank)
*2r–***3v	VOORREDEN.
***3v	DRUKFOUTEN. (list of errata, thirteen corrections, for pp. 11, 63, 71, 126, 158, 159, 190, 212, 264, 267, 276, 292, 315)
4r–*2v	D'INHOUT der HOOFTDELEN dezes BOEKS. (table of contents, six-page list indicating twenty chapters)
Ar–C3v	DE RECHTZINNIGE THEOLOGANT: Of GODGELEERDE STAATKUNDIGE VERHANDELINGE. 't EERSTE HOOFT-DEEL. *Van de Prophetie.*
C4r–F3r	't TWEDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Propheten.*
F3v–Iv	't DARDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Roepinge der Hebreën: en of de Prophetische Gave, aan de Hebreën eigen, en bezonder is geweest.*
Iv–L2r	't VIERDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Goddelijke Wet.*
L2r–N3r	't VYFDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de réden waaröm de Kerkplichten zijn in gestelt, en van 't Geloof der Geschiedeniszen, namelijk waaröm, en wien 't zelve noodzaaklijk is.*

N3r–Q3r 't ZESDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Wonderdaden.*

Q3v–V3r 't ZEVENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Uytlegging, of verklaring der Schrift.*

V3r–Y3v 't ACHSTE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in getoond word, dat Mozes vijf Boeken, en die van Jozua, der Richteren, Ruth, Samuël, en der Koningen, geen eige Handschriften zijn. Daar na word onderzocht, of 'er meer Schrijvers van deze Boeken geweest zijn dan een, en wie.*

Y4r–Bbr 't NEGENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de voorgaande Boeken worden noch eenige andere dingen onderzocht, namelijk, of Esdra de laatste hand aan dezelve gelegt heeft: en daar na of de kanttekeningen, die in de Hebreeusche afschriften gevonden worden, verscheide lézingen geweest zijn.*

Bbv–Ddr 't TIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in d'andere Boeken, van 't Oude Verbond op een zelfde wijze, als de voorgaande, worden onderzocht.*

Ddr–Ee2v 't ELFDE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in ondersocht word, of d'Apostelen hun brieven; als Apostelen en Propheten, dan of ze dezelve als Leeraars geschreven hebben. Daarna word de bediening der Apostelen getoont.*

Ee2v–Ggr 't TWAALFDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van 't handschrift der Goddelijke Wet , en waaröm de Schrift gewijd of heilig, en waaröm zy Gods Woord wort genoemt: en eindelijk word getoont, dat zy, voor zo veel zy Gods Woord begrijpt: ongekreukt en onbedorven, tot ons is gekomen.*

Ggr–Hhv 't DARTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in getoond word, dat de Schrift niet dan zeer eenvoudige dingen leert en onderwijst, en nergens anders na doelt.*

Hhv–Ii3r 't VEERTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Wat 't Geloof is: wie Gelovigen zijn: de gronden van 't Geloof worden bepaalt: en de zelfden eindelijk van de wijsbegeerte afgescheiden.*

Ii3v–Ll2r 't VYFTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Dat de Godgeleertheit geen Dienstmaagd van de reden, en de reden geen Dienstmaagd van de Godgeleertheit is. Vorders word ook getoont de reden, door dewelke wy ons d'achtbaarheit en 't gezach der Heilige Schrift overréden.*

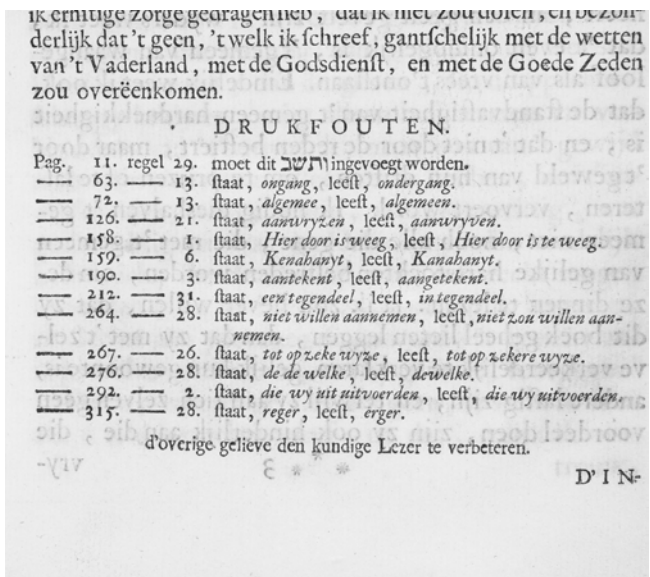
Ll2r–Nn3r 't ZESTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Grondvesten van een geménestaat: van yders Natuurlijk en Burgerlijk recht, en van 't recht der oppermachten.*

Nn3v–Rr3v 't ZEVENTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in getoont word dat niemant alles aan d'Oppermacht kan overgeven, en dat het ook niet noodzaaklijk is. Van de geménestaat der Hebreën, hoedanig zy was terwijl Mozes leefde, hoedanig na zijn dood, eer de Koningen verkozen wierden, een van des zelfs voortreffelijkheit: en eindelijk van d'oorzaken, door dewelke de goddelijke geménestaat kon ondergaan, en naaulijks zonder beroerten heeft konnen bestaan.*

Rr3v–Ttr 't ACHTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Uit de geménestaat der Hebreën, en uit hun geschiedeniszen, worden enige staatkundige léringen besloten.*

Ttv–Xxv 't NEGENTIENDE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in getoont word, dat het recht omtrent het gewijde gantschelijk by d'Oppermachten is, en dat d'uitwendige oeffeningen van de Godsdienst naar de vrede en rust van de geménestaat geschikt moeten worden, zo wy God recht willen dienen.*

Xx2r–Yy4v 't TWINTIGSTE HOOFTDEEL. *Waar in word getoont, dat het in een vrye geménestaat aan yeder geörlooft is, het geen dat hy wil, te gevoelen, en 't dat hy gevoelt, te zeggen.*



ik ernstige zorge gedragen heb , dat ik niet zou dolen , en bezonderlijk dat 't geen , 't welk ik ſchreef , gantſchelijk met de wetten van 't Vaderland , met de Godsdienſt , en met de Goede Zeden zou overëenkomen.

DRUKFOUTEN.

Pag. 11. regel 29. moet dit תשב ingevoegt worden.
— 63. — 13. ſtaat, *ongang*, leeſt, *ondergang.*
— 72. — 13. ſtaat, *algemee*, leeſt, *algemeen.*
— 126. — 21. ſtaat, *aanwryzen*, leeſt, *aanwryven.*
— 158. — 1. ſtaat, *Hier door is weeg*, leeſt, *Hier door is te weeg.*
— 159. — 6. ſtaat, *Kenahanyt*, leeſt, *Kanahanyt.*
— 190. — 3. ſtaat, *aantekent*, leeſt, *aangetekent.*
— 212. — 31. ſtaat, *een tegendeel*, leeſt, *in tegendeel.*
— 264. — 28. ſtaat, *niet willen aannemen*, leeſt, *niet zou willen aannemen.*
— 267. — 26. ſtaat, *tot op zeke wyze*, leeſt, *tot op zekere wyze.*
— 276. — 28. ſtaat, *de de welke*, leeſt, *dewelke.*
— 292. — 2. ſtaat, *die wy uit uitvoerden*, leeſt, *die wy uitvoerden.*
— 315. — 28. ſtaat, *reger*, leeſt, *erger.*

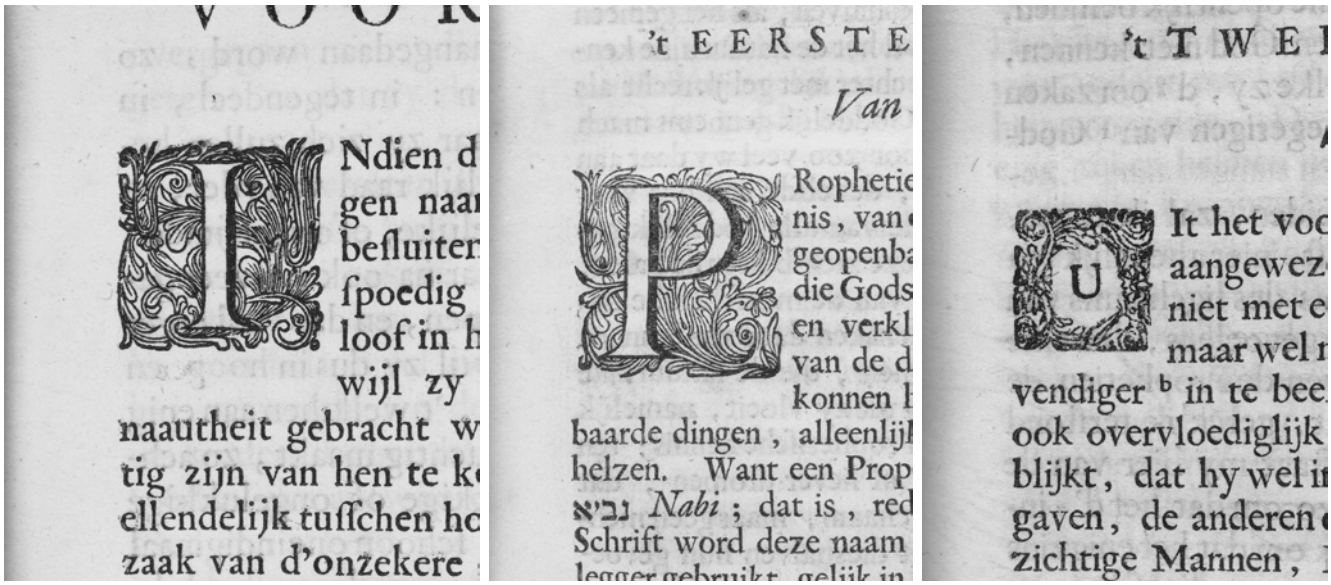
d'overige gelieve den kundige Lezer te verbeteren.

D' I N-

ILLUSTRATION 7.10 List of errata following the prologue.

Ornament on Title-Page

Small-arabesqued ornaments arranged in a V-shape, 3 piled-up rows, each row comprising 5, 4, and 3 small vignettes, respectively, copper engraving (?), 20×30 mm.



ILLUSTRATIONS 7.11, 7.12 AND 7.13 Decorated initials on signature *2r and pages 1 and 23.

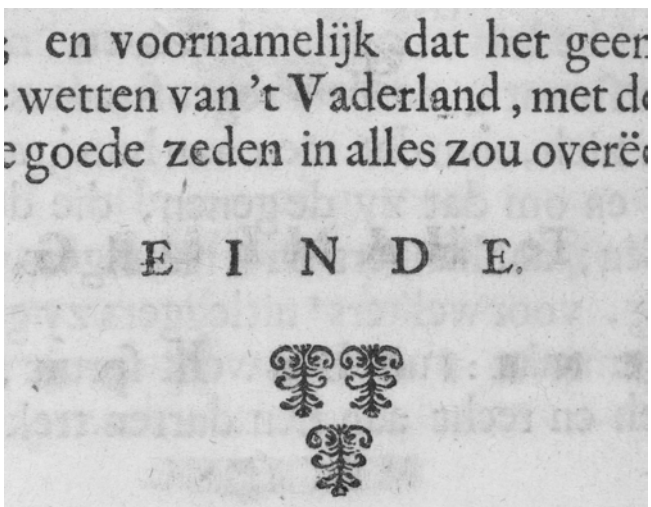


ILLUSTRATION 7.14 Tailpiece vignette at the conclusion of the main text.

Decorated Initials

Two ornamented (acanthus) initials (I, P), plus one decorated factotum initial (U), relief woodcuts, employed to head the first letter of the first word of prologue and chapters of main work: sig. *2r (5 ll., 27×26 mm), pp. 1 (6 ll., 27×26 mm) and 23 (4 ll., 16×15 mm).

Simple Initials

Eighteen plain black capitals (pp. 46 [8×9 mm], 66, 83, 101, 126, 157, 175, 194, 209, 220, 234, 242, 254, 267, 286, 318, 330, 349), each constituting the first letter of each chapter's first word.

Tailpiece Ornament

P. 360: imitation of small-arabesqued ornaments on title-page, same motives, 12×10 mm, copper engraving, 2 piled-rows, organized in the form of a letter V.

***Copies* (*21*)**

Copies Examined

DRT#1 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, RON A-5815
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=g-VjAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

DRT#2 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Exeg. 858e
Few pages poorly printed (p. 87: first word of running headline ['Theologant']; pp. 262–263), p. 299: text leaning to the left, p. 324: notes heavily 'floating' in left external margin. Copy has stop-press correction of signature B3.
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10354711-5

DRT#3 UTRECHT, University Library, F OCT 881
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum binding over pasteboard, round back, handwritten title in black ink on the top of spine (over an elder illegible ink title): 'De

Rechtzinni[k]e Theologant'. Publication date written by the same hand on the tail of the spine: '1693'.
Provenance: rectangular stamp (Utrecht, UL) in lower margin of title-page.

DRT#4 THE HAGUE, KB, 3112 F 17
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather over pasteboard, gold-tooled oblong stamp within a similarly gold-tooled double rectangular rule on front and back.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=16&resultClick=1

DRT#5 THE HAGUE, KB, PH851
Late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, one five raised bands, blind-tooled covering.
Provenance: Bob Luza, ex libris (Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica [Amsterdam]) on first pastedown, reading: 'Philosophia Hermetica', below another ex libris reading: 'Instituut Collectie Nederland').

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*5*)

DRT#6 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, 516 E 36

DRT#7 LEIDEN, University Library, 546 F 1

DRT#8–10 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis (three copies)

Germany (*1*)

DRT#11 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2749

Sweden (*1*)

DRT#12 STOCKHOLM, Royal Library, 116 A

United Kingdom (*1*)

DRT#13 CAMBRIDGE, Newnham College, 113.2 (vellum, hand-lettering on spine, signature of Coenr. Hendricksz on flyleaf, note by Sir Herbert Thompson [1859–1944] on front inside cover: 'This is a translation into Dutch of Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus, made by Jan Hendrikz. Glazemaker in 1671, tho' not published till 1693. The imprint is false; the book was really publ. at Amsterdam by Jan Rieuwertsz.')

United States (*8*)

DRT#14 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, Freidus SPINOZA

DRT#15 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985.D5 G54 1693

DRT#16 LOS ANGELES (CA), University of California, University Library, barcode G0000526103 (modern quarter calf and brown cloth over boards).

DRT#17–18 NEW YORK (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1693, SPINOZA 193Sp4 X6 1693a

DRT#19 NEW YORK (NY), New York Public Library, YBGP D97 G5

DRT#20 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary vellum binding, wanting front free endpaper, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

DRT#21 WASHINGTON (DC), The Library of Congress, B 3985.D5 G5 Pre-1801 Coll.

Note

Chapters (except 1) separated by single rule (101 to 105 mm); high-quality laid paper, horizontal chain-lines. Three watermarks are visible: Seven Provinces (William A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France*, 1935, nos. 109–111); tumbler or 'bird' figure in circle, 24 mm; large upper-case capital letters BS on top of L in circle, 24 mm.

References

Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, vol. 1, p. 240; Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 640; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, 1759, p. 421; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 6, no. 17; Carl Gebhardt, 'Die alten holländischen Übersetzungen des Tractatus theologico-politicus', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 4 (1924–1926), pp. 271–278; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 33, no. 367; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek*, p. 35, no. 208; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 24, no. 22.

SECOND EDITION, FIRST AND ONLY ISSUE, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 7.15–7.20)

Short Title

Anon., *Een rechtsinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkunde*. 'Bremen' [Amsterdam?], *printer*: 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl', *for*: an unidentified bookseller, 1694.

- Dutch text, subsidiary language: Hebrew.
- Edition purports to be a reprint of *De rechtzinnige theologant*, but lacks its technical Latin glosses in the external margins.
- Translator is not known, translation made between 1677 and 1694 (writing period based on a few characteristic printing flaws).
- Epigraph on title-page: 1 John 4:13 (also on: T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5, T.3t as well as on the first full English translation [1689]).
- Cover-up publication address in imprint: Bremen (i.e. [Amsterdam?]).
- Title-page is graced by a small-arabesqued vignette.
- Contains editorial foreword (sigs *2r–*3v: 'De drukker aan den leeser'), signed by the book's putative printer 'Hans Jurgen von der Weyl'.
- Contains preface.
- Contains table of contents ('D'inhoud der hooftdelen deses boeks', twenty chapters).
- Contains instruction for one text correction.
- Dutch bookseller's price at publication not known.

Exemplars

T.4n/T.4 or T.5; *De rechtzinnige theologant* cannot be entirely excluded; according to the book's foreword set in type on the basis of a manuscript without Latin glosses, the autograph and/or an apograph of the second Dutch edition, which served as printer's copy, are no longer extant.

***Title-Page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* *)**

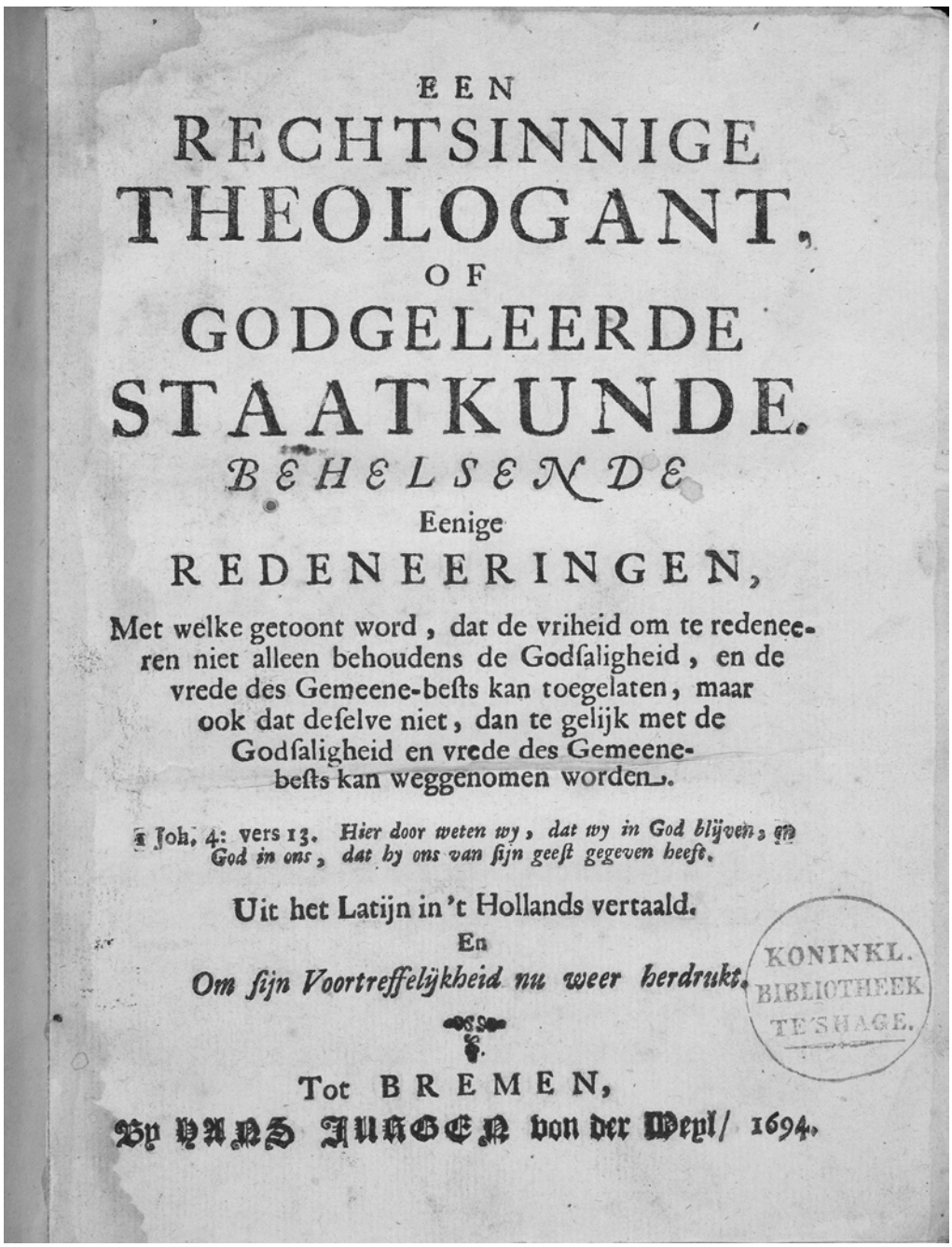
EEN | RECHTSINNIGE | THEOLOGANT, | OF | GODGELEERDE | STAATKUNDE. | *BEHELSENDE* (swash capital letters) | Eenige | REDENEERINGEN, | Met welke getoont word , dat de vriheid om te redenee- | ren niet alleen behoudens de Godfaligheid , en de | vrede des Gemeene-befts kan toegelaten, maar | ook dat defelve niet, dan te gelijk met de | Godfaligheid en vrede des Gemeene- | befts kan weggenomen worden. | 1 Joh. 4: vers 13. *Hier door weten wy , dat wy in God blijven , en* | *God in ons , dat hy ons van fijn geest gegeven heeft.* | Uit het Latijn in 't Hollands vertaald. | En | *Om fijn Voortreffelijkheid nu weer herdrukt.* | (arabesqued ornament) | Tot BREMEN, | By HANS JURGEN von der Weyl (German fraktur typeface)/1694.

Language(s) and Typography

Dutch, occasionally printed unpointed Hebrew (footnotes and full text). Explanatory footnotes, keyed with typographical symbols (italic type). Old-style serifed roman types from an unidentified Amsterdam printing firm. Normally twenty-three lines ('De Drukker aan den Leser'); thirty-two ('Voorreden'), and thirty-six lines; chapters (except 1) separated by single rule (107 mm [p. 1]); poor quality-laid paper.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

- Sig. [Ii3] signed as '[Ii3' (inner forme).
- P. 48 (page number): 8 printed above 4 (outer forme of [F]).
- P. 54 (chapter numbering): 'IV. HOOFTDEEL.' misprinted as 'VI. HOOFTDEEL.' (inner forme of G).
- P. 92, l. 11: reference to psalm 73 misprinted as '(besie Psalm 37)'.
- P. 132, l. 14: the Latin phrase '22. hoc ipsum clare indicatur. *Levitae*, inquit Historicus', missing in T.4n/T.4 and T.5, has not been translated in the second Dutch edition.
- P. 137: sig. [S] misprinted as *S*], [dislodged from outer forme.



EEN
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Met welke getoont word, dat de vriheid om te redeneeren niet alleen behoudens de Godſaligheid, en de vrede des Gemeene-beſts kan toegelaten, maar ook dat deſelve niet, dan te gelijk met de Godſaligheid en vrede des Gemeene-beſts kan weggenomen worden.
1 Joh. 4: vers 13. *Hier door weten wy, dat wy in God blijven, en God in ons, dat hy ons van ſijn geeſt gegeven heeft.*
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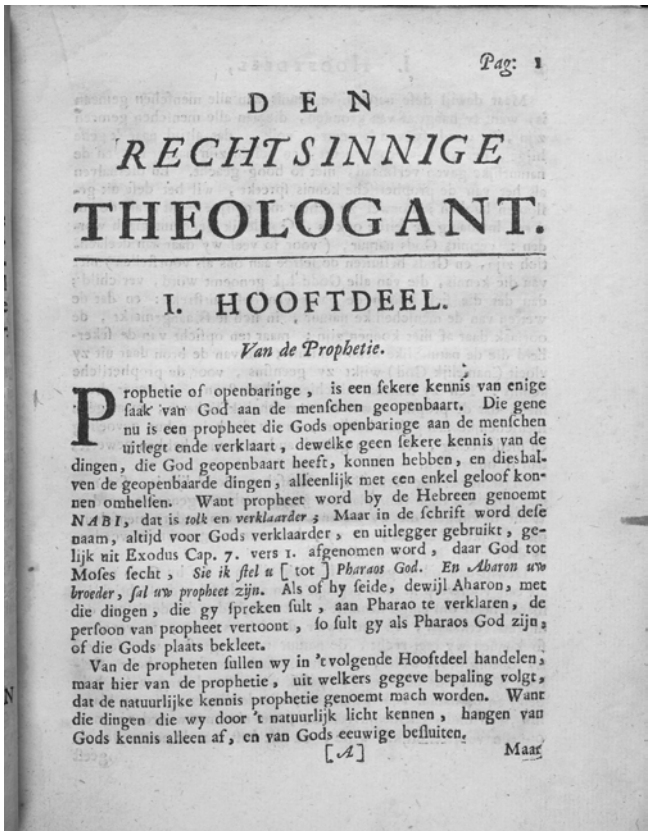
Tot BREMEN,
By HANS JURGEN von der Wepl/ 1694.
KONINKL. BIBLIOTHEEK TE 'S HAGE.

ILLUSTRATION 7.15 Title-page of the second Dutch quarto edition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.



Pag: 1

D E N

RECHTSINNIGE

THEOLOGANT.

I. HOOFTDEEL.

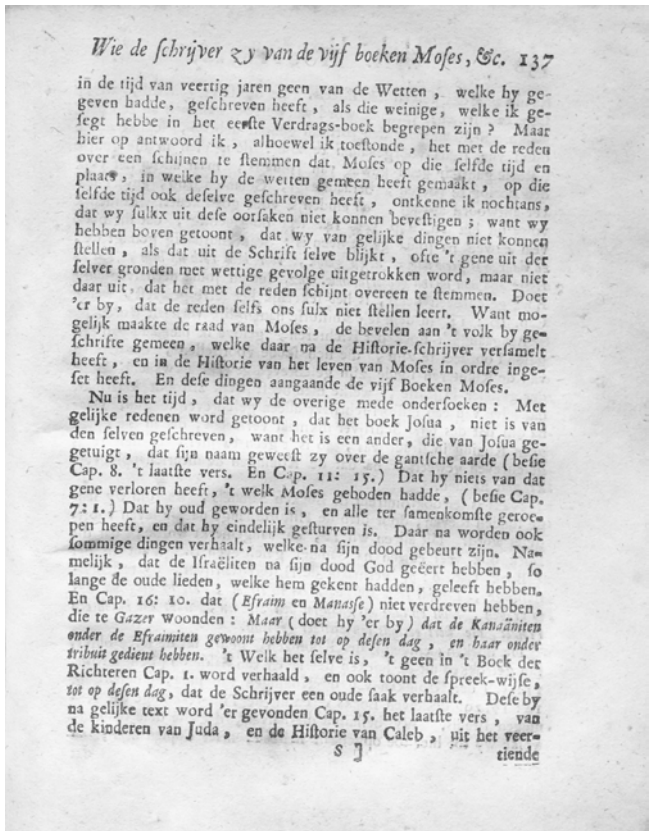
Van de Prophetie.

Prophetie of openbaringe, is een sekere kennis van enige saak van God aan de menschen geopenbaart. Die gene nu is een propheet die Gods openbaringe aan de menschen uitlegt ende verklaart, dewelke geen sekere kennis van de dingen, die God geopenbaart heeft, konnen hebben, en dieshalven de geopenbaarde dingen, alleenlijk met een enkel geloof konnen ombelsen. Want propheet word by de Hebreen genoemt *NABI*, dat is *tolk* en *verklaarder*; Maar in de schrift word dese naam, altijd voor Gods verklaarder, en uitlegger gebruikt, gelijk uit Exodus Cap. 7. vers 1. afgenomen word, daar God tot Moses secht, *Sie ik stel u* [tot] *Pharaos God. En Aharon uw broeder, sal uw propheet zijn.* Als of hy seide, dewijl Aharon, met die dingen, die gy spreken sult, aan Pharao te verklaren, de persoon van propheet vertoont, so sult gy als Pharaos God zijn, of die Gods plaats bekleet.

Van de propheten sullen wy in 't volgende Hooftdeel handelen, maar hier van de prophetie, uit welkers gegeve bepaling volgt, dat de natuurlijke kennis prophetie genoemt mach worden. Want die dingen die wy door 't natuurlijk licht kennen, hangen van Gods kennis alleen af, en van Gods eeuwige besluiten.

[*A*] Maar

ILLUSTRATION 7.16 Page 1 of main text.



Wie de schrijver zy van de vijf boeken Moses, &c. 137

in de tijd van veertig jaren geen van de Wetten, welke hy gegeven hadde, geschreven heeft, als die weinige, welke ik gesegt hebbe in het eerste Verdrags-boek begrepen zijn? Maar hier op antwoord ik, alhoewel ik toestonde, het met de reden over een schijnen te stemmen dat Moses op die selfde tijd en plaats, in welke hy de wetten gemeen heeft gemaakt, op die selfde tijd ook deselve geschreven heeft, ontkenne ik nochtans, dat wy sulkx uit dese oorsaken niet konnen bevestigen; want wy hebben boven getoont, dat wy van gelijke dingen niet konnen stellen, als dat uit de Schrift selve blijkt, ofte 't gene uit der selver gronden met wettige gevolge uitgetrokken word, maar niet daar uit, dat het met de reden schijnt overeen te stemmen. Doet 'er by, dat de reden selfs ons sulx niet stellen leert. Want mogelijk maakte de raad van Moses, de bevelen aan 't volk by geschrifte gemeen, welke daar na de Historie-schrijver versamelt heeft, en in de Historie van het leven van Moses in ordre ingeset heeft. En dese dingen aangaande de vijf Boeken Moses.

Nu is het tijd, dat wy de overige mede ondersoeken: Met gelijke redenen word getoont, dat het boek Josua, niet is van den selven geschreven, want het is een ander, die van Josua getuigt, dat sijn naam geweest zy over de gantsche aarde (besie Cap. 8. 't laatste vers. En Cap. 11: 15.) Dat hy niets van dat gene verloren heeft, 't welk Moses geboden hadde, (besie Cap. 7: 1.) Dat hy oud geworden is, en alle ter samenkomste geroepen heeft, en dat hy eindelijk gestorven is. Daar na worden ook sommige dingen verhaalt, welke na sijn dood gebeurt zijn. Namelijk, dat de Israëliten na sijn dood God geëert hebben, so lange de oude lieden, welke hem gekent hadden, geleeft hebben. En Cap. 16: 10. dat (*Efraim* en *Manasse*) niet verdreven hebben, die te *Gazer* woonden: *Maar* (doet hy 'er by) *dat de Kanaäniten onder de Efraimiten gewoont hebben tot op desen dag, en haar onder tribuit gedient hebben.* 't Welk het selve is, 't geen in 't Boek der Richteren Cap. 1. word verhaald, en ook toont de spreek-wijse, *tot op desen dag*, dat de Schrijver een oude saak verhaalt. Dese by na gelijke text word 'er gevonden Cap. 15. het laatste vers, van de kinderen van Juda, en de Historie van Caleb, uit het veertiende

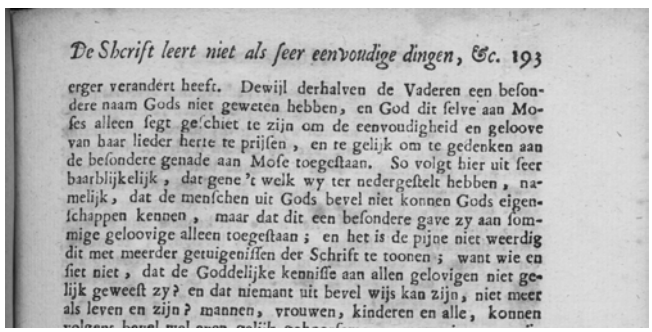
S]

ILLUSTRATION 7.17 Misprint of signature [S].

Occurs in: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, an Fa 2703 (1).

- P. 191 (page number): 191 misnumbered as '199' (inner forme of Aa).
- P. 193 (running headline): 'De Schrift leert niet als seer eenvoudige dingen, &c.' misprinted as: '*De Shcrift leert niet als seer eenvoudige dingen, &c.*' (outer forme of Bb).

- P. 209, l. 26: misprint of 'Exod. 34. vers. 14.' as 'Exod. 4 : 14.' (outer forme of Dd).



De Shcrift leert niet als seer eenvoudige dingen, &c. 193

erger verandert heeft. Dewijl derhalven de Vaderen een besondere naam Gods niet geweten hebben, en God dit selve aan Moses alleen segt geschiet te zijn om de eenvoudigheid en geloove van haar lieder herte te prijsen, en te gelijk om te gedenken aan de besondere genade aan Mose toegestaan. So volgt hier uit seer baarblijkelijk, dat gene 't welk wy ter nedergestelt hebben, namelijk, dat de menschen uit Gods bevel niet konnen Gods eigenschappen kennen, maar dat dit een besondere gave zy aan sommige geloovige alleen toegestaan; en het is de pijne niet weerdig dit met meerder getuigenissen der Schrift te toonen; want wie en siet niet, dat de Goddelijke kennisse aan allen gelovigen niet gelijk geweest zy? en dat niemant uit bevel wijs kan zijn, niet meer als leven en zijn? mannen, vrouwen, kinderen en alle, konnen

ILLUSTRATION 7.18 Misprint in running headline on page 193.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

169404 – a1 *2 $en : a2 *3 ones$
169404 – b1 ** $,$m : b2 ***3 elve$ver
169404 – c1 [*A*] ds$eeu : c2 [*Oo*] N$

Collation

4°: (*)^4 (**)^4 (***)^2 (****)^2 [*A*]–[*Z*]^4 Aa – Nn^4 Oo^2 π^4 [$3] 156 leaves = pp. [20] 1–289 [3]
Signatures between square brackets (combination of capital letter in italics and signature number).

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

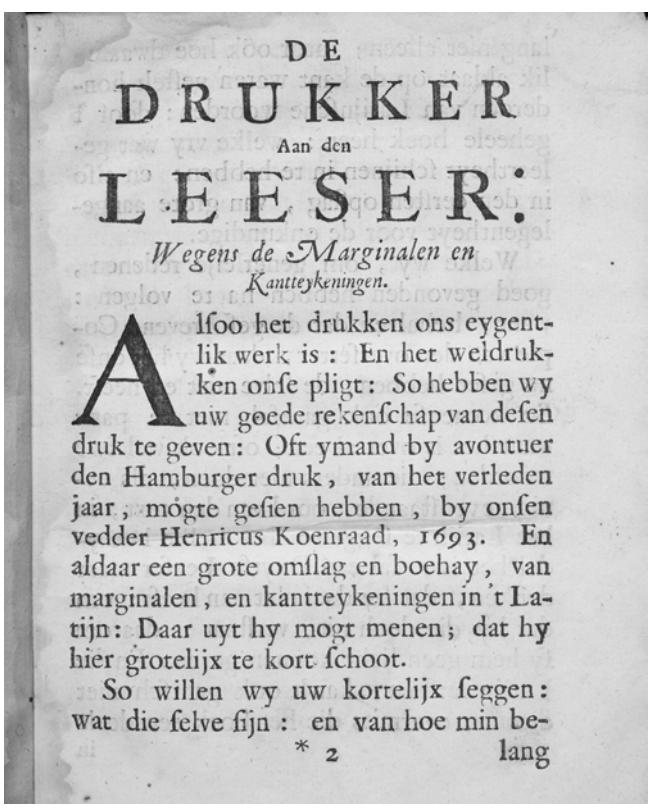
Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface printed in upper middle margin, larger upper-case letters (capital letters, italic type): *VOORREDEN*.

Headlines in main work comprise a combination of larger upper-case (capital letters) and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italics): I. HOOFTDEEL, (verso, with subsequent chapter numbers), *Van de Prophetie*. (recto);

II. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Propheten.* (recto); III. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Roepinge der Hebreën, &c.* (recto); IV. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Goddelijke Wet.* (recto); V. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Redenen om welke de Ceremonien ingesteld zijn, &c.* (recto); VI. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Wonderdaden.* (recto); VII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Uitlegginge der H. Schrift.* (recto); VIII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Wie de schrijver zy van de vijf boeken Mozes, &c.* (recto); IX. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Wie de schrijver zy van de overige boeken, &c.* (recto); X. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *De overige boeken des O.T. werden ondersogt &c.* (recto); XI. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Of de Apostelen geschreven hebben als Leeraars, &c.* (recto); XII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Op wat manier de Schrift heilig genaamt word, &c.* (recto); XIII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *De Schrift leert niet als seer eenvoudige dingen, &c.* (recto); XIV. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Wat het geloove zy, en desselfs bepalinge, enz.* (recto); XV. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *De Godgel: niet dienstb: aan de Reden noch de Red: &c.* (recto); XVI. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Van de Gronden eens Gemeene-best, enz.* (recto); XVII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Niemant kan alles op de Hoogste Magten overdragen, &c.* (recto); XVIII. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Uit 't Gemeene-best der Hebr. eenige leerst. besloten.* (recto); XIX. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *'t Recht dat Hooge Magten omtrent 't heilgie hebb.* (recto); XX. HOOFTDEEL, (verso), *Vryheid van gevoelen in een Gemeene-best, &c.* (recto).



DE
DRUKKER
Aan den
LEESER:
Wegens de Marginalen en Kantteykeningen.

Alsoo het drukken ons eygentlik werk is: En het weldrukken onse pligt: So hebben wy uw goede rekenschap van desen druk te geven: Oft ymand by avontuer den Hamburger druk, van het verleden jaar, mógte gesien hebben, by onsen vedder Henricus Koenraad, 1693. En aldaar een grote omslag en boehay, van marginalen, en kantteykeningen in 't Latijn: Daar uyt hy mogt menen; dat hy hier grotelijx te kort schoot.

So willen wy uw kortelijx seggen: wat die selve sijn: en van hoe min belang

* 2

ILLUSTRATION 7.19 Editorial foreword.

Contents

$*1^r$	(title-page)
$*1^v$	(blank)
$*2^r$–$*3^v$	DE DRUKKER Aan den LEESER: Wegens de Marginalen en Kantteykeningen. (signed by the book's putative printer: 'Van uwen gants vrundlichen HANS JURGEN van der Weyl.')
$*4^r$–$***2^v$	*VOORREDEN.*
$[A]^r$–$[C]^v$	DEN *RECHTSINNIGE* THEOLOGANT. I. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Prophetie.*
$[C]^v$–$[E3]^r$	II. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Propheten.*
$[E3]^r$–[G3]r	III. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Roepinge der Hebreën, en of de Prophetische Gave aan de Hebreën eigen en bysonder heeft geweest.*
$[G3]^v$–$[I2]^v$	VI. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Goddelijke Wet.* (chapter number misprinted, *see*: identification features)
$[I2]^v$–$[L2]^r$	V. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Reden om de welke de Ceremoniën ingesteld; en van 't geloof der Historien: namentlijk, om welke reden, en in welke dingen het selfde nootsakelijk is.*
$[L2]^r$–$[N4]^r$	VI. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de Wonderdaden.*
$[N4]^r$–$[R]^r$	VII. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de uitlegginge der H. Schrift.*
$[R]^r$–$[S2]^v$	VIII. HOOFTDEEL. *In welke getoont word, dat de vijf boeken, en de boeken van Josua, Rechteren, Ruth, Samuëls, en der Koningen, niet en zijn door haar selfs geschreven. Daar na word onderzogt, of 'er ook meer schrijvers van die alle geweest zijn, en* wie die gene.
$[S3]^r$–$[U3]^v$	IX. HOOFTDEEL. *Aangaande de selve Boeken worden nog andere onderzogt, namelijk, of Hesdras met de selve opgehouden heeft, en daar na of de Kanttekeningen, welke in der Hebreuwsche Boeken gevonden werden, verscheidene leesingen zijn geweest.*
$[U3]^v$–$[Y]^v$	X. HOOFTDEEL. *De overige Boeken des ouden Testaments worden op gelijke wijse als de voorgaande, onderzogt.*
$[Y]^v$–$[Z]^v$	XI. HOOFTDEEL. *Word ondersogt of de Apostelen haar Brieven als Apostelen en Propheten, dan als Leeraars geschreven hebben. Daarna word het ampt eens Apostels getoont.*
$[Z2]^r$–$[Aa3]^r$	XII. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de ware schrijvinge der Goddelijke Wet , en op wat manier de Schrift heilig genaamt word, en*

ten welken opsicht Woord Gods, en eindelijk word getoont, dat deselve, voor zo verre zy het Woord Gods begrijpt, onverdorven tot ons gekomen is.

[*Aa*3]r–[*Bb*2]v XIII. HOOFTDEEL. *Word getoont, dat de H. Schrift niet als seer eenvoudige dingen leert, en niet anders als gehoorsaamheid te beöogen, noch niet van de Goddelijke natuur te leeren, als 't geen de menschen door sekere wijse van leven konnen navolgen.*

[*Bb*2]v–[*Cc*3]r XIV. HOOFTDEEL. *Wat het geloove zy, welke de geloovige, de gronden des geloofs werden bepaalt, en deselve worden eindelijk van de Wijs-Begeerte afgescheiden.*

[*Cc*3]v–[*Dd*4]v XV. HOOFTDEEL. *Dat de Godgeleertheid noch aan de Reden, noch de Reden aan de Godgeleertheid dienstbaar zy; ook word de reden getoont, door welke wy ons de geloofweerdigheit der H. Schrift voorstellen.*

[*Dd*4]v–[*Ff*4]r XVI. HOOFTDEEL. *Van de gronden eens Gemeene-best: van het Natuurlijk en Borgerlijk recht eens ygelijks, en van het recht der Hooge Machten.*

[*Ff*4]v–[*Kk*]r XVII. HOOFTDEEL. *Word getoont, dat niemand alles op de Hoogste Machten overdragen kan, mede sulx niet noodsakelijk te zijn: aangaande het Gemeene-best der Hebreën, hoedanig 't selve geweest zy ten tijde van Moses, hoedanig na deszelfs dood, voor al eer zy Koningen verkosen hebben, geweest zy, en van deses voortreflijkheit: en eindelijk van de oorsaken, waarom t' Goddelijk Gemeene-best te ondergaan, en nauwlijkx sonder oproerigheden heeft konnen bestaan.*

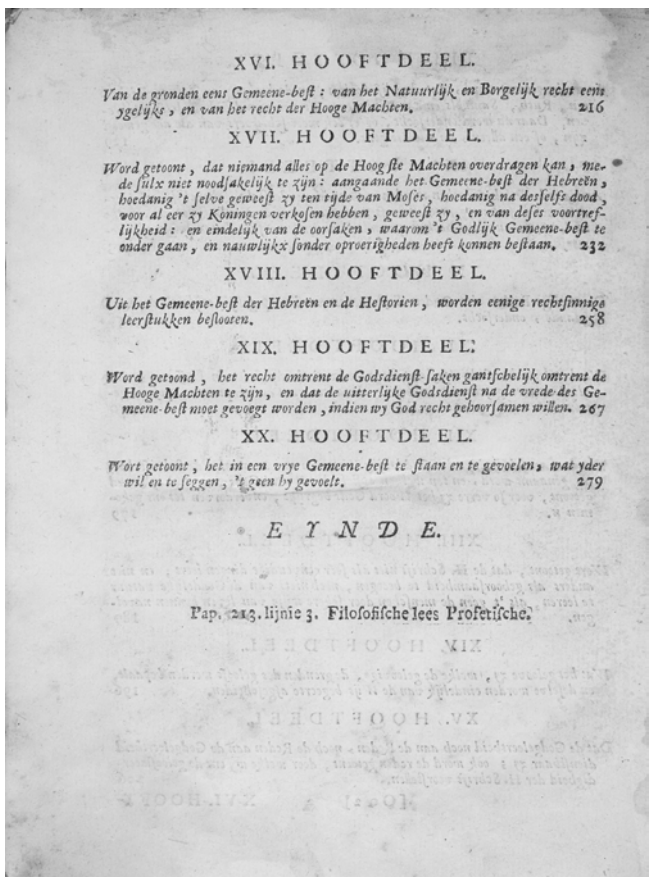
[*Kk*]v–[*Ll*]v XVIII. HOOFTDEEL. *Uit het Gemeene-best der Hebreën en de Historien, worden eenige rechtsinnige leerstukken beslooten.*

[*Ll*2]r–[*Mm*3]v XIX. HOOFTDEEL. *Word getoond, het recht omtrent de Godsdienst-saken ganschelijk omtrent de Hooge Machten te zijn, en dat de uiterlijke Godsdienst na de vreede des Gemeene-best moet gevoegt worden, indien wy Gode recht gehoorsaamen willen.*

[*Mm*4]r–[*Oo*]r XX. HOOFTDEEL. *Word getoont, het in een vrye Gemeene-best vry te staan en te gevoelen, wat yder wil en te seggen, 't geen hy gevoelt.*

[*Oo*]v–[*Oo*2]v D'INHOUD der HOOFTDELEN deses BOEKS. (table of contents, six-page list indicating twenty chapters)

[*Oo*2]v Pap. 213. lijnie 3. Filosophische lees Prophetische. (correction instruction)



XVI. HOOFTDEEL.

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XVII. HOOFTDEEL.

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Word getoond, het recht omtrent de Godsdienst-saken gantschelijk omtrent de Hooge Machten te zijn, en dat de uitterlijke Godsdienst na de vrede des Gemeene-best moet gevoegt worden, indien wy God recht gehoorsamen willen. 267

XX. HOOFTDEEL.

Wort getoont, het in een vrye Gemeene-best te staan en te gevoelen, wat yder wil en te seggen, 't geen hy gevoelt. 279

EYNDE.

Pap. 213. lijnie 3. Filosofische lees Profetische.

ILLUSTRATION 7.20 Table of contents with instruction for correction on page 213.

Ornament on Title-Page

Small floral vignette, woodcut, 7×10 mm: 3 closed acorns, organized in the form of a capital letter T.

Simple Initials

Twenty-two plain closed black initials (woodcuts), employed to head the first letter of the first word of foreword (4 ll.), Preface (3 ll.) and chapters of main work (2 and 3 ll.), dimensions varying.

***Copies* (*9*)**

Copies Examined

ERT#22 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, an Fa 2703 (1)
Collation: 4^o: (*)^4 (**)^4 (***)^2 (****)^2 [A]–[Z]^4 Aa–Nn^4 Oo^2 π^4 [$3, [S] misprinted S]].
Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs. Fine copy, but minor brownspotting to leaves.
Provenance: older nineteenth-century shelf-mark in black ink (Hb 13a).
Digitized copy:
http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-466914

ERT#23 THE HAGUE, KB, 3112 B 6
Light brownspotting and heavy brownspotting to leaves, nineteenth-century half binding over pasteboard on green linen, green paper on front and back, sprinkled with black ink, original brown calf leather spine pasted on linen back: gold-tooling (floral motives), one lettering black panel: 'DE | RECHTZINNIGE | THEOLOGANT', red stained edge.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayThumbnails.do?ItemID=%20ned-kbn-all-00013553-001%20&ItemNumber=17&resultClick=1

Non-collated Copies

Netherlands (*3*)

ERT#24 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, OTM: RON A 5764 (nineteenth-century note on front endpaper opposite to title-page: 'de schryver is B. de Spinoza').

ERT#25 KAMPEN, Theologische Universiteit, University Library, 78 K 17

ERT#26 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 209

Germany (*2*)

ERT#27 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, NI 13270

ERT#28 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4 Phil I,4991

United Kingdom (*1*)

ERT#29 LONDON, BrL, General Reference Collection, 3560.e.9

United States (*1*)

ERT#30 ITHACA (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3985.D5 G54 1694

References

Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 6, no. 18; Gebhardt, 'Die alten holländischen Übersetzungen; *Catalogus van de bibliotheek*, p. 37, no. 209; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 24–25, no. 23.

CHAPTER 8

Posthumous Writings: Latin and Dutch Quartos I

First and Only Latin Edition, in Quarto

> B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Two states: plain version and large-paper copy. Works included: *Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata*, *Tractatus politicus*, *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, *Epistolae doctorum quorundam virorum ad B. D. S. et auctoris responsiones*, and the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*. Edition prepared by Spinoza's Amsterdam friends: Jarig Jelles Lodewijk Meyer (Latin translation of Jelles's original Preface in Dutch), and Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (publisher). Specifics known about the role played by Pieter van Gent, Johannes Bouwmeester, and Georg Hermann Schuller are either restricted or indistinct. Spinoza's initials are on the book's title-page. Contains illustrations, indexes, and lists of errata. Archetypes: Spinoza's autographs and/or apographs are no longer extant, except for a small number of surviving autographs, drafts, and copies of letters included in the book's correspondence section. Van Gent's faithful copy of the Latin *Ethica* text (late 1674–early 1675) survives in the Vatican codex V.

First and Only Dutch Edition, in Quarto

> B. d. S., *De nagelate schriften*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Two states: plain version and large-paper copy. Works included: *Zedekunst*, *Staatkundige verhandeling*, *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant*, and *Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen aan B. D. S. met des zelfs antwoort*. Lacks the Hebrew grammar. Edition prepared by Jelles (Preface) and Rieuwertsz *père* (publisher). Translator: Glazemaker. The roles by Meyer, Van Gent, Bouwmeester, and Schuller are either limited or unclear. Apart from the translation of all the other works and the correspondence section, Glazemaker translated the *Ethica*'s Parts 3, 4, and 5. He also redacted the already existing Dutch translation (by Pieter Balling) of Parts 1 and 2. Spinoza's initials are on the book's title-page. Contains illustrations, indexes, and lists of errata. Exemplars: autographs and/or apographs of Balling's and Glazemaker's translations (now all lost). Extant are several autographs, drafts, and copies of letters in the book's correspondence section. Three extant holograph letters, by Willem van Blijenbergh, served as printer's copy.

⁘

1 Spinoza's Philosophical Legacy: The *Opera Posthuma* and *De Nagelate Schriften* (1677)

After completing the *Ethica* in the summer of 1675, Spinoza probably began composing shortly afterwards his last writing project, the *Tractatus politicus*, centring on practical and theoretical politics. In this unfinished treatise, he investigates three model constitutions, monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, in relation to their benefits and interaction with the polities' citizens living in and experiencing those systems. His conclusion, or what at least can be inferred from eleven extant chapters to be such, is that the *optima Republica*'s main purpose is and should be securing the 'bonum commune' and human freedom alone. Spinoza composed his 'Political Treatise' with an eye to the applicability of his theories to the constitutional and economic crisis in the Dutch Republic in the first half of the 1670s. Hence, in the *Tractatus politicus* he propounds a theory of the nature and foundations of the state, firmly undergirded by the equation God/nature first presented in the *Korte verhandeling*.[1]

Spinoza had already briefly laid out the basics of this social and political system in his *Ethica*'s Part 4, called 'On Human Bondage, or the Powers of the Affects'. By the second half of 1676, the Dutch philosopher probably had

1 *OP*: pp. 265–354; *NS*: pp. 301–403; G 3/269–360. Critical edition of the *TP*: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. V: *Tractatus politicus*/*Traité politique*, Omero Proietti and Charles Ramond (eds.) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005). Cf.: Steven B. Smith, 'Spinoza's Democratic Turn: Chapter 16 of the Theologico-Political Treatise', in Genevieve Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: Critical Assessments*. Vol. 3: *The Political Writings* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 167–169, at p. 184. Synopsis: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 355–358. For the key concepts *potentia*/'magt', 'kragt' and 'mogentheid', and *potestas*: ibid., pp. 292–297.

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completed six chapters and subsequently began composing chapter 7 of the *Tractatus politicus*.[2] The work remained however unfinished. In about January 1677, severe health problems forced Spinoza to stop advancing his tract on politics.[3] On Sunday 21 February 1677, he died unexpectedly in The Hague in the house of decorative painter Hendrick van der Spijck, his landlord, located on the Paviljoensgracht.[4] By then, ten chapters of the 'Political Treatise' were ready; chapter 11 still was in a rather embryonically-arranged state.

Immediately upon Spinoza's death, Van der Spijck conveyed the philosopher's 'lessenaar' (writing desk), presumably containing his philosophical papers and letters, by barge poste-haste to Amsterdam. He had them delivered to the town's bookdealer and publisher Jan Rieuwertsz *père*. Two autonomous sources support this claim: the travel diaries (1703) of the previously-mentioned German travellers Gottlieb Stolle and 'Hallmann' and Johannes Colerus's 1705 *Korte, dog waarachtige levensbeschryving van Benedictus de Spinosa*. According to the account of Stolle and 'Hallmann' transporting the writing desk to Amsterdam of Spinoza's desk to Rieuwertsz was made at his own explicit request:

> Spinoza had never made a will nor written arrangement what should be done with his books. But when he came to realize he would [soon] pass away he [subsequently] instructed his trusted [friends] to convey his writings and his own books to Rieuwertsz in Amsterdam, [and that is] what also happened....[5]

Colerus in his Spinoza biography, including an account of his conversations with Van der Spijck many years after the philosopher's demise, puts forward the following:

> But Spinoza's landlord, Mr Van der Spijck, still alive, tells me Spinoza had instructed [him] that his writing box, with the writings and letters in it, should be sent immediately upon his death to Amsterdam to the city printer Jan Rieuwertsz, and this is what he has taken care of. And Jan Rieuwertz, in his reply

2 Spinoza knew the works by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1612–1653) which favour restriction of the powers of a *supremus gubernator* as for instance embodied in the House of Orange. Probably, Boxhorn's commentaries, on Tacitus, were once in his library, too. Boxhorn's *Institutiones politicae* (1657) was possibly also familiar to the Dutch philosopher: Offenberg, *Spinoza's Library*, p. 321, no. 157; Musschenga and Van Sluis, *De boeken*, pp. 83–84. Spinoza's library contained more works by political authors: Antonio Perez, Arnoldus Clapmarius, Thomas More, Hugo Grotius, and Gregorio Leti: W/Cz, vol. 2, pp. 213–216. For Spinoza's theory of politics: Robert J. McShea, *The Political Philosophy of Spinoza* (New York, NY, and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 78–204; Haitsma Mulier, *The Myth of Venice*, pp. 170–208 (Spinoza and the 'Venetian model'); Wolfgang Bartuschat, 'The Ontological Basis of Spinoza's Theory of Politics', in De Deugd (ed.), *Spinoza's Political and Theological Thought*, pp. 30–36; Emilia Giancotti Boscherini, 'Réalisme et utopie: limites des libertés politiques et perspective de libération dans la philosophie politique de Spinoza', in De Deugd (ed.), *Spinoza's Political and Theological Thought*, pp. 37–43; Hans W. Blom, 'Politics, Virtue and Political Science: An Interpretation of Spinoza's Political Philosophy', in Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: Critical Assessments*. Vol. 3: *The Political Writings*, pp. 3–19; Edwin Curley, 'The State of Nature and its Law in Hobbes and Spinoza', in Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: Critical Assessments*. Vol. 3: *The Political Writings*, pp. 122–142; Smith, 'Spinoza's Democratic Turn'; Moreau, *Spinoza. État et religion*; Hans W. Blom, 'Spinoza on *Res Publica*, Republics and Monarchies', in id., etc. (eds.), *Monarchisms in the Age of Enlightenment: Liberty, Patriotism, and the Public Good* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 19–44; Martin Saar, *Die Immanenz der Macht. Politische Theorie nach Spinoza* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2013).

3 Nanne Bloksma (*Spinoza. A Miraculously Healthy Philosopher* [Rijnsburg: Uitgeverij Spinozahuis, 2018] [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 113]) argues Spinoza probably died of an illness involving an unknown chronic inflammatory disease, causing cachexia and/or of cachexia itself. Not though as the result of a pulmonary disease, such as terminal tuberculosis (TB) or terminal Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD), progressive massive fibrosis, or lung cancer, all potential consequences of respiratory exposure to crystalline silica. Cachexia is a poorly-understood complex multi-organ syndrome. It is characterized by involuntary body weight loss and muscle mass loss with or without the loss of fat mass, systemic inflammation, metabolic abnormalities, and lack of appetite. Background: Jerjena Farkas, et al., 'Cachexia as a Major Public Health Problem: Frequent, Costly, and Deadly', *Journal of Cachexia, Sarcopenia and Muscle*, 4 (2013), pp. 173–178; Josep M. Argilés, etc., 'Cachexia and Sarcopenia: Mechanisms and Potential Targets for Intervention', *Current Opinion in Pharmacology*, 22 (2015), pp. 100–106. TB is a bacterial infection, caused by tubercle bacilli, identified (1882) by Robert Koch and labelled by him as *mycobacterium tuberculosis*. It frequently causes pulmonary TB, but any other organ can be infected, too. TB has been referred to as: phthisis, consumption, scrofula, wasting illness, white plague, and king's evil. *See*: James A.R. Friend and John M. Watson, 'Tuberculosis', in Michael E. Ellis (ed.), *Infectious Diseases of the Respiratory Tract* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 244–267; David Rees and J. Murray, 'Silica, Silicosis, and Tuberculosis', *International Journal of Tuberculosis and Lung Disease*, 11 (2007), pp. 474–484; 'The History of Tuberculosis', *Respiratory Medicine*, 100 (2006), pp. 1862–1870.

4 Van der Spijck: BL.

5 'Spinosa habe niemahls weder ein Testament noch schriftliche Disposition gemacht, wie es met seinen Büchern sollte gehalten werden. Sondern als er gemerkt, dass er sterben würde, habe er denen Vertrauten, so umb ihn gewesen, ordre ertheilet, alle seine Scripturen und eigene Bücher nach Amsterdam an den Rieuwertsz zu senden, welches auch geschehen; ....' (S/H, ms. A, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 94). Rieuwersz *père*: BL.

> to the aforesaid Mr Van der Spijck of 25 March 1677, affirms he received the foregoing writing box.[6]

Thus, the *terminus ante quem* of the shipment to Amsterdam is established by the letter by Rieuwertsz to Van der Spijck dispatched on 25 March. In this now-lost letter, the former furthermore informed the latter 'Spinoza's relatives' had apparently asked bargees in Amsterdam to make known to them the name of their freight's recipient. Meant by Rieuwertsz are Rebecca d'Espinosa (*fl.*1632–1695), the philosopher's sister, and her stepson Daniel de Caceres (*fl.*1651–1677), both legal heirs liable for their late relative's debts. Here is what Colerus writes about Rieuwertsz *père*'s letter:

> His words at the end of the letter were thus: 'Spinoza's relatives were eager to know to whom the writing box had been sent to because they were of the opinion it contained a lot of money. They wanted the bargees to disclose to them to whom it had been addressed.'. Since in The Hague parcels sent by barge are not inventoried, I don't believe they will ever find out. It is best they do not know of this….[7]

After Spinoza's burial in the Nieuwe Kerk at The Hague on 25 February 1677, a dedicated group of his closest friends in Amsterdam deliberated how they should deal with his written legacy, including the seminal *Ethica* which work the Dutch philosopher himself had planned to put to press in 1675. Because of its contents, qualified as dangerous and outright atheistic by theologians and other rivals (dubbed by Spinoza 'stupid Cartesians'), he had postponed the book's publication.

Ultimately, the friends decided to edit Spinoza's writings and a selection of his correspondence surreptitiously in their entirety, both in Latin in the *Opera posthuma* and in the vernacular in *De nagelate schriften*. Both editions were prepared in parallel. On the title-pages of the two bulky language volumes, Spinoza's name is suppressed to his initials: 'B. d. S.' That of Rieuwertsz *père* is absent as well as the place of publication. The finished and unfinished works and selected letters, well-introduced to readers in the Preface, are marshalled in the twin volumes in the following order:

- *Ethica*/*Zedekunst*, composed in the self-explanatory Euclidean geometrical order, a philosophical way of presentation popular at the time.[8]
- *Tractatus politicus*/*Staatkundige verhandeling* (unfinished and interrupted at chapter 11), prefaced by a letter from Spinoza to an addressee not further specified.[9]
- *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*/*Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* (seven parts, five of those text portions are finished).[10]
- *Epistolae doctorum*/*Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen*, seventy-four philosophical and scientific letters to and from Spinoza, the majority of them with their replies.[11]
- *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* (unfinished).[12] This text is included only in the *Opera posthuma*, for readers who were Latinate and wanted to gain active command of the biblical and of the living Hebrew language.[13]

6 'Dog de nog levende Huisheer van Spinoza, Sr. Hendrik van der Spyk verhaalt my, dat Spinoza verordineert hadde, dat zyn lessenaar met de Schriften en brieven daarin leggende terstond na zyn dood naar Amsterdam aan Jan Rieuwertzen Stadsboekdrukker zouden gezonden worden, gelyk hy dan ook gedaan heeft: En Jan Rieuwertzen in zyn rescriptie aan voornoemde Sr. van der Spyk de dato Amsterdam den 25. Maart 1677. Bekent zodanigen lessenaar ontfangen te hebben.' (Colerus*, in: W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 140). Van der Spijck/Rieuwertsz *père*: BL.

7 'Zyn woorden luiden op 't einde van den brief aldus; de vrienden van Spinoza wilden garen weten, aan wien dat de lessenaar gezonden was, wyl zy oordeelen, dat 'er veel geld in was, en wilden het by de Schippers onderstaan, aan wien dat se bestelt was, zoo men in den Haag niet aanteekent de pakjes, die aan de schuit bestelt worden, zoo zie ik niet, hoe zy 't te weeten zullen krygen; 't is 't best dat zy 't niet weeten, ….' (ibid.).

8 *OP*: pp. 1–264; *NS*: pp. 1–300. The *ordo geometricus* concerns a model with definitions and axioms, developed in a chain of postulates, propositions, and demonstrations: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 278–281. Background: Gueroult, *Spinoza*, vol. 1: *Dieu*, pp. 25–37; Herman Schüling, *Die Geschichte der axiomatischen Methode im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert: Wandlung der Wissenschaftsauffassung* (Hildesheim and New York, NY: G. Olms Verlag, 1969), 1969; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 139–180, at p. 148, n. 1. For studies on the 'Ethics': Chapter 2, n. 114.

9 *OP*: pp. 265–354; *NS*: pp. 301–403. The letter to the unknown addressee is: > 1676.[07].00a, Ep 84.

10 *OP*; pp. 355–392; *NS*: pp. 405–446. For the *TIE*: Chapter 6, n. 47.

11 75 letters (*OP*: pp. 393–614; *NS*: 447–666). Textual history: G 4, pp. 382–431.

12 *more Geometrico demonstratam* (*OP*, Preface, sig. *****2r). Clarifying the alleged geometrical method behind the work is complex and problematic cecause of its embryonic state. Cf. Nathan Porges, 'Spinozas Compendium der hebraïschen Grammatik', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 4 (1924–6), pp. 123–159, there at pp. 127 and 152–157; Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 147; Jacob Gruntfest, 'Spinoza as a Linguist', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 9 (1979), pp. 103–128, there at p. 115; Ze'ev Levy, 'The Problem of Normativity in Spinoza's "Hebrew Grammar"', *Studia Spinozana*, 3 (1987), pp. 351–390, there at pp. 357–358. For discussion if and in what way the *CG* reflects the metaphysical system in the *E* (noun/substance): ibid., pp. 383–385.

13 *OP*: pp. 1–112 (G 1/283–403). Textual history: G 1, pp. 623–631. English translation: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Compendium*

Apart from the volumes' publisher Rieuwertsz *père*, involved in this more than hastily-executed project were Jarig Jelles, Lodewijk Meyer (the author and the translator of the posthumous writings' lengthy Preface, respectively), together with the professional scribe Pieter van Gent.[14] In some capacity, the physician Georg Hermann Schuller, a knowledge broker who frequently informed Spinoza's correspondent, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, in his letters about the pre-press preparations of the posthumous works, was probably a member of the editing team, too.[15] Yet his role (if any) is still undefined.[16] Johannes Bouwmeester, Spinoza's trusted confidant, is also assumed to have contributed to this project. His role is also undetermined. The team commissioned the professional translator Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker to render the Latin edition of the posthumous writings into Dutch.[17]

When exactly the Amsterdam team started work on the twin language volumes is uncertain, but can roughly be inferred from the following. The group must have begun assiduously subediting Spinoza's papers and letters shortly after 25 March 1677, when Rieuwertsz in a letter informed Van der Spijck the philosopher's writing desk and papers had safely arrived in Amsterdam. Already in the summer of 1677, editorial work for the Latin and Dutch edition had been finished; a project worthy of the team's labour to issue Spinoza's philosophical legacy publicly in print. The team's subediting of the twin volumes was in any case finished before 27 July 1677 when Schuller in a letter informed Leibniz the edited copy-texts of the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* had been conveyed to the printer. Bibliographical research has also revealed the Amsterdam editing team had enlisted the Tuinstraat office of Israel de Paull in the Jordaan quarter to print the two books.[18]

Subsequently, the larger portion of the logistical and technical process to publish the two volumes, their typesetting, printing, and proofreading, was more or less finished between late July and 5 November 1677. On the latter date, it was again Schuller who told Leibniz, in a letter, that the main work of the two volumes had now been printed, except for the general index. The latter piece was very probably compiled during the start of that year's mild winter, in the month of November or December. Commonly, freezing weather conditions caused the seizure or slowdown of printing activities: ink could not be used and printed paper would simply not become dry. Next, on 31 December 1677, Schuller in another letter informed Leibniz copies of the posthumous works were to be distributed 'in the next new year'. In January 1678, the first copies hit the streets of Amsterdam.

2 '*Ethica*, Quam Penes Ipsum Vidisti'. A Manuscript up for Sale

Thus, in the weeks and months following Spinoza's death and burial, his Amsterdam friends began preparing for the press his unpublished and partly unfinished philosophical writings, his correspondence, and the Hebrew grammar. On 16/26 February 1677, Schuller wrote a new letter to Leibniz, this time bringing up quite an extraordinary and also surprising proposal.[19] One of the issues raised in it is the autograph manuscript of the *Ethica* which Leibniz had seen in late November 1676 when visiting Spinoza at

of Hebrew Grammar, Maurice J. Bloom (ed.) (New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1962); id. (ed. and transl.), *Hebrew Grammar* (London: Vision Library, 1963). Synopsis: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, p. 358. *See*: Philippe Cassuto, *Spinoza hébraisant. L'Hébreu dans le 'Tractatus theologica-politicus' et le 'Compendium grammatices linguae hebraeae'* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999). Background: Jean Baumgarten, etc. (eds.), *Spinoza, philosophe grammairien. Le Compendium grammatices linguae hebraea* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2019). The latter work also contains: id., 'De quelques possibles sources juives du Compendium de Spinoza', pp. 127–158. For background on Hebrew grammars in the European diaspora: Moisés Orfali, 'On the Role of Hebrew Grammars in the Western European Diaspora and the New World', in Yosef Kaplan (ed.), *Religious Changes and Cultural Transformations in the Early Modern Western Sephardic Communities* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 431–451.

14 In 1663, Meyer* edited the Latin *PP*/*CM*. Jelles/Van Gent: BL.

15 Between [18] and [21] November 1676, Leibniz* went to The Hague. There, at the Paviljoensgracht, he met Spinoza to discuss with him the Cartesian rules of motion, the 'characteristica universalis', their ontological arguments demonstrating the existence of an all-perfect, infinite God, and the question whether the universe God chose to exist is the best of all possible worlds. Cf. Kurt Müller and Gisela Krönert, *Leben und Werk von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Eine Chronik* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1969), p. 46.

16 Schuller/Leibniz: BL.

17 Glazemaker: BL.

18 Cf. Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', p. 293. De Paull* processed the first Latin quarto edition [T.1] of the *TTP* in late 1669 or early 1670, its later quartos, the Latin octavos, and perhaps also the French duodecimo editions X and Y. *See* further: Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

19 By early 1677, the German scholar resided in Hanover, at the ducal 'Leineschloss', with his new master, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Calenberg (1625–1679). Leibniz* had been appointed as the new ducal counsellor and *Geheimer Rath* (privy counsellor) on 27 January 1676. Cf. Müller and Krönert, *Leben und Werk*, p. 43; Antognazza, *Leibniz*, pp. 174–175 and 195–208 (Hanoverian period).

The Hague.[20] Schuller in his letter told his German correspondent that 'the' or 'an' autograph of the work was now up for sale, at the price of about 150 guilders.[21] He lobbied Leibniz to convince his new master, Duke Johann Friedrich, to purchase Spinoza's holograph for the latter's ducal Hanoverian library.[22] Here is what Schuller writes to Leibniz:

> Furthermore I had to tell you that the excellent and acute Mr Spinoza passed away on 21/11 February, after having suffered from extreme atrophy. It seems, though, that death's unexpected debilitation took him by surprise, since he passed away without a testament to indicate his last will. Of the *Ethica*, which you saw at his house, the autograph is being kept by a friend, and it is for sale, if one pays the price (150 guilders, I believe) the work is worth. I thought I should let you know rather than anyone else, for since you are aware of the importance of the work, you might convince your prince to buy it at his cost.[23]

Schuller wrote to Leibniz only one day after Spinoza's burial in the Nieuwe Kerk. This makes the former's proposal even more startling, to say the least. Moreover, the Amsterdam friends probably will not have started editing the twin volumes as yet. Does then Schuller's offer to Leibniz suggest that, by the time Spinoza was buried, the Amsterdam friends no longer needed his *Ethica*'s holograph to edit the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*? Was there, one might ask, perhaps already a better, well-edited fair copy of the 'Ethics' at hand by late February 1677? In theory that might indeed have been the case and would explain Schuller's proposal.

If this proves to be correct it would however also indicate that the Amsterdam friends were given access to Spinoza's autograph beforehand. Whether they had 'authorized' Schuller to sell the manuscript or if, in the end, he landed himself in hot water by offering it to the German scholar is not known. It seems in any case far from realistic to assume Schuller received the team's permission to sell the *Ethica*'s autograph when they were not even preparing Spinoza's chef-d'oeuvre for the press and if a fair copy was not at their disposal. Moreover, being experienced Latinists and editors/translators with scholarly backgrounds, most friends involved in the project would, by all means, value the importance of having access to the *Ethica*'s holograph while editing it. For the present, alas, Schuller's proposal to Leibniz will remain a mystery.

Both the team's editors of the Latin edition and Glazemaker, the translator of *De nagelate schriften*, probably worked with one or, perhaps, even more copies of the *Ethica*'s text. It has been argued that Spinoza, when visiting Amsterdam between 22 and 29 July 1675, perhaps had someone fair-copy the text of the 'Ethics'. This suggests that, after having put off publication, he perhaps took along that copy with him back to his The Hague residence.[24] It may have been the very *Ethica* text version Van der Spijck directed between 21 February and 25 March 1677 to Rieuwertsz *père* to have it prepared for the press and include it in the posthumous works. The *Ethica*'s holograph was perhaps contained in the writing box, too. This would explain why Schuller, in his letter of 16/26 February 1677, told Leibniz that ('the' or 'an') Spinoza's autograph was put for sale, simply because it was no longer of use to the editors of the 'Ethics'. Schuller may also have acted entirely on his own initiative.

As the matter now stands, the sole manuscript copy of the *Ethica* still extant is the codex Vaticanus Latinus 12838 (v). The professional Amsterdam scribe Pieter van Gent made it, between late 1674 and early January 1675, at the request of Spinoza's German friend Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus. While touring Europe on a traditional Grand Tour, he took Van Gent's copy along with him to

20 Spinoza restarted exposition of his own philosophical system in the *E* between 1669/70–1674/5. His correspondence (< 1665. [06].[13], Ep 28; G 4/163.19–23) proves an early version in progress of E3, up to proposition 80, was ready by June 1665. In E3, as it is now printed in the posthumous works, 59 propositions remain. Other propositions must therefore have been transferred to what is known now as E4 (*CW*, vol. 1, pp. 396–397, at n. 25). This suggests that, by the early summer of 1665, the *E* had probably already reached a more or less mature outline. Spinoza kept reordering and advancing the work, adding, amending, and deleting several passages until July 1675 when he put aside its text to focus on other writing projects.

21 Steenbakkers (*Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 55) points out the Latin formulation permits two readings: '*the* autograph copy, or *an* autograph copy'. Schuller* perhaps meant 'the author's unique autograph'.

22 Cf.: Müller and Krönert, *Leben und Werk*, p. 45; Antognazza, *Leibniz*, pp. 175–176.

23 'Caeterum te minime celare debui Clarissm et acutissm Virum Spinozam maxima atrophia conflictatum 21/11 Februar. vitam suam cum morte commutasse; Videtur autem quod inexpectata mortis debilitate praeventus sit, quoniam sine testamento, ultimae voluntatis indice, a nobis discessit; *Ethica*, quam penes ipsum vidisti, in autographo penes amicum asservatur, venalisque habetur, si pretio (credo 150 florenor.) opere tanto condigno persolvatur, id quod nulli melius, quam Tibi significandum censui, utpote qui operis conscius principis animum dirigere poteris, ut suis sumtibus coematur.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 2:1, p. 475, no. 136; 3:2, p. 46, no. 19; quoted with English translation in: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 55).

24 Cf.: ibid., p. 57.

England, France, and Italy.[25] How many other transcripts, aside from Spinoza's own autograph manuscript of the *Ethica* alone, were circulating and/or in the possession of the publication team is impossible to tell.[26] The Preface to the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* explicitly states, though, that copies of the *Ethica* made by various people were circulating amongst friends and admirers.[27]

How Leibniz reacted to the offer to buy the *Ethica*'s holograph, made by Schuller, in mid-March 1677 is not further known: his letter unfortunately went missing.[28] It seems logical, though, to assume his reply will have brought up both Spinoza's death as well as the opportunity to buy the latter's autograph manuscript of the *Ethica*. Shortly afterward, in a letter dated 19/29 March, Schuller suddenly rescinded the rash offer, now pointing out to Leibniz plans to publish Spinoza's philosophical legacy had been only recently changed. He now claimed in that letter to have brought round the philosopher's friends and accommodated 'the vast differences of opinion', since they all had decided by consensus how the written legacy was to be dealt with in print. This then would underline Schuller had a prominent position in Spinoza's following of some sort but the letter to Leibniz may also have been just a bluff. Actually, compared to the roles of Jelles, Meyer, Van Gent, and Rieuwertsz *père*, Schuller's role is objectively indistinct.[29]

Schuller in the aforementioned letter first informs Leibniz the *Ethica* was now planned to be published, together with all the fragments of manuscripts that, he writes, had 'fallen into my hands, in autograph'. Said more concisely, meant by the former were specifically copies of the *Tractatus de emendatione intellectus*, the 1662 letter to Oldenburg on nitre, fluidity, and solidity, and the *Tractatus politicus*.[30] Plans to making publish them all,

25 Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 12838. When Tschirnhaus* visited Rome, the Roman Catholic convert and Danish anatomist Niels Stensen* managed to run off with Van Gent's copy and informed (4 September 1677) the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office about it, thereby touching off a search for more information about Spinoza and his writings in the Netherlands. On 23 September, a Holy Office's clerk booked in manuscript V (Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican Manuscript*, pp. 11–20). For background: Chapter 9, *Banned Unconditionally*. *See* also: Schuller* to Spinoza, 1675.07.25, Ep 63 (G 4/274–276); Tschirnhaus to Spinoza, 1675.08.12, Ep 65 (G 4/279); Schuller to Spinoza, 1675.11.14, Ep 70 (G 4/301–303); Spinoza to Schuller, 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/304–306); Tschirnhaus to Spinoza, 1676.06.23, Ep 82 (G 4/333–334); Spinoza to Tschirnhaus, 1676.06.15, Ep 83 (G 4/334–335). The auction catalogue of Tschirnhaus's private library contains no works by Spinoza (*Catalogus und Specification unterschiedener gebundener und ungebundener Bücher, … des Hrn. Raths von Tschirnhaus, …* [Görlitz: 1723]). The latter work was published long after his death (1708). A second manuscript version (1709) of the catalogue (Staatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 00379/03) contains several general entries in German lacking in the one printed. Listed are: eleven packages with mathematical calculations and letters; a parcel with Tschirnhaus's letters and manuscripts; 'practical' letters and manuscripts; other letters and manuscripts; several 'common' letters; a parcel with miscellaneous, 'practical' letters; one package with exchanges (cf. Mathias Ullmann, 'Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus. Der Modernisierer Sachsens und seine verschollene Bibliothek', in Elisabeth Tiller [ed.], *Bücherwelten – Raumwelten. Zirkulation von Wissen und Macht im Zeitalther des Barock* [Cologne, etc.: Böhlau Verlag, 2015], pp. 171–186, at p. 174). For background on the Grand Tour: Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 1998); Rainer Babel and Werner Paravicini (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis 18. Jahrhundert. Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Verlag, 2005).

26 Apart from the fair-copy assumed, when preparing the *NS* for the press Glazemaker* perhaps worked with a different copy (Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 58 and 134).

27 *OP*, Preface, sig. ******r; *NS*, Preface, ******r–v. Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', pp. 146–147, no. 74. As evinced by a letter of Spinoza to Schuller* of 18 November 1675, Tschirnhaus* was in the possession of a Latin copy of the work. The philosopher refers in this letter probably to the copy made by Van Gent*: 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/305.10). There, it reads: 'in his copy' ('in ipsius exemplari'). The only other manuscript copy of the *E* in the possession of Spinoza's friends I am aware of is one owned by Simon Joosten de Vries*, comprising an early instalment in progress of in any case E1 in Latin, with definitions, axioms, and at least nineteen propositions and some scholia. It was circulated in a Dutch translation (by Balling*) among members of the Amsterdam study group, headed by De Vries. The latter wrote to Spinoza (1663.02.24, Ep 8 [G 4/39.5–7]): 'But though our bodies are separated from one another by such a distance, nevertheless you have very often been present in my mind especially when I meditate *on your writings and hold them in my hands*.' (CW, I, p. 190; my emphasis).

28 Cf. Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 50, no. 21.

29 Cf. also Tschirnhaus* to Leibniz*, 17 April [1677], replying to a lost letter by Schuller* (26 February, or later). Sometimes, Schuller annoyed Spinoza and overstepped his boundaries. Spinoza in turn reproached (< [1675].[07].25a*) him for disclosing his doctrines without his permission. Yet, Schuller also changed his behaviour (to Spinoza, 1675.07.25, Ep 63 [G 4/274–276]; 1675.11.14, Ep 70 [G 4/301–303]) and Spinoza clearly appreciated him as a friend. According to the aforementioned letter of 17 April dispatched by Tschirnhaus to Leibniz, Schuller (by his own admission) had attended Spinoza in his last hours.

30 The *TIE* (Chapter 6, n. 47) was Spinoza's first project on first principles, definitions, and method which he hesitated of finishing. The work was probably circulated by him in the late 1650s and early 1660s among friends and admirers in Amsterdam. About the *TIE*, the editors write in the 'Notice to the Reader', annexed to the work in the *OP/NS*, the following: 'This *Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect* etc., which we give you here, kind reader, in its unfinished state, was written by the author

including Spinoza's correspondence, Schuller confidently tells Leibniz, were effectively in the making and promising, to say the least.[31] In the letter of 19/29 March 1677, he writes about this editing scheme thus:

> I am most relieved that you have said nothing yet to your Prince about buying the 'Ethica', for I changed my mind so completely that I would not even want to be responsible for such a bargain – even if the owner raised the price. The reason is that I have accommodated the vast differences of opinion among his friends, to the effect that I got them to publish for the public good not only the 'Ethica', but also all the manuscript fragments (the greater part of which – viz. 1. on the 'Improvement of the Understanding', 2. on nitre, 3. on politics, 4. several letters – has fallen into my hands, in autograph). I am telling you this confidentially, and I am certain that you will not reveal this to anyone, not even the friends, lest the proposal falls through.[32]

In summary, Schuller's intriguing claim he possessed a vast collection of Spinoza's writings reveals he must have had free access to the philosopher's papers.[33] Nevertheless, it is uncertain how he had obtained the majority of the manuscripts now published in the posthumous works.[34] His foregoing letter to Leibniz proves, though, the Hebrew grammar manual was not in his possession. All now being said, the letter to the German scholar of 19/29 March is the first historical document revealing in detail the Amsterdam friends' intention and plans to issue Spinoza's posthumous philosophical written legacy and correspondence for the public benefit in their entirety.

3 Initial Deliberations and Pre-Press Preparations of the Posthumous Writings

Schuller's letter to Leibniz thus suggests by the second half of March 1677 Spinoza's Amsterdam friends had agreed about whether the Dutch philosopher's papers and letters should be posthumously published and in what manner. From Spinoza's own exchange it becomes evident, for instance, that he had been displeased with the incomplete *Tractatus de emendatione intellectus*, as it had stood. It is not easy to imagine that the issue of possibly publishing the latter work and, highly likely, also the correspondence must have divided the friends about to begin editing the posthumous writings for the press.[35] Nonetheless, they finally appear to have agreed that certain texts should be in any case issued and also settled in what particular form the publication of the book should be made available for the general public.[36] Apparently, they were committed to issue in a comprehensive both Latin tome and in a Dutch translation the *Ethica*, the publication of which Spinoza himself had ordered.[37]

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many years ago now. He always intended to finish it. But hindered by other occupations, and finally snatched away by death, he was unable to bring it to the desired conclusion.... And so that you would be aware of, and find less difficult to excuse, the many things that are still obscure, rough, and unpolished, we wished to warn you of them' ('Tractatus, quem de Intellectus Emendatione etc. imperfectum hic tibi damus, Benevole Lector, jam multos ante annos ab Auctore fuit conscriptus. In animo semper habuit eum perficere: At, aliis negotiis praepeditus, et tandem morte abreptus, ad optatum finem perducere non potuit....; et, ut etiam multa obscura, rudia adhuc et impolita, quae in eo hinc inde occurrunt, condonare non graveris, horum ne inscius esses, admonitum te quoque esse voluimus. Vale.'; G 2/4; CW, vol. 1, p. 6). For the letter to Oldenburg* on Boylean chemistry: 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 [G 4/15–36]. For the *TP*, *see*: n. 1.

31 For the correspondence section of the *OP*/*NS*, *see* in this chapter: '*Letters from Certain Learned Men*' and *The Correspondence Section's Pre-Press Preparations*.

32 'Gaudeo sane quod de coëmenda *Ethica* nihil adhuc Principi Tuo dixeris, nam plane animo mutatus sum, ut (licet possessor pretium adauxerit) de illo commercio instituendo jam tibi author esse nolim, ratio est, quod amicorum animos plane dissentientes ita ad consensum disposuerim, ut non solum hanc *Ethicam*, verum etiam omni Manuscripta Fragmenta (quorum potior pars, nimir. 1 de Emendatione Intellectus, 2. *de Nitro*, 3. de Politia, 4. Epistolae variae, in autographo ad manus meas devoluta est) in commune bonum typis publicare contituerim, quod Tibi confidenter communico, cum nullus dubitem, Te id, quominus propositum hoc impediatur, omnes, etiam Amicos, celaturum.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, pp. 52–53, no. 24; quoted with an English translation in: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 56). Schuller* refers to the letter 'on nitre' (to Oldenburg*, 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6) as if it were rather a brief treatise which it is not. The latter piece comprises however only the first portion of Spinoza's letter. The letter to Oldenburg* may have been an edited letter scribally put into circulation among friends and admirers.

33 Confirmed by Tschirnhaus* in the aforementioned letter to Leibniz* of 17 April [1677].

34 As evinced by a letter (19 September 1677) of Schuller* to Leibniz*, he had searched the estate 'one by one before and after his death'.

35 'Caeterum de reliquis, nimirum de motu, quaeque ad Methodum spectant, quia nondum ordine conscripta sunt, in aliam occasionem reservo.' ('As for the other things, concerning motion and Method, because they aren't yet written out in an orderly fashion, I reserve them for another occasion'; Spinoza to Tschirnhaus*, > 1675.01.05, Ep 60; G 4/271; CW, vol. 2, p. 433). Cf. also the Preface by Jelles*/Meyer* to the *OP*/*NS*: sigs ****4^{v}–*****1^{r} and ******$6^{r–v}$.

36 Cf.: Stein, 'Neue Aufschlüsse', p. 561.

37 Preface by Jelles*/Meyer*: '... zijn Zedekunst, die hy beval te doen drukken....' (*NS*, sig. *3^{v}); '... [*E*], cujus impressionem

The Amsterdam friends also decided by consensus that the two unfinished treatises *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and *Tractatus politicus* should be included in the twin volumes, plus a selection of Spinoza's letters. In short: the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* now contain the *Ethica*/*Zedekunst*, *Tractatus politicus*/*Staatkundige verhandeling*, *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*/*Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant*, respectively. Particularly, the 'Political Treatise' was a work Spinoza wanted to be published as it is upheld in the posthumous works' Preface. There, its author, Jarig Jelles, writes thus about the Dutch philosopher's explicit request: 'He ordered to print his "Ethics"' (*'hij beval, zijn Zedekunst te doen drukken'*). Included in the twin language volumes is also a selection of seventy-four chronologically-arranged letters on matters philosophical, with responses by their correspondents: *Epistolae doctorum*/*Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen*.

The team further decided to issue the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraea*, the first ever Hebrew grammar manual written by an author of Jewish descent in Latin, only in the *Opera posthuma*. In the prologue to the posthumous works, this decision is detailed thus in Jelles's version:

> Our author has also, besides all what we have said before, left behind a Hebrew Grammar in the Latin language, in manuscript, yet unfinished. And although it is much praised by various learned men who own several copies [of it], we considered it not really useful to have it made public in the Dutch language in printing, but we thought it advisable for the Latinists to have it printed in the Latin language. Because one seldom starts learning Hebrew before one has mastered the Latin language.[38]

The 'Notice to the Reader', appended to the Hebrew grammar in the *Opera posthuma*, states explicitly Spinoza composed that work 'at the request of certain friends diligently studying the Sacred Tongue' and for 'those who desire to speak Hebrew and not just to chant it'. The Latin noun-based grammar contains one portion on nouns and verbs (phonetics, alphabet, and morphology). Another part focuses on syntax, particles, and conjunctions, and was to be extended through the inclusion of grammatical tables.[39] Because of his illness and death, Spinoza only managed to finish the greater part of the grammar manual's first portion, the one on nouns and verbs. The grammar, comprising rules and practices for a kind of secularized living Hebrew (and not the Scripture's Hebrew), includes four introductory chapters covering Hebrew letters, vowel points, and accents. Another additional eight chapters are dedicated to nouns, whereas twenty-one chapters are devoted to Hebrew verbs.[40]

De nagelate schriften, translated by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker except for the *Ethica*'s Parts 1 and 2 which were translated by in the early 1660s by Pieter Balling, were published simultaneously with the *Opera posthuma*. Of the *Ethica*, Glazemaker also translated Parts 3, 4, and 5 and redacted Parts 1 and 2 by Balling as well. Without doubt, the decision to publish the two twin volumes at the same time, must have complicated the two volumes' editing, proofing, and printing process to a great extent. Nevertheless, to all appearances the team must have worked hard and prevailed in preparing the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* for the press in only a few months' time; given the bulky character of the language volumes an impressive achievement.[41]

mandabat…' (*OP*, *3^{r}). Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', pp. 112–113, no. 10.

38 'Onze Schrijver heeft noch, boven 't geen, dat wy hier voor gedacht hebben, in de Latijnsche taal een Hebreeusche Grammatika, of Letterkunst, in geschrift, doch onvolmaakt, nagelaten; en hoewel de zelfde van verscheide geleerde lieden, onder de welken verscheide afschriften berusten, grotelijks geprezen word; zo hebben wy echt niet dienstig geacht, haar in de Nederlantsche Taal door de druk gemeen te maken, maar geraden gevonden de zelfde voor de Latijnen in de latijnsche Taal in druk te laten: dewijl men zelden tot het leren van 't Hebreeus toetreed, voor dat men de Latijnsche taal machtig is geworden.' (*NS*, Preface, sig. ******2^{v}).

39 Cf. Gruntfest, 'Spinoza as a Linguist', p. 116. For Spinoza's grammarian approach: Jacob Bernays, 'Über die Grammatik Spinozas', in Carl Schaarschmidt (ed.), *Descartes und Spinoza* (Bonn: Koschny, 1850), pp. 195–203; Adolph Chajes, *Ueber die hebraïsche Grammatik Spinozas* (Breslau: Jungfer's Buchdruckerei, 1869); Porges, 'Spinozas Compendium'; Gruntfest, 'Spinoza as a Linguist'; Anthony J. Klijnsmit, *Spinoza and Grammatical Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Baumgarten, etc. (eds.), *Spinoza, philosophe grammairien*.

40 Cf. Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, p. 358. Porges ('Spinozas Compendium', pp. 127–128) noticed the *CG*'s first part lacks the treatment of the formation of nouns (promised in *CG*, ch. 6) as well as a chapter on conjunctions and interjections. Whether the treatment of numerals (also missing) was intended to be inserted in the first or second portion is not known.

41 The auction catalogue of Glazemaker's private library (published by Rieuwertsz* *père*), *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae Joannis Henrici Glazemaker*, lists copies of the *PP*/*CM*, the *TTP*, the *NS* ('Nagelaten Schriften van B.D.S. als Zedekunst/Staetkunde/Verbetering van Verstant/Brieven en Antwoorden/1677' [p. 44, no. 759]), and of the *OP*. The catalogue's entry on the *OP* (a large-paper copy) discloses its masked author's identity: 'Bened. de Spinosa. Opera Philosophica posthuma charta maj. 1677' (p. 27, no. 203). Balling: BL.

The Amsterdam editors further agreed to append several annexes and lists of errata, correcting printing flaws and textual errors, to both editions.[42] Although work on the twin volumes was related in more than a complex way, the editors executed those two projects rather independently; each was done at a different pace within a relatively short time. In what way team members coordinated their work with each other and clearly strove to achieve uniformity between the two volumes is revealed by a letter of 11 February 1676 from Oldenburg to Spinoza. It was immediately rejected for inclusion in the correspondence section of the *Opera posthuma*, but initially edited and also printed in *De nagelate schriften*. After deliberation, the letter in the Dutch rendering was cancelled and replaced by another letter, one by Spinoza to Oldenburg, dated 7 February 1676. This unique example of balanced and effective interaction, aimed at editorial homogeneity, will be dealt with later in this chapter.

About the prime objective of the group, i.e., the comprehensive publication of Spinoza's finished and unfinished texts in a neat, orderly manner, the posthumous writings' Preface states the following:

> Although the writings, contained in this book, [are] largely unfinished and less reread, polished, and augmented by the author, it was thought to be helpful to publish them….[43]

The selections published in the posthumous works included everything, it appears, they had dug up from Spinoza's manuscripts, papers, and the like:

> This is all that, being of some value, we have been able to gather from the papers he left behind, and from some transcripts, held by his friends and acquaintances. It may be assumed that one or another person still owns something of our author not found here: however, one can have trust it will contain nothing the reader will not find repeatedly expressed here.[44]

When the Amsterdam group exactly started subediting the writings and letters is uncertain. They gathered, very likely, in the house of the Collegiant orphanage 'De Oranjeappel' at the Amsterdam Keizersgracht: a large quantity of letters to and from Spinoza, either in autograph, or draft and copy, survived in the manuscript collection 'Archief van het Weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten de Oranjeappel', now extant in the Amsterdam city archives. As evinced by the aforementioned letter of Rieuwertsz *père* to Van der Spijck, dated 25 March 1677 and stating the writing desk had arrived in good order in Amsterdam, the team will have begun the larger portion of its work after the latter date.[45]

Having this now said, it thus becomes evident the group of friends diligently copied, translated, edited, and revised Spinoza's writings and correspondence for presentation as his written legacy to the general reading public within a period of hardly four months. Where necessary, they also added explanatory notes and glosses in the external margins of the twin volumes until, finally, all material was ready for typesetting, printing, and proofreading. Editorial work was more or less completed during the summer of 1677, when the editors conveyed the copy-texts of the posthumous works to Israel de Paull's printing workshop, presumably in bits and pieces. Particularly the lists of errata included in the *Opera posthuma* and in *De nagelate schriften* reveal the team must have worked under pressure and in great haste.

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42 The *NS* lacks the 'Index rerum'.

43 'Schoon de Geschriften, in dit boek begrepen, ten meestendeel onvolmaakt, veel minder van de Schrijver overgezien, beschaaft en verbetert zijn, zo heeft men echter niet ondienstig geoordeelt de zelfden in 't licht te geven….' (*NS*, sig. *2^{r}). Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 110, no. 1. *OP*, sig. *2^{r}: 'Licet scripta, Lector benevole, hoc libro contenta, maximam partem imperfecta, multò minus ab ipso Auctore examinata, polita, ac emendate sint; eat amen luci exponere non abs re visum fuit.'. Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 113, no. 10.

44 'Dit is 't alles, dat, van eenige waarde zijnde, wy uit zijn nagelate papieren, en uit enige afschriften, onder zijn vrienden en bekenden berustende, te zamen hebben konnen rapen. 't Is gelooffelijk dat 'er by d'een, of by d'ander noch wel iets van onze Schrijver berust, 't welk hier niet gevonden zal worden: maar men vertrout ook dat daar in niets bevat zal wezen, 't welk de Lezer hier niet meermalen gezegt zal vinden.' (*NS*, sig. *3^{v}). Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 112, no. 9. *OP*, sig. *3^{r}: '… sunt verò haec omnia, quae ex adversariis, & quibusdam apographis inter amicos, ac familiars delitescentibus colligere licuit. Et quanquam credibile est apud hunc, aut illum aliquid, à nostro Philosopho elaboratum, absconditum esse, quod hîc non inveniretur; existimatur tamen, nil in eo inventum iri, quod saepius in his Scriptis dictum non sit….'. Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 113, no. 10.

45 Until 1929, 'De Oranjeappel' (founded in 1675) was located at the Keizersgracht (between the houses nos. 345–347). In 1930, the institution rehoused to the Jacob Pennweg (no. 12a) in Hilversum. In 1944, a bombardment destroyed most of its archives. The remaining papers are kept by the Amsterdam Stadsarchief. *See*: Adriaan Loosjes, *Het weeshuis der collegianten 'De Oranjeappel' 1675–1925* (n. pl. [Hilversum]: Weeshuis 'De Oranjeappel', 1925); Simon Groenveld, 'De Oranjeappel, 1675–1975. Drie eeuwen opvoeding in het weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten', *Holland. Regionaal-historisch tijdschrift*, 8 (1976), pp. 153–176; J.H.M. Verkuijl-Van den Berg and Mechteld Gravendeel, *Archief van het Weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten de Oranjeappel* (Amsterdam: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, 2008).

4 The Amsterdam Editors: Individual Team Members and Their Roles

Who among Spinoza's friends actually prepared the posthumous works for the press and what was their particular role, one might ask? This is certainly a moot question which needs more consideration. In the first place, there was Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, Spinoza's publisher, who approved of the team's plans and the broad specifics of their publication proposal to edit and publish the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* in parallel. Even though historical documents are unfortunately lacking, I tend to assume that the Amsterdam bookseller and publisher was primarily involved at the practical level of decision-making, logistics, and finance. Second, other individuals involved in the book project beyond doubt were Jarig Jelles and Lodewijk Meyer.[46] The former composed the anonymously-published Dutch 'Voorreeden' (Preface) in *De nagelate schriften* whereas the latter was responsible for the *Praefatio*, its augmented Latin translation issued in the *Opera posthuma*, a conclusion primarily supported by a host of stylistic reasons.[47]

The style and the contents of the 'Voorreeden' bear fair resemblance to Jarig Jelles's *Belydenisse des algemeenen en christelijcken geloofs* (Profession of the Universal and Christian Faith), a work initially sent by the latter Amsterdam merchant-grocer to Spinoza in manuscript in the spring of 1673.[48] As for Lodewijk Meyer, it has been argued to a wide extent in this study's chapter 2 that the latter had been already involved as Spinoza's editor in the publication of the philosopher's adumbration of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' in 1663. Moreover, he composed the cross-references and captions (all written under Spinoza's direction) of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. In addition, Meyer also composed the latter book's prologue. That Meyer translated and also improved Jelles's Preface is beyond any scholarly discussion.

In regard to the pre-press preparations of the posthumous writings, the acts of *Nil volentibus arduum* in any case evince that Meyer, one of their members, was not present in early July 1677 during their meetings. Whether this may account for his contribution to the editorial team's effort to publish posthumous writings is uncertain, but it would explain his absence from the Amsterdam literary society's weekly meetings.[49] What Meyer's contribution was in preparing the *Opera posthuma* for the press is not known. Perhaps he was just one of the book's editors. In the case of *De nagelate schriften*, there is also the distinct possibility that he served as an adviser to Glazemaker while loyally translating Spinoza's writings and letters into Dutch.

It was the Huguenot writer Pierre Bayle who in a letter to the Dutch physician Theodorus Jansonius ab Almeloveen of 7 March 1686 first brought up the involvement of Jelles and Meyer.[50] Bayle comments in it upon the third edition of Johann Deckherr von Wallhorn's *De scriptis adespotis*, a work published earlier that same year.[51] Bayle's letter, which is also appended as an annex to the same book, provides detailed information about Spinoza's posthumous works and remarks by Deckherr about the authors responsible for the two volumes' prefaces:

> On page 333 the author [Deckherr] says that to Spinoza's 'Opera posthuma', published in 1678 [read here: 1677], a most sophisticated preface was added by an unknown author. I was told recently that this preface was originally written by a Mennonite, *Jarig Jelles*, who after having been a merchant in Amsterdam, lived a life of leisure off the proceeds – a man, for that matter, of little education. The preface is believed to have been translated into Latin, as it occurs in Spinoza's book, by the Amsterdam physician Lodewijk Meyer, who died a few years ago; the author, as rumour has it, of the paradoxical tract 'Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres', which

46 'Chances are that Lodewijk Meyer edited the complete text of the *Opera posthuma*.' (Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 107). The involvement of Meyer* in the preparations of the *OP* cannot be either proven or disproven by comparing his own works and Spinoza's texts when, for instance, zooming in on conventions in accentuation. About diacritical usage in the *OP*, *see*: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 205. For a study of the Preface and its textual differences: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface' (with an edition in Latin and Dutch). Jelles* in his Preface provides readers with about one hundred citations from the New Testament. Biblical quotations in the Dutch Preface are from the Dutch *Statenvertaling* (1637).

47 'Yet, striking characteristics of Meyer's linguistic usage are clearly to be found in the Praefatio too, such as: a strong tendency to variation … (especially in his prefaces), a predilection for proverbial expressions, which even here, where in translating he had less opportunity to use it, is not lacking…, a certain idiosyncrasy in the choice of words, epithets, grammar.' (Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 105). Cf.: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 207–208.

48 Jarig Jelles*, *Belydenisse des algemeenen en christelijcken geloofs, vervattet in een brief aan N.N.* (Amsterdam: 1684). Cf. Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 107.

49 Cf. Dongelmans, *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, pp. 17–18: 22 and 29 June, 6 July 1677.

50 Bayle/Almeloveen: BL.

51 Johann Deckherr* von Wallhorn, *De scriptis adespotis, pseudepigraphis, et suppositiis conjecturae cum additionibus variorum* (Amsterdam: 1686). Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 18.

> displeased the theologians, and rightly so, for its heretical smell.[52]

There is also a short Spinoza biography by Johannes Monnikhoff reporting on the prologues to the printed posthumous works. That biography, included around 1750 to *codex B*, the latter's copy of the *Korte verhandeling*, supports the attribution of the Preface's combined authorship to both Jelles and Meyer.[53] It should be noticed that for his account, Monnikhoff might have borrowed elements from the aforementioned work by Deckherr. Monnikhoff in the biography underlines the following:

> That he [Jelles] was the maker of the Preface to Spinoza's 'Nagelate schriften' can be very clearly inferred from his 'Belydenisse des algemeenen en christelijcken geloofs'...: in which we encounter the same style and topics, though ordered and arranged somewhat differently than in the said Preface is expressed. And some have considered as the author of this Preface not only him [Jelles] but also doctor Lodewijk Meyer; but that [conjecture] may have possibly been inspired [by the fact] that the latter translated it perhaps from Dutch into Latin....[54]

The same information is also provided in *Het leven van Philopater*, the theological roman à clef anonymously published in 1691, already mentioned in the previous chapter.[55] Also its disguised author, the Amsterdam schoolmaster Johannes Duijkerius, briefly refers in the novel to the Preface by Jelles and Meyer, be it only with their initials:

> However, to satisfy you a little because of a Preface of this kind, please know, this one here is at least as appropriate as the [Preface] to the famous 'Zedekunst' of B. d. S. by doctor L.M. and J.J. has been composed....[56]

Another report along these lines is contained in the travel diaries kept by the German travellers Gottlieb Stolle and 'Hallmann'.[57] According to an account of one of their trips in the Netherlands, they had made the acquaintance in June 1703 in Amsterdam of a 'certain old man' in a hostel located at the Zeedijk, called 'the Captain of Bremen'.[58] During this rendezvous, the latter had told them about people in Amsterdam who once had befriended Spinoza. According to him, Jarig Jelles had composed the Preface to the posthumous works. The old man's further claim, that Lodewijk Meyer was Spinoza's friend and had been long dead when Glazemaker translated the posthumous

52 'Pag. 333. dicit Autor operibus posthumis Benedicti de Spinoza anno 1678. typis exscripta praefixam *esse tersissimam incogniti Authoris praefationem*. Dictum est mihi nuper praefationem illam fuisse primo Belgicè conscriptam ab viro quodam è Menonitarum Secta cui nomen Jarich Jelles qui postquam Mercuraturam exercuisset Amstelodami, in privato otio & exquaesitis reditibus vixit, vir caeteroquin literis haud ita instructus; Eam vero praefationem creditur postea latinè vertisse prout extat in libro Spinozae Ludovicus Meyer Medicus Amstel., ante paucos annos vivis exemptus, Autor ut fama est Dissertationis paradoxae cui titulus *Philosophia sacrae Scripturae interpres*, quae non immerito displicuit Theologis, utpote sapiens Haeresim.' (Deckherr* von Wallhorn, *De scriptis adespotis*, pp. 387–388). The English translation is borrowed from: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 19. Bayle's letter: *Œuvres diverses*, vol. 4, pp. 162–167.

53 The Hague, KB, ms. 75 G 16. Paper, 159 fols, 235×180 mm. *Codex B* is also set with the *Adnotationes* which Spinoza composed from late 1675 onwards as clarification of the TTP's contents to defend himself against the vituperation of his doctrines. It also includes a lengthy prologue by Monnikhoff* on Spinoza's philosophy. *See* further: Kees Thomassen, 'A. Bogaers: jurist en letterkundige, 1795–1870', in Marieke van Delft, etc. (eds.), *Verzamelaars en verzamelingen. Koninklijke Bibliotheek 1798–1998* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), pp. 108–112. The source of Monnikhoff's manuscript copy (acquired by Boehmer in 1851) was *codex A* (The Hague, KB, ms. 75 G 15), a late-seventeenth-century manuscript copy with marginal annotations from a later period. This *codex A*, once in the hands of Monnikhoff, includes a text version of the KV and 'Aantekeningen bij het Godgeleerd-Staatkundig Vertoog' (Additional Notes to the Theological-Political Treatise [*Adnotationes*]). To his copy of the KV, Monnikhoff added a 'Kritische voorrede'. *See* for Monnikhoff: Lotte Jensen, 'Johannes Monnikhoff. Bewonderaar en bestrijder van Spinoza', *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, 8 (1997), pp. 5–32, esp. pp. 33–44.

54 *Codex B*: 'Dat hij den Maaker der Voorreeden van Spinoza's Nagelate Schriften was, is zelf heel duijdelijk af te neemen uijt zijn Belijdenis des Algemeene en Christelijken Geloofs [both titles underlined in the ms.]...: als waar in de zelve stijl en zaaken, hoewel in order en zamenbinding iet verschillende, als in de gedagte Voorreeden ons te vooren komt. En schoon zommigen neevens hem ook Dr. Lodewijk Meijer voor den Schrijver deezer Voorreeden hebben gehouden, zoo zal dit mogelijk daar uijt gesprooten, dat hij misschien dezelve uijt 't Nederduijtsch in 't Latijn heeft overgebragt....' (The Hague, KB, ms. 75 G 16, 'Voorreeden', fols 25v–26r; quoted in Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 19). The other work referred to is: Jelles*, *Belydenisse*.

55 *See*: Chapter 7, *Vervolg van 't Leven van Philopater*.

56 'Evenwel om U.E. eenig genoegen te geven wegens dusdaenig een slag van Voorreden, soo weet, dat dese hier ten minste immer soo wel voeglijck is, als die voor de vermaerde *Sedenkonst* van B.D.S. door *Doctor* L.M. en J.J. gesteld is....' (anon. [Duijkerius*], *Het leven van Philopater*, p. 55).

57 For their travel diaries: Chapter 2, *A Book 'Now in the Press'* and *Selling Spinoza's First Book*.

58 For the Amsterdam hostel: Chapter 2, n. 76.

writings' prologue into Latin, is evidently incorrect. Here is the account by Stolle and 'Hallmann' about the Preface:

> The friends with which Spinoza usually discussed were Glazemaker, Van den Ende, Rieuwertsz, (his astute father Rieuwertsz), Balling, Jarig Jelles, and a physician, Mr Lodewijk Meyer. Jarig Jelles was initially a Mennonite. He wrote the Preface to Spinoza's posthumous works in Dutch, which later Glazemaker translated into Latin. When the Preface was made, Meyer was already dead.[59]

The role of Pieter van Gent, the professional scribe who copied the text of the *Ethica* for Tschirnhaus in the mid-1670s now extant in codex Vat. Lat. 12838, is far from clear. There is however solid evidence he in any case collaborated with those on the team responsible for preparing the correspondence section.[60] That is evinced by an autograph draft of a letter from Spinoza to an unknown Amsterdam 'special friend', handed in to be incorporated in the posthumous works. On the leaf's verso, it has an editorial remark in what seems to be Van Gent's handwriting. There, it is stated briefly 'Is of no value' ('Is van geener waarde'), which tells Van Gent probably believed the letter's contents only discussed topics other than philosophy.[61] A transcript of another letter to Spinoza, from the knowledge broker and secretary of the London Royal Society Henry Oldenburg, was undeniably copied by Van Gent.[62] Initially, his transcript served as printer's copy-text, but it was cancelled afterwards.[63] Another autograph letter, sent by Spinoza in mid-November 1675 to Georg Hermann Schuller, proves Van Gent made a copy of that document, too. Below the letter's salutation, the word *descripta* (transcribed) is scribbled in his handwriting.[64] Unfortunately, both the autograph letter and Van Gent's copy have gone missing.[65]

Taken together, this then proves that, apart from taking copies, the team apparently had given Van Gent permission also to take decisions about which letters to and from Spinoza were to be included in the correspondence section.[66] It is uncertain, though, whether any fair copies by Van Gent were eventually conveyed to the printing office of Israel de Paull and served as printer's copy.[67] Intriguingly, Van Gent himself, in a letter to Tschirnhaus of 23 March 1679, claimed he had produced copies of Spinoza's writings 'for the most part', at the request of Schuller. Apparently, these copies had been had given in trust to mutual 'friends'; perhaps the posthumous writings' editors.[68] Schuller, it appears from Van Gent's letter of 23 March, had been ungrateful for the latter's generosity and all the work he had loyally done on his behest. With palpable disappointment, Van Gent makes the following remarks about Schuller in his letter to Tschirnhaus:

> I conferred so many benefactions upon him, inviting him to my table, copying out Spinoza's works for the most part and depositing them with our friends, that

59 'Die Freunde, so mit Spinoza zu conversiren pflegten, wären Glasemaker, van Ende, Rieuwertz, (des itzigen Riewertz Vater), Balling, Jare Gillis, u. ein Medicus, D. Ludwicg Meyer. Jare Gillis sey anfangs ein Mennist gewesen, er habe die praefation zu denen Operibus posthumis Spinozae niederländisch gemacht, welche hernach Glasemacher ins Lateinische übersetzet. Als die Praefation gemacht worden, sey Meyer schon tod gewesen.' (S/H, ms. B, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 84). Meyer* died in 1681. Glazemaker* never translated a Dutch text into Latin, but the other way around. Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', pp. 104–105. For another account about him by Stolle and 'Hallmann': Chapter 7, n. 4.

60 Importantly, Van Gent* knew both Spinoza and Rieuwertsz* *père*. Schuller* to Spinoza: 1675.07.25, Ep 63 (G 4/276): 'Mr. van Gent sends you his greetings, as does J. Riew.' ('D. a. Gent officiose salutat una cum J. Riew.'). Two letters from Van Gent's exchange with Spinoza can also be postulated: < [1675].[07].25*; < [1675].[07].25a*.

61 < 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28 (G 4/162–163).

62 1676.02.11, Ep 79 (G 4/329–330). A letter to Christiaan Huygens* of 18 December 1682 (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 8, p. 403) offers tangible evidence proving the handwriting of the letter is by Van Gent* (cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 43–44). Steenbakkers doubts Van Gent's transcript 'was the manuscript from which Glazemaker translated the letter into Dutch…' (ibid., pp. 46–47). Against this, he argues, there 'is a slip of the pen in the Latin transcript, "inexcusabiles" for "excusabiles" which has not influenced the translator'.

63 For this, *see*: Simpson, *Proofreading*.

64 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/304–306). When the remark 'descripta' is compared with the word 'praescripta' in E5p41 on fol. 132^{r} of manuscript v in the handwriting of Van Gent* the conclusion is that the latter must have scribbled the note on the foregoing letter's holograph.

65 Spinoza's letter to Schuller* of 18 November 1675 survives in facsimile in: *Nachbildung der im Jahre 1902 noch erhaltenene eigenhändigen Briefe des B. de Spinoza, mit Erläuterungen und Übersetzungen*, Willem Meijer (ed.) (The Hague: W. Meijer, 1903), XI. Letter sent through the regular mail system. Postal due: 3 *stuivers*. One sheet folded, in 4, 29 and 15 lines (fols 1^{r} and 1^{v}).

66 Curt Reinhardt, *Briefe an Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus von Pieter van Gent* (Freiburg: Gerlach, 1911), p. 14; Rienk Vermij, 'De Nederlandse vriendenkring van E.W. von Tschirnhaus', *Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis der geneeskunde, natuurwetenschappen en techniek*, 11 (1988), pp. 153–176, pp. 174–175; id., 'Le Spinozisme en Hollande: Le cercle de Tschirnhaus', *Cahiers Spinoza*, 6 (1991), pp. 145–168, there at pp. 160–161.

67 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 45.

68 Ibid., p. 38.

> I cannot understand what malice led him to deride me as a drunkard before you.[69]

Arguably, Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker was, in his capacity as translator of *De nagelate schriften*, crucially involved in the posthumous writings' editing process.[70] Glazemaker also redacted the Dutch rendition of Pieter Balling's translation of the *Ethica*'s Parts 1 and 2 (composed before late December 1664), incorporated in *De nagelate schriften*. Parts 3 to 5 are however translated by Glazemaker himself. Hence, it would be fair to claim Balling contributed to the 1677 Dutch rendering as well, albeit posthumously. Glazemaker's original Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, made as early as either late 1669 or early 1670, would also form the basis for the first Dutch translation of Spinoza's treatise published in 1693: *De rechtzinnige theologant*. As it has been already pointed out in the previous chapter of the present study, Glazemaker's role as translator of both the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Opera posthuma* was first discussed in the clandestinely-issued *Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater*, the 1697 sequel to Duijkerius's 'Philopater' novel.[71]

Next in order is Schuller's rather dubious role in the editing process. There is no doubt that the latter had access to Spinoza's papers. That is evinced by a letter Schuller sent to Leibniz on 6 February 1677, comprising the demonstration of proposition 5 (on substance) in the *Ethica*'s Part 1. Clearly, E1p5dem was copied from Spinoza's autograph manuscript, or a fair copy of it, but is markedly differing from the redactions contained in the printed posthumous works and in the Vatican manuscript v.[72] It has already been underlined that Schuller, in another letter of 16/26 February 1677, had offered Leibniz the opportunity to purchase 'the' or 'an' autograph of the *Ethica*, a proposal rescinded by Schuller in a letter of 19/29 March 1677. The closing section of the latter's letter conveys Schuller's regards to Leibniz from Jelles and Van Gent.[73] This proves he was in close contact with the Amsterdam friends preparing the posthumous writings for the press. In spite of the foregoing, Schuller was technically unfit to work as an autonomous editor of the *Opera posthuma* because of his mediocre command of Latin, he may well have played a part in the pre-press preparations of its Dutch rendering, or read proofs of it.[74] Schuller, in evidence, had lived for some time in the house of Van Gent, which suggests he probably was well-informed about how the editing project was advancing, too.

Seven years after Schuller's death (1679), an inventory of his estate was made by the Amsterdam notary public Jacobus van der Ende (1656–1716). According to this legal instrument, dressed up 29 April 1686, his estate included chemical instruments as well as '36 folios, 92 quartos, also 368 in octavo and [in] smaller format, and some sewn books', all worth 63 guilders, and 'badly damaged and for the most part eaten by rats' ('seer beschadigt en voort merendeel vande ratten gebeten'). The inventory does not however detail a description of his books unfortunately.[75]

Finally, there is the role of Johannes Bouwmeester. Because of his close friendship with Spinoza and his membership in the *Nil volentibus arduum* society, he too may have been involved in editing the posthumous works, although in a way not further known. From *Nil volentibus arduum*'s resolutions, it becomes apparent that Bouwmeester, like Meyer, was unable to fulfil his weekly obligations when the friends were hurriedly

69 'Ego tanta in illum contulli beneficia, invitando ad mensam, Spinosae opera maximam partem describendo et commendando apud amicos nostros, ut videre nequaem, quaenam illum impulerit malitia, ut me apud te tanquam ebriosum traduxerit.' (quoted and translated in: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 37–38). Yet, Van Gent* perhaps produced copies of Spinoza's less important writings and letters (1666.06.10, Ep 37 [G 4/187–189]; 1676.02.11, Ep 79 [G 4/329–330]) on Schuller's initiative (ibid., pp. 38–39) for scribal circulation.

70 Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 128; id., *'Tractatus theologico-politicus'*, pp. 234–235. Based on a close examination of his spelling, 'grammar, style, terminology, translating technique, faults and qualities' Akkerman's key conclusion is that Glazemaker* composed the *Zk*, the Dutch translation of the *E*.

71 Anon. [Duijkerius*?], *Het leven van Philopater*, p. 195. *See*: Chapter 7, *Vervolg van 't Leven van Philopater*.

72 E1p5dem. Cf.: Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, pp. 37–38, no. 9; *see* also 2:1, p. 474, no. 135. The text passed to Leibniz has several textual differences compared to the *OP* and manuscript v: (1) Schuller*: '(per prop. 4.)'; v: '(*per* praeced.)'; *OP*: '(per Prop. praeced.)'. (2) Schuller: 'una'; v: 'una'; *OP* (corrected in): 'unam'. (3) Schuller: '(per defin. 4. et 6.)'; v: '(p. defin. 3. \ax/ 6.)'; *OP*: '(per Defin. 3. & 6.)'. (4) Schuller: '(per prop. 4.)'; v: '(*per* praec.)'; *OP*: '(per Prop. praeced.)'. Put more concisely, Schuller must have had access to another now-lost manuscript copy of the *E*. Thanks are due to Steenbakkers for the foregoing information.

73 '… nec ne Dus Jellisius et Hospes meus Dominus de Gent summopere Te resalutant.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 55, no. 24).

74 According to Stein ('Neue Aufschlüsse', p. 558; *Leibniz und Spinoza*, p. 263), Schuller* was the *OP*'s mastermind, a conclusion not supported by any solid historical evidence.

75 5075: 'Archief van de notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam', 202: Van der Ende, ms. 'Minuutacten', inv. no. 5103, fols 178–182. It is beyond doubt that Schuller's small reference library must have contained books by Spinoza, perhaps even annotated copies of the *OP* and/or *NS*. The inventory of 29 April makes no explicit mention of any manuscripts in the estate, but there must have been many, including his correspondence. Cf.: Lambour, 'De alchemistische wereld', p. 136.

preparing the posthumous writings for the press.[76] To be sure, Bouwmeester can be safely connected with Spinoza's writings. He is credited for composing the poem '*Ad Librum*.' which is published in *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and its 1664 Dutch rendition as well. After Pieter Balling's death (December 1664), Spinoza asked a 'special friend' in Amsterdam in the first half of 1665 to translate the *Ethica* from Part 3 onwards. Bouwmeester, but also Lodewijk Meyer, are suitable candidates for being that '*amice singularis*'.[77] Because Glazemaker was employed to translate Parts 3 to 5 from the Latin into Dutch, it is hard to imagine that either Bouwmeester or Meyer have been responsible for those text portions. In regard to Bouwmeester's contribution to the posthumous writings' correspondence section, he allowed the Amsterdam editorial team to include one of his letters exchanged with Spinoza in the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*.[78]

5 The Latin *Ethica* versus the Dutch *Zedekunst*. Editorial Principles

Evidently, both the redaction and translation of Spinoza's posthumous writings must have been, to all appearances, an intricate and particularly time-consuming enterprise. The Amsterdam team faced the challenge of arranging, editing, and revising a set of kaleidoscopic texts, left behind by the Dutch philosopher in markedly varied and sometimes still embryonic states, both finished and uncompleted.[79] Schuller, by his own account, had looked through all of Spinoza's 'things thoroughly one by one before and after his death' in order to detect new material that could be of any value. As evinced by previously-mentioned letter of 3/13 November 1677 to Leibniz, he found among those things, 'apart from the manuscripts committed to the press', only a puny slip of paper comprising a list with thirteen highly-obscure book titles.[80] Possibly, the titles were desiderata or perhaps books borrowed by the Dutch philosopher to friends. None are however listed in the inventory of Spinoza's private library, made on 2 March 1677. When reporting those titles, Schuller asked his German correspondent on 19/29 March the following:

> I would like to hear from you whether you have ever seen any of the following books, a list of which – captioned 'very rare books' – I found among the posthumous papers. 1. Florentinus de rebus Sacris. 2. Joh. Beneventensis de nefandis Christianae religionis erroribus. 3. Alius Beneventensis de Sodomiae laudibus. 4. Averrois argumenta de aeternitate Mundi. 5. Anonymus quidam Italus de commercio Sanctorum et Sanctarum. 6. Idem de Stultitia gentium. 7. Idem de Magia Mosis et Muhamedis. 8. Francisci Datisii Homo politicus liber rarissimus. 9. Du Mas Abbas opuscula missoria. 10. A Sancto Bernardo Monachus Hispanus de commercio daemonum. Idem de eorundem in hoc Mundo Politia et actionibus. Ejusdem cum ipsis familiaria colloquia. Idem de examine 3 quaestionum Joh. 22. Papae sc. de existentia Dei, animae immortalitate et inferno Opus rarissimum. 11. Vir de Religione Bona dictus ubi de Novis Religionis Christianae reformatoribus verbi gr. Luthero, Calvino et Melanthone, idem de examine duorum regum Caroli 5 et Francisci 1 author Hispanus est. 12. Abavillus Hispanus Monachus Turca

76 In 1672, Bouwmeester* composed *Het leeven van Hai Ebn Yokdhan*, the Dutch rendition from a printed Latin translation, by Edward Pococke*, of an Arabic novel by Abu Jafaar Ebn Tophail: *Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān*. *See* for background: Chapter 7, n. 31. For the *Nil volentibus arduum*'s acts on Bouwmeester's rendering: there, at n. 30.

77 Spinoza to an unknown addressee, < 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28 (G 4/162–163). Evidently, the team members preparing the *OP* and *NS* for the press must have had copies of the printed works containing their personal annotations, but no such copies have yet been found in libraries or turned up at book auctions. The auction catalogue of Bouwmeester's private library (sold in Amsterdam on 15 April 1681) proves he owned several copies of Spinoza's books. *See* further for the latter catalogue: Chapter 2, n. 58.

78 To Bouwmeester*, 1666.06.10, Ep 37 (G 4/187–189). Printed from the ALS, not from the surviving draft version: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 17. Bouwmeester's personal correspondence with Spinoza proves he was a trusted, special friend and the philosopher's confidant. His letters exchanged with Graevius* in 1673 firmly underline that conclusion. More significantly, Bouwmeester was the intermediary who directed information and passed the necessary travel documents (through Lieutenant Colonel Jean Baptiste Stouppe*) to and from Spinoza for his trip to Utrecht in late summer 1673. The Bouwmeester – Graevius correspondence includes nineteen (unnumbered) letters covering the period 18 April 1673 to 8 February 1676. They are kept in the Thott collection (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1258 40 and 1267 40, folder 'Breve til Graevius uden Underskrift'). Bouwmeester's letters dealing with Spinoza's trip to Utrecht, a set of six, were discovered, transcribed, and translated by Albert Gootjes. For a preliminary remark: Gootjes, 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza'. On the Utrecht jaunt: Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar"'; Gootjes, 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians' (also on the Bouwmeester – Graevius exchange).

79 Edwin Rabbi, 'Editing Neo-Latin Texts', *Editio*, 10 (1996), pp. 25–48.

80 Schuller* to Leibniz*, 3/13 November 1677 (Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 267, no. 100). Cf.: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 61–62.

> factus de Authoritate Politices in Eccles. deque suae Mutationis rationibus. Ejusd. Problemata politica. Ejusd. dicta Christiana. 13. Prophetiae Malachiae Hibern. Episcopi de Pontificibus.[81]

To put it differently, the Amsterdam editors must have been confronted with a pile of unconnected miscellaneous notes written on loose sheets and slips of papers. Many of these notes, I assume, must have been related to Spinoza's unfinished writings and to the complex structure of particularly the *Ethica*. Of the latter work, the editors probably had an autograph manuscript and, perhaps, one or more fair-copied texts. Possibly, they had on their desks a single, well-edited copy of the *Ethica*, made by someone in the summer of 1675 in Amsterdam under Spinoza's supervision, meant to be put in the press but later postponed. Team members also had the uncompleted *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, the incomplete *Tractatus politicus*, and the unfinished Hebrew grammar, as well as autographs, copies, and drafts of letters sent and received, aside from any other texts not known.[82] With respect to the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, its text in the *Opera posthuma* varies considerably from the text printed in *De nagelate schriften*. This then suggests they must have had two redactions of it.[83]

The concise introduction to the *Tractatus politicus*, a letter by Spinoza written to an unknown recipient in the summer of 1676, reveals by then he had finished six chapters and had begun work on that treatise's chapter 7.[84] At the time of the philosopher's untimely death, all ten chapters of the 'Political Treatise' were more or less finished. Only chapter 11 was still in a rather embryonic state.[85] Thus, the team had to work also with another readable, semi-definitive manuscript (the last version of several transcriptions), ready in rough up to at least chapter 7 and a portion of chapter 8. From paragraph 24 of chapter 8 onward, things were probably less worked out and had been written up in haste.[86] There is the strong likelihood, the editors may have reconstructed chapter 8, the remaining chapters 9 and 10, and the uncompleted chapter 11 from a manuscript of interspersed material composed by Spinoza. This suggests the material available to them comprised many marginal notes and corrections, cancellations, variations, and underlines, all made during the months prior to the Dutch philosopher's death.[87]

Particularly Spinoza's holograph comprising the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*'s presented the Amsterdam editors with even more editorial challenges when preparing its text for the press. Those team members who took on the task to edit Spinoza's grammar manual must have been not only proficient in Latin. In order to handle its specific grammatical contents and its typographical complexity they must have been well-versed in the Hebrew language, too. Writing out the manual and completing a flawless fair copy which could serve as a final printer's copy must have entailed their careful thought. For, a sloppily-subedited copy-text would result in a comparatively badly-printed text version whereas resetting sheets in type would drive up the costs of printing.[88] In

81 'Pervelim ex Te discere num ex sequentibus libris, (quorum catalogum (: cum hac inscriptione libri rarissimi) inter posthuma reperi) unquam aliquos videris. [followed by Schuller's list].' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, pp. 53–54, no. 24; *see* also 2:1, pp. 476–477). Item 2 may have been *Il capitol sopra il forno* by Giovanni della Casa (1503–1556), a poem also known as 'De sodomiae laudibus'. Furthermore, item 8 may refer to a work mentioned by Spinoza in a letter to Jelles* (1671.02.17, Ep 44, G 4/227–229): Pacificus a Lapide (Christophe von Rappe), *Homo politicus, hoc est: Consiliarius novus, officiarius & aulicus, secundum hodiernam praxin* (Cosmopoli: 1664).

82 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 57.

83 Cf. G 2/319–340. The *TIE*'s original holograph, or an apograph of it, together with some other of Spinoza's writings, seems to have been later directed by *Schuller to Tschirnhaus*. Cf. Tschirnhaus to Leibniz*, 10 April 1678: '… nec ad eas [i.e., definitiones] formandas praestantiora praecepta unquam Vidi quam quae habet Dn. Spinoza de Emendatione intellectus; quod manuscriptum a Dn. Schüllero Mihi transmissum penes Me habeo, utinam omnia relique ejus opera….' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 381, no. 154).

84 A letter to an otherwise unidentified friend (possibly the individual who had urged Spinoza to write a theory of politics) was added to preface the *TP*. *See*: > 1676.[07].00a, Ep 84 (G 4/335–336).

85 '*Tractatum politicum* Auctor noster paulo ante obitum composuit.' (Our writer composed the 'Political Treatise' on politics only shortly before his death; Preface to *OP*, sig. ****4^{v}; Akkerman/Hubbeling, pp. 142–143); 'Onze schrijver heeft de Verhandeling van de *Staatkunde* weinig tijts voor zijn doot gemaakt, die ook belet heeft dat zy volmaakt is geworden.' (Our writer composed the 'Political Treatise' only shortly before his death, which prevented it from being perfected; Preface to *NS*, sig. ****4^{v}; id., pp. 142–143). A couple of variant readings can be observed between the *TP*'s text in the *OP* and the *NS*. For a synopsis of the *TP*: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 355–358.

86 This is, for example, demonstrated in the abbreviation *resp*. for: *respublica* (Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. V: *Tractatus politicus*/*Traité politique*, pp. 54–55).

87 Ibid., 2005, p. 57.

88 In the *NS*, Jelles in the Preface (sig. ******2^{v}) tells readers manuscript copies of Spinoza's Hebrew grammar manual were circulating amidst 'several learned men'. In this context, the following remark in a letter (24 June 1813) to the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) by his former Dutch pupil Petrus Gabriel van Ghert (1782–1852) is highly intriguing, to say the least: 'Beim Aufsuchen der Spinozistischen Papiere bin ich nicht so glücklich gewesen, wie ich hoffte. Das Manuskript

addition, precisely because of the interchangeability of Hebrew consonants and the precision of Hebrew punctuation, the typesetting of Hebrew texts always demanded a seasoned compositor.

The printing workshop of Israel de Paull in any case was well-equipped to print books in Hebrew. At its disposal, his workshop had four different Hebrew types as this chapter's section on the typesetting and printing process of the posthumous writings reveals: 'Text'/'Ascendonica' Hebrew, 'Augustyn' (english)/'Paragon' Hebrew, 'Garmont' (long primer) 'Text' Hebrew, and 'Brevier'/'Descendiaen' Hebrew (small pica). With respect to the exemplar of the grammar manual at the disposal the Amsterdam editors, Hillesum has argued the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* was printed after an apograph. Porges, *pace* Hillesum, defended the stance the editors of the *Opera posthuma* had on their desks Spinoza's autograph manuscript of his Hebrew grammar. Gebhardt, for his part, was convinced the grammar's printing had been the work of a compositor well-versed in the Hebrew language. Since Amsterdam had a Jewish community actively engaged in printing one might claim therefore the Tuinstraat office may have employed one or more Jewish typesetters. This however is at odds with 263 Hebrew words, found by Gebhardt, that actually would need correction. Only thirty-one of them were inventoried in the 'Errata in Compendio Grammatices Hebraeae'.[89]

In summary, the Amsterdam team members committed to publish Spinoza's writings and correspondence had not only to decide by consensus which logical editorial principles they should follow and what was to be ignored and omitted. Their editorial skills were also particularly put to the test when they had to overcome difficult textual inconsistencies or lacunas in the material available. To gain deeper insight into how in 1677 in hardly four months' time the editors worked their way towards preparing two comprehensive language volumes for the press this section will further focuses exclusively on a key component of their printing: the *Ethica* and its Dutch rendition, the *Zedekunst*.

The *Ethica*'s Latin apograph contained in codex Vat. Lat. 12838, made by Van Gent on behalf of Tschirnhaus between late 1674 and early 1675, shows Spinoza had developed its final text purposely in five parts. By the time Tschirnhaus took this copy on his educational European Grand Tour, starting by travelling to England in May 1675, Spinoza had already definitively put aside his autograph manuscript. He considered the *Ethica*'s text to be perfected and by then ready for publication. Thus, the definitive Latin text, contained in the *Opera posthuma*, was in any case completed before May 1675.[90] Apart from flaws and evident differences in spelling, phrasing, expressions, and internal references, as well as variations caused by transcription errors, the two extant text states of the work are markedly close.[91] This suggests that after abandoning work on the 'Ethics' only now and then Spinoza must have made some minor amendments to the text.

To better assess the practicalities of the principles of the editorial procedure followed by the Amsterdam team some closer inspection of the *Ethica* text and the *Zedekunst* is required. To begin with, the *Zedekunst*'s Dutch part-title leaf (sig. ******4r) does not reflect the original Latin wording of the title written by Spinoza as is presented on the part-title leaf (sig. *****4r) included in the *Opera posthuma*. This is confirmed by the captions in Roman codex Vat. Lat. 12838. The part-title leaf title in the Latin tome aims to give readers a more sophisticated and coherent impression of this text.[92] In regard to the *Zedekunst*, it has been previously mentioned that Glazemaker translated its Parts 3 to 5 into Dutch, more

von seiner hebräischen Grammatik habe ich nur allein bis jetzt aufgefunden, aber ich denke noch immer, mehrere zu erhalten durch meine jetzige Konnexion mit zwei portugiesischen Juden, welche zu allem Zugang habe.' (Johannes Hoffmeister [ed.], *Briefe von and an Hegel* [4 vols., Hamburg: F. Meiner Verlag, 1969], vol. 2, p. 10). So, apparently, Van Ghert was hunting for anything Spinoza and got hold of a 'manuscript' of the Hebrew grammar. About one year beforehand, on 12 April 1812, he had informed Hegel already thus: 'Vor wenigen Wochen habe ich wiederum eine Rede in Felix-Meritis über Spinoza's Philosophie gehalten, welche sehr gerühmt [worden] ist. Vorzüglich habe ich dieses getan, weil Spinoza hier in seinem Vaterlande noch allgemein verketzert und zum Atheisten gestempelt wird. Es ist möglich, daß ich einige seiner Manuskripte bekomme. Ein portugiesischer Jude hat sie mir versprochen; und ich hoffe, daß er wort halten wird.' (ibid., vol. 1, p. 399). The Portuguese-Sephardic men indicated are still unidentified. I owe this reference to Steenbakkers.

89 G 1, p. 624. Cf.: Porges, 'Spinozas Compendium', p. 123. For the discussion holograph-apograph: Jeremias M. Hillesum, 'De Spinozistische spraakkunst', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 1 (1921), pp. 158–177, p. 176; Porges, 'Spinozas Compendium', pp. 128–129.

90 Presumably, the sloppy Vatican copy (V) by Van Gent* was, as it stood, neither authorized by Spinoza nor meant for publication. Yet, a few readings in the former's apograph (and in the *NS*) are evidently superior to the *OP*. For instance, the Cicero quotation (from *Lealius de amicitia*, 22) in: E4app5 (*vita vitalis*, 'a liveable life'). The *NS* confirms Spinoza wrote *vitalis*, not *rationalis* (*OP*).

91 One example of slapdash copying by Van Gent* can be found on folio 25^{v} of ms. V. The text of E2p3s reads: '(quod ostendit Deum hominem, vel instar hominis a vulgo concipi)'. Van Gent's copy has '(quod ostendit Deum hominem, vel instar hominis a Deo)'. For those transcription errors: Spinoza to Schuller*, 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/304–306).

92 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 33–35; id., 'The Textual History of Spinoza's Ethics', p. 37.

or less on the basis of the early Dutch version the team already had of Parts 1 and 2, in an earlier translation made by Pieter Balling.[93] More precisely, a clear watershed can be observed between the *Zedekunst*'s Part 2 and Part 3.[94]

This division is supported by Spinoza's own remarks in a (rejected) letter (< 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28) of which the addressee unfortunately remains still unidentified. As evidenced by this letter, Spinoza started looking for a new translator after Balling died in December 1664. The letter is addressed to a close friend in Amsterdam whom Spinoza apparently considered to be an experienced translator, someone like Johannes Bouwmeester or Lodewijk Meyer, both members of *Nil volentibus arduum* and well-equipped to translate the *Ethica* into 'philosophical' Dutch. In that letter, he asked the unknown Amsterdam correspondent whether he or their mutual friend Simon Joosten de Vries would perhaps translate the *Ethica*'s Part 3 (comprising of what is now known as Parts 3 and 4), a portion apparently then ready up to proposition 80:

> As for the third part of our philosophy, I shall soon send some of it either to you (if you wish to be its translator) or to friend De Vries. Although I had decided to send nothing until I finished it, nevertheless, because it is turning out to be longer than I thought. I don't want to hold you back too long. I shall send up to about the 80th proposition.[95]

Evidence though the letter's unknown addressee ever translated Part 3 is further lacking. Thus, as has been conclusively shown by Akkerman, Pieter Balling should be considered the 'true' and first translator of the two first portions of the *Ethica* text now integrated in the *Zedekunst*; Glazemaker translated Parts 3 to 5 of the 'Ethics' in 1677.[96]

Spinoza himself, in another now-lost letter to his London correspondent Henry Oldenburg dated 5 July 1675, first made mention of the new organisational five-part principle of the *Ethica* which work by then he apparently still intended to put to press soon. This is shown in a letter from Oldenburg of 22 July 1675 in which he responded to Spinoza's remark thus:

> From the reply you gave me on 5 July, I understand that you intend to publish that Five-part Treatise of yours.[97]

Soon thereafter, Spinoza, in another letter to Oldenburg written after 22 July, he told him that when in Amsterdam he was about 'to commit to the press the book I wrote you about', but soon thereafter he had decided to postpone its publication. He added to this the remark he had taken that decision because of many rumours going around he was about to launch a book about God in which 'I tried to show that there is no God'.[98] The very possibility that, when Glazemaker started work on the *Zedekunst* in 1677, he had a Latin text at his disposal which was already typeset and printed seems unlikely.[99]

93 Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethics*, p. 129; id., 'The Textual History of Spinoza's Ethics', p. 26. For a study of the 'free' translation in the *Zk* by Balling*: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 153–158.

94 Ibid., pp. 169–170.

95 'quod ad 3am partem nostrae philosophiae attinet, ejus aliquam brevi vel tibi, si translator esse vis, vel amico de Vries mittam. et quamvis decreveram nihil mittere antequam eam absolverem; tamen, quia praeter sententiam longior evadit, nolo vos nimis diu detinere. mittam usque ad 80. propositionem circiter.' (G 4/163; CW, vol. 2, p. 396). E3 now has fifty-nine propositions. Steenbakkers ('Spinoza's Life', in Don Garrett [ed.], *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming second revised edition]) notices: 'From inconsistencies in the cross-references in the Vatican manuscript it can be conjectured that Spinoza first cut Part III in two, and at a later moment detached Part V from what now remains of Part IV. That Part V originally was a section of Part IV may also account for the fact that it is the only part of the *Ethics* without definitions of its own.'. Thanks are due to Steenbakkers for providing me with the manuscript version of his contribution. De Vries: BL.

96 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 145–176. A further indication Balling translated E1 and E2 can be found in the last section of a letter from De Vries* to Spinoza: 1663.02.24, Ep 8 (G 4/38–41).

97 Spinoza to Oldenburg*, 1675.07.05*; Oldenburg to Spinoza: '... Tractatam illum tuum Quinque-partitum publici juris facere, ...' (1675.07.22, Ep 62; G 4/273).

98 > 1675.[07].22, Ep 68 (G 4/299). For Spinoza's reaction, *see* the longer quotation from the letter in: Chapter 3, n. 116. Theodorus Ryckius (1640–1690), a Leiden professor of history and eloquence, spread a rumour by letter about Spinoza's then upcoming book on 'God and reason', which he wrote, was 'one even more dangerous than the first' (Gilles D.J. Schotel [ed.], *Epistolae ineditae Theodori Ryckii, Joh. Georgii Graevii, Nicolai Heinsii ad Adrianum Blyenburgum, et Adriani Blyenburgi ad diversos*, [The Hague: Noordendorp, 1843], p. 6). In this letter, he turned to the Dordrecht Orangist magistrate and jurist Adriaen Adriaensz van Blijenburg (1616–1682), imploring him to use his political influence to stop Spinoza's work when published. Van Blijenburg (*Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, col. 174) was one of few urban regents who backed the first Dutch Orangist uprising (24 June 1672) in Dordrecht. Whether he lobbied for any action against the *E* is not known. For Ryckius: Abraham J. van der Aa (ed.), *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, ...* (21 vols., Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1852–1878), vol. 16, p. 604.

99 Akkerman points out 'the *Ethica* cannot, like the *Principia philosophiae* or the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, have been translated from a printed text.' (*Studies*, p. 78). Differences between text and translation, together with external evidence, prove this abundantly.'. Akkerman argues that Spinoza, while staying in

Glazemaker, in evidence, had a long career as an outstanding, experienced translator who worked for several Amsterdam publishers, like Rieuwertsz *père*. From 1643 until his death in 1682, he translated many historical and philosophical key works from the Latin and French language into Dutch (about seventy titles). For example, those by Livy, Seneca the Younger, Montaigne, Descartes, and of course Spinoza's *Opera posthuma*. *De rechtzinnige theologant*, Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* made in late 1669 or early 1670, was published posthumously.

Closer inspection of the *Zedekunst* reveals its text includes several passages and shorter phrases not present in the Latin text printed in the *Opera posthuma*.[100] Such textual irregularities between the twin volumes should be explained by reading mistakes and 'Augensprung' during slapdash editing and translating. Tellingly, in several instances, the *Zedekunst*'s text even offers a better and more reliable text than its corresponding Latin version, and vice versa.[101] In the Latin *Ethica* text, for example, an intriguing case in the prologue to Part 5 concerns 'vir Philosophus'. There, Glazemaker adopts a far freer Dutch translation in the *Zedekunst*: 'zulk een groot Wijsbegerige'.[102] His aim, by his own account, was clearly to reflect in meticulous detail each single author's sentence ('de zin van de schrijver op het naauste te treffen').

Another example proves Glazemaker commonly chose to adhere to a particular semantical tendency. Frequently, he translates one Latin word by using two Dutch words, a longstanding tradition rooted in antiquity.[103] In E2p43s, for instance, in his revised redaction of Balling's text, Glazemaker translated 'quod veritas sui sit norma' far more elegantly. His solution is the following: 'dat de waarheit de regel en 't richtsnoer van zich zelve is'.[104] Moreover, to further emphasize Glazemaker's semantical creativity, it is striking that throughout the *Zedekunst* he translated at least sixteen markedly different variants of the Latin phrase 'Quod erat demonstrandum', often abbreviated 'Q.E.D.' in the *Opera posthuma*. The *Zedekunst* has several different elegantly-translated doublings for 'Q.E.D.' instead: 'gelijk te betogen stond', 'gelijk voorgestelt wierd', 'gelijk wy voorgaven', etc.[105]

Glazemaker even 'contributed' to the Dutch text of the *Zedekunst* printed in *De nagelate schriften*, but probably unintentionally. For example, in his revised redaction of Balling's Dutch translation of Part 2 he is assumed to have expanded its axiom 2. In the *Opera posthuma*, E2ax2 reads briefly: 'Homo cogitat'. Glazemaker supplemented 'De mensch [h]denkt;' with the following: 'of anders, wy [l]weten dat wy denken'.[106]

In this particular context, Akkerman has put forward the following scenario. During their meetings in the early 1660s, Spinoza's friends perhaps added the aforementioned gloss to Balling's Dutch translation of Part 2 of the *Ethica*, by then still circulating in Amsterdam in a manuscript copy.[107] Possibly, they borrowed the Dutch phrase 'of anders, wy weten dat wy denken' in E2ax2 from Glazemaker's own translation of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy': the *Principia philosophiae: of Beginselen der wysbegeerte* published in 1657.[108]

There, in the first part of the latter work, Glazemaker's translation reads thus: '… en dewijl wy zekerlijk weten dat wy denken'. Akkerman's hypothesis suggests Glazemaker 'copied' the Dutch gloss from a manuscript of Balling's early translation, annotated by the friends who had studied and discussed the early E2. Accordingly, in the *Zedekunst* he then supplemented E2ax2 with the gloss, without however realizing the phrase 'of anders, wy weten dat wy denken' was actually a variant of his own translation into Dutch made in the *Beginselen*.[109]

In the *Zedekunst*, other minor omissions and/or additions are difficult to distinguish from Glazemaker's genuine translation errors.[110] His attentive devotion to realize a reliable translation and his zealous urge to correct 'errors'

Amsterdam, might have the text fair-copied and took the copy back to the Hague (ibid., p. 57).

100 'Differences between OP and NS occur more often at the end of the demonstrations. I counted 32 cases in the Ethica: in 9 instances there is more text in the *NS* than in the *OP* (all these passages are found in Parts I and II; …).' (ibid., p. 80).

101 Ibid., p. 46.

102 *OP*, p. 235 (l. 19); *NS*, p. 266. *See*: G 2/279.20. Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 133.

103 A special case of doubling is E5p24. Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 83–84. For more examples: ibid., pp. 130–132. The remark by Glazemaker* is in the foreword to: *Alle de brieven van L. Annaeus Seneka aan Lucilius geschreven*, … (Amsterdam: 1654), sig. *3[r].

104 G 2/124.38. Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 133 and 194–197.

105 Ibid., p. 135. Cf.: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 28–29, 85, and 88.

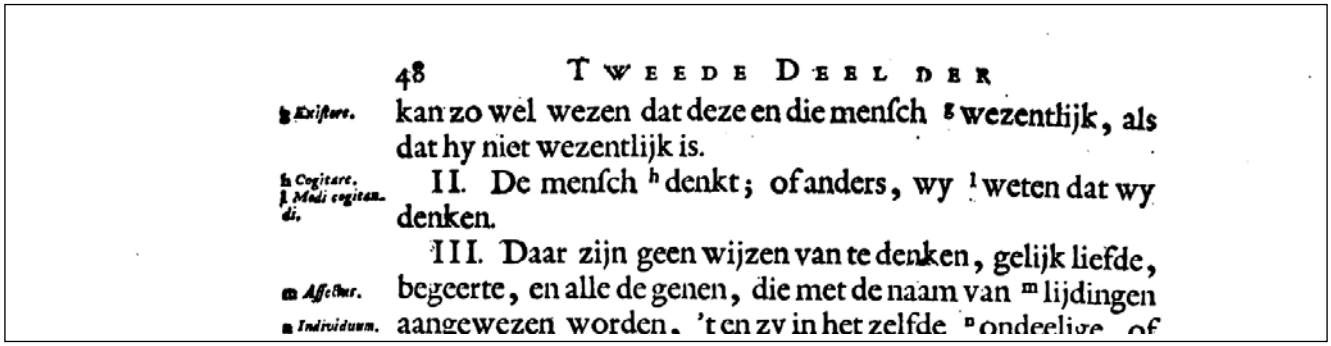
106 *OP*, p. 41; *NS*, p. 48 (G 2/85). Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 145–146; Piet Steenbakkers, 'Purisme et gloses marginales dans la traduction néerlandaise de 1677 de l'*Ethica*', in Totaro (ed.), *Spinoziana*, pp. 243–244; id., 'The Textual History of Spinoza's Ethics', p. 39. For a list of places in the *E* where the *NS* has more text than or differs from the *OP*: ibid., pp. 147–148. In few instances, the *OP* has more text than the *NS* in turn.

107 *NS*, p. 145.

108 Descartes*, *Principia philosophiae: of Beginselen*, …, part 1, § 8.

109 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 97–98 and 145–146.

110 Cf. for this: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 133. For instance: 'usu' (*OP*, p. 234, not in the *NS*); 'zeg ik' (absent in the *OP*, grammatical addition in the *NS*, pp. 265–266).



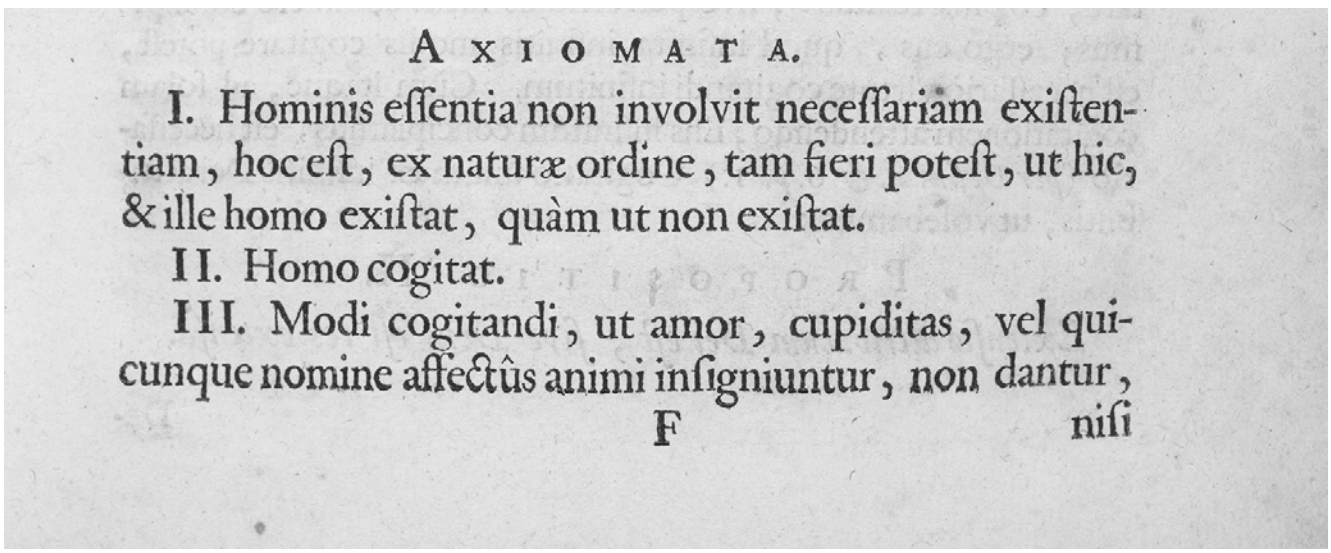
48 TWEEDE DEEL DER

g Existere. kan zo wel wezen dat deze en die menſch g wezentlijk, als dat hy niet wezentlijk is.

h Cogitare. i Modi cogitandi. II. De menſch h denkt; of anders, wy i weten dat wy denken.

III. Daar zijn geen wijzen van te denken, gelijk liefde, begeerte, en alle de genen, die met de naam van m lijdingen aangewezen worden. 't en zy in het zelfde n ondeelige of

l Affectus. n Individuum.



AXIOMATA.

I. Hominis eſſentia non involvit neceſſariam exiſtentiam, hoc eſt, ex naturæ ordine, tam fieri poteſt, ut hic, & ille homo exiſtat, quàm ut non exiſtat.

II. Homo cogitat.

III. Modi cogitandi, ut amor, cupiditas, vel quicunque nomine affectûs animi inſigniuntur, non dantur, niſi

F

ILLUSTRATIONS 8.1 AND 8.2 The expanded Dutch text of E2ax2 in *De nagelate schriften* and the short Latin text in the *Opera posthuma*.

in the Latin *Ethica* text printed in the *Opera posthuma* is for instance clearly shown in the 'Betoging' (demonstration) of proposition 3 in Part 5.[111] E5p3dem contains an internal back-reference to the scholium of E2p22 in the Latin: '(*per Prop. 22. p. 2. cum ejusdem Schol.*)'.[112] While translating proposition 3 in Part 5, Glazemaker apparently noticed proposition 22 lacked the very scholium in Part 2. Accordingly, he remedied this omission in Part 5 in the following way of the *Zedekunst*: '*volgens de tweeëntwintigste* [1]*Voorstelling van het tweede deel*', thus adjusting the reference to the scholium absent in E2p22.[113] This correction may also indicate that proposition 3 of Part 5 of the *Ethica* in the *Opera posthuma* was already printed before the corresponding section in *De nagelate schriften* was translated and turned out. To put it differently, the entire printed Latin *Ethica* may even have been ready when Glazemaker began translating the *Zedekunst*'s Part 5 anyway.

Unlike the *Ethica*, internal back-references and ordinal proposition numbers in the *Zedekunst* are systematically written out in full in a systematic fashion.[114] Divergences in both the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, such as Arabic numerals in cross-references versus words, can be readily discovered in the outer apparel of the intimidating geometrical presentation of the text of Spinoza's 'Ethics' throughout.[115]

Lastly, it should be pointed out that technical notes in the *Zedekunst* are all placed in the external margins. These concern 6864 Latin nominatives or infinitives, about twenty-three per page, keyed with letters, all ordered alphabetically, but without *j* and *u*.[116] A few of those

111 Part 5 of the Latin *E* text 'can be shown to be the only independent source of the text' and is nowhere 'overridden by Glazemaker's translation' in the *NS* (Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 130).

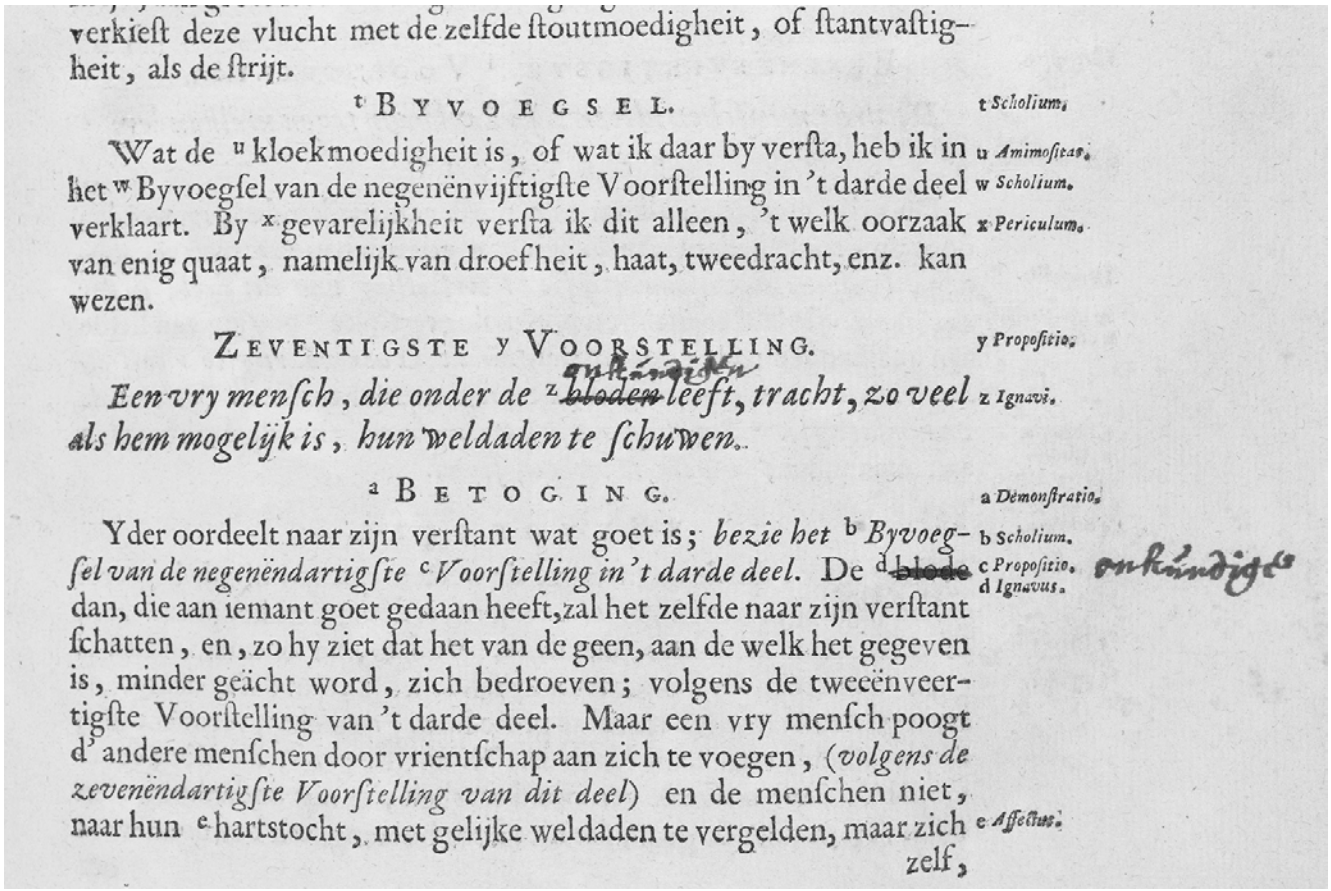
112 *OP*, p. 238. In the errata list, the error is absent. For other examples: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 134–135.

113 *NS*, p. 270. E2p22: G 2/109–110. Back-references forced Spinoza to specify the part of the *E*.

114 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 64.

115 Ibid., pp. 28–29.

116 On the system of glosses in the *Zk*: Steenbakkers, 'A Seventeenth-Century Reader', pp. 243–246. On the tradition of including explanatory notes to contemporary texts: Frederick M. Rener,


verkieſt deze vlucht met de zelfde ſtoutmoedigheit, of ſtantvaſtigheit, als de ſtrijt.

t BYVOEGSEL. t Scholium.

Wat de u kloekmoedigheit is, of wat ik daar by verſta, heb ik in het w Byvoegſel van de negenënvijftigſte Voorſtelling in 't darde deel verklaart. By x gevarelijkheit verſta ik dit alleen, 't welk oorzaak van enig quaat, namelijk van droefheit, haat, tweedracht, enz. kan wezen.

u Animoſitas. w Scholium. x Periculum.

ZEVENTIGSTE y VOORSTELLING. y Propoſitio.

Een vry menſch, die onder de z ~~bloden~~ onkundigen *leeft, tracht, zo veel als hem mogelijk is, hun weldaden te ſchuwen.*

z Ignavi.

a BETOGING. a Demonſtratio.

Yder oordeelt naar zijn verſtant wat goet is; *bezie het* b *Byvoegſel van de negenëndartigſte* c *Voorſtelling in 't darde deel.* De d ~~blode~~ onkundige dan, die aan iemant goet gedaan heeft, zal het zelfde naar zijn verſtant ſchatten, en, zo hy ziet dat het van de geen, aan de welk het gegeven is, minder geächt word, zich bedroeven; volgens de tweeënveertigſte Voorſtelling van 't darde deel. Maar een vry menſch poogt d' andere menſchen door vrientſchap aan zich te voegen, (*volgens de zeveneñdartigſte Voorſtelling van dit deel*) en de menſchen niet, naar hun e hartstocht, met gelijke weldaden te vergelden, maar zich zelf,

b Scholium. c Propoſitio. d Ignavus. e Affectus.

ILLUSTRATION 8.3 Copy of *De nagelate schriften* (page 247) with reader's corrections in brown ink in E4p70 and E4p70dem.

glosses in the *Zedekunst* can be divided into three categories. First, clarifications: notes providing words implied in Spinoza's Latin *Ethica* text.[117] In second place, additions: notes on phrases lacking in the Latin text.[118] Thirdly, obvious 'faults': notes supplying a Latin term clearly at variance with what is actually given in the Latin *Ethica* text.[119] Arguably, these supplementary glosses, concerned with strict technical philosophical terms and keywords, were made by one or perhaps more members of the Amsterdam editing team after the main text of the Dutch translation of the 'Ethics' was either finished or nearly completed.[120]

In several cases, Glazemaker simply misread the Latin of the *Ethica* manuscript. This led to a series of flaws and unfortunate translations in certain notes now contained in the *Zedekunst*.[121] For instance, in Part 4, in proposition 70 ('Zeventigste Voorstelling') and its demonstration he read in the Latin manuscript 'ignavi' and 'ignavus', instead of 'ignari' and 'ignarus'. Thus, in the 'Zeventigste Voorstelling' and its 'Betoging', Glazemaker translated this on page 247 as 'bloden' (l. 36) and 'blode' (l. 30), respectively.[122] Because of this obvious flaw, in the 'Misstellingen, in dit Werk ingeslopen', the first of two lists of errata added to *De nagelate schriften*, the reader is instructed to change 'bloden' into 'onkundigen' and also alter 'blode' into 'onkundige'.[123]

In spite of the foregoing suggested correction in the 'Misstellingen', the Amsterdam editors who proofread the trial sheets of E4 in the Dutch translation in order to remedy errors contained in it, refrained from correcting Latin glosses *z* and *d* (for E4p70 and E4p70dem), now

Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi. 1989), esp. p. 107.

117 For example: '[a]evenredige getallen'; 'a Numeri proportionales' (E2p40dem, *NS*, p. 89). Cf.: Steenbakkers, 'Purisme et gloses marginales', p. 244.

118 Example: 'of het [m]voorwerpelijk wezen van een zaak voor zo veel 't alleenlijk in denking bestaat'; marginal note: 'm Esse objectivum' (E2p48s; *NS*, p. 97). Cf. ibid., p. 245.

119 Ibid., pp. 245–246.

120 For the glosses, especially in E5: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 136–138.

121 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 109–113; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 86–87. For example: 'arcte' (*OP*, p. 236); 'met kunst' (*NS*). Cf.: ibid, p. 134.

122 In the *NS*'s margin, pp. 247–248, the Latin key words are indicated: 'ignavi' (3×), 'ignavus' (1×).

123 *OP*, pp. 218–219.

still reading 'ignavi' and 'ignavus'. Probably because of *De nagelate schriften*'s hasty subediting, this indicates the editors ignored several of the *Zedekunst*'s printed marginal glosses containing sloppy errors and flaws in the Latin. Presumably, because readers who were not Latinate and would read the Dutch rendition of Spinoza's 'Ethics' could not spot those textual inconsistencies.

6 'Letters from Certain Learned Men to B. d. S. with the Author's Responses'

Spinoza corresponded with friends, admirers, and intellectual companions about a gamut of issues: philosophy, experimentation in corpuscular Boylean chemistry, fluid dynamics, biblical criticism, optics, contemporary politics, war, the probability calculus, and even alchemy. Not surprisingly, the Amsterdam editorial team clearly understood his correspondence was of vital importance and therefore intentionally published his letters as well-edited, balanced texts complementary to his philosophical writings. In so doing the letters in the posthumous writings' correspondence provide an invaluable tool for getting a grip on how and when Spinoza developed his philosophical notions and brought them to maturity in his writings, in the *Ethica* in particular.

Letters sent to and from the Dutch philosopher, spanning the period from 26 August 1661 to late October 1676, further reveal his key interests and engagements, his achievements, his doubts and disappointments. They also lay bare his social and intellectual epistolary networks and uncover details about the publication of his writings. The exchange also contains explanations, qualifications, and clarifications of claims and doubts appearing in his philosophical works, too. In addition, the letters further demonstrate how Spinoza, in specific periods of his life, conceived and understood complex philosophical key definitions. Among them are substance, modification, the nature of definition, and infinity, as for example is shown in letters he exchanged (1661–1676) with Henry Oldenburg, one of his most important correspondents, and Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus.[124]

For reasons of clandestinity, the editors of the posthumous writings suppressed Spinoza's name both on the title-page and on the part-title leaf of the printed correspondence section and they mention the philosopher with his initials only: 'B. d. S.'. This might have been in compliance with Spinoza's own wish the *Ethica* in particular should be connected with his philosophy, but not with his name. The Preface to *De nagelate schriften* (Jelles's text) informs readers about this thus:

> The name of our author on the title-page, and also elsewhere, is only expressed with initials. This is done for no other reason than that, little time before his death, he had explicitly requested that his name was not to be given in full for his 'Ethica', which he ordered to be printed, without [however] giving an explanation, which, in our opinion, was no other than that he did not wish his system was to be named after him.[125]

Spinoza in the Appendix (XXV) to Part 4 of the *Ethica* explains the following which also reflects the Preface's aforementioned remark:

> For one who desires to aid others by advice or by action, so that they may enjoy the highest good together, will aim chiefly at arousing their Love for him, but not at leading them into admiration so that his teaching will be called after his name.[126]

124 Substance is claimed (E1p6) to be *causa sui* and (E1p7) to exist necessarily. The argument is worked out in E1p11: 'God, or a substance consisting of infinite attributes, each of which expresses eternal and infinite essence, necessarily exists'. E1p11dem (the classical ontological argument for God's existence): 'If you deny this, conceive, if you can, that God does not exist. Therefore (by A7) his essence does not involve existence. But this (by P7) is absurd. Therefore God necessarily exists, q.e.d.' (G 2/53). 'Infinitum'/'oneindigheid', 'oneindig': Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 237–239. Tschirnhaus/Oldenburg: BL.

125 'De naam van onzen Schrijver is op de Tijtel, en elders alleenlijk met de voorste letteren daar af uitgedrukt; 't welk om geen andere reden is gedaan, dan om dat hy, weinig tijts voor zijn overlijden, uitdrukkelijk begeert heeft dat men zijn naam niet voor zijn Zedekunst, die hy beval te doen drukken, zou stellen, zonder echter reden daar af te geven, de welke, naar onz oordeel, geen andere heeft geweest, dan dat hy niet gewilt heeft dat zijn wetenschap naar zijn naam genoemt zou worden.' (*NS*: sig. *3v–*4r). *OP*: sig. *3r–v. Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', pp. 112–113, no. 10.

126 'Nam qui reliquos consilio aut re juvare cupit, ut simul summo fruantur bono, is apprime studebit eorum sibi amorem conciliare, non autem eos in admirationem traducere, ut disciplina ex ipso habeat vocabulum.' (G 2/273; *CW*, I, p. 592). The text is an allusion to Terence (*Eunuch*, 263). Despite Spinoza's wish his name was not to be connected with the *E*, he reveals himself as the author of his 1663 exposition of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' in E1p19s. The latter adumbration was published under his full name, so probably he saw the book only as just *an* exposition of Cartesianism. Also in the *TP* (ch. 1, § 1 [G 3/276]) he declares to be the *TTP*'s disguised author.

In the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, the editors' final selection of the letters is presented under the following programmatic part-titles:

> EPISTOLAE | Doctorum Quorundam Virorum | *Ad* | B. D. S. | *Et Auctoris* | RESPONSIONES; | Ad aliorum ejus Operum elucidationem non pa-|rum facientes.[127]

> BRIEVEN | van verscheide geleerde Mannen | *Aan* | B. D. S. | Met des zelfs Antwoort | *Grotelijks tot Verklaring van des zelf andere Wer-|ken dienende*.[128]

Without doubt, it has already been stated, the printed correspondence section must have been difficult for the team to arrange and edit by consensus. First, all team members had to assent to the decision specifying precisely which letters and replies to them were to be included in the printed correspondence section ('largely serving for the explanation of his other works'), and also in what form this would take. As a complication, those to Spinoza were in differing hands, languages, and in divergent styles. Stolle and 'Hallmann' have put forward in their travel diaries of that it had been Rieuwertsz *père* who read and arranged Spinoza's letters and stored them with the writings hidden away in his house. True or not this claim cannot be corroborated by historical evidence. Here is what the German travellers propound in one of their journals' entries:

> … he [Rieuwertsz *père*] consulted his friend, Jelles, [and] inspected and arranged [the writings], read the letters and [also] arranged them afterwards. Although almost everybody knew he was the publisher of Spinoza's works no one ever interviewed him. Yet, he was afraid this [would happen] and [he had hidden] all things related to Spinoza not in his printing workshop among the other books, but in his house at a special place.[129]

The Preface's remarks about the printed correspondence selection show how eventually, after reaching consensus, the Amsterdam team carefully edited Spinoza's exchange and organized the letters:

> Regarding the letters, these are not arranged according to the subjects they deal with, nor in accordance with the importance of the one who wrote [them] or to whom they are addressed, but according to the time in which they wrote them. Yet, in such a way, that all letters of the same person, with their replies, are arranged one after another. That few names are fully indicated, some only with initials, and some are not expressed, has been done because it does not matter who writes, but only what is written.[130]

When editing, members of the team had to handle not only autograph letters and drafts, but also copies and minutes of the correspondence. From a total of 133 letters dispatched to and from Spinoza between 26 August 1661 and mid-October 1676, incidentally with enclosures, only a small number survived as original autograph letters (eighteen), minute (an autograph draft version, three), or as manuscript copy (nine). The text of another letter has survived in a facsimile version of the autograph letter. Thirteen others were rejected for publication, surfaced much later, or were otherwise transmitted.[131] Based on

127 'Letters From Certain Learned Men to B. d. S. with the Author's Responses, Which Contribute Highly to an Elucidation of His Other Works'; *OP*, p. 393.

128 *NS*, p. 447.

129 '… dieser hätte hernach seinen Freund, den Jilles, consultirt und sie in diese Ordnung bracht, die Briefe ausgelesen und rangirt. Ob nun gleich fast jedermann wüsste, dass er den Verleger operum Spinosae seÿ, so habe mann doch niemahls inquiriret. Gleichwohl habe er diese Befürchtet und die Spinosistische Sachen nicht in seiner Druckerey unter den andern Büchen sondern in seinem Hause an einem aparthen Orthe.' (S/H, ms. A, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 94). For a synopsis of Spinoza's correspondence: Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 358–360. Jelles: *BL*.

130 'Wat de Brieven aangaat, zy zijn niet volgens de stoffe, daar af zy handelen, noch volgens d'aanzienelijkheit der gener, van, of aan de welken zy geschreven zijn, maar volgens de tijt, daar in men hen geschreven heeft, in ordening geschikt: doch echter in dier voegen, dat alle de Brieven van een zelfde persoon, met d'Antwoorden, na malkander geplaatst zijn. Dat sommige namen volkomentlijk, sommigen alleenlijk met de voorste letteren, en sommigen gantschelijk niet uitgedrukt zijn, is om reden geschied, dewijl men toch hier niet te zien heeft wie schrijft, maar alleenlijk wat geschreven word.' (*NS*, sig. ******6^{r}). Cf. also: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 146, no. 1. In the *OP*, it reads: 'Epistolae nec secundùm materiam, nec secundùm eorum Authoritatem, à quibus, vel ad quos scriptae sunt, in ordinem sunt redactae, sed juxta tempora, in quibus extaratae sunt: eâ tamen ratione ordinatae sunt, ut omnes unius ejusdemque Viri Epistolae, & ad eas Responsiones se invicem sequantur. Quia verò non quis scribat, sed quid scribatur attendendum est, quaedam Scribentium Nomina omnibus literis, quaedam tantùm initialibusm quaedam nullis planè expressa sunt.' (*OP*, sig. *****1^{v}). Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', p. 147, no. 1.

131 The last autograph letter unearthed (1663.07.26, Ep 12A) was one by Spinoza to Meyer* (Offenberg, *Brief van Spinoza*). Perhaps, others survived in libraries of former Eastern Bloc countries, or in private collections not catalogued on the internet. As far as I know, in the last decades no letters or manuscripts related to Spinoza have come to any international auction rooms or have been found in private collections. Databases with lists of looted property by the Nazis mention no letters or

internal or circumstantial textual evidence, my research has confirmed that for the present forty-seven new letters in Spinoza's correspondence can be postulated with historical certainty. Two others in the known letter corpus are evidently 'hors système'. One concerns a letter about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* which was exchanged in 1671 by two correspondents of Spinoza. The other was an 'open' letter addressed to Spinoza, published in 1675 in Florence, which the latter actually never read.

The total number of letters at the editors' disposal from the start of their publication project is uncertain. Moreover, unfortunately it is also unknown what particular letters and how many, from and to letter-writers unknown to Spinoza scholarship, were rejected by the team and are now lost.[132] On principle, if letters were lacking Spinoza's replies the editors put those aside.[133] It is claimed by Stolle/'Hallmann' in their travel diaries that less important letters had been burnt, but several surviving autographs and apographs prove otherwise. This is what they report in their journals:

> More letters were found than they had printed. But they were of no importance. Therefore they were burned.[134]

The Amsterdam team had in any case at its disposal all autograph letters directed to the Netherlands by Oldenburg (August 1661–December 1665, [April/May] 1675–mid-October 1676). The existence of a set of thirty-five letters from their exchange can now be confirmed, twenty-five of which are also printed in the posthumous works.[135] Apart from the edited letter commenting on Boyle's *Certain Physiological Essays* (1661), the team published ten letters *by* Spinoza *to* Oldenburg in the posthumous works.[136] Because during editing the holographs of those letters were in London, these must have been copied from Spinoza's drafts or from their minutes, in 1677 apparently still extant. Four letters from Spinoza's communications with Simon Joosten de Vries and Pieter Balling were also included in the correspondence section.[137] Another eight letters of his exchange with the Dordrecht amateur philosopher and retailer Willem van Blijenbergh were selected, too. The texts of those sent to the latter were available for the editors in drafts or minutes made by Spinoza, too.[138] More importantly, three of Van Blijenbergh's surviving holographs abundantly show they were used, as copy-texts, by a typesetter at Israel de Paull's Amsterdam Tuinstraat printing office when processing *De nagelate schriften*.

Three of Spinoza's letters to Johannes Hudde were also included in the posthumous works, but these were probably for the editors also available only in drafts or minutes.[139] Yet, those sent by Hudde to Spinoza are absent in the posthumous writings for reasons unknown. A copy of Lambertus van Velthuysen's judgement of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, sent in 1671 to the Rotterdam physician Jacob Ostens, was probably at the disposal of the editors through an enclosure, sent by Ostens in a now-lost

manuscripts by Spinoza. The more interesting is the fact that, during the NWO 'Spinoza's Web'-project, Albert Gootjes discovered a note in Spinoza's own handwriting scribbled on a letter from Bouwmeester* to Graevius* (14 August 1673). It reads briefly: 'op de Pavelioens graght tusschen de bier, en veerkay ten huyse van Monsr Spyck'. (At the Paviljoensgracht, between the Bierkade and the Veerkade at the house of mister Van der Spijck; Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. Thott 1267 40, folder 'Breve til Graevius uden Underskrift'). When leaving Utrecht in the late summer of 1673 to return to Holland, Spinoza must have jotted his address in The Hague on the backside of the letter's address for Graevius so he could write to him. For background: Gootjes, 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians', pp. 15–16.

132 Several rejected surviving letters were known to the editors: Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.07.26, Ep 12A (G 4/179–180); to Meyer, 1663.08.03, Ep 15 (G 4/72–73); to ***, < 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28 (G 4/162–163 [for its unknown recipient: Chapter 2, n. 114]); Schuller* to Spinoza, 1675.11.14, Ep 70 (G 4/301–303); to Schuller, 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/304–306).

133 Two letters by Oldenburg* to Spinoza were rejected: 1665.09.14–28, Ep 29 (G 4/164–165); 1676.02.11, Ep 79 (G 4/329–330). Another letter (1665.12.18, Ep 33; G 4/176–179) by Oldenburg was included in the posthumous works (*OP*, Letter XVI, pp. 442–444; *NS*, 'Zestiende Brief': pp. 498–500), but lacks a rejoinder. In the *NS*, the following statement is printed (p. 500) below the postscript: '*d'Antwoort op deze brief word gemist.*' (The reply to this letter is missing). The statement is not contained in the *OP*.

134 'Es wären mehr Episteln gefunden worden, als man gedruckt hätte; allein sie wären von keiner importanz gewest, daher sie verbrandt worden.' (S/H, ms. A, in: Freudenthal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas*, p. 231). Twelve apographs and three autograph drafts (Spinoza, Van Blijenbergh*, Leibniz*, Schuller*) are still extant.

135 For background on the seventeenth-century letter and material aspects: Rudolf Rasch, *Driehonderd brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), pp. 54–79.

136 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36). Boyle*, *Certain Physiological Essays*.

137 1663.02.24, Ep 8; > 1663.02.24, Ep 9 (G 4/42–46); 1663.[03].00, Ep 10 (De Vries*; G 4/47); 1664.07.20, Ep 17 (Balling*; G 4/76–78).

138 1664.12.12, Ep 18 (G 4/79–85); 1665.01.05, Ep 19 (G 4/86–95); 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–125); 1665.01.28, Ep 21 (G 4/126–133); 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144); 1665.03.13, Ep 23 (G 4/145–152; issues matching E4p37); 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157); 1665.06.03, Ep 27 (G 4/160–161).

139 1666.01.07, Ep 34 (G 4/179–180; almost verbatim in E1p8s2); 1666.04.10, Ep 35 (G 4/181–183); 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36 (G 4/183–187). Hudde: BL.

letter to Spinoza.[140] It seems likely also the philosopher's reply ended up in the hands of the team in the form of a draft or minute.[141] The letters sent to an otherwise unidentified merchant by the name of Johan or Johannes van der Meer, those from and to Leibniz, Johann Ludwig Fabritius, Hugo Boxel, as well as those from and to Albert Burgh were included in the correspondence section, too. Again, the majority of Spinoza's replies to these men must have been available to the editors in the form of an apograph, a draft version, or a minute.[142]

The editors themselves too handed in letters exchanged with the Dutch philosopher. Five letters from Spinoza's correspondence with Jelles were selected.[143] One letter from his exchange with Lodewijk Meyer (the noted account on the infinite) was included in the correspondence section as well.[144] From Schuller's own exchange with Spinoza five letters, including two by Tschirnhaus (copied by Schuller and with their text and/or questions and replies communicated to Spinoza) were also published in the posthumous writings.[145] One letter by Bouwmeester, now surviving in a draft version copied by Pieter van Gent, was chosen for publication, too.[146] None of Van Gent's own letters exchanged with Spinoza are however contained in the correspondence section, although it is known he dispatched at least one letter to him, addressing the 'treacherous' behaviour by Schuller.[147] After their selection by the editing team, seventy-five letters were finally published in the *Opera posthuma* and in *De nagelate schriften*: thirty-three dispatched letters to Spinoza and forty-one sent by him.[148]

7 The Correspondence Section's Pre-Press Preparations. Editorial Interventions

Before being conveyed to the Tuinstraat firm of Israel de Paul for printing, all letters selected by the Amsterdam editors were first arranged in the correspondence section along with their responses, systematically sorted according to correspondent and in chronological order. For publication, the team fitted out all selected autographs, manuscript copies, and the drafts or minutes with captions, each comprising their number and the names and titles of both sender and recipient, respectively. In those headings, several names were suppressed intentionally, either by initials or by replacing names with asterisks (*Opera posthuma*) or simple dots (*De nagelate schriften*). Team members, for instance, handing in letters are mentioned in the following manner: 'L. M. P. M. Q. D.'/'L. M.' (Lodewijk Meyer), 'J. J.' (Jarig Jelles), etc. The putative team member Johannes Bouwmeester is referred to as 'J. B.'. The identity of Georg Hermann Schuller, another presumed editor, and of Spinoza's correspondent Tschirnhaus, is fully withheld.

An exception to this editorial principle, though, can be observed in those letters included in *De nagelate schriften* that were exchanged between Van Blijenbergh and Spinoza. Letters 31 ('Eenendartigste Brief') and 32 ('Tweeendartigste Brief') suppress Van Blijenbergh's identity ('W. v. B.'). In the caption to Letter 33 ('Drieendartigste Brief'), on page 536, his name is also still cloaked by the use of initials. Yet, surprisingly, in the same letter's closing section (p. 551) his name is suddenly printed in full: '*U.E. Dienstw. Dienaer.* | W. van BLYENBERGH'. Subsequently, Van Blijenbergh's name is not withheld any longer in the letters numbered in *De nagelate schriften*, in Roman numerals, 34, 35, 36, and 37. In the *Opera posthuma*, however, the latter's name in each letter of the exchange with the Dutch philosopher is given in full.

In the *Opera posthuma*, in the introductory part of Letter LXVII (p. 539), written by Spinoza to Jarig Jelles

140 1671.02.03, Ep 42 and 1671.02.4–17*. Van Velthuysen: BL.

141 1671.02.4–17, Ep 43 (G 4/219–226).

142 Van der Meer: 1666.10.01, Ep 38 (G 4/190–193). Leibniz*: 1671.10.05, Ep 45 (G 4/230–231); 1671.11.09, Ep 46 (G 4/231–234). Fabritius: 1673.02.[26], Ep 47 (G 4/334–335); 1673.03.30, Ep 48 (G 4/335–336). Boxel: 1674.09.14, Ep 51 (G 4/242); 1674.09.15–20, Ep 52 (G 4/242–245); 1674.09.21, Ep 53 (G 4/245–250); 1674.[10].00, Ep 54 (G 4/250–254); 1674.[10/11].00, Ep 55 (G 4/254–258); 1674.[10/11].00a, Ep 56 (G 4/258–262). Tschirnhaus*: 1674.10.08, Ep 57 (G 4/264–264); 1675.01.05, Ep 59 (G 4/268–270); > 1675.01.05, Ep 60 (G 4/270–271); 1675.08.12, Ep 65 (G 4/279); 1675.08.18, Ep 66 (G 4/280); 1676.05.05, Ep 81 (G 4/332); 1676.06.23, Ep 82 (G 4/333–334); 1676.06.15, Ep 83 (G 4/334–335). Burgh*: 1675.09.03/11, Ep 67 (G 4/292–298); [1675/76].00.00, Ep 76 (G 4/316–324).

143 1667.03.03, Ep 39 (G 4/193–195); 1667.03.25, Ep 40 (G 4/196–201); 1669.09.05, Ep 41 (G 4/202–206); 1671.02.17, Ep 44 (G 4/227–229); 1674.06.02, Ep 50 (G 4/238–241).

144 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–62).

145 > 1674.10.08, Ep 58 (G 4/265–268); 1675.07.25, Ep 63 (G 4/274–476); 1675.07.29, Ep 64 (G 4/277–278); 1675.08.18, Ep 66 (in modern editions attributed to Tschirnhaus*; G 4/280); 1676.05.02, Ep 80 (also attributed to Tschirnhaus; G 4/331).

146 1666.06.10, Ep 37 (G 4/187–189).

147 On 23 March 1679, Van Gent* wrote to Tschirnhaus* in a letter (< [1675].[07].25*) he had informed Spinoza about a 'scandal' caused by Schuller*. Apparently, the latter would have disclosed doctrines to an alchemist by the name of 'Vieroort' related to Spinoza's philosophical system, without however asking the latter for his permission. According to Van Gent's testimony, he had sent Spinoza the letter so he could reprimand Schuller. Whether Spinoza wrote back to him is not known.

148 One letter was not printed in the correspondence section. It serves as an introductory letter to the *TP* (Spinoza to ***, > 1676.[07].00a, Ep 84 [G 3/272]: *OP*, p. 266; *NS*, p. 302).

in mid-February 1671, the name of a Dutch professor has also been concealed ('N. N.'). In *De nagelate schriften*, 'N. N.' is replaced by six dots. Since Simon Joosten de Vries and Pieter Balling had long been dead when the posthumous works were published in 1677, cloaking their names in captions of letters was done in *De nagelate schriften* only. The same principle was followed in the twin volumes in the case of Albert Burgh's letter to Spinoza and the latter's reply.

In the case of the two letters known to be exchanged between Leibniz and Spinoza in late 1671, members of the team responsible for subediting the correspondence section made no efforts whatsoever to withhold the former's name, possibly because only few people in the Netherlands knew Leibniz by name. As is evinced by Schuller's letter to Leibniz of 19/29 March 1678, the German scholar was shocked, finding out the Amsterdam editors had published his name in full, thereby linking him with Spinoza openly in print. In that letter, Schuller apologized for this blunder, though, he also explained to him the contents of those two letters mainly concerned matters optical only.[149] If this suggests Schuller had little to do with the editing of the posthumous works' correspondence section is an unanswered question.

For editorial reasons, the team heavily revised the correspondence section. They changed and/or formalized salutations of original letters but also several of their closing sections.[150] For instance, the original manuscript draft of Spinoza's letter to Ostens has 'amice' in its salutation. Nevertheless, in the *Opera posthuma* this word has been changed to 'Doctissime vir'. In *De nagelate schriften*, though, Glazemaker has translated the salutation of the same letter ('Negenenveertigste Brief') in more informal Dutch: 'Goede Vrient'.[151]

In the Dutch language volume, letters commonly lead off with the neutrally-sounding 'Myn Heer' or 'Waardste Vrient'. Though, letters 31 ('Eenendartigste Brief') and 32 ('Tweeendartigste Brief') are exceptions. In the Latin edition, the salutation of Letter XXXI reads '*Mi Domine, & Amice ignote*', a salutation faithfully translated by Glazemaker and printed as 'Myn Heer, *en onbekende Vrient*'.[152] The (lost) Dutch autograph of Letter XXXII, starts thus: 'Myn heer, en seer aangename vrient'.[153] In the *Opera posthuma* that letter however only simply begins with '*Amice ignote*'. Nonetheless, in *De nagelate schriften* its formalized translation now reads 'Waardste Vriend' only.[154] In few cases, salutations of the edited letters are even completely left out. Why is not known, but perhaps because of hastily editing and printing. Letters in the printed posthumous works often close with formalized expressions lacking in the original surviving manuscripts.

All letters in the correspondence section are translated from Dutch into Latin, and vice versa. Of course, Glazemaker was responsible for the translation into Dutch. Who translated Dutch letters into Latin is not known. Those translated are fitted with the term 'version' ('*Versio*.'). Seventeen of Spinoza's letters have the caption 'version' in their heading of the Latin edition.[155] Since in the *Opera posthuma* the term *versio* is for the first time included in the caption of Letter XXX, one might ask whether this was an intervention the editors of the Latin edition came up with when the book was already in production. In *De nagelate schriften*, though, translations from the Latin are not indicated. In the cases of a series of letters originally composed in Dutch, it is unclear whether either Spinoza or the editors produced their Latin translations.[156] Akkerman has put forward the theory it has been Lodewijk Meyer who translated all letters into Latin.[157]

149 1671.10.05, Ep 45 (G 4/230–231); 1671.11.09, Ep 46 (G 4/231–234).

150 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 51.

151 1671.02.4–17, Ep 43 (G 4/219–216). Letter XLIX in the *OP*.

152 Van Blijenbergh* to Spinoza, 1664.12.12, Ep 18 (G 4/79–85). Letter XXXI in *OP*: p. 473. *NS* ('Eenendartigste Brief'): p. 528.

153 1665.01.05, Ep 19 (G 4/86–95). First published by François Halma (1653–1722) in: 'Myn heer, en seer aangename vrient', *De boekzaal der geleerde werreld*, (March/April) 1705, pp. 352–359 (chapter XVI). Cf.: Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, p. 518. Halma gives a transcript of either the original letter or a draft version passed to him by the unknown owner. *See* also: Chapter 9, n. 63.

154 1665.01.05, Ep 19 (G 4/86–95). Letter XXXII (*OP*)/'Tweeendartigste Brief' (*NS*) in the correspondence section.

155 1664.07.20, Ep 17 (G 4/76–78); 1665.01.05, Ep 19 (G 4/86–95); 1665.01.28, Ep 21 (G 4/126–133); 1665.03.13, Ep 23 (G 4/145–152); 1665.06.03, Ep 27 (G 4/160–161); 1666.01.07, Ep 34 (G 4/179–180); 1666.04.10, Ep 35 (G 4/181–183); 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36 (G 4/183–187); 1666.10.01, Ep 38 (G 4/190–193); 1667.03.03, Ep 39 (G 4/193–195); 1667.03.25, Ep 40 (G 4/196–201); 1669.09.05, Ep 41 (G 4/202–206); 1671.02.17, Ep 44 (G 4/227–229); 1674.06.02, Ep 50 (G 4/238–241); 1674.09.15–20, Ep 52 (G 4/242–245); 1674.[10].00, Ep 54 (G 4/250–254), and 1674.[10/11].00a, Ep 56 (G 4/258–262). Cf. Steenbakkers, p. 26.

156 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 48. Cf. also: Jan P.N. Land, 'Over de eerste uitgaven der brieven van Spinoza', *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, second series, 9 (1880), pp. 144–155, there at p. 148; Jan H. Leopold, *Ad Spinozae Opera posthuma* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1902), pp. 58–59; G 4/369–370. These studies mistakenly claim Spinoza made the Latin translation himself. Thijssen-Schoute (*Nederlands Cartesianisme*, p. 254) however rejects that claim. Cf.: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 48–50; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 26–27.

157 Cf. Akkerman, *Spinoza's tekort aan woorden*, p. 25; id., *Studies*, p. 263. According to Akkerman, Meyer* polished the Latin of the *TIE*, too.

The team shortened, changed, but also heavily revised the text of many original letters. Their word order was altered and plural forms were for example changed to singular expressions, necessitating emendations due to subject-verb agreement.[158] Perhaps, such editorial interventions were introduced to present future readers with better and more elegantly-edited Latin and Dutch text versions than what could be given when their original wording was loyally followed.[159] Take, as an illustration, a clear instance in Letter 39 in the twin volumes.[160] The surviving draft of its autograph letter has the following phrase in Latin: 'nisi omnia perrumpendo et a nullo absurdo, quamvis turpissimo cavendo'. Its edited Latin version in the *Opera posthuma* though reads differently: 'nisi omnia perrumpendo, et absurda etiam absurdissima admittendo'.[161] How in several instances team members chose to drastically revise and edit the correspondence can also be observed in Letter 6, which is one by Spinoza to Oldenburg discussing Boyle's *Certain Physiological Essays*.[162] Compared to its surviving holograph, according to Akkerman, its edited text printed in the *Opera posthuma* has about three hundred modifications in the Latin.[163]

In summary, the correspondence section's text of several letters thus fairly proves to have been heavily edited. In many instances they even break off abruptly, only mentioning '& c.', often only followed by a place of writing and date. Evidently, the Amsterdam team mainly trimmed the contents of several letters only for editorial reasons, privacy, or the lack of philosophical issues. They may also have left out those topics deliberately team members thought were objectionable, harmful, politically sensitive, or inconvenient. For example, affairs like the condemnation, imprisonment (1668), and death of the Amsterdam doctor of medicine and legal scholar Adriaan Koerbagh, or the assassination (1672) of the two De Witt brothers, which must have been discussed in letters.

Van Vloten and Land have argued Glazemaker was explicitly instructed to preserve in *De nagelate schriften* specific Latin words and expressions in his Dutch translation of the letters ('Wortlaut'). Their hypothesis has however also met with opposition (Leopold, Crapulli, Akkerman).[164] As with the translations of the *Ethica*, the *Tractatus politicus*, and the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* in *De nagelate schriften*, key terms in the correspondence section were also printed in the external margins.[165] Finally, it should also be underlined that a few marginal glosses to letters in *De nagelate schriften* and the *Opera posthuma* are markedly differing from one another. These inconsistencies may indicate Glazemaker aimed for a 'free' translation of their Latin originals into Dutch.[166] Whether he made his translations straight from autograph letters, apographs, or drafts that were directly available to him is not known.

As it turns out, certain holographs of Dutch letters, apparently those presenting no editorial difficulties and in a handwriting eligible enough to be read by a compositor, were almost straight away passed to the Tuinstraat workshop of Israel de Paull to be typeset and printed there. The surviving autograph of a letter of 27 March 1665 by Van Blijenbergh to Spinoza, for instance, contains a projected caption scribbled by one of the editorial team members in the upper margin of folio 1^{r}. Clearly, this is an editor's instruction for a compositor. The heading mentions its subsequent number in the correspondence section of *De nagelate schriften* and also the names of both sender and recipient.[167] The caption, the result of a final stage in the editing process, reads in brown ink the following:

> Sevenendartigste brief. | Antwoort op [de] voorgaende. | ~~W. van Will~~ W. van blyenberg aen b. d. s.' (Letter 37. Reply to the preceding. ~~W. van Will~~ W. van Blijenbergh to B. d. S.').[168]

158 Ibid., pp. 40–41.

159 Ibid., pp. 46 and 49–50. Cf. about the editing of the letters: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 37–59; Spinoza, *Briefwisseling*, 1992, p. 11.

160 Spinoza to Meyer*, 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–62). *OP*: pp. 465–470; *NS*: pp. 520–525.

161 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 46.

162 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6 (G 4/15–36). *OP*: pp. 405–416. For Boyle's *Certain Physiological Essays*: Chapter 2, n. 8.

163 Akkerman, *Studies*, p. 41. For an overview of other editorial interventions in comparison to surviving manuscript copies (1663.04.20, Ep 12 [G 4/52–62]; 1675.12.[01], Ep 73 [G 4/306–309]; [1676].[01].[01], Ep 75 [G 4/311–316]; [1675/76].00.00; Ep 76 [G 4/316–324]; 1676.02.07, Ep 78 [G 4/326–329]) made by Leibniz*, *see*: ibid., p. 45.

164 The theory was put forward in the 1895 reprint of: Spinoza, *Opera quotquot reperta sunt*. Cf. its commentaries for Letters XIX, XXI, XXXIV, XL, XLI, L, LIII, and LIV. The hypothesis was rejected by: Leopold (*Ad Spinozae Opera posthuma*, p. 22); Giovanni Crapulli, 'Le Note marginali latine nelle versioni olandesi di opera di Descartes di J.H. Glazemaker', in id. and Emilia Giancotti Boscherini (eds.), *Richerche lessicali su opere di Descartes e Spinoza* (Rome: Edizione dell'Ateneo, 1969), pp. 5–117; Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 49–56.

165 Ibid., p. 47. For a brief typology of the idiomatic translating by Glazemaker*: ibid., pp. 101–126; id., 'J.H. Glazemaker, an Early Translator of Spinoza', pp. 24–27. For his marginal notes in his translation of Descartes*: Crapulli, 'Le Note marginali latine'.

166 Cf. Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 46–49 and 84.

167 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157).

168 The following surviving letters have editors' captions: Schuller* to Spinoza, 1675.07.25, Ep 63 (G 4/274–276); Spinoza to Schuller, 1675.11.18, Ep 72 (G 4/304–306); Oldenburg* to Spinoza, 1676.02.11,

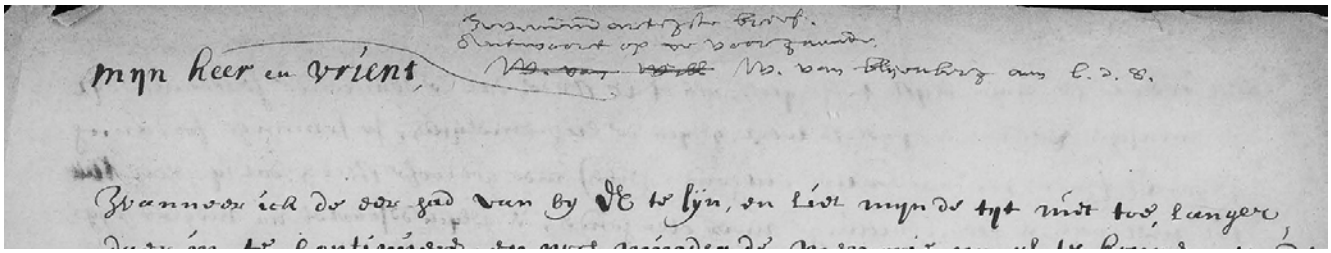
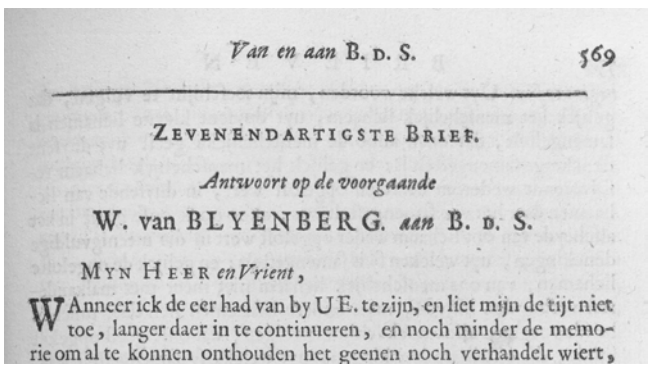


ILLUSTRATION 8.4 Handwritten editorial notes in the upper margin of the autograph manuscript of Van Blijenbergh's letter to Spinoza of 27 March 1665 indicating the printed caption for the 'Zevenendartigste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften*.

In *De nagelate schriften*, this caption is printed in its remedied form:

> Zevenendartigste Brief. | Antwoort op de voorgaande | W. van BLYENBERG. aan B. d. S.'.[169]



Van en aan B. D. S. 569

ZEVENENDARTIGSTE BRIEF.

Antwoort op de voorgaande

W. van BLYENBERG. *aan* B. D. S.

MYN HEER *en Vrient*,

WAnneer ick de eer had van by U E. te zijn, en liet mijn de tijt niet toe, langer daer in te continueren, en noch minder de memorie om al te konnen onthouden het geenen noch verhandelt wiert,

ILLUSTRATION 8.5 Printed caption on page 569 for the 'Zevenendartigste Brief' (Van Blijenbergh to Spinoza, 27 March 1665) in *De nagelate schriften*.

Aside from a few extant autographs and apographs of letters comprising instructions for and remarks by the compositor included in them, none of the other copy-texts of the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* have unfortunately survived. When exactly the Amsterdam team finalized editing is not documented. Nevertheless, a letter from Schuller to Leibniz dispatched on 17/27 July 1677 in any case provides for the twin volumes' completion a reliable *terminus ante quem*. Schuller informed his German correspondent about the posthumous writings thus:

> All the posthumous works of Mr Spinoza have been conveyed to the printer who proceeds diligently with the edition. They will be published simultaneously in Latin and in Dutch.[170]

∴

Ep 79 (all for the *OP*; G 4/329–330); Van Blijenbergh* to Spinoza, 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–125); 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144); 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (*NS*; G 4/153–157).

169 *OP*, I, p. 515; *NS*, 'Eerste Brief', p. 569. Letter XXXVII in the *OP* (1665.03.27, Ep 24; G 4/153–157) has the following heading: 'Epistola XXXVII. *Viro Clarissimo*, | B. D. S. | GUILIELMUS DE BLYENBERG. | *Responsio ad praecedentem.* | Versio.' (Letter 37. Willem van Blijenbergh to the Very Distinguished B. d. S. Reply to the preceding. Rendering).

170 'Omnia posthuma Domini Spin. opera Typographo tradita sunt, in illorum editione sedulo pergitur. Edentur autem in idiomate Latino et Belgico simul.' (Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 202, no. 66). Leibniz* replied to it on [2 October 1677] from [Linsburg]: ibid., pp. 239–241, no. 84. The letter contained no remarks about Spinoza or the *OP*/*NS*.

CHAPTER 9

Posthumous Writings: Latin and Dutch Quartos II

1 The Typesetting and Printing Process

Schuller's previously-mentioned letter to Leibniz of 17/27 July 1677 thus reveals production of Spinoza's posthumous works started in about the last week of July. The printing office of Israel de Paull processed the *Opera posthuma* (about 800 pp.) and *De nagelate schriften* (about 700 pp.) in one single impression each. The Amsterdam Tuinstraat workshop processed two varieties or 'states' in the bibliographical quarto size: a plain version turned out on cheap paper, featuring a 'foolscap' watermark (cut size *c.*200×*c.*180 mm), and a luxury edition, printed on high-quality, heavier laid paper (*c.*230×*c.*180 mm: crown quarto).[1] Those large-paper editions were, virtually certain, turned out after the plain version copies had been all printed.[2]

The quarto format of the Latin tome and its Dutch edition required, for each gathering, two formes of eight typeset pages to print out both sides of one sheet. For the balanced printed outer apparel of the two volumes, De Paull used in any case several old-style serif roman founts of printing type with the following body-sizes:

- 16 mm 'Parysse' roman capitals (1661, probably 1657, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry).
- 10.5 mm two-line 'Text' (great primer) roman capitals (1677, the earliest known example of this typeface in De Paull's workshop).[3]
- For a few words larger: *c.*160 mm 'Ascendonica' (double pica) roman (1621, Nicolas Briot).
- *c.*134 mm/20 ll. '(Klein) Paragon' roman (1626, Briot), for only a few words.
- *c.*200 mm (4.3 mm mem) 'Text'/'Ascendonica' Hebrew, *c.*140 mm (3.5 mm mem).
- 'Augustyn' (english)/'Paragon' Hebrew, *c.*115 mm (2.5 mm mem).
- 'Garmont' (long primer) 'Text' Hebrew, *c.*115 mm (2.5 mm mem).
- *c.*75 mm (1.8 mm mem) 'Brevier'/'Descendiaen' Hebrew (small pica).[4]

During printing, it was a common occurrence that heavy pressure on the forme at the bed of printer's presses wore out sorts and made separate letters and numerals twist or even drop out from caged typeset pages. This demerit can also be observed in a few copies of both the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*. For example, in some extant copies of the Latin edition the numeral 3 has dropped out from the page signature Ss3 (outer forme) in the direction line of page 325; the signature is now mistakenly printed as Ss.[5] On page 285 of several special-paper copies of the Dutch volume the signature Nn3 (outer forme) has a dislodged smaller lower-case roman letter *n*.[6] The *n* in the signature appears to have gone adrift and gradually shifted in east horizontal direction during printing and now reads 'N⊐3'.[7]

The greater number of the copy-texts conveyed to De Paull's printing firm in July 1677 are lost. In a fortunate manner, though, three autograph letters composed by Van Blijenberg and dispatched to Spinoza that have served as copy-texts are still extant: they are preserved in the Amsterdam city archives, in the collection 'Archief van het Weeshuis der Doopsgezinde Collegianten de Oranjeappel' (169, inv. no. 456). The editing team of the posthumous writings passed them on in the summer of 1677 to the books' printer for copy preparation and typesetting, it appears, almost straight away. Since these three extant holographs contain dingy finger marks and inky smudges, they must have been without doubt at a compositor's desk. Van Blijenbergh's holographs also contain traces of editorial intervention, pre-press notes (some later crossed out), as well as brief printing reminders, scribbled on them for or by a typesetter at work. Those instructions, notes, and marks on the autographs also reveal these three letters were prepared for the press by

1 Cf. Esmée Schilte and Piet Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza's Posthumous Works: An Inventory of the Copies now in the Netherlands', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers (eds.), *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 263–270, there at p. 266. For watermarks: Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. Facsimile of the 1907 Edition with Supplementary Material Contributed by a Number of Scholars*, Allan Stevenson (ed.) (4 vols., Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968). *See*: 'The Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive', http://www.gravell.org/index.php?&&offset=&rectotal=29&query=.

2 Cf. Gaskell, *A New Introduction*, p. 136.

3 Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 379 and 384 (with specimens). For the Voskens typefoundry: id., *Early Type Specimens*, pp. 50–59 and 218–219.

4 Ibid., pp. 429–430 and 431 (specimens).

5 Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, 27373; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Ac 343.

6 Cf.: Schilte and Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza's Posthumous Works', p. 26.

7 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Boghistoriske samlinger, 935 4° 41662 (S 1977); The Hague, KB, 450 D 8.

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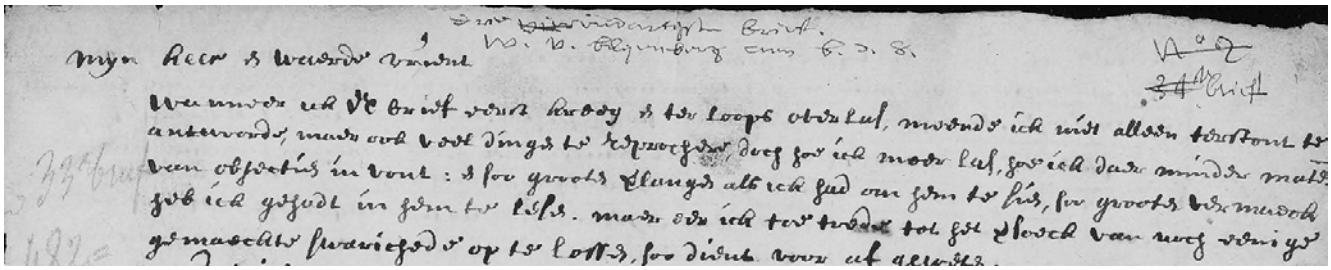


ILLUSTRATION 9.1 Handwritten editorial notes in the upper margin of the autograph manuscript (Van Blijenbergh to Spinoza, 16 January 1665) indicating the printed caption of the 'Drieendartigste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften*.

one single editor alone and, probably also, by the same typesetter.[8]

The first autograph letter, written by Van Blijenbergh on 16 January 1665, served as copy-text for Letter 33 ('Drieendartigste Brief') in *De nagelate schriften*. This letter is printed on gathering Zzz and on the first portion of Aaaa, the book's next quire.[9] Its holograph, five conjugate sheets with eight pages in Van Blijenbergh's handwriting written in brown ink, contains the projected caption for page 536 in the Dutch edition. In the autograph's upper margin of folio 1r, one of the members of the Amsterdam editing team elegantly wrote in brown ink:

> drie ~~vier~~endartigste brief. | W. v. blijenberg aen b. d. s.' (Letter ~~34~~ 33. W. v. Blijenbergh to B. d. S.).

Tellingly, the handwritten caption still has Van Blijenbergh's surname in full. In *De nagelate schriften*, though, Van Blijenbergh's name, like that of Spinoza, has been suppressed by monogrammed initials: 'W. v. B. *aan* B. D. S.'.

Perhaps, the latter modification indicates the editors later changed their minds about private information given in the Dutch edition and, accordingly, instructed the compositor to cloak the Dordrecht retailer's identity by setting in type his name only with initials. Even so, it has already been pointed out that in the case of Van Blijenbergh the editors did not always act quite consistently all along the way. In the autograph's right upper corner, the unidentified editor's hand also scribbled the number he apparently had assigned to the letter beforehand:

> ~~N~~ o [~~R~~] | ~~34~~ste brief' ([Number] Letter ~~34~~).[10]

In addition, one of the Amsterdam editors (or perhaps Spinoza himself) also wrote in the foot of the left margin of folio 1r (recto number 1) with brown ink 'VB', here patently standing for Van Blijenbergh (repeated on recto number 4).

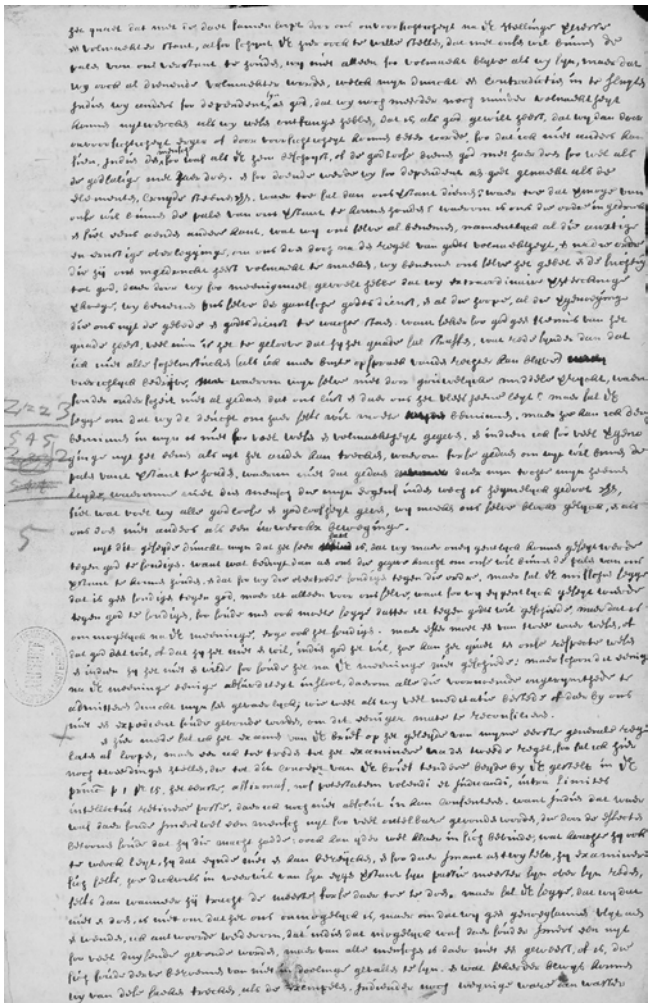
The Dordrecht broker's autograph of mid-January 1665 contains also several brief pre-press notes, made by one of the Tuinstraat workshop's compositors, for casting off the copy-text and preparing it neatly for layout. Apart from indicating pagination and page breaks with a red pencil, in its external margins he also wrote the signatures (in Dutch: 'formaatsignatuur') of the direction lines of Letter 33 for the arrangement of the printed sheets of *De nagelate schriften*. On Van Blijenbergh's holograph, almost all rectos and versos (except for the last recto) are numbered with a red pencil as well as page breaks, indicated with horizontal and vertical lines. The following notes are marked on Van Blijenbergh's autograph letter:

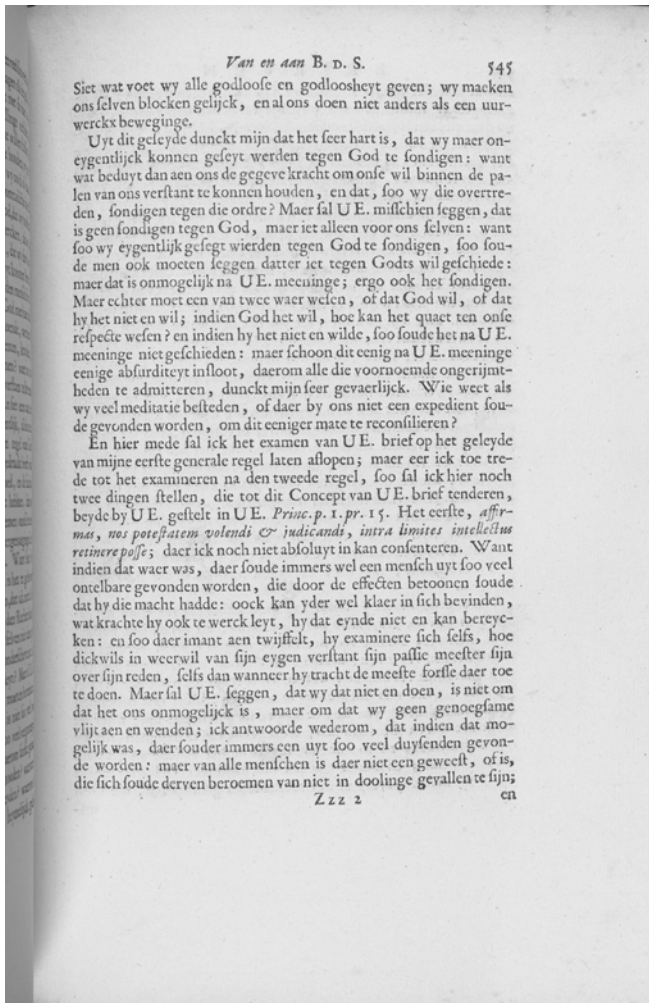
- Fol. 1r (recto number 1): '3 | 537'; reminder of page break 'als | ick' on the printed pages 536 and 537 of *De nagelate schriften*.
- Fol. 1r (recto number 1): reminder of page break 'geantwoort | worden' on pages 537/583.
- Fol. 2v (verso number 4): 'Zzz prima' | 543'; note on page break 'en niet | aen' on pages 542/543, signature now printed on page 543 as Zzz.
- Fol. 3r (recto number 5): 'Zzz 3 | 545 | ~~Zzz 2~~ | ~~544~~ | 5'; note with correction for the page break on pages 544/545, the signature now printed on page 545 is Zzz2, although Zzz2 is not marked on the manuscript.
- Fol. 4r (recto number 7): 'Zzz > | 549'; reminder of the page break 'ick dat | dat maer', on pages 548/549, meant

8 'God-geleerde staatkundige verhandelinge', the cancelled revised version of Glazemaker's Dutch translation of the *TTP*, had also been conveyed to press in 1670 or early 1671, but was never printed. Its text survives in a late-seventeenth-century manuscript copy: *codex A*. It has captions and instructions for and by the compositor, but that hand is entirely different to the hand in Van Blijenbergh's autographs letters serving as printer's copy of the *NS*. Because the notes start on page 166, Akkerman ('*Tractatus theologico-politicus*', p. 232) has argued that, at an earlier stage, a copy-text of its previous chapters (ten gatherings A–K, 80 pp.) had perhaps already been conveyed to the printer. *See*: Chapter 7, *Manuscript The Hague 75 G 15*.

9 1665.01.16, Ep 20 (G 4/96–126). *NS*: pp. 536–551.

10 Similar corrections in the numbering on the autographs of: 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144); 1675.07.25, Ep 63 (G 4/274–276).





Van en aan B. D. S. 545

Siet wat voet wy alle godlooſe en godlooſheyt geven; wy maeken ons ſelven blocken gelijck, en al ons doen niet anders als een uurwerckx beweginge.

Uyt dit geleyde dunckt mijn dat het ſeer hart is, dat wy maer oneygentlijck konnen geſeyt werden tegen God te ſondigen: want wat beduyt dan aen ons de gegeve kracht om onſe wil binnen de palen van ons verſtant te konnen houden, en dat, ſoo wy die overtreden, ſondigen tegen die ordre? Maer ſal U E. miſſchien ſeggen, dat is geen ſondigen tegen God, maer iet alleen voor ons ſelven: want ſoo wy eygentlijk geſegt wierden tegen God te ſondigen, ſoo ſoude men ook moeten ſeggen datter iet tegen Godts wil geſchiede: maer dat is onmogelijk na U E. meeninge; ergo ook het ſondigen. Maer echter moet een van twee waer weſen, of dat God wil, of dat hy het niet en wil; indien God het wil, hoe kan het quaet ten onſe reſpecte weſen? en indien hy het niet en wilde, ſoo ſoude het na U E. meeninge niet geſchieden: maer ſchoon dit eenig na U E. meeninge eenige abſurditeyt inſloot, daerom alle die voornoemde ongerijmtheden te admitteren, dunckt mijn ſeer gevaerlijck. Wie weet als wy veel meditatie beſteden, of daer by ons niet een expedient ſoude gevonden worden, om dit eeniger mate te reconſilieren?

En hier mede ſal ick het examen van U E. brief op het geleyde van mijne eerſte generale regel laten aſlopen; maer eer ick toe trede tot het examineren na den tweede regel, ſoo ſal ick hier noch twee dingen ſtellen, die tot dit Concept van U E. brief tenderen, beyde by U E. geſtelt in U E. *Princ. p. 1. pr. 15.* Het eerſte, *affirmas, nos poteſtatem volendi & judicandi, intra limites intellectus retinere poſſe*; daer ick noch niet abſoluyt in kan conſenteren. Want indien dat waer was, daer ſoude immers wel een menſch uyt ſoo veel ontelbare gevonden worden, die door de effecten betoonen ſoude dat hy die macht hadde: oock kan yder wel klaer in ſich bevinden, wat krachte hy ook te werck leyt, hy dat eynde niet en kan bereycken: en ſoo daer imant aen twijffelt, hy examinere ſich ſelfs, hoe dickwils in weerwil van ſijn eygen verſtant ſijn paſſie meeſter ſijn over ſijn reden, ſelfs dan wanneer hy tracht de meeſte forſſe daer toe te doen. Maer ſal U E. ſeggen, dat wy dat niet en doen, is niet om dat het ons onmogelijck is, maer om dat wy geen genoegſame vlijt aen en wenden; ick antwoorde wederom, dat indien dat mogelijk was, daer ſouder immers een uyt ſoo veel duyſenden gevonde worden: maer van alle menſchen is daer niet een geweeſt, of is, die ſich ſoude derven beroemen van niet in doolinge gevallen te ſijn;

Zzz 2 en

ILLUSTRATIONS 9.2 AND 9.3 Pencilled red pre-press notes made for or by the compositor of De Paull's printing office on fol. 3r of the autograph letter of Van Blijenbergh's letter to Spinoza of 16 January 1665 and the corresponding passage (p. 545, Zzz2) of the 'Drieendartigste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften*.

is furthermore signature Zzz 4, the last of a four-sheet gathering, which is evidently left unprinted in *De nagelate schriften*.[11]

– Fol. 4v (recto number 8): 'Aaaa prima | 551'; note for page break 'vermaeck | in', on pages 550/551, signature Aaaa printed on page 551
– Fol. 4v (recto number 8): another miscalculated page break, 'ben ick | de', is also indicated with a red pencil.

In the autograph's external margins, the typesetter has also scribbled in red some attention marks (+, >, and ~), quite likely to keep track of the lines counted, or as a simple reminder where in the text he had stopped picking sorts from the type-case to do something else. Tellingly, the two principal running headlines printed in the upper margins of the correspondence section (verso: 'BRIEVEN', recto: '*Van en aan* B. D. S.') are absent on the manuscript. Possibly, these were standing lines to which, when formes were filled and made ready for printing at the press, separate page numbers were each time added to the lower part of the board's rectos and versos.[12]

The autograph of Van Blijenbergh's letter of mid-January 1665 also shows in what way the Tuinstraat compositor of *De nagelate schriften* at work influenced and 'normalized' the constitution of Van Blijenbergh's original text. Those decisions concern spelling, hyphenation, capitalization, word breaks, emphasis, punctuation, and diacritics. Here, one can clearly perceive the actual difference between 'substantive readings' and 'accidental readings'.

11 A printing alphabet A–Z has twenty-three characters, without J, U (or V), and W. In the printed letter of the *NS*, conforming to common rule in seventeenth-century quarto printing, sig. Zzz4 is not set in type.

12 *OP*: 'Epistolae et' (verso), 'Ad Eas Responsiones.' (verso).

On folio 3r (l. 27), Van Blijenbergh's autograph reads, for example, 'ons selve blocken' where the printed Letter 33 (p. 545, l. 2) has 'ons selven blocken'. Line 5 of page 545 in the printed Dutch translation has 'tegen God te sondigen :', here followed by a colon. In line 30 of the autograph, though, it reads 'tegen god te sondigen.', followed by a full stop. In the autograph 'God' is also written with a lower-case letter ('god'). Lines 7 and 8 of page 545 of *De nagelate schriften* further read: 'soo wy die overtre-|den, sondigen tegen die ordre?'. The manuscript letter, however, has in line 31 of folio 3r 'soo wy die overtrede sondigen tegen die ordre.', now lacking the *n* of 'overtreden' and the question mark, respectively.

Another interesting example of the compositor's typographical intervention is a reference in Van Blijenbergh's letter of mid-January 1665 to a Latin passage in *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. In the autograph letter (fol. 3r, ll. 43–44), the Latin paraphrase of the scholium to proposition 15 of the exposition's Part 1 ('affirmas, nos potestatem volendi et iudicandi, intra limites intellectus retinere posse') is neither underlined nor stressed.[13] In the printed Letter 33, it turns out, the paraphrase has been marked as a quotation (ll. 25–27).

The second surviving autograph letter of Van Blijenbergh, dated 19 February 1665, was treated at the printing office in a rather similar editorial and typographical manner.[14] The upper margin of folio 1r has an editor's caption scribbled in brown ink, meant to be printed as heading for Letter 35 ('Vyfendartigste Brief') on page 559 of *De nagelate schriften*. There, the corrected heading, a caption written by a hand identical to the one on the aforementioned letter by Van Blijenbergh, reads:

> ~~zes~~ vijf endartigste brief. | W. v. blijenberg aen b. d. s.' (Letter ~~36~~ 35. W. v. Blijenbergh to B. d. S.).

The upper right corner of folio 1r also has a correction of a previously assigned letter number:

> ~~№ o~~ [№] | ~~36ste~~ brief' ([Number] Letter ~~36~~).

On the autograph's folio 2r, the compositor also marked the page break 'dat is ten | aensien', now printed on pages 562 and 563 of *De nagelate schriften*, with a red pencil. On the same recto also 'want | ghy' is marked with red pencil for the page break on pages 563 and 564. In the external margins of folio 2r, the following signature and page number are also indicated: 'bbbb 5 | 563'. In spite of this, the direction line of page 563 of *De nagelate schriften* is now signed Bbbb3. At the end of Van Blijenbergh's holograph, one of the Amsterdam editors in a brief note has also instructed the compositor he had to treat a small portion of the letter's postscript, on folio 2v as private information. That information, Van Blijenbergh's whereabouts in Dordrecht, was therefore unfit for publication. For that reason, the text had to be ignored and not set in type in the Dutch edition. At this instance, the editor encircled a portion of the postscript and added the following message: 'this is not to be set in type' ('dit niet te zetten'). Presumably, the editors also treated rejected text portions in other autographs conveyed to the printer in a similar way.

Finally, the already aforementioned third surviving autograph letter of Van Blijenbergh to Spinoza, composed on 27 March 1665, not only contains an editor's note providing the caption for Letter 38 ('Achtendartigste Brief') to be printed in *De nagelate schriften*. The holograph also has a compositor's note in its external margins.[15] For pages 570 and 571 of the Dutch rendering, the book's typesetter has marked a page break ('seght | dat dese') and a signature, both indicated with a red pencil. In the left margin of folio 1v, it reads: 'Cccc 5 | 571'. The signature on the autograph, though, turned out to be a miscalculation; page 571 is printed with the signature Cccc3.

2 Illustration Programme

The publisher of the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, charged printer Israel de Paull once again to grace the title-pages of the twin language volumes of Spinoza's posthumous writings with the large yoke device. This was a vignette familiar to him: it has been also printed on the title-pages of all Latin quarto editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.[16] In regard to other details of the posthumous writings' illustration programme, the first letter of the prologue's first word and of all separate chapters in parts of the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* are decorated with ornamented

13 Spinoza's own paraphrase is far from exact. On page 34, *PP* 1p15s (G 1/174.15–16) has: 'Cum autem voluntas libera sit ad se determinandam: sequitur non potestatem habere facultatem assentiendi intra limites intellectus continendi.' ('Now since the will is free to determine itself, it follows that we do have the power to contain our faculty of assenting within the limits of the intellect'; CW, vol. 1, p. 258).

14 1665.02.19, Ep 22 (G 4/134–144). *NS*: pp. 552–559.

15 1665.03.27, Ep 24 (G 4/153–157). *NS*: pp. 569–571.

16 For the 'yoke ornament': Chapter 3, *Floral-Fruit Vignettes*.

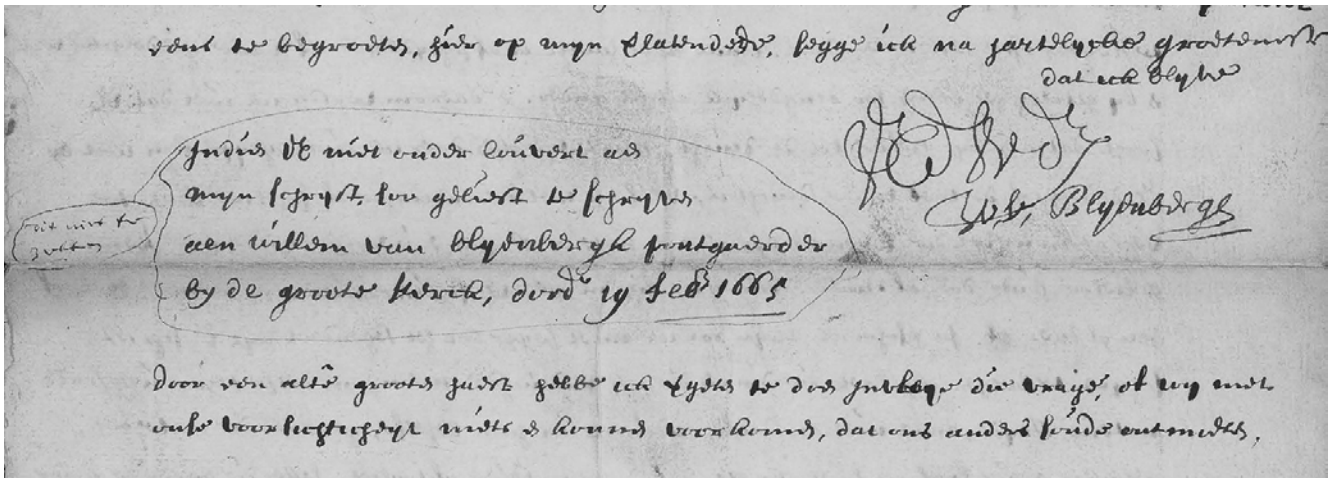


ILLUSTRATION 9.4 Editorial note instructing the Tuinstraat typesetter to leave out the encircled text on fol. 1^{v} of the autograph manuscript of Van Blijenbergh's letter to Spinoza 19 February 1665.

relief woodcut initials. These illustrations belong to a so-called '25 mm acanthus' ADEGHMNW (those capital letters depicted in all initials) type specimen set. Of this set, the *Opera posthuma* have the initials LPQT whereas *De nagelate schriften* have BIS from the same series, respectively.[17] It is suggested that De Paull's printing firm must have had a complete set, used at least up to 1705.[18]

In addition, two floral tailpieces are further decorating the *Opera posthuma*. On page 354 of the Latin volume, the last page of the concluding chapter 11 ('On Democracy') of the *Tractatus politicus*, the first tailpiece vignette is printed below the brief text reading '*Reliqua desiderantur*' (The rest is lacking). At this instance it has the reduced yoke ornament tailpiece, the smaller version of the vignette concluding the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s prologue in T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4. The second tailpiece is printed below the Hebrew grammar's last page of the concluding chapter 13 ('Of the Nominative Participle'), also below the phrase '*Reliqua desiderantur*' and 'FINIS'.[19]

A substantial portion of the posthumous works' illustration programme also comprised sixteen copper etchings of various geometrical visuals and physical illustrations, printed to enrich and also clarify in the Latin and Dutch edition both the text of the 'Ethics' and the correspondence section.[20] Much about the background of this illustration programme is however uncharted. It is nonetheless certain that five elaborate copper engravings were produced after five small, rudimentary drawings in black ink added by Spinoza to the text of an autograph letter dispatched to London in the first half of 1662. These etchings concern Letter VI in the *Opera posthuma* (pp. 409, 414, and 416) and the 'Zeste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften* (pp. 462, 462, 469, and 471)[21] As the editorial heading of that extant letter rightly puts it in the *Opera posthuma*, on page 405, he sent that letter, containing his critical judgement of Boyle's 1661 *Certain Physiological Essays*, to Oldenburg:

17 Cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 375–376 (with specimen of ADEGHMNW). Lane notes on p. 375: 'These initials appear to form a coherent series and were used frequently by the printing office from at least 1678 to 1705, suggesting they had a complete set.'. De Paull's workshop owned and reused the acanthus woodcuts initials employed in the two editions, since these are known to turn up in other works produced by his Tuinstraat firm during the 1670s and 1680s. *See*: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 2, pp. 303–305. A provisional list with the set of ornamented initials: ibid., Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

18 Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 374–375. He also suggests capital letters CFKORVXYZ (and possibly also J and U) can be added from other works. For instance: Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryving van Asie*, … (Amsterdam: 1680). It has an A and H similar to the 25 mm acanthus series in Spinoza's posthumous writings.

19 Yoke ornament tailpiece, 20×26 mm (ornament no. 17 in: Lane, 'The Printing Office', p. 373). Tailpiece in the Hebrew grammar: 23×50 mm.

20 Geometrical visuals: pp. 14, 47, and 55 (*OP*, *E*), 469, 526, and 532 (*OP*, correspondence section); pp. 16, 54, 63 (*NS*: *Zk*), 524, 579 (repeated on 580), 584 (*NS*, correspondence section). Physical illustrations (*OP*, correspondence section): pp. 409, 414, 416, 430, 535 (absent in the *NS*), 536 (repeated on 538), and 537. In the *NS*, these illustrations can be found on: pp. 462, 463, 468, 469, 471, 486, 588, 590, and 589.

21 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6, G 4/15–36 (London, Royal Society, ms. S1/37). Few Latin notes are scribbled in the autograph's left margins (fols 1^{v} [pencil] and 3^{r} [ink]) by Oldenburg* and, possibly, also by Boyle*. *See* for these notes: Oldenburg, *Correspondence*, Hall and Boas Hall (eds.), vol. 1, pp. 468–469, at n. 16.

ILLUSTRATIONS 9.5, 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 9.9, 9.10, AND 9.11 Decorated woodcut initials LPQT (*Opera posthuma*) and BIS (*De nagelate schriften*) from a '25 mm acanthus' type specimen set of capital letters owned by the Tuinstraat printing office of Israel de Paull.

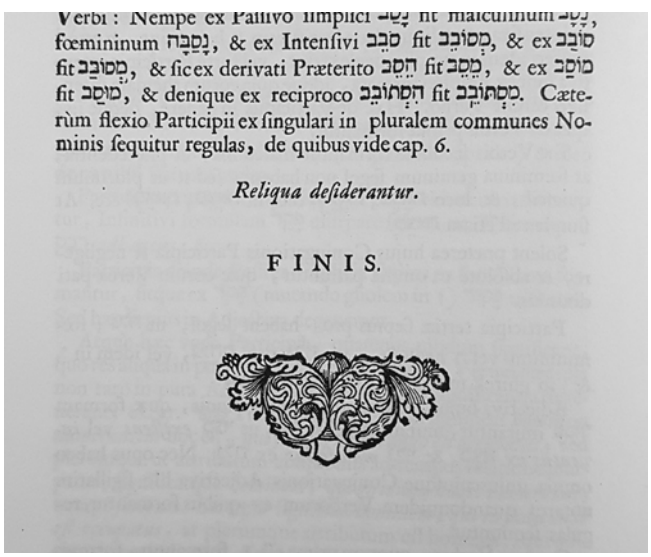


ILLUSTRATION 9.12 Tailpiece (page 112) in the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*.

Letter 6. B. d. S. to the Most Noble and Learned Henry Oldenburg. Reply to the Preceding, Containing Comments on the Most Noble Robert Boyle's Book, on Niter, Fluidity & Solidity.[22]

One other physical illustration in the posthumous works, Letter x in the *Opera posthuma* (p. 430) and the 'Tiende Brief' in *De nagelate schriften* (p. 486), depicts a Torricellian water column or water barometer. That picture, showing a bolt head filled with water inverted with its mouth in a small water vessel, was copied after a sketch on a single piece of paper once enclosed in a now-lost letter from Oldenburg to Spinoza on 31 July/10 August 1663.[23] Oldenburg must have made that sketch after a drawing in watercolour done by Robert Hooke, the Royal Society's Curator of Experiments. This drawing illustrates a handwritten account of an air-pump experiment (on the examination of the void and the repetition of the 'anomalous suspension' of water in a Torricellian tube placed in an evacuated receiver). It survives in one of the extant (unedited) manuscripts of the London Royal Society's Register Books.[24]

22 'Epistola vi. | *Continens Annotationes in librum* | Nobilissimi Viri ROBERTI BOYLE, | *De Nitro, Fluiditate, & Firmitate.* | *Viro Nobilissimo, ac Doctissimo* | HENR. OLDENBURGIO | B. d. S. | *Responsio ad Praecedentem.*' Oldenburg* had sent him a copy of the work in October 1661 (*see* 1661.10.21, Ep 5). Since Spinoza was unable to read English (cf. > 1665.04.28, Ep 26), he probably received and read the book's Latin translation: *Tentamina quaedam physiologica diversis temporibus & occasionibus conscripta* (London: 1661). Boyle* first presented this rendering to the Royal Society during a meeting of 14 August 1661. Cf.: Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London (1660–1687)* (4 vols., London: 1756–7), vol. 1, p. 42. Neither the Latin nor the English edition was present in Spinoza's private library.

23 1663.08.10, Ep 14 (G 4/70–71).

24 Christiaan Huygens* too had performed pneumatic experiments first described in a letter (January 1662) to Robert Moray* (*Œuvres complètes*, vol. 4, pp. 8–9). For Huygens's barometric experiments: ibid., vol. 17, pp. 306–333. The observation was meat and drink to scholars in the Royal Society. Huygens's observation was accepted, but his air-pump's integrity was questioned. Hotly debated was the construction of the piston and the wax he had used to prevent leakage (cf. Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, pp. 171–173). In spite of the fact that Boyle* himself failed to produce the effect in his own air-pump,

Hooke had performed the latter hydrostatic trial, recorded by him in the Register Books as 'An Experiment tryd. touching the uniteing & mixing of Air and water', on 1/11 July 1663, one month prior to the letter sent to Spinoza by Oldenburg. On the day of the experiment, Hooke also entered a report of the trial in the Register Books, adding to it the aforementioned watercolour.[25] One week later, on 16 July, the trial was discussed during another meeting at Gresham College. Another identical engraving, also made after Hooke's water colour, accompanies the account of the foregoing test in the printed edition of the Royal Society's proceedings reported in its Journal Books, edited by Fellow Thomas Birch (1705–1766), an English historian and Whig supporter.[26]

In addition, a now-lost autograph letter, one of 20 April 1663, dispatched by Spinoza to Lodewijk Meyer also contained an illustration, this time depicting a geometrical visual of two non-concentric circles A and B representing a circular tube. That illustration can be found in Letter 29 in the *Opera posthuma* (p. 469) and the 'Negenentwintigste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften* (p. 524). The claim is based on an extant manuscript copy, made by Leibniz, which convincingly proves Spinoza's letter contained that drawing.[27] Another printed illustration in the posthumous writings, providing a visual explanation of optical remarks in a letter to Hudde was designed (in both design and lettering) after a drawing in the latter's *Specilla circularia* (1656), an anonymously-published single leaflet on spherical aberration.[28] The illustration accompanies Letter 41 in the *Opera posthuma* (p. 526) and the 'Eenenveertigste Brief' in *De nagelate schriften* (p. 579, duplicated on p. 580).

3 Compiling the Preface, Brief Introductions, Indexes, and the Lists of Errata

Previously, it has already been mentioned that Pierre Bayle, in a letter of 7 March 1686 to Jansonius ab Almeloveen, has first claimed Jarig Jelles composed the 'Voorreeden', which is prefixed to *De nagelate schriften* (43 pp., sigs $*2^{r}$–$******3^{r}$). According to this same letter, it was Lodewijk Meyer who had translated that Dutch prologue into the Latin occurring in the *Opera posthuma* as 'Praefatio' (35 pp., $*2^{r}$–$*****3^{r}$). All instances where Jelles in his prologue gives quotations from the 'Ethics' and Spinoza's letters, these are deriving from the printed text of *De nagelate schriften* and he probably also used its corrigenda. Meyer, for his part, looked up those quotations for his Preface in the printed text of the *Opera posthuma*. Consequently, both also refer in 'their' prologues to text of the Dutch and the Latin volume.[29] On signature $*4^{r}$ (not printed), of the prologue of *De nagelate schriften*, it reads:

> … in het darde deel van de zelfde Zedekunst, in de Verklaring van de Roemzucht, (pag. 179)….

In the *Opera posthuma*, it reads in the same instance:

> … in tertiâ Ethices parte Affectuum Definit. XLIV. ubi quid sit ambition explicat….

he dismissed Huygens's hypothesis and suspected the latter's air-pump evacuated air from the receiver insufficiently. Cf.: ibid., pp. 231–252; Anne C. van Helden, 'The Age of the Air-Pump', *Tractrix, Yearbook for the History of Science, Medicine, Technology and Mathematics*, 3 (1991), pp. 149–172, there at pp. 153–154 and 158.

25 London, Royal Society, RBO/2ii/44, fol. 161r (p. 244). Thanks are due to Katherine Marshall who kindly provided me with this information. For Hooke, *see*: Chapter 6, n. 21.

26 Cf. Birch, *The History*, vol. 1, p. 275.

27 1663.04.20, Ep 12 (G 4/52–62). Copy in: Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, LBr. 886 Bl. 5–6.

28 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36 (G 4/183–187). The work referred to is: anon. (Johannes Hudde*), *Specilla circularia, sive quomodo per solas figuras circulares fieri possint omnis generis specilla, tam microscopia quam telescopia, eundem* [*plane*] *effectum habentia, aut saltem quam proxime accedentem ad eorum, quae per ellipsicas aut hyperbolicas figuras fieri possent* (n. pl. [Amsterdam]: 1656). Only one copy is known to be extant: The Hague, KB, KW GW (A108988 [2]). There, the first engraving on sig. A^{v}. *See* for the text and a commentary on the leaflet by Hudde: Rienk Vermij and Eisso Atzema, 'Specilla Circularia: An Unknown Work by Johannes Hudde', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 27 (1995), pp. 104–121; Anne C. van Helden and Rob. H. van Gent, 'The Lens Production by Christiaan and Constantijn Huygens', *Annals of Science*, 56 (1999), pp. 69–79, pp. 71–73; Fokko J. Dijksterhuis, *Lenses and Waves. Christiaan Huygens and the Mathematical Science of Optics in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), p. 71; Rienk Vermij, 'Huddes *Specilla circularia*', *Studium. Tijdschrift voor wetenschaps-en universiteitsgeschiedenis*, 11 (2018), pp. 96–103. For the commentary by Leibniz* on the work: *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 8:1, pp. 153–166, no. 19. Digitized images of *Specilla circularia* are at: https://galerij.kb.nl/kb.html#/nl/hudde/page/0/zoom/3/lat/-42.8115217450978 8/lng/-5.80078125.

29 In the Preface's reworked Latin translation, by Lodewijk Meyer*, the latter freely quotes from the Latin translation of the New Testament by Theodorus Beza (1519–1605) and by Johannes Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1680), published in 1566 and 1569, respectively. Jelles used the 'Statenvertaling', but now and then corrected its spelling and grammar: *Biblia, dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture, vervattende alle de canonijcke boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments* (Leiden: 1637). Cf.: Akkerman and Hubbeling, 'The Preface', pp. 106–107.

In summary, this makes it certain both slightly-differing text versions of the Dutch and Latin Preface were composed during the final stage of the production, after Israel de Paull finished the typesetting, printing, and the proofing of the two twin volumes' main work.[30] A letter of Schuller of 26 October/5 November 1677 to Leibniz may perhaps serve as an indication to date the Dutch and Latin prologue's printing. Schuller informed his German correspondent in it about the imminent publication of Spinoza's posthumous works thus:

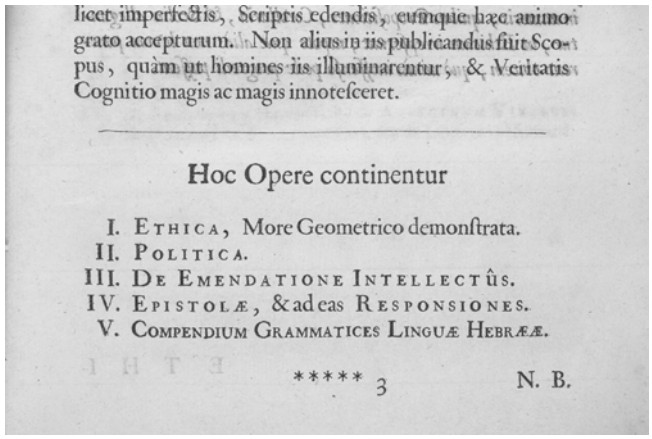
> Spinoza's posthumous works are now printed, only the index remains, and when completed, you will be one of the first to whom I will send two or three copies, or more if you wish.[31]

Except for the indexes and possibly also the lists of errata, it seems, by then ready were also the brief introductions to the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and the Hebrew grammar of the *Opera posthuma*, as well as the prologue to the *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* in *De nagelate schriften*.[32] In another letter to Leibniz, dated 21/31 December 1677, Schuller told his German correspondent thus:

> Spinoza's works have now been published, and distribution will start as from the new year. I will see to it you will be among the first to obtain a fine copy.[33]

Since the main work was apparently indeed ready and passages could be referred to with their specific page numbers, the Amsterdam publication team could also start compiling the indexes and the two lists of errata.

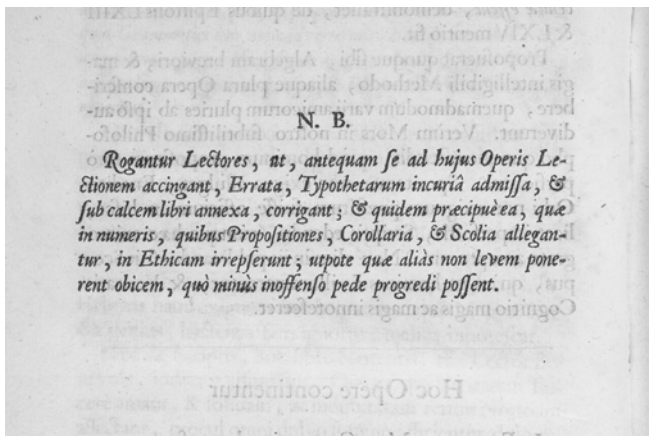
The Preface of the *Opera posthuma* is concluded by a short list of its main components: 'Hoc Opere continentur' (sig. *****3^{r}). Why such a table of contents is abundantly


licet imperfectis, Scripris edendis, eumque hæc animo grato accepturum. Non alius in iis publicandis fuit Scopus, quàm ut homines iis illuminarentur, & Veritatis Cognitio magis ac magis innotesceret.

Hoc Opere continentur

I. Ethica, More Geometrico demonstrata.
II. Politica.
III. De Emendatione Intellectûs.
IV. Epistolæ, & ad eas Responsiones.
V. Compendium Grammatices Linguæ Hebrææ.

***** 3 N. B.


N. B.

Rogantur Lectores, ut, antequam se ad hujus Operis Lectionem accingant, Errata, Typothetarum incuriâ admissa, & sub calcem libri annexa, corrigant; & quidem præcipuè ea, quæ in numeris, quibus Propositiones, Corollaria, & Scolia allegantur, in Ethicam irrepserunt; utpote quæ aliàs non levem ponerent obicem, quò minùs inoffenso pede progredi possent.

ILLUSTRATIONS 9.13 AND 9.14 Table of contents and the instruction 'N.B.' to readers to consult the lists of errata for corrections in the printed text of the *Opera posthuma*.

absent in the Dutch volume is not clear. In the Latin edition, the table of contents is immediately followed by a 'N.B.' (patently standing for 'Nota Bene'). It concerns a brief remark on fol. ******3^{v} in which the editors recommend readers to consult the lists of errata and remedy literals and misprints in copies by hand themselves.

In the *Opera posthuma*, the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* is concluded with its own indexes of chapters ('Indiculus capitum. Grammatices Hebraeae', sigs P^{r}–P^{v}), its Bible references ('Loca quaedam S. Scripturae, quae in hoc Compendio vel notantur, vel explicantur', P^{v}–P2^{r}), and topics discussed ('Indiculus rerum. Numerus denotat paginam', P2^{r}–P3^{r}). All three indexes contain references to page numbers in the Hebrew grammar manual. The latter indexes themselves are printed on non-paginated pages.

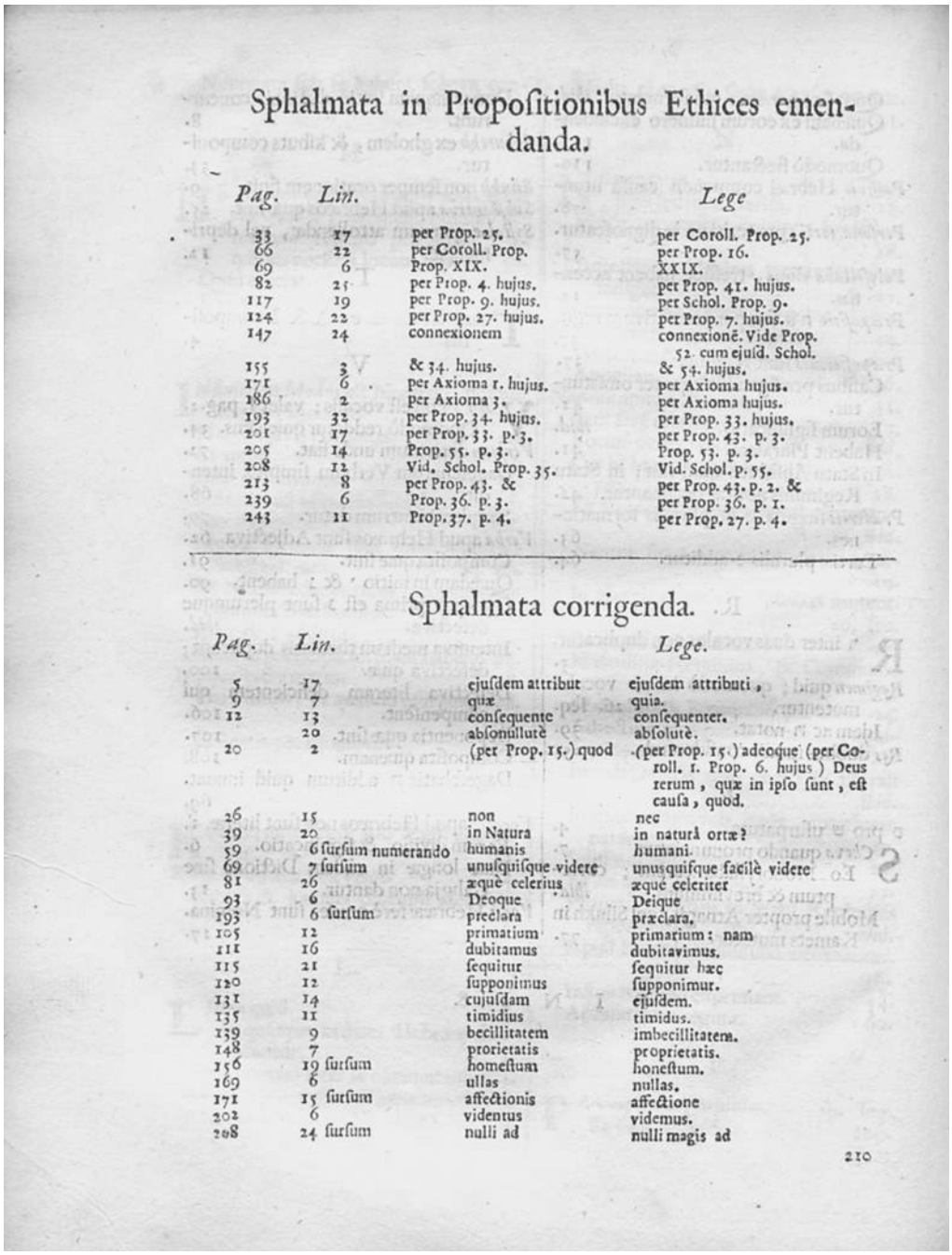
The latter indexes are followed by two separate lists of errata, all comprising misprints in the Latin volume of the posthumous writings denoted by page ('*Pag.*'), line ('*Lin.*')., and correction ('*Lege*'). The first, 'Sphalmata in propositionibus Ethices emendanda.', contains errors

30 Ibid., p. 105; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, pp. 17–35 (Meyer*); Hellinga, *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden*, p. 146. During the proofreading's first round the compositor checked and corrected unfolded sheets with marks ('corrector's proofs'). Next, 'uncaged' typeset pages with faults were reset, 'caged' with rope again after which clean proofs with alterations and additions could be printed afresh.

31 'Spinozae posthuma jam impressa sunt, index solus restat, quo peracto, exemplaria duo vel tria, vel quot desideraveris, inter primos Tibi mittam.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 264, no. 97).

32 *TIE*: p. 356; *CG*: sig. Mmmm4^{v} (both called 'ADMONITIO *ad* LECTOREM.'); *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant*: p. 406, 'Bericht *Aan de* Lezer.'

33 'Opera Spinozae jam edita proximo anno novo distribuentur, ubi nullus deero de procurando exemplari nitido inter primos.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 304, no. 124).



Sphalmata in Propoſitionibus Ethices emendanda.

Pag.	*Lin.*		*Lege*
33	17	per Prop. 25.	per Coroll. Prop. 25.
66	22	per Coroll. Prop.	per Prop. 16.
69	6	Prop. XIX.	XXIX.
82	21	per Prop. 4. hujus.	per Prop. 41. hujus.
117	19	per Prop. 9. hujus.	per Schol. Prop. 9.
124	22	per Prop. 27. hujus.	per Prop. 7. hujus.
147	24	connexionem	connexionē. Vide Prop. 52. cum ejuſd. Schol.
155	3	& 34. hujus.	& 54. hujus.
171	6	per Axioma 1. hujus.	per Axioma hujus.
186	2	per Axioma 3.	per Axioma hujus.
193	32	per Prop. 34. hujus.	per Prop. 33. hujus.
201	17	per Prop. 33. p. 3.	per Prop. 43. p. 3.
205	14	Prop. 55. p. 3.	Prop. 53. p. 3.
208	12	Vid. Schol. Prop. 35.	Vid. Schol. p. 55.
213	8	per Prop. 43. &	per Prop. 43. p. 2. &
239	6	Prop. 36. p. 3.	per Prop. 36. p. 1.
243	11	Prop. 37. p. 4.	per Prop. 27. p. 4.

Sphalmata corrigenda.

Pag.	*Lin.*		*Lege.*
5	17	ejuſdem attribut	ejuſdem attributi,
9	7	quæ	quia.
12	13	conſequente	conſequenter.
	20	abſonullutè	abſolutè.
20	2	(per Prop. 15.) quod	(per Prop. 15.) adeoque (per Coroll. 1. Prop. 6. hujus) Deus rerum, quæ in ipſo ſunt, eſt cauſa, quod.
26	15	non	nec
39	20	in Natura	in naturâ ortæ?
59	6 ſurſum numerando	humanis	humani.
69	7 ſurſum	unuſquiſque videre	unusquiſque facilè videre
81	26	æquè celerius	æquè celeriter
93	6	Deoque	Deique
193	6 ſurſum	preclara	præclara,
105	12	primatium	primarium: nam
111	16	dubitamus	dubitavimus.
115	21	ſequitur	ſequitur hæc
120	12	ſupponimus	ſupponimur.
131	14	cujuſdam	ejuſdem.
135	11	timidius	timidus.
139	9	becillitatem	imbecillitatem.
148	7	prorietatis	proprietatis.
156	19 ſurſum	homeſtum	honeſtum.
169	6	ullas	nullas.
171	15 ſurſum	affectionis	affectione
202	6	videntus	videmus.
208	24 ſurſum	nulli ad	nulli magis ad

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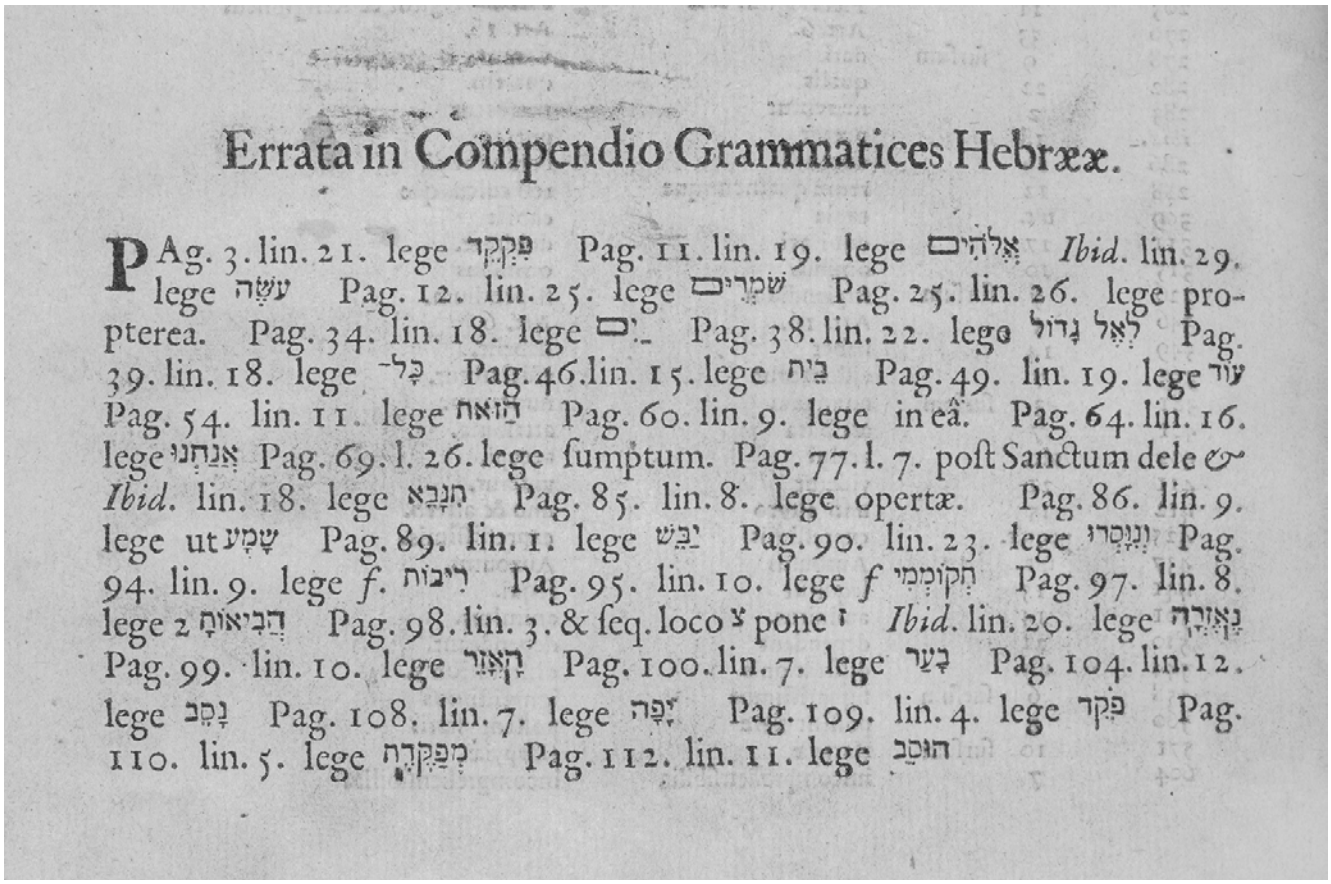
ILLUSTRATION 9.15
Lists of errata readers should make in the *Ethica* and in other instances in the *Opera posthuma*.

made in cross-references of the 'Ethics' (P3^{r}, with seventeen corrections). The Latin edition also has a general list of errata, briefly entitled 'Sphalmata corrigenda.' (P3^{r}–P4^{r}, sixty-one corrections). Steenbakkers has argued that the idiosyncratic plural 'sphalmata', in those two lists used as a synonym for 'errata', also occurs in Tschirnhaus's *Medicina mentis*.[34] The latter treatise was edited by Pieter van Gent and published in Amsterdam, for Albertus Magnus and Jan Rieuwertsz *fils*, in 1687.[35] In *Medicina mentis*, the list of errata has a similar caption: 'Sphalmata corrigenda in Medicina mentis.' In other words, it may have been the

34 'Sphalmata' is the Greek plural for 'sphalma'. In English: trip, stumble, mistake, failing, or trespass.

35 Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus*, *Medicina mentis, sive tentamen genuinae logicae, in quâ differitur de methodo detegendi incognitas veritates* (Amsterdam: A. Magnus and J. Rieuwertsz *fils*, 1687), sig. H2^{v}. Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 46. The word 'sphalmata' is untypical. Incidentally, it occurs in books printed in seventeenth-century Germany and Switzerland, but not commonly in the Dutch Republic. One exception is a work printed by Johannes Gijzelaar: Philippus Cyprus, etc., *Chronicon Ecclesiae Graecae* (Franeker: 1679): 'Sphalmata corrigenda typographica … sic corrigentur'. Van Gent/Rieuwertsz *fils*: BL.



Errata in Compendio Grammatices Hebrææ.

PAg. 3. lin. 21. lege פִּקֵּד Pag. 11. lin. 19. lege אֱלֹהִים *Ibid.* lin. 29. lege עֹשֶׂה Pag. 12. lin. 25. lege שֹׁמְרִים Pag. 25. lin. 26. lege propterea. Pag. 34. lin. 18. lege יִם Pag. 38. lin. 22. lego לְאֵל גָּדוֹל Pag. 39. lin. 18. lege כָּל־ Pag. 46. lin. 15. lege בֵּית Pag. 49. lin. 19. lege עוֹד Pag. 54. lin. 11. lege הַזֹּאת Pag. 60. lin. 9. lege in eâ. Pag. 64. lin. 16. lege אֲנַחְנוּ Pag. 69. l. 26. lege ſumptum. Pag. 77. l. 7. poſt Sanctum dele & *Ibid.* lin. 18. lege תִּנָּבֵא Pag. 85. lin. 8. lege opertæ. Pag. 86. lin. 9. lege ut שָׁמַע Pag. 89. lin. 1. lege יִבַּשׁ Pag. 90. lin. 23. lege וְנִגְזְרוּ Pag. 94. lin. 9. lege *f.* רִיבוֹת Pag. 95. lin. 10. lege *f* חֻקּוֹתַי Pag. 97. lin. 8. lege 2 הַבְּרִיאוֹתָ Pag. 98. lin. 3. & ſeq. loco ץ pone ז *Ibid.* lin. 20. lege נֶאֱזָרָה Pag. 99. lin. 10. lege קָאוֹר Pag. 100. lin. 7. lege בָּשָׂר Pag. 104. lin. 12. lege נָקָב Pag. 108. lin. 7. lege יָפָה Pag. 109. lin. 4. lege פֹּקֵד Pag. 110. lin. 5. lege מְפֻקָּדָה Pag. 112. lin. 11. lege הוּסַב

ILLUSTRATION 9.16 List of errata in the Hebrew Grammar of the *Opera posthuma*.

Amsterdam scribe Pieter van Gent who compiled the two 'Sphalmata' lists for the *Opera posthuma*.

The main work of *De nagelate schriften* is followed by two non-paginated indexes: 'Misstellingen, in dit werk ingeslopen.' (sigs Pppp3^{r}, thirty-four corrections) and 'Misstellingen in d'aanwijzing, op de Voorstellingen.' (Pppp4^{r}, fourteen corrections). The corrections in the latter index inventories misprints in back-references in separate parts of the *Zedekunst*. The *Opera posthuma* conclude with another index, indicating thirty-one errors in the grammar manual found in the Latin and the Hebrew language: 'Errata in Compendio Grammatices Hebraeae.' (P4^{r}).

During the final stage of the prestigious publication project, the Amsterdam editors presumably also compiled the 'Index rerum.' (sigs Hhhh4^{r}–Mmmm3^{r}), the dense general index for the *Opera posthuma*, excluding the Hebrew grammar manual. This index is printed on thirty-one unnumbered pages covering two columns each.

4 Irregularities, Printing Flaws, and Corrections

The *Zedekunst*, the *Ethica*'s Dutch translation composed by both Balling (Parts 1 and 2) and Glazemaker (Parts 3 to 5), frequently corrects textual mistakes and several misprints occurring in the *Ethica*'s Latin text of the *Opera posthuma*. For example, it remedies the demonstration of proposition 18 in Part 1, on page 20 in line 2, which has an internal back-reference to E1p15:

> Omnia, quae sunt, in Deo sunt, & per Deum concipi debent (*per Prop.* 15.) quod est primum.

According to the 'Sphalmata corrigenda', readers were to supplement E1p18dem with a reference to E1p6c1 because, without this corollary, the claim 'God is the cause of things' would remain unproved. Thus, in the '*Lege*' column it reads:

> (per Prop. 15.) adeoque (per Co-|roll. 1. Prop. 6. hujus) Deus | rerum, quae in ipso sunt, est causa, quod.' (by P15, and so [by P6C1], God is the cause of things, which [are in him]).

But, actually, the reference to E1p6c1 in the 'Sphalmata corrigenda' printed in the *Opera posthuma* is incorrect, too. The back-reference meant by Spinoza, as a correction of E1p6c1 probably scribbled in the external margins or

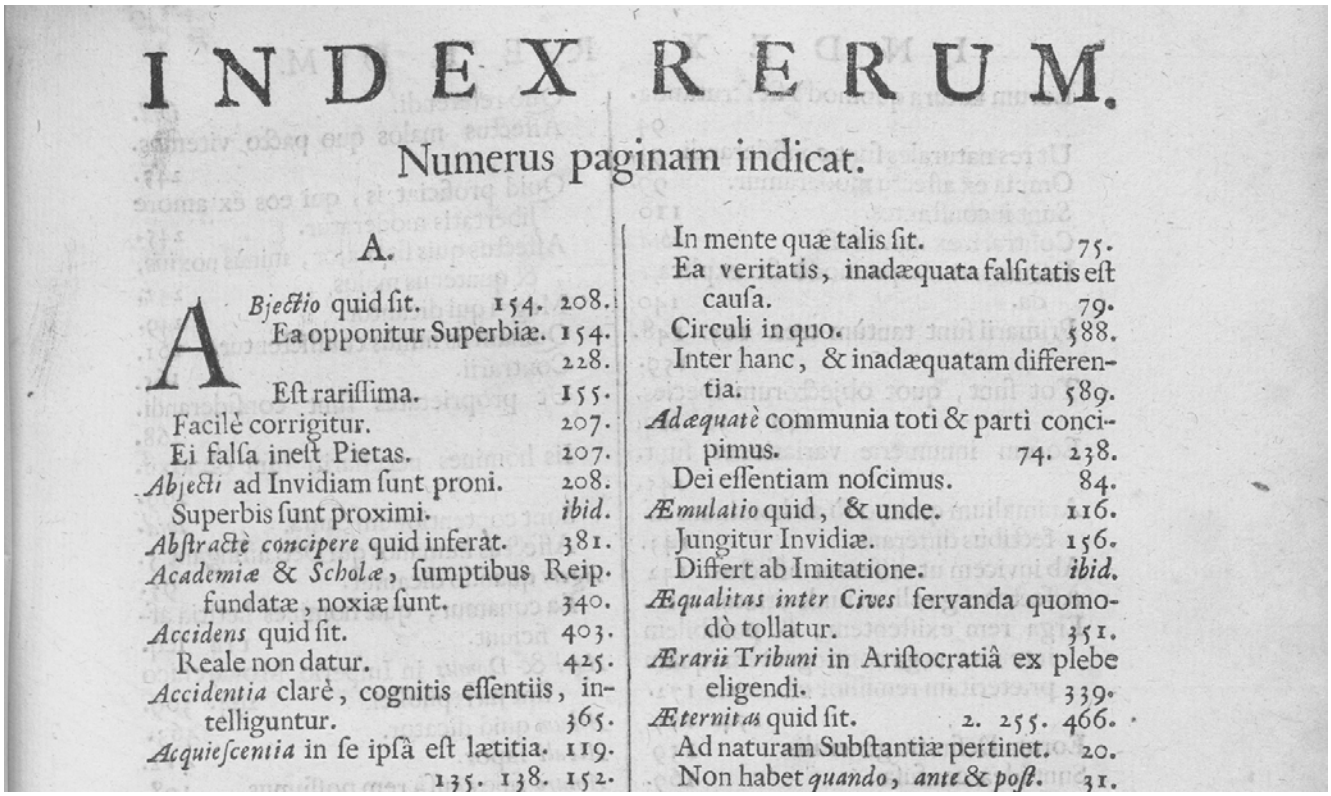


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ILLUSTRATION 9.17 The general index in the *Opera posthuma*.

between the lines of the Latin holograph, should be the first corollary to E1p16. Hence, not to E1p6. Page 23 of *De nagelate schriften* now correctly reads in E1p18dem:

> Alles, dat 'er is, (*volgens de vijftiende* [z] *Voorftelling*) is in God, en moet door God bevat worden. Dieshalven, (*volgens d' eerste* [a] *Toegift van de Zestiende Voorftelling*) God is oorzaak van alle dingen, die in hem zijn. Dit is 't eerste.[36]

In this particular interesting case, it seems Glazemaker was faithfully editing and revising here the already-existing manuscript of the *Zedekunst*'s Part 1 composed by Balling, thus providing readers of the Dutch translation with the correct version of E1p18dem.[37] It should further be noticed that, in the demonstration of E1p18, the *Opera posthuma* read 'rerum' where *Zedekunst* has the longer but incorrect translation 'van alle dingen'. This translation error is not to be found in the indexes.[38]

Although misprints were found during proofreading and indicated in the lists of errata, the editors occasionally refrained from making corrections in the Latin glosses of the *Zedekunst*, presumably because readers of the Dutch volume were assumed to be unable to read Latin. For instance, E2p40dem in the *Ethica* text correctly reads 'non quatenus infinitus est' (p. 76, l. 9).[39] In the *Zedekunst*, it reads incorrectly the opposite (p. 86, l. 15), a translation flaw by Glazemaker: 'niet voor zoveel hy [s]eindig [is]'. Apparently, later, Glazemaker's sloppy translation error of the phrase was noticed and included in 'Misstellingen, in dit Werk ingeslopen.' There, the reader is instructed to read in Part 2 of the *Zedekunst* in the demonstration of proposition 40 instead of 'eindig' 'onëindig'. Nonetheless, the editors refrained from also listing this particular correction for its accompanying marginal note *s* in the list of errata. In the accompanying note *s*, it still reads in the Dutch edition 'Finitus', instead of the correct 'Infinitus'.[40]

36 'Everything that is, is in God, and must be conceived by God [by P15], and so [by P16C1] God is the cause of all things which are in him. That is the first [thing to be proven].' (G 2, at 64.1–3 and 6–7; CW, vol. 1, p. 428). For more textual differences, peculiarities, omissions, and even mistakes in the *E* edition of the *OP* and the *NS*: Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 80–95; Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. IV: *Éthique*, pp. 92–96. Thanks are due to Steenbakkers for his comments on my text on E1p18dem.

37 Akkerman (*Studies*, p. 79) claims, *pace* Gebhardt, that he failed to document both faults in E1p18 which 'occur in a text fragment (perhaps one line of the manuscript) lacking in the *OP* and is only supplied in the list of Sphalmata corrigenda at the end of the book'.

38 Ibid.

39 *OP*, p. 76.

40 Cf. Steenbakkers, 'A Seventeenth-Century Reader', pp. 240–241; CW, vol. 1, p. 475.

The strong likelihood is that all the Latin glosses of the *Zedekunst* were actually made in great haste, without its editors continuously being on the lookout for flaws now and then occurring in the Latin *Ethica* text. The glosses might even have been compiled by memory alone. In regard to other printing flaws, it should be noticed that the *Zedekunst* has for example on page 135 in line 4 'zy', instead of the correct 'wy'. Another minor error can be observed on page 167 in line 23. There, it reads 'die' instead of 'drie'. In the Dutch volume, the marginal note *d* on page 277 (l. 2), for '[d]Voorstellingen van dit deel' (E5p10s), reads incorrectly in the plural 'Propositiones'. The Latin text of the *Ethica*, though, has (p. 244, l. 15) the more freely singular 'Propositione'. This marginal note *d* is however absent in the list of errata.[41]

In the correspondence section of *De nagelate schriften*, the caption of Letter 50 shows (p. 610) an 'Augensprung' made by the compositor, not inventoried in the 'Misstellingen, in dit Werk ingeslopen.' In the caption, 'Vyftigste Brief' has mistakenly been set in type and misprinted as 'Vyftigstigste Brief'. An improvement in the same letter, printed in the Dutch volume, concerns a correction of the date of its composing, too.[42] Spinoza's letter to Jelles was apparently printed with the wrong date (p. 611): 'sGravenhage. 2. May. 1671' (The Hague, 2 May 1671). In 'Misstellingen, in dit werk ingeslopen', though, readers are informed the date of the 'Vyftigste Brief' should be remedied as '2. Junii 1674' (2 June 1674). In the *Opera posthuma*, that date is correctly printed thus: 'Hagae Comitis 2. Junii 1674' (The Hague, 2 June 1674). The date given for Letter XVII in the Latin volume, one from Oldenburg to Spinoza, is evidently also misprinted: 'Londini, 8. Octob. 1665' (London, 8 October 1665). In *De nagelate schriften*, this letter's date was corrected into the following: 'Te Londen, 8. van Jun. 1675.' (At London, 8 June 1675).[43]

With respect to dating, a final remark concerns Letter LXXIII which lacks the original autograph letter sent to Spinoza.[44] In the *Opera posthuma*, Albert Burgh's 'open letter' to Spinoza, a justification of his conversion to Roman Catholicism including a vitriolic assault on Spinoza's metaphysics and Cartesianism, is dated 'Florentiae III. Non. Sept. M D CLXXV'. This date, reading 'Florence, [ante diem] 3 Nonas Septembris 1675' (3 September 1675), contradicts the letter's date in *De nagelate schriften*: 'Te Florence, d'elfde van September, 1675' (At Florence, 11 September 1675). Neither two dates are indicated nor corrected in the lists of errata in the Latin and the Dutch volume. This irregularity cannot be explained by the ten-day difference in the Julian and the Gregorian reckoning and was probably a misreading by the one of the editors.

One would expect that the Amsterdam editors fostered good communication about which letters should be included in the twin volumes' correspondence section and which were to be rejected. That this was however not always the case is shown by an extant manuscript copy of a letter by Oldenburg to Spinoza of 11 February 1676, made by Pieter van Gent.[45] Initially, those preparing the *Opera posthuma* deemed Oldenburg's last letter fit for inclusion in the correspondence section, as becomes evident from the editorial intervention in the apograph's upper margin. On folio 1[r], Van Gent wrote the following caption, meant to be printed in the Latin volume:

> Epta 26 | Clarissimo Viro | Dom Benedicto de Spinosa | Henr. Oldenburg | S.P.[46]

Moreover, a compositor has drawn two separation lines in black ink on folios 1[v] and 2[r] to indicate where page breaks in the typeset text should be made. These editorial interventions prove Van Gent's copy of Oldenburg's last letter had been conveyed to De Paull's Tuinstraat office for printing. Nevertheless, Oldenburg's letter to Spinoza was not printed in the *Opera posthuma*. It may have been ultimately considered unfit for publication, for it lacks a response by Spinoza.

Another case of what seems poor communication between the Amsterdam editors of the posthumous writings is evidenced by a rare copy of *De nagelate schriften*, now kept by the Vereniging Het Spinozahuis in Rijnsburg. Tellingly, it concerns the aforementioned letter by Oldenburg to Spinoza of 11 February. The Rijnsburg copy shows that, at a given instance, a portion of the letter's Dutch text had actually been handled at the printer's Tuinstraat office and was already set in type.

Its printed text on page 512 gives the first part of the letter ('Vyfentwintigste Brief'), initially starting on the verso side of signature Sss4 and continued on the next two pages.[47] Because, apparently, the Amsterdam team wanted to cancel publication of that particular letter,

41 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 89. For more lapses: ibid., pp. 89–90.

42 1674.06.02, Ep 50 (G 4/238–241).

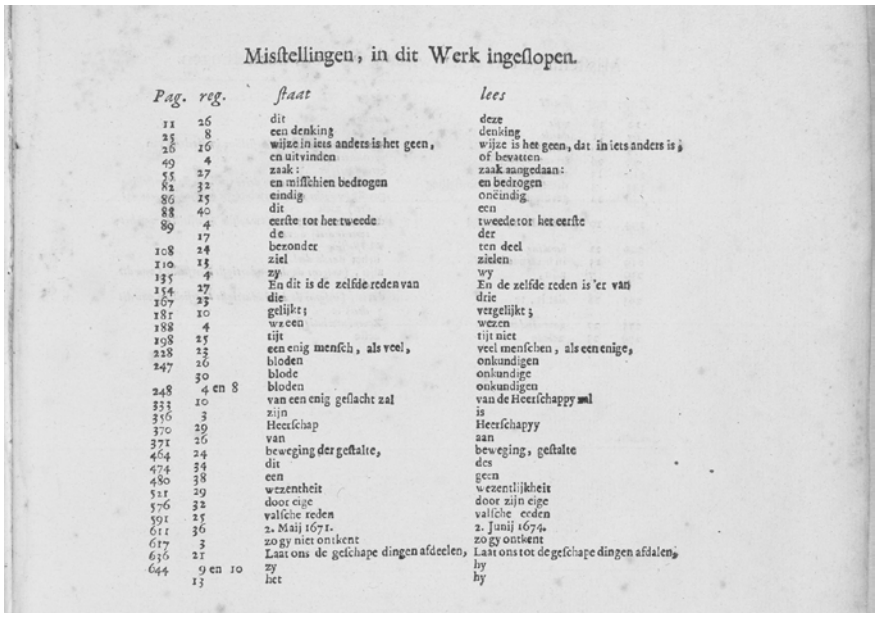
43 1675.06.08, Ep 61 (G 4/271–272).

44 1675.09.03/11, Ep 67 (G 4/281–291).

45 1676.02.11, Ep 79 (G 4/329–330).

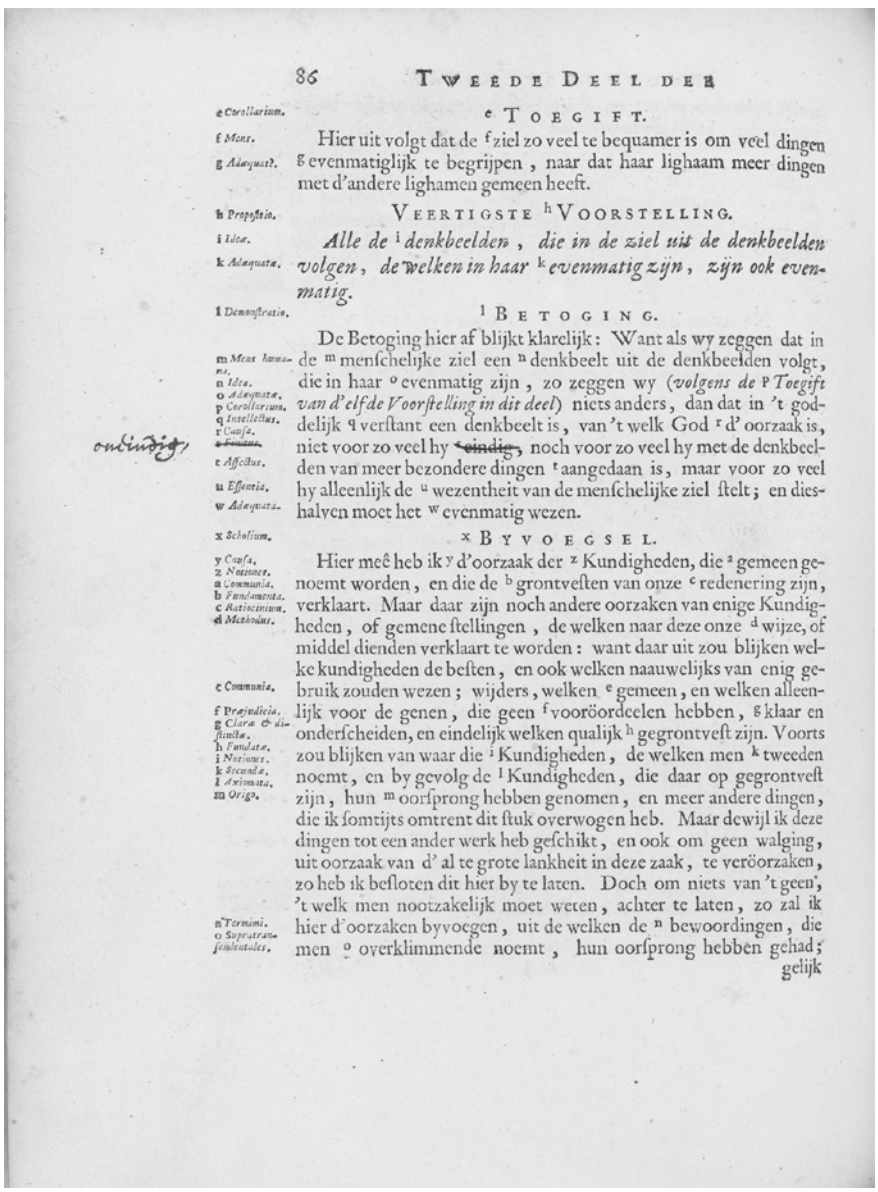
46 'Letter 26. Henry Oldenburg to the Illustrious Sir, Mister Benedictus de Spinoza. Many Greetings'. 'S.P.' patently stands for: 'Salutem Plurimam'.

47 1676.02.11, Ep 79 (G 4/329–330).



Misſtellingen, in dit Werk ingeſlopen.

Pag.	*reg.*	*ſtaat*	*lees*
11	26	dit	deze
25	8	een denking	denking
26	16	wijze in iets anders is het geen,	wijze is het geen, dat in iets anders is,
49	4	en uitvinden	of bevatten
55	27	zaak:	zaak aangedaan:
82	32	en misſchien bedrogen	en bedrogen
86	25	eindig	oneindig
88	40	dit	een
89	4	eerſte tot het tweede	tweede tot het eerſte
	17	de	der
108	24	bezonder	ten deel
110	13	ziel	zielen
135	4	zy	wy
154	27	En dit is de zelfde reden van	En de zelfde reden is 'er van
167	25	die	drie
187	10	gelijkt;	vergelijkt;
188	4	wz een	wezen
198	25	tijt	tijt niet
228	23	een enig menſch, als veel,	veel menſchen, als een enige,
247	26	bloden	onkundigen
	30	blode	onkundige
248	4 en 8	bloden	onkundigen
323	10	van een enig geſlacht zal	van de Heerſchappy zal
356	3	zijn	is
370	29	Heerſchap	Heerſchapyy
371	26	van	aan
464	24	beweging der geſtalte,	beweging, geſtalte
474	34	dit	des
480	38	een	geen
521	29	wezentheit	wezentlijkheit
576	32	door eige	door zijn eige
591	25	valſche reden	valſche eeden
611	36	2. Maij 1671.	2. Junij 1674.
617	3	zo gy niet ontkent	zo gy ontkent
636	21	Laat ons de geſchape dingen afdeelen,	Laat ons tot de geſchape dingen afdalen,
644	9 en 10	zy	hy
	13	het	hy



86 TWEEDE DEEL DER

e *Corollarium.*

e TOEGIFT.

f *Mens.*
g *Adæquatè.*

Hier uit volgt dat de f ziel zo veel te bequamer is om veel dingen g evenmatiglijk te begrijpen, naar dat haar lighaam meer dingen met d'andere lighamen gemeen heeft.

h *Propoſitio.*
i *Idea.*
k *Adæquata.*

VEERTIGSTE h VOORSTELLING.

Alle de i denkbeelden, die in de ziel uit de denkbeelden volgen, de welken in haar k evenmatig zijn, zijn ook evenmatig.

l *Demonſtratio.*

l BETOGING.

m *Mens humana.*
n *Idea.*
o *Adæquatæ.*
p *Corollarium.*
q *Intellectus.*
r *Cauſa.*
~~s *Finitus.*~~
t *Affectus.*
u *Eſſentia.*
w *Adæquatæ.*

De Betoging hier af blijkt klarelijk: Want als wy zeggen dat in de m menſchelijke ziel een n denkbeelt uit de denkbeelden volgt, die in haar o evenmatig zijn, zo zeggen wy (*volgens de p Toegift van d'elfde Voorſtelling in dit deel*) niets anders, dan dat in 't goddelijk q verſtant een denkbeelt is, van 't welk God r d' oorzaak is, niet voor zo veel hy ~~s eindig~~, noch voor zo veel hy met de denkbeelden van meer bezondere dingen t aangedaan is, maar voor zo veel hy alleenlijk de u wezentheit van de menſchelijke ziel ſtelt; en dieshalven moet het w evenmatig wezen.

x *Scholium.*

x BYVOEGSEL.

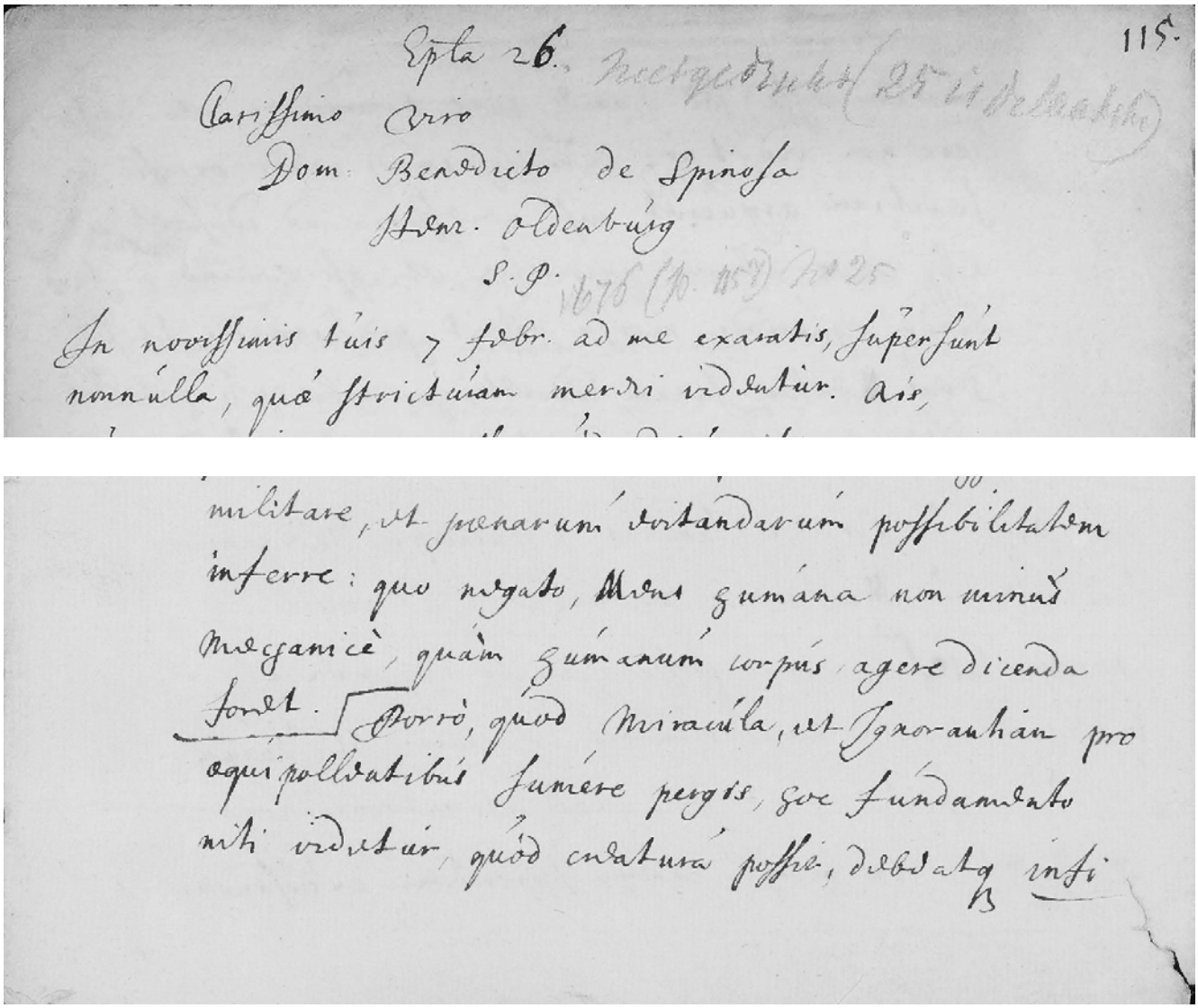
y *Cauſa.*
z *Notiones.*
a *Communia.*
b *Fundamenta.*
c *Ratiocinium.*
d *Methodus.*

Hier meê heb ik y d'oorzaak der z Kundigheden, die a gemeen genoemt worden, en die de b grontveſten van onze c redenering zijn, verklaart. Maar daar zijn noch andere oorzaken van enige Kundigheden, of gemene ſtellingen, de welken naar deze onze d wijze, of middel dienden verklaart te worden: want daar uit zou blijken welke kundigheden de beſten, en ook welken naauwelijks van enig gebruik zouden wezen; wijders, welken e gemeen, en welken alleenlijk voor de genen, die geen f vooröordeelen hebben, g klaar en onderſcheiden, en eindelijk welken qualijk h gegrontveſt zijn. Voorts zou blijken van waar die i Kundigheden, de welken men k tweeden noemt, en by gevolg de l Kundigheden, die daar op gegrontveſt zijn, hun m oorſprong hebben genomen, en meer andere dingen, die ik ſomtijts omtrent dit ſtuk overwogen heb. Maar dewijl ik deze dingen tot een ander werk heb geſchikt, en ook om geen walging, uit oorzaak van d' al te grote lankheit in deze zaak, te veröorzaken, zo heb ik beſloten dit hier by te laten. Doch om niets van 't geen', 't welk men nootzakelijk moet weten, achter te laten, zo zal ik hier d' oorzaken byvoegen, uit de welken de n bewoordingen, die men o overklimmende noemt, hun oorſprong hebben gehad; gelijk

e *Communia.*
f *Præjudicia.*
g *Claræ & diſtincta.*
h *Fundata.*
i *Notiones.*
k *Secundæ.*
l *Axiomata.*
m *Origo.*

n *Termini.*
o *Superatum ſcholaſtes.*

ILLUSTRATIONS 9.18 AND 9.19
List of errata in *De nagelate schriften* and an example of a handwritten correction made by a reader.



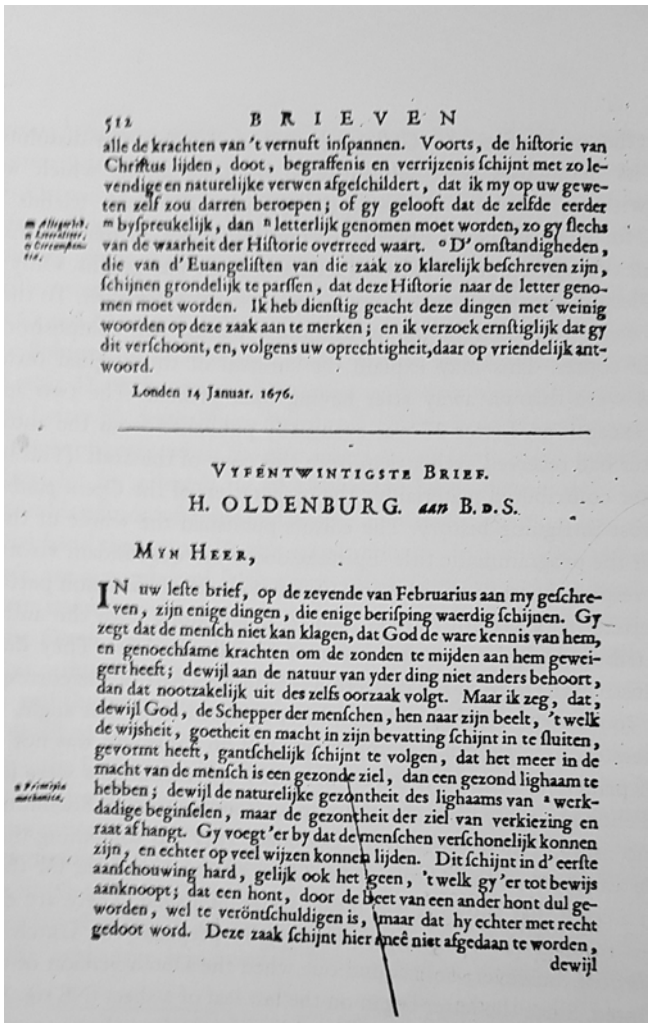
ILLUSTRATIONS 9.20 AND 9.21 Manuscript copy by Pieter van Gent of Henry Oldenburg's letter to Spinoza of 11 February 1676. The letter shows intervention by a typesetter. Later, however, the Amsterdam editors deemed the letter unfit for publication.

the presses were stopped. Next, the book's printer subsequently treated Sss4 as a *cancellandum* (cancelled leaf).[48] The leaf in the Rijnsburg copy was not removed. As a reminder for its future bookbinder it was marked, by a snip made in the page with a knife, indicating leaf Sss4 with the pages 511 and 512 mistakenly printed, had to be removed from gathering Sss. Another letter, dispatched by Spinoza to Oldenburg on 7 February 1676, was set in type to replace the text of the rejected Letter 50. The *cancellans*, the freshly-printed pages 511 and 512, now forms the first leaf of the next quire, signed Ttt.[49] Accordingly, this *cancellans* was also captioned ('Vyfentwintigste Brief'). In *De nagelate schriften*, its introductory portion is now printed on the (new) page 512.[50] Notice that, during reprinting, on the new page 512 of Ttt, the compositor also saw another demerit: Oldenburg's name had been lacking on the *cancellandum* Sss4. At the end of the 'Vierentwintigste Brief' (Letter 24) of the new page 512 the name of Spinoza's

48 The *cancellandum* survives in the book collection in: Rijnsburg, Het Spinozahuis, no. 172. Cf. *Catalogus*, 1965, p. 35, no. 173. Another copy was sold by the antiquarian bookshop 'Spinoza' in 1988 (Special List, no. 59, item 25:2). Apparently, Monnikhoff* saw a copy, too. He wrote the cancelled text on sheets bound into his own personal copy of the *NS*. In 1975, that copy was part of the private collection of Salomon S. Meyer, then owned by 'Pampiere Wereld' Antiquariaat (Amsterdam). Cf. Thomas C. Mark, 'A Unique Copy of Spinoza's *Nagelate Schriften*', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 13 (1975), pp. 81–83, p. 82. Cf.: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 41.

49 1676.02.07, Ep 78 (G 4/326–329).

50 Ibid., pp. 41–42.



512 BRIEVEN

alle de krachten van 't vernuft inſpannen. Voorts, de hiſtorie van Chriſtus lijden, doot, begraffenis en verrijzenis ſchijnt met zo levendige en naturelijke verwen afgeſchildert, dat ik my op uw geweten zelf zou darren beroepen; of gy gelooft dat de zelfde eerder m byſpreukelijk, dan n letterlijk genomen moet worden, zo gy ſlechs van de waarheit der Hiſtorie overreed waart. o D' omſtandigheden, die van d' Euangeliſten van die zaak zo klarelijk beſchreven zijn, ſchijnen grondelijk te parſſen, dat deze Hiſtorie naar de letter genomen moet worden. Ik heb dienſtig geacht deze dingen met weinig woorden op deze zaak aan te merken; en ik verzoek ernſtiglijk dat gy dit verſchoont, en, volgens uw oprechtigheit, daar op vriendelijk antwoord.

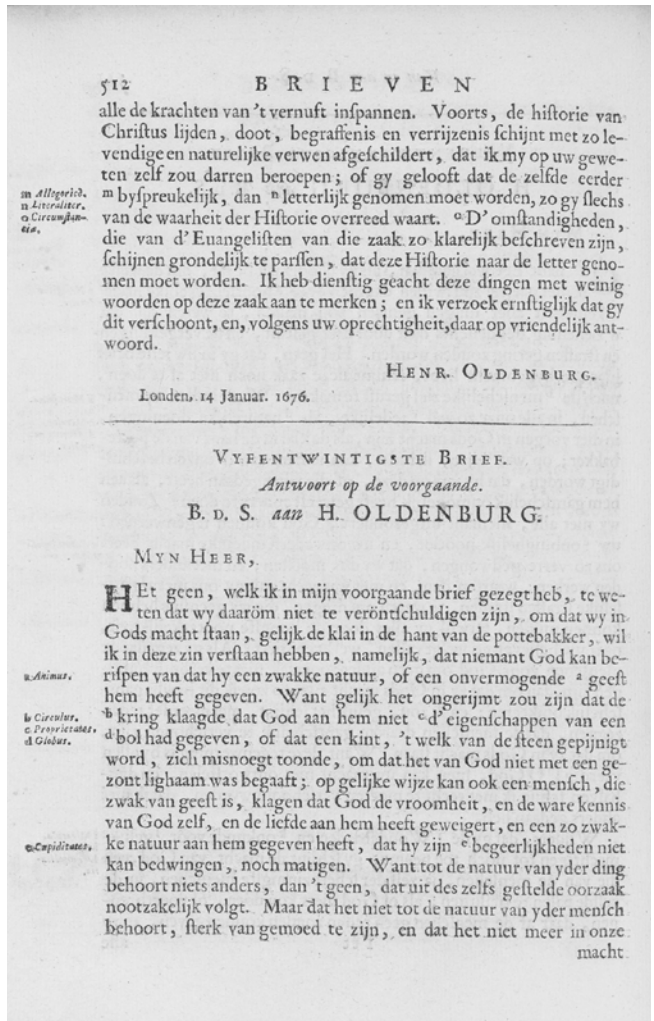
Londen 14 Januar. 1676.

VYFENTWINTIGSTE BRIEF.

H. OLDENBURG. *aan* B. D. S.

MYN HEER,

IN uw leſte brief, op de zevende van Februarius aan my geſchreven, zijn enige dingen, die enige beriſping waerdig ſchijnen. Gy zegt dat de menſch niet kan klagen, dat God de ware kennis van hem, en genoechſame krachten om de zonden te mijden aan hem geweigert heeft; dewijl aan de natuur van yder ding niet anders behoort, dan dat nootzakelijk uit des zelfs oorzaak volgt. Maar ik zeg, dat, dewijl God, de Schepper der menſchen, hen naar zijn beelt, 't welk de wijsheit, goetheit en macht in zijn bevatting ſchijnt in te ſluiten, gevormt heeft, gantſchelijk ſchijnt te volgen, dat het meer in de macht van de menſch is een gezonde ziel, dan een gezond lighaam te hebben; dewijl de naturelijke gezontheit des lighaams van a werkdadige beginſelen, maar de gezontheit der ziel van verkiezing en raat af hangt. Gy voegt 'er by dat de menſchen verſchonelijk konnen zijn, en echter op veel wijzen konnen lijden. Dit ſchijnt in d' eerſte aanſchouwing hard, gelijk ook het geen, 't welk gy 'er tot bewijs aanknoopt; dat een hont, door de beet van een ander hont dul geworden, wel te veröntſchuldigen is, maar dat hy echter met recht gedoot word. Deze zaak ſchijnt hier ancê niet afgedaan te worden, dewijl



512 BRIEVEN

alle de krachten van 't vernuft inſpannen. Voorts, de hiſtorie van Chriſtus lijden, doot, begraffenis en verrijzenis ſchijnt met zo levendige en naturelijke verwen afgeſchildert, dat ik my op uw geweten zelf zou darren beroepen; of gy gelooft dat de zelfde eerder m byſpreukelijk, dan n letterlijk genomen moet worden, zo gy ſlechs van de waarheit der Hiſtorie overreed waart. o D' omſtandigheden, die van d' Euangeliſten van die zaak zo klarelijk beſchreven zijn, ſchijnen grondelijk te parſſen, dat deze Hiſtorie naar de letter genomen moet worden. Ik heb dienſtig geacht deze dingen met weinig woorden op deze zaak aan te merken; en ik verzoek ernſtiglijk dat gy dit verſchoont, en, volgens uw oprechtigheit, daar op vriendelijk antwoord.

HENR. OLDENBURG.

Londen. 14 Januar. 1676.

VYFENTWINTIGSTE BRIEF.

Antwoort op de voorgaande.

B. D. S. *aan* H. OLDENBURG.

MYN HEER,

HEt geen, welk ik in mijn voorgaande brief gezegt heb, te weten dat wy daaröm niet te veröntſchuldigen zijn, om dat wy in Gods macht ſtaan, gelijk de klai in de hant van de pottebakker, wil ik in deze zin verſtaan hebben, namelijk, dat niemant God kan beriſpen van dat hy een zwakke natuur, of een onvermogende a geeſt hem heeft gegeven. Want gelijk het ongerijmt zou zijn dat de b kring klaagde dat God aan hem niet c d' eigenſchappen van een d bol had gegeven, of dat een kint, 't welk van de ſteen gepijnigt word, zich misnoegt toonde, om dat het van God niet met een gezont lighaam was begaaft; op gelijke wijze kan ook een menſch, die zwak van geeſt is, klagen dat God de vroomheit, en de ware kennis van God zelf, en de liefde aan hem heeft geweigert, en een zo zwakke natuur aan hem gegeven heeft, dat hy zijn e begeerlijkheden niet kan bedwingen, noch matigen. Want tot de natuur van yder ding behoort niets anders, dan 't geen, dat uit des zelfs geſtelde oorzaak nootzakelijk volgt. Maar dat het niet tot de natuur van yder menſch behoort, ſterk van gemoed te zijn, en dat het niet meer in onze macht

ILLUSTRATIONS 9.22 AND 9.23 (*Left*) Copy of *De nagelate schriften* with last leaf (Sss4) of old gathering Sss marked for cancellation (Oldenburg to Spinoza, 11 February 1676). (*Right*) Copy of the Dutch translation with its cancellans (Spinoza to Oldenburg, 7 February 1676) on the verso side of the next gathering Ttt.

London correspondent has also been set in type and is now printed in full: 'HENR. OLDENBURG'.

5 Publication, Early Distribution, Retail and Auction Prices

On 22 September/2 October 1677, Georg Hermann Schuller sent his German correspondent Leibniz (residing at the Hanoverian 'Leineschloss') a letter, bringing up in it the progress made in the production of Spinoza's posthumous works among other subjects. Optimistically, he told him that the 'posthumous [works] of Spinoza will be sold within fourteen days'.[51] Schuller also noticed in the letter that, at least in his opinion, those writings would most certainly upset many theologians who, he expected, would try to find ways to have them banished when published and offered for sale. Whether Schuller was only badly informed or the twin volumes' production had simply been delayed, is uncertain. However, at this stage, the books were probably still being processed at the Tuinstraat office, at least a portion of it. Another letter, written on 16/26 October and dispatched by Schuller to Leibniz from Amsterdam through the regular mail service via Wildeshausen ('Franco per Wilshuysen'), evinces that the printing phase was in any case entering its final stage.[52] Apart from relaying news about Oldenburg, Schuller informed his German correspondent about the following:

51 'Spinozae posthuma ad summum intra 14 dies distrahentur.' ('Ex literis N.N. ad G.G.L. 1677'; Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 239, no. 82). In the surviving extract, Schuller* is in the handwriting of Leibniz indicated as 'N.N.'

52 Oldenburg* had passed away in London on 15 September 1677.

> I will take care of sending Spinoza's posthumous [works] to you without [any] delay. Greetings.[53]

Ten days later, on 26 October/5 November, Schuller turned to Leibniz once again. On this occasion, he told him that the posthumous works were 'now printed', except for the remaining index. Possibly, also the Preface by Jelles/Meyer as well as the lists of errata were also in the process of printing. Schuller in another letter to Leibniz, written on 21/31 December, finally announced that distribution of the books 'will start as from the new year'. He also assured his German correspondent he would be one of the first to receive a copy of the posthumous works, further stating that 'I will send two or three copies, or more if you wish'.

On 15/25 January 1678, Schuller would write to Leibniz again, now telling him he had directed a freshly-printed copy of the posthumous works to Hanover. The book's intermediary was the son of one of Leibniz's Jewish contacts in Amsterdam: someone by the name of Abraham Arendt.[54] Schuller informs Leibniz thus:

> Now I add to this that the son of the Jew will depart for Hanover in about 3 or 4 days and he will hand over to you all recently published posthumous writings of Spinoza.[55]

Thus, from about January 1678, the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* were offered for sale, presumably in unopened, unbound sheets, as was general practice in those days. Each copy of the *Opera posthuma* numbers 808 pages (404 leaves). Since one copy of it consists of 101 sheets, from one ream of paper about 4.75 copies could be produced by the Tuinstraat office. At an assumed impression of five hundred copies (50,500 sheets), about 105.2 reams of paper were needed. Each unbound copy of *De nagelate schriften* numbers 540 pages (270 leaves) and consists of 67.5 sheets. Ergo, from one ream of paper about 7.1 copies could be processed; an impression of five hundred copies (33,750 sheets) would require about 70.31 reams.

It has been already stated in chapter 2 that, aside from Rieuwertsz *père*, other Amsterdam booksellers also sold copies of the posthumous works, like for instance Daniel Elzevier in 1681. Presumably, they did so through a business system called 'vermangelen' or 'mangelinge' (the interchanging by book dealers of copies in loose sheets).[56] In early 1678, the bookseller, printer, and publisher Abraham Wolfgank sold also copies in his bookshop of what appears to be the then only recently-published *Opera posthuma*. This is evinced by a letter sent by the Dutch microscopist Jan Swammerdam to the French author and natural philosopher Melchisedec Thévenot (1620–1692). On 30 March 1678, Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot the following about Wolfgank:

> I received from him the [copper]plates of the 'Ephemera' and the last book by Spinoza. If you want, I will give them to the father of Mr Guenellon, but in advance he has to write him from Paris himself.[57]

Most significantly, from another letter by Swammerdam dispatched on 7 July of the same year to Thévenot in Paris on the same subject, one can actually infer the selling price of a single copy of the *Opera posthuma*, either bound or unbound. Several weeks after having sent his first letter, the Dutch microscopist informed his French correspondent *Thévenot* he had now passed two books to Guenellon *père* and also told him what he had paid for these copies:

> I have given to the father of mister De Guenellon the 'Hortus Malabaricus' [at the price of] 9 francs, the posthumous works of Sp[inoza] cost 5 francs....[58]

53 'Spinozae posthuma sine mora Tibi mitti sedulo curabo. Vale.' (ibid., 3:2, p. 251, no. 90).

54 Cf. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 62. Biographical particulars about Abraham Arendt are not known, except for a reference ('Judaeo nominato') in a letter by Schuller* to Leibniz* of 3/13 November 1677 (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 267, no. 100).

55 '(N)unc hoc addo me Judaei Filio post 3 a 4 dies Hanoveram migraturo tradidisse scripta omnia Spinozae posthuma jam edita.' (ibid., 3:2, p. 314, no. 134). Cf.: Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 62.

56 *See* for the copies of Spinoza's works (the *PP*/*CM*, the *TTP*, the *OP*, and the *NS*) sold (1681) by Elzevier* and for the concept of 'mangelinge': Chapter 2, *Selling Spinoza's First Book*.

57 'Ik heb van hem ontfangen de platen van de Ephemera, en het laatste boek van Spinosa; soo het ue belief, ik sal die aan de vader van Mr. Guenellon geeven, maar hy selfs, dient hem eerst te schrijven van paris.' (Gerrit A. Lindeboom [ed.], *The Letters of Jan Swammerdam to Melchisedec Thévenot* [Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1975], p. 96). The reference to the first work probably concerns: Jan Swammerdam, *Ephemera vita, of afbeeldingh van's menschen leeven, ...* (Amsterdam: 1675). Meant here is an Amsterdam medical doctor and translator, called Pieter Guenellon*, who was a close friend and correspondent of the British philosopher John Locke*.

58 'J'ay donné au pere de monsieur de Guenellon le hortus malabaricus à 9 franc, les oeuvres posthumes de sp. a 5 francs....' (Lindeboom [ed.], *The Letters of Jan Swammerdam*, p. 117). The first work referred to concerns: *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus: continens Regni Malabarici apud Indos celeberrimi omnis generis plantas rariores, ...* (Amsterdam: 1678–1703). This twelve-volume work, edited by Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636–1691) and by Spinoza's pupil Johannes Casearius*, is dedicated to medicinal plant properties of flora, found in the Indian Western Ghats.

In seventeenth-century Dutch currency, 5 French francs were the equivalent of about 4 guilders, 3 *stuivers*, and 6 *penningen*. If this indeed was the Latin edition's exact selling price in 1678, Rieuwertsz *père*'s turnover would be the sum of 2,084 guilders and 8 *stuivers* for an assumed print run of five hundred copies; an impressive sum. At least 312 copies of the *Opera posthuma* and fifty-five of *De nagelate schriften* are extant in international public library holdings. How many copies of those twin volumes left De Paull's Tuinstraat printing house in late 1677 is not documented.

There is also an intimation in a late-seventeenth-century inscription scribbled in an extant copy of the *Opera posthuma*, now kept in Cambridge University Library, that the book's London selling price asked by the French refugee book dealer Pierre de Varenne (working at Exeter Exchange, in the Strand) had been 15 shillings:

> Cost 15 sh. from Mr Varenne French-bookseller near Summersethouse in ye Strand Lond. 8 July 1698.

Because of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic's rich intellectual, cultural, economic, and relatively-lenient political climate, the output, diversity, and sale of books was impressive, to say the least. Both native and immigrant-refugee book retailers and printers operated at an international scale, producing books, journals, pamphlets, broadsheets, newspapers, and the like, in a variety of languages, in their tens of thousands. Between 1601 and 1700 they produced hundreds of thousands titles, a vast quantity in Amsterdam alone. In like manner, Amsterdam developed itself into an important news and information centre in the international book trade where the flourishing printing press hardly curbed and book piracy was a boom in the economy. In this vibrant immigrant trading centre secrecy also proved, arguably, to be a powerful way of publishing provocative or heterodox works, like those by Spinoza.[59]

Despite the rare aforementioned late-seventeenth-century bookseller's retail prices, this is still a domain least known and generally, alas, not effectively exploited in their minute details in bibliographical literature. There is also another possibility to obtain at least a good indication of how copies of Spinoza's published writings were sought after and valued by readers, even decades after their path-breaking publication. Such an opportunity is offered by the prices their copies fetched at auction.

In this context, an interesting case which deserves closer inspection is a rare extant copy of an auction catalogue kept in the city archives of The Hague with has the following title: *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae, in qua eminent libri theologici, medici, historici aliique miscellanei variorum linguarum … d'Isaaci d'Andrade, Velosinos … ad diem 25. Aprilis 1701*. Printed at The Hague in 1701, the latter work concerns the auction of the private library (about 2,600 titles) of Isaac Jacques (or Jacob) d'Andrade Velosino, a Sephardic medical doctor and Hebraist philosopher who had then just recently died in The Hague.[60] This *Catalogus* abundantly proves the latter had a keen interest in both the New Philosophy and contemporary reactions to it.

Andrade Velosino must have been a prominent figure in the Dutch Sephardic community of Amsterdam. On 2 August 1675, it is documented, he held a public oration on the occasion of the opening of the new Portuguese-Israelite synagogue (located at the Jonas Daniel Meijer plein), opposite to Spinoza's birth place at the Houtgracht. It is also equally important to underline in this context that, about Andrade Velosino, it was rumoured in nineteenth-century Hebraist literature dealing with Jewish authors and physicians, that he would have written a riposte to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. That refutation, allegedly called 'Religioso contra el Theologó Politico de B. de Espinosa', is however completely shrouded in mist and was presumably another myth or hoax.[61]

The *Catalogus* of Andrade Velosino's scholarly library, sold on 25 April 1701 by book trader Abraham de Hondt (1684–1704) at The Hague *Binnenhof* or 'De Zaal', clearly shows that the Dutch-Sephardic scholar had been a fervent collector of both works by Spinoza as well as then current anti-Spinoza literature amongst many other works. The catalogue mentions eight titles relating to the Dutch philosopher's writings and during auction they were all sold to buyers. The extant copy in The Hague of the Andrade Velosino *Catalogus* is literally packed with handwritten prices placed in its outer left and right margins.

Tellingly four years later, on 23 February 1705, De Hondt would also auction a lot including two autograph letters of Spinoza to Willem van Blijenbergh at The

59 Cf. Paul Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', *European History Online*, 2015.

60 *Catalogus … d. Isaaci d'Andrada, Velosinos* (The Hague: 1701). Just one copy is known to be extant: The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief, 0402–01: 'Weeskamer 's-Gravenhage', Boedelpapieren, inv. no. 636: Jacques d'Andrada. Thanks are due to Wassenaar who informed me about the archival material preserved in the Haags Gemeentearchief. Andrade Velosino: BL.

61 Meyer Kayserling, 'Jacob de Andrade Velosino', *Hebraeische Bibliographie. Blätter für neuere und ältere Literatur des Judenthums*, 3 (May–June 1860), pp. 58–59, there at p. 58; id., *Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des auteurs juifs, de leur ouvrages espagnols et portugais et des oeuvres sur et contre les juifs et le judaïsme, …* (Strasburg: C.J. Trubner, 1890), p. 12.

Hague. The sale concerned this time the private library of a Cocceian Dordrecht minister, author, and fervent manuscript collector. He was David Flud van Giffen (1653–1701), the court chaplain of the Dutch Stadholder of Friesland and Groningen, Hendrik Casimir II (1657–1696) of Nassau-Dietz. During his lifetime Flud van Giffen befriended not only Graevius but also the Cocceian theologian Salomon van Til, the author of the 1694 *Het voor-hof der heydenen* (The Court of the Gentiles). In the latter work, Van Til attacked Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise' and he also mentions in passing the Dutch philosopher's defence allegedly written against his 1656 banishment from the synagogue.[62]

To return to the *Catalogus* of Andrade Velosino, he had in his library in any case a copy of the *Opera posthuma* which was auctioned for 3 guilders and 3 *stuivers*. Included was also an unspecified copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* which was sold at auction for 1 guilder and 14 *stuivers*. Listed in the *Catalogus* are also copies of ripostes by those contemporary Dutch adversaries who had harshly combated Spinoza publicly in print. Thus, Andrade Velosino had copies of Wittich's *Anti-Spinoza* (sold for 2 guilders) and of Kuyper's *Arcana atheismi revelata* (sold for 2 guilders and 2 *stuivers*). In addition, he formerly owned a copy of 'Censura Tractatus Theologico-politici' (sold for 13 *stuivers*), which presumably was Johannes Melchioris's *Epistola ad amicum, continens censuram*, and a copy of Van Mansveld's *Adversus anonymum theologico-politicum liber*, which fetched 1 guilder at auction. Two other copies of works by foreign detractors were Aubert de Versé's *L'Impie convaincu*, bound 'en veau' (in calf) and sold for 10 *stuivers*, plus Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (1 guilder, 19 *stuivers*), bound in a 'Franse bant'.[63]

In summary, the handwritten notes inserted in the 1701 *Catalogus*, treating of writings by and against Spinoza, prove in any case the printed posthumous writings and the 'Theological-Political Treatise' fetched good prices at auction. So, apparently, they were books still sought after. The auction catalogue furthermore reveals that also a learned scholar from within the contemporary Dutch-Sephardic New Christian diaspora itself showed a notable interest in Spinoza, be it out of curiosity, philosophical affinity, or sheer aversion.[64] Since Isaac d'Andrade Velosino and the Dutch philosopher both lived in The Hague, they may have met each other personally. That is however only a matter of speculation but, given the fact that the latter town was only very small when Spinoza resided there until 1677, that is at least a possibility.[65]

In regard to the posthumous writings', there are a few final remarks to be made on the Schuller-Leibniz correspondence which shed some more light on the twin volumes' publication. On 6 February 1678, Schuller once

62 *Catalogus variorum, insignium & rarissimorum in quovis fere eruditiones ac linguae genere manuscriptorum, …* (The Hague: A. de Hondt, 1705), p. 12 (no. 41): 'Spinosae 2. aan Blyenberg'. Letters sold for 6 guilders and 5 *stuivers* to a certain 'P. van Aa' (possibly the Leiden printer and book trader Pieter van der Aa [1659–1733]). Two letters by Spinoza to the Dordrecht retailer are now considered lost (1665.01.05, Ep 19; 1665.01.28, Ep 21). Two other letters to Van Blijenbergh* are still extant: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. Slg. Darmstädter 2a*1670 Spinoza (1665.03.13, Ep 23); Leiden, University Library, BPL 293B/Spinoza 1665 (1665.06.03, Ep 27). Born in Sneek, Flud van Giffen's ministry in Dordrecht and his assumed relations with Van Blijenbergh may explain why the Spinoza letters ended up in his private library. For Flud van Giffen: Chapter 7, n. 47. Van Til: Chapter 5, n. 52. Graevius: BL. For the apology: Chapter 5, *Other Sources*.

63 Wittich*, *Anti-Spinoza*; Kuyper*, *Arcana*; J.M. V.D.M. (Melchioris*), *Epistola ad amicum*; Van Mansveld*, *Adversus*; Aubert de Versé, *L'Impie convaincu*; Huet, *Demonstratio evangelica. See: Catalogus … d. Isaaci d'Andrada, Velosinos*, pp. 10, nos. 33–38, 27, no. 185, and 33, no. 531.

64 A similar case concerns a handwritten inventory (1715) of the private library (about 900 titles) of Jacob Cohen* (Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 2003: 'Oud Rechterlijk Archief', inv. no. 570, no. 4 ['Huishoudelijke zaken'], 22). Among many rare Judaica, Cartesian works, and works related to the Dutch Reformed Church, Cohen's inventory lists copies of the *TTP* (1670, unspecified quarto edition), T.3t (1673), and the 1673 *DRT*. Below the latter edition's description, it also reads: 'Manuscripten van den overleden over spinosa' ('Manuscripts by the deceased on Spinoza', lost). Early refutations among others: Wittich*, *Anti-Spinoza*; Van Blijenbergh*, *De waerheyt*. I am indebted to Ton Tielen who discovered Cohen's manuscript catalogue and kindly shared the biographical particulars and archival material with me through the intermediary of Rik Wassenaar.

65 Although published in 1728, another library catalogue of interest (London, British Library, S.C. 467 (8), 1,525 titles) printed at The Hague is: *Catalogus librorum quibus* (*dum viveret*) *usus est vir admodum reverendus David Nunes Torres, olim rabbinus synagogae judaicae Lusitanorum Hagae Comitis* (The Hague: 1728). David Nunes Torres (1660–1728), an Amsterdam Hebrew printer and later rabbi at The Hague, had a copy of the *TTP*, of 'B.D.S. nagelate Schriften' (fol. 16, no. 98), and about twenty copies of refutations of Spinoza, including Van Blijenbergh's *De waerheyt*. *See* for this: Yosef Kaplan, 'Spinoza in the Library of an Early Modern Dutch Sephardic Rabbi', in Camilla Hermanin and Luisa Simonutti (eds.), *La centralità del dubbio. Un progetto di Antonio Rotond* (Florence: L. Olschki, 2011), pp. 639–662, at pp. 656–660. Nunes Torres also owned a copy of the long-lost *Exame das tradições phariseas*. The rare latter work was composed by Uriel da Costa (*c.*1583/4–1640), like Spinoza also put to a *herem* by the *Ma'amad* of the Amsterdam Sephardic congregation *Talmud Torah*. Cf.: Harm den Boer and Herman P. Prins Salomon, 'Haham David Nunes Torres (1660–1728), bezitter van het enig overgebleven exemplaar van Uriël da Costa's Exame das tradições fariseas', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 28 (1994), pp. 10–98.

again dispatched a letter to his German correspondent, now informing him that a copy of the *Opera posthuma* was on its way to Hanover.[66] Schuller, in the same letter, also told Leibniz he had however been unable to include in the parcel a cover letter with his apologies that in the two language volumes' correspondence section his name was mentioned in full.[67] Schuller assured his German correspondent the editing team had included his full name, without asking however his proper consent:

> I recently sent you a copy of Spinoza's posthumous works through the Jew's son, but he was in such a hurry that I could not include a letter, with the purpose of letting you know that you should not take it ill nor impute it to me that among the letters included there is one with your name in full; and this certainly happened without my knowledge: it even remained unknown to me until I saw it in that copy; but you will make allowances for this all the easier, inasmuch as the letter contains nothing but mathematics.[68]

Schuller's next letter, one of 19/29 March 1678, shows Leibniz had probably reacted quite displeased in one of his responses now lost. Here is what Schuller writes in it about what he had done after he had discovered the careless mistake:

> I have reprehended the publisher severely for giving your name in full in Spinoza's posthumous works without consulting me, although I believe there is no danger in it, as your letter contains nothing but mathematics.[69]

Whether Schuller indeed reprimanded Rieuwertsz *père* is not known and his remark may have been a bluff, too. Nevertheless, in the same letter he readily disclosed to Leibniz the names of other correspondents cloaked in the posthumous writings, probably an attempt to repair his friendship with the German scholar:

> You could have quite carefully guessed the other [names]. The final letters, from 61 up to the penultimate, were written by myself and Tschirnhaus. Likewise, those dispatched and returned. S. [i.e.: Simon] de Vries, a merchant and Mennonite who passed away deceased many years ago, willed the author a yearly pension of 100 guilders. J. V. M. is Joh. van der Meer [and] J. J. [is] Jarig Jelles, both merchants and still alive. J. O. [is] Joh. [read: Jacob] Oosten, a surgeon from Rotterdam. Letter 56 is written to the pensionary or representative of Gorinchem Hugo Boxel, who resigned in the year 72 at the time of the alteration by the Prince of Orange. Letter 50 was written to J. J.[70]

6 An Early-Eighteenth-Century Hoax Reprint of the *Opera Posthuma*

A few remarks should finally be devoted here to an early-eighteenth-century rumour, whispering allegedly a reprint of Spinoza's posthumous writings had been published in The Hague. The hoax found its origins in the publication of an 'augmented' second French translation of *Korte, dog waarachtige levensbeschryving van Benedictus de Spinosa*, Johannes Colerus's 1705 Spinoza biography. This new translation, called *La Vie de Spinosa*, was clandestinely edited and published in 1731 in Amsterdam by Nicolas

66 Copy kept in Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (Leibniz, Marg. 30). A note in it reads (in modern handwriting): 'Angekauft bei Georg Hermann Schuller Amsterdam 22. Januar 1678 für fl. 4,10' (Purchased by Georg Hermann Schuller Amsterdam, [on] 22 January 1678 for fl. 4,10). Very likely, this note was once to be found on the book's pastedown or free endpapers before the Hanoverian copy was rebacked. The copy has original marginal remarks in the handwriting of Leibniz*. Schuller: *BL*.

67 Leibniz* to Spinoza, 1671.10.05, Ep 45 (*OP*, LI, pp. 559–560; *NS*, 'Eenenvyftigste Brief', p. 612; G 4/230–231); Spinoza to Leibniz, 1671.11.09, Ep 46 (*OP*, LII, pp. 560–561; *NS*, 'Tweeenvyftigste Brief', p. 613; G 4/231–234).

68 'Misi tibi nuper exemplar Spinozae posthumorum per Judaei filium, quibus literas festinationis ipsius causa jungere nequivi, eum in finem destinatas, quo tibi notum facerem ne aegre ferre mihive imputare libeat, contineri in annexis epistolis unam cum expresso nomine tuo; certe me inscium hoc factum, utpote quem hoc tamdiu latuit donec in hoc ipso exemplare viderim; veniam autem eo facilius dabis, siquidem nil praeter mathematica contineat.' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 342, no. 138). In the *OP*/*NS*, two letters mention the German scholar with his full name: Leibniz to Spinoza, 1671.10.05 (G 4/230–231); Spinoza to Leibniz, 1671.11.09 (G 4/231–233). For a third letter (< 1672.03.25*) possibly sent to Spinoza, *see* further: Chapter 3, n. 133.

69 'Editorem ob Tuum in posthumis Spinosae sine meo rogatu expressum nomen acriter reprehendi, quamvis id periculi expers credam, cum praeter Mathematica nil contineant literae tuae; ....' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 2:1, p. 611, no. 171; 3:2, p. 359, no. 150).

70 'Accurate satis de aliorum divinasti. Ultimae a 61. usque ad penultimas à me et Tschirnh. simul datae et redditae. S. de Vries Mercator et Mennonista jam ante annos aliquot obiit, et Legatum 100 Imperialium quotannis Authori legavit. J.V.M. est Joh. van der Meer. J.J. Jarigh Jellis uterque Mercator adhuc in vivis. J.O. Joh. Oosten Chirurgus Roterodamensis. Epist. 56. scripta est ad pensionarium sive Syndicum Gorcomiensem Hugonem Buxen Mutatione Principis Auriaci ab officio Ao 72 depositum. Epistola 50. ad J.J. data.' (ibid., 3:2, pp. 359–360).

Lenglet Dufresnoy (1674–1755), a French scholar.[71] The latter's translation was set together in one volume with the *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinosa*, a compilation of the pro-Spinoza 'Essai de métaphysique' by Henri De Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), and two other texts, by François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) and François Lamy (1636–1711). The *Réfutation* also comprised the second edition of Orobio de Castro's anti-Spinoza retort *Certamen philosophicum*.[72]

Colerus's work, according to the title-page of the 1731 translation by Lenglet Dufresnoy, was augmented with 'many particularities taken from a manuscript biography of this philosopher, made by one of his friends', a remark to be dismissed as sheer fiction. In *La Vie de Spinosa*, it is rumoured about the *Opera posthuma* the following:

> And since several years these same posthumous writings were reprinted in The Hague [bearing] the date of the edition of 1677. One can recognize this new edition in that it is on a bit larger paper than the edition of 1677 and [in that] the type appears a bit more nursed, but it is of the same size. It was Mr Gosse, bookseller in The Hague, who has published this last edition.[73]

Soon enough, in 1732, the 'second edition' hoax was readily debunked in the *Journal litéraire*, a magazine published in The Hague by booksellers and publishers Pierre Gosse I (*c.*1676–1755) and Jean Neaulme (1694–1780). In the tenth review (included in volume 19), discussing the combined edition of *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinosa* with *La Vie de Spinosa*, the review's unnamed writer (Gosse?) made some remarks about the alleged new edition of the *Opera posthuma* in a footnote. It is noticed in it that the claim of the author who had extended and republished Colerus's biography and had also rumoured Gosse had put to print Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* afresh, was an outright lie. Obviously, because the work was still prohibited under Socinian legislation such an allegation may have landed the former bookseller into hot water. According to the *Journal litéraire*, the editor of Colerus's biography had claimed that

> … the new edition of the *Opera posthuma* of Spinoza, as the editor of this *Vie* says on page 105, was issued in The Hague, by Gosse, with the old date 1677, and in a somewhat larger quarto size. Yet, Gosse strongly maintains [this] is only a chimera, and that it has never existed except in the slanderous addition of the corruptor of this *Vie*.[74]

On 25 July 1729 and following days, it is documented in an auction catalogue issued by Pierre Gosse I and Jean Neaulme, that they together put up for auction a large number of books in The Hague. One of the copies offered for sale was the *Opera posthuma*, bound together with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*. In the comment, the lot is referred as 'rarus', thus indicating the then already bibliophilistic importance of these books.[75]

7 The 'Opera' Portrait and the 'Opera Omnia' Title-Page

An engraved frontispiece portrait of Spinoza, an oval with a poem in a tablet below, is known to have been bound in in eighteen surviving copies of the *Opera posthuma*. Three other extant compound copies contain the portrait as

71 For the first French translation of *La Vie de Spinosa*: Chapter 5, n. 17. For background on Dufresnoy: Geraldine Sheridan, *Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy and the Literary Underworld of the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1989).

72 For Boulainvilliers and his 'Essai de métaphysique' (entitled 'Essai de métaphysique dans les principes de B. de Sp.' in most of the clandestinely circulated manuscripts of the work): Geraldine Sheridan, 'Aux Origines de l'*Essai de Métaphysique* du comte De Boulainviller: Le *Korte verhandeling*', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 321–332. For Boulainvilliers's contribution to the Enlightenment debate on Judaism, *see* further: Stefano Brogi, *Il cerchio dell' universe, Libertinismo, Spinozismo e filosofia della natura in Boulainvilliers* (Florence: L. Olschki, 1993). For Orobio de Castro's rebuttal: Chapter 3, n. 95.

73 'Et dupuis quelques années ces mêmes Ouvrages Posthumes ont été réimprimé à la Haye, sur la date de l'Edition de 1677. On ne reconçoit cette nouvelle Edition qu'en ce qu'elle est d'un papier un peu plus grand que l'Edition de 1677. & que le caractere en paroit un peu plus nourri, quoique de la même grosseur. C'est le Sr. Gosse Libraire de la Haye qui a donné cette derniere édition.' (anon., *Refutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinosa. Avec La Vie de Spinosa, écrite par m. Jean Colerus*, …, Nicolas Lenglet Dufresnoy [ed.], [Brussels (Amsterdam): 1731], pp. 104–105). The hoax was taken seriously by Siegmund J. Baumgarten. The latter referred to the sham reprint in: *Nachrichten von einer hallischen Bibliothek* (Halle: 1750), pp. 114–115. For background on the *Refutation des erreurs* and the 'Essai de mètaphysique': Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 565–571.

74 '… *la* Nouvelle Edition *des* Opera Posthuma *de Spinosa, que l'Editeur de cette Vie dit, page 105, avoir été faite à la Haye, par* Gosse, sur *l'ancienne* Datte de 1677, & *d'un Format in quarto* un peu plus grand; *mais, que Gosse soutient fortement n'être qu'une Chimere, & n'avoir existé que dans l'Addition calomnieuse du Corrupteur de cette Vie.*' (*Journal littéraire*, 'Article X', 1732, vol. 19, p. 186). Cf. further: Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, p. 571.

75 *Catalogus librorum compactorum bibliopoli Petri Gosse et Joannis Neaulme.*, … (The Hague: 1729), no. 179.

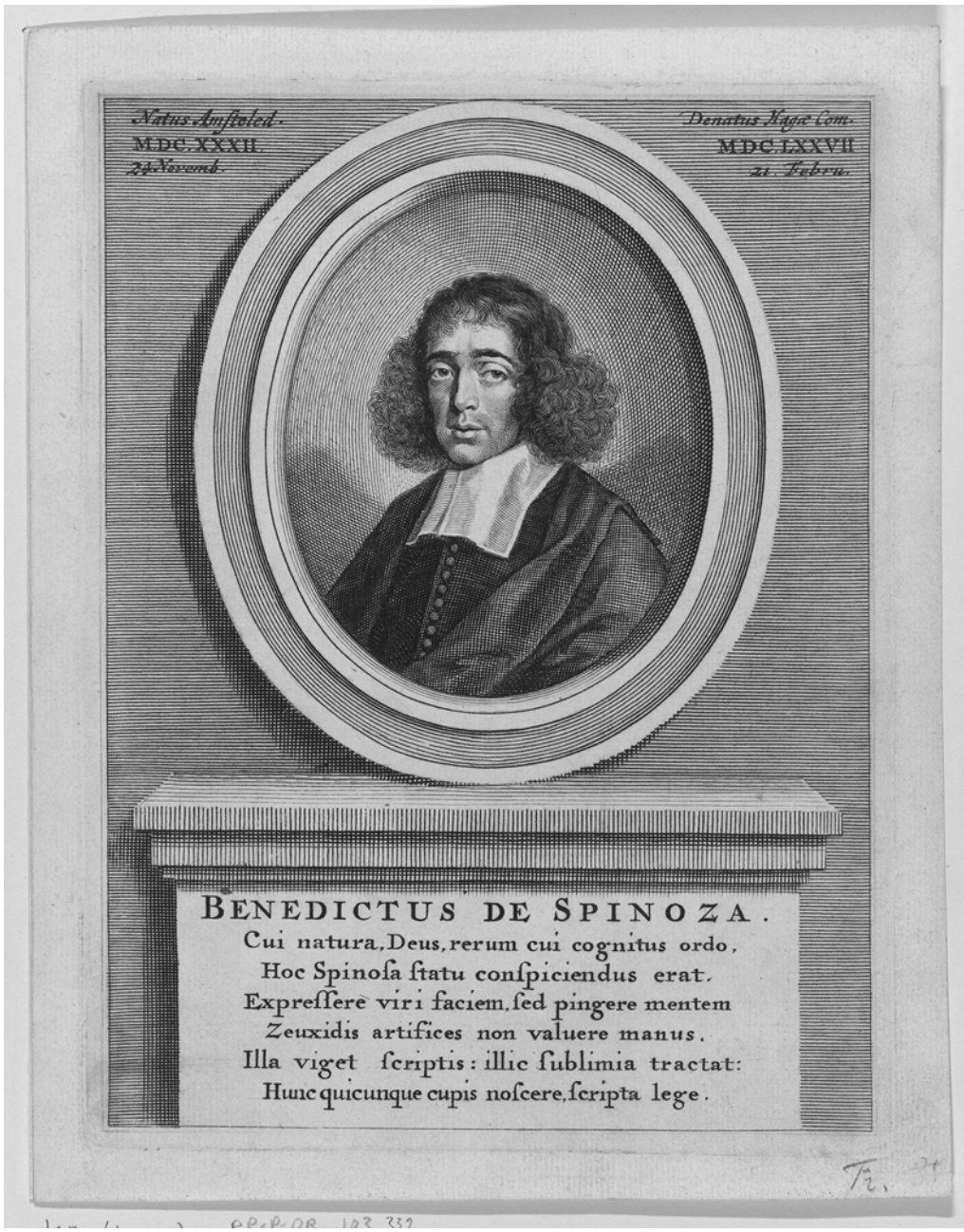


ILLUSTRATION 9.24
Engraved 'Opera' portrait (1680) of Spinoza in oval with Latin text in tablet below.

well. In eleven extant copies of *De nagelate schriften*, the engraving was also bound in, but with the Latin poem's Dutch version printed on a slip of paper, partly or fully pasted over the Latin tablet text. This elegantly-cut 'Opera' portrait, accompanied by a poem in Latin, was made by an unknown engraver after a now-lost picture or painting of Spinoza in around 1680. Perhaps, I would like to suggest, this artist may be identified as the Dutch engraver Lambert Visscher, or some other artist working in or around his workshop.[76] The engraved 'Opera' portrait's

76 193×144 mm. Cf. Rudi E.O. Ekkart, *Spinoza in beeld. Het onbekende gezicht* (Voorschoten: Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 1999), no. 7. Stolle/'Hallmann' in their travel diaries claim the portrait was produced 'three or four years' after Spinoza's death. Rieuwertsz* *fils*, according to their journals, had refused to tell them who was the tablet's poem's author or was unaware of the latter's identity. He did however tell them the friends had disagreed about the exact text (ms. A, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 95). My suggestion, that perhaps Visscher (or some other unnamed engraver connected to his workshop) may have executed the portrait, is inspired by the comparison of the 'Opera' portrait with other surviving engraved and signed portraits produced by the latter. *See* for instance: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. RP-P-1904–1054 (Charles Drelincourt), RP-P-OB-62.032 (Johannes Crellius), RP-P-OB-62.033 (Johannes Frobenius), RP-P-OB-62.037 (Jonas Slichting van Bukowicz), RP-P-OB-62.044 (Nicolaas Tulp), RP-P-1908–3942 (Fausto Paolo Sozzini), RP-P-1908–3940 (Ludovicus

ILLUSTRATION 9.25
Dutch 'version' of the engraved 'Opera' portrait (1680) of Spinoza.

printer is a mystery, too. In all likelihood, Jan Rieuwertsz *père* commissioned Israel de Paull to process the portrait on his presses but there is also the distinct possibility it has been turned out in the engraver's workshop.

Perhaps, a previously-mentioned bill, sent by an assistant of the Amsterdam bookseller, printer, and publisher Daniel Elzevier to Nicolaas Heinsius the Elder may provide some relevant information about the 'Opera' portrait's production process. By then, arguably, the posthumous works had already been printed, with the index and possibly also with the lists of errata only remaining.[77] According that bill, dated 25 October 1677, Elzevier paid the Amsterdam engraver Lambert Visscher the sum of 75 guilders for making a copper etching of Johannes Rutgersius in an oval with a poem in a tablet below it. Worthy of note is that the Rutgers portrait is as rich in detail as the portrait depicting Spinoza.

Wolzogen*), RP-P-OB-62.040 (Alexander Morus), and RP-P-OB-62.036 (Stanislaus Lubienitzky). My theory is not based on in-depth research or historical evidence, but most certainly needs further investigation. For Visscher, *see* further: Chapter 2, *Illustration Programme*.

77 For the correspondence of Elzevier* with Heinsius* on the Rutgers portrait, *see*: Chapter 2, *Illustration Programme*.

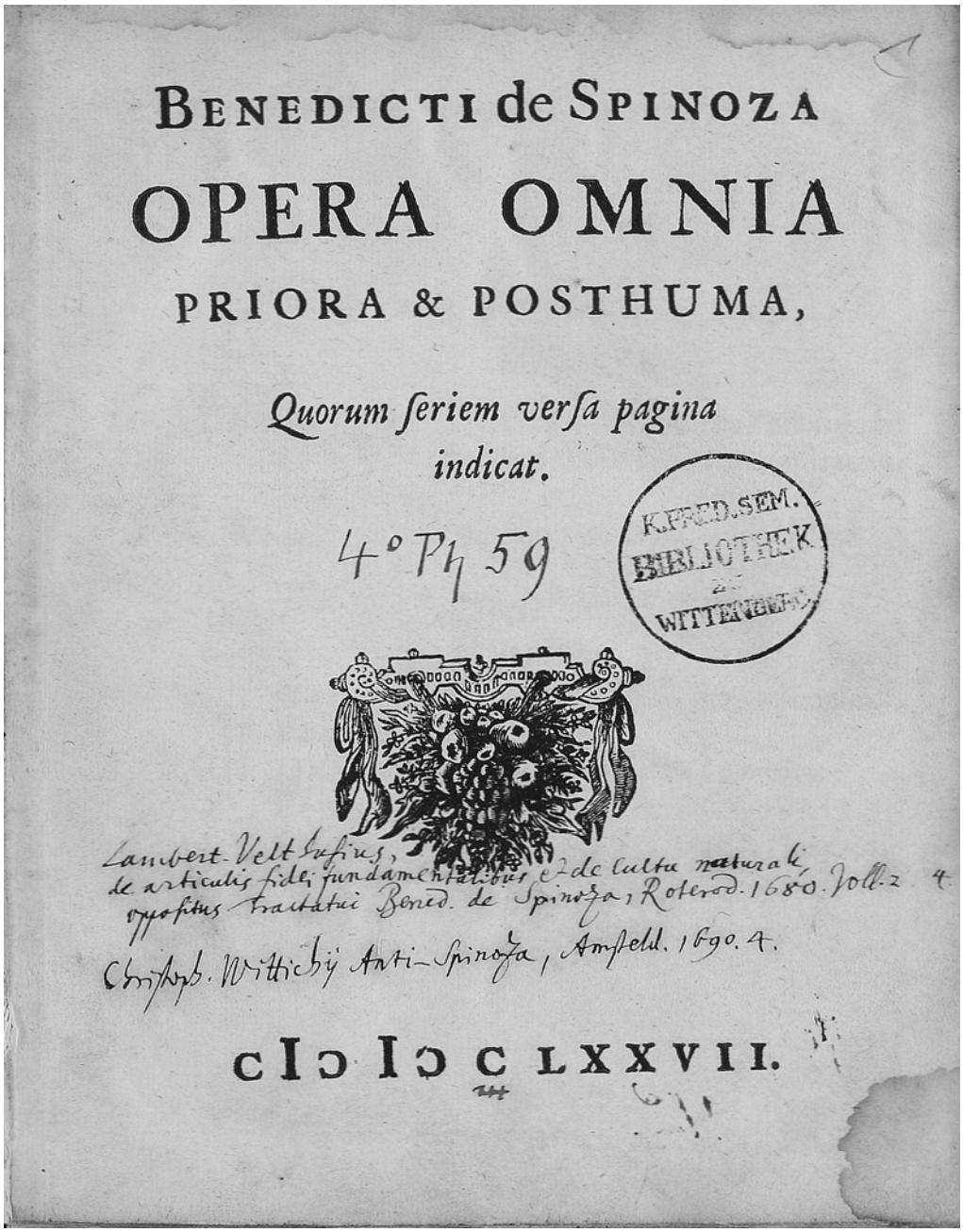
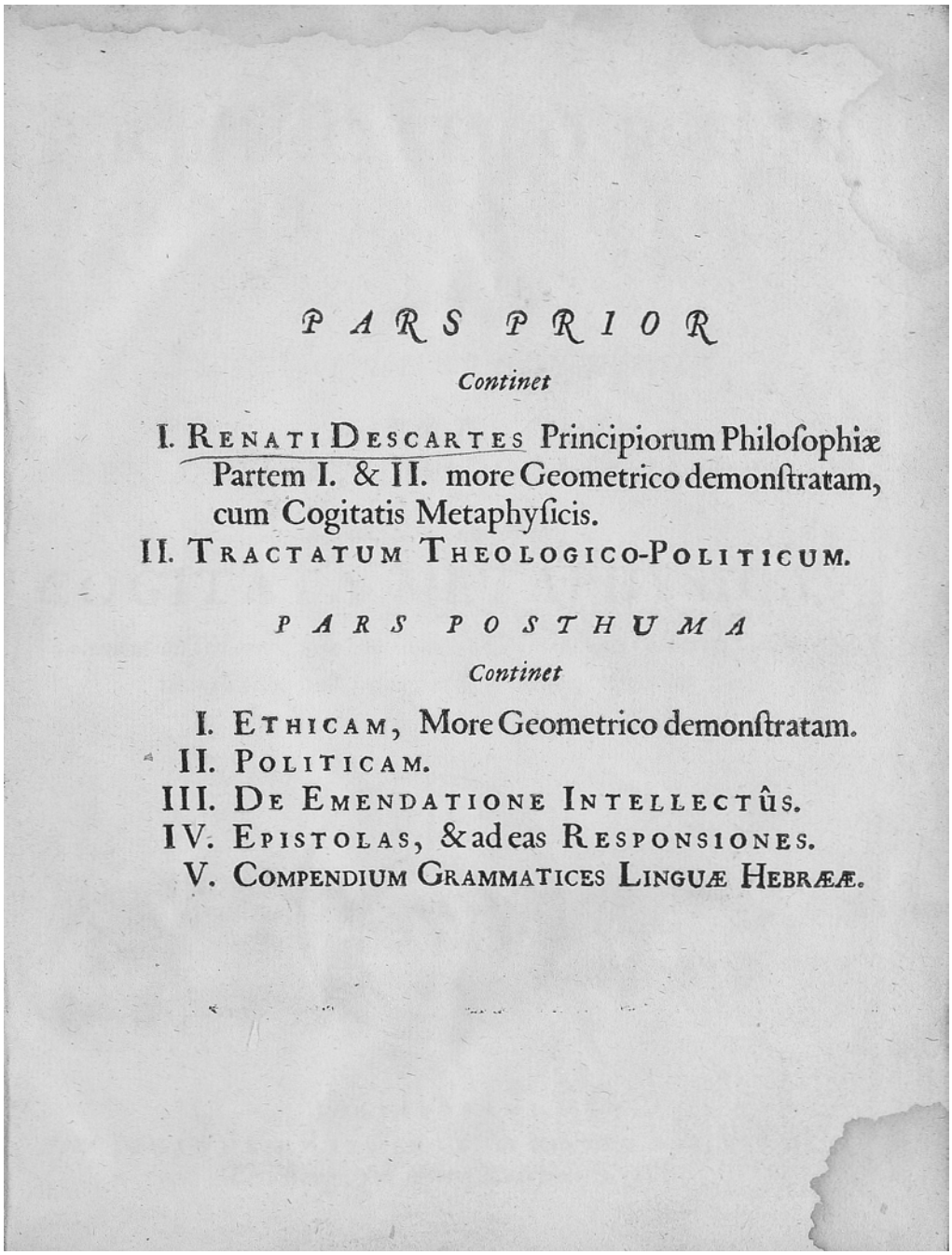


ILLUSTRATION 9.26
'Opera omnia' title-page with Spinoza's full name. The title-page is printed on the first recto side of a fold.

Another letter by Elzevier, written about three weeks before, on 7 October, also revealed that after Visscher had engraved the portrait in the oval on the plate, another engraver had cut the poem's accompanying letters. As evinced by a letter of Elzevier to Heinsius of 17 November, the engraving of Rutgersius (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-62.043) took the two artists nearly one month to complete. I like to conjecture that the 'Opera' portrait, at least in theory, may have been executed in the same manner, and, possibly, by the same men, too.

A few extant copies of the Latin edition of the *Opera posthuma* prove to have been deliberately united in one volume with copies of Spinoza's *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. In those extant copies, the foregoing printed works are arranged in chronological order. The 1663 adumbration of Descartes and the 'Theological-Political Treatise' are included in one portion called 'Pars prior'; the *Opera posthuma* is contained in a part entitled 'Pars posthuma'.

Interestingly, for these united works Rieuwertsz *père* asked Israel de Paull to print a 'general' umbrella title-page (a fold with two printed recto pages), which is decorated with his favourite large yoke ornament (fol. 1r) and a special



PARS PRIOR

Continet

I. RENATI DESCARTES Principiorum Philoſophiæ
Partem I. & II. more Geometrico demonſtratam,
cum Cogitatis Metaphyſicis.
II. TRACTATUM THEOLOGICO-POLITICUM.

PARS POSTHUMA

Continet

I. ETHICAM, More Geometrico demonſtratam.
II. POLITICAM.
III. DE EMENDATIONE INTELLECTÛS.
IV. EPISTOLAS, & ad eas RESPONSIONES.
V. COMPENDIUM GRAMMATICES LINGUÆ HEBRÆÆ.

ILLUSTRATION 9.27
Table of contents following the 'Opera omnia' title-page (but not 'versa pagina'). The table of contents, mentioning *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and the *Opera posthuma*, is printed on the second recto side of a fold.

table of contents (fol. 2[r]).[78] The umbrella title-page is now known to be contained in six rare copies still extant.[79] Its typography abundantly shows the title-page was part of the posthumous works' printing process. Since Spinoza's full name appears on the 'Opera omnia' title-page, the fold must have been produced for copies intended for

78 'This general title is a fold, with its two text pages (title and contents list printed on one side of the paper), making them recto and verso of two different leaves in spite of the claim on the title that the other is printed versa pagina.' (Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza', p. 253). Gerritsen's conclusion is partly wrong: both are printed on the fold's recto side. The umbrella title-page and the table of contents are not bound in, but stuck on.

79 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, University Library, Rare Books B3953 1677; Marburg, Philipps-Universität, University Library, 095 XIV B 64; New York (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary, RB431:6. Recently, I came across two other copies hitherto unknown: Towson/Baltimore (MD), Goucher College, B3955 .A18 1677; Lutherstadt Wittenberg, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars, 4Ph59-3. *See*: Boehmer, 'Spinozana', p. 152. Another copy was offered for sale in May 2014 at the London International Antiquarian Book Fair by Burgverlag (Vienna). Cf. *Catalogue Burgverlag* (2014), no. 90. This copy, now dispersed, is probably in private hands. No copies fitted with the 'umbrella' title-page are extant in Dutch library holdings.

close friends, trusted admirers, or even sponsors, only. To put it differently, friends and supporters of bookseller and publisher Rieuwertsz *père* and the members of the Amsterdam editorial team who diligently and faithfully had dedicated themselves to preparing Spinoza's posthumous writings for the press.

8 Prohibition of the Posthumous Writings

Spinoza's printed posthumous writings were bad news once again. Already in the early 1670s, his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* had caused a maelstrom of negative sentiments and vitriolic ripostes by outraged theologians and other scholars in the Dutch Republic and beyond. Not surprisingly, also the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*, Spinoza's *Ethica* in particular, met with the strongest opposition. Zealous acting officers of several disconcerted Dutch Reformed church councils lodged formal petitions of complaints about the twin volumes, as could be expected, requesting the provincial Hof van Holland to ask for those books' banning, too.

The first known officially-recorded reaction by a Dutch ecclesiastical college was the straightforward condemnation of Spinoza's posthumous works by the *Kerkenraad* of Leiden on 4 February 1678. From the consistory proceedings, it can be inferred that its residing president minister, Petrus van Staveren, had informed the church council meeting he got hold of a copy of the *Opera posthuma* ('hebbende in handen gekregen seecker boeck, geintituleert Opera Posthuma van eenen B.D.S.'). Subsequently, he had also read aloud some striking examples of passages ('verscheijde staaltjes') from the book he thought were offensive.[80] The consistory's acts report the work was blasphemous and conclude decidedly

> … that it is a book, which perhaps from the beginning of the world up to now, was unequalled in its godlessness and is aiming at removing religion by putting on the throne atheism instead….[81]

As a result, with the objective 'to stop these unheard horrors' ('sulcke ongehoorde gruwelen te steuten'), the Leiden consistory had proposed its members were to request the town's Burgomasters to have all copies of the work seized ('dat dat boeck wiert opgehaalt'). In this way, the necessary action to ban Spinoza's posthumous writings was set in motion. For this reason, the *Kerkenraad* charged pastor Van Staveren and the consistory's 'scriba' (its official scribe) to take all the steps needed to have 'that harmful and poisonous book' ('dat schadelijck en vergiftich boeck') removed from the local bookstores' shelves.

Having been assigned to this task on 11 February 1678, those acting officers told the meeting they had done their utmost duty and reported the Leiden Burgomasters had responded to their request positively. According to the acts of the *Kerkenraad*,

> … they [the consistory's acting officers] had been given the answer the noble lords were to seize the book and would figure out [how] it could be banned in a decree of the Noble Great Powers.[82]

On the same day, 11 February, the *Kerkenraad* of The Hague also warned its ministers to guard against 'the freshly-published books of Spinoza, both in Latin, and in Dutch' ('de nieuw uijtgekomen Boeken van Spinosa, soo int Latijn, als in duyts'). During a meeting of the latter consistory, the decision was taken that David Amya, their pastor, was to approach the provincial High Court of Holland with the urgent request 'that the distribution of the same books will be stopped as much as possible' ('dat het voort-stroijen der selven boeken, soo veel mogelyk is gestuijt warden').[83] Several months later pastor Amya had, according to the proceedings of the South Holland Synod (11–23 July 1678), submitted various upsetting passages from Spinoza's posthumous writings to the Hof van Holland, together with a written report containing the complaints of the *Kerkenraad* of The Hague.[84] Almost instantly, according to the Synod's acts, the provincial Hof

80 Van Staveren: BL.

81 '… dat het is een boeck, dat misschien van den beginne der werelt af tot nu toe in godtloosheid sijn weerga niet gehadt en heeft, als dat alle Godtsdienst tracht wech te nemen, en de Atheisterie op den throon te setten….' (Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken, 0511B: 'Inventaris van het archief van de Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden, [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta', inv. no. 6, 4 February 1678; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 380, no. 171).

82 '… dat ze daar op tot antwoort hadden gekregen, dat haar A.A. dat boeck souden doen ophalen en soecken uittewerken, dat het bij decreet van haar E. Groot Mogentheden verboden wiert.' (Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken, 0511B: 'Inventaris van het archief van de Kerkeraad van de Nederlands Hervormde gemeente te Leiden, [1584–1590] 1620–1950 [1973]', ms. 'acta', inv. no. 6, 11 February 1678; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 381, no. 172).

83 The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief, 0203–01: 'Kerkeraad van de Hervormde Gemeente te 's-Gravenhage', ms. 'Registers van handelingen van de bijzondere kerkeraad (predikanten en ouderlingen), 1620–1948', inv. no. 4/131, 11 February 1678 (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 382, no. 173). Amya: BL.

84 Date uncertain.

van Holland had given out instructions to raid the town's local bookstores:

> … upon which the honourable Court had all copies of the aforementioned book seized from all shops in The Hague on the same day.[85]

Soon after the publication of Spinoza's posthumous writings, more official complaints were made about the twin volumes. During a meeting (17 March 1678) of the States of Holland it was reported by Grand Pensionary Gaspar Fagel that acting deputies of the South and North Holland Synod had made complaints ('dat de Gedeputeerden des Zuydt ende Noordt-Hollandtschen Sinodi, hadden geklaeght') about the books.[86] They also had passed to Fagel some highly-alarming passages from those works in a report made in Dutch. Alarmed by complaints about the dissemination of the *Opera posthuma*, Fagel informed the States of Holland about this and two other works the following:

> … that since a while here in this country certain books are printed, published, sold, and peddled, entitled *Opera posthuma* by Spinoza, *Arcana atheismi* by Kuyper, and *Dissertatio de Spiritu Sancto* by someone called C.C.S. That [it should be noticed that] the aforementioned books, and in particular that of the aforesaid Spinoza, are promoting a great number of profane, blasphemous and atheistic theorems….[87]

Both Synods, according to the proceedings of 17 March, urgently wanted the States of Holland to put the distribution of the *Opera posthuma* to a halt. As a result, the States' meeting took the decision to install a special committee composed of 'Leiden regents' ('Heeren van Leyden', members of the town's civic administration presumably) and States' representatives, charged with 'the matters of theology' ('de saecken van de Theologie'). That committee was instructed to investigate the matter and finally come up with a binding advice what should be done with the complaints that had been tabled by the South and North Holland Synods.[88]

On 16 June 1678, two curators of the board of Leiden University, Frederik van Dorp and Johannes van Thilt, contacted the local Leiden town administration.[89] They informed the magistracy that the university board had been greatly appalled by those 'godless and heterodox propositions and conclusions' ('goddeloose ende heterodoxe stellingen en conclusien'), as expounded in Spinoza's posthumous works. In addition, they also told the Leiden magistracy that, in their opinion, condemning 'the Opera posthuma of Spinosa' as heretical in a public decree was not enough. The Dutch philosopher's posthumous works, according to the university's board, were

> … capable of perverting the entire Christian religion and many of the articles of faith and to pave the way for the ignorant populace toward absolute atheism….[90]

The Leiden University's board strongly believed that, only for this reason, all copies of Spinoza's posthumous writings had to be seized and subsequently burned. In addition, the board also suggested the Leiden magistrates to criminalize and fine everyone in town who had copies of the book:

> … that, furthermore, the lords Burgomasters of Leiden are requested (just as they are now petitioned by this [request], addressing the aforesaid matter with a view to bring up these issues in a report during the meeting of the aforementioned Honourable Great Powers) not only to condemn the aforementioned book publicly. [They should also] burn all copies, wherever they may be found, for being a

85 '… waer op het Ed: Hof alle de exemplaren van t gemelde boek noch dien dagh uyt alle de winckelen van Den Hage hadden doen ophalen.' (South Holland Synod resolutions, 11–23 July 1678, art. 9; quoted in: Willem P.C. Knuttel [ed.], *Acta der particuliere synoden van Zuid-Holland 1621–1700* [6 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1908–16], vol. 5, p. 237).

86 Fagel: BL.

87 '… dat zedert eenigen tijdt herwaerdts hier te Lande gedruckt, uytgegeven, verkocht ende gedebiteert wierden seeckere Boecken, geintituleert, *Opera posthuma Spinosae, Arcana Atheismi Cuperi*, ende *Dissertatio de Spiritu Sancto*, sonder ander naem als C.C.S. Dat de voornoemde Boecken, ende sonderlingh dat van den voornoemden Spinosa continueerden seer veele prophane, blaspheme ende atheistice stellingen….' (The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 3.01.04.01: 'Inventaris van het archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1572–1795', inv. no. 111,101: 'Gedrukte resoluties van de Staten van Holland over de jaren 1524–1795, met tot 1621 ook de resoluties van de Gecommitteerde Raden', 17 March 1678; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 382, no. 174). The second work is: Kuyper*, *Arcana*. The third is: Christophorus C.S. (Christophorus Christophori Sandius), *Problema de spiritu sancto. An non per illum sanctorum Angelorum genus intelligi possit?*, … (Cologne: 1678).

88 Ibid.

89 Van Dorp/Van Thilt: BL.

90 '… bequaem om de geheele Christelycke religie en veele van de artyculen van 't gelooff te subverteren en voor eenvoudige menschen den wegh te banen tot een absoluit atheismus, ….' (quoted in: Molhuysen [ed.], *Bronnen*, vol. 3, p. 337).

> godless and heterodox treatise in the most humiliating manner. [Moreover] everyone should be forbidden, on a high fine, to have the same treatise [in their possession]. Upon [the Burgomasters' decree's] publication [it should] be announced immediately that all copies, be it bound or unbound, were to be handed in to the towns' magistracy should people own [such] aforementioned copies.[91]

On the same day, Leiden representatives sprang into action immediately. Subsequently, they notified a meeting of the States of Holland that the North and South Holland Synods had made grievous complaints about the printing and sale of 'a certain book entitled "Opera posthuma" by Spinoza' ('seecker Boek, geintituleert "Opera posthema" Spinosae'). Worried, those Leiden representatives pointed to 'so many profane blasphemous and atheist theorems' ('soo veel prophane blaspheme, ende Atheistische stellingen') contained in the book and demanded the work should be immediately banned and seized. Because on 17 March the States of Holland had already put the matter in the hands of a special Leiden committee, consisting of local magistrates and States' representatives responsible for theological issues, the Leiden acting representatives therefore requested the States of Holland on 16 June whether not

> … the aforesaid lords professors of sacred theology at Leiden could also be added [to the committee] to examine the aforementioned book and its contents, and to assist the meeting with their considerations and advice….[92]

Decided, the States of Holland however turned down the Leiden proposal and resolved that only the members that had been assigned to the States' special committee would be authorized to bring out a final advisory judgement about Spinoza's posthumous works. More precisely, 'without participation of somebody from the professors of the aforementioned department' ('sonder assumptie van yemandt uyt de Professoren van de voornoemde Faculteyt').[93] This remark may seem odd but, possibly, the States of Holland intentionally rejected the Leiden request and took this decision because their Voetian delegates mistrusted the theologians of Leiden University. Perhaps they feared that, when those Leiden professors were added to the committee, they would thwart or even prevent publication of a public decree proscribing the latter's posthumous works, because of their veiled sympathies for the philosophies of Descartes and Spinoza.[94]

One week later, on 25 July 1678, by order of Dutch Stadholder William III, the Provincial States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland in an official placard suppressed the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*. The decree was called:

> Placaet van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslant, tegens het Boeck geintituleert B. D. Spinosa Opera Posthuma. (Placard of the Lords States of Holland and West-Friesland, Against the Book Entitled B. D. Spinosa 'Opera Posthuma').

The States' decree, posted and read aloud everywhere across the Province of Holland, proscribed any trading, selling, printing, as well as the translation of the posthumous writings. All trespassing the placard would be heavily fined accordingly. The *Placaet*, based upon a similar placard issued on 19 September 1653 against suspect Socinian works, was signed by the judge's secretary Simon van Beaumont. Its printer was Jacobus Scheltus.[95]

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91 '… dat voorts de H. Burgemeesteren van Leyden sullen werden versoght, gelijck deselve versoght werden mits desen, ten eynde deselve int voors. besogne en oock by rapport in hooghgemelte haer Ed. Gr. Mog. Vergaderinge de saecken daer henen believen te dirigeren dat het voorsz. boek niet alleen publice gedecrieert, maar alle de exemplaren, waer deselve ook te vinden zoude mogen sijn, op de ignominieuste wyse als van een goddeloos en heterodox tractaat moge werden verbrand, ende yder een op een hooge peine verboden 'tselve tractaet onder hem te houden, met aensegginge van aenstonds nae de publicatie alle de exemplaren, 't sy gebonden off ongebonden, te brengen onder de magistraet van de steden, daer onder de luyden, voors. exemplaren hebbende, soude mogen gehooren.' (ibid.)

92 '… de heeren professoren in de Heylige Theologie tot Leyden voornoemt, mede mochten warden geassumeert, om het voorschreve Boek, ende den innehouden van dien, te examineeren, ende de Vergaderinghe te dienen van hare consideratien ende advis; ….' (The Hague, Nationaal Archief, 3.01.04.01: 'Inventaris van het archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1572–1795', inv. no. 111,273: 'Gedrukte resoluties van de Staten van Holland over de jaren 1524–1795, met tot 1621 ook de resoluties van de Gecommitteerde Raden', 16 June 1678; quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 384, no. 176).

93 Ibid.

94 In 1675, a row on Cartesianism had seriously divided Leiden University. After deliberations with Fagel*, the Leiden governors in tandem with its Burgomasters decided, on 7 January 1676, to issue a resolution (16 January) forbidding any public and private teaching of 'the metaphysics of René Descartes or of those who may embrace the same views'. Leiden professors were only allowed to interpret and explain Christian doctrines according to 'the confession and the catechism of the Dutch Reformed Churches'. Cf.: Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen*, vol. 3, pp. 317–318 and 319–320.

95 Cf. *Groot placaet-boeck*, vol. 3, pp. 525–526; Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*, pp. 3–5, annex 4. Scheltus/Van Beaumont: BL.

The decree rules that the *Opera posthuma* and its Dutch translation ('mitsgaders van het Translaet van dien') were both roundly blasphemous and profoundly atheistic. The Provincial States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland in the *Placaet* declare that those books had been proscribed because

> … not only the ignorant reader could be distracted from the only and true way of salvation. But also the teaching of Christ's incarnation and resurrection as well as various essential articles of the general Christian faith are undermined [by them]. The authority of miracles is also been denied and besmirched by this author, ….[96]

To sum up, the States of Holland in the placard of 25 July 1678 condemned and prohibited Spinoza's posthumous writings because Spinoza's notions were an imminent threat to church and state. According to the placard, the book took issue to mislead ordinary people by subverting Christ's incarnation and resurrection as well as the possibility of miracles, the cornerstones of the Christian faith and Reformed Christian theology.

Utrecht, an important town outside Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, followed suit. On 24 October/3 November 1678, the Utrecht *Vroedschap* too published a municipal decree. Based on anti-Socinian legislation issued in Utrecht on 23 July 1653, the *Vroedschap* banned Spinoza's posthumous works and the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, conjointly with three other pernicious works, in a placard called 'Renovatie ende Publicatie tegens Sociniaensche en Gods-lasterlijcke Boecken' (Renovation and Publication Against Socinian and Blasphemous Books). The Utrecht decree strictly prohibited the printing, the distribution, and the sale of the '*Tractatus Theologico-Politicus van Spinosa*, midtsgaders *B. D. S. opera Posthuma*', together with the *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*.

Furthermore, the same decree warned city printers to refrain from reprinting those works. Any printer who would disregard the Utrecht *Vroedschap*'s decree risked being fined 3,000 guilders. Booksellers would receive a fine of a 1,000 guilders if copies of the aforementioned books were discovered in their shops. Moreover, the Utrecht decree instructed the town's printers and book dealers to hand in all 'printed and written' copies of the aforementioned books.[97] Whether people were fined for violating the *Vroedschap* placard and if copies of the proscribed books were handed in is not further documented.

9 Illegal Sale

Readers and book collectors interested in the New Philosophy were for a long time constant on the lookout for copies of Spinoza's printed writings, it appears, even after their official ban. It seems that booksellers in Amsterdam and book dealers in other Dutch towns were holding them in stock for many years: because of their clandestine aura these books probably had become collector's items. For example, the previously-mentioned *Catalogus librorum*, the auction catalogue of books stored in the firm of the late Amsterdam bookseller Daniel Elzevier, shows copies of both *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and the *Opera posthuma* were still put up for sale. In the *Catalogus librorum*, it reads thus:

> Spinosae () Opera posthuma, 4. 1677'. | – in Descartes Principia Philosophiae, 4. Am-|sterd. 1663.[98]

Putting white space between parentheses behind an author's name is rather unconventional in seventeenth-century auction catalogues and one might hazard a guess that the illegal sale of the banned *Opera posthuma* was a wink to book collectors.

In the late 1680s and 1690s, the Dutch philosopher's printed works were still sought after as copies were apparently available for long enough. For in 1690 the Leiden Cartesian theology professor Christoph Wittich in the prologue of his *Anti-Spinoza* bitterly complained that Spinoza's writings were still being sold.[99] In this context, one might wonder how strict in the Provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, and in the town of Utrecht the authorities kept the 1678 province-wide ban imposed

96 '… niet alleen den eenvoudigen Leser van de eenige ende waerachtige wegh der Saligheydt soude konnen werden afgeleydt, maer oock de Leere van de Mensch-werdinge ende Opstandinge *Christi*, ende sulcks verscheyde seer essentiele Articulen van het Algemeyne Christelijcke geloof warden ghelabefacteert, ende voorts by den Autheur wegh-genomen ende gevilipendeert de authoriteyt van de Miraculen, ….' (quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, p. 385, no. 177). For the *Placaet*'s full text: ibid., pp. 385–387.

97 Cf. Johan van de Water, *Groot placaatboek … der edele mogende heeren Staten 's lands van Utrecht* (3 vols., Utrecht: 1729), vol. 3, p. 432. Bamberger ('The Early Editions', p. 26) published the original Utrecht placard, which contains a printing flaw. It reads: 'L.D.S. opera posthuma'. Hobbes*, *Leviathan*; *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*; anon. [Meyer*], *Philosophia*.

98 *Catalogus librorum … Danielis Elsevirii*. Cf.: Chapter 2, *Selling Spinoza's First Book*.

99 'Prostant unique ejus scripta,….' (Wittich*, *Anti-Spinoza*, preface, sig. *2r).

on Spinoza's 'Theological-Political Treatise' and the posthumous writings in force. It appears that, incidentally, measures were indeed taken against local booksellers when complaints were submitted that they were illegally selling Spinoza's posthumous works.

For instance, a notarial instrument extant in the Amsterdam city archives shows that bookseller and printer Timotheus ten Hoorn, the publisher of the successful Dutch journal *Europische Mercurius*, had been reprimanded for selling unlawfully a copy of *De nagelate schriften*.[100] According to an affidavit drawn up on 2 March 1695 by notary public Michiel Bockx, a certain Coenraad Hendrikse and someone by the name of Jan Abramse both made a legal statement about the sale. In the deed they declare at the request of the town's bailiff ('hooft officier deser stad') François de Vicque that, one day beforehand, they had

> … bought a certain book in quarto, bound in marbled paper, entitled 'De nagelate schriften' by Benedictus de Spinoza….[101]

In the notarial act of 2 March, they further state they had purchased that copy in the Amsterdam 'Nes' quarter, at a square called 'Brakke Grond', where Ten Hoorn ran a bookshop under the sign 'in 't Sinnebeelt'. The latter had sold the copy of *De nagelate schriften* to the two men for the price of 5 guilders and 5 *stuivers* ('waar vooren betaalde f 5:5'), a selling price probably close to what customers will have paid for a copy of *De nagelate schriften* in 1678.

On 12 and 19 April 1695, the municipal bailiff accordingly subpoenaed Ten Hoorn to be interrogated before the Amsterdam lower court. The legal outcome of the case remains unclear and it is therefore unknown whether it had any consequences for Ten Hoorn. Five years beforehand, Coenraad Hendrikse and Jan Abramse had bought in his shop another banned book, called *De spiegel der waarheyd*, the illegal sale of which they recorded in another notarial instrument.[102] On 3 May 1695, Timotheus ten Hoorn got into trouble once again. This time, he was summoned to appear for the town's lower court, together with Jan Rieuwertsz *fils* and Aart Wolsgryn, the cloaked publisher of Duijkerius's *Het leven van Philopater* (1691) and of *Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater* (1697), who were all three accused of illegally selling copies of Spinoza's writings.[103]

The 1678 States' decree, prohibiting the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and Spinoza's posthumous works on a province-wide scale, was apparently still in force by the second half of the eighteenth century. On 8 January 1760, according to another notarial instrument extant in the Amsterdam city archives, the civic authorities subpoenaed and fined a local bookseller and publisher of anti-Orangist pamphlets by the name of Gerrit Bom for having illegally sold to a customer an unbound copy of *De nagelate schriften*.[104]

10 Banned Unconditionally from Catholic Bookshelves

In 1677, a few months after Spinoza's death, his philosophical doctrines swiftly found their way to the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome. On 15 September, its cardinals charged the Dutch Jansenist priest Johannes Baptista van Neercassel and the Brussels internuncio Sébastien Antoine Tanara (1650–1724) to begin collecting information in the United Provinces about Spinoza, his printed writings, and those manuscripts circulating there, particularly in Amsterdam.[105] Shortly before the

100 Timotheus was a business partner of the previously-mentioned bookseller, publisher, and printer Jan Claesz ten Hoorn. In January 1687, Timotheus's brother was interrogated by the Amsterdam *Kerkenraad* for putting to press a cancelled and now-lost Dutch translation of the TTP. *See*: Chapter 7, '*Tractaet Theologi Politicy in t'Duijts*'. For the Ten Hoorn brothers: BL.

101 '… gecogt seeker boek in quarto gebonden in een gemormert papier zijnde geintituleerd de naegelate Schriften van Benedictus de Spinosa….' (5075: 'Inventaris van het Archief van de Notarissen ter Standplaats Amsterdam', ms. 'Afschriften, in protocol', inv. no. 4451a, 2 March 1695). Cf.: Gerardus F.L. Peeters, 'Timotheus ten Hoorn Sells a Copy of Spinoza's Posthumous Works', *Quaerendo*, 12 (1982), pp. 242–244, p. 242. *See* also: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 165.

102 Peeters, 'Timotheus ten Hoorn Sells a Copy', p. 244. The prohibited work was: anon. [Eric Walten?], *Spiegel der waarheyd, ofte t'samensprekinge tusschen een Arminiaan ende vroom Patriot, …* (n. pl. [Amsterdam], 1690).

103 Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, p. 65. Wolsgryn published the 1691 *Leven* and the 1697 *Vervolg* under the alias Sieuwert van der Brug. *See*: Chapter 7, n. 20. Duijkerius: BL.

104 199: 'Archief van de familie Den Tex en Bondt', inv. no. 35. Ten Hoorn* told the customer a bound copy would cost him 3 guilders and 3 *stuivers*.

105 For the information hunt by Van Neercassel*: Jean Orcibal, 'Les Jansénistes face à Spinoza', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 23 (1994), pp. 440–468, esp. pp. 464–466, annex, no. 11 (report on Spinoza). Cf. also: Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican Manuscript*, pp. 1–26. Formerly known as the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, the Holy Office was supposed to defend the integrity of the Catholic faith and its morals. Background: Emil van der Vekene, *Bibliotheca bibliographica historiae sanctae inquisitionis. Bibliographisches Verzeichnis des gedruckten Schrifttums zur Geschichte und Literatur der Inquisition* (3 vols., Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1982–92).

Holy Office issued that order, the Roman Catholic convert and Danish anatomist Niels Stensen had informed the college's cardinals that in his writings the Dutch philosopher was dangerously leaning to atheism, aiming at incriminating in his printed works the Catholic faith's purity. As early as November 1671, Stensen had first publicly attacked Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and his radical biblical criticism in print. While defending his conversion (2 November 1667) to Roman Catholicism, Stensen had composed for this reason a work called 'Nicolai Stenonis ad novae philosophiae reformatorem de vera philosophia epistola', an 'open letter' addressed to his erstwhile Dutch friend which the latter never read. The latter treatise was published in an anthology called *Ad virum eruditum* in Florence in 1675.[106]

In about August 1677, shortly before informing the Holy Office's cardinals about the dangerous tendencies of Spinoza's philosophy, Stensen ran into another opportunity to launch a new attack. Purely coincidentally, he came into the possession of the manuscript copy (the Vatican manuscript V) of the apograph Pieter van Gent had made for Tschirnhaus between late 1674 and early 1675 of Spinoza's then still unpublished *Ethica*.[107] Accordingly, Stensen wrote up a three-sheet report, called 'Libri prohibiti circa la nuova filosofia dello Spinosa', announcing in it his find, which he handed in to the Holy Office on 4 September.[108]

In this piece, he first addresses the Holy Office by stating he was convinced its acting officials must have been already informed 'about the damage done by the new philosophy through a certain Spinoza in Holland'. In his report, Stensen furthermore provides the college with his own view on Spinoza's 'evil' radical philosophical doctrines. At the same time, he presents the Holy Office with several striking details of claims upheld by Spinoza he had read in manuscript copy of the *Ethica*, in which, according to Stensen, everything is explained 'by matter only'. Stensen, in his 'Libri prohibiti', refers to his attack on Spinoza in his 1675 *Ad virum eruditum* and also brings up conversations he had entertained in Rome with a 'Lutheran foreigner' who allegedly had confessed to him to be a follower of the New Philosophy, especially that of Spinoza. Without doubt, that unnamed foreigner was Tschirnhaus who by then was visiting Rome.[109]

According to Stensen's 'Libri prohibiti' of 4 September 1677, the foreigner he had met and spoken had given him access to the apograph of the *Ethica* which, shortly thereafter in a way not known, had come into his very possession. In 'Libri prohibiti', Stensen admits he had handed in the apograph to the Holy Office because he knew 'that this kind of manuscript existed, but I had never seen any of them, until some weeks ago'. The 'Lutheran foreigner', Stensen also claims in his report, had begged him during their meetings,

> … not to show it to others nor to inform them that he [Tschirnhaus] entertained similar views. And so I did at the time, not imagining the serious evil that I was to discover when reading the text, which I understood – and he confessed – to be by Spinoza. I always carry the manuscript with me, in order that nobody may by chance come into contact with the poison it contains.[110]

Being a devout convert awaiting in Rome his pending election (13 September 1677) as bishop and vicar apostolic in Hanover, in the northern mission fields, Stensen composed his 'Libri prohibiti' because he will have been horrified by the notions set forth by Spinoza in the *Ethica*. As it stood, Tschirnhaus was familiar with the fact that in Amsterdam the Dutch philosopher's friends were at that very instance busy preparing the work for the press, with Spinoza's other unfinished writings and letters.

106 Niels Stensen*, *Ad virum eruditum, cum quo in unitate S.R.E. desiderat aeternam amicitiam inire, …* (Florence: 1675), pp. 31–40. The 'open letter' was the first frontal assault on Spinoza and the *TTP* launched from Italy (< 1671.11.02, Ep 67A, G 4/292–298). Spinoza was unaware of his former friend's attack on his philosophy. Two decades later, the *TTP* was retorted once again in a work by Italian Cartesian scholar Michelangelo Fardella (1650–1718): *Lettera all … Antonio Magliabechi … in cui brevemente s'esaminano e rigettano l'opposizioni proposte contra i principii della cartesiana filosofia* (Venice: 1697), pp. 45–46.

107 Tschirnhaus/Van Gent: BL.

108 Rome, Palace of the Holy Office, Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, ms. 'S.O. Censurae Librorum, 1680–82', Folia extravagantia, no. 2, fol. 1r. For the report's text: Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican Manuscript*, pp. 9–13 and 68–72 (annex 2).

109 A letter by Tschirnhaus* to Schuller* of 27 March/6 April 1677 proves the former had arrived safely in Rome. Cf.: Omero Proietti and Giovanni Licata, *Il carteggio Van Gent – Tschirnhaus (1679–1690). Storia, cronistoria, contest dell'editio posthuma spinoziana* (Macerata: Macereta University [eum], 2013), pp. 391–394. Tschirnhaus in a letter to Leibniz*, sent from Rome on 17 April [1677], instructed the latter to dispatch future letters to 'Mons. Jean Bereand in Piazza Navona zu Rom' (*Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 2:1, p. 441, no. 133; 3:2, pp. 13–24, no. 1). In the same letter, Tschirnhaus told the German scholar that Schuller had informed him Spinoza had passed away, too.

110 Translation borrowed from: Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican manuscript*, p. 11. For the report 'Libri prohibiti circa la nuova filosofia dello Spinosa': ibid., pp. 9–13.

That Tschirnhaus knew about the team's preparations may be inferred from a letter of 17 April [1677] he wrote to Leibniz:

> Now that I am finding a little bit of rest again, willing to devote myself to advise [my] good friends [and relate to them] how I have been so far, I [have just recently] received [a] letter from Mr Dr Schuller. And upon [my] reply, I immediately received another from him within six days. [In this letter] he told me that our friend [Spinoza] in The Hague had died in [his] presence with a clear mind, after he [had] settled what should be done with the remaining manuscripts; comprising one [letter] of Mr [Leibniz].[111]

The letter refers to a now-lost letter by Schuller, written shortly after Spinoza's death (21 February 1677), which undoubtedly must have contained information about the posthumous works' pre-press preparations. Thus, it may be conjectured Stensen had heard from Tschirnhaus this news about the forthcoming posthumous works, too.

Perhaps, this information was another reason for Stensen to hurriedly write the report of 4 September 1677 and hand over the manuscript copy of the *Ethica* to the Holy Office as well. One could imagine however it was meant not only as a preemptive strike against the publication of the *Ethica* and Spinoza's other writings and letters, but also as an attempt to stress his own credibility and save face. After all, it would be a disaster if someone found out Stensen actually once had been on friendly terms with the Dutch philosopher and had even invited him to come to his rooms to attend the dissections of brains in different animal species when studying at Leiden in the early 1660s.

Thus, underlining and proving in the 'Libri prohibiti' his loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church was also an important objective for Stensen. For this evident purpose, he was not only urgently in need of persuasive arguments to stress his religious integrity. He also had to find a solution to distance himself from any possible suggestions that, like Tschirnhaus, also he himself had been contaminated by the metaphysical doctrines upheld by Spinoza. Their one-time relations, arguably, would make curia officials in the Vatican pretty wary of the intentions of the new bishop and vicar apostolic they were about to create and they might also have become suspicious of Stensen himself. In other words, in the 'Libri prohibiti' the latter had to save face in order to prevent wild accusations of Cartesian sympathies or disguised atheism.

To explain his contacts with Spinoza, in the account he therefore promptly admits that, a very long time ago, he had befriended the Dutch philosopher he was accusing of atheism. Stensen in his 'Libri prohibiti' therefore cautiously writes that Spinoza

> … paid me daily visits to see the anatomical investigations of the brain that I carried out on several animals in order to discover the place where motion begins and sensations ends.[112]

Clearly, the foregoing remark shows Stensen's evident stratagem was to make it abundantly clear to everybody in the Holy Office that his erstwhile contacts with Spinoza had to be understood in a scholarly context alone. Had not he, Stensen, made the only rightful decision to convert to Roman Catholicism in the first place, the only 'true' religion and therefore an effective shield against practical atheism. Thus, in his 'Libri prohibiti' of 4 September 1677, Stensen eagerly admits that during his Leiden studies in the early 1660s of Spinoza's doctrines he had had only 'a confused understanding at the time'.

Whether a full-blown lie or not, Stensen further hastens himself to add to this in his report God had back then in Leiden protected him in such a way that Spinoza 'never explained to me any of his principles', a statement further redounding to his benefit. To put it differently, although he had, long ago, met Spinoza in person, he never had fathomed the latter's philosophical notions nor discussed them with him, as is construed by Stensen in his 'Libri prohibiti' of 4 September. He concludes the report by delivering another claim, stressing Roman Catholicism offered people a shield against atheism. Rejoiced, he writes: 'I cannot remember even one Catholic who ever spoke to me about similar topics'. Obviously, the report by Stensen was not only an attack on Spinoza. It was first and for all an apology of his own just actions and sincereness as a Roman Catholic.

On 23 September 1677, eight days after the Holy Office charged Van Neercassel and Tanara to begin amassing information about Spinoza, one of the college's clerks booked in the manuscript copy of the *Ethica* winkled

111 'Wie ich nuhmero also nur ein wenig wieder zu ruhe kommen, und mich appliciren wolte gutten freünden zu avisiren, wie Mir es bieshero gegangen so Erhielt schreiben von H.D. Schuller, und wie gleich in der beantwortung hierauff innerhalb 6 tagen andere von ihm dadurch verständiget worden, dass Unser freund im Haag presente D. Schullero bey gutten verstande, und nachdem Er disponiret wie es mitt hinterlassenen Manuscriptis solte gehalten werden; verstorben; worbey ingleichen von H. [meant is: Leibniz], ….' (Leibniz*, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, p. 64, no. 30). Schuller: BL.

112 Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican manuscript*, p. 10.

out by Stensen from Tschirnhaus's belongings. Since Tschirnhaus corresponded with Spinoza himself about the *Ethica*, took along Van Gent's apograph on his Grand Tour, scribbled remarks on its contents in his copy, and made notes on slips of paper, the manuscript must have been dear to him.[113] It is therefore still an unsolved mystery how Stensen got hold of it anyway. In an undated document, presumably composed shortly after 23 September when Stensen submitted the *Ethica* manuscript, the Holy Office pointed out the latter admitted

> … that he has spoken here in Rome about the Catholic faith with a Lutheran heretic, and that he has secretly obtained from this person a manuscript (that he has handed over with a memorial to the father commissioner), composed by a certain de Spinosa of Jewish birth … who has developed on his own a certain philosophy on the basis of Descartes, in which he openly explains propositions with mathematical demonstrations, which destroy the Divinity, and Christianity, and other heresies expressed in this philosophy, and contained in the afore-named manuscript.[114]

By this time, Van Neercassel, the vicar apostolic of the underground Dutch Catholic 'Holland Mission', probably travelled to the Netherlands to find out more about Spinoza and his writings. For his information hunt, he recruited in Amsterdam several devout Catholic laymen, priests, even an unnamed rabbi and a Socinian. By the end of 1677, he also visited the bookshop of Jan Rieuwertsz *père*. Distrustful of the former's queries, the Amsterdam bookseller told him he was only aware of a few of Spinoza's 'handwritten meditations' on Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'.[115]

While searching for news, Van Neercassel corresponded extensively with several members of the curia and with other high-ranking clerics about his findings. Details are scarce but the larger picture emerges from those letters exchanged. Already on 28 November 1677, Van Neercassel first dispatched a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* to Roman Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679). The next year, on 25 May, he wrote to the *abbé commandataire* of three large abbeys in French Brittany, Sébastien-Joseph du Cambout de Coislin (1634–1690), informing him he had forwarded to him a copy of 'the book of the Jew Spinosa', which will have been the *Opera posthuma*. After 6 September 1678, Lorenzo Casoni (1643–1720), the papal diplomat present at the peace treaties of Nijmegen, also asked Van Neercassel for an account about Spinoza's life and writings. A few days later, but before 13 September 1678, Van Neercassel, finally also forwarded a copy of the '*Posthuma Opera* Spinosae' to Barberini, through the intermediary of Casoni.

The search orchestrated by Van Neercassel and Tanara was straightforward and, in terms of what Stensen had been aiming at, can be called also very effective. Their efforts would be brought to a head in the Roman Catholic prohibition of all of Spinoza's printed writings, except for *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and its Dutch rendition. On 13 March 1679, during the pontificate (1676–1689) of Innocent XI, the Congregation of the Index (by order of the Congregation of the Holy Office) put Spinoza's *Epistolae*, *Ethica*, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, and the *Tractatus politicus* officially on its notoriously-known index of banned books.[116] The latter new list was printed and signed by the college's secretary, Giacomo Ricci.[117]

It is highly intriguing that, since the summer of 1673, in any case the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s existence had already been made known to the Cistercian monk Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674), the Consultor of the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index. Because in 1673 copies of the treatise were probably not at hand

113 Ibid., pp. 11–20. Marginal notes in Tschirnhaus's handwriting are in the Vatican codex *v* on fols 22^{v}, 43^{r}, 56^{r}, 74^{r}, 81^{r}. The latter manuscript holds an oblong slip of paper (75×196 mm, between fols 42 and 43) with notes written by the same hand, completely overlooked by Spruit and Totaro. Steenbakkers discovered the leaf during inspection (2011) of manuscript *v* in the Vatican Library.

114 '… quod cum hic Romae tractavit de veritate fidei Catholicae cum quodam haeretico Lutherano, ab eodem secreto habuit manuscriptum (quod consignavit una cum memoriale P. Commissario) compositum a quodam de Spinosa Nationis Hebraeae, … qui pariter confecit ex se ipso quondam Philosophiam ex Philosophia des Cartes, in qua aperte explicat cum demonstrationibus Mathematicis propositiones, quae tollunt divinitatem, et Christianesimum, et alias hereses in eadem expressas, et in manuscripto predicto contentas.' (Rome, Palace of the Holy Office, Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, ms. ms. 'S.O. Censurae Librorum, *Decreta*, 1677', fol. 180$^{r–v}$). Translation taken from: Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican manuscript*, p. 15.

115 For the remark: Chapter 2, n. 37. For the visit to Rieuwertsz* *père*'s bookshop on or shortly before 25 November 1677: Orcibal, 'Les Jansénistes', esp. pp. 467–468, annex, no. 5 (Van Neercassel* to Barberini, 25 November 1677).

116 Background: Pina Totaro, 'La Congrégation de L'Index et la censure des oeuvres de Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 353–378.

117 Printed version in: Rome, Palace of the Holy Office, Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, ms. 'S.O. Censurae Librorum', Index, Protocolli, SS (II.a.41), fol. 261^{r}. Cf.: Totaro, 'La Congrégation'.

in Rome, the book's inflammatory contents apparently went unnoticed. Thus, the Vatican remained silent about the treatise until the publication of the new index on 13 March 1679.[118] Eleven years later, on 29 August 1690, with still no new pontiff in the Vatican, the Congregation of the Index also placed all of Spinoza's writings issued in the *Opera posthuma* on the list of forbidden books, thus banning the posthumous writings from Roman Catholic bookshelves unconditionally. This time the list 1690 was signed by Giulio Maria Bianchi.[119] Eventually, the ban on Spinoza's printed works and letters was rendered ineffective in 1917 when the Roman Congregation of the Index merged with the Congregation of the Holy Office.

Why the Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index prohibited Catholics to read Spinoza's works printed in the Latin language and not those in the vernacular (*De nagelate schriften* and the French X and Y editions issued 1678), is unclear. Was it perhaps their primary fear Roman Catholic priests able to read Latin would embrace the New Philosophy? One would expect Rome would also have been concerned about the souls of all those baptized but perhaps the translations of Spinoza's works were unknown to Roman censors. It also appears moreover four out of five disguised 1673 octavo Latin editions (T.3v 'Villacorta', T.3h 'Heinsius', T.3s 'Sylvius', and the T.3e English-style of 1674) were overseen by Van Neercassel's network since they are not on the Congregation's 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum'. Had those overlooked titles been the result of the red herring stratagem of Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the putative publisher of the 'Theological-Political Treatise', to cloak copies of Spinoza's second book. Perhaps. The full-blown fact is that, in spite of the book's banning by Rome in 1679, at least a portion of the false authors' names, its spurious titles, and fictitious imprints successfully laid a false trail around the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and effectively threw Roman watchdogs off the scent.

118 *See* for this: Chapter 2, n. 37.

119 Reprinted in: Totaro, 'La Congrégation'.

CHAPTER 10

Posthumous Writings: Latin and Dutch Quartos III

First and Only Latin Edition, in Quarto

> B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Two states: plain version and large-paper copy. Spinoza's initials are on the book's title-page. Contains illustrations, indexes, and lists of errata. Archetypes: Spinoza's autographs and/or apographs are no longer extant, except for a small number of surviving autographs, drafts, and copies of letters included in the book's correspondence section. Van Gent's faithful copy of the Latin *Ethica* text (late 1674–early 1675) survives in the Vatican codex V.

First and Only Dutch Edition, in Quarto

> B. d. S., *De nagelate schriften*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Two states: plain version and large-paper copy. Spinoza's initials are on the book's title-page. Contains illustrations, indexes, and lists of errata. Exemplars: autographs and/or apographs of Balling's and Glazemaker's translations (now all lost). Extant are several autographs, drafts, and copies of letters in the book's correspondence section. Three extant holograph letters, by Willem van Blijenbergh, served as printer's copy.

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FIRST AND ONLY LATIN EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 10.1–10.21)

Short Title

B. d. S., *Opera posthuma*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Contains: *Ethica*, *Tractatus politicus*, *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*, correspondence section, and *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*.

- Latin text; subsidiary languages: Hebrew, Dutch, Greek.
- Prepared for the press by Jarig Jelles (text of Preface), Lodewijk Meyer (revision of Preface, translation into Latin), and Jan Rieuwertsz *père*; specifics about the role of Pieter van Gent, Johannes Bouwmeester, and Georg Hermann Schuller are either restricted or unclear.
- Title-page has monogrammed initials of Spinoza's name.
- Imprint with date (1677): 'ꝯ I ↄ I ↄ CLXXVII.'.
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Anonymous Preface, by Jarig Jelles, translated from the Latin and revised by Lodewijk Meyer.
- Printed in two states: plain version and special-paper copy.
- Contains decorated initials and illustrations.
- Contains table of contents.
- Contains indexes.
- Contains three lists of errata ('Sphalmata' [2×], 'Errata').
- Sold to the public in the first weeks of January 1678.
- Dutch selling price in 1678: about 4 guilders, 3 *stuivers*, and 6 *penningen*; 1697: 5 guilders and 5 *stuivers*; London bookseller's price in 1698: 15 shillings; price at auction (The Hague) of a private library in 1701: 3 guilders, 3 *stuivers*; price asked (1703) from Stolle and 'Hallmann' for a copy by Rieuwertsz *fils*: 9 guilders.

Exemplars

Autograph manuscripts and/or apographs by Spinoza are no longer extant; some autographs, drafts, and copies of letters printed in the correspondence section have however survived.

*Title-Page (on outer Forme of Gathering *)*

B. D. S. | OPERA | POSTHUMA, | *Quorum* (swash Q) *feries post Præfationem* (swash P) | *exhibetur*. | (yoke ornament) | CIↃ IↃ CLXXVII.

Language(s) and Typography

Latin, pointed Hebrew, occasionally printed Dutch (Fraktur typeface: *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*, pp. 68–69) and Greek (Preface, sig. *****2^{v}, pp. 436, 437, 452, and 543). With explanatory footnotes (in the Preface and *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*), keyed with letters and typographical symbols (italic type), no italics in explanatory note on p. 28 in Hebrew grammar.

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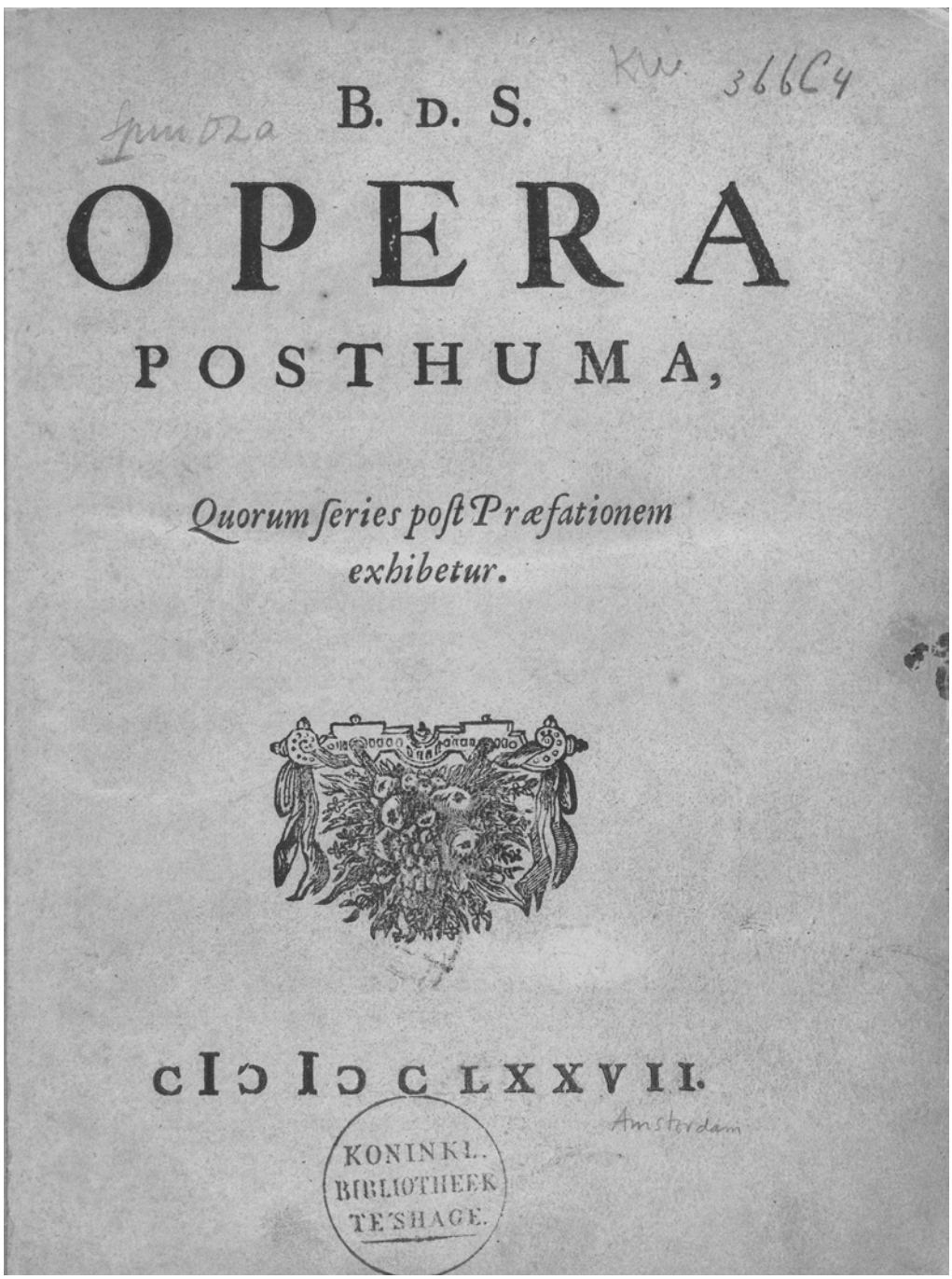
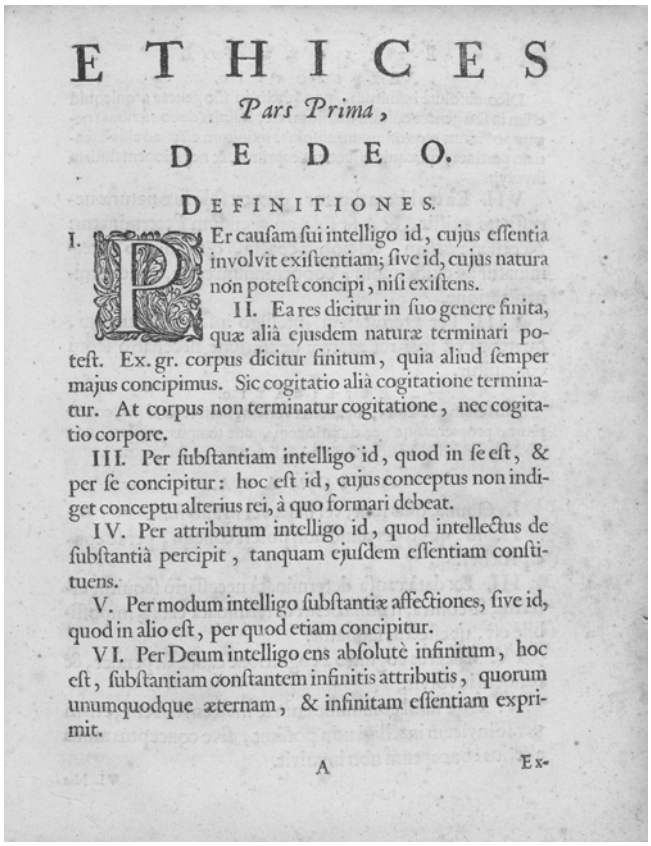


ILLUSTRATION 10.1 Title-page of the *Opera posthuma* with the yoke ornament. Spinoza's name is given with his initials. The imprint only mentions 1677 as year of publication.



ETHICES

Pars Prima,

DE DEO.

DEFINITIONES.

I. PEr cauſam ſui intelligo id, cujus eſſentia involvit exiſtentiam; ſive id, cujus natura non poteſt concipi, niſi exiſtens.

II. Ea res dicitur in ſuo genere finita, quæ aliâ ejusdem naturæ terminari poteſt. Ex. gr. corpus dicitur finitum, quia aliud ſemper majus concipimus. Sic cogitatio aliâ cogitatione terminatur. At corpus non terminatur cogitatione, nec cogitatio corpore.

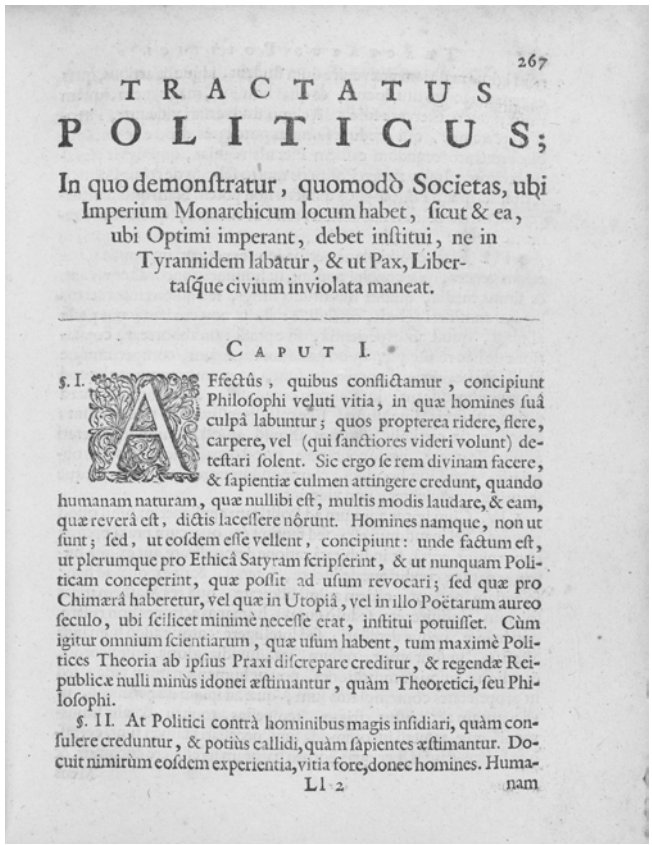
III. Per ſubſtantiam intelligo id, quod in ſe eſt, & per ſe concipitur: hoc eſt id, cujus conceptus non indiget conceptu alterius rei, à quo formari debeat.

IV. Per attributum intelligo id, quod intellectus de ſubſtantiâ percipit, tanquam ejuſdem eſſentiam conſtituens.

V. Per modum intelligo ſubſtantiæ affectiones, ſive id, quod in alio eſt, per quod etiam concipitur.

VI. Per Deum intelligo ens abſolutè infinitum, hoc eſt, ſubſtantiam conſtantem infinitis attributis, quorum unumquodque æternam, & infinitam eſſentiam exprimit.

A Ex-



267

TRACTATUS POLITICUS;

In quo demonſtratur, quomodò Societas, ubi Imperium Monarchicum locum habet, ſicut & ea, ubi Optimi imperant, debet inſtitui, ne in Tyrannidem labatur, & ut Pax, Libertaſque civium inviolata maneat.

CAPUT I.

§. I. AFfectûs, quibus conflictamur, concipiunt Philoſophi veluti vitia, in quæ homines ſuâ culpâ labuntur; quos propterea ridere, flere, carpere, vel (qui ſanctiores videri volunt) deteſtari ſolent. Sic ergo ſe rem divinam facere, & ſapientiæ culmen attingere credunt, quando humanam naturam, quæ nullibi eſt, multis modis laudare, & eam, quæ reverâ eſt, dictis laceſſere nôrunt. Homines namque, non ut ſunt; ſed, ut eoſdem eſſe vellent, concipiunt: unde factum eſt, ut plerumque pro Ethicâ Satyram ſcripſerint, & ut nunquam Politicam conceperint, quæ poſſit ad uſum revocari; ſed quæ pro Chimærâ haberetur, vel quæ in Utopiâ, vel in illo Poëtarum aureo ſeculo, ubi ſcilicet minimè neceſſe erat, inſtitui potuiſſet. Cùm igitur omnium ſcientiarum, quæ uſum habent, tum maximè Politices Theoria ab ipſius Praxi diſcrepare creditur, & regendæ Reipublicæ nulli minùs idonei æſtimantur, quàm Theoretici, ſeu Philoſophi.

§. II. At Politici contrà hominibus magis inſidiari, quàm conſulere creduntur, & potiùs callidi, quàm ſapientes æſtimantur. Docuit nimirùm eoſdem experientia, vitia fore, donec homines. Huma-

Ll 2 nam

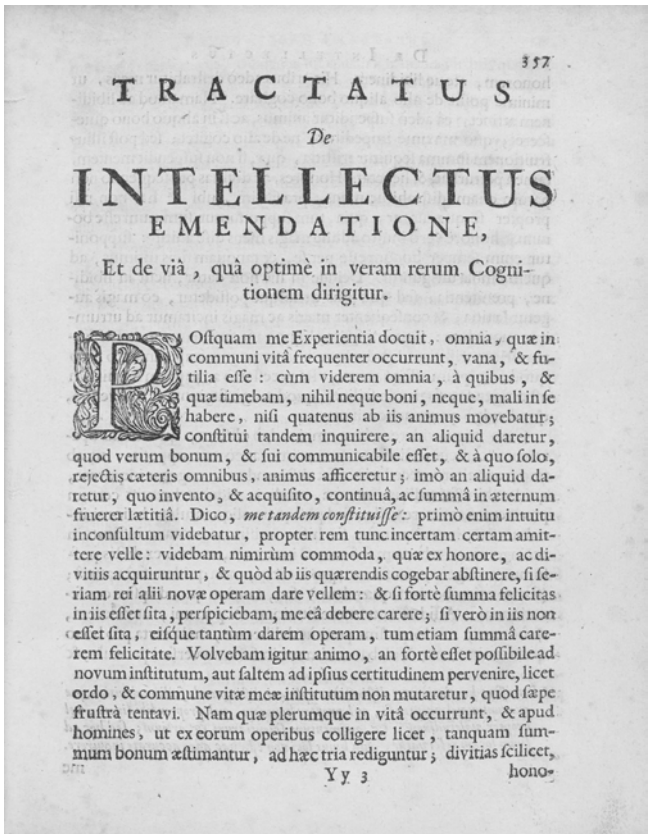
ILLUSTRATIONS 10.2 AND 10.3 First pages of the *Ethica* and of the *Tractatus politicus*.

Serifed Roman types from the printing office of the book's printer Israel de Paull: 16 mm 'Parysse' roman capitals (1661, probably 1657, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry) and 10.5 mm two-line 'Text' (great primer) roman capitals (1677, earliest example of typeface in De Paull's workshop). Cf.: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 379 and 384 (specimens). Incidentally, in the case of a few words, the larger *c.*160 mm 'Ascendonica' (double pica) roman (1621, Nicolas Briot) and *c.*134 mm/20 ll. '(Klein) Paragon' roman (1626, Briot) were also occasioned by De Paull (ibid., pp. 396–397; specimens on p. 384).

It has been argued that for printing the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae* De Paull's workshop at least had at his disposal four specific sets of Hebrew types: *c.*200 mm (4.3 mm mem) 'Text'/'Ascendonica' Hebrew, *c.*140 mm (3.5 mm mem) 'Augustyn' (english)/'Paragon' Hebrew, *c.*115 mm (2.5 mm mem) 'Garmont' (long primer)/'Text' Hebrew and *c.*75 mm (1.8 mm mem) 'Brevier'/'Descendiaen Hebrew'. Cf. Lane, pp. 429–430 and 431 (with specimens). For the Voskens typefoundry: id., *Early Type Specimens*, pp. 50–59, 218–219.

Consistent and intensively printed diacritics (Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 21): grave in 'indeclinabilia'. Use of circumflexes (indicating contraction and ablative ending) and diaeresis. With acute, over the ending *ûs*.

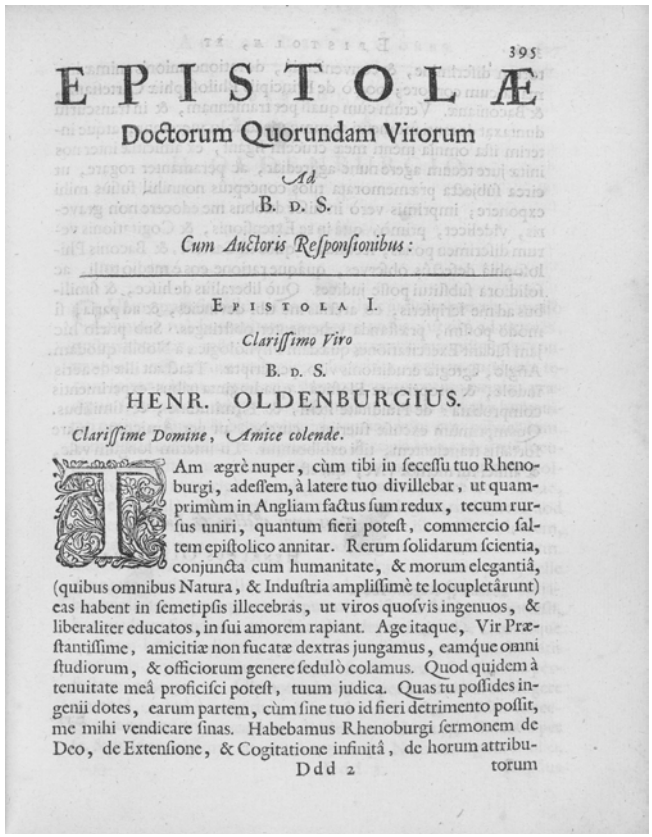
Plain version (with foolscap watermark) has cut size *c.*200×*c.*180 mm, lavish edition: *c.*230×*c.*180 mm (Schilte and Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza's Posthumous Works', p. 266). 28 ll. ('Praefatio'), lines in other parts varying.



TRACTATUS
De
INTELLECTUS
EMENDATIONE,
Et de viâ, quâ optimè in veram rerum Cognitionem dirigitur.

POstquam me Experientia docuit, omnia, quæ in communi vitâ frequenter occurrunt, vana, & futilia esse: cùm viderem omnia, à quibus, & quæ timebam, nihil neque boni, neque, mali in se habere, nisi quatenus ab iis animus movebatur; constitui tandem inquirere, an aliquid daretur, quod verum bonum, & sui communicabile esset, & à quo solo, rejectis cæteris omnibus, animus afficeretur; imò an aliquid daretur, quo invento, & acquisito, continuâ, ac summâ in æternum fruerer lætitiâ. Dico, *me tandem constituisse*: primò enim intuitu inconsultum videbatur, propter rem tunc incertam certam amittere velle: videbam nimirùm commoda, quæ ex honore, ac divitiis acquiruntur, & quòd ab iis quærendis cogebar abstinere, si seriam rei alii novæ operam dare vellem: & si fortè summa felicitas in iis esset sita, perspiciebam, me eâ debere carere; si verò in iis non esset sita, eisque tantùm darem operam, tum etiam summâ carerem felicitate. Volvebam igitur animo, an fortè esset possibile ad novum institutum, aut saltem ad ipsius certitudinem pervenire, licet ordo, & commune vitæ meæ institutum non mutaretur, quod sæpe frustrà tentavi. Nam quæ plerumque in vitâ occurrunt, & apud homines, ut ex eorum operibus colligere licet, tanquam summum bonum æstimantur, ad hæc tria rediguntur; divitias scilicet, hono-

Yy 3



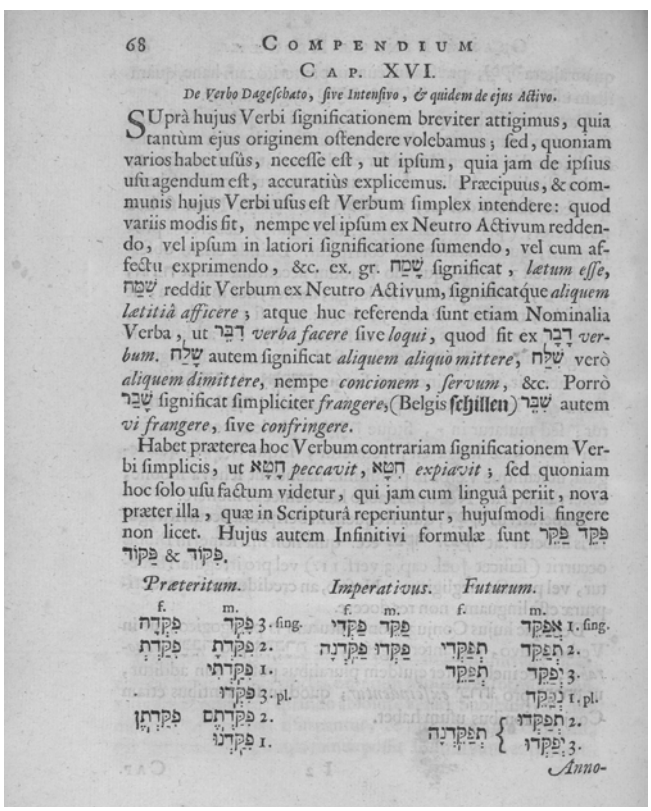
EPISTOLÆ
Doctorum Quorundam Virorum
Ad
B. D. S.
Cum Auctoris Responsionibus:

EPISTOLA I.
Clarissimo Viro
B. D. S.
HENR. OLDENBURGIUS.
Clarissime Domine, Amice colende.

IAm ægrè nuper, cùm tibi in secessu tuo Rhenoburgi, adessem, à latere tuo divellebar, ut quamprimùm in Angliam factus sum redux, tecum rursus uniri, quantum fieri potest, commercio saltem epistolico annitar. Rerum solidarum scientia, conjuncta cum humanitate, & morum elegantiâ, (quibus omnibus Natura, & Industria amplissimè te locupletârunt) eas habent in semetipsis illecebras, ut viros quosvis ingenuos, & liberaliter educatos, in sui amorem rapiant. Age itaque, Vir Præstantissime, amicitiæ non fucatæ dextras jungamus, eamque omni studiorum, & officiorum genere sedulò colamus. Quod quidem à tenuitate meâ proficisci potest, tuum judica. Quas tu possides ingenii dotes, earum partem, cùm sine tuo id fieri detrimento possit, me mihi vendicare sinas. Habebamus Rhenoburgi sermonem de Deo, de Extensione, & Cogitatione infinitâ, de horum attributorum

Ddd 2

ILLUSTRATIONS 10.4 AND 10.5 First pages of the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and of the correspondence section.



68 COMPENDIUM
CAP. XVI.
De Verbo Dageschato, sive Intensivo, & quidem de ejus Activo.

SUprà hujus Verbi significationem breviter attigimus, quia tantùm ejus originem ostendere volebamus; sed, quoniam varios habet usûs, necesse est, ut ipsum, quia jam de ipsius usu agendum est, accuratiùs explicemus. Præcipuus, & communis hujus Verbi usus est Verbum simplex intendere: quod variis modis fit, nempe vel ipsum ex Neutro Activum reddendo, vel ipsum in latiori significatione sumendo, vel cum affectu exprimendo, &c. ex. gr. שָׂמַח significat, *lætum esse*, שִׂמַּח reddit Verbum ex Neutro Activum, significatque *aliquem lætitiâ afficere*; atque huc referenda sunt etiam Nominalia Verba, ut דָּבָר *verba facere* sive *loqui*, quod fit ex דָּבָר *verbum*. שָׁלַח autem significat *aliquem aliquò mittere*, שִׁלַּח verò *aliquem dimittere*, nempe *concionem*, *servum*, &c. Porrò שָׁבַר significat simpliciter *frangere*, (Belgis **schillen**) שִׁבֵּר autem *vi frangere*, sive *confringere*.

Habet præterea hoc Verbum contrariam significationem Verbi simplicis, ut חָטָא *peccavit*, חִטֵּא *expiavit*; sed quoniam hoc solo usu factum videtur, qui jam cum linguâ periit, nova præter illa, quæ in Scripturâ reperiuntur, hujusmodi fingere non licet. Hujus autem Infinitivi formulæ sunt פָּקֹד פִּקֵּד & פָּקוֹד.

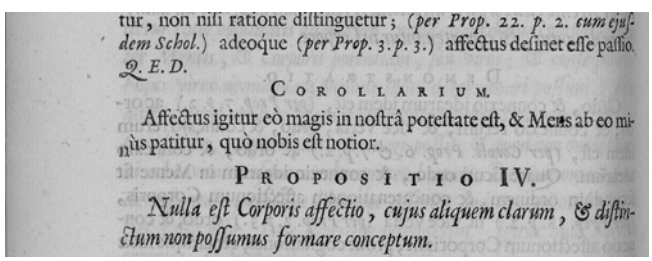
Præteritum.			*Imperativus.*		*Futurum.*	
f.	m.		f.	m.	f.	m.
פָּקְדָה	פָּקַד	3. sing.		פְּקֹד		אֶפְקֹד 1. sing.
פָּקַדְתְּ	פָּקַדְתָּ	2.	פִּקְדִי	פִּקְדוּ פִּקְדֻנָה	תִּפְקְדִי	תִּפְקֹד 2.
	פָּקַדְתִּי	1.			תִּפְקֹד	יִפְקֹד 3.
	פָּקְדוּ	3. pl.				נִפְקֹד 1. pl.
פְּקַדְתֶּן	פְּקַדְתֶּם	2.			תִּפְקֹדְנָה	תִּפְקְדוּ 2.
	פָּקְדוּ	1.				יִפְקְדוּ 3.

Anno-

ILLUSTRATION 10.6 Page 68 of the Hebrew grammar with the opening portion of chapter 16 ('Of the Active Intensive Verb with a Dagesh (*Pi'el*)'). Latin, pointed Hebrew, and occasionally printed Dutch Fraktur typeface on one page.

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– P. 238 (E5p3c): 'hanging' letter *n* in 'minùs' (inner forme of Gg).



tur, non nisi ratione distinguetur; (*per Prop.* 22. *p.* 2. *cum ejusdem Schol.*) adeoque (*per Prop.* 3. *p.* 3.) affectus desinet esse passio. *Q. E. D.*

COROLLARIUM.

Affectus igitur eò magis in nostrâ potestate est, & Mens ab eo minùs patitur, quò nobis est notior.

PROPOSITIO IV.

Nulla est Corporis affectio, cujus aliquem clarum, & distinctum non possumus formare conceptum.

ILLUSTRATION 10.7 Misprint in corollary of proposition 3 of Part 5 of the *Ethica*.

Occurs in: Cambridge, King's College, Keynes Cc.06.03/4; Ghent, University Library, BIB.ACC.03066; Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702 b(1); Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés A 492446; Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, 27373; Naarden, private collection Piet Steenbakkers; Rome, Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', University Library, ST 6 46 F 1; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.1.O.5. These

aforementioned copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production process.
– P. 325: sig. Ss3 printed as 'Sſ', 3 badly inked/printed, or dislodged and dropped out from outer forme during printing (inner forme of Ss).

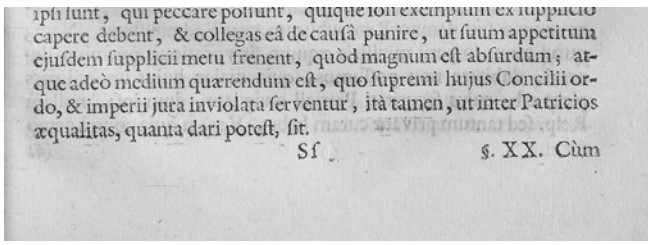

ipſi ſunt, qui peccare poſſunt, quique ſon exemplum ex ſupplicio capere debent, & collegas eâ de cauſâ punire, ut ſuum appetitum ejuſdem ſupplicii metu frenent, quòd magnum eſt abſurdum; atque adeò medium quærendum eſt, quo ſupremi hujus Concilii ordo, & imperii jura inviolata ſerventur, ità tamen, ut inter Patricios æqualitas, quanta dari poteſt, ſit.
Sſ §. XX. Cùm

ILLUSTRATION 10.8 Misprint in chapter 8 ('On Aristocracy') of the *Tractatus politicus*.

Occurs in: Krakow, Jagiellonian University, University Library, 905334 II; Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, 27373; Dublin, Marsh's Library, P1.3.49; Oxford, Queen's College, Tunnel: F.f.110; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Ac 343. These aforementioned copies were printed during a later stage of the production of copies.
– P. 341: page number gradually shifted northeast in forme and tilted skew (outer forme of Hh).

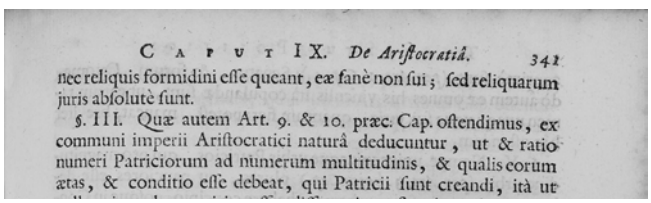

CAPUT IX. *De Ariſtocratiâ.* 341
nec reliquis formidini eſſe queant, eæ fanè non ſui; ſed reliquarum juris abſolutè ſunt.
§. III. Quæ autem Art. 9. & 10. præc. Cap. oſtendimus, ex communi imperii Ariſtocratici naturâ deducuntur, ut & ratio numeri Patriciorum ad numerum multitudinis, & qualis eorum ætas, & conditio eſſe debeat, qui Patricii ſunt creandi, ità ut

ILLUSTRATION 10.9 Tilted page number in chapter 9 ('On Aristocracy') of the *Tractatus politicus*.

Occurs in: Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3474 (2), OTM: O 60-1955 (1), OTM: O 60-1982, OTM: O 63-8387, OTM: RON A-5213; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Bibl. Diez qu. 1963, 50 MA 49155; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, VH 2.443 A2 RP; Cambridge, University Library, Qq* .2.267 (D); Champaign (IL), University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), University Library, 193 Sp41677; Cleveland (OH), Case Western Reserve University, B3955.A18; Freiburg/Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire/Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek, SOC LECT L 54, A 1523; Freiburg im Breisgau, Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat der Erzdiözese Freiburg, Frei 164: StP Ph 542; Glasgow, University Library, Special Collections, Sp. Coll. BC33-f.7; Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702 b(1), AB 40 4/i, 5; Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Bud.Misc.39(2); Leeds, Leeds University, Brotherton Library, Strong Room for. 4to 1677 SPI; Leiden, University Library, 546 E 4; Maldon, Thomas Plume Library; Manchester, University Library, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, JRL 144; Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier, Ba 254 in-4; Philadelphia (PA), Temple University, University Library, B3955 1677; Pittsburgh, Carnegie Mellon University, Posner Library, B3953 1677; Pittsburgh (PA), University Library, Hillman Library Special Collections, 1677 N469; San Marino (CA), The Huntington Library, 356957; Stockholm, RL, 116 A; Syracuse (NY), Syracuse University, University Library, B3955 .A18 1677; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Cos. 710; Würzburg, University Library, Ph.q. 41. These aforementioned copies were printed during a later stage of the production of copies.
– P. 407, footnote (editorial error, inner forme of Eee): misprinting '§. 25' as '§. 24'. The autograph letter (London, Royal Society, ms. S1/37, fol. 1^{v}), though, has '§. 25' (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6).
– P. 598: caption 'EPISTOLA LXXII.' misprinted as 'Epistola LXXIII.' (inner forme of Ffff); flaw remedied in *De nagelate schriften*.

Literals in the *Ethica* lacking in the 'Sphalmata in Propositionibus Ethices emendanda' and the 'Sphalmata corrigenda' (cf. Spinoza, *Œuvres complètes*. IV: *Éthique*):
– P. 6, l. 27: 'tranguli' instead of 'trianguli'.
– P. 14, l. 19: '*Corall.*' instead of '*Coroll.*'
– P. 54, l. 6: 'quiscere' instead of 'quiescere'.
– P. 89, l. 22: 'intellectnm' (*u* typeset upside down) instead of 'intellectum'.
– P. 110, l. 33: 'ptaeteritam' instead of 'praeteritam'
– P. 157, l. 20: 'Pusillaminitas' instead of 'Pusillanimitas'.
– P. 191, l. 10: 'infinitiae' instead of 'infinitae'.
– P. 196, l. 23: 'eundum' instead of 'eundem'.
– P. 196, ll. 31–32: 'superstiosis' instead of 'superstitiosis'.
– P. 206, l. 3: 'proenitet' instead of 'poenitet'.
– P. 236, ll. 23–24: 'determinabus' instead of 'determinabimus'.
– P. 236, l. 24: 'beatudinem' instead of 'beatitudinem'.
– P. 242, l. 23: 'vi' instead of 'in'.
– P. 251, ll. 25–26: 'efsentiam' instead of 'essentiam'.
– P. 254, l. 16: 'Quateuus' instead of 'Quatenus'.
– P. 254, l. 32: 'quatenns' instead of 'quatenus'.
– P. 257, l. 27: 'seqnitur' instead of 'sequitur'.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

167704 – a1 *2 s$C : a2 *****3 AMMATICES$
167704 – b1 A &$i : b2 Kk3 cujus$si
167704 – c1 Ll2 itia$fo : c2 Yy onsu
167704 – d1 Yy3 tria$red : d2 Ccc3 â$interru
167704 – e1 Ddd2 ione$inf : e2 Hhhh3 sunt.æc$sup
167704 – f1 Iiii etunt : f2 Mmmm2 $,$quidque$in
167704 – g1 A tis$p : g2 O3 o$י ת ד
167704 – h1 P ug : h2 P2 as$vo

Collation

4°: *4 **4 ***4 ****4 *****4 A–Z4 Aa–Zz4 Aaa–Zzz4 Aaaa – Mmmm4 A–P4 [$3 (–Lll, –Yy2, –Ddd, –Mmmm3, –P3] 404 leaves = pp. [*41*] 2–264 [*1*] 266–354 [*1*] 356–392 [*2*] 395–614 [*34*] 1–112 [*8*]

Collation Variant

No variant state found.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines printed in upper middle margin, larger upper case (capital letters): PRÆFATIO.; De Intellectus (verso), Emendatione Tractatus. (recto); Epistolæ et. (verso), Ad Eas Responsiones. (verso); Index Rerum. (recto, verso); Compendium (verso), Gramm. Linguæ Hebraeæ. (recto).

Headlines in main work comprise a combination of larger upper case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italics): Ethices *Pars* i. (verso, with subsequent chapter number in roman capital letters), De Deo. (recto); Ethices *Pars* ii. (verso, with subsequent chapter number in roman capital letters), De Mente. (recto); Ethices *Pars* iii. (verso, with subsequent chapter number in roman capital letters), De Affectibus. (recto); Ethices *Pars* iv. (verso, with subsequent chapter number in roman capital letters), De Servitute Humana (recto); Ethices *Pars* v. (verso, with subsequent chapter number in roman capital letters), De Libertate Humana. (recto); Tractatus Politici (verso), Caput i. (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers in roman capital letters); or: Tractatus Politici (verso), Caput v. *De Monarchiâ.* (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers in roman capital letters, chapter title in italics); Tractatus Politici (verso), Caput viii. *De Aristocratiâ.* (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers in roman capital letters, chapter title in italics added in italics); Tractatus Politici (verso), Caput x. *De Democratiâ.* (recto, with subsequent chapter numbers in roman capital letters, text added in italic type).

Contents

*r	(title-page)
*v	(blank)
*2r–*****3r	PRAEFATIO.
*****3r	Hoc Opere continentur (table of contents, lacking in *De nagelate schriften*)
*****3v	N.B.
*****4r	ETHICA Ordine Geometrico demonstrata, *ET In quinque Partes distincta, in quibus agitur*, i. De Deo. ii. De Natura & Origine Mentis. iii. De Origine & Natura Affectuum. iv. De Servitute Humana, seu de Affectuum Viribus. v. De Potentia Intellectus, seu de Libertate Humana. (part-title leaf)
A1r–E4r	ETHICES, *Pars Prima*, DE DEO.
E4v–M2v	ETHICES, *Pars Secunda*, DE *Natura, & Origine* MENTIS. (In *De nagelate schriften*, E2 is entitled: 'Of the Human Mind')
M3r–V4v	ETHICES, *Pars Tertia*, DE *Origine, & Natura* AFFECTUUM. (In *De nagelate schriften*, E3 is called: 'Of the Nature and Origin of the Affects')
X1r–Ff4v	ETHICES, *Pars Quarta*, DE Servitute Humana, *seu de* Affectuum VIRIBUS. (In *De nagelate schriften*, E4 is entitled: 'Of Human Bondage')
Gg1r–Kk4v	ETHICES, *Pars Quinta*, DE Potentia Intellectus, *seu de* Libertate Humana. (In *De nagelate schriften*, E5 is called: 'Of Human Freedom')
Ll1r	TRACTATUS POLITICUS; In quo demonstrator, quomodo Societas, ubi Imperium Monarchicum locum habet, sicut & ea, ubi Optimi imperant, debet institui, ne in Tyrannidem labatur, & ut Pax, Libertasque civium inviolata maneat (part-title leaf)
Ll1v	Auctoris epistola ad Amicum, quae Praefationis loco huic Tractato

	Politico aptè praefigi, & interservire poterit.
Ll2^{r}–Ll3^{v}	TRACTATUS POLITICUS; In quo demonstratur, quomodo Societas, ubi Imperium Monarchicum locum habet, sicut & ea, ubi Optimi imperant, debet institui, ne in Tyrannidem labatur, & ut Pax, Libertasque civium inviolata manet. CAPUT I.
Ll3^{v}–Mm3^{v}	CAPUT II.
Mm3^{v}–Nn3^{r}	CAPUT III.
Nn3^{r}–Nn4^{v}	CAPUT IV.
Nn4^{v}–Oo2^{r}	CAPUT V.
Oo2^{r}–Pp3^{r}	CAPUT VI.
Pp3^{r}–Rr3^{r}	CAPUT VII.
Rr3^{r}–Vv2^{v}	CAPUT VIII. *Quod Imperium Aristocratium magno Patriciorum numero constare debet: de ejus praestantia, & quod ad absolutum magis, quam Monarchicum accedat, & hac de causa Libertati conservandae aptius sit.*
Vv2^{v}–Xx2^{r}	CAPUT IX.
Xx2^{r}–Xx4^{v}	CAPUT X.
Xx4^{v}–Yy^{v}	CAPUT XI.
Yy2^{r}	TRACTATUS *De* INTELLECTUS EMENDATIONE, Et de via, qua optime in veram rerum Cognitionem dirigitur. (part-title leaf)
Yy2^{v}	ADMONITIO *Ad* LECTOREM.
Yy3^{r}–Ccc4^{v}	TRACTATUS *De* INTELLECTUS EMENDATIONE, Et de via, qua optime in veram rerum Cognitionem dirigitur.
Ddd^{r}	EPISTOLAE Doctorum Quorundam Virorum *Ad* B. D. S. *Et Auctoris* RESPONSIONES; Ad aliorum ejus Operum elucidationem non parum facientes. (part-title leaf)
Ddd2^{r}–Hhh4^{r}	(letters I–X:) *EPISTOLAE* Doctorum Quorundam Virorum *Ad* B. D. S. *Cum Auctoris Responsionibus*: EPISTOLA I. *Clarissimo Viro* B. D. S. HENR. OLDENBURGIUS.
Hhh4^{v}–Kkk4^{v}	(letters XI–XX:) EPISTOLA XI. *Clarissimo Viro* B. D. S. HENRICUS OLDENBURGIUS.
Lll^{r}–Ooo^{r}	(letters XXI–XXX:) EPISTOLA XXI. *Viro Nobilissimo, ac Doctissimo* HENRICO OLDENBURGIO B. D. S. *Responsio ad praecedentem.*
Ooo^{r}–Vvv2^{r}	(letters XXXI–XL:) EPISTOLA XXXI. *Clarissimo Viro* B. D. S. GUILIELMUS de BLYENBERGH. *Versio.*
Vvv2^{r}–Aaaa3^{v}	(letters XLI–L:) EPISTOLA XLI. *Viro Amplissimo, ac Prudentissimo*, ******* B. D. S. Versio.
Aaaa4^{r}–Ffff2^{v}	(letters LI–LXX:) EPISTOLA LI. *Illustri, & Clarissimo Viro*, B. D. S. GOTTFRIDUS LEIBNITIUS.
Ffff3^{r}–Hhhh3^{v}	(letters LXXI–LXXIV:) EPISTOLA LXXI. *Acutissimo, Doctissimóque Philosopho*, B. D. S. *******.
Hhhh4^{r}–Mmmm3^{r}	INDEX RERUM.
Mmmm^{v}	(blank)
Mmmm4^{r}	COMPENDIUM GRAMMATICES LINGUAE HEBRAEAE. (part-title leaf)
Mmmm4^{v}	ADMONITIO Ad LECTOREM.
A^{r}	COMPENDIUM GRAMMATICES LINGUAE HEBRAEAE. CAP. I. *De Literis, & Vocalibus in genere.*
A^{v}–A2^{v}	CAP. II. *De literarum figura, potestate, nominibus, classibus, & proprietatibus.*
A2^{v}–A4^{v}	CAP. III. *De Vocalibus, de earum scilicet figurâ, nomine, potestatibus, & proprietatibus.*
A4^{v}–B4^{v}	CAP. IV. *De Accentibus.*
C^{r}–C^{v}	CAP. V. *De Nomine.*
C^{v}–C4^{r}	CAP. VI. *De Flexione Nominis ex singulari in pluralem.*
C4^{r}–D^{r}	CAP. VII. *De Genere Masculino, & Foeminino.*
D^{r}–E2^{v}	CAP. VIII. *De Regimine Nominis.*
E2^{v}–F^{r}	CAP. IX. *De duplici Nominis usu, deque ejus Declinatione.*
F^{r}–F2^{v}	CAP. X. *De Praepositione, & Adverbiis.*
F2^{v}–G3^{v}	CAP. XI. *De Pronomine.*
G3^{v}–G4^{v}	CAP. XII. *De Nomine Infinitivo, nempe de variis ejus Formis, & Speciebus.*
G4^{v}–H2^{v}	CAP. XIII. *De Conjugatione.*
H2^{v}–I^{r}	CAP. XIV. *De prima Verborum Conjugatione.* Paradigma. *Verbi Activi simplicis.*
I^{r}–I2^{r}	CAP. XV. *De Verbo passivo.*
I2^{v}–I4^{r}	CAP. XVI. *De Verbo Dageschato, sive Intensivo, & quidem de ejus Activo.*
I4^{r}–I4^{v}	CAP. XVII. *De Verbo Intensivo passivo.*

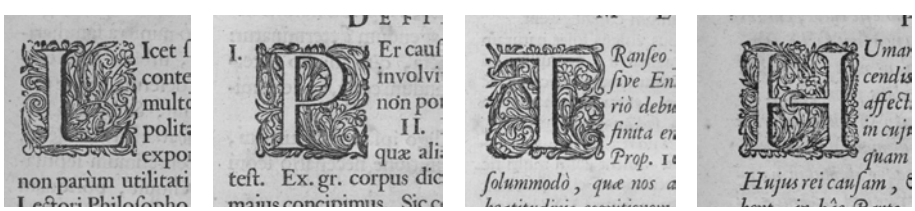
I4v–Kv	Cap. xviii. *De Verbo Derivato significatione activa.*
Kv–K2r	Cap. xix. *De Verbo Derivato Passivo.*
K2r–K3r	Cap. xx. *De Verbo Reciproco Activo.*
K3r–K4r	Cap. xxi. *De Verbo Reciproco Passivo.*
K4r–Lr	Cap. xxii. *De Verbis secundae Conjugationis.*
Lr–L3v	Cap. xxiii. *De Verbis tertiae Conjugationis.*
L3v–L4r	Cap. xxiv. *De Verbis quartae Conjugationis.*
L4r–M2r	Cap. xxv. *De Verbis quintae Conjugationis.*
M2r–M2v	Cap. xxvi. *De Verbis compositis ex hac quinta & tribus praecendentibus Conjugationibus.*
M2v–Nr	Cap. xxvii. *De Verbis sextae Conjugationis.*
Nr–N2r	Cap. xxviii. *De Verbis septimae Conjugationis.*
N2r–N2v	Cap. xxix. *De Verbis octavae Conjugationis.*
N2v–N3v	Cap. xxx. *De Verbis Defectivis.*
N4r–O2r	Cap. xxxi. *De altero Defectivorum genere.*
O2r–O3r	Cap. xxxii. *De verbis Deponentibus, & de Verbis Quadratis, & obiter de compositione Verborum, Modorum & Temporum.*
O3r–O4r	Cap. xxxiii. *De Nomine Participio.*
Pr–Pv	INDICULUS CAPITUM. Grammatices Hebraeae.
Pv–P2r	Loca quaedam S. Scripturae, quae in hoc Compendio vel notantur, vel explicantur.
P2r–P3r	INDICULUS RERUM. Numerus denotat paginam.
P3r	Sphalmata in Propositionibus Ethices emendanda. (list of errata, with seventeen corrections, made on pp. 33, 66, 69, 82, 117, 124, 147, 155, 171, 186, 193, 201, 205, 208, 213, 239, 243)
P3r–P4r	Sphalmata corrigenda. (list of errata, with sixty-one corrections, for pp. 5, 9, 12, 20, 26, 39, 59, 69, 81, 93, 103, 105, 111, 115, 120, 131, 135, 139, 148, 156, 169, 171, 202, 208, 210, 227, 230, 235 [2×], 241, 262, 263, 270, 278, 282, 283 [2×], 286, 288, 309, 311, 315, 326, 346, 349, 353, 381, 401, 402, 411, 412, 425, 437, 441, 501, 510, 544, 558, 560, 571, 604)
P4r	Errata in Compendio Grammatices Hebraeae. (list of errata in Hebrew grammar, with thirty-one corrections, for pp. 3, 11 [2×], 12, 25, 26, 34, 38, 39, 46, 49, 54, 60, 64, 69, 77 [2×], 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 104, 108, 109, 110, 112)

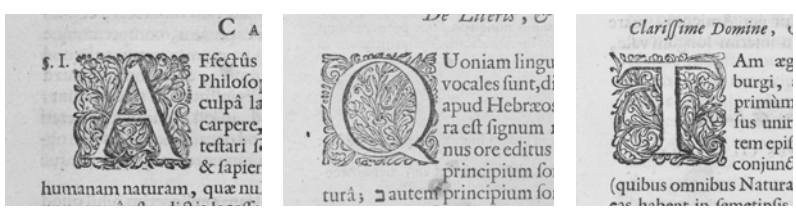
Ornament on Title-Page

Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 36×50 mm. Same vignette on title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, and T.5) and *De nagelate schriften*. *See*: T.1.

Decorated Initials

Ten ornamented (acanthus) initials (L, P, T, P, H, T, A, P, T, Q), employed to head the first letter of the first word of Preface and chapters of separate parts, relief woodcuts: sig. *2r, pp. 1, 40, 93, 161, 233, 357 and 1 (5 ll., 27×26 mm, 26×26 mm, 26 mm, 26×25 mm, 26×26 mm, 26×26 mm, 26×25 mm, 25×26 mm), 267, 395 (6 ll., 26×26 mm and 25×26 mm). It has been argued De Paull employed woodcut initials from a '25 mm acanthus' series type specimen ('ADEGHMNW'.) to head the first letter of the first word of preface and chapters of separate parts for printing *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*. The Latin edition has LPQT, its Dutch translation has BIS from this series. Cf. Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 375–376 (with specimens).





ILLUSTRATIONS 10.10, 10.11, 10.12, 10.13, 10.14, 10.15, AND 10.16
Decorated acanthus initials in the *Opera posthuma* from a '25 mm acanthus' ADEGHMNW series type specimen owned by the Tuinstraat printing office of Israel de Paull.

Initials matching identical initials in other works known to have been printed by Israel de Paull (Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 2, pp. 303–305):

initial L

ILLUSTRATION 10.17 Initial L.

– Also in: Johannes Coccejus, *Opera omnia theologica, exegetica, didactica, polemica, philologica; divisa in octo volumina* (Amsterdam: J. van Someren, 1673–5).

initial A

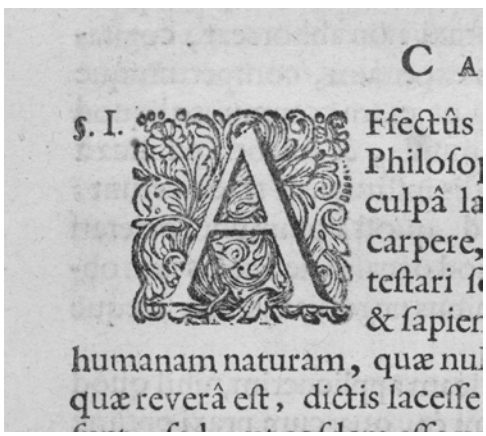


ILLUSTRATION 10.18 Initial A.

– Also in: Timotheus Philadelphus, *Een brief aan een vriendt, beschrijvende de tegenwoordige zware vervolging, en verdrukking van de vroome belijders, in Schotlandt* (Amsterdam: 1678).

A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Simple Initials

Small black closed initials (2 ll., 7×7 mm [p. 397]), woodcuts, employed for the first letter of subchapters and letters in correspondence section.

Tailpiece Ornaments

Reduced version of yoke vignette (last leaf of the *Tractatus politicus* on p. 354), relief woodcut, 20×26 mm (Lane, p. 373, ornament no. 17). Also in: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, and T.4n/T.4). Also on title-page of: *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé* (X.2, Y.4). *See*: T.1.

Floral ornament (23×50 mm), tailpiece in Hebrew grammar manual (p. 112).

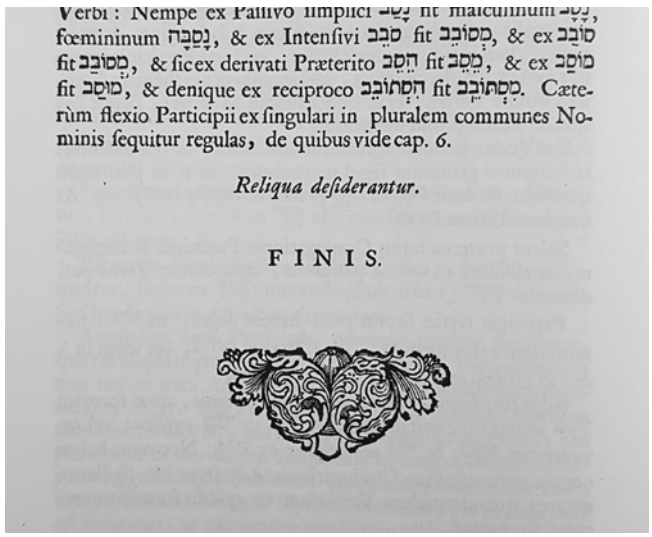
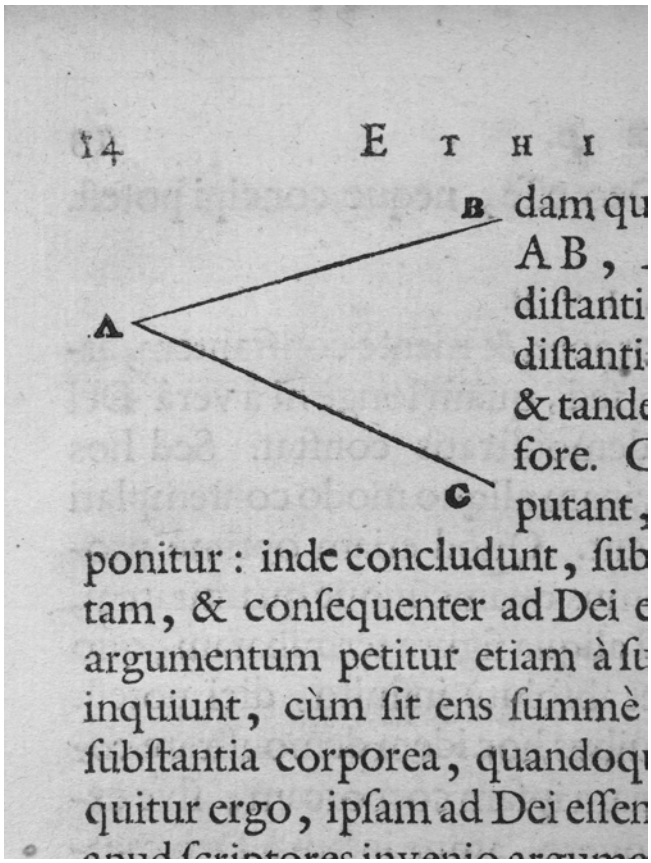


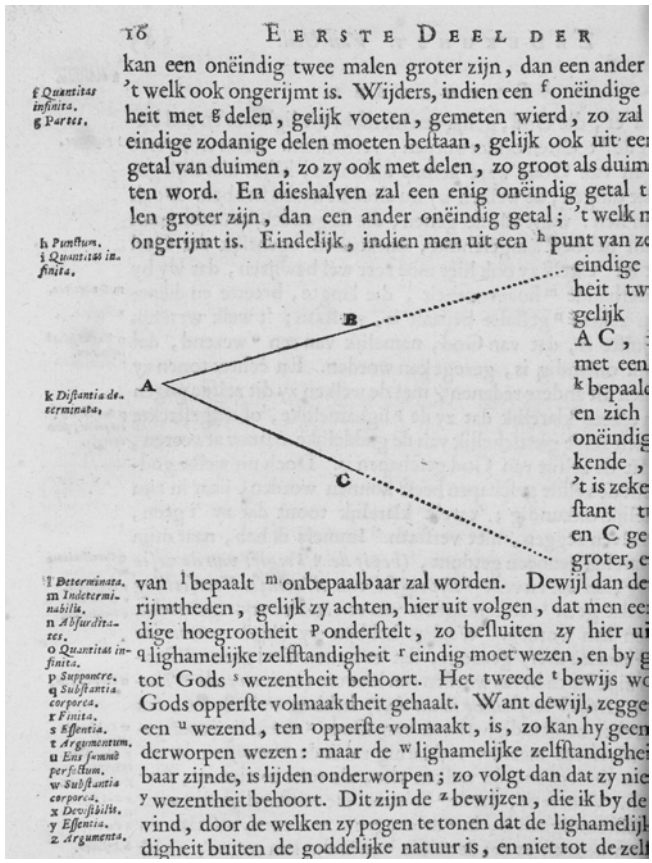
ILLUSTRATION 10.19 Tailpiece vignette in the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae.*

Illustrations

Geometrical visuals (6), copper etchings, engraver not identified.

– *Ethica* text: pp. 14 (30×38 mm), 47 (diam. *c.*30 mm), 55 (21×32 mm). Gebhardt (G 2, p. 350) rightly observed the accompanying illustration for E1p15s (p. 14) is slightly differently executed in *De nagelate schriften* (p. 16).





ILLUSTRATIONS 10.20 AND 10.21 Example of a geometrical visual on page 14 of the *Ethica* (E1p15s) in the *Opera posthuma*. In *De nagelate schriften* this visual has a differing layout.

Correspondence section:
- P. 469 (diam. 23 mm, composed after a visual contained in a now-lost letter of Spinoza to Meyer: 1663.04.20, Ep 12 [G 4/52–62]).
- P. 526 (35×59 mm, based on a visual in a now-lost letter of Spinoza to Hudde: 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36 [G 4/183–187], made after a drawing in: anon. (Hudde), *Specilla circularia*.
- P. 532 (47×50 mm).

Physical illustrations (11), copper etchings, engraver not identified:
- P. 409 (nitre experiment): tube with small opening, 41×10 mm, glass goblet, 25×19 mm, both made after a drawing by Spinoza scribbled in an extant letter to Henry Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
- P. 414 (nitre experiment): bladder filled with water, 22×32 mm; paper chimney, 36×24 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in a letter to Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
- P. 416 (cohesion experiments): focusing on the separation of two smooth marble blocks in open air, interconnected by a string stretched downwards over a pulley by a weight, 51×50 mm, variant of the same trial focused on measuring air pressure, 51×38 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in a letter to Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
- P. 430 (pneumatic trial): water barometer, 93×48 mm, made after a copy by Henry Oldenburg of a water colour by Robert Hooke (lost, but enclosed in a now-lost letter to Spinoza of 31 July/10 August 1663 [1663.08.10, Ep 14 (G 4/70–71)]).
- P. 535 (optics, not in *De nagelate schriften*): non-parallel rays issuing from different angles of a distant object reversed and refracted in the human eye, 113×30 mm. The etching's exemplar probably was an illustration in one of the editions of Descartes's 1637 *Dioptrique* (Discourse 7, p. 82), explaining retinal image formation with the help of a refracting compound telescope with an ocular and objective lens.
- P. 536 (fluid flows experiment): sketch of wooden scale fluid-dynamics model, 55×106 mm, repeated on 538.
- P. 537 (fluid flows experiment): improvised leverage pump, 73×29 mm).

***Copies* (*312*)**

Copies Examined

OP#1 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: RON A-5213
Brown spotting to pages, eighteenth- or nineteenth-century paper and calf binding, ex libris on cover, underliners and Dutch notes by an eighteenth-century hand in brown ink throughout copy with black ink, unidentified ex libris (monogram) pasted on front pastedown, modern library stamp (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana) in black ink on title-page).
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=vpxnAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

OP#2 COPENHAGEN, DEB, Boghistoriske samlinger Filos., 934 4° 41660
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding (damaged and worn out), marbled pasteboards and first and last endpapers, round back, gold-tooled spine (floral motives), damaged gold-tooled red lettering panel: 'B.D.S. OPERA | POSTHUMA | DE DEO', sprinkled edge.
Provenance: handwritten corrections in text (at least some from errata at back), circular library stamp (Royal Library), owner's mark of Danish diplomat Justus Høegh (1640–1694) on title-page in black ink: ('[Jurtui] Höegh. Parisi d. 2 octob. 1680').

OP#3 COPENHAGEN, DEB, Magasin Fil. 18715 4°
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, laced- in thongs, seventeenth-century handwritten title on spine in black: 'Spinoza. opera posthuma. 1677'.
Provenance: handwritten corrections in *Ethica* section, late-seventeenth-century owner's mark in black ink on foot of title-page ('B.U.[M].'), modern rectangular black library stamp (Royal Library).

OP#4P GHENT, University Library, BIB.ACC.030664
Copy with 'Opera' portrait. Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, red-sprinkled edges, yellow end binding.
Provenance: bibliographic references on edition on first pastedown in black ink (late eighteenth century), older library stamp (Ghent, University Library) on title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://lib.ugent.be/en/catalog/bkt01:000335271?i=0&q=spinoza+opera+posthuma

OP#5 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702 b(1)
Late-seventeenth-century binding in brown calf, cover missing, gilt spine, red-sprinkled edges, page number 341 tilted, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.5).
Provenance: late-nineteenth-century owner's stamp on title-page ('Lettzkau'), older shelf-mark in lower right corner of title-page ('G 3086'), circular library stamp (Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt) on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
https://digital.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/hd/content/titleinfo/1231365

OP#6 HANOVER, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Leibniz, Marg. 30
Minor brownspotting to leaves, edge sprinkled with red and blue ink, early-twentieth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, round back, gold-tooled lettering: 'Spinoza | Opera | posthuma', twentieth-century front and back endpapers.
Provenance: personal copy of the German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Copy purchased for Leibniz by Spinoza's friend and correspondent Georg Hermann Schuller (according to twentieth-century note in pencil now on the original first front endpaper, pastedown): 'Purchased by Georg Hermann Schuller Amsterdam 22 January 1678 for fl. 4,10' ('Angekauft bei Georg Hermann Schuller Amsterdam 22. Januar 1678 für fl. 4,10'), presumably after an older now-lost inscription by Leibniz before the calf binding was rebacked; twentieth-century shelf-marks (IV, 309a ; Leibn. marg. 30) in pencil; early-twentieth-century library stamp ('Bibliotheca Regio Hannoverana') and modern library stamp of the Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek; title-page with notes in twentieth-century handwriting (pencil): 'Spinoza' (above title), '94. ad. Schuller' (between title and printer's mark). Some of Leibniz's comments scribbled in the external margins (pp. 1, 19, 22, 25, 32, 36, 41–42, 45, 50–51, 55, 57–60, 64–67, 78, 95, 104, 106, 121, 146–147, 162, 220, 364–366, 387–389, 392, 526), underlines, several marginal notes by Leibniz indicating the identity of individuals who are cloaked in the correspondence section (p. 519: 'Haec epistola duabus seqq. est ad Huddenium, ut patet ex. p. 526'; p. 526: 'Huddenius' (reference to the disguised author [Hudde] of *Specilla circularia*: 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36); 531: 'Jargen Jellis'; 581: 'D[ominu]m Tsch[irnhusii]'; 583: 'Schullero'; 587: 'Tsch[irnhusii]'; 595: 'Tschirnhusii'). Leibniz's remarks in the correspondence section must

have been added after 19/29 March 1678 when Schuller informed the German scholar in a letter about the identity of other disguised correspondents of Spinoza. Cf.: Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Series I–VIII*, 3:2, pp. 359–360. All glosses are edited in: id., 6:4, pp. 1705–1764, no. 336.
Digitized copy:
http://digitale-sammlungen.gwlb.de/index.php?id=6&no_cache=1&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=1169&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&tx_dlf%5Bpointer%5D=0

OP#7 MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 4080
Large-paper copy. Trimmed copy, late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, brown spotting to leaves.
Provenance: engraved bookplate of German theologian Franziscus Töpsl: 'S. Salvatoris Pollingae. A. 1744. Franciscus Praepositus'; library dispersed in 1803, now partly in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; eighteenth-century reader's notes (after 1704) in black ink (title-page) in one hand, listing Henry More's refutation 'Ad V.C. epistola altera, quae brevem tractatus Theologico-politici confutationem complectitur, … De libri Francisci Cuperi' and a few other rebuttals; one note remarking the following: 'these works were edited [by] Lodewijk Meyer, a physician from Amsterdam' ('ipse Opera edidit LUDOVICUS MEYERUS medicus Amstelodamensis'); the same hand also jotted the following remark in the upper margin of p. 1: 'This treatise is composed in Dutch by a Mennonite in Amsterdam, Jarig Jelles, but translated into Dutch by Lodewijk Meyer, a medical doctor at Amsterdam' ('Dieser tractation ist in niederländischer Sprache von einem Mennonisten zu Amsterdam Iarich Ielles, verfertiget; aber ins lateinisch von Ludovico Meyer, einem medico zu Amsterdam gebracht warden'); older shelf-marks on first board paper ('Philos. Opera, 134', Ph.u. 133, B.S. VII.366); modern library stamps (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).[1]
Digitized copy:
http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10861255-5

OP#8 PITTSBURGH, Carnegie Mellon University, Posner Library, B3953 1677
Fine copy, plain version, minor brown spotting to pages. Printing error in page number 341.
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather over pasteboard, marbled papers on pasteboard and first and back endpapers, round back, gold-tooled spine (floral motives), damaged gold-tooled lettering panel: 'OPERA | POSTHUMA'.
Provenance: bookplate of the Posner family, eighteenth-century note in black ink and twentieth-century notes and shelf-mark (10919 GESIK) in pencil on first free front endpaper, another shelf-mark in pencil on back of title-page (199 S750).
Digitized copy:
http://posner.library.cmu.edu/Posner/books/book.cgi?call=199_S75O

OP#9 ROME, Biblioteca dell'Academia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, 67 D 19
Copy used for facsimile edition: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Opera posthuma: Amsterdam 1677: Riproduzione fotografica integrale, complete photographic reproduction*, Pina Totaro, etc. (eds) (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2008).

OP#10P ROME, Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', University Library, ST 6 46 F 1
Copy with 'Opera' portrait. Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard.
Provenance: older library label and stamps ('Biblioteca Giorgio del Vecchio, Università di Roma, Instituto di Filosofia del Diritto') on first front endpapers, circular library stamps ('Biblioteca Giorgio del Vecchio, Università di Roma').
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=8kucHR3kHA8C&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

OP#11 THE HAGUE, KB, 366 C 4
Collation: gathering C missing in the Hebrew grammar, sheet P in Hebrew grammar and lists of errata bound in between K and L: 4^o: *4 **4 ***4 ****4 *****4 A–Z^4 Aa–Zz^4 Aaa–Zzz^4 Aaaa–$Mmmm^4$ A–B^4 C^4(–C, –C2, –C3, –C4) D–K^4, P^4, L–O^4 ($3 (–Lll, –Yy2, –Ddd, –Mmmm3, –P3))
Plain version, pasteboard backed by nineteenth- or twentieth-century linen, linen on spine lacking, trimmed copy, minor light spotting, no title.

1 Töpsl (1711–1796), was one of the leading German theologians who brought about the Roman Catholic 'Aufklärung' in German Bavaria. After his formal education, he entered the Augustinerchorherren-Stift Polling (Upper Bavaria) in 1629. Under Töpsl's rule, the Polling convent earned a reputation for its vast library (about 8,000 books) and its focus on scholarly research. Cf. Richard van Dülmen, *Propst Franziskus Töpsl (1711–1796) und das Augustiner Chorherrnstift Polling* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1967).

Provenance: twentieth-century hand notes (shelf-mark and 'Spinoza') in pencil; circular library stamp (The Hague, KB) on title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=21&resultClick=1

OP#12 TORINO, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Cos 710
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular rule on front and back, board paper and first and back endpapers marbled, gold-tooled spine on five raised gilt bands, damaged gilt lettering panel: 'SPINOSA | OPERA | POSTHUMA', red-sprinkled edges. Printing errors on pp. 238 and 341.
Provenance: late-nineteenth-century bookplate on first board paper ('Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino | 710 | Cavalgia-Cossato'), owner's inscription in italics on front endpaper in nineteenth-century handwriting ('Ex libris, Caroli mariae, Comitis de Lavieuville'), library stamp (Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino) on front endpapers and on title-page, Spinoza's full name added to title-page ('BeneDicti Spinosae') by a nineteenth-century hand, note on authorship, possibly by the same hand: 'He was called Baruch and not Benedictus: but he changed Baruch into Benedictus after he changed his religion' ('il s'appelait baruch et non | benoît: mais il changea baruch | en benoît, quand il changea de | religion').
Digitized copy:
https://books.google.nl/books?id=nm_7SRrrIKMC&pg=PP9&hl=nl&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q&f=false

OP#13 VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE.1.O.5
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular double rule on front and back within larger rectangular single rule, corners of rule decorated with gold-tooled arabesques, gold-tooled oblong coat of arms on front, board paper and first and back endpapers marbled.
Provenance: printed late-twentieth-century bookplate (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) pasted to first board paper; circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ1849156O2

OP#14 VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 78.E.12.Alt-Prunk
Late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gold-tooled rectangular double rule on front and back within larger rectangular single rule, corners of rule decorated with gold-tooled arabesques, board paper and first and back endpapers marbled.
Provenance: printed late-twentieth-century bookplate (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) pasted to first board paper; circular library stamp ('Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek Wien') on back of title-page.
Digitized copy:
http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ185978000&ref=primo-search&provider=ABO&query="spinoza%2C"+"benedictus"+"de"

OP#15P WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Ac 343
Collation: 4^{o}: $*^{4}$ $**^{4}$ $***^{4}$ $****^{4}$ $*****^{4}$ A–Z^{4} Aa–Zz^{4} Aaa–Zzz^{4} Aaaa–$Mmmm^{4}$ A–P^{4} [$3 (–Lll, –Yy2, –Ddd, –Mmmm3, –P3, Ss3 misprinted Ss]
Copy with 'Opera' portrait. Late-seventeenth-century plain vellum over pasteboard, laced-in vellum thongs. Printing error in page number 341.
Provenance: copy originally from the library of Duke Ludwig Rudolf von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1671–1735) at the Blankenburg castle; printed early-eighteenth-century bookplate ('Ex bibliotheca Ducis Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis', text in wrappers around crowned monogram LR, engraving by Johann Georg Schmidt of Ludwig Rudolf, pasted down on first board paper; old printed shelf-mark ('54.') on a small piece of paper, pasted separately below ex libris; late-seventeenth-century shelf-mark (upper right corner of first board paper) in black ink by another hand: Z3Z. Mm; other eighteenth-century short notes (old shelf-marks?) on first front endpaper in black ink ('Gk–'H', 89); nineteenth-century stamp (Herzog August Bibliothek) on sig. $*^{v}$; modern hand notes with pencil (['Benedikt de Spinoza'], shelf-mark Ac 343) on title-page.[2]
Digitized copy:
http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/ac-343/start.htm

2 *See* for background on the library of Duke Ludwig Rudolf (split up upon his death and divided between the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel and the Collegium Carolinum in Braunschweig): Arnold Werner, *Eine norddeutsche Fürstenbibliothek des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts. Herzog Ludwig Rudolph von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1671–1735) und seine Buchsammlung* (Göttingen: Bautz, 1980).

Non-Collated Copies

Netherlands (*16*)

OP#16–19 AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 60-3474 (2) (vellum cover with laced-in thongs, spine has 'SPINOSA' on it in black ink, black-speckled edges, printed eighteenth-century armorial bookplate on inside cover: 'Ex Bibliotheca Gralathiana', same cover has ex libris of the Dutch philosopher and humanist Leo Polak [1880–1941], Latin owner's inscription on front pastedown with reference to the work of German jurist and political philosopher Samuel von Pufendorf [1632–1694], bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2]), OTM: O 60-1955 (1) (worn late-seventeenth-century leather binding, spine on six raised bands, gilt decoration and author and title printed on spine in lettering panel: 'B. DE SPINOZA | OPERA | PHILOSOPHICA', red-speckled edges, bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T. 1], copy once had the 'Opera' portrait, eighteenth-century owner's mark in black ink on verso of title-page: 'Le Pressier', modern printed bookplate on front pastedown: 'Ex-libris R.A. Pijnappel', circular library stamp on verso of title-page), OTM: O 60-1982 (tight vellum binding with laced-in thongs, author and title in late-seventeenth-century handwriting in black ink on spine: 'B.D.S. | OPERA POSTHUMA', speckled red and black edges, modern printed bookplate on front pastedown: 'Ex-libris R.A. Pijnappel'), OTM: O 63-8387 (vellum cover with laced-in thongs, author and title on spine in black ink: 'B: SPINOZA OPERA | POSTHUMA', regular edges, nineteenth-century owner's dedication note for the Dutch bibliographer and book collector Frederik Muller [1817–1881]: 'Geschenk aan den Heer Fred. Muller, nov. 1857' [Gift for Mr Frederik Muller, November 1857]).

OP#20 AMSTERDAM, Vrije Universiteit, University Library, XG.00115 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gilt lettering panel on spine: 'OPERA | SPINOSAE', late-seventeenth-century monogram 'S.K.' in black ink on foot of title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2a], Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; Kuyper, *Arcana*).

OP#21P GRONINGEN, University Library, uklu 8 B 868 (1) (copy with the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait, eighteenth-century owner's inscription in black ink on the book, partly legible ['Fata … rarissimorum Benedicti de Spinoza ope[rum] … rarior.…'], nineteenth-century owner's inscription ['Ex libris J. Merkel 1815', with price [5, 24]] in black ink, first front endpapers used for calligraphy exercises in German, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5], and *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* [uklu 8 B 868 (3)]).

OP#22 LEEUWARDEN, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, Tresoar 194 Wbg (vellum cover with laced-in thongs).

OP#23–24 LEIDEN, University Library, 755 F 32 (late-seventeenth-century vellum cover with laced-in thongs, manuscript annotations throughout copy, possibly by physician and philosopher Frederik van Leenhof [1647–1715]; cf. Steenbakkers, 'A Seventeenth-Century Reader'), 546 E 4 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, annotations by Prosper Marchand [1678–1756] on first flyleaf).

OP#25 NAARDEN, private collection Piet Steenbakkers (nineteenth-century binding, gilt author and title on spine, heavy damage to back, bequest of Fokke Akkerman, formerly owned by: Nico van Suchtelen [1878–1949], Dutch writer and publisher, Leo Polak [1880–1941]).

OP#26–27 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 171 (gathering missing in the *Ethica*: pp. 273–280), 196, one other copy without shelf-mark

OP#28–29 THE HAGUE, KB, 378 D 4 (vellum cover with laced-in thongs, copy contains the correspondence section [Ddd3–Mmm3] and the Hebrew grammar [A–P]), PH1832 (large-paper copy, coat of arms of Gabriel-Florent de Choiseul-Beaupré [1685–1767], Bishop of Saint-Papoul and Mende, olim: Haven O'More; Bibliotheca Hermetica Philosophica [Amsterdam]).

OP#30 THE HAGUE, Museum van het Boek Meermanno-Westreenianum, M 103 E 9 (ribbed blind-tooled vellum cover with laced-in thongs, central stamp in a rectangle and four small stamps in corners, sprinkled edges, older shelf-marks ['A 43', I B 86] and ex libris of Meermanno on front endpaper, flyleaf with '2:10-', perhaps a price).

OP#31 VOORSCHOTEN, private collection T. van der Werf

Austria (*2*)

OP#32 SALZBURG, University Library, 96309 I (gold-tooled vellum binding with laced-in thongs, gilt unidentified oblong coat of arms with text ['H.D.C.A.S.S.A.L.G.P.'] on cover, and date 1772, two eighteenth-century owner's Latin note on edition and author, signed: 'Wilhelmus Alexander Balans').

OP#33 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 280835-B.FID (formerly owned by Fidei family of the House of Habsburg-Lothringen, printed bookplate on first pastedown of Hieronymus von Münchhausen [1751–1800]: 'Ex Bibliotheca Hieronymi *à* Münchausen').

Australia (*3*)

OP#34 Melbourne, State Library Victoria, 193 Sp4 J

OP#35–36 Sydney, University of New South Wales, RB/DS109.99492/S758/7 (bookplate of W.A. Duncan C.M.G. on leaf facing title-page, with extract from bookseller's catalogue pasted in above it), DSM/199/S751/1A1 (signed 'D.S. Mitchell' and has various annotations on front endpapers).

Belgium (*5*)

OP#37–38 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, FS XXXV 1.459 A R.P. (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, title-page has late-seventeenth-century additions in black ink: [B.d.S.] 'pinosae | Philosophi [...] acutissimi & praestantissimi', 'Hagae Comit:'), VH 2.443 A2 RP (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, title in black ink on spine: 'Spinosae | Opera | Omnia 1–2', bookplate of Belgian bibliophile Karel van Hulthem [1764–1832], bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

OP#39–40 Ghent, University Library, BIB.ACC.030664 (late-seventeenth-century green end binding with laced-in thongs), BIB.TH.000172-1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, blue-sprinkled edges, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

OP#41 Leuven, University Library, 7A2959/2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, title on spine in black ink: 'Ben | Spinoza | Principia | Philosophiae | Renatis des Cartes | Ejusdem | Cogitata Metaphijsica | Opera Posthuma', owner's inscription on flyleaf opposite title-page: 'Arnhold von Bobart', library label of unidentified Capuchin convent, bound with: Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

Brazil (*1*)

OP#42 Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, 223,3,6

Canada (*5*)

OP#43 Montreal, McGill University, University Library, B3955 J45 1677 (rebound covering, with binder's stamp [smudged] of Hering, 137 Regent Street, half calf, black leather label on earlier [?] spine back, marbled paper boards, sprinkled red edges [split joint], handwritten annotation on front pastedown, early signature on title-page of Joh. Stevenson M.D.).

OP#44 Ottawa, National Library of Canada, LOWY B 3955 1677

OP#45–46 Toronto, University Library, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Fisher D-10/4340 (plain vellum wrapper, armorial bookplate of philosopher and historian Gilbert Burnet [1643–1715], Bishop of Salisbury, bookplate of Francis North [1704–1790], Earl of Guilford), Fisher Walsh 00050 (plain vellum wrapper).

OP#47 Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Walter C. Koerner Library, B3955.A18 1677

Czech Republic (*3*)

OP#48 Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, ST2-0807.094

OP#49 Lázně Kynžvart, Státní památkový ústav v Plzni, Zámek Kynžvart, *26-A-19 (18326–9)

OP#50 Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna, 11.481 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, eighteenth-century owner's note in brown ink: 'Colleg: Vienne S.J.', oblong library stamp of Olomouc Research Library ['Caes. Reg. Bibliotheca Olomuc'] on title-page, nineteenth-century note on first pastedown: 'Geschenk des H.H. Oberargler', signed: 'Dr. Emil Jancken').

Finland (*3*)

OP#51 Helsinki, University Library, Hc K4

OP#52–53 Helsinki, National Library, H Ab 128 (late-seventeenth-century calf binding, raised bands, gold-tooled spine with red lettering panel, pencil markings, old shelf-mark [swe.Åbo] of the Royal Academy of Turtu, Finland, before the fire of 1827), H.R. 78.II.17 (late-seventeenth-century calf binding, gold-tooled edges on covers, gilt spine with gilt lettering panel: 'B.D.S. | OPERA | POSTHUMA', old library label [850] on spine, copy came from St Petersburg, probably after the fire donated by the Russian imperial family and circles to it).

France (*29*)

OP#54–55 Aix en Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, F.2080, F.2103 (2.1)

OP#56 AMIENS, Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, POL 140 B

OP#57–58 GRENOBLE, Bibliothèque municipale, D.4843 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, olim: Jean de Caulet [1693–1771], Bishop of Grenoble), D.4844-6 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gilt title on spine: 'OPERA B. SPINOZA', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5], olim: Etienne le Camus [1632–1707], Bishop of Grenoble, owner's inscription on title-page in late-seventeenth-century hand: 'Bibliotheca Camusiana Oratorii Gratianop.').

OP#59–60 LAUSANNE, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, réserve A 1A991, PHIL 25 (ancien site Cèdres) (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering, copy has two owner's marks: 'Rengger 1758' [Abraham Rengger [1731–1794]?), 'Suter' [perhaps historian and politician Johann Rudolf Suter [1655–1730]).

OP#61–62 LYON, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds CGA, Rés. 336829 (brown calf binding), Rés A 492446 (vellum covering, printed bookplate [1733] of the Lyonnais book collector Petrus Adamoli [1707–1769], nineteenth-century circular library stamps on title-page in black ink [Academia scientiarum litterarum et artium Lugdunensis; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale]).[3]

OP#63 MARSEILLE, Bibliothèque municipale, 27373 (late-seventeenth-century blind-tooled vellum binding, contains an autograph letter [1892] of a certain 'J. Lagneau' to his pupil Alain, nineteenth-century oval library stamp [Marseille Library] on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5; 27372]).

OP#64 MONTPELLIER, Médiathèque Centrale E. Zola, 39346RES (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, gold-tooled rectangular triple rule on front and back, gold-tooled rectangular sections with floral ornaments on round back, gold-tooled letters on red panel: 'OPERA | POSTHUMA', marbled endpapers and pastedowns, minor brown spotting to pages, oblong owner's mark on foot of title-page: 'L'Abbé Flottes', round library stamp in blue ink on title-page ['Bibliothèque de la Ville de Montpellier']).

OP#65P MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Montpellier, Ba 254 in-4 (copy with 'Opera' portrait, blind-tooled late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, author and title in black ink written on spine: 'Spinozae Opera | Posthuma', ex libris on first pastedown of Paul-Joseph Barthez [1734–1806], French physician, physiologist, and encyclopedist, called upon to edit or contribute several entries for the *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonnée des sciences, des arts et des métiers* of Denis Diderot [1713–1784] and Jean le Rond d'Alembert [1717–1783], eighteenth-century underlineations and notes throughout volume in black ink, old shelf-mark ['46223'] and nineteenth-century circular library stamp ['ECOLE DE MÉDECINE DE MONTPELLIER'] on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]; Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

OP#66–67 PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4-T-2569, 4-T-2570

OP#68 PARIS, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4°10021 (Hebrew grammar only; olim: seminary library of Saint-Sulpice, De Montpezat).

OP#69–70 PARIS, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 4 R 387 INV 427 RES (nineteenth-century binding [1871?], early-eighteenth-century inscription on title-page: 'Ex libris Stae Genovesae Pariensis', owner's inscription by Charles Bernard, royal doctor, sergeant surgeon [1703–1710] of Queen Anne: 'Caroli Bernardi chirurgica Londin[ensis]'), 4 R 387 (2) INV 429 RES (late-seventeenth-century brown veal binding, owner's inscription at the end of the volume:

> Le 12 de decembre 1717, j'ay achepté le livre de Mr Coutart prestre docteur en theologie de la faculté de Paris, demeurant dans le cloistre St Jean en Greve, [pour] la somme de 10 l.t. Il l'avoit eu d'une pauvre fille sa penitente qui l'avoit pris en payement d'un Hollandois qui logeoit chez elle et n'avoint point d'argent pour luy payer sa chambre. Ce Mr Coutart crut me le pouvoir vendre parce que ce mechant livre ne me corromperoit pas et qu'il falloit que je gardasse. C'est à cet intention que je l'ay pour le pris qui ont mis les libraires et que je veux qu'il soit bruslé après ma mort qui arrivera quand il playra a Dieu. [signed:] Boileau'.).[4]

3 *See* further for Adamoli's book collection: Yann Sordet, *L'Amour des livres au Siècles des Lumières. Petrus Adamoli et ses collections* (Paris: Écoles des Chartes, 2001).

4 A copy of the *OP* is listed in the auction catalogue of the private library of Bernard: *Bibliotheca Bernardina; or, A Catalogue of the*

OP#71–74 PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D2–1546 (1) (late-seventeenth-century red morocco binding of Bibliothèque royale, eighteenth-century owner's notes in black ink on first pastedown, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* [D2-1546 (2)]), D2-2620 (2), Rés. R-977, D2-35030 (1) (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering, olim: 'Ex Bibliotheca Augustiana majoris coventus Parisiensis', manuscript note: 'usui [...] Joannis Letort', another note on front pastedown signed 'Le Tort' in eighteenth-century italics in black ink, library stamp of the Bibliothèque de Tribunat [established on 13 December 1799, year VII of the French Revolutionary Calendar, by M. Symon, suppressed on 1807 by Napoleon Bonaparte] and the Bibliothèque royale, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*).

OP#75 PARIS, Institut Catholique, 79870

OP#76 RENNES, Rennes-2, University Library, 56399

OP#77–78 ROUEN, Seine-Maritime, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds Cas, A 986, Mt m 19934

OP#79 SENLIS, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds d'origine: 393/4° (393)

OP#80 TOULOUSE, Haute-Garonne (1), Université Toulouse 1 Capitole. Bibliothèque universitaire de l'Arsenal, res Mn 9141 (olim: 'Bibliothèque de Sorbonne', 'Bibliothèque universitaire de Montauban').

OP#81 TOULOUSE, Bibliothèque d'Étude et du Patrimoine (Périgord), Fonds ancien 2, Rés. C XVII 242

OP#82 VERSAILLES, Yvelines, Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds ancien 1, F.A. in-4 A 295 A

Germany (*44*)

OP#83–85 BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ni 644 R, Bibl. Diez qu. 1963 (bookplate ['Bibliotheca Dieziana Q^to. 1963'] of Heinrich Friedrich von Diez on last pasteboard, Königliche Bibliothek Berlin, unidentified owner's mark [1744] on title-page), 50 MA 49155 (marbled endpapers, late- eighteenth-century quotation from Seneca ['Quis nomen unquam sceleris errori dedit?', Hercules Furens 1236] in black ink on title-page, olim: Abraham Wieling, bookplate of Librarie de Bergeret, Karl Schmalz, owner's stamp in blue ink of the Königliche Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium).

OP#86 BERLIN, Freie Universität Berlin, 48/74/10286(1)

OP#87 BONN, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, B 1059/11

OP#88 COBURG, Landesbibliothek, B II 4/39 (brown calf leather binding, rectangular rule on front and back, in it another rule with motives).

OP#89 COLOGNE, Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, P4/12

OP#90–91 ERFURT/GOTHA, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Phil 4° 00014/01 (02) (late-seventeenth-century brown calf covering, gilt covers and spine, gold-tooled title on spine: '*SPINOZA*', sewn on seven raised bands, sprinkled edges, library stamp [dated 1799] of the former Herzoglichen Bibliothek Gotha on verso of title-page, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]), Ilf III 8° 00153 (vellum binding, handwritten title on spine: '*De* SPINOZA *Opera Posthuma*', owner's inscription on verso of title-page: 'Ex Bibliotheca Ilfeldensi').

OP#92–93 ERLANGEN-NUREMBERG, University Library, HOO/4 PHS-I 24 (leather binding, owner's inscription in lower right corner of first free endpaper in black ink by Georg Wilhem Poezinger [1703–1753], professor of philosophy and mathematics at Erlangen University, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2]), HOO/4 PHS-I 26 a (calf leather binding, title and author on spine, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2], olim: Johann August Dietelmair [1717–85], theology professor at Altdorf).

OP#94 FREIBERG, Andreas-Möller-Bibliothek des Geschwister-Scholl-Gymnasiums, no shelf-mark

OP#95 FREIBURG IM BREISGAU, Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat der Erzdiözese Freiburg, Frei 164: StP Ph 542 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard with five laced-in thongs, author and title written with black ink on spine: 'B.D. Spinoza | Opera |

Library of the Late Charles Bernard, Esq.; Serjeant Surgeon to Her Majesty, ... (London: 1710–11), p. 140, no. 634.

Posthuma', owner's note on title-page in black ink: 'Ex libris Joh. De Ziegler. ex [ento] 1723', another illegible owner's name above it crossed out with ink, nineteenth-century oval library stamp (Bibliothek des Freiburger Priesterseminars) on title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#96–98 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 TH TH I, 608/57-q, 8 PHIL I 1279 RARA (owned by: politician Johan Hinrich von Bülow [1650–1724], bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2a]).[5]

OP#99 GREIFSWALD, Ernst Moritz Arndt Universität, University Library, 520/Ha 477

OP#100–101 HALBERSTADT, Das Gleimhaus, C 7945 (late-seventeenth-century brown leather binding, gilt spine with gold-tooled lettering, author and title: 'SPINOSAE | OPERA', bound with *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]), B 0346 (red-sprinkled edges, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#102–104 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Fa 2702 (vellum binding, spine lettering with iron gall ink, ex libris: 'Ex Bibliotheca Friderici Iacobi', old library stamp ['Koen. Univers. zu Halle']), Fa 2702 a (vellum binding, black ink lettering on spine, blue edges, owner's marks on front page, old library stamp ['Koen. Bibl. der Univers. Halle'], bound with: Gerard de Vries, *Exercitationes rationales de deo, divinisque perfectionibus, …* [Utrecht: 1685]), AB 40 4/i, 5 (vellum binding, raised bands, black ink lettering on spine).

OP#105 HALLE-MERSEBURG, Bibliotheca Leopoldina, Ca 1/3 8°

OP#106 HAMBURG, Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/112 ('Ex dono E.C.'; Christianeum Altona, collection Johann Peter Kohl [1698–1778]).

OP#107 HILDESHEIM, Dombibliothek, 2 F 0256 (Hebrew grammar lacking).

OP#108P JENA, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 4 Bud.Misc.39(1) (copy with 'Opera' portrait, undecorated vellum binding, previous owner's mark on title-page: 'NFörtch', note on edition on page opposite to title-page, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; Hobbes, *Leviathan*).

OP#109 LEIPZIG, University Library, Philos. 91

OP#110 LUTHERSTADT WITTENBERG, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars, 4Ph59-3 (water damage in places, late-seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboard, late-seventeenth-century owner's notes in black ink on umbrella title-page on Van Velthuysen's *Opera omnia …: Alter de cultu naturali oppositus tractatibus Bened. Spinosae* [Rotterdam: 1680]: 'Lambert Velthusius, de articulis fidei fundamentalibus et de cultu naturali, oppositus Tractatui Bened. de Spinoza, Roterod. 1680. Voll. 2 4' and [below]: 'Christoph. Wittichij Anti-Spinoza, Amsteld, 1690. 4.', printed armorial bookplate of German religious poet Ludovicus Rudolph Senft von Pilsach [1681–1718] on first pastedown: 'Ex Bibliotheca Senftiana', second printed eighteenth-century bookplate [unidentified] with motto 'Constantia et labore', circular library stamp [Predigerseminar Wittenberg] on title-page, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* [4Ph59-1]; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4, lacks title-page; 4Ph59-2]).

OP#111–112 MANNHEIM, University Library, Ha Z 083a, BB 0749

OP#113 MARBURG, Philipps-Universität, University Library, 095 XIV B 64 (copy has printed umbrella title-page plus 'normal' title-page of *Opera posthuma*, vellum wrapper, handwritten name of author and title on spine, two older library stamps of the 'Bibliotheca Marburgensis', bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

OP#114 MUNICH, University Library, Rar. 4080

OP#115–116 MÜNSTER, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S+1 4058, Leibniz-Forschungsstelle, P/1677 Spi

OP#117P OLDENBURG, Ev. Luth. Oberkirchenrat Bibliothek, 82–1181 (copy with 'Opera' portrait, copy only has pp. 355–614, ex libris of German legal scholar Johann Peter von Ludewig [1668–1743], professor of history at Halle University, bound with: *Renati Des*

5 For Bülow's extensive library: Seraphim, *Joachim Hinrich von Bülow*.

Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica).

OP#118 Rostock, University Library, Ec-1018 (vellum binding).

OP#119 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HBF 1514 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, gilt ornament [coat of arms: crowned monogram on laurel] on front cover, owner's inscriptions ['Fr. Hoffmann 1701', 'F.H. Bispink 1785'] and note [by Hoffmann] on Spinoza's metaphysics, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

OP#120–121 Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität, University Library, Tü Evangelisches Stift q 2000, Aa 60.4 (modern covering, bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica* and *Opera posthuma*, notes of two owners on first front endpapers in late-eighteenth-century hand in black ink: 'Jacobi' [on pastedown], 'C.E.W.', one other note [on the French translations of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*] made by an unidentified late-seventeenth-century hand, unidentified black [library?] stamp in lower right corner of title-page, addition to imprint on title-page in black ink '1678' and 'Spinoza', [nineteenth-century?] marginalia on p. 3).

OP#122–124 Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Da 3: 41 (owned by: Balthasar Friedrich von Logau [1645–1702], elevated as Freiherr in 1687, stamp on verso of title-page: 'BFHVL', damaged during the library fire of 2004], 10689 (leather binding), Da 3:2 [a] (stamp on verso of title-page: 'BFHVL').

OP#125 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, M: Vb 606 (2) (late-seventeenth-century sheepskin vellum wrapper, blind-tooled front and back cover: double rectangular rule, in it another double rule with floral ornaments in its corners, red edges, gold-tooled spine, with gilt lettering panel: 'SPINOSAE | OPERA', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1, M: Vb 606 (1)]).

OP#126 Würzburg, University Library, Ph.q. 41 (vellum wrapper, title on spine: 'B.D.S. Opera Posthuma', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

Ireland (*1*)

OP#127 Dublin, Marsh's Library, P1.3.49

Israel (*7*)

OP#128 Haifa, University Library, B 3953 1677

OP#129P–134 Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, 35V3047 c.1 (copy with 'Opera' portrait, cloth binding, handwritten notes), 35V3047 c.2 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, title and author on spine in black: 'B: d: S: | OPERA', owner's marks on title-page: 'H. Erbe 1745', 'von H[o]ppe' [with hand-coloured coat of arms, eighteenth century], G. Jtelson [twentieth-century stamp in blue ink]), 35V3047 c.3 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, formerly owned by the Jewish congregation of Vienna), 35V3047 c.4 (blind-tooled leather binding, title and author printed on green leather on the spine), 75A431 (half-leather binding, with marbled paper, author and title printed in gold on spine, formerly owned by bibliographer and bibliophile Dr I. Mehlmann [1900–1989]), 19 v 506 (blind-tooled leather binding, red painted edge with author and title in ink, author and title on spine, owned by: Walther Herz [pseudonym of painter and bibliophile Moravske Ostrava [1909–1965]).

OP#135 Jerusalem, Hebrew University, R/8 = 35 v 3047

Italy (*17*)

OP#136 Cremona, Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica, FA.Ingr.E.7.72

OP#137 Palermo, Biblioteca centrale della Regione siciliana 'A. Bombache', ANTIQUA III.5409

OP#138 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Tarch 7.4.110 (olim: Filippo Linati).

OP#139 Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, B 05-03-02 ('Proibito' under the title).

OP#140 Pisa, University Library, B c. 12. 5

OP#141 Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica, F.ANT H.5 12/1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper with brown gold-tooled title on lettering panel: 'B. SPINOSAE | OPERA | POSTHVMA', late-seventeenth- or eighteenth-century mark [arrow] in black ink on spine, possibly an indication the work had been placed [29 August 1690] on the index of prohibited books by the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index [a similar note in black ink in the copy reads: 'Proibito' and is followed by an arrow], nineteenth-century paper library label with shelf-mark on foot of spine,

handwritten notes on first endpapers, former owner: Italian Cardinal Domenico Silvio Passionei [1682–1761], bibliophile and curator of the Vatican Library [1741–1761], bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2a]).[6]

OP#142 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Ferr.IV.7040

OP#143 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, 6.29.M.21 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding with gilt partitions, gold-tooled author and title printed on lettering panel on ribbed spine, previously owned by Roman Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga [1690–1756], gilt engraved inscription at the foot of the back has the owner's name: 'S.C. Valenti', copy went later to the library of the Jesuits' General House ['Casa Professa del Gesù'] in Rome).

OP#144 Rome, Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', University Library, ST 6 46 F 1

OP#145 Rovereto, Biblioteca civica 'Tartarotti', r.C 74 9

OP#146 Rovereto, Biblioteca Rosminiana, 0-aD2.06.26

OP#147 Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, C.NOD.III.174/1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, author and title on spine written in black ink: 'Spinosae | Opera Posthuma | 1677', old paper library labels [Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino] pasted to head and foot of spine, blue-sprinkled edges, notes throughout volume, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#148 Torino, University Library, Biblioteca dell'Accademia delle Scienze, M.XII. 28–29

OP#149 Trieste, Biblioteca civica Attilio Hortis, Generale 04921 (vellum wrapper over pasteboard, yellow stained edges, handwritten title in ink on spine, dated [1711] owner's mark on recto of second flyleaf: 'H. Bieck').

OP#150 Veroli, Biblioteca Giovardiana, shelf-mark unknown

OP#151–152 Vicenza, Instituzione pubblica culturale biblioteca civica Bertoliana, RN.8 f.20, N.005 005 012

Japan (2)

OP#153 Kanagawa, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/S

OP#154 Maebashi, Gunma University, University Library, 135.2 Sp5 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [*T.1*]).

Luxembourg (2)

OP#155 Strasbourg, Bibliothèque National Universitaire, B135747 (olim: Königsberg, University Library).

OP#156 Strasbourg, Médiathèque Malraux, ANC 113931

Poland (1)

OP#157 Krakow, Jagiellonian University, University Library, 905334 II (blind-tooled vellum binding, upper cover with ornamental plate with empty oblong medallion, red and dark green dappled edges, formerly in the possession of the Biblioteka Instytutu Filozofii, claret stamp on title-page ['Kaedry Filozoficzne Uniw. Jag.'], bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

Russia (7)

OP#158–162 Moscow, Russian State Library, IV-ЛАТ. 4°: MKVIII-6920, MK VIII-6921, MK VIII-6966, MK VIII-7730, MK VIII-6965

OP#163–164 St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Д 1828, 36.661.24 (bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

South-Africa (1)

OP#165 Stellenbosch, University Library, KOMG 199.49201 SPI

Spain (1)

OP#166 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, U/10597

Sweden (3)

OP#167 Linköping, Stadsbibliothek, Stiftsbiblioteket (= shelf-mark)

OP#168 Stockholm, RL, 116 A (vellum binding with laced-in thongs, author and title written on spine by a late-seventeenth-century hand in brown ink, black-sprinkled edges, bound together with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

6 For Passionei's private library: Alfredo Serrai, *Domenico Passionei e la sua biblioteca* (Milan: Edizione Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004).

OP#169 Uppsala, University Library, Carolinabiblioteket, Filos. Teor.

Switzerland (*13*)

OP#170 Basle, University Library, UBH Steff 252:1

OP#171 Basle, BS Frey-Grynäisches Institut (Universität Basle), Frey-Gryn J IV 5

OP#172 Bern, University Library, Mue Rar alt 9814

OP#173 Chur, Kantonsbibliothek Graubünden, KBG Ng 264 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper, author and title written on spine, nineteenth-century printed bookplate with handwritten older shelf-mark on front pastedown: 'H 9 nr 19', 'Gehört in die Bibliothek der Kantonschule' [precursor of Kantonsbibliothek, Graubünden]).

OP#174–175 Freiburg/Fribourg, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire/Kantons- und Universitätsbibliothek, SOC LECT L 54 (early-eighteenth-century note in black ink on part-title leaf of the *Ethica*:

> Ethica ab Authore primum Batavorum sermone conscripta, postea ab eodem in linguam latina traducta, et methodo mathematica est disposita, omisso tamen, quod in exemplari Hollandio MSto adhuc exstare dicitur, capite de Diabolo, ex libris on first endpaper: 'G. Girard Prof. Luzern 1832', another inscription on title-page by the same hand: 'G. Girard Prof. Philos. in Lycea Luzerna', nineteenth-century oblong library stamp in black ink on title-page: 'Société Economique de Fribourg', bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]),

A 1523 (nineteenth-century notes in ink and pencil throughout work, printed bookplate: 'Bibliothecae Universitatis Friburgensis Helvet. D.D.R.D. Fr. Lorinser canonicus Vratislaviensis 1894' on front pastedown, on the same pastedown nineteenth-century remarks in black ink on Spinoza and his published writings, eighteenth-century note in black ink in upper margin of title-page: 'Benedicti de Spinoza', with one former owner's mark with date or shelf-mark [now illegible], circular library stamp of the Swiss Freiburg University, eighteenth-century note in black ink on verso of title-page: 'Johannes Michaël Bernhold Phil. et Med. Dr.' [12 January 1790], another note in the same hand: 'Doctus quidem est exitiosus liber' [This is a learned but pernicious book]).[7]

7 Judged by the eighteenth-century note in SOC LECT L 54, this copy may have been once owned by someone from the inner circle of Stolle* and 'Hallmann'. The text in the Friburg copy, though, may also have been borrowed from Jacob Reimmann (*Catalogus bibliothecae theologicae*, … [Hildesheim: 1731], p. 983) or Johann Mylius (*Bibliotheca anonymorum et pseudonymorum*, … [Hamburg: 1740], p. 941), whose studies reiterate an entry in the Stolle/'Hallmann' travel journals: 'Nach diesem brachte Er ein ander Mscriptum hervor, so gleichfals sein Vater aber von Spinosa eigener Hand abgeschrieben; dieses war die Ethic, und zwar Niederländisch wie sie Spinosa anfangs verferttiget. Diese Ethic war gantz anders eingerichtet, als die gedruckte; denn anstatt, dass in derselben alles p.[er] difficiliorem methodum mathematicam auss geführet ist, so war hier alles in capita eingetheilet und (ohne probation singularium artificiosâ) continua serie fort raisonnirt wie in Tractatu Theol. Politico. Rienwerts versichterte auch, das die gedruckte Ethic viel besser aussgeführet wäre, alss diese geschriebene, doch gestund Er auch, dass in dieser unterschiedene stünde, so in jener nicht gedruckt wäre. Er wiese mir sonderl. ein Caput (welches in d. Ordnung das XXI. war) de Diabolo, davon in d. gedruckten Ethic nichts ist, hierinnen tractirt Spinosa die Frage de existentia Diaboli und examinirte anfangs die Beschreibung quod sit spiritus essentiae divinae contrarius et qui essentiam suam per se habet, in welchem sensu Er ex essentiam diaboli zu negiren schein. Diese Scriptum sagte Er, hätten einige Freunde, von Spinosa abgeschrieben, wäre aber niemahls gedruckt worden, weil das Lateinische ordentl. und schon edirt, das aussgelassene aber gar zu freÿ geschrieben wäre. Es bestand dieses Msstum irgend in 36. Bogen, u. war etwas weitläuffig geschrieben.' (After this, he [Rieuwertsz *fils*] brought out another manuscript which, likewise, his father had transcribed from [a text in] Spinoza's own handwriting. This was the 'Ethics', and in Dutch as Spinoza had originally composed it. This 'Ethics' was arranged quite differently from the one printed. Because instead everything in the latter ['Ethics'] is worked out in the difficult mathematical method, in this ['Ethics'] all is divided into chapters and, subsequently, uninterruptedly argued ([without each point's artificial proof]) like in the 'Tractatus theologico-politicus'. Rieuwertsz assured me also the printed 'Ethics' was much more elaborate than this written one, but he acknowledged also it contained various [issues] not included in the printed version. He pointed out to me in particular a chapter [which in its order comprised the 21st chapter] on the devil of which nothing is contained in the printed 'Ethics'. In it, Spinoza takes issue with the devil's existence and [has] examined initially the proposition upholding the devil is a spirit contrary to the divine essence which has essence through itself. In which sense he seemed to ignore the devil's essence. This manuscript [by Rieuwertsz *père*], he argued, was [also] copied by some friends from Spinoza's, but [it had been] never printed because a fine printed edition of the Latin version was already at hand, whereas the work [the 'Ethics' manuscript written in Dutch] which had been overlooked, was written far too freely. The manuscript was written on thirty-six sheets and was written in a much larger handwriting; S/H, ms. A, quoted in W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 91–92). Note that the *KV* is divided into chapters. Its Part 2 does contain a chapter (25) called 'Of Devils': G 1/107.18–108.10.

OP#176 GENEVA, Bibliothèque de Genève, BGE Ca 488 (late-seventeenth-century vellum, flat spine, bare edges).

OP#177 LUZERN, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, D.472.4

OP#178P–179P NEUCHÂTEL, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, BPUN NUM 4.10.8 (copy has 'Opera' portrait), BPUN PA P 30.4.14 (copy with 'Opera' portrait, ex libris in black ink on title-page: 'Ex Bibliotheca Prevostii' et 'Nunc Meuron LL. Canon. & civ. cult. 1702', printed bookplate [castle gate in oblong cartouche] on first pastedown: 'Ex Bibliotheca Classis Neocom' [Neuenburg, Bibliothek der Geistlichen des Kantons]).

OP#180 SANKT GALLEN, Kantonsbibliothek Vadiana, VadSlg C 1025 (K1) (vellum binding, owner's inscription by Christoph Hochreutiner [1662–1742], legal scholar and burgomaster of Sankt Gallen:

> Nobilissimus, Excellentissimusque Vir, Dominus Christophorus Hochreutinerus J.U.D. Archigrammataeus et Bibliothecae Vadiano-publicae Inspector, eandem hoc volumine exornavit, die 5 Maji, Ao. 1707, bound with *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T. 5]).

OP#181 SOLOTHURN, Zentralbibliothek, ZBSO C 1040 (late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper over pasteboard, owner's mark ['A: v: W:'] of the patrician Solothurn family Arregger von Wildensteg, copy bequeathed to the Solothurn Stadtbibliothek during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, shelf-mark of the Stadtbibliothek on flyleaf).

OP#182 ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, Y 266 : a

United Kingdom (*63*)

OP#183–185 ABERDEEN, University Library, Special Collections Ce ntre, King's College, SB 1939 Spi p 1 (vellum wrapper, 'Liber Academiae Marischallanae'), 2^2 (vellum binding, signed: 'P.C. MacDougall'; inscribed: 'James Anderson. 1878'), SB 1939 Spi p 1^3 (brown calf binding, gold-tooled spine, gold lettering on spine label, owner's inscription in brown ink on title-page by Jacob Fraser [1645–1731], former alumnus of King's College: 'Liber Coll. Reg. Aberdon. Ex dono Jacobi Fraserij J.U.D. 1725', older shelf-marks in brown ink on upper right corner of title-page [B.2.16, Y.5.25, X.6.20], probably by a late-eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century hand).

OP#186 BLICKLING (Norfolk), Blickling Hall, 4248 (eighteenth-century sprinkled calf covering, sewn on five raised bands, double gilt fillet border on the covers, gilt floral roll pattern along the board edges, gold-tooled spine with stamps within double fillet panels, gilt floral roll pattern at head and tail, with remnants of gilt title 'Spinosa', eighteenth-century marginal note in black ink regarding E1p18dem, old shelf-mark ['M'] and price code [ζ½]at foot of flyleaf, red- and brown-sprinkled text block edges, manuscript initial on front flyleaf: 'M.' [catalogue code of John Mitchell [*c*.1685–1751], librarian to former owner Sir Richard Ellys [1682–1742], bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]).

OP#187–191 CAMBRIDGE, King's College, Rare Books J.67.02 (eighteenth-century red morocco binding, triple fillet around the edges in gold, five raised bands, spine panels decorated in gold, gilt edges, bookplate of George Thackeray [1777–1850]), Rare Books J.67.03, Keynes Cc.06.10 (half vellum and marbled paper binding), Keynes Cc.06.11 (bound in French citron morocco, gilt back and edges), Keynes Cc.06.03/4 (original single covering of copy removed, now bound in two volumes with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T. 1; Keynes Cc.06.03/3]).

OP#192 CAMBRIDGE, St John's College, Library, Dd.5.9 (vellum binding, multiple underliners and tick marks, bequest of Peter Gunning [1614–84], Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Master of Corpus Christi College and of St John's, Bishop of Chichester [1670] and Ely: his book label, 1684, and his blind-stamped armorial crest on front cover, blind-stamped College crest on rear cover, College bookplate [late 1700]).

OP#193 CAMBRIDGE, St Catherine's College, E.10.50(1–2) (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering with laced-in thongs, 'B.D.S.' at the top of the spine in ink, first sixteen pages of volume [*Ethica*, part 1] have been extensively annotated and underlined by two late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century hands in black ink, occasional marginal annotations and underlines throughout copy, small late-seventeenth-century inscription on front pastedown, modern pencilled shelf-mark at top of title-page, bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#194 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library, T.33.38 (plain calf binding with blind tooling to the border).

OP#195–200 CAMBRIDGE, University Library, M.1.10 (Caius: Lower Library), G.10.24(2) (late-seventeenth-century full calf binding, from the library of John Moore [†1714], Bishop of Ely, bought by King George I [1660–1727]and presented to Cambridge University Library, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2]), Keynes D.2.19 (late-seventeenth-century leather binding, simple fillet rules, gilt leather label to spine, late-seventeenth-century corrections made according to the list of errata, armorial bookplate [motto: 'In promptu'] of John Trotter of Mortonhall [died 1718], inscription by Trotter of Mortonhall on front endpaper: 'Cost 15 sh. from Mr Varenne French-bookseller near Summersethouse in ye Strand Lond. 8 July 1698', Trotter Family, of Mortonhall, copy formerly owned by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, inscription of Geoffrey Keynes [library incorporated in 1982], bookseller's catalogue entry for another copy with the portrait slipped in, price £32 10s, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum Philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata Metaphysica*), Acton.c.51.561 (eighteenth-century gilt papers covers, modern cloth spine, uncut leaves, late-seventeenth-century annotation on Spinoza's life and few others on the work in the same hand, from the collection of historian John Emerich Edward Dalberg [1834–1902], Lord Acton, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University), Hh.15.60 (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century calf binding, seventeenth-century shelf-marks to front pastedown [crossed out], eighteenth-century bookplate [CUL] to title-page, used well into the nineteenth century), Qq* .2.267 (D) (late-seventeenth-century full leather wrapper, blind-stamped crest to centre of both covers, copy belongs to the 'Stars', i.e., the historic contents of CUL before the arrival of the Royal Library in 1715, 'duplicate' inscription to title-page, crossed out, earlier shelf-marks crossed out on front pastedown).

OP#201 DURHAM, University Library, Palace Green Library, Routh, Routh 68.G.20 (panelled calf binding, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth century, note on front pastedown from Johann Lorentz Mosheim's *Elementa theologiae dogmaticae*, … [Nuremberg: 1781], owned by: Martin Joseph Routh [1755–1854], English classical scholar and President of Magdalen College, Oxford).

OP#202–204 EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland, North Reading Room (George IV Bridge), Nha.M196 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, partially removed leather label on top of spine: 'Spi […] | Op […] | Posthuma', trace of the original handwritten author and title [ink straight on vellum], copy forms part of the Newhailes Collection [the most important late-seventeenth-century collection surviving from the period of the Scottish Enlightenment]), [Mar.].2/1 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding over pasteboard, acquired by the Advocates Library [precursor of the National Library], with their owner's inscription: 'Ex Libris Bibliotheca Facultatis Juridica Edinburgensis', dated 1703, written in black ink on recto of first free endpaper).

OP#205–206 EDINBURGH, University Library, JA 2017 (inscribed inside front board 'John Locke' [1632–1704], with his inscription inside front board and a pocket inside rear board with later correspondence about the book and its history), New College Library, TR.1219 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs over pasteboard, black-inked spine with author and title: 'SPINOZA | OPERA | POSTHUMA | 1677.', absorbed into New College Library in 1929, eighteenth-century owner's inscription of former Edinburgh Theological Library in black ink on title-page: 'Ex Libris Bibliothecae Theologicae Ediniensis').

OP#207 EXETER, Exeter Cathedral Library, EP/SPI (scuffed leather binding, blind double rules near the four outer edges of both boards, two sets of blind double rules parallel to spine on both boards, four raised bands on spine and missing spine label in the second panel from the head, traces of lines of gold leaf at the top and bottom of missing spine label, traces of gold leaf on the leading edges of the boards, two holes in binding form a former chain clasp near the top of the front board, printed oblong bookplate [1749] of Exeter Cathedral Library on first pastedown and eighteenth-century shelf-marks in black ink [V.2.3., Y.3.8., 'G,17.1 nº 3'], owner's mark on recto of first flyleaf: 'RB', quite likely Robert Burscough [1651–1709], English divine and author, prebendary of Exeter Cathedral [1701], archdeacon of Barnstaple [1703]).

OP#208 EXETER, University Library, Rare Books B 1670/SPI (rebacked vellum covering with embossed stamp and double fillets, five blind-tooled raised bands, late-seventeenth-century owner's inscription in brown ink: 'H. Reichle i.u.d. 1691.', below in the same hand: '1720/4–5', donated to the precursor of Exeter University in 1943 by Lady Baillie, dedication in calligraphy on single sheet pasted to first free endpaper: 'University College of the South West | Exeter | In Memoriam | Sir James B. Baillie | Vice Chancellor | of | Leeds University | The Gift of | Lady Baillie | 1943', handwritten owner's

note in black ink on verso of first free endpaper: 'J.B.B. d.d. W.H.H. Collega collegae, amico amicus. A.D. Kal. Jul. MCMXXX', printed twentieth-century ex libris of W.H. Haddow [Worcester College, Oxford] on first pasteboard, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#209 FALMER, University of Sussex, University Library, B 3985.A3

OP#210–213 GLASGOW, University Library, Special Collections, Sp. Col. Mu 45-d.13 (late-seventeenth-century laced- cased vellum binding with laced-in thongs, printed title on spine vanished, printed ex libris [1875] of David Murray, two clippings from auction catalogues, and modern printed label [Glasgow, University Library] on front pastedown), Sp. Coll. T.C.L. 825 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, blue- sprinkled edges, handwritten title on spine: 'SPINOZA | Opera posthuma | CUPER | Arcana [atheismi]', printed bookplate of Carl Benjamin Lengnich [1743–1795], Calvinist pastor in Danzig, on front pastedown, bound with: Kuyper, *Arcana*, eighteenth-century owner's inscription in calligraphy on first front endpaper commenting on Kuyper's refutation of *Tractatus theologico-politicus*), Sp. Coll. Bk5-f.13 (tanned late-seventeenth-century sheepskin binding with red-sprinkled edges, lacks the Hebrew grammar manual, eighteenth-century shelf-mark in black ink [AIf3n19] on title-page, nineteenth-century printed bookplate ['Via Veritatis Vita'] of Glasgow University and old shelf-mark [AE.3.13] in black ink on front pastedown), Sp. Coll. BC33-f.7 (nineteenth-century laced-case vellum binding, printed label on spine: 'B.D.S. | OPERA | POSTHUMA', blue-sprinkled edges, late-eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century notes [references] on Spinoza and the *Philosophia* recto and verso sides of first free endpaper, two lists of errata ['Sphalmata'] crossed out with black ink, printed bookplate [1878] of Glasgow University Library [Hamilton Collection with handwritten shelf-mark [Bl.33-f]) on front pastedown).

OP#214 LEEDS, University Library, Brotherton Library, Strong Room for. 4to 1677 SPI (bound in undecorated vellum with yapp edges [late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century binding), author and title written straight on vellum spine: 'B.D.S. | OPERA POSTHUMA | 1677', red-, pink-, and blue-marbled edges, notes throughout volume, made in pencil, probably by philosopher Harold Foster Hallett [1886–1966], British secretary of the Societas Spinozana, copy has his bookplate on front pastedown]).

OP#215 LONDON, British Library, General Reference Collection 528.f.37

OP#216 LONDON, British Museum, Hamlyn Library, KINGS LIBRARY 105T

OP#217 LONDON, Lambeth Palace, LPL, I3951.(S6) [**] (clean copy, modern brown buckram binding, lettered in gilt on spine, sprinkled red edges, erased initials 'AB' [?] on title-page, book dealer's code or shelf-mark on title-page ['1-5-20 74']).

OP#218–219 LONDON, University College, University Library, Special Collections, Strong Room Ogden B53/2 (copy holding only the *Compendium grammatices linguae Hebraeae*, sprinkled calf binding, with gilt frames and ornaments on spine; edges sprinkled, worn and split at hinges, from the library of the English philosopher and polymath Charles Kay Ogden [1889–1957]), Strong Room Ogden B54 (parchment binding over stiff boards, with yapp edges, inscription on front flyleaf: 'Fr. Hr. Aug. Petersen 1832', label-crowned monogram with manuscript number '49268' of Baron Horace Landau [1824–1903], an Hungarian banker who amassed an enormous library of over 60,000 volumes, books were dispersed in 1948–1949, Ogden collection).

OP#220 LONDON, University of London, Senate House Library, [G.S.C.] 0509 (bookplate of Harold Foster Hallett, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T. 1]).

OP#221 MALDON, Thomas Plume Library, no shelf-mark (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs over pasteboard, damage to spine, formerly owned by philanthropist and bibliophile Thomas Plume [1630–1704], vicar of Greenwhich and archdeacon of Rochester, note by Plume in brown ink on title-page: 'e libris Bibliothece Plumiane[…]. 1705. Vadimonium.65', late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century note [by Plume?] on the author of the prologue to the *Opera posthuma*: 'vid. L.5.73 pag. 388. ubi narratur quendam nomine Jarich Jelles authorem esse hujus Praefationis').

OP#222–223 MANCHESTER, University Library, John Rylands Library, Deansgate, JRL SC111B (late-eighteenth-century owner's inscription on title-page: 'Letsch', library stamp on title-page [Breslau, 'Stud. Bibliothek'], armorial stamp on verso of title-page and divisional half-title, previously owned by Robert Adamson [1852–1902], professor of logic and mental and moral philosophy in the Owens College [amalgamated

with the Victoria University, now the University of Manchester], presented 1902), JRL 144 (bound in two volumes [!], late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century full leather bindings, gilt tooling in spine compartments, from the library of the Earls Spencer, armorial bookplate in each volume of the 1st Earl Spencer [1734–1783], who bought the library from William George [1697–1756], dean of Lincoln).

OP#224–225 MANCHESTER, The Chetham Society, Chetham's Library, 2.I.4.44, I.5.73

OP#226 NETHERGATE, Dundee, Dundee University, University Library, 199.492 S 758

OP#227 OXFORD, All Souls, ASC Gallery, k.3.19 (late-seventeenth-century mottled calf sewn onto five supports with blind fillets towards outer edges of boards and parallel to spine, gilt roll around edges of boards, edges sprinkled red, rebacked [repaired by Period Binders, Nov. 1981], bookplates of All Souls College on inside of upper board [J. Henderson Smith, 'The Book-Plates of All Souls' College, Oxford', 1899, no. 12], older shelf-marks: k.1.11, n.9.16).

OP#228P–229 OXFORD, Bodleian Library, (Vet.) 26781 e.21 (copy with 'Opera' portrait, early vellum binding, from the collection of Hans Sloane [1660–1753], one of the foundation collections of the British Museum library [now British Library], Sloane no. G 1023, copy sold as duplicate in 1831, nineteenth-century inscription on title-page in black ink: 'Bibliotheca Sloanianae G 1023 9 Mi', inscriptions of two subsequent owners on front free endpaper ['His gifts to H. Taylor Dec. 1834', 'John Sterling December 1842'], Bodleian acquisition stamp on title-page verso for 7 April 1930, old shelf-mark in ink on title-page ['22']), 4° M 31 (sprinkled calf binding, 'B.D.S.' on title-page expanded in early hand to 'Spinoza').

OP#230 OXFORD, Brasenose College, Stamford House: Yarb S 79 (late-seventeenth- or early- eighteenth-century plain sprinkled calf binding, with blind-tooled fillets and corner fleurons, gold tooled board edges, sprinkled red edges, gold-tooled decoration to the spine, bookplate on inside of upper board: 'Collegium Aenei Nasi apud Oxoniensis', bookplate: 'Ex donatione haeredum Dni. Francisci Yarborough S.T.P. nuper Principalis.', provenance name: Francis Yarborough, [*fl.*1745–1770], principal of Brasenose College, older shelf-mark: A 44.14).

OP#231–232 OXFORD, Christ Church College, Og.3.14a (seventeenth-century [?] red morocco, gold fillets, marbled endpapers, gilt edges, provenance name: Charles Boyle [1674–1731], 4th Earl of Orrery and 1st Baron of Marston, library bookplate [1731] of Orrery bequest, printed label above: 'D'.), G.5.7 (late-seventeenth-century English blind-tooled mottled calf binding, from the private library of Richard Allestree [1621–1681], English Royalist churchman, Regius Professor of Divinity, and provost of Eton College from 1665, nineteenth printed label of Allestree bequest).

OP#233 OXFORD, Corpus Christi College, Rare books Collection, V.103 (MR3) (rebacked seventeenth-century binding in calf, on four supports with raised bands, blind-tooled covers with single fillets and corner fleurons, sprinkled red edges, olim: Thomas de Quincey [1785–1859], left by Shadworth Hollway Hodgson [1839–1912], his bookplate on the inside of the upper board, note on final original endpaper in a nineteenth-century hand: 'Paid W. Webber [?] 25' for this book – this morning, Thursday, July 26th 181[?]', underneath this in pencil is written: 'The above is in the handwriting of Thomas de Quincey, to whom this book belonged. S.H.H.').

OP#234 OXFORD, Exeter College, ACES 62 (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century calf over pasteboards, sewn onto four supports with raised bands, pair of blind fillets towards outer edges of boards with double pair parallel to spine, gilt roll around edges of boards, edges sprinkled red, end bands worked in blue and white, bookplate of Exeter College on inside of upper board, older shelf-marks: A.4.43.W, A.1.43.W, Y.3.16.Gall).

OP#235 OXFORD, Harris Manchester College, X 1677/25 (worn seventeenth-century calf binding, blind tooling on upper and lower boards, red-sprinkled edges, copy has label indicating it once was in 'Exeter Library' [attached to the Exeter Academy for dissenting ministers], College bookplate on inside of upper board).

OP#236 OXFORD, Hebrew and Jewish Studies Library, Mont 62H10[1] (olim: Montefiore Library, donated by the Foyle Foundation).

OP#237 OXFORD, Magdalen College, Coll. Mag. OLS Library, p.12.18

OP#238 OXFORD, Merton College, 75.F.2 (seventeenth-century calf binding, raised bands and gilt decoration

on spine, spine label inscribed '23', gilt roll-tooled decoration around board edges, sprinkled red edges, old shelf-mark: E.7.23).

OP#239 OXFORD, New College, BT3.206.22 (calf binding over board with two blind fillets at perimeter and small tool in each internal corner, four raised bands on spine with blind fillets above and below each band, red-sprinkled edges, evidence of chaining towards upper right of upper board, rolled pattern along edges, bookplates of New College on reverse of title-page and on inside of upper board, old shelf-marks [Milner AA.300, N.3.20, Pi.1.8, M.12.14]).

OP#240 OXFORD, Queen's College, Tunnel: F.f.110 (seventeenth-century calf over pasteboards, chain staple mark on upper board, stained red edges, gilt-tooled ornaments, gilt lines and title on spine, fine copy but few sections are bound jumbled [pp. [*41*] 2–264 [*2*] 1–112 [*8*] 266–354 [*1*] 356–392 [*2*] 395–614 [*32*]], bookplate of Queen's College on pastedown of upper board, and on verso of title-page, Queen's College Library stamp [round] on verso of title-page, old shelf-marks: 379.C.3, 144/f/3).

OP#241 OXFORD, St John's College, HB4/2.a.3.5 (seventeenth- or eighteenth-century calf binding, blind tooling on boards and around board edges, gilt tooling on spine, labelled '17' at head of spine, title and '123' inscribed on fore-edge, provenance name: Nathaniel Crynes [1686–1745], donation of 1745, bookplate of St John's College [roundel], old shelf-marks: Ll.6.1, K,123, L 4.27, Delta.17.subt).

OP#242 SHEFFIELD, University Library, RBR 132.6 (S) (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, author and title on spine in black ink by late-seventeenth-century hand: 'B. SPINOSAE | OPERA POSTHUMA', spine has second title [illegible] and two stars in black ink, late-seventeenth-century underlineations and Latin notes in black ink on pp. 2, 596 and 597, another note on p. 597 identifies the masked author of letter LXXI [1676.06.23, Ep 82, Tschirnhaus/ Spinoza] incorrectly as the Dutch physicist Christiaan Huygens [1629–1695]: 'an. Chr. Hugenii!').

OP#243 ST ANDREWS, University Library, r17 B3954.C77 (vellum covering, title handwritten in ink on spine, handwritten notations in ink and pencil in at least two hands, notes on imprint and quotations from text handwritten in ink on front fly leaf recto, bookseller's description pasted onto front pastedown, title-page inscribed in Greek: 'En kai pan' ['All is one and the one is all', the leading slogan of the Pantheismusstreit]).

OP#244 WINDSOR, King's College of Our Lady of Eton, Ab.9.08 (late-seventeenth-century pigskin binding, donated [1731] to Eton by Edward Waddington [1670?–1731], English prelate, Bishop of Chichester from 1724 to 1731, Waddington bookplate).

OP#245 YORK, University Library, Special Collections, SC 26-6-5-29 (vellum over pasteboards, nineteenth-century circular library stamp on title-page in dark blue ink: 'The Community of the Resurrection', bound with: Benedictus de Spinoza, *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

United States (*67*)

OP#246 ANN ARBOR (MI), University of Michigan, University Library, B 3955.J48 (mottled calf binding, raised bands, marbled wrapper and edges, gilt edging, gold-tooled spine, with red lettering panel, gilt title: 'B.D.S. | OPERA | POSTHUMA', sprinkled edges in red and green, two eighteenth-century inscriptions in ink ['1754.', followed by a number in red: 2148, '1734.', in red ink: 2148] on verso of the endpaper and the verso of the flyleaf).

OP#247 AUSTIN (TX), The University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Center, B 3955 J35 1677 (undecorated front and rear covers, rounded spine, floral gold inlay on spine and on interior boards, marbled papers, French notes throughout copy, bound with frontispiece portrait [engraved by Etienne Fiquet (1719–1794)] of Jacques de la Cour [1650–1721], squire and lord of d'Invilliers and another portrait [1736, done by Fiquet] of Michael de la Cour Damonville [opposite to Preface]).[8]

OP#248 BALTIMORE (MD), Goucher College, B3955 .A18 1677 (limp vellum binding with three sewing stations with two kettle stations, copy has title-page: 'Benedicti de Spinoza, OPERA OMNIA, Priora & Posthuma: quorum seriem versa pagina indicat', nineteenth-century

8 For both engravings: Louis E. Facheux, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment les oeuvres gravés d'Étienne Fiquet, Pierre Savart, J.-B. de Grateloup et J.-P.-S. de Grateloup* (Paris and Brussels: veuve J. Renouard/Mertens et fils, 1864), pp. 69–70, nos. 81–82.

owner's notes on Spinoza's metaphysics, written in pencil on first free endpapers).

OP#249 Berkeley (CA), University Library, B3955 1677

OP#250 Bloomington (IN), University Library, BS3985 .A3 1677 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

OP#251 Bryn Mawr (PA), Brynn Mawr College Library, Canaday Special Collections, shelf-mark is not known

OP#252–253 Cambridge (MA), Harvard University, University Library, *NC6 Sp476 670t (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.1]), *NC6 Sp476 6770 (bound with the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#254P Champaign (IL), University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign), University Library, 193 Sp4 1677 ('Opera' portrait bound in after the part-title leaf for the *Ethica*, Moroccan leather binding, raised bands, gilt tooling and edging, gilt-tooled spine [floral ornaments], damaged red lettering panel: 'B. DE SPINOSAE | OP: POSTHUM:', marbled pastedown endpapers, 'few eighteenth-century underlines owner's notes in black ink throughout volume, owner's inscriptions in black ink on first free endpaper ['Ferdinand Zinning [...] 1932', one other late-nineteenth-century note is illegible], modern library label on first pastedown [Library of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign]).

OP#255–257 Chicago (IL), University of Chicago, University Library, Rosenberger 156-14, B3955.J5, B3955. J5 1677a

OP#258 Chicago (IL), Loyola University, B3955 .A18 1677 (vellum binding with laced-in thongs, black-sprinkled edges, handwritten author and title in black ink on spine: 'B. de Spinoza | Ethice. Tract. Pol. | Epistola', owner's marks on front flyleaf in black ink: 'C. Dietrich. Halle. 1868', old eighteenth- or nineteenth-century shelf-mark ['Quart. 77'] on front pastedown).

OP#259–260 Chicago (IL), The Newberry Library, Case B 246.817 (late-seventeenth-century brown calf binding, blind-tooled ornaments in gilt rectangular frame with printed bookplate of W.J. Conybeare, oblong bookplate of The Newberry Library: 'In Domino Confido', bookplate on first pastedown), B3955 .J451677 [bookplate: The Virginia Library, McCormick Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, Chicago, second bookplate: Library, Bowl Alley Lane, Hull]).

OP#261–262P Cincinnati (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, Freidus, Spinoza 695 (large-paper copy, late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, red-sprinkled edges, library stamp of Hebrew Union College Library on title-page), Spinoza 696 (copy has the 'Opera' portrait).

OP#263 Cleveland (OH), Case Western Reserve University, B3955.A18 (late-seventeenth-century vellum, red leather spine label embossed with gilt: 'B.D.S. | Opera Posthuma' [the same written in ink above it], owner's inscription in ink on back pastedown: 'bought on Thursday night – June 29th 1809 –for 6 shillings – at the same time and place, Hobbs's "Tripos" –3rd Edit. 1684 – for three shillings', with notation [NW. #1049], sold by Mason, 6 Holywell St. Strand 2, bookplate of Western Reserve University, purchased in October 1944 by Herbert Reicher [note in pencil in left margin of sig. *2r]).

OP#264P Evanston (IL), Northwestern University, University Library, Special Collections (Deering Library), Kestnbaum S758s (copy contains 'Opera' portrait, vellum covering, author's name and title on spine in black ink: 'B. de SPINOSA | Opera omnia', contains handwritten notes in Latin about Spinoza's writings pasted on to page preceding title-page, bookdealer's description, in German, tipped in before p. 3 of cover, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#265 Hanover (NH), Dartmouth College, no shelf-mark

OP#266 Haverford (PA), Haverford College, B3953 1677 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, red coloured edges, heavily damaged spine, owner's inscription on first free endpaper: 'Francis B. Gummere. Kal. Aug. MDCCCLXVI. Berolin.', given in memory of Richard M. Gummere [1902] and Samuel J. Gummere [1907]).

OP#267–268 Houston (TX), Rice University, University Library, B3955 .A18 1677, B 1875 .S7 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4], and *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

OP#269 Iowa City (IA), University Library, B3955 1677 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5]).

OP#270P–272 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B3953 1677 (copy has umbrella title-page and 'Opera' portrait, plain vellum

binding, gilt title on black leather rectangle at head of spine, two notes on paper, attached to the front flyleaf [recto], possibly were written by former owner A.D. White, first president of Cornell, bookplate reading 'President White Library Cornell University'), B 3955 .A18 1677, B 3955 .A18 1677a (large-paper copy).

OP#273 La Jolla (CA), University of California (San Diego), University Library, B3955.J45 1677

OP#274 Lancaster (PA), Franklin & Marshall College, B3953 1677

OP#275 Lincoln (NE), University of Nebraska, B3955 .A18 (bound in vellum over boards, blind tooling on spine, spine title, in red: 'Spinoza opera', inscription on title-page: 'Ex libris Jacobi Costa, Comitis Sti. Rhemigii', seal of Bibliotec Mondovi stamped on title-page, inscription on front free endpaper: 'ed. orig. de l'Ethique de Spinoza').

OP#276–277 Los Angeles (CA), Hebrew Union College (two copies)

OP#278 Los Angeles (CA), Frances-Henry Library, Freidus Spinoza, UCLA, University Library, Spinoza Collection, B 3955.A1

OP#279–281P Los Angeles (CA), University of California, B3955 .A1 * (vellum covering, handwritten text in ink on spine: 'B. de Spinosae | Opera | posthuma', pencilled underliners, armorial bookplate of Sir William Molesworth), G0000551994, barcode: A0009023482 (copy has 'Opera' portrait, olim: Hiram Corson).

OP#282 Macon (GA), Mercer University, B3955 .A18 1677

OP#283–284 Minneapolis (MN), University of Minnesota Twin Cities, University Library, 194Sp4 IJ, 194Sp47 OO

OP#285 Nashville (TN), Vanderbilt University, Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Special Collections (Sevier), VU.2017.0025

OP#286 Nashville (TN), private collection Lenn E. Goodman (eighteenth-century [?] calf binding, edges with remnants of marbling, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [unidentified, presumably T.4 or T.5]).

OP#287 New Haven (CT), Yale University, University Library, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, K8 Sp4 a677 (tight vellum covering, embossed blind-tooling on front cover at the heart of blind-tooled frame, blind-tooled raised bands on spine, late-seventeenth-century or early-eighteenth-century notes in red and black on the rear pastedown [list of topics and corresponding pages], underlines in red and marginal pencil markings, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.5], bookplate: Charles J. Rosenbloom).

OP#288 New Haven (CT), Southern Connecticut State University, University Library, B3953 1677

OP#289 New York (NY), Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University, B 3955 1677

OP#290–292P New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, 193Sp4 I9, 193Sp4 I 1677a, 193Sp4 X6 1672a ('Opera' portrait opposite to title-page, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.2]; Bredenburg, *Enervatio*; Van Mansveld, *Adversus*; anon. [Meyer], *Philosophia*).

OP#293 New York (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary, RB431:6 (copy has umbrella title-page, lacks opening and final pages, bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [edition unidentified, copy not available for inspection]; *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*).

OP#294 New York (NY), The New York Public Library, YBGC L35.J4

OP#295–296 New York (NY), The Pierpont Morgan Library, 077240, 127.646.2

OP#297 Philadelphia (PA), Temple University, University Library, B3955 1677 (full calf binding, gilt decorations on spine, marbled endpapers, modern pencilled owner's name in upper right margin of title-page: 'J.H. Dunham', Temple University bookplate identifying the donor as 'Dr. James H. Dunham').

OP#298 Pittsburgh (PA), University Library, Hillman Library Special Collections, 1677 N469 (late-seventeenth-century gilt brown calf binding on five raised bands, gilt decorative ornaments and lettering panel on [damaged] spine: 'OPERA | POSTHUMA', owner's name on first page of the *Ethica*, in black ink, written by an eighteenth-century hand on direction line: 'Le Comte de Plels', one nineteenth-century note in black on p. 20).

OP#299 PRINCETON (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary vellum binding, title-page has two twentieth-century stamps from a Swiss Jesuit library, paper foxing, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

OP#300 PRINCETON (NJ), University Library, 6195.1677

OP#301 PROVO (UT), Brigham Young University, University Library, 199.492 Sp470 1677 (bound in vellum, bookplate of Reverend W.G. McLaren).

OP#302–303 SAN MARINO (CA), The Huntington Library, 356957 (early-eighteenth-century binding), 705079 (late-seventeenth-century stiff vellum boards, collector's notes on endpapers).

OP#304 STANFORD (CA), Stanford University, University Library, B3985 .A3 1678 (provenance: E.P. Goldschmidt & Co. [book label], Unitarian College [embossed stamp]).

OP#305 SYRACUSE (NY), Syracuse University, University Library, B3955 .A18 1677 (custom armorial binding, Geo. P. Philes, 1854 [autograph on title-page], Chas. G.B. Mills, Syracuse, April 10, 1861 [autograph on front free endpaper], Harriet M. Mills [donor], Latin marginalia throughout copy).

OP#306 TOWNSON/BALTIMORE (MD), John Hopkins University, University Library, 199.492 S758 c. 1

OP#307 TUCSON (AZ), University Library, B3953 1677 (full light brown calf binding, five raised bands on spine, gilt title on spine, encircled bookmark on verso side of title-page in black ink: 'Oxford & Cambridge University Club', lacks Hebrew grammar).

OP#308 VILLANOVA (PA), Villanova University, B3955 .A18 1677

OP#309 WALTHAM (MA), Brandeis University, Special Collections, Rare B3955 .A18 1677

OP#310–311 WASHINGTON (DC), The Library of Congress, B 3955. A18 Jefferson Coll, B 3955. A18 (has inscription: 'Aus der Bücherei von Dr. Hermann Türck', bookplate of Hugo Friedmann; copy previously owned by Founding Father and third president of the United States Thomas Jefferson [1743–1826], initialled by him at signatures I and T in the first group of gatherings, with the Library of Congress's 1815 bookplate).

OP#312 WELLESLEY (MA), Wellesley College, 193.9 Sp40p

References

Wolf, *Bibliotheca*, p. 241; Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 641; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, pp. 423–424; Graesse, *Trésor*, vol. 6, p. 470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', pp. 6–7, no. 22; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 34, no. 378; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', pp. 26–27, no. 24.

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FIRST AND ONLY DUTCH EDITION, ONE SINGLE PRINT RUN, IN QUARTO (ILLUSTRATION 10.22–10.32)

Short Title

B. d. S., *De nagelate schriften*. n. pl. [Amsterdam], *printer*: Israel de Paull, *for*: Jan Rieuwertsz *père* (*bookseller*), 1677.

Contains: *Zedekunst*, *Staatkundige verhandeling*, *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant*, and *Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen*.

- Dutch text; subsidiary language in marginal glosses of *Zedekunst*: Latin.
- Lacks the Hebrew grammar manual.
- Prepared for the press by: Jarig Jelles (Preface), Lodewijk Meyer, and Jan Rieuwertsz *père*, the role of Pieter van Gent, Johannes Bouwmeester, and Georg Hermann Schuller is unclear.
- Revised Dutch translation by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker of the Latin edition with corrections; apart from translating all the other works and correspondence section into Dutch, Glazemaker presumably only edited the already existing Dutch translation (before December 1664, by Pieter Balling) of Parts 1 and 2 of the *Ethica*; Glazemaker himself translated into Dutch Parts 3, 4, and 5.
- Title-page has monogrammed initials of Spinoza's name.
- Imprint with date (1677): 'ƈ I ↄ I ↄ CLXXVII.'
- Title-page decoration: large floral yoke ornament.
- Anonymous preface, by Jarig Jelles.

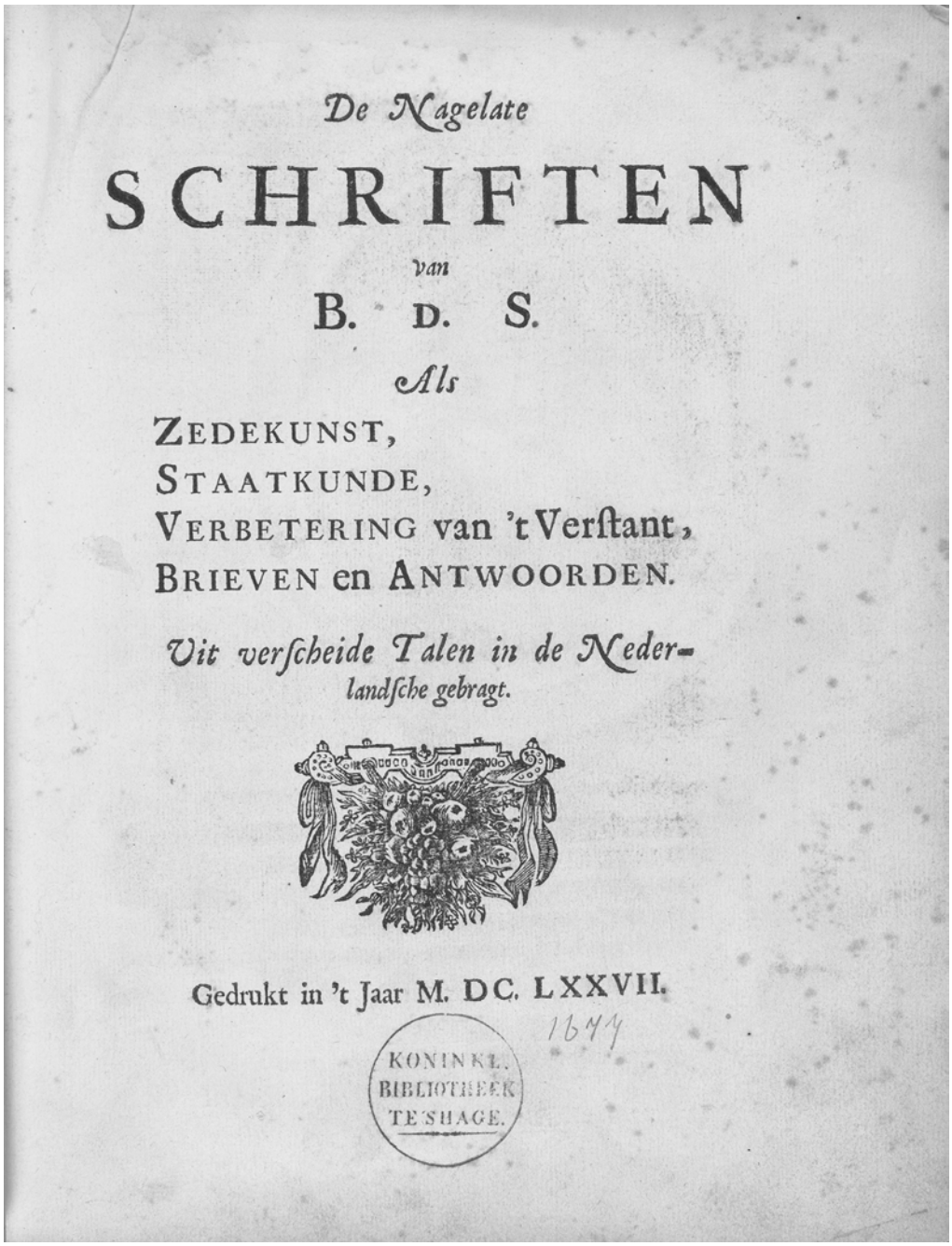


ILLUSTRATION 10.22 Title-page of *De nagelate schriften*. Spinoza's name is suppressed by his initials. The imprint only mentions 1677 as year of publication.

- Printed in two states: plain version and special-paper copy.
- Contains decorated initials and illustrations.
- Contains indexes.
- Contains two lists of errata ('Misstellingen.').
- Sold to the public in the first weeks of January 1678.
- Dutch selling price in 1697: 5 guilders and 5 *stuivers*.

Exemplars

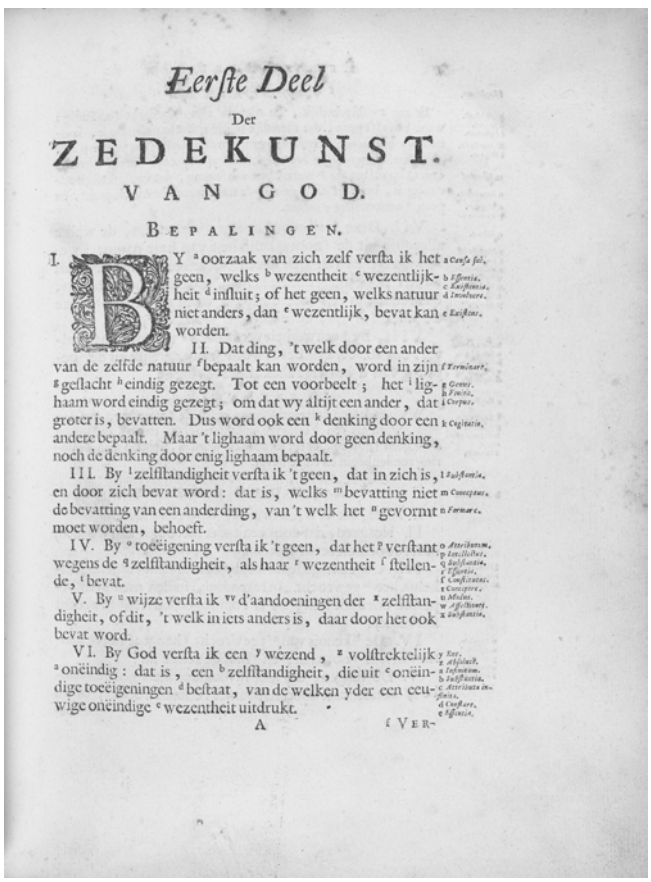
Autographs and/or apographs of Balling's and Glazemaker's translations are lost, some autographs, drafts, and copies of letters printed in the correspondence section have survived; three extant autographs in Dutch by Willem van Blijenbergh served as printer's copy for: *Brieven van verscheide geleerde mannen*.

***Title-page* (*on outer Forme of Gathering* *)**

De (swash D) *Nagelate* (swash N) | SCHRIFTEN | *van* (swash v) | B. D. S. | *Als* (swash A) | ZEDEKUNST, | STAATKUNDE, | VERBETERING van 't Verſtant, | BRIEVEN en ANTWOORDEN. | *Uit* (swash U) *verſcheide* (swash v) *Talen* (swash T) *in de Neder-* | *landſche* (swash N) *gebragt.* | (yoke ornament) | Gedrukt in 't Jaar M. DC. LXXVII.

Language*(*s*) *and Typography

Dutch and Latin. Explanatory Latin glosses in external margins (italic type, keyed to Dutch terms with superior letters) of *Zedekunst* (nominatives and/or infinitives, 6864, about twenty-three per page), keyed with letters and typographical symbols (italic type), some below the signatures.



Eerſte Deel

Der

ZEDEKUNST.

VAN GOD.

BEPALINGEN.

I. BY [a] oorzaak van zich zelf verſta ik het geen, welks [b] wezentheit [c] wezentlijkheit [d] insluit; of het geen, welks natuur niet anders, dan [e] wezentlijk, bevat kan worden.

II. Dat ding, 't welk door een ander van de zelfde natuur [f] bepaalt kan worden, word in zijn [g] geſlacht [h] eindig gezegt. Tot een voorbeelt; het [i] ligchaam word eindig gezegt; om dat wy altijt een ander, dat groter is, bevatten. Dus word ook een [k] denking door een andere bepaalt. Maar 't lighaam word door geen denking, noch de denking door enig lighaam bepaalt.

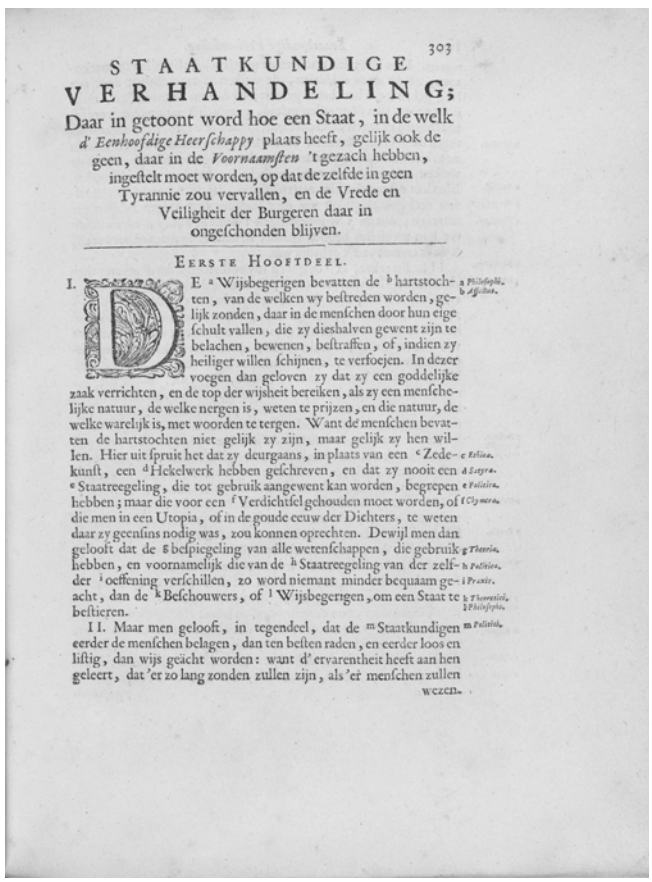
III. By [l] zelfſtandigheit verſta ik 't geen, dat in zich is, en door zich bevat word: dat is, welks [m] bevatting niet de bevatting van een anderding, van 't welk het [n] gevormt moet worden, behoeft.

IV. By [o] toëigening verſta ik 't geen, dat het [p] verſtant wegens de [q] zelfſtandigheit, als haar [r] wezentheit [s] ſtellende, [t] bevat.

V. By [u] wijze verſta ik [w] d'aandoeningen der [x] zelfſtandigheit, of dit, 't welk in iets anders is, daar door het ook bevat word.

VI. By God verſta ik een [y] wezend, [z] volſtrektelijk [a] oneindig: dat is, een [b] zelfſtandigheit, die uit [c] oneindige toëigeningen [d] beſtaat, van de welken yder een eeuwige oneindige [e] wezentheit uitdrukt.

A 't VER-



303

STAATKUNDIGE VERHANDELING;

Daar in getoont word hoe een Staat, in de welk *d' Eenhoofdige Heerſchappy* plaats heeft, gelijk ook de geen, daar in de *Voornaamſten* 't gezach hebben, ingeſtelt moet worden, op dat de zelfde in geen Tyrannie zou vervallen, en de Vrede en Veiligheit der Burgeren daar in ongeſchonden blijven.

EERSTE HOOFTDEEL.

I. DE [a] Wijsbegerigen bevatten de [b] hartstochten, van de welken wy beſtreden worden, gelijk zonden, daar in de menſchen door hun eige ſchult vallen, die zy dieshalven gewent zijn te belachen, bewenen, beſtraffen, of, indien zy heiliger willen ſchijnen, te verfoejen. In dezer voegen dan geloven zy dat zy een goddelijke zaak verrichten, en de top der wijsheit bereiken, als zy een menſchelijke natuur, de welke nergen is, weten te prijzen, en die natuur, de welke warelijk is, met woorden te tergen. Want de menſchen bevatten de hartstochten niet gelijk zy zijn, maar gelijk zy hen willen. Hier uit ſpruit het dat zy deurgaans, in plaats van een [c] Zedekunſt, een [d] Hekelwerk hebben geſchreven, en dat zy nooit een [e] Staatreegeling, die tot gebruik aangewent kan worden, begrepen hebben; maar die voor een [f] Verdichtſel gehouden moet worden, of die men in een Utopia, of in de goude eeuw der Dichters, te weten daar zy geenſins nodig was, zou konnen oprechten. Dewijl men dan gelooft dat de [g] beſpiegeling van alle wetenſchappen, die gebruik hebben, en voornamelijk die van de [h] Staatreegeling van der zelfder [i] oeffening verſchillen, zo word niemant minder bequaam geacht, dan de [k] Beſchouwers, of [l] Wijsbegerigen, om een Staat te beſtieren.

II. Maar men gelooft, in tegendeel, dat de [m] Staatkundigen eerder de menſchen belagen, dan ten beſten raden, en eerder loos en liſtig, dan wijs geacht worden: want d' ervarentheit heeft aan hen geleert, dat 'er zo lang zonden zullen zijn, als 'er menſchen zullen wezen.

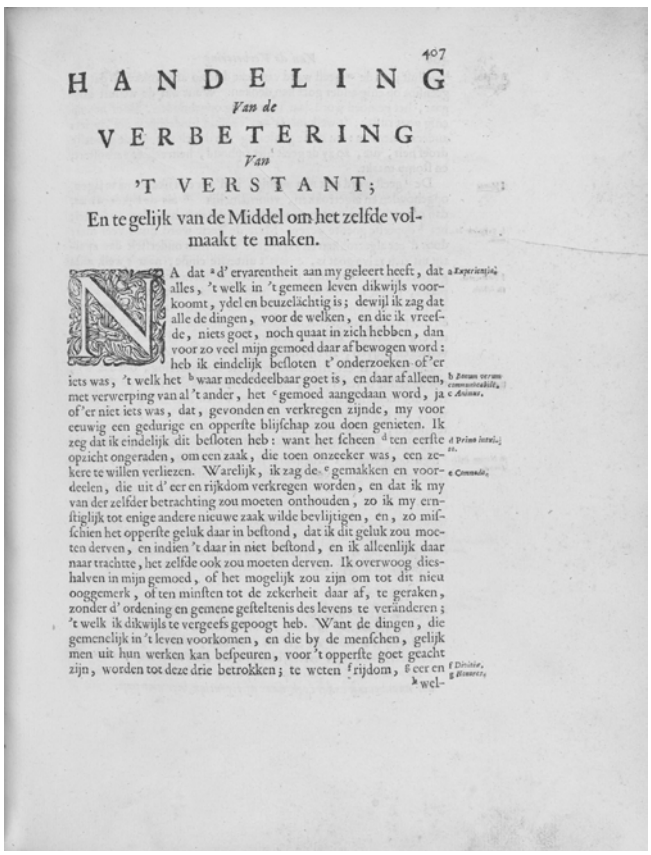
ILLUSTRATIONS 10.23 AND 10.24 First pages of the *Zedekunst* and of the *Staatkundige verhandeling*.

Distinguished movable roman type from Israel de Paull's printing office: 16 mm 'Parysse' roman capitals (1661, probably 1657, Bartholomeus Voskens foundry) and 10.5 mm two-line 'Text' roman capitals (1677, earliest example of typeface in De Paull's workshop). Cf.: Lane, 'The Printing Office', pp. 379 and 384 (specimens). Incidentally, in the case of a few words, the larger *c.*160 mm 'Ascendonica roman' (1621, Nicolas Briot) and *c.*134 mm/20 ll. '(Klein) Paragon' roman (1626, Briot) were occasioned by De Paull (ibid., pp. 396–397 and 384 [specimens]).

Plain version (with foolscap watermark) has cut size *c.*200×*c.*180 mm, lavish edition: *c.*230×*c.*180 mm (Schilte and Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza's Posthumous Works', p. 266). 'Voorreden': twenty-eight lines, varying in other parts. Letters in correspondence section separated by single rule (90 to 100 mm).

Prime Literals/Misprints/Hanging Sorts

– P. 265 misnumbered as '165' (outer forme of Ll).
– P. 285: hanging smaller lower-case *n* in sig. Nn3 (outer forme), gradually shifted east horizontally on 'caged' typeset page during printing ('N⊐3'), generally in special-paper copies (Schilte and Steenbakkers, 'Spinoza's Posthumous Works', p. 268).



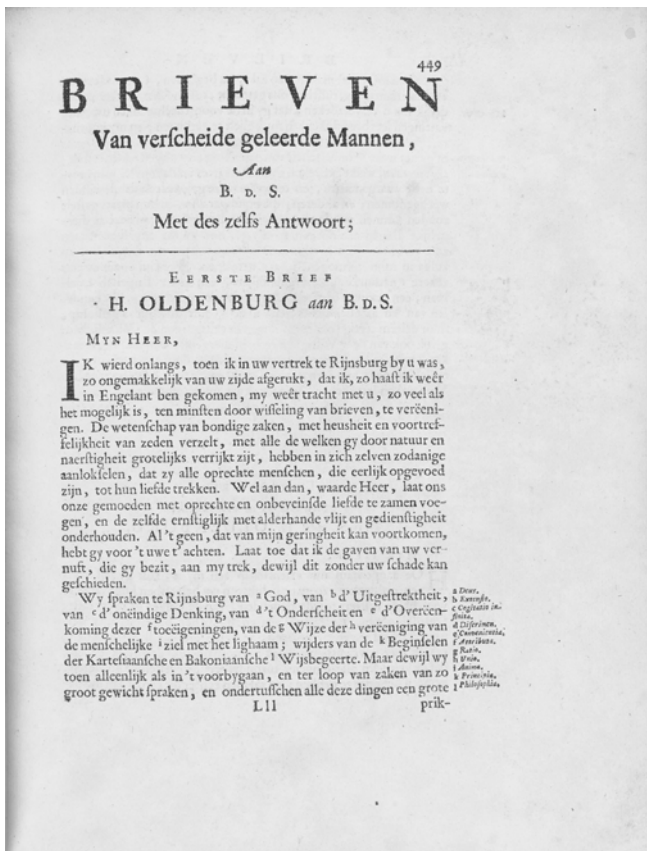
107

HANDELING
Van de
VERBETERING
Van
'T VERSTANT;

En te gelijk van de Middel om het zelfde volmaakt te maken.

NA dat [a] d' ervarentheit aan my geleert heeft, dat alles, 't welk in 't gemeen leven dikwijls voorkoomt, ydel en beuzelächtig is; dewijl ik zag dat alle de dingen, voor de welken, en die ik vreesde, niets goet, noch quaat in zich hebben, dan voor zo veel mijn gemoed daar af bewogen word: heb ik eindelijk besloten t' onderzoeken of 'er iets was, 't welk het [b] waar mededeelbaar goet is, en daar af alleen, met verwerping van al 't ander, het [c] gemoed aangedaan word, ja of 'er niet iets was, dat, gevonden en verkregen zijnde, my voor eeuwig een gedurige en opperste blijschap zou doen genieten. Ik zeg dat ik eindelijk dit besloten heb: want het scheen [d] ten eerste opzicht ongeraden, om een zaak, die toen onzeeker was, een zekere te willen verliezen. Warelijk, ik zag de [e] gemakken en voordeelen, die uit d' eer en rijkdom verkregen worden, en dat ik my van der zelfder betrachting zou moeten onthouden, zo ik my ernstiglijk tot enige andere nieuwe zaak wilde bevlijtigen, en, zo misschien het opperste geluk daar in bestond, dat ik dit geluk zou moeten derven, en indien 't daar in niet bestond, en ik alleenlijk daar naar trachtte, het zelfde ook zou moeten derven. Ik overwoog dieshalven in mijn gemoed, of het mogelijk zou zijn om tot dit nieu ooggemerk, of ten minsten tot de zekerheit daar af, te geraken, zonder d' ordening en gemene gesteltenis des levens te veränderen; 't welk ik dikwijls te vergeefs gepoogt heb. Want de dingen, die gemeenlijk in 't leven voorkomen, en die by de menschen, gelijk men uit hun werken kan bespeuren, voor 't opperste goet geacht zijn, worden tot deze drie betrokken; te weten [f] rijdom, [g] eer en [h] wel-

[a] Experientia
[b] Bonum verum communicabile,
[c] Animus,
[d] Prima intuitu.
[e] Commoda,
[f] Divitiæ,
[g] Honores,



449

BRIEVEN
Van verscheide geleerde Mannen,
Aan
B. D. S.
Met des zelfs Antwoort;

EERSTE BRIEF
H. OLDENBURG *aan* B. D. S.

MYN HEER,

IK wierd onlangs, toen ik in uw vertrek te Rijnsburg by u was, zo ongemakkelijk van uw zijde afgerukt, dat ik, zo haast ik weêr in Engelant ben gekomen, my weêr tracht met u, zo veel als het mogelijk is, ten minsten door wisseling van brieven, te vereênigen. De wetenschap van bondige zaken, met heusheit en voortreffelijkheit van zeden verzelt, met alle de welken gy door natuur en naerstigheit grotelijks verrijkt zijt, hebben in zich zelven zodanige aanlokselen, dat zy alle oprechte menschen, die eerlijk opgevoed zijn, tot hun liefde trekken. Wel aan dan, waarde Heer, laat ons onze gemoeden met oprechte en onbeveinsde liefde te zamen voegen, en de zelfde ernstiglijk met alderhande vlijt en gedienstigheit onderhouden. Al 't geen, dat van mijn geringheit kan voortkomen, hebt gy voor 't uwe t' achten. Laat toe dat ik de gaven van uw vernuft, die gy bezit, aan my trek, dewijl dit zonder uw schade kan geschieden.

Wy spraken te Rijnsburg van [a] God, van [b] d' Uitgestrektheit, van [c] d' oneindige Denking, van [d] 't Onderscheit en [e] d' Overeenkoming dezer [f] toeëigeningen, van de [g] Wijze der [h] vereeniging van de menschelijke [i] ziel met het lighaam; wijders van de [k] Beginselen der Kartesiaansche en Bakoniaansche [l] Wijsbegeerte. Maar dewijl wy toen alleenlijk als in 't voorbygaan, en ter loop van zaken van zo groot gewicht spraken, en ondertusschen alle deze dingen een grote

[a] Deus.
[b] Extensio.
[c] Cogitatio.
[d] Discrimen.
[e] Convenientia.
[f] Attributa.
[g] Ratio.
[h] Unio.
[i] Anima.
[k] Principia.
[l] Philosophia.

ILLUSTRATIONS 10.25 AND 10.26 First pages of the *Handeling van de verbetering van 't verstant* and of the correspondence section.

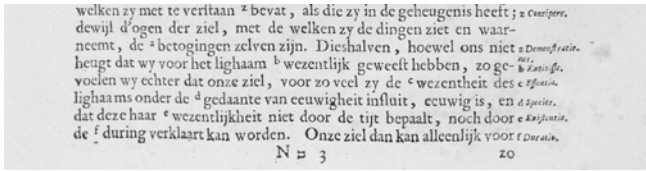

welken zy met te veritaan [z] bevat, als die zy in de geheugenis heeft; [z] *Conſipere.*
dewijl d'ogen der ziel, met de welken zy de dingen ziet en waar-
neemt, de [a] betogingen zelven zijn. Dieshalven, hoewel ons niet [a] *Demonſtratie.*
heugt dat wy voor het lighaam [b] wezentlijk geweeſt hebben, zo ge- [b] *Eſſentiæ.*
voelen wy echter dat onze ziel, voor zo veel zy de [c] wezentheit des [c] *Eſſentia.*
lighaams onder de [d] gedaante van eeuwigheit influit, eeuwig is, en [d] *Speciei.*
dat deze haar [e] wezentlijkheit niet door de tijt bepaalt, noch door [e] *Exiſtentiæ.*
de [f] during verklaart kan worden. Onze ziel dan kan alleenlijk voor [f] *Durationis.*
N 3 zo

ILLUSTRATION 10.27 Misprint on page 285 of the *Ethica*.

Occurs in: Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 80-434; Copenhagen, DEB, Boghistoriske samlinger, 935 4° 41662 (S 1977); Kent (OH), Kent State University, University Library, B 3955 .A2; Los Angeles (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection, large-paper copy without shelf-mark; The Hague, KB, 450 D 8, 135 C 22. These aforementioned copies were evidently printed during a later stage of the production of copies.

– P. 313, running headline: 'TWEEDE HOOFTDEEL' misprinted as 'DARDE HOOFTDEEL.' (outer forme of Rr).
– P. 461, footnote (editorial error): misprint of 'vijfentwintigste Afdeeling' as 'vierentwintigste Afdeeling' (outer forme of Mmm). The autograph letter (London, Royal Society, ms. S1/37, fol. 1[v]) has '§. 25' (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
– P. 464 misnumbered '364' (outer forme of Mmm).
– P. 610 (caption of letter L): 'Vyftigste Brief' misprinted as 'Vyftigstigste Brief'.

Bibliographical Fingerprints of Separate Parts

167704 – a1 *2 m$de : a2 ******2 ken,$en$ook
167704 – b1 A td : b2 Pp2 moed$
167704 – c1 Qq $zelf : c2 Eee inm
167704 – d1 Fff met$d : d2 Kkk3 ,$blijsc
167704 – e1 Lll rtuss : e2 Pppp2 vandeV

Collation

4°: *4 **4 ***4 ****4 *****4 ******4 A–Z[4] Aa–Zz[4] Aaa–Rrr[4] Sss[4] Ttt–Zzz[4] Aaaa–Oooo[4] Pppp[3] [$3 (–******3, –Pp3, –Eee2, –Eee3, first one blank, last two signatures are part-title leaves, ±Sss4

270 leaves = pp. [*48*] [*1*] 2–300 [*1*] 302–403 [*2*] 406–446 [*2*] 449–666 [*2*]

Collation Variant

Rijnsburg, Vereniging 'Het Spinozahuis', no. 172: with cancel of first part of the 'Vijfentwintigste Brief' (Henry Oldenburg to Spinoza, 11 February 1676), starting and ending halfway on the verso side of sig. Sss4, *cancellandum* has a snip in the page (indicating pages 511 and 512 had to be removed from gathering Sss), copy has *cancellans* (the new pages 511 and 512 [the first leaf of quire Ttt] comprising another letter by Spinoza to Oldenburg [7 February 1676]) with the new letter number 25. Its introductory portion was printed on page 512.[9] On the new page 512 of Ttt, the typesetter this time added at the end of Letter XXIV Spinoza's London correspondent's full name: 'HENR. OLDENBURG', missing on *cancellandum* Sss4.

Direction Line

Signature and catchword(s), anticipating the first word on the next page, at the foot of each page.

Running Headlines

Running headlines of Preface printed in upper middle margin, larger upper case (capital letters): VOORREEDEN.

Running headlines in main work comprise a combination of larger upper case and smaller lower-case letters (capital letters, italics): EERSTE DEEL DER (verso), ZEDEKUNST. *Van God.* (recto); TWEEDE DEEL DER (verso), ZEDEKUNST. *Van de Ziel.* (recto); DARDE DEEL DER (verso), ZEDEKUNST. *Van de Hartstochten.* (recto); VIERDE DEEL DER (verso), ZEDEKUNST. *Van de menschelijke Dienstbaarheid.* (recto); VYFDE DEEL DER (recto), ZEDEKUNST. *Van de menschelijke Vryheit.* (recto); *Staatkundige Verhandeling.* (verso); EERSTE HOOFTDEEL. (recto, the last part subsequently following chapter numbering); or: *Staatkundige Verhandeling.* (verso), *Van d'eenhoofdige Heerschappy.* VI. HOOFTDEEL. (recto, chapter title in italics, with subsequent chapter, numbering in roman capital letters); *Staatkundige Verhandeling.* (verso), *Van de Heerschappy der Voornaamsten.* VIII. HOOFTDEEL. (recto, chapter title in italics, with subsequent chapter, numbering in roman capital letters); *Staatkundige Verhandeling.* (verso), *Van de Volkelijke Heerschappy.* XI. HOOFTDEEL. (recto, chapter title in italics, with subsequent chapter, numbering in roman capital letters); BRIEVEN (verso), *Van en aan* B. D. S. (recto).

Running headlines in the main work in smaller lower-case (italic type): *Van de Verbetering* (verso); *Van 't Verstant* (recto).

Contents

*[r]	(title-page)
*[v]	(blank)
*2[r]–******3[r]	VOORREEDEN.
******4[r]	ZEDEKUNST, In vijf delen onderscheiden; *Daar in gehandelt word* I. Van GOD. II. Van de Menschelijke ZIEL.

9 *See* further: Chapter 9, n. 49.

	III. Van de Natuur en de Oorsprong der HARTSTOCHTEN. IV. Van de Menschelijke DIENSTBAARHEIT. V. Van de Menschelijke VRYHEIT. *Alles op een Meetkundige orde geschikt en betoogt.* (part-title leaf)
A^{r}–F3^{r}	*Eerste Deel* Der ZEDEKUNST. VAN GOD.
F3^{v}–O^{r}	*Tweede Deel* Der ZEDEKUNST. *Van de natuur en oorsprong* DER ZIEL.
O^{v}–Z3^{r}	*Darde Deel* Der ZEDEKUNST. *Van de Natuur en Oorsprong* DER HARTS-TOCHTEN.
Z3^{v}–Kk3^{v}	*Vierde Deel* Der ZEDEKUNST. *Van de menschelijke Dienstbaarheit*, of *Van de Krachten* DER HARTS-TOCHTEN.
Kk4^{r}–Pp2^{v}	*Vijfde Deel Der* ZEDEKUNST. *Van 't vermogen des Verstants, of van de menschelijke* VRYHEYT.
Pp3^{r}	STAATKUNDIGE VERHANDELING; Daar in getoont word hoe een Staat, in de welk *d'Eenhoofdige Heerschappy*, plaats heeft, gelijk ook de geen, daar in de *Voornaamsten* 't gezach hebben, ingestelt moet worden, op dat de zelfde in geen Tyrannie zou vervallen, en de Vrede en Veiligheit der Burgeren daar in ongeschonden blijven. (part-title leaf)
Pp3^{v}	Brief van de Schrijver aan een van zijn vrienden, die bequamelijk tot een Voorreeden tot deze Staatkundige Verhandeling kan dienen.
Pp4^{r}–Qq^{v}	STAATKUNDIGE VERHANDELING; Daar in getoont word hoe een Staat, in de welk *d'Eenhoofdige Heerschappy* plaats heeft, gelijk ook de geen, daar in de *Voornaamsten* 't gezach hebben, ingestelt moet worden, op dat de zelfde in geen Tyrannie zou vervallen, en de Vrede en Veiligheit der Burgeren daar in ongeschonden blijven. EERSTE HOOFTDEEL.
Qq^{v}–Rr2^{r}	TWEEDE HOOFTDEEL.
Rr2^{r}–Ss2^{r}	DARDE HOOFTDEEL.
Ss2^{r}–Ss4^{r}	VIERDE HOOFTDEEL.
Ss4^{r}–Tt^{r}	VYFDE HOOFTDEEL.
Tt^{v}–Vv3^{r}	ZESTE HOOFTDEEL.
Vv3^{r}–Yy4^{r}	ZEVENDE HOOFTDEEL.
Yy4^{v}–Cccc^{v}	ACHTSTE HOOFTDEEL. *Dat de Heerschappy der Voornaamsten uit een groot getal van Keurraden moet bestaan: van der zelfder voortreffelijkheit, en dat zy nader aan de volstrekte, dan aan d'eenhoofdige Heerschappy koomt, en om deze oorzaak bequamer is om de vryheit te bewaren.*
Ccc2^{r}–Ddd^{v}	NEGENDE HOOFTDEEL.
Ddd^{v}–Ddd4^{v}	TIENDE HOOFTDEEL.
Eee^{r}–Eee2^{r}	ELFDE HOOFTDEEL.
Eee2^{v}	(blank)
Eee3^{r}	HANDELING *van de* Verbetering van 'T VERSTANT; En te gelijk van de Middel om het zelfde volmaakt te maken. (part-title leaf)
Eee3^{v}	BERICHT *Aan de* LEZER.
Eee4^{r}–Kkk3^{v}	HANDELING *Van de* VERBETERING *Van* 'T VERSTANT; en tegelijk van de MIDDEL om hetzelfde volmaakt te maken.
Kkk4^{r}	BRIEVEN Van Verscheide Geleerde Mannen *Aan* B. D. S. Met des zelfs Antwoort; *Grotelijks tot Verklaring van des zelfs andere Werken diendende.* (part-title leaf)
Kkk4^{v}	(blank)
Lll^{r}–Pp4^{r}	(letters I–X:) BRIEVEN Van verscheide geleerde Mannen, *Aan* B. D. S. Met des zelfs ANTWOORT; EERSTE BRIEF. H. OLDENBURG *aan* B. D. S.
Pp4^{v}–Rrr4^{v}	(letters XI–XX:) ELFDE BRIEF. H. OLDENBURG *aan* B. D. S.
Rrr4^{v}–Xxx^{r}	(letters XXI–XXX:) EENENTWINTIGSTE BRIEF. *Antwoort op de voorgaande.* B. D. S. *aan* H. OLDENBURG.
Xxx^{r}–Dddd^{v}	(letters XXXI–XL:) EENENDARTIGSTE BRIEF. W. v. B. *aan* B. D. S.
Dddd^{v}–Hhhh3^{r}	(letters XLI–L:) EENENVEERTIGSTE BRIEF. B. D. S. *aan de zelfde.*
Hhhh3^{r}–Llll^{v}	(letters LI–LX) EENENVYFTIGSTE BRIEF. GOTTFR. LEIBNITS aan B. D. S.
Llll2^{r}–Nnnn^{v}	(letters LXI–LXX) EENENZESTIGSTE BRIEF ..... *aan* B. D. S.
Nnnn^{v}–Pppp2^{v}	(letters LXXI–LXXIV) EENENZEVENTIGSTE BRIEF. *Antwoort op de voorgaande ..... aan* B. D. S.
Pppp3^{r}	Misstellingen, in dit Werk ingeslopen. (list of general errata, with thirty-four corrections, for pp. 11, 25, 26, 49, 55, 82, 86, 88, 89, 108, 110, 135, 154, 167, 181, 188, 198, 228, 247, 248, 333, 356, 370, 371, 464, 474, 480, 521, 576, 591, 611, 617, 636, and 644).
Pppp4^{r}	Misstellingen in d'aanwijzing, op de Voorstellingen. (list of errata in the *Ethica*, fourteen corrections, for pp. 12, 67, 73, 95, 110, 143, 149, 194, 200, 219, 220, 245, 275, and 279)

Ornament on Title-Page
Yoke ornament, relief woodcut, 35×50 mm. Same ornament occurs on title-pages of: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (T.1, T.2/T.2a, T.4n/T.4, T.5) and the *Opera posthuma*.

Decorated Initials
Eight ornamented (acanthus) initials (S, B, I, D, I, I, D, N), employed to head the first letter of the first word of Preface and chapters of separate parts, relief woodcuts: sig. *2r, pp. 46, 106, 182, 263 (5 ll., 26×26 mm), 1 (6 ll., 26×26 mm), 303, and 407 (7 ll., 26×26 mm).

It has been argued (Lane, 'The Printing Office' pp. 375–376) De Paull employed relief woodcut initials from a '25 mm acanthus' series type specimen ('ADEGHMNW'.) to head the first letter of the first word of preface and chapters of separate parts for printing *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*. The Latin edition has in any case LPQT, its Dutch translation has BIS from this series.

ILLUSTRATIONS 10.28, 10.29, 10.30, 10.31 AND 10.32
Decorated acanthus initials in *De nagelate schriften* from a '25 mm acanthus' ADEGHMNW series type specimen owned by the Tuinstraat printing office of Israel de Paull.

Initial matching identical initials in other works known to have been printed by De Paull (Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 2, pp. 303–305):

initial D

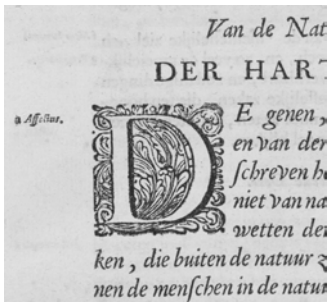


ILLUSTRATION 10.33
Initial D.

Also in:
– Anon., *De Heydelbergse Catechismus der christelijker religie*, Johannes Coccejus (ed.) (Amsterdam: widow of J. van Someren, 1679).
– Simon Stevin, *Vita politica: Het burgerlyk leven, ...; Seer noodig om in alle Houkse ofte Cabeljaawse tijden: ende bysonderlik gedurende onse binnen-landse verschillen in Holland, geleesen te warden* (Amsterdam: A. Olofsz, 1684).

A provisional list with an overview of the set of ornamented initials: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', Appendix 3, pp. 305–306.

Simple Initials
Small black closed initials (2 ll., 7×7 mm), woodcuts, employed for the first letter of subchapters and letters in correspondence section.

Illustrations
Geometrical visuals (7), copper etchings, engraver not identified:

Ethica text: pp. 16 (*c.*50×67 mm), 54 (*c.*30 mm), 63 (20×32 mm). Gebhardt (G 2, p. 350) rightly observed the accompanying illustration for E1p15s (p. 14) in the *Opera posthuma* is slightly differently executed in *De nagelate schriften* (p. 16).

Correspondence section:
– P. 524 (23 mm, composed after a visual contained in a now-lost letter of Spinoza to Meyer: 1663.04.20, Ep 12 [G 4/52–62]).
– P. 579 (33×60 mm, repeated on p. 580, based on a visual in a now-lost letter of Spinoza to Hudde: 1666.[06].[00], Ep 36 [G 4/183–187], made after a drawing in: anon. (Hudde), *Specilla circularia*).

– P. 584 (47×51 mm).

Physical illustrations (10) in the correspondence section, copper etchings, engraver not identified:

– P. 462 (nitre experiment): tube with small opening, 41×5 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in an extant letter to Henry Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
– P. 463 (nitre experiment): glass goblet, 25×15 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in an extant letter to Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
– P. 468 (nitre experiment): bladder filled with water (*c.*25×33 mm).
– P. 469 (nitre experiment): paper chimney, 33×25 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in an extant letter to Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
– P. 471 (cohesion experiment): focusing on the separation of two smooth marble blocks in open air, interconnected by a string stretched downwards over a pulley by a weight, 105×50 mm, solidity experiment, variant of the trial, 95×50 mm, made after a drawing by Spinoza in an extant letter to Oldenburg (1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6; G 4/15–36).
– P. 486 (pneumatic trial): water barometer, 94×48 mm, made after a copy by Henry Oldenburg of a water colour by Robert Hooke (enclosed in a now-lost letter to Spinoza of 31 July/10 August 1663 [1663.08.10, Ep 14 (G 4/70–71)]).
– P. 588 (experiment into the dynamics of fluid flows): wooden scale fluid-dynamics model (57×105 mm, repeated on 590).
– P. 589 (fluid flows experiment): improvised leverage pump (73×30 mm).

Copies (*55*)

Copies Examined

NS#312P AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: O 80-434
Large-paper copy, with the portrait and its Dutch text.
Provenance:late-nineteenth-orearly-twentieth-century oblong library stamp on title-page (Bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente, Amsterdam), modern small circular library stamp on verso of title-page (Universiteit van Amsterdam).

NS#313 COPENHAGEN, DEB, Boghistoriske samlinger, 935 kvart 41661 (S 1977)
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, in-laced thongs, title on back written by seventeenth-century hand in black ink: *'B.d.S* (*pinosa*) | *nagelate Schriften* | *s.l. 1677.'*
Provenance: red monogram on title-page, modern circular black library stamp ('Bibliotheca Regia Hafniensis').

NS#314 COPENHAGEN, DEB, Boghistoriske samlinger, 935 kvart 41662 (S 1977)
Large-paper copy. Late-seventeenth-century brown sprinkled calf leather over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular double rule on front and back, in it another triple gold-tooled rule with larger floral motives; round gold-tooled back with title ('SCHRIFTEN').
Provenance: seventeenth-century handwritten notes mostly inserting the errata, modern circular black library stamp ('Bibliotheca Regia Hafniensis').

NS#315 GHENT, University Library, BIB.HER.000569
Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, underlineations throughout copy with black ink.
Provenance: older shelf-marks in black ink (H.569, [37+76]); nineteenth-century bookplate ('Ex bibliotheca Heremans') on first board paper.
Digitized copy:
http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/bkt01?q=900000187005

NS#316 GHENT, University Library, BIB.ACC.001550
Black staining and browning to leaves, late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard with severe staining to front and back.
Late-seventeenth-century text corrections, in black ink in external margins and written in-between lines and in lines, mostly made according to those indicated in the list of errata, some keyed with typographical symbols.
Provenance: older shelf-marks in black ink (a.1550) and pencil (3955) on first board paper; nineteenth-century notes in black ink on other editions of Spinoza's writings.
Digitized copy:
http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/bkt01?q=900000174930

NS#317P LEIDEN, University Library, 464 B 10
Copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait.

NS#318P RIJNSBURG, Vereniging 'Het Spinozahuis', no. 172
Large-paper copy. Copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait. This

Rijnsburg copy has a cancel: Henry Oldenburg's letter to Spinoza of early February 1676 (1676.02.11, Ep 79, G IV, 329–330).

NS#319^{p} UTRECHT, University Library, Y qu 58
Large-paper copy. Copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait. Late-seventeenth-century vellum over pasteboard, round back, blind-tooled oblong stamp within two sets of blind-tooled double rules on front and back, stained edge, sprinkled with red and blue ink. No title.
Provenance: nineteenth-century bookplate: 'Bibliotheca D.H. de Castro MZ.'; rectangular stamp (Utrecht, University Library) in lower margin of title-page.

NS#320^{p} THE HAGUE, KB, 450 D 8
Large-paper copy, bound (facing the title-page) into the volume is the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait with its Dutch text version. Late-seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding over pasteboard, gold-tooled rectangular double rule on front and back, corners of rule decorated with gold-tooled arabesques, gold-tooled rectangular sections on round back, gold-tooled lettering panel: 'B.D.S. | SCHRIFTEN', black stained edge.
Late-seventeenth-century text corrections in black ink in external margins and written in-between lines and in lines, made according to those indicated in the list of errata, some keyed with typographical symbols. The same late-seventeenth-century hand added a reference to a quotation from the Bible (p. 26).
Provenance: twentieth-century shelf-mark with pencil on front endpaper: 'Boekbanden 1790C107'.
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=22&resultClick=1

NS#321^{p} THE HAGUE, KB, 507 E 20
Copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait. Late-seventeenth-century vellum wrapper over pasteboard, laced-in thongs, round back, handwritten title in black ink on the top of the back: 'B:D:S: | nagelaten | SRIFTE'.
Provenance: two illegible notes (eighteenth-century hand); twentieth-century shelf-marks with pencil: D 31, 507 E 20, 18A11, latter one crossed out (front endpapers); late-seventeenth-century note in black: '| aq aaa K', probatio pennae? (sig. *^{v}).
Digitized copy:
http://eeb.chadwyck.com.access.authkb.kb.nl/search/displayItem.do?ItemNumber=8&resultClick=1

Non-Collated Copies
Netherlands (*12*)

NS#322^{p}–323^{p}–324^{p} AMSTERDAM, Universiteit van Amsterdam, University Library, OTM: OG 63-6704 (large-paper copy, copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait), OTM: O 63-9115 (with the 'Opera' portrait and Dutch text), OTM: RON A-5214 (1) (copy has 'Opera portrait', slip of paper with Dutch text missing, late-seventeenth-century brown-speckled leather binding on five raised bands, stained edges, nineteenth-century owner's notes in black ink on Spinoza and his philosophy on first free endpapers, bound with: *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* [OTM: RON A-5214 (2)]; Pococke, *Het leeven* [OTM: RON A-5214 (3)]).

NS#325 AMSTERDAM, Ets Haim Library Livraria Montezinos, EH 15 H 20

NS#326 DEVENTER, Stads- en Athenaeum Bibliotheek, 49 C 35 (nineteenth-century half leather binding with black-speckled paper, damaged spine with gilt lettering panel: 'B.D.S. | NAGELATEN | SCHRIFTEN', five raised bands, miscellaneous nineteenth-century owner's notes on Spinoza in black ink on verso of front endpaper opposite to title-page, page numbers added by a nineteenth-century hand to titles of separate works indicated on title-page, library stamp [Stads- en Athenaeum Bibliotheek] on title-page).

NS#327 GRONINGEN, University Library, uklu NU M 13 (vellum cover with laced-in thongs, early-twentieth-century black circular library stamp [Groningen University] on title-page).

NS#328^{p} LEEUWARDEN, Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, 195 Wbg BB (copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait).

NS#329–330 RIJNSBURG, Vereniging Het Spinoza huis (two copies, no shelf-marks, one copy mutilated by Van Vloten and Land for the preparation of their edition of Spinoza's posthumous writings: *Opera quotquot reperta sunt*, 1882–3).

NS#331^{p}–332^{p} THE HAGUE, KB, 135 C 22 (large-paper copy, contains the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait [bound in after the *Zedekunst*] with Dutch text version pasted (on the left edge) over Latin text, blind-tooled vellum

cover with laced-in thongs, six raised bands, list of errata removed and cut into pieces pasted in their appropriate places in the text, copy contains an unbound drawing of Spinoza on parchment by Dutch artist Johan Faber [1650/60–1721], three eighteenth-century manuscript pages by Johannes Monnikhoff [1707–1687] bound in his copy [list of Spinoza's correspondents], title on spine: 'DE SPINOZA | SCHRIFTEN', confirms its close relationship with its companion volume ms. 75 G 16 which has as title on its spine: 'BENEDICTUS | NAGELATE'), PH746 (large-paper copy, with the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait and its Dutch text version, late-seventeenth-century vellum binding, title on spine: 'B.d. Spinoza | Nagelaten Schriften', ex libris [Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica [Amsterdam]] on first pastedown, reading: 'Philosophia Hermetica', below another ex libris reading: 'Instituut Collectie Nederland', text with ink on title-page in nineteenth-century hand: 'door J.H. Glazemaker').[10]

NS#333[P] VOORSCHOTEN, private collection T. van der Werf (copy has Dutch version pasted over the Latin text of the 'Opera' frontispiece portrait, vellum cover with laced-in thongs).

Belgium (*4*)

NS#334 ANTWERP, City Library, 364127

NS#335 ANTWERP, Erfgoedhuis Hendrik Conscience, 364127

NS#336 BRUSSELS, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, VH 3.959 A RP

NS#337 GHENT, University Library, BIB.TH.000188

Germany (*3*)

NS#338 GÖTTINGEN, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Phil I,1281

NS#339 HALLE, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (1), Fa 2703

NS#340 LEIPZIG, University Library, Philos. 91-a

Israel (*1*)

NS#341 HAIFA, University Library, B 3985 1677A

Japan (*1*)

NS#342 KANAGAWA, Tokai University, University Library, T/135.2/S

Norway (*1*)

NS#343 OSLO, University Library, Sikring 55

Sweden (*2*)

NS#344 KALMAR, Stadtsbibliotek, Stifts- och gymnasiebibliooteket mag. D. Comp. 14 II:e

NS#345 UPPSALA, University Library, Carolinabiblioteket, Obr. 69:60

United Kingdom (*3*)

NS#346 ABERDEEN, University Library, Special Libraries and Archives, King's College, SB 1939 Spi n (with inscriptions: J.U. v.d. Bosch, Gouda; Archdeacon G. Wernham, St Andrews, 1952).

NS#347 BRIGHTON, University of Sussex, University Library, SxUniverityRareBooks/34 (bound with: *Tractatus theologico-politicus* [T.4]).

NS#348 OXFORD, Merton College, MER Library, 120 G.9 (seventeenth-century vellum covering over pasteboards, blind-tooled centrepiece surrounded by a blind-tooled double fillet frame border, edges sprinkled with red and blue ink, eighteenth-century black ink-stamp reading 'Ex bibliothecae Acad. Georgiae Augusta' on verso of an additional leaf inserted after title-page, olim: Francis Herbert Bradley [1846–1924], provenance note: 'From the philosophical library of F.H. Bradley', bookplates of Merton College on inside of upper board, oblong Merton College Library blue ink-stamp on verso of an additional leaf, old shelf-mark: A9/A44)

United States (*18*)

NS#349 CAMBRIDGE (MA), Harvard University, University Library, *NC6 Sp476 Ep677g (bookplate of Ernst Altkirch [1873–1926]).

NS#350 CHICAGO (IL), University of Chicago, University Library, B 3955.H5

NS#351 CINCINNATI (OH), Hebrew Union College, University Library, Freidus SPINOZA (bound in vellum, hand-lettered in ink on spine, printed bookplate of Altkirch).

10 *See* for 75 G 16 (*codex B* of the *Korte verhandeling*): Chapter 8, n. 53. *See* on this copy and the Faber drawing: Mark, 'A Unique Copy'.

NS#352–353 Ithaca (NY), Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts, B 3955.A2 1677 a, B 3955 .A2 1677 (large-paper copy).

NS#353–354 Kent (OH), Kent State University, University Library, 3955 .A2 1677 (late-seventeenth-century vellum binding with laced-in thongs, handwritten in black ink on spine by late-seventeenth-century hand: 'SPINOZA.', hand-lettered in ink on spine, printed bookplate of Ernst Altkirch on front pastedown), B 3955 .A2 (large-paper copy, bound in eighteenth-century brown sprinkled paper boards, damage to spine hand-written title on spine, all edges speckled, late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century printed bookplate of Charles-Louis van Bavière [1767–1815], professor of history at the 'École centrale du département du nord' and secretary of the Brussels Law department: 'Ex Bibliotheca C. van Baviere Facult. Juris Acad. Bruxell. a secretis', in wreath below: 'Franc. et Loyal', sold by Librarie Lipschutz quite likely, Paris [bookseller's ticket on front pastedown]).

NS#355–356 Los Angeles (CA), University of California, University Library, Spinoza Collection (large-paper copy without shelf-mark, bound in half calf and sprinkled paper over boards, blue paste paper decoration on all edges, gilt floral spine panels, gold-stamped tan spine label, part of the Spinoza Collection of Abraham Wolf, acquired 1950), second copy (no shelf-mark, contemporary vellum boards, manuscript spine title 'B.D. Spinoza Schriften', blue-sprinkled edges, illustrated bookplate on front pastedown of Johan W. Schotman, bookseller's label in lower left corner of front pastedown of Adriaan Dorsman of Amsterdam, part of the Spinoza Collection of Abraham Wolf, acquired 1950).

NS#357 Los Angeles (CA), Hebrew Union College, Frances-Henry Library, Freidus Spinoza

NS#358 Nashville (TN), Vanderbilt University, Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Special Collections (Sevier), VU.2017.0024

NS#359 New Haven (CT), University Library, B3985 1677a (LC)

NS#360 New York (NY), Columbia University, University Library, SPINOZA 193Sp4 JP1677

NS#361 New York (NY), The Jewish Theological Seminary, RB431:6a

NS#362 New York (NY), The New York Public Library, YBGC D97.H4 (bound in vellum, hand-lettered in ink on spine, bookplate of Ernst Altkirch).

NS#363 Princeton (NJ), Institute of Advanced Study, Historical Studies-Social Science Library, Rosen wald 1 (contemporary vellum binding, collection Matthys de Jongh, Zutphen, sold to IAS in 2018).

NS#364 Washington (DC), The George Washington University, Gelman Special Collections Vault, SPEC B 3955 .A2 1677 (late-seventeenth-century vellum covering with laced-in thongs, hand-lettered title and author in black ink on spine: 'SCHRIFTEN | VAN | B.D.S.', red stained edges, nineteenth-century note in brown ink in upper margin of title-page: 'Select writings of Zedekunst for the bettering of the [last three words crossed out] the understanding in Dutch', with Ernst Altkirch's bookplate, old shelf-mark label ['839 Schi'] at foot of spine).

NS#365 Washington (DC), The Library of Congress, B3963.D8 H4

Note

Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography' (p. 28): 'The leaves 5*2, I3, T2, Bb1, Cccc1 and Dddd3 are cancels'.

References

Vogt, *Catalogus*, p. 641; Trinius, *Freydenker-Lexicon*, p. 424; Graesse, vol. 6, p. 470; Van der Linde, 'Notiz', p. 7, no. 23; *Catalogue, no. 150* (Wolf), p. 34, no. 380; Kingma and Offenberg, 'Bibliography', p. 278, no. 25.

Biographical Lexicon

Apart from names mentioned in chapters, many names of individuals mentioned in this lexicon are not further listed in the indexes. Titles of articles and books mentioned are not all listed in this study's bibliography.

Aeltsz (or Aeltsen), Herman (1620/21–1696): Amsterdam compositor and printer (1656–1681), member of the Amsterdam guild of booksellers, printers, and bookbinders (since 11 September 1662); workshop (1663): Kalverstraat, close to the Dam; business partner of Jan Rieuwertsz* *père*; printer of Spinoza's *Renatus des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* (1664) and a clandestinely-published anti-religious dictionary of loan words in the vernacular by Adriaan Koerbagh*, bearing in mind Spinoza's *KV*: *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet geplant door Vreederijk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd* (Leiden [Amsterdam]: 1668).
References: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 14; Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers'; Lane, 'The Printing Office'.

Almeloveen, Theodorus Jansonius ab (1657–1712): Dutch physician and polyhistor; studied theology in Utrecht (1676) and medicine in Leiden; took out a doctoral degree in Utrecht (1681); practised in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Gouda; professor of Greek, history and rhetoric, and professor of medicine (1702) at Harderwijk; renowned for his works on philology and bibliography, such as the 1692 *Bibliotheca promissa et latens*; relative of the Amsterdam printer Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge (1600–1683), who turned out several writings of the Voetius family and of Descartes's *Opera philosophica* (1656–1658).
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, cols 31–32; Ben de Graaf, 'Theodorus Janssonius ab Almeloveen (1657–1712). Life, Writings, Bibliographical Activities', in Ton R.A. Croiset van Uchelen, etc. (eds.), *Theatrum Orbis Librorum. Liber Amicorum Presented to Nico Israel on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Utrecht: hes, 1989), pp. 179–192, 1989; Saskia Stegeman, *Patronage and Services in the Republic of Letters: The Network of Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712)* (Amsterdam: apa-Holland University Press, 2005).

Alting, Jacob (1618–1679): Dutch philologist and theologian; chair of oriental languages (1641) at Groningen University and theology (1667); crossed swords with the Groningen theologian Samuel Maresius (1599–1673) on issues of biblical exegesis after the latter had accused him (1668) of heterodoxy; asked (1670) by the Utrecht Cartesian network to refute the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* but turned down the offer; drew up arguments (early 1672) from the Bible books of Ezra and Nehemia for the Cartesian theologian Antonius Perizonius (1626–1672), who prepared a refutation (never published) of the 'Theological-Political Treatise'; Johannes Melchioris*, author of *Epistola ad amicum* (1671), the first Dutch retort of Spinoza's treatise, studied theology under Alting.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 96–97; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 18–19; Wout J. van Bekkum, 'Die Hebraistik in den nördlichen Niederlanden: Jacobus Alting (1618–1679) in Groningen', *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 14 (2004), pp. 447–468; Touber, 'Philosophy and Theology', pp. 481–490; Gootjes, The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza', passim.

Ames, William (*fl.*1649–1662): English Quaker preacher; learned Dutch at an early age which proved to be helpful when he went to live temporarily (1656) in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Gouda on a Quaker mission to convert Jews and promote Quaker notions; initially, Ames had strong sympathies for the Mennonite movement, but later became its fierce adversary.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9, cols 23–24; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 133–135; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For Spinoza's (alleged) relation with Quakers: Richard H. Popkin, *The Third Force in the Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Leiden: Brill 1992), pp. 120–134.

Amya, David (*fl.*1678–1711): Reformed minister in Harderwijk and The Hague (1670); signed (1682) the *Schriftuur- en- rede-lijcke bedenkingen over de huiden-daagsche comedien, ende het bywoonen der selve* to protest against contemporary theatre; being a Reformed minister in The Hague, Amya notified the provincial High Court of Holland about Spinoza's posthumous writings in early 1675.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, cols 26–27; Knuttel [ed.], *Acta der particuliere synoden*, vol. 5, p. 87.

Andrade Velosino, Isaac Jacques (Jacob) de (1657–1701): medical doctor, Hebraist philosopher, author, alleged detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; born in Dutch Brazil; lived for a good part of his life in Amsterdam and possibly also in Antwerp; passed away in The Hague; held a public oration

on the occasion of the opening (2 August 1675) of the new Portuguese-Israelite synagogue in Amsterdam: *Sermoēs que pregaraō os doctos ingenious do K.K. de Talmud Torah, desta cidade de Amsterdam, …* (1675), pp. 101–129 (sermon 6); translated a work of Amsterdam rabbi Saul Levi Morteira (*c.*1596–1660), on Mosaic law, into Portuguese; wrote a defence of Judaism (unpublished) in reply to a work by rational theologian and Walloon minister Isaac Jacquelot (1647–1708): *Dissertations sur le Messie, …, que Jesus-Christ est le Messie promis et predit dans l'Ancien Testament* (The Hague: 1699); allegedly wrote a phantom refutation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*: 'Religioso contra el Theologó Politico de B. de Espinosa'; owned copies of the *Opera posthuma* and the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, as well as several of the latter treatise's contemporary refutations.
References: *Catalogus … d. Isaaci d'Andrada, Velosinos*; Kaiserling, 'Jacob de Andrade Velosino', pp. 12–13; id. (ed.), *Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica*; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, col. 28.

Annesley, Arthur (1614–1686): 1st Earl of Anglesey, FRS, vice-treasurer and receiver-general of Ireland; after the 'Popish Plot' Annesley sided (1680) with a minority to exclude the Duke of York (the heir-apparent James II, the King's brother) from the King's counsels; also accused the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the powerful Marquess of Ormond James Butler, of betraying Protestant interest in Ireland (1681); after the death of Henry Oldenburg* Annesley bought the latter's private library containing three copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Malcolm, 'The Library of Henry Oldenburg'; Justin Begley, 'Arthur Annesley, Margaret Cavendish, and Neo-Latin History', *The Review of English Studies*, 69 (2018), pp. 855–873; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For the Popish Plot, the framed Roman Catholic conspiracy against the throne of Charles II: Steenbakkers, Touber, and Van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook', pp. 327–328, 343–344.

Arentsz, Pieter (*fl.*1633–1688): printer in Amsterdam from German extraction; specialized in the production and selling of Mennonite works; published a range of books in cooperation with Jan Rieuwertsz* *père* from 1669 onwards.
Reference: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 15.

Aubrey, John (1626–1697): antiquary and biographer, FRS; befriended men like Hobbes*, Robert Hooke, James Pell, and Christopher Wren amongst many others; author of the archaeological anthology 'Monumenta Britannica, or, A Miscellanie of British Antiquities' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. top. gen. c.24 and 25); interests in astronomy, navigation, and applied mathematics; earned a reputation for his gossipy biographical works (*Brief Lives*); regarding the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Aubrey wrote in *Brief Lives* Hobbes would have stated Spinoza 'had out throwne him a barre length, for he durst not write so boldly'.
References: Michael C.W. Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (New York, NY: Science History Publications, 1975); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Bakkamude (or Baccamude), Daniel (*fl.*1661–1685): Amsterdam printer, member (since 4 September 1662) of the Amsterdam guild of booksellers, printers, and bookbinders; printing shop (between 1669 and 1680): 'op 't Rokkin, naast de drie groene Papegayen' (at the Rokin, alongside the three green Parrots), early 1680s: Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal ('op de Hoek van de Huyszitten-steeg'); affiliated with the Collegiant movement; printer of a work by Johannes Bredenburg*, called *Wiskunstige demonstratie, dat alle verstandelijke werking noodtzaakelijk is* (Amsterdam: 1684); for Rieuwertsz* *père*, Bakkamude produced Spinoza's *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; printer of the Socinian venture *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* (1665–8), in collaboration with Frans Kuyper*; set in type books by Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) and worked for the Amsterdam firm of Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge.
Reference: Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers', esp. p. 301 and passim.

Balling, Pieter Cornelisz (*fl.*1647–1664): Dutch merchant and business agent, pietist author hailing from Harlingen, Spinoza's friend and correspondent; member of the Flemish Mennonite Church ('Vlaamse Gemeente') in Amsterdam, named *by 't Lam* ('at the Lamb'); author of the clandestinely-issued *Het licht op den kandelaar*; translator of an early version of E1 and E2; supplied Simon Joosten de *Vries and his Amsterdam study group with his translation of an early instalment, or a portion of it, of E1 (*see*: De Vries* to Spinoza, 1663.02.24, Ep 8); translator ('P. B.') of *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* (1664); Balling's first letter to Spinoza: 1664.[06].[26]*, reply: 1664.07.20, Ep 17; died on 20 December 1664 and was buried three days later at the Kartuizer Kerkhof in Amsterdam.
References: Carl Gebhardt, 'Pieter Ballings Het licht op den kandelaar', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 4 (1924–1926), pp. 187–201; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, pp. 24–25; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 45–47.

Batelier (or Watelier), Jacobus Johannes (1593–1672): Dutch Walloon minister and theologian, critic of Spinoza; formally deposed from his Kralingen ministry (1619) by the South Holland Synod; preacher in The Hague (1633–66); invited by the Remonstrant Brotherhood to take part as a commentator in the

general revision of the 1637 Dutch 'Statenbijbel' issued in 1657; crossed swords with Gisbertus Voetius and the latter's protégé Martin Schoock (1614–1669) on Remonstrant theology; author of *Vindiciae miraculorum* (1673), a defence of Christianity and a theological retort to *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, cols 78–80; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, pp. 25–26; Van Bunge, 'On the Early Dutch Reception of the Tractatus theologico-politicus', p. 227; id., 'Van Velthuysen, Batelier and Bredenburg on Spinoza's Interpretation of the Scriptures', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, pp. 49–65.

Baxter, Richard (1615–1691): Puritan English church leader, controversialist, prolific writer and letter writer; ordained a deacon in Worcester (1638); preacher (1641) at Kidderminster; prominent member of the Worcestershire Voluntary Association of Ministers and respected 'lecturer'; licenced as 'a Nonconforming Minister' in 1672; Baxter, although considered chiefly a Presbyterian, had sympathy for a modified Episcopalianism; strong advocate of the 'Toleration Act' (1689), accepting nonconformists within the Church of England; assailed Spinoza's theory of a corporeal, single and self-active God in *The Second Part of the Nonconformists Plea for Peace* (London: 1680); referred briefly to the implications of Spinoza's and Hobbes's mechanical philosophies in *Catholick Theologie Plain, Pure, Peaceable, for Pacification of the Dogmatical Word-Warriours* (1675) and in *A Treatise of Knowledge and Love* (1689); in the latter work, Spinoza is dubbed the second brother of the French mechanical priest-philosopher Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655).
References: Neil H. Keeble, *Richard Baxter, Puritan Man of Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; David S. Sytsma, *Richard Baxter and the Mechanical Philosophers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Bayle, Pierre (1647–1706): French Huguenot writer and philosopher, founder of the journal *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (1684–1687); professor of philosophy (1675) at the Protestant Academy of Sedan (suppressed by Louis xiv in 1681); lectured history and philosophy at the Illustrious School of Rotterdam from 1681 onward; Bayle in the second edition of his *Pensées diverses sur la comète* (1682) mentioned Spinoza for the first time; author of a well-known entry on Spinoza in his 1697 *Dictionaire historique et critique* (vol. 2, pp. 1083–1100), portrays the latter as a reclusive grinder of lenses and positions him both as a virtuous thinker, developing an atheist system ('athée de système'), and as the author of horrible and confused doctrines; made some conjectures in the same lengthy entry about the octavo editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and was the first who brought up the identity of Gabriel de Saint Glen, its French translator; Bayle too is the source for putting forward the view Jelles* and Meyer* were involved in the preparations of Spinoza's posthumous works.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 256–261; Elisabeth Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle, du pays de Foix à la cité d'Erasmus* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1963); Gianluca Mori, 'Baruch de Spinoza: Athée vertueux, athée de système', in Hans Bots (ed.), *Critique, savoir et érudition à la veille de Lumières: Le Dictionaire historique et critique de Pierre Bayle (1647–1706): Critical Spirit, Wisdom and Erudition on the Eve of the Enlightenment: The Dictionaire historique et critique of Pierre Bayle (1647–1706)* (Amsterdam: apa-Holland University Press, 1998), pp. 341–35898; Wiep van Bunge and Hans Bots (eds.), *Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), le philosophe de Rotterdam: Philosophy, Religion and Reception. Selected Papers of the Tercentenary Conference Held at Rotterdam, 7–8 December 2008* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Anthony McKenna, 'Spinoza et les "athées vertueux" dans un manuscrit clandestin au XVIII^e siècle', in Olivier Bloch (ed.), *Spinoza au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1990), pp. 85–92; Hubert Bost, *Un 'Intellectuel' avant la lettre: Le journaliste Pierre Bayle (1647–1706). L'actualité religieuse dans les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres (1684–1687)* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: apa-Holland University Press, 1994); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 61–65; Vermeir, 'The Dustbin of the Republic of Letters' (on Bayle's Dictionaire); Alain Billecoq, *Spinoza ou l' 'athée vertueux'*, 2016. For Bayle's entry on Spinoza: Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 85–106.

Beaumont, Simon van (1641–1726): Dutch legal scholar; studied law (1659) at Leiden University; secretary of the States of Holland and a clerk of the *Gecommitteerde Raden* of Holland in het *Zuiderkwartier* (1673–1726); earned some reputation as a fervent collector and cultivator of foreign plants at great expense; in his capacity as a judge's secretary, Van Beaumont signed the official placard (25 July 1678) proscribing Spinoza's posthumous works in the States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland.
Reference: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 265–266.

Blijenbergh, Willem van (1613/22/32–1696): Dordrecht grain retailer, correspondent ('W. v. B.') and critic of Spinoza; administrator of the Dordrecht *Veertigraad*; admirer of the early geometrical Spinoza; between December 1664 and June 1665, Van Blijenbergh shared eleven letters on issues in Spinoza's reworking of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy', primarily on first principles and the status of good and evil; had a personal encounter with Spinoza in mid-March 1665; assailed Spinoza in: *De waerheyt van de christelijcke godts-dienst en de autoriteyt der H. Schriften … een wederlegginge van dat*

godt-lasterlijcke boeck, genoemt Tractatus theologico-politicus (Leiden: 1674) and *Wederlegging van de Ethica of Zede-Kunst van Benedictus de Spinosa: voornamentlijk omtrent het wesen ende de natuur van God en van onse ziel* (Dordrecht: 1682); the Dutch Cartesian philosopher Johannes de Raey (1622–1702) dedicated his *Miscellanea philosophica* (Amsterdam: 1685) to Van Blijenbergh, on body-soul dualism (an ordinary disputation's by his student Joachim Targier), attacking in thesis 8 (p. 10) followers of Spinoza's philosophy for degenerating the fruits of Cartesianism; exchanged letters with Willem Deurhoff* to discuss topics in Balthasar Bekker's controversial *De betoverde weereld* (Leeuwarden: 1691).
References: J.L. van Dalen (alias of Jan van de Maas), 'Willem Laurentsz. van Blijenbergh', *De tijdspiegel*, 2 (1908), pp. 344–371; A.J. Paulus, 'Een brief van Willem van Blijenbergh aan zijn neef en vriend Samuel van Hoogstraten', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 3 (1923), pp. 337–340; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 170–172; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 110–112; Sangiacomo, 'Before the Conatus Doctrine'.

Blok, Ameldonk (1651/2–1702): Amsterdam silk merchant and amateur philosopher; moved in intellectual 'circles' in Amsterdam, including Spinoza's friends and admirers Georg Hermann Schuller*, Jarig Jelles*, Rieuwertsz* *père*, and Pieter van Gent*; composed *Geneesmiddel der ziele* (1687), a translation of Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus's *Medicina mentis* (1687).
References: Reinhardt, *Briefe an Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus*; Vermij, 'De Nederlandse vriendenkring'; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, p. 36.

Blount, Charles (1654–1693): freethinker, eclectic pamphleteer, and hack journalist; son of Henry Blount, FRS, friend of Hobbes*; published in 1679 (under the alias of Junius Brutus) *An Appeal from the Country to the City* to defend the reality of the 'Popish Plot'; earned a reputation for analysing and vilifying all irrational elements of religion; identified frequently with Epicurus and accused of plagiarism by some; clandestinely issued *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* (London: 1683), a translation of the sixth chapter of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; presumably, Blount was also responsible for editing *A Treatise Partly Theological, and Partly Political* (London: 1689), the first full English edition of Spinoza's treatise.
References: J.A. Redwood, 'Charles Blount (1654–94), Deism and English Free Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 35 (1974), pp. 490–498; Simonutti, 'Spinoza and the English Thinkers', 1996; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Blount, Thomas (1618–1679): English archivist and lexicographer; student of law at the London Inner Temple; had a keen interest in legal history, historical research, and literature; published *A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, of the Catholick Religion* (1653), a clandestine work stressing the English Catholics' royalism in the time preceding the Restoration of Charles II; mentioned the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in one of his letters.
References: *The Correspondence of Thomas Blount*, pp. 1–96; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Boineburg, Johann Christian Freiherr (Count) von (1622–1677): politician, polymath, collector, and patron of Leibniz*; made an impressive career at the Court of the Elector of Mainz; converted (1653) to Roman Catholicism (causing his temporary arrest in 1664); lived alternately in Frankfurt and Mainz; owned one of the largest private libraries in seventeenth-century Europe; commissioned Leibniz to catalogue his books; got hold of Leibniz's copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* to which he appended his own notes on its upcoming refutations and on the identity of Spinoza (Erfurt/Gotha, Universitätsbibliothek- und Forschungsbibliothek, Pol. 4° 00072(01), T.1).
References: Eva Ultsch, *Johann Christian von Boineburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Becker, 1936); Margherita Palumbo, 'Johann Christian von Boineburg', *Il Bibliotecario*, 7 (1990), pp. 181–218; Paasch, *Die Bibliothek*.

Bontekoe, Cornelis (*c.*1644–1685): town physician in The Hague, personal physician (1683) to the 'Great Elector', Friedrich Wilhelm I of Brandenburg; received his formal education as a town surgeon and enrolled (1665) at Leiden University; studied medicine under De le Boe Sylvius*; best known for his plea of using tea as medication for a healthy and fruitful life; was ridiculed in *Dialogue van een groote thee en tobacq-suyper* (1680), issued during a clash over the Cartesian reform of medicine (1680–1681); put forth a warning against Spinoza by putting to press the ethical system of Arnold Geulincx*: *Ethica: Gnôthi seauton, sive Ethica* (1675); was ordered on 22 January 1675 to refrain from any public opposition to Leiden disputations or taking part in other academic exercises over Cartesianism; finally expelled (18 December) from the university; author of *Brief aan Johan Frederik Swetzer, gesegt Dr Helvetius* (1680), suggesting Spinoza taught Cartesian philosophy to Leiden students; Bontekoe and Spinoza both lived in The Hague, but relations are unrecorded.
References: Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, esp. pp. 226–337 and 342–343; Lothar Noack and Jürgen Splett, *Brandenburgische Gelehrte der Frühen Neuzeit. Berlin – Cölln 1644–1680* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), pp. 65–72; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 128–132; Christoph Schweikardt, 'More than just a Propagandist for Tea: Religious Argument

and Advice on a Healthy Life in the Work of the Dutch Physician Cornelis Bontekoe (1647–85)', *Medical History*, 47 (2003), pp. 357–368; Israel, 'Spinoza as an Expounder', pp. 9–15.

BONTEMANTEL, Hans (1613–1688): Amsterdam magistrate and merchant, republican *Vroedschap* member, bailiff, among other in the town's civic administration; sat in the States of Holland for Amsterdam; removed from office (10 September 1672) by William* III at the onset of the Third Anglo-Dutch War; like Johannes Hudde*, a member of municipal committee criminalizing the writings of Adriaan Koerbagh*; author of a report about a meeting (25 September 1670) of the States of Holland, first discussing the prohibition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, cols 175–179; Smit (ed.), *Notulen gehouden ter vergadering*.

BORELLI, Giovanni Alfonso (1608–1679): Italian physicist-mathematician who met Galileo; professor of mathematics in Messina; applied mathematics and mechanics in astronomy and animal physiology; one of the first astronomers who jumped to the conclusion planets are moving in elliptical orbits like stones tied on a string; in order to fathom Spinoza's notions of the nature of definition, axiom, and postulate, a group of the latter's following (De Vries* to Spinoza, 1663.02.24, Ep 8) in Amsterdam studied Borelli's *Euclides restitutus* (Pisa: 1658), in his reply, Spinoza dissociated himself from Borelli's geometrical method because he 'confuses all these things completely' (> 1663.02.24, Ep 9).
References: Luciano Boschiero, *Experiment and Natural Philosophy in Seventeenth-Century Tuscany* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), pp. 59–92; id., 2008 (Borelli on comets); Alberto M. Ghisalberti, etc. (eds.) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960 ff); Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 306–314.

BOUWMEESTER, Johannes (1630/4–1680): medical doctor from Amsterdam, Spinoza's trusted confidant and correspondent ('J. B.'); enrolled (30 March 1651) in Leiden: 'Johannes Baumeester, Amstelodamensis. 20, P' (Du Rieu (ed.), *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, col. 411), 'Iohannes Baumeester, Amstelodamensis, ann. 20, studiosus Philosophiae, habitat op de delftse vliet by Willem Cornelis Cleermaker' (Leiden, UL, ms. ASF, vol. 10, p. 268); took out his doctoral degree (27 May 1658) in Medicine from Leiden University; director of the Amsterdam city theatre (1677) and member of the literary and artistic society *Nil volentibus arduum*; Meyer's Neo-Latin poem '*Ad librum.*' ('*I.B.M.D.*') was added to *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and its Dutch rendition; acted as an intermediary to pass an invitation and letter of safe conduct to Spinoza in regard to his visit to the French army headquarters in Utrecht (summer 1673); Meyer is a candidate for being the editor who, before 17 February 1671, revised the Dutch Glazemaker* translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, first published in 1693 (*De rechtzinnige theologant*); involved in the preparations of the 1677 posthumous works; Bouwmeester was perhaps the recipient of a letter written by Spinoza after the death of Pieter Balling* in which he asked the unknown addressee to translate for him Part 3 of the *Ethica* (< 1665.[06].[13], Ep 28).
References: Steenbakkers and Bordoli, 'Lodewijk Meijer's Tribute'; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 144–146; Frank Mertens, 'Johannes Koerbagh's Lost Album Amicorum Seen through the Eyes of Pieter de la Ruë', *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources*, 38 (2011), pp. 59–127, at pp. 122–123; Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar cum Celsissimo principe de Spinosa"'; Gootjes, 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'.

BOYLE, Robert (1627–1691): British natural philosopher and physicist, FRS, best known for the Boyle – Mariotte Law; Boyle's mechanical philosophy deals with (1) the phenomena of nature, (2) the 'two catholic principles' (inert) matter and (local) motion, (3) which need to be explained on the micro-level (4) regarding their properties such as size, motion, and mass; his experimental programme aimed at unifying atomists (like Pierre Gassendi) and atomism adversaries (Descartes*); started (1659) experiments with a self-built air-pump into the effects of reducing air pressure (*New Experiments Physico-Mechanical, Touching the Spring of the Air* [1660]); historical evidence now proves the existence of at least two now-lost letters exchanged with Spinoza; Boyle asked Spinoza through Oldenburg* to give his judgement 1662.[01–06].00, Ep 6) about his *Certain Physiological Essays* (1661), an account of chemical tests into the mechanical properties of nitre and the cohesion force of smooth singular bodies *in vacuo*; Spinoza, *pace* Boyle, holds nature abhorred a vacuum and maintained deduction by experiment will never decide any unique hypothesis about the material-energetic universe; Boyle read the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and was deeply offended by the book's contents.
References: Alfred Rupert Hall, 'Philosophy and Natural Philosophy: Boyle and Spinoza', in René Taton and Fernand Braudel (eds.), *Mélanges Alexandre Koyré* (Paris: Hermann, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 241–256; Michael C.W. Hunter (ed.), *Robert Boyle Reconsidered* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur*, pp. 125–127; Simon Duffy, 'The Difference between Science and Philosophy: The Spinoza-Boyle Controversy Revisited', *Paragraph*, 29 (2006), pp. 115–138; Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science*; Filip Buyse, 'Spinoza and Robert Boyle's Definition of Mechanical Philosophy', *Historia*

philosophica. An International Journal, 8 (2010), pp. 73–89; id., 'Spinoza, Boyle, Galileo: Was Spinoza a Strict Mechanical Philosopher?', *Intellectual History Review*, 22 (2012), pp. 1–20; id., 'Boyle, Spinoza and the Hartlib Circle: The Correspondence that Never Took Place', *Society and Politics*, 7 (2013), pp. 34–53; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 377–382; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Bredenburg, Johannes (1641–1691): Rotterdam wine merchant and amateur philosopher; protagonist in Collegiant disputes who maintained reason and revelation were separate sources of religious knowledge; accused in pamphlets of being one of Spinoza's disciples; author of the *Verhandeling, van de oorsprong van de kennisse Gods en van deselfs dienst* (1684), a work perhaps influenced by the 'Theological-Political Treatise', and of *Enervatio Tractatus theologico-politici* (Rotterdam: 1675), a five-part retort of the treatise; Bredenburg may have had access to a Dutch translation of a copy of an early instalment of the *Ethica* and of the *Korte verhandeling*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 292–293; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 3, pp. 56–58; Wiep van Bunge, 'Johannes Bredenburg and the Korte Verhandeling', *Studia Spinozana*, 4 (1988), pp. 321–328; id., *Johannes Bredenburg (1643–1691): Een Rotterdamse collegiant in de ban van Spinoza* (1990); id., 'Van Velthuysen, Batelier and Bredenburg'; id., etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 155–159.

Bronchorst, Hendrik van: Cartesian physician in Amsterdam (from 1658 onwards); took sides in the 'Lammerenkrijg' with *Waerschouwinge voor het soo-genaemde oog-water* (Amsterdam: 1664) to defend *Verdediging van de regering der doopsgezinde gemeente ... binnen Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: 1663), a work by Pieter Balling*; Van Bronchorst signed ('H.v. Bronchorst, M.D.') a Dutch poem ('Aan den leezer.') annexed to *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten*; went bankrupt in 1675 (Jarig Jelles* was one of his estate's creditors).
References: Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, p. 314; Frank Mertens, 'Spinoza's Amsterdamse vriendenkring: studievriendschappen, zakenrelaties en familiebanden', in Cis van Heertum (ed.), *Libertas philosophandi. Spinoza als gids voor een vrije wereld* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2008), pp. 69–81, at pp. 74–75.

Burgersdijck, Franco Petri (1590–1635): Dutch neo-Aristotelian logician; studied in Leiden (1610) and Saumur (1614); held the Leiden chair of logic (1619) and also taught ethics (1620–1628) and physics (1628–1635); Burgerdijck's eclecticism is particularly shown in efforts to combine the Peripatetic philosophy with the humanist tenets of scholars, such as the French logician and reformer Petrus Ramus (1515–1672); his reputation especially rests upon *Institutionum logicarum libri duo* (1626) and on *Institutionum metaphysicarum libri duo* (1640), by then standard reading material (logic, moral philosophy, politics) for students; Spinoza studied both.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 7, cols 229–230; Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 60–62; Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, passim; Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 181–190; Arthur Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 31–32.

Burgh, Albert Coenraedz (1648/50–1708): son from an influential wealthy patrician family in Amsterdam, early disciple of Spinoza, correspondent and critic; converted (1673) in Florence after a mental crisis to Roman Catholicism (under the supervision of Niels Stensen*) which caused a scandal in Amsterdam; entered the Franciscan order (30 December 1677) under the moniker Franciscus de Hollandia; took holy orders in 1682; reproached Spinoza in a letter (1675.09.03/11, Ep 67) for his offensive philosophical and moral notions and invited him to embrace Roman Catholic Church's theological doctrines; Spinoza replied to Burgh and countered his glorifying arguments on Roman Catholic theology and tradition by simply claiming 'that holiness of life is not peculiar to the Roman Church, but is common to all' ([1675/76].00.00, Ep 76).
References: Andreas Räss, *Die Convertiten seit der Reformation, nach ihrem Leben und aus ihren Schriften dargestellt* (13 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1866–80), vol. 12, pp. 271–283; Aquilinus Emmen, 'P. Franciscus de Hollandia, O.F.M., 1650–1708 in saeculo Albertus Burgh. Nova documenta bio-bibliographica', *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 37 (1944), pp. 202–306; Pieter A.M. Geurts, 'Niels Stensen en Albert Burgh', *Archief voor de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 2 (1960), pp. 139–152; Troels Kardel and Paul Maquet (eds.), *Nicolaus Steno. Biography and Original Papers of a 17th Century Scientist* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), pp. 334–336; Friedrich W. Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Hamm, Westfalen: Bautz, 1975 ff), vol. 17, cols 208–209.

Burman (1) *père*, Frans (1628–1679): Dutch Cocceian theologian, supporter of Cartesianism, father of Covenant theology; student (1643) of the Leiden *Collegium Theologicum* or *Statencollege*; is claimed to have been the interviewer of Descartes* brought up in the 'Conversation with Burman' on 16 April 1648 (AT V, 144–179); held the chair (1661) of theology at Utrecht University and became its rector; leading member of the *Collegie der Scavanten*, the Utrecht Cartesian network; supervised with other Utrecht Cartesians (Graevius* in particular) Johannes

Melchioris* in preparing the first theological rejoinder (*Epistola ad amicum* [Utrecht: 1671]) to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; may have been instrumental to invite Spinoza to Utrecht in summer 1673; accused by Philippus van Limborch* in *Theologia christiana* (1686) of having raised sympathies for Spinoza's philosophy in *Synopsis theologiae* (1671–2) and was defended by Frans Burman* *fils* in *Burmannorum pietas* (1700); mentioned in a clandestine notebook on Spinoza, Beverland, politics, the Bible, and sex (1678–9), accusing Burman of being a disguised follower of Spinoza: 'Burman drew his entire doctrine from Spinoza, and in his speeches he has nothing but scholastic and academic maxims, as the wise know only too well'.
References: Jan P. de Bie, etc. (eds.), *Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland* (6 vols., The Hague: Nijhoff, 1907–49), vol. 1, pp. 703–711; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 351–352; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 2, pp. 111–113; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 190–191; Steenbakkers, Touber, and Van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook', p. 287; Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza'; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'; id., 'The *Collegie der sçavanten*'.

Burman (11) *fils*, Frans (1671–1719): Dutch Reformed theologian, son of Burman* (1); studied philosophy and mathematics in Leiden; Reformed minister in Koudum (1695), Brielle (1698), Enkhuizen (1703), and Amsterdam (1705); accompanied (1702) a deputy of the Dutch States General to England (for Queen Anne's crowning) and made on this occasion the acquaintance of Sir Isaac Newton (1643–1727); professor of theology (1715) in Utrecht; author of *Burmannorum pietas* (1700) to defend his father in reply to Philippus van Limborch* who in his two-volume *Synopsis theologiae* (1671–2) had accused Burman (1) of having voiced sympathies for Spinoza's philosophy; author of *'t Hoogste goed der spinozisten* (1704), a rebuttal of *De hemel op aarden* (1703), containing elements of Spinoza's philosophy, in which the Reformed minister Frederik van Leenhof (1647–1715) rejects a transcendental, personal God.
References: John E.B. Mayor (ed.), *Cambridge under Queen Anne. Illustrated by Memoir of Ambrose Brunswicke and Diaries of Francis Burman and Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (Cambridge and London: Bell and Sons, 1911), p. 314; De Bie, etc. (eds.), *Biographisch woordenboek*, 1919–1949, vol. 1, pp. 711–714; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 352–353; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 5, pp. 101–102; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 191–193.

Casearius (monicker of: Caescoper), Johannes (1644–1677): Spinoza's pupil in Rijnsburg, Reformed minister-botanist; possibly, he received his formal education at the Latin School of Franciscus van den Enden* in Amsterdam; matriculated (12 September 1659) as a philosophy student at Leiden University; enrolled (under the name 'Johannes Casear') as a theology student (21 May 1661) in Leiden; roomed for a short period of time in Rijnsburg with Spinoza, who taught him selections from Parts 2 and 3 of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy'; matriculated at Utrecht University (1665, discipline unknown); defended in 1665 an ordinary disputation on theology (*Disputationum theologicarum de Sacra Coena*) under theologian Frans Burman* and a philosophical disputation (*Positiones philosophiae miscellanea*) on Cartesian philosophy under the supervision of Johannes de Bruyn (1620–1675), professor of physics and mathematics; Reformed minister (1668) in Cochin (Kerala, India); edited with Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636–1691) *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* (1678–1703), a botanical encyclopaedia.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, cols 106–107; Meijer, 'Johannes Casearius'; Frank Mertens, 'All in the Family: Verwantschap en vriendschap in de kring rond Spinoza', in Henri Krop (ed.), *Spinoza en zijn kring. Een balans van veertig jaar onderzoek* (Rijnsburg: Uitgeverij Spinozahuis, 2019 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 116]), pp. 44–62, there pp. 53–54, n. 23.

Cave, William (1637–1713): English divine, patristic scholar, and author; royal chaplain to Charles II; provided polymath Vincent Placcius* with information about Spinoza's life and writings which the former published in *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum* (Hamburg:1708).
Reference: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Cavendish, William (1617–1684): 3rd Earl of Devonshire, politician, FRS; educated by Hobbes* who accompanied the young nobleman on the occasional Grand Tour in Europe; royalist supporter in the House of Lords (briefly expelled in 1642); received a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* from poet Edmund Waller (1606–1687) which, apparently, he showed to his old tutor and client who, in the words of John Aubrey (*Brief Lives*), allegedly responded thus: 'Mr. Hobbes told his lordship [Cavendish]: "Ne judicate ne judicemini". He told me that he [Spinoza] had out throwne him [Hobbes] a barre's length, for he durst not write so boldly'.
Reference: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Clefman, Jacob Statius (*c*.1648–1715): studied law (1676) in Leiden; worked as private secretary (*Geheim Sekretär*) and as

secretary (*Rath und Hofgerichtssekretär*) to the Supreme Court of Prussia in the service of Ernst Bogislaw (1620–1684), Duke of Croÿ (the last heir to the house of Greifen, the dynasty ruling Pomeriana in the east-Prussian town of Königsberg [now Kaliningrad, Russia]); Bogislaw in his will (1684) charged Clefman to see over his 'Privatschriften und poetische Gedichten'; from Bogislaw he received the sum of 1,000 Reichstaler for his long-time services; when he enrolled at Leiden University, he paid a visit to Spinoza in The Hague who presented him with a copy (T.1, now kept in Haifa) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, fitted with a dedication note (25 July 1676) and five handwritten *Adnotationes*.

References: Julius Mueller, 'Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunst und ihrer Denkmäler in Pommern', *Baltische Studien*, 28 (1878), pp. 149–182, there pp. 162 and 170; Theo van der Werf, 'Klefmann's Copy of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 38/39 (2006), pp. 274–253.

Coccejus, Johannes (1603–1669): German theologian, prominent exponent of federal theology, relative by marriage of Henry Oldenburg*; held the chairs of Hebrew and theology (from 1643) at Franeker University as well as the Leiden chair of theology (1650); author of the *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam: 1673–9); Coccejus's private book collection (auctioned on 14 April 1671) included a copy of the *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (1666), a work printed together in one volume in the T.3 octavo edition (1673) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.

References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 616–618; Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 1, col. 1072; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, pp. 92–98; Walter Kaspar, etc. (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (11 vols., Freiburg: Herder, 1993–2001), vol. 2, col. 242; Willem J. van Asselt, *The Federal Theology of Johannes Cocceius (1603–1669)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Feil, *Religio. Dritter Band*, pp. 33–44, there at pp. 22–33.

Cohen, Jacob (*fl.*1677–1712): New Christian agent and bookkeeper; born in Recife, Dutch Brazil; 'Opper-reecken Meester' (20 August 1677) of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679), former governor of Dutch Brazil for the West India Company; in contact with Hudde* because of credit dealings with Amsterdam; from 1671 to 1695, paid to the *Talmud Torah* congregation of Amsterdam the bi-annual communal payments (the obligatory *fintas* or *impostas*); lived (1677) in the 'Mauritshuis' at The Hague, the residence of his master Johan Maurits, and later in German Cleves; fervent book collector who had copies of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and *De rechtzinnige theologant*.

Reference: Arnhem, Gelders Archief, 2003: 'Oud Rechterlijk Archief', inv. no. 570, no. 4 ('Huishoudelijke zaken'), 22.

Colerus (Köhler), Johannes Nicolaus (1647–1707): Lutheran minister and Spinoza's first biographer; pastor in Mühlheim, Weesp (1678), Amsterdam (1679), and The Hague (1693); there, Colerus took his lodgings (1703) at the south side of the Stille Veerkade, in the same house where Spinoza had also roomed for a while; delivered an Easter sermon to defend the dogma of Christ's resurrection as a principal contradiction to Spinoza's philosophy; the latter sermon was published (1705) in Amsterdam together with a biography of the Dutch philosopher in *Korte, dog waarachtige levensbeschryving van Benedictus de Spinosa, uit autentique stukken en mondeling getuigenis van nog levende personen, opgestelt*.

References: Johannes Colerus: *La Vérité de la résurrection de Jésus Christ, défendue contre B. de Spinosa, et ses sectateurs. Avec la vie de B. de Spinosa, tirée des écrits de ce fameux philosophe, et du témoignage de plusieurs personnes dignes de foi, qui l'ont connu particulièrement* (The Hague: 1706); id., *The Life of Benedict de Spinosa* (London: 1706); id., *Das Leben des Bened. von Spinoza* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: 1733); Johannes E.B. Blase, *Johannes Colerus en de groote twisten in de Nederlandsche Luthersche kerk zijner dagen* (Amsterdam: Ten Brink – De Vries, 1920); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 7, col. 310; Hubertus G. Hubbeling, 'Johannes Colerus, Verteidiger der christlichen Wahrheit und ehrlicher Bekämpfer Spinozas', in Gerhard Kurz (ed.), *Düsseldorf in der deutschen Geistesgeschichte (1750–1850)* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1984), pp. 67–77; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 221–222; W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 6–171, no. 6 (text of the *Korte, dog waarachtige levensbeschryving* with a translation in German).

Craanen, Theodorus (1620–1690): Dutch Cartesian professor of philosophy; studied medicine in Utrecht (1651), philosophy and theology in Leiden (1655), and medicine in Duisburg (1656); held the chair of philosophy (1671–1673) at Leiden University; established a 'mechanical-philosophical' school based on Cartesian concepts; with respect to anatomy, Craanen explained human physiology in mechanistic terms as defined by Descartes* and the philosopher and mathematician Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655); responded briefly to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a short note addressed to Leibniz*; Craanen is a serious candidate for being the unidentified professor (name suppressed) who would have personally informed Spinoza that a Dutch translation of his treatise was put to press soon (1671.02.17, Ep 44, G 4/227–229).

References: Antonie M. Luyendijk-Elshout, 'Oeconomia Animalis, Pores and Particles. The Rise and Fall of the Mechanical Philosophical School of Theodoor Craanen (1621–1690)', in Theodoor H. Lunsingh Scheurleur and Guillaume H.M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century. An Exchange of Learning* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers

and Brill, 1975), pp. 295–307; Noack and Splett, *Brandenburgische Gelehrte der Frühen Neuzeit*, pp. 95–98; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 227–228.

CRAMPRICHT (Kramprich) VON KRONEFELD, Johann Daniel (1622–1693): Danish diplomat ('resident'/'envoyé') at The Hague representing (1667–1693) the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705) and the Archbishop of Trier; dispatched (4 April 1672) a letter from The Hague to Koblenz to Leibniz's friend and correspondent Johann Lincker* (also: Lyncker) von Lützenwick to inform him he had, on his request, delivered a letter (now lost) to Spinoza (< 1672.03.25*, possibly one by Leibniz*, written before 25 March) in The Hague: 'I am, like you, delighted about your happy return to the court, about which you provided me with novelties in your [letter] of 25 March, when sending me at the same time a letter for [mister] the scientist Spinoza. I have forwarded it to him and [I am] awaiting other duties to serve you.' (letter enclosed by Lincker in a now-lost letter of 25 March 1672).
References: Otto Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers, residerende in Nederland 1584–1810* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1983), p. 145, no. 124, and p. 222; Paul Ritter, etc. (eds.), *Catalogue critique des manuscrits de Leibniz*, vol. 2, p. 2, nos. 14–15 and p. 3, no. 33: *Fascicule II* (*Mars 1672–Novembre 1676*) (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: G. Olms Verlag, 1986); Volker Jarren, 'Europäische Diplomatie im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV. Das Beispiel Johann Daniel Kramprichs von Kronenfeld (1622–1693)', *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte*, 3 (2002), pp. 101–132.

CUDWORTH, Ralph (1617–1688): Cambridge divine, classicist, and theorist of the Cambridge Neoplatonist 'school'; FRS and Regius Professor of Hebrew (1645–1688), Master of Clare Hall (1645–1654), and Master of Christ's College (1654–1688) at Cambridge University; was profoundly influenced by Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683), the father of the Neoplatonist movement; clashed with his fellow Neoplatonist Henry More* on ethical matters; owned a copy of the 1663 *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; Cudworth in *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London, 1678) attacked the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Charles E. Lowrey, *The Philosophy of Ralph Cudworth: A Study of the True Intellectual System of the Universe* (New York, NY, and Cincinnati, OH: Phillips & Hunt/Cranston & Stowe, 1884); Joel M. Rodney, 'A Godly Atomist in Seventeenth Century England: Ralph Cudworth', *The Historian*, 32 (1970), pp. 243–249; Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 16, cols 352–362; Simonutti, 'Liberté et vérité: Politique et morale dans la correspondance hollandaise de More et de Cudworth', in Rogers, etc. (eds.), *The Cambridge Platonists*, pp. 17–37; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

DALE, Antonius van (*fl.*1638–1708): Mennonite physician, itinerant radical, antitrinitarian, disciple of Spinoza; studied theology in Leiden; practised in Haarlem; wrote mainly against superstition and pagan predictions in the Bible; drew the attention of the consistory of The Hague for 'implanting godless sentiments into the minds of people and pulling them away from our religion'; exchanged letters about classical history and antiquities with Theodorus Jansonius ab Almeloveen*; radical Dutch freethinker and Spinoza disciple Hendrik Wyermars in *Den ingebeelde chaos* (1710) claims Van Dale* was involved in the publication of both the 1693 *De rechtzinnige theologant* and the 1694 *Een rechtsinnige theologant*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 7, col. 351; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 5, pp. 127–129; Michiel Wielema, 'Spinoza in Zeeland. The Growth and Suppression of "Popular Spinozism" (*c.* 1700–1720)', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 103–115, at p. 110; id., *The March of the Libertines. Spinozists and the Dutch Reformed Church* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, passim; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 242–244.

DECKHERR VON WALLHORN, Johann (1650–1694/1708): German jurist from Straatsburg, lawyer (1673) and procurator (1675) at the *Reichskammergericht* in Speyer; Deckherr in the third edition of *De scriptis adespotis, pseud-epigraphis, et supposititiis conjecturae cum additionibus variorum* (Amsterdam: 1686) included a letter by Pierre Bayle* to Theodorus Jansonius ab Almeloveen*, in which the former was the first to mention Jarig Jelles* and Lodewijk Meyer* as the author and the translator of the Preface to the *Opera posthuma*, respectively.
References: Heinrich Gehrke, *Die privatrechtliche Entscheidungsliteratur Deutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1974), pp. 80–81, no. 4; Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur*, pp. 24–25.

DESCARTES, René (1596–1650): natural philosopher and mathematician of the first order; when Spinoza gravitated to Descartes is not known, but a letter from Henry Oldenburg* to Spinoza (1661.08.26, Ep 1) proves however during a personal meeting in Rijnsburg they discussed Cartesian and Baconian philosophy; Spinoza's division and catalogue of the passions of the 'Short Treatise' corresponds to those discussed by Descartes; the constitution of Spinoza's physical laws of motion and rest in the portion following E2p13, i.e. 'De natura corporum' ('Concerning the Nature of Bodies'), mainly builds on Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* (1644), although critically (Spinoza denied the existence of atoms); Spinoza taught portions from Parts 2 and 3 of Descartes's 'Principles of Philosophy' to his pupil Johannes Casearius* (to De Vries*, > 1663.02.24,

Ep 9); Spinoza published (editor: Lodewijk Meyer*) a geometrically demonstrated critical digest of 'the Principles' in 1663: *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II*, together with his own *Cogitata metaphysica* on issues left aside by Descartes* and on topics he disagreed with him (substance theory and human free will); Spinoza too published an expanded rendition of the work in Dutch: *Renatus des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte, I en II Deel; Overnatuurkundige gedachten* (1664); Spinoza owned books by Descartes and exchanged letters about topics in Cartesian philosophy; Descartes's philosophical notions can be found everywhere in Spinoza's writings, such as for example the epistemological principles in his *Tractatus intellectus de emendatione* and in portions of the *Ethica* (E3praef, E5praef).
References: Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 4, pp. 51–65 and vol. 6, pp. 58–60; Curley, 'Spinoza as an Expositor of Descartes'; Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*; Stephen Gaukroger, *Descartes. An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Bordoli, *Ragione e Scrittura*; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 254–260; Descartes, *Correspondence 1643*, Verbeek, etc.; Michelle Beyssade, 'Deux latinistes: Spinoza et Descartes', in Akkerman and Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the Letter*, pp. 55–67; Desmond M. Clarke, *Descartes, A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Israel, 'Spinoza as an Expounder'; Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 63–68 and 345–347; Antonella del Prete, 'La Bible en question, ou comment réfuter Spinoza en défendant Descartes: Lambert van Velthuysen', *Bulletin annuel de l'Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation*, 36 (2015), pp. 37–48. For an edition of Descartes's works and correspondence: AT. A new edition of the correspondence is: Erik-Jan Bos, Theo Verbeek, and Roger Ariew (eds.), *The Correspondence of René Descartes: A Critical Edition with Complete English Translation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

DESMAIZEAUX, Pierre (1666?–1745): French cultural translator, correspondent working for scholarly Franco-Dutch periodicals; spent time in England where he edited the works of John Locke*; translator of the works of Bayle* and Charles de Marguetel de Saint Denis de Saint-Évremond (1616–1703) into English; source of alleged contacts between Spinoza and Saint-Évremond ('Vie de Mr. De St.-Evremond', issued in the first volume of Saint-Évremond's 1688 *Œuvres meslées*); Desmaizeaux published (1706) accounts about Spinoza's 1673 visit to Utrecht in a review of the French translation (1706) of the Spinoza biography by Colerus*, which were reported to him by Henriquez Morales* and the French physician Paul Buissière (*c*.1655–1739).
Reference: Joseph Almagor, *Pierre Desmaizeaux (1673–1745): Journalist and English Correspondent for Franco-Dutch Periodicals, 1700–20* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1989).

DEURHOFF, Willem (1650–1717): eclectic autodidact philosopher from Amsterdam; nephew of the extraordinary Leiden professor of philosophy Wolferdus Senguerdius (1646–1724); wrote mainly on the necessity of God's workings, Cartesian dualism, and about Christology; put forward the stance that Christ was God's first creation act; Deurhoff was accused of being a Socinian and a follower of Spinoza, a doubtful classification since Deurhoff believed in miracles and God's free will; distanced himself from Spinoza by defending the position that Creator and creation were different notions.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, cols 381–382; Henri Krop, 'Radical Cartesianism in Holland: Spinoza and Deurhoff', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 55–81; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, pp. 116–117; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 260–265.

DOILEY, Oliver (*fl*.1671–1694): Cambridge Neoplatonist; received his formal education at Eton; studied law in Cambridge where he took out his doctoral degree in Law; vice-provost and Senior Fellow of King's College; rector of Cambridge University; received a copy of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in early 1671 through the intermediary of the Dutch Arminian theologian Philippus van Limborch*, who informed him Spinoza composed the treatise; in 1675, Doiley wrote in a letter to Henry Jenkes* the remark that Spinoza had been disappointed when he learned his treatise had become the object of general condemnation by English scholars.
Reference: De Boer, 'Spinoza in Engeland'.

DORP, Frederik van (1612–1679): Lord of Maasdam, adviser to the Supreme Court of Holland, first curator of Leiden University (1669–1679), bailiff of Rijnland; studied law at Leiden University; Van Dorp and Johannes van Thilt*, in the capacity as curators of the board of Leiden University, wrote (16 June 1678) to the Leiden magistracy about the 'godless and heterodox notions and conclusions' expounded in Spinoza's posthumous works, they demanded their prohibition and requested all copies were to be burnt.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 745–746; Frederik Nagtglas, *Levensberichten van Zeeuwen zijnde een vervolg op P. de la Rue, 'Geletterd, staatkundig en heldhaftig Zeeland'* (2 vols., Middelburg: Altoffer, 1888–93), vol. 1, p. 165.

DÜRR, Johann Conrad (1625–1677): German theologian, philosopher, and polyhistor; professor of moral philosophy (1654) and theology (1657) at Altdorf University; published in *Enchiridion theologiae moralis* (Nuremberg: 1662) the first independent ethical system in the Lutheran Church; combated the liberty to

philosophize advocated in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a harangue (30 June/10 July 1671), which was published in *Actus panegyricus impositae merentibus anno MDCLXXI. mense Junio* (1672); the latter work also contained the first recorded public attack on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, i.e., the printed academic oration (8/18 May 1670) by Jacob Thomasius* 'Adversus anonymum, de libertate philosophandi' ('Programma, quo d. 8 Maji a. 1671'), who labelled the book's disguised author as an outright atheist.
Reference: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vols., Berlin: Duncker/Humblot, 1967–71).

DUIJKERIUS, Johannes (1661/2–1702): Dutch author, follower of Spinoza; perhaps trained as a pastor, but probably never admitted to the Reformed ministry; schoolmaster in the Amsterdam Aalmoezeniersweeshuis (Prinsengracht); author of *Het leven van Philopater* (1691) and accused of having composed also its sequel, *Vervolg van 't leven van Philopater* (1697), two clandestinely-published romans à clef describing the development of 'Philopater', from Reformed orthodoxy to Cartesianism, and finally to Spinoza's metaphysical doctrines; *Vervolg* contains several remarks about Spinoza's posthumous works, the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, its Dutch translator Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker*, and the book's publication history.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, col. 439; Duijkerius, *Het leven van Philopater*; Wielema, *The March of the Libertines*; Jo Spaans, 'Between the Catechism and the Microscope: The World of Johannes Duijkerius', in id. and Jetze Touber (eds.), *Enlightened Religion: From Confessional Churches to Polite Piety in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 316–345.

ELZEVIER, Daniel (1638–1680): Amsterdam bookseller, printer and publisher from the famous Elzevier family (1,600 seventeenth-century titles), a Dutch publishing company originally founded in Leiden, with branches in The Hague, Utrecht, and Amsterdam; published several translations of Descartes* into Dutch, first published by Lodewijk (III) Elzevier (1604–1670); sold in his bookshop (1681) copies of *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* and the *Opera posthuma*.
References: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, 1960–1978, vol. 3, pp. 111–122; Berry P.M. Dongelmans, etc. (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa. Het 17de-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000); Descartes, *Correspondence 1643*, Verbeek, etc., p. 263.

ENDEN, Franciscus Affinius van den (1602–1674): teacher of Latin, libertine- philosopher, pioneer of democratic principles; entered the Jesuit order in 1617, but was dismissed or broke away in 1633; left Antwerp around 1645 and founded an art shop in Amsterdam and (after a bankruptcy) a Latin School; moved to Paris in 1671, or thereabouts, where he also ran a Latin School, called 'l'Hôtel des Muses'; was hanged (27 November 1674) at the gallows at the Bastille for his part as one of the conspirators in the republican 'Rohan plot' against Louis XIV; published his political views in *Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlands gelegentheit* (n. pl.: 1662), an imaginary project on an utopian Dutch settlement in North America, and in *Vrye politijke stellingen, en consideratien van staat* (Amsterdam: 1665); was perhaps affiliated (1657/1658) with Spinoza in Amsterdam, but if any their relations are in any case not documented; it is assumed, Spinoza played in Latin performances of Terence's audience favourite *Eunuchus*, led by Van den Enden, and there is speculation that at Van den Enden's Latin school the Dutch philosopher taught Hebrew (Stolle/'Hallmann', 1703) and would have helped him 'out temporarily in the teaching of his pupils when he was capable of doing so' (Colerus, 1705).
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 6, cols 480–481; Jan V. Meininger and Guido van Suchtelen, *Liever met wercken, als met woorden. De levensreis van doctor Franciscus van den Enden, leermeester van Spinoza, complotteur tegen Lodewijk de Veertiende* (Weesp: Heureka, 1980); Willem G. van der Tak, 'Van den Enden and Kerckrinck', 1982; Marc Bedjai, 'Metaphysique, éthique et politique dans l'œuvre du docteur Franciscus van den Enden (1602–1674). Contribution à l'étude des sources des écrits de B. de Spinoza', *Studia Spinozana*, 6 (1990), pp. 291–301; id., 'Le Docteur Franciscus van den Enden, son cercle et l'alchimie dans les Provinces Unies du XVII[e] siècle', *Nouvelles de la République*, 2 (1991), pp. 19–50; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 254–260; Frank Mertens, 'Van den Enden and Religion', 2007; id.; *Franciscus van den Enden's Brief Account*, 2008; id., 'Spinoza's Amsterdamse vriendenkring'; Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 68–71.

FAGEL, Gaspar (1634–1688): Grand Pensionary of Holland (1672–1688); took out a doctoral degree in Law (1653) at Utrecht University; Pensionary of Haarlem (1664–1670); judge's clerk for the States General (1670–1672); interested in botany and gardening, designed (1676–1688) the gardens of Leeuwenhorst, his manor; Fagel's exotic plant collection was purchased by Stadholder William* III and transferred to Hampton Court Palace (East Molesey, Greater London); the Leiden *Kerkenraad* informed Fagel on 8 December 1674 about the discovery of copies of the Latin octavo edition (T.3) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; in the capacity of Grand Pensionary, Fagel has been crucially involved in the provincial prohibition (25 July 1678) of Spinoza's posthumous works.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3, col. 382; Elizabeth Edwards, 'An Unknown Statesman? Gaspar Fagel in the Service of William III

and the Dutch Republic', *History. Journal of the Historical Association*, 87 (2002), pp. 353–371; Elizabeth den Hartog and Carla Teune, 'Gaspar Fagel (1633–88): His Garden and Plant Collection at Leeuwenhorst', *Journal of the Garden History Society*, 30 (2003), pp. 191–205.

Finch, Anne (1631–1679), Viscountess Conway: rationalist English woman philosopher and Cambridge Neoplatonist; received a carefully planned upbringing and mastered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; criticized Spinoza in book 9 of 'Principia philosophiae antiquissimae & recentissimae de deo, Christo, & creatura' (1690) for his Hobbesian material pantheism and his substance theory.
References: Sarah Hutton, 'Reason and Revelation in the Cambridge Platonists, and Their Reception of Spinoza', in Karlfried Gründer and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggeman (eds.), *Spinoza in der Frühzeit seiner Religiösen Wirkung* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1984), pp. 181–200; id., *Anne Conway: A Woman Philosopher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); id., 'Platonism and the Trinity. Anne Conway, Henry More and Christoph Sand', in Martin Mulsow and Jan Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism. Antitrinitarians, Calvinists, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 209–224; Carol W. White, *The Legacy of Anne Conway (1631–1679). Reverberations from a Mystical Naturalism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008); Jonathan Head, *The Philosophy of Anne Conway. God, Creation and the Nature of Time* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Fonteyn, Thomas Jaspersz (*fl.*1630–1661): Mennonite Haarlem bookseller, printer at the Amsterdam Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal ('in de gekroonde druckerije') from 1653 onward; business partner of Spinoza's publisher, Jan Rieuwertsz* *père* in the late 1640s and 1650s; publisher of a large number of books on various subjects, ranging from religion and poetry to songbooks and mathematics; Fonteyn, like Rieuwertsz, used the large yoke ornament and its reduced version on several title-pages of the books produced by him.
Reference: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 2, cols 453–454.

Gent, Pieter van (*fl.*1640–1693/94): Dutch Latinist, professional Amsterdam scribe, correspondent and friend of Spinoza (Georg Hermann Schuller* to Spinoza, 1675.07.25, Ep 63: 'D.a. Gent officiosè salutat una cum J. Riew.'); studied medicine in Leiden (1668); produced a copy of the *Ethica* (ms. V, rediscovered in 2010) on the behest of Spinoza's correspondent Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus* between late 1674 and early January 1675; editor of Tschirnhaus's *Medicina mentis* (Amsterdam: 1686), translator of the German original of Tschirnhaus's *Medicina corporis* into Latin; involved in the editorial preparations of the posthumous works, selected letters for the correspondence section, and made copies of original autographs and/or apographs; Van Gent, by his own account (1679), had copied out 'Spinoza's works for the most part' on the behest of Schuller*.

References: Meinsma, *Spinoza en zijn kring*; Reinhardt, *Briefe an Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus*; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*; Proietti and Licata, *Il carteggio Van Gent – Tschirnhaus*.

Geulincx, Arnold (1624–1669): lecturer in logic in Leiden (1662); possibly as an antidote against the metaphysics of Spinoza, Cornelis Bontekoe* edited Geulincx's *Gnôthi seauton, sive Arnoldi Geulincs ... Ethica* (Leiden: 1675), a work sitting in for the 'pagan' *morale provisoire* offered by Descartes*; there is speculation Geulincx and Spinoza knew each other personally, but historical evidence confirming their relations is not known; many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors aligned Geulincx with Spinoza and even accused him of atheism, but there is no proof Spinoza influenced him.
References: Victor vander Haeghen, *Geulincx. Étude sur sa vie, sa philosophie et ses ouvrages* (Ghent: Librarie générale de A. Hosten, 1886); Arnoldus Geulincx, *Opera philosophica*, Jan P.N. Land (ed.) (3 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1891–3); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 10, cols 282–283; Han van Ruler, 'Geulincx and Spinoza: Books, Backgrounds and Biographies', *Studia Spinozana*, 15 (1999), pp. 89–106; Mark J.H. Aalderink, 'Spinoza and Geulincx on the Human Condition, Passions, and Love', *Studia Spinozana*, 15 (1999), pp. 67–88; Bernard Rousset, *Geulincx entre Descartes et Spinoza* (Paris: Vrin, 1999); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 322–331; Mark J.H. Aalderink, *Philosophy, Scientific Knowledge and Concept Formation in Geulincx and Descartes* (Utrecht: Zeno, 2010).

Glazemaker, Jan Hendriksz (1619/20–1682): professional translator in Amsterdam, translated French and Latin works into Dutch, such as the writings of Descartes* (*Discours de la methode*, *Meditationes*, *Les Passions de l'âme*, *Musicae compendium*, and *Querela apologetica*) and Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* among others; member of the Flemish Mennonite Church in Amsterdam; Glazemaker was accused (3 and 7 April 1662) of being a Cartesian atheist ('Esse hîc atheos, eosque potissimum Cartesianos, ut *van der Enden*, *Glasemaker*, etc:') in a diary kept by the Danish anatomist Ole Borch (1626–1690); translator of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (*De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandelinge*, 1693); composed the Dutch translation (*Zedekunst*) of E3, E 4, and E5 (Parts 1 and 2 were translated by Balling*).

References: C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, 'Jan Hendrik Glazemaker. De zeventiende-eeuwse aartsvertaler', in id., *De Republiek der Letteren* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 207–261; Crapulli, 'Le Note marginali latine'; Akkerman, *Studies*, pp. 101–126; id., 'J.H. Glazemaker, an Early Translator of Spinoza', in De Deugd (ed.), *Spinoza's Political and Theological Thought*, pp. 23–28, there at pp. 24–27 (Glazemaker's idiomatic translating principles); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 331–334; Akkerman, '*Tractatus theologico-politicus*'.

Graevius, Johannes Georgius (1632–1703): historian and classicist, expert networker, voluminous letter writer; successor (1658) of Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671) as professor of rhetoric in Deventer; professor of rhetoric, politics, and history in Utrecht (from 1661 to 1703); editor of Cicero's writings; member of the *Collegie der scavanten* and central actor in monitoring and putting to press the *Epistola ad amicum* (1671), the first theological retort of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* by Johannes Melchioris*; Graevius informed (22 April 1671) Leibniz* that Spinoza was the treatise's disguised author; his friends included Johannes Bouwmeester* and the Cartesian Leiden philosophy professor Burchard de Volder (1643–1709); forwarded an invitation and a letter of safe conduct (through Bouwmeester) to Spinoza requesting him to visit the Utrecht headquarters of the French army (summer 1673); met Spinoza during the latter's Utrecht jaunt; Spinoza asked Graevius by letter (1673.12.14, Ep 49) to return to him an account on the death of Descartes*; Graevius together with Burman (1) edited *Adversus anonymum theologico-politicum liber, ...: opus posthumum* (1674), a rebuttal of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* by Regnerus van Mansveld*.
References: Gustave Masson, 'Graevius et le Duc de Montausier d'après des lettres inédites', *Le Cabinet historique*, 13 (1867), pp. 217–238; A.C. Clark, 'The Library of J.G. Graevius', *The Classical Review*, 5 (1891), pp. 365–372; Willem Meijer, *Vervielfältigung eines eigenhändigen Briefes des Benedictus Despinoza an Joh. Georg. Graevius* (*aufbewahrt in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen*) (n. pl. [Berlin]): (1900); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 669–670; Richard Maber, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters. The Ménage-Graevius-Wetstein Correspondence 1679–1692* (New York, NY, and Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi b.v., 2005); Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar cum Celsissimo principe de Spinosa"'; Gootjes, 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'.

Guenellon (or Quenillon, Guenelon), Pieter (1650–1722): medical doctor and translator from Amsterdam; studied medicine in Leiden and Padua; in 1678, he met the British philosopher John Locke*, his close friend and correspondent, and introduced him to his neighbour Philippus van Limborch* at the Amsterdam Keizersgracht; befriended the Dutch Spinoza-enthusiast Frederik van Leenhof with whom he also exchanged letters.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cools 1002–1003; C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, 'De Nederlandse vriendenkring van John Locke', in id., *De Republiek der Letteren*, pp. 90–103.

Heereboord, Adriaan (1614–1661): neo-scholastic Cartesian logician; read theology and philosophy in Leiden (1629); chair of ethics (1644); intervened in the Leiden row (1647) about Cartesian philosophy and provided Descartes* with all the necessary information to write to the university senate (AT V, 1–15, 22–23; 29–31, 35–39 [board of university governors to Descartes]) to ask justice for a series of damaging disputations on Descartes's philosophy by the Leiden church historian Jacobus Revius (1586–1658) and the theologian Jacobus Trigland (1583–1654), who had accused Descartes of being a Pelagian and a blasphemer; author of the *Meletemata philosophica* (Leiden: 1654); Spinoza in his *Cogitata metaphysica* (2.12 [G 1/279]) quotes from Heereboord's 'Collegium ethicum' (1.10) to refute his theory of free will: 'Haec sunt ipsissima verba Heereboordii Professoris Leidensis' (These are the very words of professor Heereboord, professor of Leiden).
References: Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch*, passim; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 395–397; id., etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 70–74.

Heinsius the Elder, Nicolaas (1620–1681): classicist, poet, expert in textual criticism (Ovid and the like); intelligencer and collector of manuscripts and books in the service of Christina Wasa, Queen of Sweden; diplomat in Stockholm (1654, 1660), Moscow (1669), East Friesland, and Bremen (1672); son of Leiden humanist and classicist Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), the name of whom was used to turn the T.3h octavo issue of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* into a red herring; upon his return from Utrecht, Spinoza went in The Hague to see Heinsius (24 August 1673) on behalf of Graevius* for reasons further unknown (Heinsius to Graevius, 23 August 1673; Leiden, University Library, ms. 'Brieven van Nicolaas Heinsius aan Johannes Georgius Graevius; 1653–81', BUR Q 17, fol. 89r).
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 2, cols 560–563; Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle*, passim; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 407–408.

Helmont, Franciscus Mercurius van (1614–1699): natural philosopher, kabbalist, Quaker convert; son of the iatrochemical physician Jan Baptista van Helmont (1580–1644); personal physician to Anne Finch*, Viscountess Conway; Van Helmont's

friends included among others John Locke*, Henry More*, Robert Boyle*, and Leibniz*.
References: Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 25, cols 586–597; Allison P. Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century. The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–98)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 408–412.

Herbert, Edward (1582?–1648): 1st Baron Herbert of Cherbury (or: Chirbury), English deist, and historian; brother of British priest poet George Herbert (1593–1633); studied in Oxford and embarked upon a military career; diplomat at the French court; being a restless character, Cherbury travelled extensively and met many nobles and intellectuals, including the French humanist Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614); rationalistic defender of comparative theology; several scholars aligned in their retorts of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* the latter treatise with that of Cherbury's *De religione gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis* (1663).
References: Ronald D. Bedford, *The Defence of Truth: Herbert of Cherbury and the Seventeenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979); Julia D. Griffin, *Studies in the Literary Life of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1993); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679): English political philosopher, best known for his masterpieces *De Cive* (Paris: 1642) and *Leviathan* (London: 1651), in which social contract theory is propounded; educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, holding further several offices as personal tutor and instructor to men such as for example William Cavendish (1617–1684), 3rd Earl of Devonshire, and young Charles II of England; since Hobbes in the *Leviathan* puts forward the same Ezran theory also upheld in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Spinoza may have been familiar with the former work; Spinoza in a letter to Jarig Jelles* (1674.06.02, Ep 50) writes about the Hobbesian view of contractarian methodology (covenants) or the transference of one's natural right:

> As far as Politics is concerned, the difference you ask about, between Hobbes and me, is this: I always preserve natural Right unimpaired, and I maintain that in each State the Supreme Magistrate has no more right over its subjects than it has greater power over them. This is always the case in the state of Nature.

Aubrey* in *Brief Lives* wrote, in regard to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, Hobbes would have stated Spinoza 'had out throwne him a barre length, for he durst not write so boldly'.
References: Jakob Hühnerfeld, 'Die Stellung Spinozas und Hobbes zur Medizin, insbesondere zur Physiologie ihrer Zeit', *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 23 (1930), pp. 113–134; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 6, pp. 444–451; Christian Lazzéri, 'L.A. Constans entre Hobbes et Spinoza', in Lucius Antistius Constans, *Du droit des ecclésiastiques/Lucius Antistius Constans*, V. Butori, etc. (transl. and eds.) (Caen: Centre de philosophie politique et juridique [URA-CNRS], Université de Caen, 1991), pp. xiii–xli; Pacchi, 'Leviathan and Spinoza's *Tractatus*'; Schumann, *Hobbes une chronique*; Aloysius P. Martinich, *Thomas Hobbes: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Curley, 'The State of Nature and its Law'; Alexandre Matheron, 'The Theoretical Function of Democracy in Spinoza and Hobbes', in Lloyd (ed.), *Spinoza: Critical Assessments*. Vol. 3: *The Political Writings*, pp. 112–121; Jeffrey R. Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); S.A. Loyd (ed.), *The Bloomsbury Companion to Hobbes* (London: Continuum, 2013).

Hoorn, Jan Claesz ten (*fl.*1671–1714): Amsterdam bookseller, publisher, and printer, brother of Timotheus ten Hoorn*; trained as a bookbinder; ran a bookshop and, quite probably, also a printing firm ('over het Oude Herenlogement') in a house called 'in de Historieschrijver', located in 'het Gebed zonder End' in the Amsterdam Nes quarter; was commissioned (1687) by an unidentified individual from Delft to print a Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, but burnt the manuscript when he was reprimanded by the Amsterdam church council.
References: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 163; Peeters, 'Jan Claesz ten Hoorn'.

Hoorn, Timotheus (or Tymen) ten (1644–1715): Amsterdam bookseller, publisher, and printer, business partner of Jan Claesz ten Hoorn*, his brother; trained as a bookbinder; ran a bookshop ('in 't Sinnebeelt') in the Nes quarter between 1682 and 1715; was ridiculed in the anonymously-issued *Relaas van de beroertens op Parnassus. Ontstaan over het drukken van de Beginselen van de wijsbegeerte van den heer Renatus Descartes* (Amsterdam: 1690) by the God Apollo for having put to press an illegal edition of the 'Principles of Philosophy'; publisher of the *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1701); reprimanded in 1697 for illegally selling a copy of the *De nagelate schriften*.
References: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 3, p. 163; Peeters, 'Timotheus ten Hoorn'; id., 'Leven en bedrijf van Timotheus ten Hoorn (1644–1715)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 25 (2002), pp. 20–29.

Houthaak (or Houthaeck), Tymon (Thijmen Dircksz, 1625–1664): Amsterdam compositor, printer, publisher (1647–1664), actor and singer; addresses: Nieuwezijds Kolk, next to the 'Boogh van Weesp' (1648–1651), corner of the Nieuwezijds Kolk

(1650–1652), Pottebakkersstraat, opposite of the Nieuwezijds Kolk (1659–61), Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal (1652–1657), Deventer Houtmarkt, next to 'de Vogel Grijp' (1661–64); shop sign (1658–1661): 'in de Vogel struis' ('In the Ostrich'); printed for Rieuwertsz* *père Epiktetus redenen* (1658), a work translated into Dutch by Glazemaker*; the floral vignette decorating the title-page of *Epiktetus redenen* also graces the 1673 'Villacorta' octavo issue (T.3v) of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; the 'reduced' yoke ornament, favoured by Rieuwertsz, terminates *Epiktetus redenen*'s main text as well.

Hudde, Johannes (1628–1704): Burgomaster of Amsterdam, mathematician, optician, instrument maker, correspondent of Spinoza; studied law (1644) and mathematics (1654) in Leiden; contributed to the second edition (Leiden: 1659) of the *Geometria* of Descartes* (with 'Epistola prima de reductione' and 'Epistola secunda de maximis et minimis, De reductione aequationum'); like Hans Bontemantel* also member of the Amsterdam interrogation committee criminalizing the writings of Adriaan Koerbagh*; author of *Specilla circularia* (n. pl. [Amsterdam]: 1656), a rare booklet on spherical aberration to which Spinoza refers to in a letter to Hudde (1666.[06].[00], Ep 36); Hudde met Spinoza in 1665, or thereabouts; apart from optics they exchanged a series of nine letters (from early 1666 onwards) centring around the ontological proof for God's existence and necessary existence; together, they ground (1667) supersized lenses to be fitted in a large refracting 40-foot aerial refractor telescope.
References: Johan E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578–1795* (2 vols., Haarlem: Loosjes, 1903–5; repr, Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 528–529, no. 197; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 1, cols 1172–1176; Johannes Mac Lean, 'De nagelaten papieren van Johannes Hudde', *Scientiarum historia: driemaandelijks tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van de geneeskunde, wiskunde en natuurwetenschappen*, 13 (1971), pp. 144–162; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 6, pp. 536–538; Robert Raymond Buss, *Newton's use of Hudde's Rule in his Development of the Calculus*. PhD thesis Saint Louis University, MI, 1979; Albertus W. Grootendorst, 'De tweede brief van Johan Hudde', in id., *Grepen uit de geschiedenis van de wiskunde* (Delft: Delftsche Uitgevers Mij., 1988), pp. 77–106; Rienk Vermij, 'Bijdrage tot de bio-bibliografie van Johannes Hudde', *Gewina. Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis der geneeskunde, natuurwetenschappen en techniek*, 18 (1995), pp. 25–35; Vermij and Atzema, 'Specilla Circularia'; Klaas van Berkel, etc. (eds.), *A History of Science in the Netherlands. Survey, Themes and Reference* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 476–478; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 460–461; Hendrik L. Houtzager, 'Johannes Hudde en zijn vergrotende glazen bolletjes', *Scientiarium historia*, 31 (2005), pp. 155–162; Giuliana di Biase, 'John Locke on Monotheism. A Dispute with Johannes Hudde', *Archivio di Filosofia*, 82 (2014), pp. 317–329; Rienk Vermij, 'Huddes *Specilla circularia*', *Studium. Tijdschrift voor wetenschaps- en universiteitsgeschiedenis*, 11 (2018), pp. 96–103; Tiemen Cocquyt, etc., 'Hudde en zijn gesmolten microscooplensjes', *Studium*, 11 (2018), pp. 78–66; Wiep van Bunge, 'Hudde en Spinoza: waarom er maar één God is', *Studium*, 11 (2018), pp. 55–61; Marvin Bolt, etc., 'Johannes Hudde and His Flameworked Microscope Lenses', *Journal of Glass Studies*, 60 (2018), pp. 207–222.

Jane, William (1645–1707): Church of England clergyman; commoner of Christ Church (1660); doctor of divinity and lecturer of Carfax Church, Oxford (1674); Bishop of London (1678); Regius professor of divinity in Oxford; chancellor of Exeter Cathedral (1703); signed a grant of imprimatur (8 February 1677) for the printing of *A Letter to a Deist*, the first British retort of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, by Edward Stillingfleet*.
References: Robert T. Carroll, *The Common-Sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet, 1635–1699* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1975); Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Jelles, Jarig (1619/20–1683): Amsterdam entrepreneur (1647–1659), friend and correspondent ('J. J.') of Spinoza; retired 'to practice himself in the knowledge of truth, which is focused on godliness, and to obtain wisdom'; exchanged letters with Spinoza on Descartes*, spherical aberration (1667.03.03, Ep 39; 1667.03.25, Ep 40), fluid dynamics (1669.09.05, Ep 41), and on God's uniqueness (1674.06.02, Ep 50); Spinoza instructed Jelles by letter (1671.02.17, Ep 44) to prevent the printing of a Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; Jelles composed the pietist apology *Belydenisse des algemeenen en christelijcken geloofs, vervattet in een brief aan N.N.* (1684), a work reminiscent of Spinoza's philosophy; its 'Opdragt-brief' and its closing sections (on the 'Gretchen-Frage') are written in the form of a letter addressed to Spinoza (< 1673.04.19, Ep 48A); Jelles was a member of the editorial team preparing Spinoza's posthumous works (1677): he wrote the Preface to *De nagelate schriften*, translated into Latin and revised by Lodewijk Meyer* for the *Opera posthuma*; Jelles, it has been rumoured, financed the printing of the *Renati Des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*; the brief prologue to the (unfinished) *Tractatus politicus* may concern a reply to a letter by Jelles.
References: *Twee-en-vijftigste jaarverslag. Verslag omtrent de lotgevallen der Vereeniging 'Het Spinozahuis' MCMXLVIII–MCMXLIX* (Leiden: Brill, 1949); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9, col. 459; Willem G. van der Tak, 'I. Jarich Jellesz' herkomst', *Verslag omtrent de lotgevallen der Vereeniging Het Spinozahuis van 31 mei 1947*

tot 29 mei 1948 (Leiden: Brill, 1948), pp. 14–19; id., 'II. Jellesz' leven en bedrijf', *Verslag omtrent de lotgevallen der Vereeniging Het Spinozahuis van 29 mei 1948 tot 28 mei 1949* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), pp. 12–20; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, p. 232; Willem G. van der Tak, *Jarich Jelles' Origins: Jellesz Life and Business* (Delft: Eburon, 1989 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 59]); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 492–494.

Jenkes, Henry (*c.*1630–1697): Neoplatonist, professor of rhetoric at Gresham College, FRS (1674); Fellow of Gonville and Caius College (Cambridge); befriended the Dutch Remonstrant theologian Philippus van Limborch*; Jenkes exchanged two letters (January/March 1675) with Oliver Doiley* commenting on the general vituperation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
Reference: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Koerbagh, Adriaan (1633–1669): Dutch freethinker and monist; took out doctoral degrees in Medicine (1659) and Law (1661) from Leiden University; Koerbagh and his younger brother Johannes were in the late 1650s and early 1660s in contact with the coterie around Van den Enden* and Spinoza; cloaked author ('Vreederijk Waarmond, ondersoeker der waarheyd') of *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet* (printed in 1668 by Herman Aeltsz*), an anti-religious vocabulary of loanwords in the vernacular reminiscent of Spinoza's philosophical notions on substance theory and politics; author of *Een ligt schijnende in duystere plaatsen*, another explosive rationalist treatise on theological and mainly political issues, portions were processed by an Utrecht printer, but halfway its printing the book was cancelled and copies seized; Koerbagh was arrested (18 July 1668) and sentenced (27 July) to ten years of forced labour in the *Willige Rasphuis* in Amsterdam for blasphemy and died soon thereafter; Koerbagh's contacts with Spinoza are confirmed in a deposition the former made on 20 July before a commission of inquiry of Amsterdam committee of magistrates, including Hudde* and Bontemantel*: '[And he] says he had been in contact with Spinoza, and [says that he] visited him several times'.
References: A. de Jager, 'Procedures tegen Adriaan Koerbach, over zijn woordenboek', in id., *Archief voor Nederlandsche taalkunde*, 4 (1853–1854), pp. 81–102; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 7, cols 719–721; Bossers, '*Nil volentibus arduum*'; Hubert VandenBossche, *Adriaan Koerbagh en Spinoza* (Leiden: Brill, 1978 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 39]); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 571–574; Michiel Wielema, 'Adriaan Koerbagh: Biblical Criticism and Enlightenment', in Wiep van Bunge (ed.), *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1750* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), pp. 61–80; Cis van Heertum, 'Reading the Career of Johannes Koerbagh: The Auction Catalogue of his Library as a Reflection of his Life', *Lias*, 38 (2011), pp. 1–57; Adriaan Koerbagh, *A Light Shining in Dark Places, to Illuminate on the Main Questions of Theology and Religion*, Michiel Wielema (ed.) (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Frank Mertens, 'Johannes Koerbagh's Lost Album Amicorum Seen through the Eyes of Pieter de la Ruë', *Lias*, 38 (2011), pp. 59–127, there pp. 125–126; Cis van Heertum, 'A not so Harmless Drudge. The survival of Koerbagh's *Bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd* (1668)', *Quaerendo*, 50 (2020), pp. 395–426.

Kuyper, Frans (1629–1691): Collegiant pamphleteer and detractor of Spinoza; studied theology at the Remonstrant *Seminarium* in Amsterdam; removed in 1653 from his ministry in Vlaardingen because of his rejection of infant baptism; ran (1663–1673) a printing shop at the Brouwersgracht and primarily issued Socinian works; driving force behind the printing and clandestine distribution of the Socinian anthology *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*; participant in the 'Bredenburg disputes'; assaulted Spinoza in *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxe refutata, examine Tractatus theologico-politici* (1676), a work revised and translated as *De diepten des satans, of geheymenissen der atheisterij* (1677); Kuyper probably had access to a manuscript copy of Spinoza's *Korte verhandeling* and to unpublished contemporary ripostes dealing with the equation God–nature.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 868–869; Wiep van Bunge, *Johannes Bredenburg (1643–1691)*, pp. 90–98; Piet Visser, *Godtslasterlijck ende pernicieus. De rol van boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de verspreiding van dissidente religieuze en filosofische denkbeelden in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (1995). For background: Fix, *Prophecy and Reason*; Emanuela Scribano, 'Johannes Bredenburg (1643–1691) confutatore di Spinoza?', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, pp. 66–76; Israel, 'Philosophy, Commerce and the Synagogue', p. 344.

Le Boe Sylvius (or Du Bois), Frans de (1614–1672): Leiden anatomist and medical practitioner, supporter of Descartes*; studied medicine in Leiden, Wittenberg, Jena, and Basle; specialized in cerebral anatomy; at least one of De le Boe Sylvius's early private Leiden lessons on the lymphatic system (1640) was attended by Descartes; attracted students like Stensen*, Meyer*, Bouwmeester*, and Koerbagh*; Spinoza in his Rijnsburg period may have followed private lessons in medicine or anatomy and surgery by De le Boe Sylvius; as the latter died in 1672, his name was misused to cloak the disguised octavo issue T.3s of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, this time entitled *Totius medicinae idea nova* (Amsterdam, 1673), thus purporting it was the alleged second edition of the medical writings of the deceased Leiden professor.

References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, cols 1290–1294; Klaas van Berkel, etc. (eds.), *A History of Science*, pp. 577–579; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 13, pp. 222–223; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 973–975.

LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646–1716): German legal scholar, counsellor, philosopher, mathematician, expert networker and voluminous letter writer; had an explicit curiosity for openness to original thought and became paradoxically obsessed with Spinoza's erudition; Leibniz entered a brief correspondence with Spinoza (1671.10.05, Ep 45; 1671.11.09, Ep 46) on optics with the objective of drawing him in a discussion on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, a copy of which he first inspected at the Frankfurt book fair (October 1670); during his stay in Paris (1672–1676), he made the acquaintance of Van den Enden* and Tschirnhaus*; the latter, through his exchange with Schuller*, asked (1675.11.14, Ep 70) Spinoza for his permission to allow Leibniz to read his manuscript copy of the *Ethica* (ms. V); the philosopher however instructed Schuller (1675.11.18, Ep 72) to keep silent about the work; Leibniz had a personal meeting with Spinoza in The Hague in late November 1676 and discussed with him the classical ontological proof (E1p14) in favour for God's existence; he inspected portions of Spinoza's own manuscript of the 'Ethics'; Leibniz also drew up his own ontological demonstration: 'Quod ens perfectissimum existit'.
References: Friedrich A. Trendelenburg, 'Ist Leibniz in seiner Entwicklung einmal Spinozist oder Cartesianer gewesen und was bedeutet dafür die Schrift "de vita beata"?', *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1847, pp. 372–386; Stein, *Leibniz und Spinoza*; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 8, pp. 149–168; Georges Friedmann, *Leibniz et Spinoza* (Paris: Gallimard 1975); George H.R. Parkinson, 'Leibniz's Paris Writings in Relation to Spinoza', in *Leibniz à Paris (1672–1676). Symposion de la G.W. Leibniz-Gesellschaft (Hannover) et du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris) à Chantilly (France) du 14 au 18 novembre 1976* (2 vols., Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 73–89; Wolfgang Bartuschat, 'Spinoza in der Philosophie von Leibniz', in Cramer, etc. (eds.), *Spinozas Ethik under ihre frühe Wirkung*, pp. 51–66; Edwin Curley, '"Homo audax": Leibniz, Oldenburg and the TTP', in Ingrid Marchleiwitz and Albert Heinekamp (eds.), *Studia Leibnitiana supplementa. Leibniz Auseinandersetzung mit Vorgängern und Zeitgenossen* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1990), pp. 68–103; Jacqueline Lagrée, 'Leibniz et Spinoza', in Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *Disguised and Overt Spinozism*, pp. 137–155; Goldenbaum, 'Die *Commentatiuncula de judice*'; Mark Kulstad, 'Leibniz, Spinoza and Tschirnhaus: Multiple Worlds, Possible Worlds', in Stuart Brown (ed.), *The Young Leibniz and his Philosophy* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999), pp. 243–262; Ursula Goldenbaum, *'Zwischen Bewunderung und Entsetzen. Leibniz' frühe Faszination durch Spinoza's Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Delft: Eburon, 2001); Mark Kulstad, 'Leibniz, Spinoza and Tschirnhaus. Metaphysics à Trois, 1675–1676', in Olli Koistinen and John Biro (eds.), *Metaphysical Themes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 182–209; Noel Malcolm, 'Leibniz, Oldenburg, and Spinoza, in the Light of Leibniz's Letter to Oldenburg of 18/28 November 1676', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 35 (2003), pp. 225–243; Goldenbaum, 'Spinozas Papageienargument'; id., 'Why shouldn't Leibniz have studied Spinoza? The Rise of the Claim of Continuity in Leibniz' Philosophy Out of the Ideological Rejection of Spinoza's Impact on Leibniz', *The Leibniz Review*, 17 (2007), pp. 107–138; Lærke, *Leibniz lecteur de Spinoza*; Antognazza, *Leibniz*; Mogens Lærke, 'A Conjecture about a Textual Mystery: Leibniz, Tschirnhaus and Spinoza's *Korte Verhandeling*', *The Leibniz Review*, 21 (2011), pp. 33–68; Goldenbaum, 'Leibniz's Fascination with Spinoza'; Brandon C. Look (ed.), *The Bloomsbury Companion to Leibniz* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

LIMBORCH, Philippus van (1633–1712): Dutch Remonstrant theologian, prolific writer, historian; studied theology in Amsterdam and Utrecht (1653); appointed (1668) to the chair of theology at the Amsterdam Remonstrant *Seminarium*; sent over a copy of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' in 1671 to Oliver Doiley*, rector of Cambridge University; Van Limborch in *Theologia christiana* (1686) accused Utrecht theologian Frans Burman* (1) of having raised sympathies for Spinoza's philosophy in the latter's *Synopsis theologiae*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9, col. 608; Pieter J. Barnouw, *Philippus van Limborch* (The Hague, Mouton, 1963); Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration', 1990; Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 5, cols 69–71; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 4, pp. 314–315; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 615–617.

LINCKER (Lyncker) VON LÜTZENWICK, Johann (1615–1698): privy counsellor ('Kur-Trierische Geheimrat') to the Archbishop of Trier; friend and correspondent of Leibniz* and of Leibniz's patron Johann Christian von Boineburg*; received in Koblenz a letter (4 April 1672) from the The Hague-based diplomat Johann Daniel Crampricht* von Kronefeld, informing him he had passed on his request a letter to Spinoza ((< 1672.03.25*), which possibly was composed by Leibniz); Lincker had it enclosed in a now-lost letter of 25 March 1672 (cf. *Catalogue critique*, vol. 2, p. 2, nos. 14–15 and p. 3, no. 33), reading in it the following:

> I am, like you, delighted about your happy return to the court, about which you provided me with novelties in your [letter] of 25 March, when sending me at the same

time a letter for [mister] the scientist Spinoza. I have forwarded it to him and [I am] awaiting other duties to serve you.

Locke, John (1632–1704): Baconian empiricist philosopher, physician, and FRS (1668); personal secretary and household physician (1666) of the courtier Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper (1621–83); went into exile for his role in the anti-royalist 'Rye House Plot' (1683), a plan to assassinate King Charles II of England and his brother the heir-presumptive James (1633–1701), Duke of York; Locke earned a reputation for his seminal concepts of religious tolerance and political liberalism, and for his influential, pioneering ideas on education, epistemology, and the philosophy of science, especially logics; completed his key works during his Rotterdam exile (1683–1689): *Epistola de tolerantia* (1689) and *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* (1690 [1689]); Locke had an avid interest in Spinoza, but he also acknowledged the following: 'I am not so well read in Hobbes or Spinosa, as to be able to say, what were their Opinions in this Matter'; Locke rejected Spinoza's ideas about the liberty to philosophize and the freedom of thought; owned several copies of the Dutch philosopher's writings.
References: Harrison and Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*; Yolton, *John Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography*; Parker, et al., *The Biblical Politics of John Locke*; John Marshal, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, pp. 135–163; Roger Woolhouse, *Locke: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. pp. 409–410; John Milton, 'Pierre Coste, John Locke, and the Third Earl of Shaftesbury', in Sarah Hutton and Paul Schuurman (eds.), *Studies on Locke: Sources, Contemporaries and Legacy* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), pp. 195–223; Sami J. Savonius-Wroth, etc. (eds.), *The Continuum Companion to Locke* (London: Continuum, 2010); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Mansveld, Regnerus van (1639–1671): Dutch Cartesian philosopher, detractor of Spinoza; relative of the Utrecht magistrate Johan van Mansveld (1621–1673) and member of the city's patrician class; appointed in 1660 as professor of logics and metaphysics at Utrecht University; being a member of the Utrecht *Collegie der Scavanten*, Van Mansveld was crucially involved in the making of the *Epistola ad amicum* (1671), the first Dutch theological attack in print on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* by Johannes Melchioris*; Van Mansveld was the author of *Adversus anonymum theologo-politicum liber singularis* (1671), a bulky refutation of Spinoza's 1670 treatise posthumously published (1674) in Amsterdam by Graevius* and Burman* (1); Spinoza in a letter to Jarig Jelles* (1674.06.02, Ep 50) denounced Van Mansveld's retort and judged it unworthy of reading or responding to the book.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9, cols 646–647; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 672–674; Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'; id., 'The *Collegie der sçavanten*'.

Marchand, Prosper (1678–1756): Huguenot bibliographer, editor, librarian, bookseller, and literary intelligencer in Paris; forced to flee to the Netherlands (1709) and settled in The Hague; went to Rotterdam where he earned a living as a corrector (1713–1723); edited many works and was one of the principle editors of the *Journal littéraire de La Haye*; a manuscript made by Marchand in about 1711 contains thirty-six *Adnotationes* (lacking notes 15, 20, 27, and 37) which he transcribed from an annotated now-lost copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Spinoza's own handwriting.
References: Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Prosper Marchand: La vie et l'œuvre* (1678–1756) (Leiden: Brill, 1987); id., 'Un Cabinet de livres européen en Hollande: La Bibliothèque de Prosper Marchand', in Berkvens-Stevelinck, etc. (eds.), *Le Magasin de l'univers*, 1992, pp. 11–22.

Melchioris, Johannes (1646–1689): German Calvinist pastor in Frechen (near Cologne), first public detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in print; studied theology in Groningen under the supervision of Samuel Maresius (1599–1673) and Jacob Alting*, and in Leiden under Johannes Coccejus*; promoted (1682) to the chair of theology at Herborn University; between 1 July and 23 September 1670, Melchioris exchanged letters with Graevius* to launch the *Epistola ad amicum* (1671) under the semi-anonymous monogram 'J.M. V.D.M.'; a second edition, with Melchioris's full name, was issued in 1672 under the title *Religio ejusque natura et principium* (Utrecht: 1672).
References: Johann H. Steubing, *Geschichte der Hochschule Herborn* (Hadamar: 1823); Gootjes, 'Le Réseau Cartésien d'Utrecht'; id., 'The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'; id., 'The *Collegie der sçavanten*'.

Meyer, Lodewijk (1629/30–1681): Amsterdam physician Neo-Latinist, founding member of the Amsterdam literary and artistic society *Nil volentibus arduum*, close friend and correspondent of Spinoza, editor of his first book and translator of the Preface by Jelles* to the *Opera posthuma*; took out his doctoral degree in Philosophy and in Medicine (1660) at Leiden University; Meyer, according to the 'voix publique', was the disguised author of the 1666 *Philosophia*, a work promoting philosophy as the chief instrument for the interpretation of Scripture; recipient of Spinoza's noted 'Letter on the Infinite' (1663.04.20, Ep 12),

discussing the indivisibility of infinite extension; Meyer edited *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica*, Spinoza's reworking of the 'Principles of Philosophy' of Descartes*, in compliance with the philosopher's explicit directions (< 1663.07.25*; 1663.07.26, Ep 12A; < 1663.08.03*; 1663.08.03, Ep 15); he wrote the book's prologue and made all the cross references and captions in the *Cogitata metaphysica*; Meyer's name is suppressed in the posthumous works thus: 'L. M. P. M. Q. D.' (*Opera posthuma*); 'L. M.' (*De nagelate schriften*).
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5, cols 342–345; Bossers, '*Nil volentibus arduum*'; Offenberg, *Brief van Spinoza aan Lodewijk Meijer*; Steenbakkers and Bordoli, 'Lodewijk Meijer's Tribute'; Michael Albrecht, 'Einengung und Befreiung als Wirkungen des Cartesianismus am Beispiel Lodewijk Meyers', in Verbeek (ed.), *Johannes Clauberg (1622–1665)*, pp. 161–180; Ike van Hardeveld-Kooi, *Lodewijk Meijer (1629–1681) als lexicograaf* (2000); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 694–699.

Minutoli, Vincent (1649–1709): Protestant minister and Labadist; studied theology in Geneva, Leiden and Groningen; Walloon minister in Antwerp (1663) and Middelburg (1664–1667); removed (1667) from his ministry by the Synod of Amsterdam for his disorderly lifestyle, but reinstated by the Delft Synod; professor of classical literature and history at the *Académie de Genève* (1678); publisher of the Swiss journal *Les Dépêches du Parnasse ou Gazette des Savants*; personal friend of French pietist Jean de Labadie (1610–1674) and Pierre Bayle*; received a letter (26 May 1679) by Bayle, holding a remark about chapter 19 of the *Traitté des ceremonies superstitieuses des juifs tant anciens que modernes*, a work Bayle wrote to Minutoli, 'makes me think that the author is the famous Spinoza, who has composed similar thoughts in his "Tractatus theologico-politicus"'.
References: *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 2, p. 333; Vincent Minutoli, *Storia del ritorno dei Valdesi nella loro patria dopo un esilio di tre anni e mezzo (1698)*, Enea Henri Balmas, etc. (eds.) (Torino: Claudiana, 1998), pp. 123–175.

Monnikhoff, Johannes (1707–1787): town herniotomist, medical author, and president of the Amsterdam surgeon's guild; based on a late-seventeenth-century manuscript copy (ms. 175 G 15; *codex A*), Monnikhoff compiled (1743–1763) a manuscript which includes a text version of the *Korte verhandeling* and 'Aantekeningen bij het Godgeleerd-Staatkundig Vertoog' (The Hague, KB, ms. 175 G 16 [*codex B*]); to the latter work Monnikhoff added a 'Kritische voorrede', attacking several of Spinoza's metaphysical notions, which also includes a short biography of the Dutch philosopher.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 8, cols 1170–1171; Johannes Monnikhoff, 'Beschrijving van Spinoza's leven', *Chronicon Spinozanum*, 4 (1926), pp. 201–219; Mark, 'A Unique Copy of Spinoza's *Nagelate Schriften*'; Lotte Jensen, 'Johannes Monnikhoff. Bewonderaar en bestrijder van Spinoza', *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, 8 (1997), pp. 5–32; Gerrit A. Lindeboom, *Dutch Medical Biography. A Biographical Dictionary of Dutch Physicians and Surgeons 1475–1975* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), cols 1362–1363; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 707–709.

Morales (or Morelli), Henriquez (*fl.*1673–1715): Dutch-Sephardic physician practising in Amsterdam and a convert to Roman Catholicism; Morales provided Huguenot editor Pierre Desmaizeaux* with his account on Spinoza's vexed trip to Utrecht, published in the former's review (May 1706) in the *Mémoires du Trevoux* dealing with the French 1706 translation of Colerus's Spinoza biography; Morales too has been the source of the claim the French translation of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' was produced by Gabriel de Saint Glen.
References: Bayle, *Lettres*, vol. 1, p. 243; Saint-Évremond, *Œuvres meslées*, vol. 5, pp. 283–286; Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar cum Celsissimo principe de Spinosa"'.

More, Henry (1614–1687): Cambridge Neoplatonist, FRS, and correspondent of Descartes*; initially a promotor of the Cartesian philosophy; credited for having introduced the word 'Cartesianism' into English; More later criticized Descartes's physics and the latter's claim void space was impossible; supporter of the mechanist philosophy which helped him mature his own metaphysical doctrines of immaterial substance and the 'Spirit of Nature'; author of *Enchiridion metaphysicum* (1671); More informed Boyle* in a letter of 4/14 December 1671 that Spinoza wrote the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; he composed two critical essays against the latter treatise: 'Ad V.C. epistola altera' (against Spinoza's claim miracles were impossible) and the anti-atheist 'Demonstrationis duarum propositionum' (or: *Confutatio*); the latter work was translated into Dutch by Frans Kuyper* in *Korte en bondige weederlegging, van het wiskunstig bewijs van B.D. Spinosa* (1687).
References: Colie, 'Spinoza and the Early English Deists'; Schütt, 'Zu Henry Mores Widerlegung des Spinozismus'; Gabbey, 'Philosophia Cartesiana triumphata'; id., 'Henry More and the Limits of Mechanism'; Alfred Rupert Hall, *Henry More and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Hutton, *Henry More (1614–1687)*; Simonutti, 'Reason and Toleration'; Alexander Jacob, *Henry More's Refutation of Spinoza* (Hildesheim and New York, NY: G. Olms Verlag, 1991); Nicholson and Hutton (eds.), *The Conway Letters*; Richard Ward, *The Life of Henry More. Parts 1 and 2*, Sarah Hutton, etc. (eds.) (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000); Robert Crocker, *Henry More, 1614–1687: A Biography of the Cambridge Platonist* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003); Hutton, 'Platonism

and the Trinity. Anne Conway, Henry More and Christoph Sand', in Mulsow and Rohls (eds.), *Socinianism and Arminianism*, pp. 209–224; Van Bunge, etc. [eds.], *The Continuum Companion to Spinoza*, pp. 115–118; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Reid, *The Metaphysics of Henry More*.

Murr, Christoph Gottlieb von (1733–1811): German legal scholar, bibliographer, polyhistor, and editor of the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und allgemeinen Litteratur* (1775–1789); owned copies of Spinoza's printed works and had many refutations critiquing his philosophical doctrines; Von Murr obtained in 1755 a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with Spinoza's own supplementary notes from one of the heirs of Jan Rieuwertsz* *fils*, a copy used to issue his *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologico politicum* (1802).
References: *Catalogus librorum quos V.C. Christophorus Theophilus de Murr … collegerat, …* (Nuremberg: 1811), pp. 268–269 and 292; *Verzeichnis des Restes v. Murr'schen Bibliothek welcher am 19ten September 1814. und folgenden Tägen zu Nürnberg öffentlich versteigert werden soll* (Nuremberg: 1814), p. 16, nos. 236–237; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

Neercassel, Johannes Baptista van (1626–1686): Dutch Oratorian, vicar apostolic (1663) of the underground Roman Catholic 'Holland Mission'; passed in July 1673 to the Roman Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674) a manuscript copy by Jean Baptiste Stouppe* of the latter's still unpublished *La Religion des Hollandois* (Paris: 1673; Cologne: 1673 [pirated edition]), indicting the religious identity and tolerance of the Dutch Calvinist authorities, mainly towards the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; led an orchestrated campaign in the Dutch Republic to collect information about Spinoza's life and the dissemination of his writings; passed copies of both the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and the *Opera posthuma* to curia officials; (Van Neercassel submitted on 9 September 1678) a report on Spinoza to the Roman Holy Office of the Inquisition.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 4, cols 1019–1023; Lodewijk J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (2 vols., Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1945–6), vol. 2, pp. 195–221; id., 'Neercassel en het vaderland', in *Verslag van de algemene vergadering der leden van het Historisch Genootschap gehouden te Utrecht 31 October 1949* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1950), pp. 7–58; Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 16, cols 112–117; Miquel Benitez, 'Le Jeu de tolerance: Édition de la lettre À Madame de … sur les différentes religions d'Hollande', in Guido Canziani (ed.), *Filosofia e religione nella letteratura clandestine, Secoli XVII e XVIII* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1994), pp. 427–468; Gebhard C.P. Voorvelt, 'Enkele minder bekende facetten van het leven van de apostolisch vicaris Johannes van Neercassel (1663–1686)', *Trajecta. Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van het katholiek leven in de Nederlanden*, 5 (1996), pp. 44–55; Gian Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen. Bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2003), pp. 405–406, no. 0402.

Oldenburg, Henry (*c.*1619–1677): German expert editor, translator, secretary, publisher, and intelligencer, Founder Fellow and secretary of the London Royal Society, correspondent of Spinoza; editor of the *Philosophical Transactions* and of Boyle's printed writings; Oldenburg was hired by Boyle's sister, Lady Ranelagh (1614–1691), to tutor her son Richard Jones (1641–1712), who is the character 'Pyrophilus' in Boyle's *Certain Physiological Essays* (1661); visited Spinoza in summer 1661 in Rijnsburg where they discussed God, extension and thought and their specific differences, body and mind, and the Cartesian and Baconian philosophies; entered into a 'philosophical' exchange with Spinoza, started on 26 August 1661 (interrupted in early December 1665 for an interval of about ten years); their friendship by correspondence ranged from short messages and letters to lengthy accounts and scholarly reports from the private to the public, including enclosures with sketches, drafts and printed material; Oldenburg too acted as a mouthpiece for Boyle* in his discussion with Spinoza about his *Certain Physiological Essays* and the nature of experiment; the exchange between Oldenburg and Spinoza became tensed when they started discussing topics in the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, such as necessity and moral responsibility, miracles and ignorance, and the death, burial, and Jesus's resurrection.
References: Jakob Stern, 'Ueber einen bisher unbeachteten Brief Spinoza's und die Korrespondenz Spinoza's und Oldenburg im Jahre 1665', *Nachrichten von der Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, 9 (1872), pp. 523–537; Gillispie and Holmes (eds.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 10, pp. 200–203; McKie, 'The Arrest and the Imprisonment'; Alfred Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall, 'Some Hitherto Unknown Facts about the Private Career of Henry Oldenburg', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 18 (1963), pp. 94–103; Curley, '"Homo audax"'; Sarah Hutton, 'Henry Oldenburg (1617/20–1677) and Spinoza', in Christofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, pp. 106–119; Iordan Avramow, 'Letter Writing and the Management of Scientific Controversy: The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg (1661–1677)', in Toon van Houdt, etc. (eds.), *Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), pp. 337–366; Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg. Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Malcolm, 'Leibniz, Oldenburg, and Spinoza, in the Light of Leibniz's Letter to Oldenburg of 18/28 November 1676', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 35 (2003),

pp. 225–243; Philip Beeley, 'A Philosophical Apprenticeship. Leibniz's Correspondence with the Secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg', in Paul Lodge (ed.), *Leibniz and his Correspondents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 46–73; Malcolm, 'The Library'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Maurizio Gotti, 'Scientific Interaction within Henry Oldenburg's Letter Network', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, 3 (2014), pp. 151–171.

Ostens, Jacob (*c.*1630–1678): Rotterdam surgeon, fervent Mennonite polemicist, Spinoza's correspondent ('J. O.'); translator of medical textbooks by Jean François Fernel (1497–1558), Bartholomy Cabrol (1529–1603), and Hieronymus Fabricius (1537–1619): *Hieronimi Fabritii ab Aquapendente Heelkonstige handwerkingen, Bartolomaei Cabrolii A, B, C, der ontledinge: en Ioannis Fernelii boek der natuurkunde* (1661); Ostens's scepticism in matters theological is reflected in his quarrels with the Flemish Mennonite Church ('Vlaamse Gemeente') in Rotterdam and the traces he left in the 'Lammerenkrijg'; passed a copy or minute to Spinoza (1671.02.03, Ep 42) of a cutting retort of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* by Lambertus van Velthuysen*; Spinoza wrote back (1671.02.4-17, Ep 43) to Ostens to debunk Van Velthuysen's rigid accusation of atheism.
References: *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands protestantisme*, vol. 3, pp. 288–289; Wiep van Bunge, 'Een trage idealist: Jacob Ostens (1630–1678)', *Studia Spinozana*, 4 (1988), pp. 263–279; id., 'De Rotterdamse collegiant Jacob Ostens (1630–1678)', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 65–81; id., etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 761–764; id., 'De bibliotheek van Jacob Ostens: Spinozana en sociniana', *Doopsgezinde bijdragen*, 30 (2004), pp. 125–140.

Paull, Israel Abrahamsz de (1630–1680): Amsterdam printer; trained (1657) as a compositor; became a member of the Amsterdam guild of booksellers, printers, and book binders on 16 July 1650; started (1661) a printing office operating for at least about fifty years (owning about three presses until its closure) in the 'Oude-Nieuwstraet'; De Paull took charge of the latter printing firm (then located in the 'Tuyn-straat, by de Baen-graft') after the death of his partner, Gerrit Harmansz van Riemsdijck (1630–1666); collaborated with Jan Rieuwertsz* *père* and printed the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (Latin quartos, octavos, and possibly also the French duodecimos), the *Opera posthuma*, and *De nagelate schriften*; De Paull was buried at the Amsterdam 'Karthuizer kerkhof' on 28 August 1680; Elisabeth Wiaer (1640–1709), continued her late husband's printing office.
References: 5001: 'Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand)', inv. no. 1163, pp. 426, and 427; Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers'; Lane, 'The Printing Office'.

Pauw *fils*, Adriaan (1622–1697): Lord of Bennebroek, son of the Amsterdam Pensionary Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653), councillor and (1652) president of the provincial High Court of Holland; delivered on 25 September 1670 an account of the proceedings of the North Holland Synod, informing the States of Holland the last Synod meeting had discussed the printing of licentious books and had asked for the prohibition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
Reference: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9, cols 760–761.

Placcius, Vincent (1642–1699): reader in law in Helmstadt, Leipzig, and Orléans, polymath; held the chair of moral philosophy and eloquence at the Hamburg Gymnasium (1675); close friend of the anti-Cartesian Leipzig professor of rhetoric and dialectic Jacob Thomasius*, who appreciated him as an authoritative figure on pseudonymous and anonymous writings; author of *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum* (Hamburg: 1708) which work holds a substantial entry on Spinoza's life and writings.
References: Friedrich L. Hoffmann, 'Vincent Placcius. Seine Leistungen auf dem Gebiete der Bibliographie der anonymen und pseudonymen Schriften nebst einem kurzen Abrisse seines Lebens und Nachweis über seinen gelehrten Briefwechsel', in id., *Essai d'une liste chronologique des ouvrages et dissertations concernant l'histoire de l'imprimerie en Belgique et en Hollande* (Brussels: Heussner, 1859), pp. 1–16; Mulsow, 'Practices of Unmasking'.

Rappolt, Friedrich (1615–1676): professor of dialectics (1651), professor of poetry (1656), and theology (1670), detractor of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; dean of the Leipzig theology faculty and university rector; member of the *Collegium Gellianum* (founded in 1641), a learned society of Leipzig scholars focusing on the writings of ancient authors; Rappolt attacked Spinoza's treatise in the inaugural lecture 'Programma ad audiendam orationem inauguralem, professioni theologiae ordinariae praemittendam, invitatorium' (29 May 1670); accused Spinoza of overt naturalism and libertinism, of downgrading Christian religion, and of promoting the political concept of the commonwealth; launched another attack on Spinoza in the augmented version of his inaugural lecture, renamed 'Oratio contra naturalistas', aligning the Dutch philosopher with Cherbury*.
References: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; Claudia Tietz, *Johann Winckler (1642–1705). Anfänge eines lutherischen Pietisten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008), p. 51.

Rieuwertsz *fils*, Jan (1651/2–1723): bookseller and printer in Amsterdam (from 1682 onwards), member of the Amsterdam guild of booksellers, printers, and bookbinders (since 15 October 1685); bookshop: 'in 't Martelaers-boeck', Beurssteeg (no. 4); appointed (15 October 1685) official city printer of Amsterdam; Rieuwertsz *fils* took over the firm of his father on 18 June 1686; he was subpoenaed on 3 May 1695 together with publisher (and admirer of Spinoza's philosophy) Aart Wolsgryn (*c*.1657–1697) for the illegal sale of copies of Spinoza's writings; Rieuwertsz *fils* was visited in June 1703 by the German travellers Stolle* and 'Hallmann' and told them many particulars about Spinoza's life and writings; invited 'Hallmann' to his house to copy several *Adnotationes* in Spinoza's handwriting from a copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; owned a considerable part of the surviving manuscripts and books annotated by Spinoza inherited from Rieuwertsz *père*; was in all likelihood the disguised publisher of *De rechtzinnige theologant, of godgeleerde staatkundige verhandeling* (1693), the first Dutch Glazemaker redaction of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
Reference: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, pp. 64–66.

Rieuwertsz *père*, Jan (*c*.1617–1687): Mennonite bookseller in Amsterdam, publisher of Spinoza's writings (whether he published the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is not supported by historical evidence); worked as a bookbinder and was member of the Lucas guild (from 25 October 1640 onward); continued this particular business up to 1669 when he was also first reported in Amsterdam city archives as an independent bookseller; bookshop: 'in 't Martelaers-boeck' in the 'Dirck van Assensteech' (1649–78), (nowadays Dirk van Hasseltsteeg, close to the Nieuwe Kerk), Beursstraat or Beurssteeg no. 4 (1678–85); ridiculed as '*Ian de Martelaar in de Dirck van Assensteegh*' in the anonymous pamphlet *De tweede onschult* (1678); one of the most productive publishers (about 230 titles) of his time, publishing those of Descartes* in Dutch, the writings of Spinoza, and other controversial works by authors from both liberal and unorthodox factions, for example the Socinian venture *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*; Rieuwertsz published many other works, ranging from travel books to works in the field of rhetoric and literature, both under his own name as well as in cooperation with other booksellers, such as Pieter Arentsz*; official city printer (1675) of Amsterdam; his contacts with Spinoza first emerged in 1663 during pre-press preparations of *Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae pars I et II; Cogitata metaphysica* (printed by Bakkamude*); putative mastermind behind the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s cleverly-masked Latin quarto and octavo editions, their variant issues, and possibly also the French duodecimos; published Spinoza's clandestinely-issued 1677 posthumous writings (printed by De Paull*) after the receipt of Spinoza's writing desk holding a portion of his papers and letters (dispatched between 21 February and 25 March 1677 to Amsterdam by Van der Spijck*, Spinoza's landlord); intermediary of a letter of Georg Hermann Schuller* to Spinoza which proves the latter exchanged at least two letters with Rieuwertsz (cf. Spinoza to Schuller, > 1674.10.08, Ep 58); buried in the Nieuwe Kerk/Engelse Kerk on 22 December 1687; Rieuwertsz* *fils* had already taken over his father's business in 1682.
References: 5001: Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, 'Inventaris van het Archief van de Burgerlijke Stand: doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam (retroacta van de Burgerlijke Stand)', inv. no. 1056, p. 336; Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 2, col. 1211; Willem F.H. Oldewelt, 'Eenige posten uit de thesauriers-memorialen van Amsterdam van 1664 tot 1764', *Oud-Holland*, 51 (1934), pp. 69–72, at p. 71; Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, pp. 63–64; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 841–845.

Rijnsdijk, Henricus (1628–1689): Reformed minister in Amsterdam (from 1667 onwards); headed a meeting (9 January 1687) of the Amsterdam *Kerkenraad* during which it was reported the printer Jan Claesz ten Hoorn* was processing a manuscript of a (now lost) Dutch translation of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (which Ten Hoorn later claimed to have burnt); the consistory reprimanded (23 January1687) Ten Hoorn for his lies.

Scheltus, Jacobus (1640–1712): bookseller-printer at the *Binnenhof* (1670–1689) in The Hague and 'Landts Drucker' (official printer of the States Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, 1669–1695); regular printer (1672–1690) of the Prince of Orange; printer of the Provincial States' placard prohibiting Spinoza's posthumous writings: *Placaet van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslant, tegens het Boeck geintituleert B.D. Spinosa Opera Posthum. In date den vijff-en-twintighsten Junij 1678*.

Schuller, Georg Hermann (1650/51–1679): Amsterdam physician-alchemist, knowledge broker, friend and correspondent of Spinoza; took out his doctoral degree (1672) in Medicine with a disputation on headache disorders; set up practice (1674) in the Kalverstraat; Schuller's contacts with Spinoza probably emerged after he enrolled (5 May 1671) in Leiden; exchanged letters in Latin with Spinoza between autumn 1674 and mid-November 1675; Schuller disclosed, according to a letter of Van Gent* (to Tschirnhaus*, 23 March 1679), metaphysical doctrines related to Spinoza's philosophy to an alchemist called 'Vieroort'; intermediary for Spinoza's correspondence with Tschirnhaus on particularly metaphysical issues in the *Ethica*; on the behest of Schuller, Van Gent copied out 'Spinoza's works for the most part' after Spinoza's death; on 6 February 1677,

Schuller directed a text version of E1p5dem to Leibniz*; offered him the opportunity to buy the *Ethica*'s holograph and kept him informed about Spinoza's fatal disease and the editing and printing process of the posthumous writings.
References: Willem Meijer, 'Dr. Schuller en B. de Spinoza', *De navorscher*, 47 (1897), pp. 605–608; Steenbakkers, *Spinoza's Ethica*, esp. pp. 50–52.

SMITH, Samuel (*fl.*1681–1703): London bookseller working at 'the Princes Arms in St Pauls Church-Yard', 'Latin Trader'; dealer of books to the Royal Society, printer of its *Philosophical Transactions*; publisher of the writings of Isaac Newton (1643–1727) and Boyle; corresponded with booksellers on the continent and sent them copies of the printed works of Boyle*, and vice-versa; publisher of *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature*, Thomas Browne's 1683 rejoinder to *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* by Charles Blount*; Smith's correspondence with international booksellers is preserved in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Rawlinson Letters 114 (incoming letters).
References: Henry R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1922), p. 276; Hoftijzer, *Engelse boekverkopers bij de Beurs*; Marja Smolenaars and Ann Veenhoff, 'Samuel Smith "an Honest Enough Man, for a Bookseller"', *Antiquarian Book Monthly*, 1997, pp. 36–39; Rudolf M. Dekker, *Family, Culture and Society in the Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 92.

SOLLERS, Robert (*fl.*1677–1699): London book dealer working at 'the King's arms and Bible' (St Paul's Church-yard), dealer of plays, novels, poems, and of works treating of issues dealing with divinity; bookshop (1677, 1679–1683): Sollers's first appearance as a bookseller is recorded in the Term Catalogue in Easter 1677; publisher of *Miracles, No Violations of the Laws of Nature* (1683), the English translation of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
Reference: Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers*, pp. 276–277.

SOMEREN, Johannes van (1632–1678): Reformed printer in Amsterdam, member of a venture of Amsterdam printers turning out Bibles and other religious works; used the favourite large yoke ornament of Jan Rieuwertsz* *père*, printed on title-pages of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and of Spinoza's posthumous writings, on the title-pages of Pieter de Huybert's *Verdediging van de oude Hollantsche regeringh*, Johannes Coccejus's *Opera omnia theologica*, and Lambert van den Bosch's *Toneel des oorlogs*.
Reference: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, pp. 128–131.

SPIZEL, Gottlieb (1639–1691): pietist Augsburg theologian, prolific writer and fervent book collector; studied theology and philosophy in Leipzig under Jacob Thomasius*; Spizel kept a vast correspondence with Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), Leibniz*, Johann Christian von Boineburg*, and Philip Jakob Spener (1635–1705), the founder of Lutheran pietism; Von Boineburg informed Spizel in a letter of [3 October] 1670 about the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* and told him he had seen a copy of the work on the Frankfurt bookfair; Leibniz, in a letter of 8 March 1672, urged Spizel to write a refutation of Spinoza's treatise; Spizel commented on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in *Felix literatus ex infelicium periculis et casibus* (1676) only in passing.
References: Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur*, p. 630; Feil, *Religio. Dritter Band*, pp. 67–68.

SPIJCK, Hendrick van der (*fl.*1667–1736): decoration painter ('camerverver') in The Hague; rented the house (Paviljoensgracht, nos. 72–74) where Spinoza lodged and died from his father, painter Jacob Aelbrechtsz Van der Spijck (*fl.*1644–1687); Leibniz* met Spinoza there between mid-November and Saturday 21 November 1676 and discussed the *Ethica* among other subjects; Van der Spijck made arrangements for Spinoza's burial in the Nieuwe Kerk and paid his debts and funeral, the reimbursement of which was the issue of a legal affair involving Spinoza's sister Rebecca (*fl.*1632–1695) and her stepson Daniel de Caceres (alias of Daniel de Castro, 1651–1695); between 21 February and 25 March 1677, Van der Spijck shipped off Spinoza's writing desk with a large portion of his papers and correspondence to Rieuwertsz* *père* for printing; Colerus* interviewed Van der Spijck and his wife about Spinoza's death and quotes from the invoices and their receipts concerning Spinoza's death and funeral; Van der Spijck, it is claimed in the preface to the second edition (1700) of Christian Kortholt's *De tribus impostoribus magnis liber* (Kiel: 1680), made a portrait of Spinoza: ('atque hospite H. van der S … viro fide dignissimo, & pictore perquam artificioso, qui vultum etiam Athei expresserat.'); except for a now lost a sketchbook with drawings by Spinoza in ink and charcoal, the philosopher's estate was publicly sold on 4 November 1677 at Van der Spijck's house at the Paviljoensgracht.
References: W/Cz; Abraham Bredius, *Künstlerinventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIsten, XVIIsten und XVIIIsten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1919), pp. 2189–2206.

STAVEREN, Petrus van (1632–1683): Reformed minister in Middelie (1657), Maassluis (1661), and Leiden (1664); prolific writer of Protestant religious works; in his capacity as president of the Leiden consistory, Van Staveren was the first Reformed minister who condemned Spinoza's posthumous writings

(4 February 1678); he was charged to warn (11 February 1678) the Leiden Burgomasters about their pernicious contents which led to the official prohibition of the posthumous writings by the States of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland on 25 July 1678.
Reference: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol, 1, col. 963.

Stensen, Niels (1638–1686): Danish naturalist-anatomist, Roman Catholic convert (1667), vicar apostolic in the northern mission fields (1677), former disciple of Spinoza; matriculated as student of medicine at Leiden University on 27 July 1660; earned a reputation for his discovery of the duct of the parotid salivary gland in animals (*ductus Stenionanus*) and the excretory duct of the parotid gland in sheep; made Spinoza's acquaintance in either Rijnsburg or in Leiden in the early 1660s, perhaps around the date (August 1662) of the publication of *De homine*, Florentius Schuyl's Latin translation of Descartes's *Traité de l'homme*; Spinoza attended the dissections of brains in different animal species in Leiden conducted by Stensen who wanted to discover 'the seat where movement begins and sensation ends'; the latter wrote a printed 'open' letter (< 1671.11.02, Ep 67A) to Spinoza, defending his conversion and critiquing him for the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*'s contents, which was published in an anthology of religious reflections (Florence: 1675) under the title 'Nicolai Stenonis ad novae philosophiae reformatorem de vera philosophia epistola'; on 4 September 1677, Stensen handed in a frontal attack on Spinoza and his philosophy in a report, called 'Libri prohibiti circa la nuova filosofia dello Spinosa', to the Roman Holy Office of the Inquisition and an apograph of the *Ethica* (the Vatican codex V, made by Van Gent*) which he had pilfered from the belongings of a 'Lutheran foreigner' who was without doubt Tschirnhaus*, by then residing in Rome; the latter manuscript copy was booked in by a clerk of the Holy Office on 23 September 1677.
References: Niels Stensen, *Ad virum eruditum, cum quo in unitate S.R.E. desiderat aeternam amicitiam inire…*. (Florence: 1675); Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 7, cols 138–139; Pieter A.M. Geurts, 'Niels Stensen en Albert Burgh', *Archief voor de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 2 (1960), pp. 139–152; Pina Totaro, 'Niels Stensen (1638–1686) e la prima diffusione della filosofia di Spinoza nella Firenze di Cosimo III', in Cristofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy*, pp. 147–168; Troels Kardel, 'Stensen's Myology in Historical Perspective', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 84 (1994), pp. 1–59; Pina Totaro, '"Ho certi amici in Ollandia": Stensen and Spinoza – Science Verso Faith', in Karen Ascani, etc. (eds.), *Niccolò Stenone (1638–1686): Anatomista, geologo, vescovo. Atti della seminario organizatto da Universitetsbiblioteket i Tromso e l'Academia di Danimarci, lunedì 23 ottobre 2000* (Rome: 'L'Erna' di Bretschneider, 2002), pp. 27–38; Frank Sobiech, *Herr, Gott, Kreuz. Die Spiritualität des Anatomen, Geologen und Bischofs Dr. med. Niels Stensen (1638–86)* (Münster: Asschendorff, 2004); Paolo Christofolini, 'La Lettera di Stensen: Un falso autore', *Historia philosophica*, 6 (2008), pp. 141–144; Stefano Miniati, *Nicholas Steno's Challenge for Truth. Reconciling Science and Faith* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2009); Paolo Perrini, etc., 'Niels Stensen (1638–86): Scientist, Neuroanatomist, and Saint', *Neurosurgery*, 67 (2010), pp. 3–9; Spruit and Totaro, *The Vatican Manuscript*; Kardel and Maquet (eds.), *Nicolaus Steno*; Eric Jorink, *'Modus Politicus Vivendi'*.

Stillingfleet, Edward (1635–1699): Anglican author and London archdeacon, major representative of the Latitudinarian milieux, anti-atheist; dean of St Paul's Cathedral (1678); Bishop of Worcester (1689); earned a reputation for his sermons on doctrinal, historical, pastoral, and political issues; author of *The Unreasonableness of Separation* (London: 1681); proponent of Newtonianism; criticized Spinoza's doctrines in *A Letter to a Deist* (London: 1677), the first published British work attacking the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, bracketing the atheism of Hobbes and Spinoza with philosophical deism; Stillingfleet owned copies of all of Spinoza's writings and had several refutations of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Robert T. Carroll, *The Common-Sense Philosophy of Religion of Bishop Edward Stillingfleet, 1635–1699* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1975); Hutton, 'Edward Stillingfleet and Spinoza'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Stolle, Gottlieb (1673–1744): German legal scholar; studied law and politics in Leipzig; journeyed (24 April 1703–Eastern 1704) with two travel companions, 'Hallmann' (very likely Johann Ferdinand von Halmenfeld [*fl.*1680–1704]) and the latter's relative ('Herr von H***') to the northern parts of Germany and to the United Provinces; between 28 August and 2 September 1703, they visited the Amsterdam bookshop of Rieuwertsz* *fils* to make queries about Spinoza's life and times; Rieuwertsz *fils* showed them a handwritten copy of the *Korte verhandeling*, a Dutch translation of the 'Theological-Political Treatise' (virtually certain by Glazemaker*), and a draft or the autograph of a letter of Spinoza to Jelles* (1673.04.19, Ep 48B); 'Hallmann' inspected an annotated copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* owned by Rieuwertsz *fils*, also including 'short marginal manuscript notes' by Spinoza (quite likely the *Adnotationes*), which were copied by 'Hallmann'; Stolle planned to publish an account of their journey, but details about their tour are only known through the existence of three surviving only partly-issued manuscripts (A, B, and C) containing their joint travel diaries.
References: Gottlieb Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der juristischen Gelahrheit, nebst einer ausführlichen Nachricht, von des. seel. Verfassers Leben und Schrifften, …* (Jena: 1745), pp. 38–44 ('Leben

des Verfassers'); Günther E. Guhrauer, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts aus den handschriftlichen Aufzeichnungen Gottlieb Stolles', *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 7 (1847), pp. 385–436 and 481–531 (portions of the travel diaries, also in: W/Cz, vol. 1, pp. 82–96); Martin Mulsow, 'The Itinerary of a Young Intellectual in Early Enlightenment Germany', in Martin Fitzpatrick, etc. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 117–133.

STOUPPE (or Stoupe, Stoppa, or Stuppa), Jean Baptiste (1624–1692/1700): libertine, Swiss Lieutenant Colonel from Chiavenna (Grisons) and owner a Swiss mercenary regiment (1677); trained in London as a Reformed minister; worked as a spy (1653–1654) in the service of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658); during the French occupation (1672–1673), chief of one of the five cantons dividing Utrecht; clandestine author of *La Religion des Hollandois* (Paris: 1673; Cologne: 1673, pirated 'Pierre Marteaux' edition), a work commissioned by Louis XIV, justifying the occupation and indicting the religious identity and toleration by Dutch magistrates of religious dissenters, especially their lax attitude towards a work like the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; Stouppe was an intermediary, through Graevius* and Bouwmeester*, in the plan to bring Spinoza to the French headquarters during the late summer of 1673, quite likely on the request of members of the Utrecht Cartesian network; arranged a passport for Spinoza signed by Louis II de Bourbon ('le Grand Condé' or 'le Héros') and met him in Utrecht.
References: Feer, 'Un Pamphlet contre les Hollandois'; Benitez, 'Le Jeu de tolerance'; Popkin, 'The First Published Reaction to Spinoza's Tractatus'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Van de Ven, '"Crastinâ die loquar cum Celsissimo principe de Spinosa"'; Gootjes, 'Sources inédites sur Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'.

THILT, Johannes van (*fl.*1662–1679): Burgomaster of Haarlem, deputy of the *Raad van State*, second curator of Leiden University (1662–1679); with Frederik van Dorp*, Van Thilt informed (16 June 1678) members of the Leiden magistracy that the administrators of the university board were appalled by the 'godless and heterodox propositions and conclusions' of Spinoza's posthumous works; asked for the prohibition (25 June 1678) of the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften* as they were also convinced copies had to be burned and those who owned these works punished.
Reference: *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 1852–1878, vol. 18, pp. 104–105.

THOMASIUS, Jacob (1622–1684): father of legal reformer Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) and detractor of Spinoza; studied in Leipzig; succeeded (1653) his father as Leipzig professor of philosophy; professor of dialectic (1656), rhetoric (1659) and moral philosophy; first tutor and correspondent (1663–1672) of Leibniz*; Thomasius's writings were of major importance for German historiography and theology; his academic harangue 'Adversus anonymum, de libertate philosophandi' (or 'Programma', 8/18 May 1670), was the first public printed retort of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.
References: Jacob Thomasius, 'Programma, quo d. 8 Maji a. 1671', in Johann C. Dürr, *Actus panegyricus impositae merentibus anno MDCLXXI. mense Junio, ... Orationem de praepostera et impia libertate philosophandi, ..., oppositam Tractatui theologico-politico scriptoris lucifugae haud ita pridem vulgate* (Jena: 1672), sigs E4–F4 (title mentions the wrong year of the 'Programma'); *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 38, pp. 107–112; Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 11, cols 1433–1434; Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur*, p. 655.

TSCHIRNHAUS, Ehrenfried Walther von (1651–1708): Lord of Kislingwalde and Stoltzenberg, mathematician-philosopher, educational reformer, correspondent of both Spinoza and Leibniz*; earned a reputation for the invention of hard durable porcelain technology; enrolled on 8 June 1669 at Leiden University as a law student; volunteer in the military States' regiment of the German Freiherr von Nylandt (Nuland), Franz Wilhelm (*fl.*1669–1688), allegedly an accomplished lens grinder who wrote a work about the danger of Cartesianism (*Elementa physica, sive nova philosophiae principia* [The Hague: 1669, copy owned by Spinoza]); Tschirnhaus was the author of *Medicina mentis* (Amsterdam: 1687), edited by Van Gent*, and *Medicina corporis* (Amsterdam: 1686); between late 1674 and early 1675, commissioned Van Gent to make for him a copy (Vatican codex V) of the *Ethica*, which was pilfered by Stensen* and booked in by a Roman Holy Office of the Inquisition's clerk on 23 September 1677; Tschirnhaus owned an edited version of Spinoza's letter to Meyer* on eternity (1663.04.20, Ep 12); he exchanged letters with Spinoza, through the intermediary of Schuller*, on the human intellect, the definition and the problem of human free will, philosophical method, the theory of attributes, as well as on flagging topics in the *Ethica*.
References: *Lebens- und Todes-Geschichte des Weltberühmten Ritters und Herrn Herrn Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhauss, auff Kiesslings-Wald und Stoltzenberg, Königlichen und Churfürstl. Sächsischen Raths* (Görlitz: 1709); Caspar Gotsschling, *Lebens-Beschreibung IV. gelehrter und geschickter Edelleute ... Ehrenfried Walthers von Tschirnhaus, ...* (Brandenburg: 1722); Reinhardt, *Briefe an Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus*; Edward Winter, 'Der Bahnbrecher der deutschen Frühaufklärung. E.W. von Tschirnhaus und die Frühaufklärung im Mittel- und Ost-Europa', in id. (ed.), *E.W. von Tschirnhaus und die Frühaufklärung im Mittel- und*

Ost-Europa (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), pp. 1–82; id., *Der Freund B. Spinozas E.W. von Tschirnhaus: Die Einheit von Theorie und Praxis* (Berlin: Akademieverlag, 1977); Vermij, 'De Nederlandse vriendenkring'; Kulstad, 'Leibniz, Spinoza and Tschirnhaus'; Uwe Mayer, *Zwischen Brennpunkt und Peripherie – Der sächsische Mathematiker, Techniker und Philosoph Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708)* (2001); Lærke, 'A Conjecture about a Textual Mystery'; Jacob Adler, 'The Education of Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708)', *Journal of Medical Biography*, 2013; Proietti and Licata, *Il carteggio Van Gent – Tschirnhaus*.

Velthuysen, Lambertus van (1621/22–1685): Cartesian Utrecht physician and republican town councillor (1667–74), director of the Dutch West India Company, correspondent of Spinoza and Leibniz*; key figure in a pamphlet war (1650s) for and against Descartes*; member of the *Collegie der Scavanten*, the Utrecht Cartesian network arranging the first attack (early 1670s) on the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*; removed from office after the disbandment of the city's old magistracy by the States General in the new 'Regeringsreglement' (27 April 1674); wrote a cutting critique of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in a letter (1671.02.03, Ep 42) to Jacob Ostens* and accused Spinoza of atheism (Ostens passed a manuscript copy of it to Spinoza who sent Ostens a cynical rejoinder (1671.02.4–17, Ep 43)); Spinoza wrote a letter (1675.[09–11].00, Ep 69) to Van Velthuysen to invalidate a rumour he was about to reply to opponents of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, asking the latter to point out to him his objections against his treatise; Van Velthuysen composed a rejoinder to Spinoza's posthumous works in *Opera omnia …: Alter de cultu naturali oppositus tractatibus Bened. Spinosae* (1680), claiming (p. 2) to have frequently spoken to the philosopher; Van Velthuysen's name in his letter to Ostens is suppressed in the *Opera posthuma* ('L. d. V. m. dr.') and *De nagelate schriften* ('L. v. V')
References: Hendrik W. Tydeman, 'Brief van Bened. de Spinoza aan Dr. Lamb. van Velthuysen (Met facsimile)', *Utrechtsche volks-almanak*, 1844, pp. 160–193; D.J. Roorda, 'William III and the Utrecht "Government Regulation": Background, Events and Problems', *The Low Countries History Yearbook*, 13 (1979), pp. 85–109; Isolde Hein and Albert Heinekamp, 'Ein neu gefundener Brief von Leibniz an Lambert van Velthuysen', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 22 (1990), pp. 151–162; Wiep van Bunge, 'Van Velthuysen, Batelier and Bredenburg'; Tammy Nyden-Bullock, 'Radical Cartesian Politics: Van Velthuysen, De la Court, and Spinoza', *Studia Spinozana*, 15 (1999), pp. 35–65; Corinna Vermeulen, '*Convenimus in praecipuis*. The Letters, 1648–1657, by Etienne de Courcelles (1586–1589) to Lambert van Velthuysen (1622–1685)', *Lias*, 26 (1999), pp. 157–185; Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 1017–1020; Henri Krop, 'Spinoza en het calvinistisch cartesianisme van Lambert van Velthuysen', 2004; Antonella del Prete, 'La Bible en question'; Gootjes, 'The First Orchestrated Attack on Spinoza'; id., 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians'; id., 'The *Collegie der Sçavanten*'.

Vries, Simon/Sijmon Joosten (Joostz very likely) de (1633/4–1667): Mennonite merchant from Amsterdam, friend and correspondent of Spinoza; because De Vries was Latinate (Spinoza mentioned him explicitly as a candidate-translator of E3) he probably was privately educated or attended a local Latin School; De Vries was a man of considerable wealth who probably may have well been in the position to act as Spinoza's patron as Colerus* has suggested: he owned shares of several houses, in Amsterdam at the Singel, called 'De Vries', and at the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal, as well as at Oud-Mathenesse (east of Schiedam), as well as land, at Overschie and also at Oud-Mathenesse; during winter 1664/5, Spinoza went to stay in the ambacht of Oud-Mathenesse (close to Schiedam), at a homestead called 'Langen bogert', the residence of Alewijn Jacobsz Gijse (*fl.*1627–1683) and his wife Trijntje Joosten (*fl.*1631–1701), who was De Vries's sister; De Vries died on 17 September 1667 and was buried on 26 September in a family vault (no. 87) in the Noorderkerk; De Vries headed an Amsterdam group (*Opera posthuma*: 'Collegium') who studied an early instalment in progress of Part 1 of the *Ethica* (to Spinoza, 1663.02.24, Ep 8) translated into Dutch and imparted to De Vries 'by P. Balling'; De Vries in any case owned a Latin manuscript copy of E1 since he quotes E1def3 (now: E1def3, on substance, and E1def4, on attribute) from a Latin text (1663.02.24, Ep 8); three letters in the *Opera posthuma* are published with De Vries's full name, who in *De nagelate schriften* is cloaked with the monogram 'S. d. V.'
References: Aad van der Tang, 'Spinoza and Schiedam', *Scyedam*, 10 (1984), pp. 159–184; Abraham M. Vaz Dias, *Spinoza and Simon Joosten de Vries* (Delf: Eburon, 1989 [Mededelingen vanwege het Spinozahuis, no. 59]).

William III of Orange (1650–1702): Dutch Stadholder (1672–1702), King of England (1689–1702), Ireland, and Scotland (known as William II); son of Dutch Stadholder William II (1626) and Mary Stuart, the oldest daughter of Charles I of England; raised under the supervision of Johan de Witt*; in 1666 declared 'Child of the State' (ward of the republican Dutch government) to reduce his chances to come to power as Stadholder; in the wake of the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678/9) appointed Field Marshall ('capitein- en admirael-generael over de Unie') on 26 February 1672 and promoted as Stadholder of Holland (4 July) and Zeeland (16 July); the Prince of Orange's rule turned him into a virtual dictator, disbanding old town magistracies and replacing them with regents loyal to the House of Orange and the Dutch Reformed Church; in his capacity as Dutch

Stadholder, William III was involved in organizing or facilitating the murder of the De Witt brothers; Bouwmeester* writes in a letter (5 July 1673) to Graevius* that when making arrangements for a trip to Utrecht, Spinoza had told him thus: 'At last he responded he has decided to go to you [pl.], if a letter of safe conduct can be obtained from the Prince of Orange. But if not, I hardly think it will be possible to move him to go.'
References: Stephen Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650–1702* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966); Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*; Tony Claydon, *William III. Profiles in Power* (Harlow: Routledge, 2002); Troost, *William III*; Mijers and Onnekink (eds.), *Redefining William III*; Simon Groenveld, 'William III as Stadholder'; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; Gootjes, 'Spinoza between French Libertines and Dutch Cartesians', p. 6 (Bouwmeester's letter of 5 July 1673).

Witt, Johan de (1625–1672): Lord of Zuid- and Noord-Linschoten, Snelrewaard, Hekendorp, and IJsselveere; studied law (1641–1645) in Leiden and took out his doctoral degree in Law at Angers (1645); Grand Pensionary (Secretary-General) of Holland (1653–1672); De Witt's policy of the 'ware vrijheid' ('true liberty') was to ensure commercial and political interests of Holland were safeguarded without any interference of a supra-provincial monarch; he took a keen interest in Cartesian mathematics and appended his 'Elementa curvarum linearum' to the second edition of Descartes's *Geometria* (1661) edited by Frans van Schooten (1615–1660); on 20 August 1672, an Orangist mob brutally murdered De Witt and his brother Cornelis in The Hague, among others a subject discussed by Spinoza and Leibniz* (in late November 1676); in a note found among Leibniz's papers it is claimed that, in order to condemn the political murder, Spinoza went to the execution place 'Groene Zoodje' in The Hague where he allegedly put up a piece of paper reading the text 'ultimi barbarorum'.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 3, cols 1459–1488; Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 1625–1672* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978); Van Otegem, *A Bibliography*, vol. 1, pp. 124 and 128; Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid*; Steenbakkers, Touber, and Van de Ven, 'A Clandestine Notebook', p. 315.

Wittich, Christoph (1625–1687): Cartesian theologian and mathematician, prolific writer on Cartesian subjects; author of *Anti-Spinoza sive examen ethices Benedicti de Spinoza, et commentarius de Deo et ejus attributis* (Amsterdam: 1690), a work focusing on concepts of God's will and understanding, in which Wittich qualifies Spinoza's philosophical system as a confused aberration; Wittich in a letter of 12 August 1680 to Johannes de Raey (1622–1702) claimed Spinoza's star especially rose after the publication of the 1666 *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, attributed to Lodewijk Meyer*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 10, cols 1233–1234; Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*; Christiane Hubert, *Les Premières réfutations de Spinoza. Aubert de Versé, Wittich, Lamy* (Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 1994); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 1083–1086; Theo Verbeek, 'Wittich's Critique of Spinoza', in Tad M. Schmaltz (ed.), *Receptions of Descartes: Cartesianism and Anti-Cartesianism in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 113–127.

Wolfgank, Abraham (1632–1694): Amsterdam bookseller, printer, and publisher (1658–1694); shop sign: 'in 't Geloof' ('In the Faith'); worked for or in collaboration with Rieuwertsz* *père*; according to a letter of the Dutch biologist and microscopist Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680) to the French author-polyhistor Melchisedec Thévenot (1620–1692) of 30 March 1678, Wolfgank sold copies of the *Opera posthuma*; the latter was the publisher of Regnerus van Mansveld's *Adversus anonymum theologico-politicum liber, ...: opus posthumum* (Amsterdam: 1674), edited by Graevius* and Burman* (1) *père*.
References: Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 4, pp. 182–185; Lindeboom (ed.), *The Letters of Jan Swammerdam*, p. 96.

Wolzogen, Ludovicus (1633–1690): Walloon minister at Utrecht, Cartesian theologian, professor of church history (1664) at Utrecht University and at the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* (1670); crossed swords with the pietist Jean de Labadie (1610–1674); Wolzogen's *De scripturarum interprete adversus exercitatorem paradoxum* (1668) was directed against the 1666 *Philosophia*, allegedly by Meyer*; Wolzogen was member of the *Collegie der Scavanten*, the republican Utrecht Cartesian network which supervised and helped Johannes Melchioris* in publishing *Epistola ad amicum*, the latter's theological rejoinder to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* which was published in Utrecht in 1671 and reprinted in 1672 under the title *Religio ejusque natura et principium*.
References: Molhuysen, etc. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 10, cols 1235–1236; Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands Cartesianisme*, pp. 446–447; Israel, 'Philosophy, Commerce and the Synagogue', pp. 205–208 (on Wolzogen's disputes rescuing Cartesian principles for adaptation in biblical exegesis); Van Bunge, etc. (eds.), *The Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 1091–1093; Gootjes, 'The *Collegie der sçavanten*'.

Wood, Anthony (1632–1695): Oxford antiquarian and author; Wood's reputation primarily rests upon a work called *Athenae Oxonienses*; owner of a vast private reference library containing

copies of *Miracles, no Violations of the Laws of Nature* (London: 1683), the first English translation of chapter 6 of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* attributed to Blount*, and of *Miracles Work's Above and Contrary to Nature* (London: 1683), a retort of Spinoza's treatise by an obscure Anglican divine named Thomas Browne.

References: Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–95, Described by Himself*, Andrew Clark (ed.) (5 vols., Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1891–1900); Redwood, 'Charles Blount (1654–94)'; Simonutti, 'Spinoza and the English Thinkers', pp. 198–204; Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Anthony Wood* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2002), pp. 66–68, nos. 1159 and 6003; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

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1258 4º (correspondence Johannes Bouwmeester – Johannes Georgius Graevius, 18 April 1673–8 February 1676).

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1530 4º (p. 74, Spinoza to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 1671.11.09, Ep 46 [MSCp]).

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Haifa, University of Haifa, Younes & Soraya Nazarian Library

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LBr. 563, fols 7–8 (Crampricht von Kronefeld to Lincker von Lützenwick, 4 April 1672; confirming the existence of a letter passed by Crampricht to Spinoza [< 1672.03.25*], possibly as an enclosure [in a letter by Lincker to Crampricht of 25 March 1672] by Leibniz).

LBr. 88 (Spinoza to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 1671.11.09, Ep 46).

LBr. 886 Bl. 5–6 (Spinoza to Lodewijk Meyer, Ep 12, copy by Leibniz).

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BUR Q 17, ms. 'Brieven van Nicolaas Heinsius aan Johannes Georgius Graevius; 1653–81' (23 August 1673).

MAR 77 (siglum: *March*; Prosper Marchand's copy of a now lost annotated copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* in Spinoza's own handwriting, with the *Adnotationes*. Title: 'Animadversiones, seu Additiones ad Tractatam B. De S. cui titulus est Tractatus Theologico-Politicus: exscriptae ex Exemplari hujusce Tractatus, cujus margini propria manu illas ipse scripserat Autor. Non mihi videntur Additiones, quod quidam volunt: Textum enim male secant: sed potius Animadversiones et Notae. Hic etiam occasione Errata quaedam restituenda curavi'. Lacks the *Adnotationes* 15, 20, and 27).

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Add. ms. 4255, fols 228–235 (retrograde) ([fol. 235^{v}]: 'The Catalogue of my Books. Taken A[nno]. 1670. Octob. 3^{d}. H. Oldenburg').

Add. ms. 4293, fols 50–53 (Boyle's accounts of cures performed by Greatrakes during his visit to England in 1666').

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London, Dr William's Library

DWL/RB/2/2.78 (letter 1052: John Tillotson to Richard Baxter, 2 June 1680).

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BP/1 ('Boyle Papers'), vol. 3 (theology section), 0476, fol. 102; vol. 7 (theology section), 'Letter on Miracles' (0595), fols 112–116.

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Satirical Catalogues of Imaginary Libraries

Appendix van 't catalogus van de boecken van M^r. Jan de Witt, bestaende in een partye curieuse en secrete manuscripten. Welke verkocht sullen werden op de Zael van 's Gravenhage, maendagh den 5 July 1672. en de volgende dagen (n. pl. [The Hague]: n.d. [1672]).

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Sleutel, ontsluytende de boecke-kas van de Witte bibliotheeck, met sijn appendix. Waer in de duystere namen der boecken klaerlijck werden vertoont en bekent gemaeckt (The Hague: 'Nil volentibus arduum', 1672).

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General Index of Names

The following abbreviations are used: *biogr.* (Spinoza biographer), *c.* (correspondent), *ctrb.* (contributor to Spinoza's writings), *detr.* (detractor), *ed.* (editor of Spinoza's writings), *mon.* (monogram of name in the posthumous writings' correspondence section), *ps.* (pseudonym), *publ.* (Spinoza's publisher), *tr.* (translator). Personal names of key figures in Spinoza's life and times keyed with an asterisk are dealt with in more detail in the Biographical Lexicon. Many names included in the Biographical Lexicon are not listed in this index. Names of bookbinders, booksellers, printers, punchcutters, and book owners are inventoried in separate indexes. This index does not include references to Spinoza.

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