

A Calendar of Descartes' life for 1643

At the beginning of the year 1643 Descartes still lives at Endegeest, just outside Leiden, where he had moved at the end of March 1641. At the time the 'castle' — actually it was no more than a country house surrounded by pastures¹ — was owned by Pieter van Foreest van Schouwen (†1644), then still a minor living in Rome. The lease expired on May 1st 1643, after which Descartes settled in Egmond aan den Hoef. The 'Utrecht crisis' rumbled on. The publication of the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* (March 1642) had caused *Voetius to engage (in the summer of 1642) his former student Martin *Schoock to write against Descartes and defend his honour. Before the end of the year Descartes got hold of the first printed leaves of Schoock's work (which was published in March 1643 as *Admiranda methodus*) and started writing an answer. Plans changed as soon as Descartes realized that the book was actually written by Schoock, and rechanged when he heard about Voetius' quarrel with *Maresius (Desmarts) over the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady' in 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc). Eventually the *Epistola ad Voetium* was published in May 1643 (1643/05/22; 1643/05/30), followed a bit later (probably July) by a Dutch translation (see 1643/06/23). All the time Descartes worked on his *Principia* (1643/01/05), which he hoped would be printed by the summer of 1643 (1643/02/02) — actually it was not printed before June 1644 (much later than Descartes had been promised, 1643/09/20).

1643/01/05 Endegeest

Descartes asks *Huygens to forward a letter of Mersenne to Voetius: 'i'espere qu'elle [sc. ma response à Voetius] ne retardera point l'impression de ma Philosophie, en laquelle i'approche de l'endroit où ie dooy traiter de l'aymant'.² Asks Huygens to send him a 'gros livre' on that subject, whose author he can't remember (it turns out to be Kircher).

1643/01/07

Promising to forward Mersenne's letter to Voetius, Huygens (The Hague) sends Descartes *De arte magnetica* (Rome, 1641. Reprint. Cologne, 1643) by Kircher and, at the request of Mersenne, *De motu impresso a motore translato* or some other work by Gassendi.

1643/01/17 Endegeest

Letter to Huygens. Descartes sends all books (Kircher, Gassendi) back.

¹ It certainly was not the castle that it is now, which was built in the second half of the 17th century. For all details see J. Dröge, *Kasteel Endegeest: een geschiedenis van het huis, de tuin en de bewoners* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1993).

² *Principia*, IV, art. 133–183. AT VIII A, 275–314. Descartes' treatise on magnetism serves as an example of physical explanation generally and closes the *Principia* — all that follows is an explanation of the reasons why certain subjects (plants, animals, man) are not treated.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/02/02

Letters to Mersenne and *Picot. Descartes expects his 'Philosophie' (*Principia*) to be printed that summer, 'mais je ne puis dire quand on la pourra voir, car cela depend des libraires, et vous sçavez que la Dioptrique fust plus d'un an sous la presse'.

1643/02/18 Endegeest

Descartes writes to Huygens and sends him a text of several pages on physical problems.

1643/02/23 Endegeest

Descartes reacts to two letters of Mersenne, one of 1 February (received that very day) and the other of 10 February (received 'il y a 8 jours'), the first being accompanied by a letter of Picot.

1643/03/11 (1 OS)

The Rector and Senate of Utrecht University deliver a testimonium on Voetius, which will be presented to the Senate (the assembly of professors) on 6/16 March. The text was consigned to the minutebook of the Senate (now Het Utrechts Archief) and was published towards the end of September together with the 'narratio historica' (1643/09/22) in *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae et Narratio historica qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae philosophiae* (Utrecht: Strick, 1643). A Dutch translation was published in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*.³ The text reproduced here is taken from *Testimonium*.

Rector et Professores Acad. Ultrajectinae.

Lect. S.

Quamquam virtus, vitaeque integritas suffragiis aliorum non indigent, ea tamen interdum est hominum improbitas, ut confugere ad testimonia cogantur, qui vivos innocentiae suae testes circumferunt. Experti id sunt nonnulli ex collegis nostris, viri praestantissimi; qui cum vitam, mores, studia sua ita omnibus approbent, ut singulis exemplo, Academiae universae ornamento sint; tamen in epistola Renati Cartesii ad Dinetum, conviciis et contumeliis indignum in modum proscissi sunt. Ac licet non timuerint, ne per praedictam epistolam existimatio sua apud viros bonos, et rerum Academiae nostrae gnaros periclitaretur; quia tamen animadverterunt, quendam heterodoxum nuper calumnias nonnullas ex ea epistola in libellum suum transtulisse; ne idem imperiti alii facerent, neve male creduli fide historica niti putarent, quae mendaciis et calumniis oppleta sunt, testimonio Academico innocentiam suam tutandam sibi existimarunt.⁴ Nos itaque aequissimae eorum postulationi deferentes testamur, falsum esse

³ For a French translation see *Querelle*, 79–81.

⁴ A Dutch translation of Descartes' portrait of Voetius in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* was published in a pamphlet by Jean Batelier (1593–1672), a Remonstrant adversary of Voetius: *Verantwoordinge tegen Gisbert Voetii Remonstrantsche Catechisatie* (Amsterdam: Walschaert, 1643), p. 74).

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quod autor epistolae scribit (p. 175⁵) quosdam ex collegis Medicum sibi praeferi advertentes, manifeste eidem invidisse, ac persaepe a Magistratu contendisse, ut nova docendi ratio prohiberetur. Praeterquam enim quod invidiae causa nulla esset, etiam primae apud Magistratum in postulando partes non illorum fuerunt, sed aliorum, qui communi Academiae periculo movebantur: quippe cum res ipsa clamaret, non posse non veterem philosophandi rationem magno cum academiae detrimento mutari. Ac ne hi quidem persaepe, sed semel duntaxat a Magistratu id postularunt: non suoapte arbitrio, sed ex consilio et delegatione Senatus academici.⁶ Tantum autem a veritate abhorret, aut laborasse eos, qui invidisse dicuntur, per totum triennium, ut Medico nova philosophia interdiceretur; aut novam provinciam, quasi pro praemio bene navatae operae a Magistratu datam; ut intra triennium, professionem problematicam commendatione praecipua ejus Theologi, cujus latus calumnia petit, obtinuerit: nec ante mota ei controversia sit, quam disputatio ejus de circulatione sanguinis emanasset.⁷ Improbata porro divinatio est, qua autor epistolae (pag. 179⁸) suppositiones scholasticae juventutis collegis, nescimus quibus, impingere velle videtur: neque enim ulla hactenus, in quavis facultate, disputatio fervidior fuit, in qua non immodestiam disputantium auditores strepitu et suppositione pedum castigaverint. Quod autem una disputatione praeter morem Praeses ipse explodi visus sit, cum alias solis opponentibus aut defendentibus, ea procella metuatur, id prave factum fatemur: quin etiam dolori nobis est, judicandi sibi partes sumere eos, qui discendi gratia convenire: sed neque in potestate nostra fuit, id malum a praeside avertere, neque dolo cujusquam nostrum, aut consilio, factum est. Illa praeterea manifesta calumnia est, qua autor epistolae (pag. 187⁹) decretum Senatus academici de retinenda in docendo vetere philosophia, soli Rectori attribuire conatur: dum alios quidem dissentientes numero suffragiorum victos scribit, alios autem viros pacificos Rectori suo, quem mordacem novissent, contradicere noluisse fingit. Nam et omnes consensisse in decreto, libellus Amplissimo Senatui Urbano exhibitus, et ab universis subscriptus abunde arguit: et falsum est, quenquam nostrum mordacitate viri mitissimi coactum, ut aliter diceret, aliter sentiret. Unus duntaxat ex collegis fuit, qui non decreto contradixit, sed actis potius academiae inscribendum, quam typis evulgandum censuit. Adhaec potentiam Theologi, quam dicta epistola (pag. 177 et 185¹⁰) invidiose exaggerat, nullam agnoscimus, in eo collegio, in quo libertas censendi et dissentendi omnibus aequa: nisi forte pro magnis in academiam et ecclesiam meritis, aliqua existimatio atque autoritas potentia est. Eundem praeterea Theologum, cum Rectoris munere fungeretur, ipsiusque officii esset, videre

⁵ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 583.

⁶ This happened 21 February/1 March 1642; cf. *Testimonium*, p. 54.

⁷ This took place on 10/20 June 1640.

⁸ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 585.

⁹ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 589.

¹⁰ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 584, 588.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

ne quid academia detrimenti caperet, et convocasse Senatum, et retulisse fatemur: in suo dolore et accusatorem et iudicem fuisse, id vero pernegamus: quippe, qui palam ediceret, suas injurias sibi curae fore; ad Senatum non nisi publicam totius academiae causam se referre. Postremo quod autor epistolae Theologum praedictum turbulentum et seditiosum, Rectorem vocat (pag. 188 et 211¹¹) in eo insignite injuriam ei fieri conquerimur. Adeo enim ille nihil turbulente, nihil seditiose gessit, toto anno quo Rectoris munere defunctus est, ut e contrario ipsius praecipue vigilantiae atque dexteritati imputemus, sopitis turbis, quietem pristinam academiae postliminio restitutam esse. Quae omnia, uti planius atque apertius intelligantur, narrationem historicam earum rerum, quae apud nos gestae sunt, exhibemus: lectorem rogantes, ut autoris epistolae dissimilis, publico potius academiae testimonio fidem habere, quam occultis susurronum mendaciis aures praebere velit. Dab. Trajecti ad Rhenum, Kal. Mart. Anno MDCXLIII.

1643/03/16 (6 OS)

The Senate deliberates about the text of the *Testimonium* and the *Narratio*, both of which are consigned to the minute book. 'A sexta vespertina ad nonam lectum est in concessu nostro Testimonium academicum una cum narratione historica, qua defensae, qua exterminatae novae philosophiae, opponendum Epistolae Cartesii ad Dinetum. Professi sunt omnes, quantum ad historiae fidem, nihil se habere quod arguant. Typis vero edendum adjuncta narratione, conclusum plurimis suffragiis', Kernkamp, I, 162. Despite this majority decision the text will not be published before the end of September.

1643/03/23 Endegeest

Letter to Mersenne, in reaction to three letters of Mersenne, dated 15 February, 7 March and 14 March. Schoock's *Admiranda methodus* is finally published.

1643/03/30

'Schooc le [Saumaise] menace de six ou sept escrits mais je crois qu'il y pensera trois fois. Il a pris a partie Mons. des Cartes sur sa Philosophie, et s'est pris a un adversaire qui n'est pas sans repartie', Rivet to Sarrau, 30 March 1643, *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* I, 434.

1643/05/15

In The Hague the Walloon Synod meets to talk, among other things, on the affair of the 'Illustrious Brotherhood of Our Blessed Lady'. The Synod blames Maresius for having taken the initiative to defend the Reformed members of the Brotherhood 'de son propre mouvement et sans en avoir demandé permission au Synode'. It is also decided that, pending a definitive judgment on this matter, members of the Brotherhood should not be elected to the consistory, although those who already belong to the consistory may remain until their term expires

¹¹ *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet*, AT VII, 590, 603.

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(*Livre synodal* I, pp. 439–443). Descartes quotes those articles in the *Argumentum* of the *Epistola ad Voetium* (AT VIII B, 7–10). See below 1643/08/26–28.

1643/04/23 Endegeest
Letter to *Colvius.

1643/04/26 Endegeest
Letter to Mersenne.

Egmond May 1643 [– May 1644]

According to Baillet Descartes settles in Egmond aan den Hoef, a small village near Alkmaar, on May 1st, 1643, but the first letter actually dated from Egmond is, either of 21 May to *Elizabeth (if the date is reliable), or of 22 May 1643 to Huygens. In any case Descartes paid a visit to The Hague in the first week of May (1643/05/06). Little is known about Descartes' Egmond accommodation, except that the house was rented (Descartes to Colvius, 23 April 1643). Descartes leaves Egmond on May 1st, 1644 to settle temporarily 'in a place with much distraction and little leisure' (Descartes to *** [Grandamy?], [2 May 1644], AT IV, 122), before leaving for France at the beginning of June. After his return he finds new accommodation in Egmond-Binnen.¹²

1643/05/00–06 The Hague

'I'ay appris avec beaucoup de ioye et de regret, l'intention que vous avez eue de me voir, passé quelques iours', Elizabeth to Descartes, 6 May 1643. This is Elizabeth's first letter to Descartes. It shows that Descartes was in The Hague 'a few days' before 6 May. This is more confirmed by Descartes' letter to Mersenne of 30 May 1643, according to which Descartes received Mersenne's letter of 25 April (to which it is a reply) in The Hague.¹³

1643/05/14

'Voetius in Cartesium stylum exercuit. Cartesius maledicta maledictis oneravit. Malle *Physicam* tandem suam ederet, et defecationibus ratiociniis ita veritatem adstrueret, ut nemo reperiretur qui in clara luce positus de tenebris quereretur', Sorbière (The Hague) to Andreae Vissonato, 14 May 1643, Paris, BnF, MS latin 10.352 (quoted AM V, 307).

¹² There are three villages called 'Egmond', all in the Alkmaar region: *Egmond aan Zee*, a fishing village situated almost on the beach; *Egmond-Binnen*, which is at the foot of the dunes; and more to the North *Egmond aan den Hoef*, which is closest to Alkmaar. It was built around the Egmond castle and in the immediate vicinity of Egmond Abbey (a Benedictine Convent, which was closed after the Reformation and refounded only, as a priory in 1935 and as an abbey in 1950). The majority of the population in this area were Roman Catholics.

¹³ Although there is no absolute certainty about the time it took a letter to arrive from Paris in the Low Countries, it must be assumed that it was at least seven days.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/05/22 Egmond

Descartes sends Huygens, De *Wilhem and De *Mory copies of the *Epistola ad Voetium*.¹⁴ He also sends back to Huygens the latter's polemics with Saumaise.¹⁵

1643/05/24 Egmond

Letter to Huygens.

1643/05/29

'Je ne veux pas achever sans vous dire que je m'estonne de tant de calomnies qu'on impose à Mr Des Cartes dans un livre qu'a fait le disciple de Mr Voetius,¹⁶ et je ne sçay comme quoy l'on peut souffrir en vostre Hollande tant de medisances contre une personne qui ne fait mal à personne, et qui n'a autre vice que de consommer ses labeurs pour le bien du public par ses doctes meditations. C'est estre bien malheureux en ce monde d'estre reputés Athées et devoir estre bruslé aprez avoir fait tout que l'on a pu pour prouver l'existence de Dieu, lequel je prie d'illuminer des personnes si medisantes, affin qu'ils viennent à repispences', Mersenne to Rivet, 29 May 1643, CM XII, 194.

1643/05/30 Amsterdam

Letter to Mersenne. 'J'acheve cette letre estant à Amsterdam, d'où je pensois vous envoyer ma response¹⁷ au mauvais livre contre moy que vous avez vû. Mais j'ay creu qu'elle ne meritoit pas d'estre envoyé par la poste, et j'ay prié le libraire de vous en envoyer par mer au plus tost, ce qu'il m'a promis, et aussy de m'envoyer soigneusement vos lettres si tost qu'elles seront arrivées icy. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de les adresser dorenavant à M. Louys Elzevier, marchand libraire à Amsterdam. (...) J'ay dit à Elzevier qu'il vous envoyast 6 exemplaires de ma response a Voetius, dont l'un sera, s'il vous plaist, pour Mr Picot'. Descartes also sends copies to Sorbière (see 1643/06/08) and Colvius.

1643/06/08

'Missa est ad me Amstelodamo Epistola Cartesii ad Voetium, quae est responsio ad injurias atrocissimas Schoockii cujusdam Professoris Groningani, Voetii discipuli, magistro suo haud sanioris. Verebar ne Cartesius vir magnus quid se indignum praestaret, hujusce modi adversarios oppugnaret, nugaces, stolidos, solis conviciis armatos. At ita quidem se gessit, ut nunc vehementer gaudeam justa indignatione expressam fuisse responsionem tam accurato judicio, tanta sagacitate perfectam'. Sorbière then transcribes Pt IV of the *Epistola* (on Voetius' use of books and scholarship), which he finds so excellent that 'vellem totam memoria tenere, adeo mihi ob eximiam ratiocinonem arridet'. Pt VII on Voetius' merits and virtues is also worth reading, because Descartes shows 'viri boni, civis et presbyteri officium, a quo quam longissime Voetius recessit'. Finally, Sorbière

¹⁴ Not all copies are distributed immediately; see 1643/05/30.

¹⁵ A copy in Descartes' hand of the exchange between Huygens and Saumaise is kept in the Royal Library in The Hague. It was published by Roth (AT III, 836–859).

¹⁶ *Admiranda methodus*, by Schoock.

¹⁷ *Epistola ad Voetium*.

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reports that the *Epistola* also contains a long discussion of Voetius' book against Maresius. Sorbière [The Hague] to Thomas Martel, 8 June 1643, Paris: BnF, MS latin 10.352 (AM V, 307).

1643/06/10

'Non est reticenda quae mihi contingit X. Junii gloria, cum a Celsissima Principe Elisabetha accersitus, tantae heroinae colloquio ferme bihorarum frui licuit (...) Sermones fuere de ratiociniis Cartesianis, quibus vehementer oblectatur, atque eorum occasione mentio facta Gassendi nostri, eruditusque postea liber de Vita Pereskii Samsono Jonssonio viro eximio, qui a sacris est Serenissimae Reginae'.¹⁸ Deplores the fact that Gassendi is not better known. 'Brevi legemus Partem Physicarum Meditationum quae Amstelodami apud Ludovicum Elzevirium excuduntur,¹⁹ unde plenius de autore judicare poterimus', Sorbière [The Hague] to Thomas Martel, 15 June 1643, Paris: BnF, MS latin 10.352, quoted AM V, 317. 10 June 1643 (the day of Sorbière's visit) is also the date of Elizabeth's second letter to Descartes.

1643/06/15 (5 OS)

An official committee is appointed to examine Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* and advise the municipal government. 'D'Heeren Mrs François van de Pol ende Peter van Leeuwen sijn versocht ende gecommiteert omme mette Heeren Professoren Dematio ende Mathaeo te examineren seecker boeckgen, uytgegeven bij D. Descartes tegens D. Voetium ende de Vroetschap te dienen van advijs'.²⁰ Kernkamp, I, 182.

1643/06/23 (13 OS)

The Utrecht Vroedschap starts a judicial inquiry and summons Descartes to come to Utrecht in order to clarify the claims made with respect to Voetius in the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and the *Epistola ad Voetium*. Descartes is offered a safe-guard for three weeks.

De Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht in ervaringe gecomen sijnde, dat onlanghs is uyt-ghegeven ende verspreyt wordt, seecker Boeckgen, in dit Jaer 1643, ghedruckt tot Amsterdam, by Louijs Elsevier, geintituleert: *Epistola Renati des Cartes, ad celeberrimum Virum, etc.*²¹ ende niet langh te vorens seeckeren Brief, daer van het opschrift is: *Admodum Reverendo Patri Dineto etc.* ende dat in 't laetste uyt-ghegevene den naem van seecker Persoon, sijnde binnen dese Stadt in publijcque bedieninghe, door-gaens werdt ghespelt, ende sijne actien, leven, omme-gangh, manieren, stu-

¹⁸ Samson Jonsson (1603–1661), an English divine, was (from 1638 till 1644) chaplain to the Court of Princess Elizabeth's mother. From 1646 till 1653 he was army chaplain in Breda.

¹⁹ So, apparently, Elzevier has already started the impression of Descartes' *Principia*.

²⁰ François van de Pol and Peter van *Leeuwen were members of the Utrecht Vroedschap; Carolus Dematius was professor of theology; Antonius Matthaëus professor of Law.

²¹ Apparently, the Dutch translation of the *Epistola ad Voetium* was not yet published; otherwise it would certainly be mentioned.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

dien, leere ende institutien sulcx werden beschreven, dat nae het oordeel van onpartydighe ende hun dies verstaende Mannen, welcker advijs daer over is versocht, sodanighe Persoon in humeur ende conditie daer by beschreven, niet alleen onnut, maer oock ten hoochsten schadelick soude wesen in eenighe publijcque bedieninghe, so vande Academie, als vande Kerck. Waer-omme Wy 't selve ter herten nemende, ende overleydt hebbende, hoe de waerheydt der saecke best nae ghespeurt, de gherustheydt der Stadt, den dienst vande Kercke al-hier, mitsgaders het floreren der Academie ten hoochsten ghevordert, alle onrust, onstichtinghe ende aenstootelicheden gheweert mochten worden, goedt ghevonden hebben de saecke naerder te ondersoecken: Tot welcken eynde wel van meeninghe souden sijn den voornoemden *des Cartes*, indien hy onder de Jurisdiction onser Stadt sich onthielde, te constringeren sijne voorsz. twee Tractaten, met bewijs daer toe dienende te muniëren, om den Persoon daer-inne ghementioneert daer tegens ghehoort, alsdan gedaen te worden, sulcx die acquiteyt der saecke, ende het beste der Academie ende Kercke soude vereysschen. Dan aen-ghesien den voornoemden *des Cartes* sich onthoudt buyten deser Stadts Jurisdiction, ende datmen al-hier onseecker is vande plaetse sijner residentie: Soo ist, Dat Wy goedt ghevonden hebben by Publicatie bekent te maecten, dat den selven *des Cartes* sich al-hier binnen Utrecht sal moghen in-stellen binnen den tijdt van drie weecken (ghenietende ten dien fine vry acces ende reces) omme den inne-houden vande voorsz. Tractaten sulcx te verifiseren, als hy sal oordelen tot sijne intentie dienstich te wesen, ende den voornoemden Persoon daer tegens ghehoort, ende sijn bewijs ghesien, voorts ghedaen te worden naer behoren. Ende om dat den voornoemden *des Cartes* hier van te beter kennisse sal connen becomeen, hebben 't selve al-omme, sulcx men Stadts Publicatien ghewoon is, doen affigeren. Aldus gepubliceert naer voor-gaende Clock-luydinge vanden Stadt-huyse t'Utrecht, *more solito*, op den xiiij^{en} Junij 1643. By my, *C. de Ridder*.

Broadsheet (*plano*) printed by A.J. van Paddenburch, Utrecht 1643 (Knuttel 5023). Reprinted as an annex to Descartes, *Brief aen den vermaerden D. Gisbertus Voetius* (Amsterdam: Van Baardt, 1643), as well as in [P. Voet], *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (Utrecht: Strick [1644]), p. [15]–[16]. A manuscript copy in Descartes' own hand was sent to Huygens on 26 June 1643 (BnF, n.a.f. 23.084). The nature of the procedure changes in September when the Municipality declares the *Epistola ad Patrem Dinet* and the *Epistola ad Voetium* to be diffamatory publications (see 1643/09/23). From that point Descartes will be a criminal offender—now he is still, technically at any rate, a witness.

1643/06/29

'Prodiit his diebus libellus Renati Des Cartes in Voetium, sane pro meritis eius scriptis, in quo homo Gallus, quem Voetius satis ingeniosum agnoscit, ego vero etiam non vulgariter eruditum, ipsum mendaciorum, calumniarum et hypocriseos convincit. Voetius per se sibi addictos magistratus Ultrajectini nomine proclama

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fieri curavit, quo de Cartes quasi per edictum citatur ut Ultrajecti compareat scripti sui rationem redditurus, quod ipse neque facere tenetur et iam satis scripto suo testatus est se nunquam facturum.²² Nescio quomodo ille [Voetius] magistratum Ultrajectinum ita fascinaverit ut se tam manifeste deridendum propinare in animum induxerit', Willem de Groot to Grotius, 29 June 1643, Grotius, *Briefwising*, XIV, 372.

1643/07/05 Egmond

Letters to Van *Beverwijck and Colvius. 'Friends of Descartes' (in fact Huygens, who is with the army at Assenede in West Flanders²³) write a 'consultation' (legal advice) on the Utrecht affair, which is shown to Descartes on 7 July. The meaning of the advice is obviously to prevent further public action on behalf of Descartes— according to Huygens apparently the matter should not become a subject of contestation between Descartes and the Utrecht Magistrate, who so far has behaved in a very civilized manner. Instead Descartes should hand in a 'Requête,' containing a more detailed report of his dealings with Voetius. Descartes will comply with this advice only to the extent that he will not personally present himself in Utrecht (see Descartes' letter to De Wilhem of 10 July). The text is preserved in the Royal Library of the Hague and was first published by AT (IV, 14–15; some corrections on p. 805):

Assenede 5 Jul. 43.

Il semble a des amis de Monsieur Descartes, qu'il n'a pas trop de subject de se plaindre de ce que Messieurs d'Utrecht viennent de publier a son egard; au contraire, que c'est M. Voetius qui en doibt estre moins satisfait, parce qu'au lieu de defendre brusquement la lecture d'un livre qui le blasme, ce qu'un ministre de sa consideration eust bien obtenu ailleurs, ils ne font qu'assurer la libre entrée et sortie a l'auteur, pour en venir verifier les assertions. Par où ceux de ladite Ville, se portans aveq moderation, non pour parties mais pour juges, et ainsi s'offrans a rendre justice, qui est tout ce qu'on peut attendre d'eux, il importe que M. Descartes se garde de songer a quelqu'autre tribunal, comme si justice lui eust esté refusée par la Ville; ce qui n'est pas jusques ores, parce qu'il ne la luy a jamais demandée; un magistrat ne pouvant faire reflexion sur des livres imprimés, qui ne se sont adressés qu'aux lecteurs.²⁴

Ensuite l'on estime que pour prevenir les effets de la contumace, il est temps que M. Descartes leur demande cette justice par Requête formelle et directe, dans laquelle, temoignant aveq modestie le déplaisir qu'il a eu de voir son nom en affiche publique, il recite nuement, comme s'estant

²² The 'proclama' is the summons of 1643/06/23.

²³ Huygens arrived with the army on 3 July and leaves Assenede on 23 August; cf. C. Huygens, *Dagboek*, ed. J.H.W. Unger (Amsterdam: Binger, 1885), p. 40.

²⁴ This is a veiled way of criticizing Descartes: if he had really wanted the magistrate to take action against Voetius he should have submitted a formal complaint instead of publishing his *Epistola ad Voetium*. As a result, Descartes' implicit complaint that the town of Utrecht has denied satisfaction to him is not correct; accordingly he should not react by starting a lawsuit (against Utrecht).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

veu courru sus, calomnié et décrié par M. Voetius, en tant qu'Athée, et enseignant l'Atheisme sous main, (a ne parler d'autres medisances de moins d'importance, au lieu des remontrances que la charité et la vocation dudit M. Voetius lui devoient faire preferer a toute autre procedure), il a creu se debvoir la satisfaction de faire cognoistre au monde et la fausseté de ceste accusation, comme de la plus atroce iniure qui puisse estre fait a un Gentilhomme Chrestien, et les qualités de son accusateur deduites aveq verité en deux Epistres qu'il en a faict imprimer expres; defense et re- crimination de la quelle voyant que leurs Seigneuries auroyent aggreable de veoir la verification plus circonstanciée, qu'il les remercie de l'oreille impartiale qu'ils semblent luy garder, et s'offre, en obéissant a leur bon plaisir, quoy que non subject a leur jurisdiction,²⁵ de prouver, par le menu et jusqua l'entiere satisfaction de tout homme raisonnable, telles positions desdites epistres qu'il leur plaira luy en noter, a condition qu'en mesme temps soit enjoint a sa partie de prouver semblablement le subject desdites accusations intentées contre luy par aggression violente; a ce que, le tout veu et examiné, justice soit rendue ainsi que de droict se trouvera convenir.

Ceste Requeste, agencée de plus beau langage qu'on n'a loysir d'y employer presentement, debvroit estre tournée en bon flamand, et presentée par mains de quelque bien habile Advocat de la Religion, qui, au besoin, fust capable de la seconder de bouche, tant en publiq qu'en particulier, aupres des plus considerables du Magistrat, aveq toute vigueur, franchise et generosité, en excusant la non comparition de son maistre, sur ce que, comme personne des long temps retirée dans la vie contemplative, il n'entend aucunement la routine du Barreau, et en suite s'est trouvé obligé d'occuper par Advocat et procureur.

1643/07/06 Egmond

Date of Descartes' (printed) answer to the Vroedschap (AT IV, 8–12), receipt of which is acknowledged on 1/11 July; see 1643/07/11.²⁶

1643/07/07 The Hague

In the first week of July Descartes visits De Wilhem in The Hague to consult him on the summons from Utrecht and to hear Huygens' advice (see 1643/07/05). This visit had been announced in a letter to Huygens of 26 June 1643. Huygens' 'consultation' (see 1643/07/05) is communicated to Descartes but, apparently, it is not to his liking (despite the polite letter of thanks sent to Huygens 10 July 1643). In The Hague Descartes and *Parmentier (a friend from Utrecht) visit a lawyer, Paul *Vanpeene, who reassures him that the summons 'ne l'oblige a aucune chose' (Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643).²⁷ On 8 July De Wilhem writes

²⁵ Living in the Province of Holland (Egmond) Descartes was not subject to Utrecht jurisdiction. For serious crimes, though, a person could be extradited from one province to another (which was what Descartes feared most).

²⁶ Descartes' answer was printed in Amsterdam (see 1643/07/07).

²⁷ This opinion was shared, not only by Huygens, but also by Willem de Groot (see 1643/06/29).

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to Huygens: ‘J’ay communiqué votre advis par copie à Monsieur des Cartes, qui l’a fort trouvé a son gre. Mais en la consultation ou plustost conference avec l’advocat Paul van Penen on a prins la resolution qu’il doibve respondre par escrit en forme de lettre a Mrs du vroetschap, les remerciant du soing qu’ils ont prins et veulent prendre d’examiner la verite de ses assertions, et procurer le repos et accroissement de leur ville et academie, et qu’il aura le contentement de veoir comme ils s’en acquitteront; qu’il leur en a trace le moyen de parvenir et donne le remede pour corriger les abus, et faire en sorte que son integrite ne soit estouffee et son merite mescognu par les artifices de son adversaire. Le tout *ex officio extra judicium aleam*, en conformité de vostre advis’, Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 403. Descartes leaves The Hague in the early morning of 8 July to have his answer printed in Amsterdam (1643/07/08).

1643/07/08

In the early morning (he has no time to say good-bye to De Wilhem) Descartes leaves The Hague to go to Amsterdam and have his letter to the Utrecht Vroedschap printed by *Elzevier; see Descartes to De Wilhem, 10 July 1643.

1643/07/10 Amsterdam

Letter to Huygens, which is forwarded by De Wilhem on 12 July (Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 405). Descartes also writes to De Wilhem personally in a letter which clarifies some of the points in the letter to Huygens. Both Huygens and De Wilhem receive a printed copy of Descartes’ answer to the Magistrate. While in Amsterdam Descartes probably also visits his clockmaker, Geeraert *Brandt; see his letter to Brandt of 18 July 1643, in which an allusion is made to a recent conversation (‘geliick wy met malkanderen gesproken hebben’).

1643/07/11 (1 OS)

‘Is gelesen de beslote missive int françois, ondertekent Des Cartes, gedateert t’Egmond op de Hoeff, den 6 Julii stylo novo 1643, ende geadresseert aen “Mijn Heeren Burgermeesteren ende Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht” ende ’t translaet vandien in patenti gedruckt—daer van een bundel met exemplaren overgesonden was—, geintituleert: “Antwoort van de Wel edelen Heer René des Cartes, Heere du Perron, op het gepubliceerde van de Heeren van de Vroetschap der Stadt Utrecht, den 13/23 Junii des jaers 1643,” ende in advijs gehouden tot de wedercomste van de Heere eerste Burgermeester’, Kernkamp, I, 182.²⁸

‘Scire velim qua re primum Voetius, homo superbus, Descartesium offenderit’, Grotius to Willem de Groot, 11 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 393.

1643/07/12

De Wilhem forwards a letter of Descartes to Huygens (covering note in Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 405).

²⁸ Of this printed version only one copy survives (BnF, n.a.f. 23.084). The text was reprinted in [Paulus Voet], *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (Utrecht 1644). Of the manuscript letter which accompanied the broadsheet there is no trace.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

1643/07/18 Egmond

Descartes sends his clock to Geeraert Brandt of Amsterdam to have it mended.

1643/07/20

'Voetius per se suosque Cartesium atheismi accusavit. Id ille, ut par est, aegre ferens, ulcera hominis, ut recte notas, superbi, egregie tetigit et detexit. Mitto iam ipsius responsionem ad proclama Ultrajectinum', Willem de Groot to Hugo Grotius, 20 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 414.

1643/07/31

'Vidi et Cartesii chartam contra Voetium. Miror quos Cartesius in hoc negotio habuerit adiutores', Grotius to Willem de Groot, 31 July 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 432.

1643/08/10

'Cartesius hic multos habet amicos, etiam in Academia Lugdunensi, non parvi nominis, et eo est ingenio et genio ut Voetio larvam suam egregie detrahere valeat, dignum ea patella operculum', Willem de Groot to Grotius, 10 August 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 462.

1643/08/16 (6 OS)

At the request of the Burgomasters (as part of the official inquiry started on 23 June) the Senate of the University (the assembly of professors) delivers a testimony in favour of Voetius. Meinardus Schotanus (1593–1644), one of the professors of theology, cannot attend the meeting because he is ill and reacts separately. This testimony of the professors should be distinguished from the one delivered in March, which is printed in *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae* (1643).

Dominis Consulibus scripto petentibus—ob injurias obvias in libro R. Descartes—sententiam singulorum Professorum—excepto D. Regio—de D. Voetii conversatione nobiscum, de usurpato in nos dominio, tempore rectoratus vel ante vel post, ut et an non sit fervidus propugnator verae reformatae religionis adversus omnes heterodoxias et superstitiones etc., pro munere suo etc., responsum fuit unanimibus praesentium suffragiis honestissimum testimonium esse perhibendum. D. Schotanus, ob morbum absens, scripto idem censuit et postea in urbem reversi D. Cyprianus Regnerus, D. Senguerdius, D. Berckringer idem professi sunt D. Secretario. Testimonii formula haec erat: "De Professoren van de Academie van Utrecht, uijtte naem vande ed. Heeren Borgermeesteren der selver Stadt, versocht sijnde attestatie te willen geven vande omganch D. Professoris Voetii onder haerlieden, ende of hy onbehoorlicken heerschappye over haer gebruyckt heeft gheduyrende sijn Rectoraet ofte oock voor of na. Item of hy niet en is een groot voorstander van de ware gereformeerde Religie jegens alle afgoderyen, superstitionen, secten ende opinien met Gods woord strijdende, volghens den eysch sijns ampts. Ver-

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claren by desen opt eerste sijn E. conversatie ende omgang onder haerlieden altyts geweest te sijn, ende noch te wesen soo eerlick, stichtelick, vrindelick ende aenghenaem als men van een Collega soude connen wenschen. Opt tweede dat hy Rectoratum deser Academie Anno 1641 weerdichlick becleedt heeft sonder sich aen te matigen over syne Collegas int ghemeyn ofte ymant van dien in't bysonder meer autoriteyts als een rector toecomt ofte betaemt, gelijk hy oock voor ofte nae niet ghetracht heeft over deselve eenige de minste Heerschappye te exerceren. Opt derde dat hy sijn Theologische professie uyttermaeten treffelijck bedient, oock de leere der ghereformeerde kercke neerstelick ende gheluckelick voorstaedt, ende de dolingen ende abuysen daer tegens strydende grondelick ende bundichlijck wederleghet, volghens den eysch sijns ampts, ghelijck sijne uytgegevene schriften ende sijne dagelickschen disputatien ende lessen claerlick bewysen. Soo dat dese Academie sich heeft een ten hoochsten te bedancken ende geluckich te achten over so een weerdich man, om wiens lang leven ende tegenwoordicheyt ten dienste vande Kercke ende Academie alhier Godt almachtich te bidden is. Aldus gedaen ende verclaert by de Heeren Professoren voorz. Den vij Augusti 1643”.

Kernkamp, I, 169 (only the Latin introduction); Duker, *Gisbertus Voetius*, II, lxiv–lxv.

1643/08/17 (7 OS)

The Utrecht consistory adopts a resolution in favour of Voetius. The text is reproduced in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. The document was signed by Andreas Suavius, one of the Utrecht ministers.

Is van D. preside ingelevert seeckere acte of memorie aen den E. Kerckenraet specterende, alsdus van woort tot woort luydende: ”Dat alsoo D. Voetius met verscheyden calumnien, injurien of diffamatien wert beswaert door publijcke geschriften op den naem van des Cartes uytgegeven, noodich geacht wort dat de E. Kerckeraet vorsz. attestatie geve aengaende de predicatien, leven ende wandel D. Voetii, ende of hy niet en is een groot voorstander van de ware gereformeerde religie, tegens alle afgoderijen, superstitionen, ende opinien tegens Gods woordt strijdende, volgens de eysch sijns ampts.” Dese acte ghelesen ende den inhoud van dien overwogen sijnde, heeft de E. Kerckenraedt daerover dese resolutie ghenomen, ende schriftelijck hare achtbaerheden toeghesonden den 7. Augusti 1643. Die resolutie luydt aldus:

Opt versoeck van de Achtbare Heeren Magistraet der Stadt Utrecht, om den Heere professor Gisbertus Voetius van sijnen dienst, leven, handel ende wandel attestatie naer waerheyt te verleenen, heeft de E. Kerckenraet der ghereformeerde Kercke binnen Utrecht, geen redenen ghevonden soodanighen ghedaenen versoeck in eeniger manieren te weijgheren, te min, dewijl men ghehouden is der waerheyt ghetuychenis te geven insonderheyt dies versocht sijnde. Getuygen derhalven, certificeren ende

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

verclaren voor de oprechte warheyt, voor alle, ende yeder een, die dese vertoont mochte werden, dat de voorz. D. Gisbertus Voetius bedienaer des evangeliums binnen Utrecht, suiijver ende gesont is in de leere der waerheyt, die daer is nae de Godtsalicheyt, overneerstich in de bedininge sijns kerckendiensts, doende dagelijcx met syne stichtelijcke predicatien seer ghroote ende ghewenschte vruchten, dies halven by de ghemeente des Heeren ende ons allen ten hoochsten aengenaem, hem daechlijcks allesins betoonende een groot ende treffelijcke voorstander vande ware Christelijcke ghereformeerde religie, ende een iverich wederstander van alle afgoderyen, superstitionen, secten, ende opinien tegens het woord des Heeren strijdende: hem daer in volgens den eysch sijns beroeps seer ghetrouwelijck quytende tot contentement van alle vromen. Ende aengaende sijn leven, handel, ende wandel, is onder ons altoos gheweest ende noch tegenwoordich soodanich, dat wy anders niet, als alle eer ende deucht, vromicheyt ende stichtelijckheidt en weten te ghetuijgen. Hem vertoont hebbende sedich ende vreedsaem in sijne conversatie soo onder sijne collegen ende medebroederen, als oock onder de gansche gemeijnte: soo dat wy alle ende yeder een van ons int bijzonder van herten wenschen jae van den Heere bidden, sijnen dienst langer in dese kercke ende stichtinghe sijn ghemeynten. Actum Utrecht in onse kerckelijcke vergaderinge den 7. Augusti, 1643.

Later that day and after taking notice of the testimonies of the professors and of the consistory the Vroedschap decides to interrogate Regius and authorizes a committee to draft a final judgment on Descartes' writings: 'Geleesen 't advijs, bij eenige der Professoren ter begeerte van de Heeren Burgermeesteren ingestelt aengaende de geschriften van Des Cartes tegens d'Heer Professor Voetius, als oock d'attestatiën soo van den Eerw. Kerckenraedt als van de Professoren deser Academie alhier aengaende D. Voetii leven, handel ende wandel, is eenstemmich goetgevonden d'Heere professorem Regium, daerop Des Cartes sich hier ende daer beroept, specialick te horen op eenige poincten ofte interrogatoriën, daertoe te concipieren. Ende sijn voorts gecommiteert omme met d'Heeren Burgermeesteren ende andere voorgaende Gecommitteerden in te stellen de censure over de voors. geschriften van Des Cartes d'Heeren Nijpoort, Eck, De Goyer ende Van der Woerdte ofte 't meerendeel, daertoe connende vaceren', Kernkamp, I, 183.

1643/08/26–28

'Sur la proposition des Eglises d'Utrecht et de Delft, à l'occasion de deux articles du Synode dernier, cités dans un livre que le Sr René Descartes a dernièrement fait imprimer,²⁹ la Compagnie se sent grandement offensée de ce qu'on a communiqué à un homme d'autre religion lesdits articles, et a déclaré que quiconque l'a fait est digne de sévère censure, et, si quelqu'un estoit à l'advenir cogneu avoir péché contre les règlements de nos Synodes, qui enjoignent le silence aux mem-

²⁹ *Epistola ad Voetium, Argumentum*, AT VIII B, 7–10.

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bres de nos Eglises, sera réputé avoir violé la fidélité due au Synode'. Articles résolus au Synode des Eglises wallonnes des Provinces unies, assemblé à Utrecht, le 26, 27 et 28 d'aoust l'an 1643, *Livre synodal*, I, p. 447.³⁰

1643/08/27

'Cartesius mihi dicitur ea esse comitate ut mirum non sit amicos ei reperiri. Sed Voetius factione praevalebit', Grotius to Willem de Groot, 27 August 1643, Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 482.

1643/09/05 'Du Hoeff'

Letter to Colvius, accompanying Descartes' contribution to a volume edited by Beverwijck.

1643/09/15

The Senate of Utrecht University adopts the text of a new 'Law' for the University, which contains an important clause: 'Philosophi ab Aristotelis Philosophia non recedunto neque publice, neque privatim; propugnatores absurdorum paradoxorum, novorum dogmatum, ab Aristotelis doctrina discrepantium, non feruntur. Profanae opiniones aut damnatae propositiones non defenduntur. Et ita Philosophia docetor ut ne doctrina Ecclesiae traducatur aut inutiles reddantur qui adspirant ad studia Superiorum Facultatum'.³¹ The text was to be submitted to the States of the Province, who however would reject it in their meeting of 2–4 November because the University's claim for the *ius fori* was interpreted as an infraction of the States' sovereignty. A modified version was adopted by the States in March 1644, which however the University refused to accept. Regius is interrogated by a committee of the Utrecht Vroedschap but refuses to comply; see 1643/09/16.

1643/09/16 (6 OS)

'Bij d'Heeren Burgermeesteren verhaelt sijnde hoe D. Professor Regio, volgens last ende resolutie vanden VIIen Augusti lestleden,³² op gisteren voorgehouden sijnde eenige interrogatoriën, hij getergiverseert ende gerecuseert hadde daerop te antwoorden, met versoeck van copije ende tijdt om te delibereren. Is verstaen dat men hem geen copije geven sal, maar dat voorgaende Gecommitteerden sullen voortgaen met het concipieren van 't geschrift tegens Des Cartes volgens de voors. resolutie, oock den voorn. Regium noch eens te ontbieden ende vragen off hij sich naerder bedacht heeft op de voors. interrogatoriën ende in cas van iteratijff refuys van categorijcq antwoordt, misnoegen daerover te toonen', Kernkamp, I, 184–185.

1643/09/20 Egmond

Descartes writes a letter to Huygens. He has heard about the new statutes of

³⁰ One would suppose that Maresius communicated those articles to Descartes, but Maresius himself denied that in a letter to Rivet of 22 July 1643 (See Letter 31). An alternative candidate could be De Mory.

³¹ Kernkamp, I, 173.

³² See 1643/08/17.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

Utrecht University (see 1643/09/15). Voetius is collecting testimonies.³³ All this is being printed, together with an open letter of Schoock to Descartes in which he claims the authorship of *Admiranda methodus* for himself.³⁴ Descartes is ready to publish a reply if it proves necessary and wants to lodge a complaint against Schoock in Groningen. Elsevier has promised that the *Principia* will be ready by Easter (1644, NS 27 March; OS 21 April). Letters to Descartes must be addressed to ‘Gelain *Adriaenssen, schuytvoerder op de Hoef, tot Alckmar, ou bien à Leyde, à Mr Hogeland’.

1643/09/22 (12 OS)

The Vroedschap give permission to print the *Testimonium Academicum* of March (1643/03/10) and what is called ‘relatio historica’ (that is, the *Narratio*). The Rector is instructed to write a preface and an epilogue. The ‘narratio’ will be printed after the text in the minute book. Those responsible for the printing are authorized ‘expungendi verba otiosa, manente rei substantia’.³⁵ Kernkamp, I, 175.

1643/09/23 (13 OS)

‘Is gearresteert ende aenstonts gepubliceert d’acte van de Ed. Vroetschap waerbij twee brieven van Des Cartes tot nadeel ende lesie van D. Voetii eere uytgegeven, worden verclaert diffamatoire schriften ende fameuse libellen etc; als te sien is int publicatieboeck’, Kernkamp, I, 185.³⁶ The text was published in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. Here one also finds the text of the note by which the sheriff (‘schout’), Ansem Bol tot Rijnesteijn, notified the Utrecht Court of Law, asking them to start a criminal procedure in that town, ‘*tanquam in loco consummationis et perfectionis successivi delicti* and because the injured party resides there’. It was received and acted upon on 23 September (OS) as is shown by an apostille also reproduced in *Aengevangen Proceduuren*. See below 1643/10/03. This is the text of the decree:

De Vroedschap der Stadt Utrecht goet ghevonden hebbende eerst een Illustre Schoole binnen dese Stadt te funderen, ende daer na t’selve tot een Academie te doen erigeren, hadde, omme die so veel in hun was, recommandabel te maecken, naer ghenomene informatien van verscheyden gheleerde ende wel-ghequalificeerde personen sonder sucht, uitghesien nae sodaene mannen, om tot professoren te beroepen, die in gheleertheyt, Godtvruchtigheyt, ende vromicheyt van leven uysteekende

³³ To refute the first claim Jan van *Waesberge (the printer) and Lambertus vanden Waterlaet (the go between of Voetius and Schoock) gave testimony—parts of it would be used by Paulus Voet in his *Pietas in parentem* and *Tribunal iniquum*. The University (1643/03/11) and the other Utrecht ministers provided a testimony on the second point. That of the University would be printed in *Testimonium* (1643); all testimonies would be translated into Dutch in *Aengevangen Proceduuren tot Wtrecht* (1644).

³⁴ Printing was never completed but parts of it are quoted in several pamphlets of Paulus Voet.

³⁵ A comparison between the manuscript text of the minute book (now in Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht) and the printed text reveals indeed a number of differences, some of them more important than is suggested here.

³⁶ See however 1643/10/21 OS.

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waren, ende met rijpen raede ende sonderlinge circumspectie sodaene uytghevonden ende vercoren die alle (uytghesondert dat een vande selve inde sake van René des Cartes Heer van Perron ende des selfs Philosophie sich vorder heeft bemoyt als men wel ghewenscht hadde³⁷) dese Academie door haer gheleertheyt, Godtsalicheyt ende neersticheyt sonderlinghen dienst ende voordeel ghedaen hebben, ende noch sijn doende tot groot ghenoegeen vande Magistraet ende alle vromen, onder de welke *D. Gisbertus Voetius S. Theologiae Doctor et Professor necnon Ecclesiae Pastor* de minste niet en worde bevonden, als ghevende bundighe instructie, sijnde in predicatien stichtelick, in sijne disputatien scherpsinnich, detesterende, ende destruerende de Atheisterije, Libertinische ende Ketterse opinien tegen de heylighe Schrifture strijdende, vele verdoolde tot de waere religie door middel van onderwijsinghe ende exempel van een Godtvruchtich leven brengende, overgheblevende superstition ofte bijgeloven uyt der eenvoudighen herten uytroijende, sulcx van een Professor der Theologie ende Leeraer niet anders souden moghen begheert ofte ghewenscht worden, ende ghelijck alle dese goede qualiteyten hem by vrome ende Godtvruchtighe aehghenaem maecken, soo verwecken deselve bij de vijanden der waerheyt bitteren haet ende nijt teghens hem, ghelijck in verscheyden deelen ghebleeken is, ende insonderheyt door sekere twee brieven op den naem vanden voornoemden des Cartes in druck uytgegeven d'eene geschreven aen een Jesuijt Dinet ghenaemt ende d'andere gheintituleert *Epistola Renati des Cartes ad celeberrimum virum, etc.* daer by denselven des Cartes ghemelten *D. Voetium* van veele godtloosheyden, boosheyden, ende oondeuchden is beschuldigende, als dat hij sijne predicatien soude misbruycken tot leughenen, guytachtighe scheldwoorden, verwekinge van twist, sedition, infamatien van verscheyden personen, onbehorlijcke berispingen van machtighe, verachtende de hoger macht, synde een hijpocrit, hartneckich, wraeckgierich, heerschappij ghebruyckende over syne Collegas, ende t'selve soeckende te doen over alle menschen, seditieus in sijn Rectoraet vande Academie gheweest, ende inde republijcke noch zijnde, ende diergelijcke meer, vermaenende daeromme de Regierders deeser Stadt daerop te willen letten, ende hem daer over straffen, alhoewel hy des Cartes de selve taxeert, datse verboden hebben in haer E. Stadt te vercoopen Regii verantwoordinghe op seekere Theses onanghesien alle de werelt bekent was de selve verantwoordinghe seer eerlich ende sedich gheweest te sijn, van alle twelcke mijn Heeren vande Vroetschap voors. kennisse becomen hebbende, hadden (alhoewel d'innocentie *D. Voetii* een yder, die hem te recht kende, notoir was) op de xiiij Junij lest leden bij publicatienae voorgaende clockluydinge den voornoemden des Cartes bekent ghemaect, dat hy sich binnen dese Stadt mochte instellen, biennen den tijt van drie alsdoen naestcomende weecken, ghenietende vrij acces ende reces omme den inhouden vande

³⁷ This undoubtedly relates to Regius.

voor-verhaelde twee brieven sulcx te verifiëren, als hy soude oordeelen tot sijne Intentie dienstich te sijn, waer op den meergemelden des Cartes by syne missive vanden 6. Julij daeraenvolgende, stylo novo aende voorghemelde Heeren vande Vroedschap gheschreven hadde, onder anderen dattet laest ghedruckte daer van het opschrift hout, *Epistola Renati des Cartes ad celeberrimum virum, etc.* in sulcker voeghen was ingestelt, dat de bewysen die vereyscht worden tot verificatie van 't ghene hy van die man hadde geschreven, alomme daer by werden bevonden, soo veel men de selve met reden van hem soude connen eysschen, ende dat hy uyt sodanigen insichte achterwege gelaten hadde verscheyden van sijne bysondere actien, die hem bekent waren om niet gehouden te sijn getuygen daer toe voort te brengen, seggende onder anderen, in de selve Missive, dat de Vroetschap insiende t'ghene hy dien- aengaende geschreven hadde, bevinden soude, dat hy nevens de rechtmatige verdedinghe van sijne eere voornamelick getracht hadde dienst te doen aen't gemeene beste ende de weerde vande voorz. Stad ende Academie te hanthaven, welcke voorz. Missive by mijn Heeren vande Vroetschap voorz. gelesen ende geexamineert sijnde, hadden haer Ed. de selve ende de twee andere inde voorverhaelde Publicatie aengetogen door haer Ed. Gecommitteerde ende eenige andere onparteydige personen nae behoren doen visiteren ende examineren, ende uyt der selver rapport verstaen, dat den voornoemde des Cartes hem 't onrecht beclaecht van D. Voetio ten hoochsten verongelijckt te sijn, alsoo hy daer van geene 't minste bewys en is producerende, maer alleenlick consequentie treckt uyt valsche presuppusten gefundeert op onsekere gissinge ende quade presumptie daer uyt hy D. Voetio affingeert te sijn auteur, fauteur, correcteur, ofte cooperateur van verscheyden gheschriften, daer by den dick ghemelden Des Cartes vermeijnt veronghelijckt te wesen, ende dat hear E. daerenboven ghebleken was al 't selve versiert ende onwaerachtich te sijn. So dat den voornoemden Des Cartes geen oorsaecke ter werelt tegens D. Voetium gehad hadde, om synen goeden naeme ende faeme so enormelick te lederen, maer dat het selve veel eer was smakende nae den aert der Jesuyten, welcker discipel hy bekent gheweest te sijn, ende de selve altyt meest geacht ende geeert te hebben, ende dat hy geen ander bewijs van syne vilaine ende bittere diffamatien ende schltreden by brochte als van horen seggen, ende uyt valsche rapporten van stoute onbeschaemde leugenaers, vyanden van dese regeringe, der selver Academie, ende gereformeerde religie. Ende de wijle d'onschult D. Voetii voornoemt de meerghemelde vroetschap wel bekent, ende oock (hoewel onnodich) met attestatien soo van particulieren als van verscheyden aensienlicke Collegien verতোont is. Soo ist dat de selve Vroetschap by desen verclaert de voor verhaelde twee brieven niet anderes te sijn dan diffamatoire schriften ende fameuse libellen daer by niet alleen gemelte D. Voetius enormelick in sijne goede naem ende faem wordt geledeert, maer oock de Academie geinteresseert, de Professoren in 't by sonder gediffameert, ende de regeringe deser Stad gevilipen-

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deert. Verbiendende daerom allen ende een yder de voorsz. brieven in wat taele de selve soude mogen worden bevonden binnen deser Stadt ofte de vryheyt van dien te drucken, inbrengen, vercopen, ofte distribueren directelick ofte indirectelick int heymelick ofte int openbaer op arbitrale correctie nae gelegentheyt der saecke, behoudens de Heere Officier deser Stadt tegens den voornoemden Des Cartes ter saecke van t'geene voorsz. sijn actie. Accordeert In kennisse van my, C.D. Ridder.

1643/10/03 (09/23 OS)

The Law Court starts a criminal procedure and summons Descartes to present himself in person.

'Ten versoecke van Jr Ansem Bol Heere tot Rijnestyn ende Schout deser Stadt ende uyt crachte van apostille verleent bij den E. gerechte alhier den 23. Sep. 1643. Wort by my onderz. Deurweerder verdachvaert Renatus des Cartes omme in persoon te compareren tegen den etc. ende te aenhoren alsodanigen Eysch, fine, ende conclusie als den voorsz. eyscher Jegens hem des Cartes geciteerde in persoon sal willen doen ende ghedivulgeert twee fameuse libellen, sendende oock eenige der selver aen syne vrunden alhier in dese Stadt, waer by den voornoemden des Cartes, Dominum Gisbertum Voetium Doctor et Professor inde Godtheyt ende mede predicant, soo in sijn persoon, leer, ende leven als inde ampten ende qualiteyten die hy in de Kercke ende Academie defungeert, met atroce injurien ende schandelijcke lasteringen jegens waerheyt heeft ghetraduceert den selven mede van quade feyten ende crimineuse actien insimulerende. Dat oock den selven des cartes de regeringe deser Stadt inde voorsz. geschriften fugilleerende is, ende de Academie in haer crediet eer ende luyster heeft ghequetst, ende daerdoor in disrespect ghesocht te brenghen', *Aengevangen Proce-duuren*.

1643/10/08 (09/28 OS)

Date of the preface to *Testimonium Academiae Ultraiectinae et Narratio Historica* (Utrecht: Strick, 1643).

1643/10/12

'Il y a un grand procès entre les Srs Voetius et des Cartes. Celuy ci a fait un escrit virulent contre l'autre, qui s'est pourveu devant le Magistrat d'Utrecht, lequel a déclaré le libelle diffamatoire, et cité l'auteur publiquement pour le condamner par contumace. Il est venu ici s'en plaindre a M. l'Ambas[sadeur] qui en a parlé aux députés d'Utrecht. Il y a un livre de Gassendus contre luy sous la presse de Blaeu'.³⁸ Rivet to Sarrau, 12 October 1643, in *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* II, 112. Given the fact that the immediately precedent letter of Rivet to Sarrau

³⁸ *Disquisitio metaphysica seu dubitationes et instantiae adversus Renati Cartesii metafysica* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1644). It is the sequel to the 'Fifth Objections and replies'. Descartes was furious when eventually it was published because he had not been given the chance to reply (see also 1643/11/17 and 1643/11/23). A modern edition, with French translation, was given by Bernard Rochot (Paris: Vrin, 1962).

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

is from 10 October Descartes visited the ambassador on 10 or 11 October. On the same occasion he probably talked with Huygens (see Letter 46), and certainly met Pollot and Van *Zurck (on 11 October; see Letter 43). He probably travelled back to Egmond on Tuesday, 13 October. On his way back he passed through Leiden, from where he wrote to Van Zurck (Letter 43). In The Hague he probably stayed in an inn called 'La Ville de Tours' (Letter 44).

1643/10/17 Egmond ('Du Hoef')

Descartes writes several letters to thank people (Huygens, Pollot and *Graswinckel) for their advice and intervention.

1643/10/21 Egmond

Letter to Pollot.

1643/10/23 Egmond

Letter to Pollot.

1643/11/01 (10/21 OS)

'Insgelijcx is in bedencken gehouden oft men in druck sall uytgeven de Publicatie, den XIIIen Septembris lestleden gedaen, waerbij de twee Epistolen van Renus des Cartes verclaert worden voor fameuse libellen ende diffamatoire geschriften', Kernkamp, I, 187.³⁹

1643/11/02 Egmond

Letter to Huygens. The same day Huygens writes to Descartes. 'Le Magistrat d'Utrecht tire en cause le Sr des Cartes pour un libelle publié contre Mons. Voetius, et le dit des Cartes se trouve empesché, et ne pourra éviter le diffame d'un escrit pillorisé; il est mesme en danger d'estre attaqué en sa personne par prise de corps', Rivet to Sarrau, 2 November 1643, *Correspondance Rivet/Sarrau* I, 126.

1643/11/02–04

Meeting of the States of Utrecht to discuss the new 'Law' of the University (see above 1643/09/15).

1643/11/08 Egmond

Descartes receives a visit of Johan van *Baerle, (Huygens' brother-in-law) and a certain *Hulsebos, inventor of a new type of screw with more power than the one usually adopted in windmills. In a letter to Huygens of 15 November Descartes comments: 'Il y a huit iours que Mr de Baerle prit la peine de venir icy avec l'inventeur de la vis'. Descartes receives a copy of the *Testimonium* and comments on it in a postscript to De Wilhem. He also writes to Picot.

1643/11/10

Brasset writes to Descartes from The Hague.

³⁹ See 1643/09/23.

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1643/11/15 Egmond
Letter to Huygens.

1643/11/16 (6 OS)
'Bij d'Heeren Burgermeesteren verhaelt sijnde wat d'Heeren Gecommitteerden deser Provincie ter vergaderinge van de Ho. Mo. Heeren Staten generael soo door d'Heer Ambassadeur van Franckrijck als sijn Hoocheyt d'Heere Prince van Orange was tegemoet gevoert aengaende de proceduren, alhier gepleecht tegens Des Cartes ende dat hier weder onder de pers is een boecxken D. Schoockii tegens de gemelten Des Cartes, is voorgelagen vant selve boecxken hier niet te laten drucken', Kernkamp, I, 192 (cf. AT IV, 52).⁴⁰

1643/11/17
'Je ne sçay, Monsieur, si vous sçavez que à Amsterdam chez Blau il s'imprime un gros livre de Gassendus contre la *Metaphysique* de Mons. Des Cartes, que l'oncle de M. Ayala⁴¹ m'a fait veoir; si vous le jugiez à propos, je croy avoir moyen d'en fournir à ce grand personnage, de jour à autre, les feuilles imprimees, si ce n'est qu'il les puisse avoir par autre voye ...', Jacob van der Burgh to Huygens, in Huygens, *Briefwisseling*, III, 450. Van der Burgh (1599–1659) was a Dutch diplomat and poet, at this time representative of the States General at Liège. Huygens offered the service to Descartes on 23 November (see 1643/11/23).

1643/11/23
Gassendi's *Disquisitio metaphysica* is being printed and Huygens offers Descartes the opportunity to see the sheets.⁴² Descartes seems to have declined the offer. He is more disturbed by what he hears is the plan of the publisher (Blau of Amsterdam) to reprint the text of his *Meditations* as part of Gassendi's book and warns him that in that case the books would be seized in Paris, given the fact that *Soly had the French privilege. Actually Descartes fears that Soly will arrive at an agreement with Blau. Accordingly he asks Mersenne to ensure that in case Soly has already sold the first edition of the *Meditations* the privilege should be taken from him (Baillet, II, 208/AT IV, 58/CM XII, 379).

1643/11/30 Egmond
Letter to Pollot.

1643/12/00 The Hague
'Le ... M. Descartes vint voir son Excellence et dina avec lui; je fis connoissance

⁴⁰ The book by Schoock is his open letter to Descartes, in which he claims responsibility for *Admiranda methodus*. The printing was cancelled but parts of the book were quoted by Paulus Voet in the several pamphlets defending his father. The criminal procedures against Descartes had been suspended earlier, as emerges from Descartes' letter to Pollot of 23 October (Letter 48) and from Huygens' letter to Descartes of 2 November (Letter 50).

⁴¹ The person referred to, Gregorius of Ayla (†1645), was corrector in the Blau printing house. Cf. Grotius, *Briefwisseling*, XII, 252.

⁴² See 1643/10/12 and 1643/11/17.

Correspondence of Descartes: 1643

avec lui, et il me dit le sujet de sa dispute avec le ministre Voetius d'Utrecht. Je vois qu'il ne fait pas beaucoup d'état de Mlle de Schurman; aussi est-elle fort amie, à ce qu'on m'a dit, de ce ministre', Fr. Ogier, *Journal du Congrès de Munster*, ed. Aug. Boppe (Paris: Plon, 1893), 37 (quoted AT IV, 659–660).⁴³

1643/12/11

Letter to Mersenne.

1643/12/20 The Hague

'Cartesium vidi heri, qui et te cum legato aliquo salutasse se narrat. Est vir multae humanitatis et modestiae. De doctrina res nota est', Willem de Groot to Grotius, The Hague, 21 December, 1643, *Briefwisseling*, XIV, 791.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ogier was in The Hague from 11 November 1643 till 16 March 1644, accompanying Count d'Avaux (to whom he was attached as a chaplain) to the peace negotiations in Munster, so probably the date should be November or December (see 1643/12/20, which mentions a meeting with Descartes in The Hague). It is likely that when writing his defence of Balzac (1628, AT I, 7–11) Descartes kept an eye on Ogier's *Apologie pour M. de Balzac* (Paris: Loyson, 1627). The present text shows that that was without knowing Ogier personally. On the friendship between Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) and Voetius Descartes had written earlier to Mersenne: 'Ce Voetius a gasté aussi la Damoiselle de Schurmans; car au lieu qu'elle avoit l'esprit excellent pour la Poésie, la Peinture et autres telles gentillesses, il y a desja cinq ou six ans qu'il la possede si entierement, qu'elle ne s'occupe plus qu'aux controverses de la théologie, ce qui luy fait perdre la conversation de tous les honnestes gens', Descartes to Mersenne, 11 November 1640, CM X, 224. Ogier and d'Avaux presumably knew her name through her correspondence with Rivet on the scientific capacities of women, the text of which had been published in Paris in 1638 (*Amica dissertatio inter Annam Mariam Schurmanniam et Andream Rivetum de capacitate ingenii muliebris ad scientias*). A French translation (by Colletet) would be published in 1646 (*Question celebre, s'il est nécessaire ou non, que les filles soient sçavantes*). For an English translation see Anna Maria van Schurman, *Whether a Christian woman should be educated and other writings from her intellectual circle*, ed. and transl. by Joyce L. Irwin (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998).

⁴⁴ On 2 January 1644 Grotius writes back that he does not remember this meeting (*Briefwisseling*, XV, 5). The editors (H. Nellen and C. Ridderikhof) note that in 1626 in Paris Descartes had lived in the rue du Four, not far from where Grotius lived (rue Neuve-Saint-Lambert, now rue Condé).