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THE HISTORY AND RECONSTRUCTION
OF HUGO GROTIUS' LIBRARY

A SURVEY OF THE RESULTS OF FORMER STUDIES WITH AN INDICATION
OF NEW LINES OF APPROACH *

INTRODUCTION

The sources for the reconstruction of that which once must have constituted the collection of books of the Dutch lawyer, philologist, poet, (amateur-) theologian and statesman Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) flow in relative abundance. A contemporary inventory of his library has been preserved; a number of books which stem from his possession are to be found until today in Dutch and foreign public collections; his extensive correspondence supplies us with a considerable amount of facts about books which were consulted by him or which formed part of his collection.

Apart from the main punishment of eternal imprisonment ('*eeuwige gevangenis*'), the sentence pronounced on 18 May 1619 in the extraordinary trial for *laesa maiestas* against Hugo Grotius likewise contained as an additional penalty the confiscation of all his belongings, including his extensive library¹. One can imagine that especially this latter aspect of the punishment must have been felt as a severe blow by a man like Grotius, who used to pass a large part of his time among his books, certainly when added to the prospect – in itself already horrible enough – to have to spend the remainder of his days in seclusion: at the time of his conviction Grotius was only 36 years old. Incidentally, the punishment was not in all respects implemented as severely as it seemed it would in the beginning; already in June 1619 Grotius' spouse, Maria van Reigersberch, obtained permission to transport certain possessions, among which also some thirty books, to Loevestein castle, where Grotius was to

* This article mainly deals with the history and reconstruction of Grotius' library during his Dutch period (1583-1621); for the later period only outlines are sketched.

¹ Cf. in general MOLL (1902), pp. [83]-112.

undergo his imprisonment. Moreover, Grotius' friends were allowed to lend him books which were in their possession; apart from Grotius' indefatigable *famulus*, his brother Willem, also the Leyden professors Gerardus J. Vossius and Thomas Erpenius, among others, availed themselves of this possibility².

THE INVENTORY OF THE YEAR 1620

However much Grotius must have felt the loss of what certainly must have constituted the major part of his collection of books, for the researcher the confiscation of Grotius' library is an extraordinary stroke of luck. For, as it happened, the assessment list of Grotius' library, drawn up on 25 March 1620 by the Hague bookseller Louis Elsevier (together with figures about the assessment of his other moveable properties, for that matter) has been preserved in copy; this document is now in the archive of the States General in the Public Record Office in The Hague. In this inventory we possess a (well-nigh) complete survey over Grotius' library as it was composed at the time of his apprehension in August 1618.

After its discovery by W. Moll in 1902, the list has by now been published twice (Moll only published the documents relative to the household goods, judging the book list too lacunary for publication), first by E. J. J. van der Heyden in 1930, with the assessed values but without any attempt to identify the titles³ and again in 1943 by P. C. Molhuysen, the scholar and librarian who has deserved well of Grotian studies, mainly as the editor of *De iure belli ac pacis* (Leyden 1919) and of the first two volumes of Grotius' correspondence (1928-1936), this time with an attempt to identify the titles of almost all of the entries, but leaving out the prices.⁴ Therefore, the two publications complement each other.

The list of 1620 contains a total of 337 titles. The last part of these (from number 305 onwards) is taken up by those books which had already been transported to Loevestein in June 1619⁵. Of certain works it is stated

² Cf. RADEMAKER (1972), pp. 2-29.

³ Cf. VAN DER HEYDEN (1930), pp. 18-38.

⁴ MOLHUYSEN (1943).

⁵ In most cases I cannot make out why exactly these books found their way to Loevestein. However, Grotius may have needed part of these works in writing his *Inleidinge tot de Hollandsche rechts-geleerdheid*, which came into being at Loevestein in the years 1619-1621; see e.g. the nos. 310: «Keure ende ordonnantie van 't Heemraetschap van Rijnlant»; 311: «Maniere van procederen, van Merula»; 312: «Practycke ende maniere van procederen, van Wielant»; 316: «Matthaei Wesenbecij in Pandectas iuris civilis»; 322: «Privilegien ende willekeuren van Amsterdam»; 324: «Hantvesten ende privilegien van Amsterdam»; 327: «Costuijnen van

that they consisted of more than one volume⁶; of others, again, there are duplicates, which have sometimes been entered under the same number⁷; in other cases the doubles were apparently placed in different spots on the shelves and were therefore classified by Elsevier under separate numbers⁸. Moreover, the list contains a number of works in manuscript, which are, for that matter, in most cases not described more specifically⁹; in most, if not in all cases these will have been books by Grotius himself.

Since the compiler of the list was mainly interested in the value of the confiscated books (the entire library, excepted only the books which were transported to Loevestein, was valued at 340 pounds and 7 stivers, therefore an average of somewhat more than £ 1 per number)¹⁰, it should cause no amazement that he has refrained from describing in more detail the remaining «small fry», viz. an indefinite number of pamphlets («een hoop cleijne ende blauwe boecxkens van weijnich waerden») and a number of unbound books (among these probably books by Grotius himself, as Molhuysen¹¹ remarks).

The difficulties with which the list confronts the present-day user are certainly not to be underestimated. Of course no one would have expected a bibliography drawn up according to modern criteria. But also if compared to contemporary library inventories, such as e.g. most auction catalogues and the private catalogue of the library of Gerardus Vossius, which will be discussed later on in this article, Elsevier's way of cataloguing is highly disappointing. In the first place, he has not recorded a place or year of publication in any entry, so that of those books which had been published in more than one edition (and this was the case with the majority of the recorded works) it is

Vrieslandt»; 329: «Institutiones juris Anglicani»; 333: «Mysingerus Institutiones»; 334: «Keuren van de Weescamer van Rhijnlandt».

⁶ E.g. no. 97: «Lectura Jasonis, 9 stucken»; cf. also nos. 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 22, 60, 64, 76, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 176, 181, 258, 286; moreover, among the books transported to Loevestein nos. 307, 325 and 337.

⁷ E.g. no. 69: «Godsdiensticheijt, drie stucken», which in this case means «three copies» (we are dealing here with the Dutch translation of Grotius' own *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae pietas* of the year 1613, TER MEULEN - DIERMANSE (1950), no. 823); see also on the list of the year 1620 no. 73: «Twee in Frans», i.e. two copies of the French translation of *Ordinum pietas*, TER MEULEN - DIERMANSE (1950), no. 824.

⁸ E.g. no. 88 = no. 105: «Disceptationes Pontani»; see also nos. 9 = 303 («Speculum Durandi»); 90 = 203 («Horatius Heinsii»); 117 = 160 («Tragoedia Heinsii», scil. *Auriacus*), and other cases; in a number of cases different editions of the same book may be concerned.

⁹ Nos. 21, 47, 195, 337.

¹⁰ Therewith the books constituted almost one third of the value of Grotius' personal belongings, which were assessed at a total of £ 1134 and 16 stivers. By way of comparison: around the year 1600, a skilled labourer earned an annual pay of ca. £ 220.

¹¹ MOLHUYSEN (1943), p. 18 (62).

impossible to find out which edition was in Grotius' library¹². Especially with regard to works which have been reprinted with significant alterations this is a serious deficiency. In the second place, the statements are incomplete in other respects, too, and partly incomprehensible. The person who wrote the list apparently was no connoisseur of books; therefore, this will not have been Elsevier himself, who was, however, responsible for the inventory. For the time being Molhuysen's reconstruction of the procedure seems plausible, namely that Elsevier took the books from the shelf, inspected them and dictated a shortened title or even from time to time no more than a *Stichwort* to an underling, who wrote down more or less what he heard or thought to hear¹³. The result of this procedure are titles like *Satera Chunei* (no. 127), i.e. Petrus Cunaeus, *Sardi Venales, satyra Menippea* (Leyden 1612) and – a particularly beautiful case – *Auria Cusensi* (no. 126), that is *Auriacus Heinsii*, Daniel Heinsius' tragedy on the murder of William of Orange (Leyden 1601).

As to the incompleteness of the statements, in a not inconsiderable number of cases the compiler of the list confined himself to either a mere title, or a mere author's name. In a number of cases it is evident who the author or what the title of the book in question must have been, but in other cases the establishment of especially the latter can be nothing more than guesswork. To take an example, it will never be possible to make out which three works of the controversial theologian Conradus Vorstius, Arminius' successor at the Leyden Academy, who never took up office, are behind the lapidary statement «Drie boecken Vorsty» (no. 176).

Given this state of affairs it is not to be wondered at that Molhuysen's solutions for the identification of the statements are in several cases open to improvement. By means of other data, published after Molhuysen's monograph, and on the basis of Grotius' own works, his correspondence and his posthumous papers, more can be said about a number of books included in the list than what is revealed by this invaluable but unwieldy inventory.

But before entering into this, it is worthwhile to examine somewhat more closely the composition of Grotius' library on the basis of the data supplied by the inventory. For we are dealing here with the library of a prominent scholar, and with a variation on a popular proverb one might say: «tell me what your books are, and I will tell what kind of person you are».

Well then, in this respect it should cause no amazement that Grotius' activities as a lawyer (1599-1607) and as judge-advocate (1607-1613) have

¹² See below for a case in which information from another source makes an exact determination of the edition used possible.

¹³ In my view, MOLHUYSEN (1943), pp. 1-2 (45-46) has convincingly shown that we are certainly not dealing with clerical errors.

largely determined the composition of his library. A considerable part of the books is of a juridical nature: more than 90 out of 337 numbers, that is ca. 30 percent of the library as a whole. Much space is also taken up by editions of classical authors: ca. 70 numbers, and by theological works: ca. 50 items. Apart from these, historical works and Neo-Latin poetry and prose are well-represented. As might have been expected, the majority of the books (ca. 85 percent) is in Latin; apart from this there is a sizable number of Dutch¹⁴ and French¹⁵, and a small number of English¹⁶ and Italian¹⁷ books, as well as one work in Hebrew¹⁸ and one in Arabic¹⁹. Thus, the composition of Grotius' library reflects his activities in the Dutch years until 1618: first of all his juridical activities as the author of *De iure praedae* and as a practicing lawyer, then his philological studies as the editor of Martianus Capella and the *Aratea*, furthermore his activities as historiographer of the States of Holland and his involvement in church politics in cooperation with the grand pensionary Oldenbarnevelt.

Of this rich collection today only scattered pieces remain, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. Thanks to the investigations of F. Dovring, E. M. Meijers²⁰ and A. Eekhof²¹ we now know the present whereabouts of 48 books from Grotius' library (to this I can add a coincidental discovery of myself: the Universitätsbibliothek in Munich (shelf-mark W 8° H. aux. 990a) holds a copy of J. A. Werdenhagen, *Universalis introductio in omnes respublicas sive politica generalis* (Amsterdam 1632); the front of the right-hand endpaper has a note in a familiar handwriting: «Hugo Grotius 1639»)²²; we are able somewhat to reconstruct the

¹⁴ E.g. no. 18: S. STEVIN, *Wisconstige gedachtenissen*; no. 36 «Schipvaert van Linschoten»; no. 39 «Legermetingh Stevini»; no. 40 «Placcaten Merula»; furthermore nos. 47; 64; 69; 103; 114; 143; 156; 163; 168; 175; 200; 209; 224; 230; 231; 237; 259; 291; 295; 297; 298; 304; 309; 310; 311; 312; 322; 324; 327; 334; 335.

¹⁵ E.g. no. 43 «Arrest de Papon»; furthermore nos. 73; 154; 192; 202; 257; 268; 269; 272; 287; 305.

¹⁶ No. 32: «Statuten in Engels»; no. 201 «Dictionarium Engels».

¹⁷ Cf. perhaps no. 199: «Guiciardin»; furthermore no. 205 «Il Consolato del Mare»; nos. 216; 222.

¹⁸ No. 166: «Een Hebreus Boeck».

¹⁹ No. 220: «Novum Testamentum Arabice». This book is now in Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; see EEKHOF (1924).

²⁰ I leave the list with 38 «boeken die waarschijnlijk uit de bibliotheek van De Groot afkomstig zijn» («books probably originating from Grotius' library») in MEIJERS (1949), pp. [23]-32 (259-68) out of consideration; it is highly unlikely that any of these copies is from Grotius' library; in some cases it can actually be shown that the books in question cannot have belonged to him. See already BLOK's remarks (1979), p. 25 n. 36.

²¹ EEKHOF (1924), pp. 127-44.

²² The book was donated to the present owner in 1915 by professor dr. K. Gareis, who, as appears from a note in the copy, had received it as a present from *Regierungs-Rat* Haberkorn

later vicissitudes of 40 other books (we are dealing here with copies provided with manuscript notes by Grotius) because they were auctioned in 1656 by order of Isaac Vossius at Leyden; we know the present whereabouts of only one book from the last-mentioned category²³.

Remarkably, the before-mentioned discoveries of Dovring and others have only augmented the problems with which the list of 1620 confronts us. Apart from the books published after 1618, which of course are not found in Molhuysen's list (this is a total number of 10 books, as well as the book in Munich, mentioned in note 22), it is obvious that the inventory of 1620 is incomplete. This is evident, e.g., in the case of a work like Isaac Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI* [...] (London 1614). Grotius received a complimentary copy from the author (cf. *BW*²⁴ I, 333 d.d. 3.V.1614 from I. Casaubon; 334 d.d. 4.V.1614 to I. Casaubon; 335 d.d. 26.IV [not 6.V!] 1614 from I. Casaubon). The copy with dedication «Viro amplissimo D. Hugoni Grotio» has been traced by Dovring²⁵ in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, but the book is lacking on Molhuysen's list. A comparable case is Grotius' desk copy of the *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi* [...] (Leyden 1617); elsewhere²⁶ I have tried to show that this copy must have been in Grotius' possession both before 1618 and after ca. 1625; now, this book is not found on the list of 1620. Two other instances have been noted by Molhuysen²⁷, viz. an edition of Aristophanes and M. de Dominis, *De republica ecclesiastica*²⁸.

How is this riddle to be explained? In the first place, one should remember that between Grotius' apprehension in August 1618 and the drawing up of the inventory in March 1620 more than one and a half year had passed. Moreover, in December 1619 Grotius' wife, Maria van Reigersberch, had obtained permission from the States General to transport the books. It is not implausible that after this a (considerable) number of books have «disappeared» from the library. Perhaps they have found their way to Hugo's brother Willem de Groot, or to friends of Hugo's. One would even like to go

ca. 1884; the latter had received it from the Gießen professor J. N. Locherer, who had bought it in 1833. Nothing is known about former owners. The copy has no manuscript notes and only one underlining (on p. 335).

²³ BLOK (1974), p. 39 no. 19 = MEIJERS (1949), p. 22 (258) no. 19: P. PICHERELLUS, *Opuscula theologica*, Leyden 1629, nowadays Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, shelf-mark 754 C 29.

²⁴ *BW* = P. C. MOLHUYSEN - B. L. MEULENBROEK - P. P. WITKAM - H. J. M. NELLEN - C. M. RIDDERIKHOFF, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, vol. I-XIII, 's-Gravenhage 1928-1990.

²⁵ DOVRING (1951), p. 6 (336) no. 6.

²⁶ RABBIE (1990), pp. 35-36.

²⁷ MOLHUYSEN (1943), p. 4 (48).

²⁸ See also below, notes 52-53.

further: it is by all means plausible, although given the clandestine nature of such operations no overt indications are to be found, that immediately after Grotius' arrest in August 1618 his closest relatives have safeguarded important and/or precious books. But it is also possible, and even likely, that already from the beginning Grotius' entire collection of books was not kept in one and the same place, namely the pensionary's residence at Rotterdam. As a member of the States of Holland and of their executive, the «Gecommitteerde Raden», Grotius without any doubt will have had (semi-) permanent accommodation in The Hague at his disposal; as a man of books he will also have housed part of his library there. Nothing is heard about confiscation of this part of his belongings; it does not seem unlikely that – if there were indeed books of Grotius' in The Hague – his brother Willem de Groot has rescued them after the arrest.

In other respects, too, the list is incomplete. For it is absolutely inconceivable that a classical philologist like Grotius had no editions of current classical authors like Sophocles, Euripides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Terence, Sallustius, Virgil (!), Ovid (!), Martial, Claudian, the prose works of Seneca and Livy. In his own works (mainly in his Latin poetry) Grotius testifies to an intimate knowledge of the poetry of authors like Virgil, Ovid, Martial and Claudian. Thus, for instance, the editor of the *Instrumentum domesticum*, a cycle of epigrams on Dutch household goods dating from the years 1602-1603, A. Eyffinger, has been able to establish that its genesis is closely related to the publication of Janus Gruterus' edition of Martial (Heidelberg, 1602)²⁹.

KOINA TA ΦΙΛΩΝ

In the first two decades of the seventeenth century scholars in the province of Holland (not to mention the other provinces of the Northern Netherlands) had only one public library at their disposal, which was poorly equipped: the library of the Leyden Academy, founded in 1587, led since its foundation by the incompetent and chaotic Janus Dousa sr., who preferred to have his oldest son and future successor Janus jr. do his work for him, Paullus Merula, professor of history, and Grotius' friend Daniel Heinsius, if possible even more unfit and at any rare much more careless than Dousa, librarian from 1607 until 1653, viz. a few years before his death in 1655. The earliest catalogue of the poorly managed and unevenly composed collection (in fact only the collection of theological works has some size) is known to us from a *Nomenclator autorum omnium quorum libri [. . .] exstant in Bibliotheca Academiae Lugdu-*

²⁹ Cf. EYFFINGER (1988), p. 573.

no-Batava, compiled in 1595 by the under-regent of the States College at the University, Petrus Bertius; furthermore, there are catalogues compiled by Merula and Heinsius dating back to 1597 and ca. 1614, respectively. Incidentally, it becomes clear from some facts provided to us by Grotius' correspondence that books from the library were sent on loan to him when he was living in The Hague and therefore no longer a member of the Leyden academic community: in May 1608 Grotius asked Heinsius in his quality of librarian to send him copies of Polybius and Philippus van Leyden, not, for that matter, on his own behalf, but for the Palatine envoy Hippolytus a Colliibus, who was then staying in The Hague³⁰.

More so than from the Leyden library Grotius will have profited from the collection of books of the famous scholar Gerardus Joannes Vossius, with whom he was in close contact from 1613 onwards. The scope of the library collected by Vossius is next to incredible – especially if one realizes that this was the collection of a private person («a veritable treasure house», as Rademaker says); we can learn it from the catalogue, preserved in manuscript form, which is nowadays among the other Vossiana in the collection of the Amsterdam University Library³¹. This manuscript records the books acquired by Vossius until the year 1622; it turns out that especially in the field of theology (i.e. both editions of early-Christian authors and dogmatic and historical works of contemporary, mainly protestant theologians) Vossius' collection left hardly anything to be desired. As such, Vossius' collection was the ideal supplement to Grotius' library, the scope of which was much smaller: as we have seen, the latter had mainly concentrated on collecting works of juriconsults, of which he had acquired a reasonably comprehensive collection; Vossius, on the other hand, possessed next to nothing in this field. After the year 1611 Grotius' directed his attention more and more to theology; in the first place, the *Meletius sive de iis quae inter christianos conveniunt epistola*, written in 1611, but not published, testifies to this; afterwards the writings in the polemics against Sibrandus Lubbertus of the years 1613-1614, especially *Ordinum Hollandiae ac Westfrisiae pietas* (1613) and *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* (started in 1614, but not published during Grotius' lifetime), which is to be considered an

³⁰ Cf. *BW* I, no. 130 p. 115 d.d. [4.V.1608]; the letter has also been included in RABBIE (1992), p. 112. Cf. also *BW* I, no. 148 p. 130 d.d. 23.IX. [1608] to Daniel Heinsius, in which Grotius asks Heinsius to send him an edition of Hrabanus Maurus from the library on behalf of the French envoy Pierre Jeannin, and likewise promises to send back the copy of Philippus van Leyden.

³¹ Ms. RK III D 11 (a): a quarto manuscript, consisting of 272 + 3 leaves, with an estimated number of 3800 titles; cf. BLOK (1974), p. 17; RADEMAKER (1981), p. 393; see also pp. 72-73.

elaboration of the former work, which are on the border line between theology and politics, and finally as the last work during the Dutch period the first book published by Grotius himself on a theological subject in the strict sense, the *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi* (1617). For the work on these publications preliminary studies were necessary, for which Grotius' own library formed an insufficient point of departure; initially, when writing *Ordinum pietas*, he made use of the services of the before-mentioned (under-) regent of the Leyden States College, Petrus Bertius, but after the latter had made himself impossible by his irresponsible behaviour (without Grotius' knowledge, he sent a copy of *Ordinum pietas* to England, where the work caused serious repercussions and earned Grotius a bad reputation with King James I), Grotius sought alliance with the headmaster of the Latin school at Dordt, Vossius.

The commotion around the publication of *Ordinum pietas*, which had unpleasant results for Grotius, brought him and Vossius into closer contact in the winter of 1613-1614³². As has been stated, for the preparation of this work Grotius had still made use of the services of Petrus Bertius and perhaps also of those of the court chaplain Johannes Wtenbogaert; however, from that time onwards, Grotius worked together closely with Vossius on all his theological works, a cooperation which was to last until the end of Grotius' life.

I do not enter here any further into the help as regards content which Vossius – who had received a professional training as a theologian – offered his friend in writing his theological works, but restrict myself to Vossius' lending books to Grotius from his copious library. In the correspondence of the years before 1618 one finds regular references to this³³. In this case, only a detailed investigation into the sources of writings like the *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi* and *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* will be able to make clear the extent to which Grotius made use of Vossius' library. At any rate it should be stressed that for the reconstruction of the intellectual background of Grotius' (theological) writings it is not sufficient to take the contents of his own library into consideration, because it is possible, if not likely,

³² Cf. ROLDANUS (1942), pp. 241-53; RADEMAKER (1981), pp. 91-96; 119-23.

³³ ROLDANUS (1942), p. 246 thinks that the request to lend *Loci communes* in *BW* I, no. 367 p. 349, end of August 1614, to Vossius, refers to Melanchthon's book; however, this seems excluded in view of the context, in which a «libellus» is referred to, and the next letter (*BW* I, no. 368 p. 350 d.d. 8.IX.1614 to Vossius), in which Grotius mentions «Augustini digesta»; apparently we are dealing with manuscript notes made by Vossius. For books lent by Vossius to Grotius see e.g. *BW* I, no. 445 p. 460 d.d. 30.I.1616; no. 449 p. 498 d.d. 23.II.1616; no. 456 p. 512 d.d. 29.V.1616; however, in most cases no titles are mentioned.

that Grotius drew a more or less important part of his knowledge from books which were lent to him by Vossius³⁴.

DETAILS

By means of some examples, taken from Grotius' theological work *Defensio fidei catholicae de satisfactione Christi*, I will show here how by combining various data and consulting Grotius' works themselves progress can be made in this field beyond the point where the correspondence and the library list of 1620 take us.

As a first example I discuss here the work of the Spanish Franciscan and moral theologian Alphonsus a Castro (1494/5-1558), *De potestate legis poenalis libri II* (first edition Salamanca 1550). The first time we find this work cited by Grotius is in *De iure praedae* (1604 ff.), in which two references to it are found³⁵. As has, however, already been shown by D. Beaufort³⁶ in 1927, these two quotations are second hand; Grotius took them from the *Controversiae illustres* of the Spanish jurist Fernandus Vasquius.

The next time we encounter A Castro in Grotius' oeuvre is in the *De satisfactione* of 1617³⁷, albeit not in the first and second editions, which were published shortly after one another in 1617 and (probably) 1618, but in the reprint of the year 1679, as part of the third volume of Grotius' *Opera omnia theologica*. For this edition the editors used the author's copy with additional manuscript notes; this copy has since been lost. Grotius' marginal notes were included in a short list at the end of the work; there we find A Castro quoted four times: the first time with reference to *De satisfactione* chapter II § 3 («Alph. de Castro De potestate legis poena. lib. 2, cap. 11 circa finem»), second with reference to chapter III § 9 («Alph. de Castro de Pot. legis poenalis lib. 2, cap. 12 fol. 524»), third with reference to chapter IV § 10 («V. Alph. de Castro De potest. leg. poen. lib. 1, cap. 3 p. 41 et lib. † 19³⁸, cap. 9 p. 168») and finally with reference to chapter IV § 17 («Alph. de Castro De potest. leg. poen. lib. 2, cap. 3 f. 279, 285»). As far as I have been able to establish, the quotations in *De satisfactione*, unlike those in *De iure praedae*, are no second-hand quotations from Vasquius, but real fruits of Grotius' own reading. This is in

³⁴ An additional problem, which I do not discuss in further detail here, is the fact that Grotius, as has been remarked, did not only have Vossius' books at his disposal, but also his *collectanea*.

³⁵ On f. 111^r and 113^r of the manuscript; p. 237 and p. 241 of Hamaker's edition (The Hague 1868).

³⁶ BEAUFORT (1927), pp. 205-18, esp. p. 209 with note 3 and p. 211.

³⁷ I quote from my critical edition, Assen 1990.

³⁸ Read: «lib. 1».

accordance with the fact that a few years after the writing of *De satisfactione* Grotius does indeed turn out to have had a copy of the Spanish author's work at his disposal: on the list of the books which were transported to Loevestein, which constitutes the end of the library inventory of 1620 as published by Molhuysen, no. 321 is: «Fratris Alfonsi a Castro Zamorensis».

The page-references in the 1679 edition of *De satisfactione* likewise enable us to establish which edition Grotius has consulted; for after the first edition (Salamanca 1550) A Castro's work was reissued in Lyons in 1556, in Louvain in 1557, in Antwerp in 1568 and, as part of his *Opera omnia*, in Paris in 1571 and 1578. Now, the only edition to contain a page number 524 is the edition Lyons 1556; thus, the copy which Grotius possessed must have been of this edition. What is more, the references cited above to books and chapters of A Castro's work turn out to fit exactly the page numbers of this edition. Now, a conclusion in a case like this is of relatively secondary importance, since A Castro's book does not seem to have undergone any changes after the first edition, but a similar discovery would be of great importance in the case of a book which has been revised or enlarged in a later edition.

A second case, likewise taken from *De satisfactione*, concerns a book which in all likelihood was borrowed from Vossius. In the same notes in Grotius' personal copy, which were incorporated in the 1679 edition, one finds references to somewhat mysteriously designated works by one «Suarez», e.g. with reference to chapter I § 41: «314 Suares De iustitia Dei et 326», with reference to chapter II § 1: «Suares De iustitia 436», with reference to chapter II § 17: «Suar. De lib. div. 257»; with reference to chapter VI § 13: «Suar. De iust. 331»; with reference to chapter VI § 16: «Suarez De iust. comm. 319; 331»; in total, there are references to Suarez in fifteen places, sometimes with a title, sometimes without, but always with a reference to a page.

Further investigations show that these are references to two short works of the Spanish Jesuit and moral theologian Franciscus Suarez (1548-1617), *De iustitia qua Deus reddit praemia meritis et poenas pro peccatis* and *Relectio theologica de libertate voluntatis divinae in actionibus suis*; both tractates, which are directed against Gabriel Vasquez, were first published in Madrid in 1599 in Suarez's *Varia opuscula theologica*. Since, however, this book has been reprinted more than once (in Mainz in 1600; in Lyons in 1600 and in 1611; in Mainz in 1612 and 1618; in Lyons in 1620), it is difficult to determine a priori which edition was consulted by Grotius, the more so because his references are often unclear and meaningless to such a degree that it cannot be said to which place in Suarez's work he is referring.

Here, a lucky coincidence extends a helping hand to us. As has been stated above, Grotius at chapter II § 1 refers to «Suarez De iustitia 436»; the same reference is found at chapter I § 43. Looking up this reference in the edition Mainz 1612 one learns that, whereas *all* other references to pages when

checked against this edition give a (more or less) satisfactory result, this page number only cannot be correct, since the book only has 352 pages. The solution to this riddle is obvious when one looks at page 346: as a result of a typographical error, there the page is wrongly numbered «436». Therewith it has been proved that Grotius must have used exactly this edition – all other editions have a different number of pages.

A second clue for the fact that Mainz 1612 was the edition used by Grotius is the following. In the library list of 1620 the book is not mentioned, but Vossius possessed a copy, as becomes clear from the handwritten catalogue of his library mentioned above; there one finds on f. 186^r (amongst the «theologi in folio») the entry: «Suarez Opuscula theologica. Moguntiae 1612». Therefore, everything seems to speak in favour of the hypothesis that Grotius borrowed this book from his friend Vossius.

EXCERPTS

It is not merely the references which Grotius noted here and there in his works which can inform us about the composition of his own collection of books and, in a larger sense, about the literature consulted by him. It is a little-known fact that a large number of handwritten notes by him have been preserved, from which profuse information can be drawn about books consulted by him. The most important collections of this material are nowadays to be found in public collections, viz. the Amsterdam University Library (as part of the collection of manuscripts of the Remonstrant Church); in the Royal Library in The Hague; in the Leyden University Library; and in the Municipal Library of Rotterdam (there, like in Amsterdam, on loan from the Remonstrant Church).

The collections have not reached the libraries in a uniform way. The Amsterdam collection is the oldest and at the same time the most voluminous; these are papers which in the first half of the 18th century were borrowed from Grotius' heirs by Grotius' biographer and professor at the Remonstrant Seminary Adriaan van Cattenburgh in order to supply him with material for his biography (which had been started by Kaspar Brandt, was finished by Van Cattenburgh and finally published in 1727)³⁹; as appears from a note by Van Cattenburgh at the beginning of the manuscripts, these were deposited by him after his retirement as a professor in 1737 at the library of the Remonstrant

³⁹ TER MEULEN - DIERMANSE (1950), no. 913.

community⁴⁰. Apart from many smaller manuscripts (among which also the manuscript of the *Meletius*, Grotius first theological tract, considered lost for more than 350 years and rediscovered only recently) and a considerable number of letters, the Amsterdam collection contains five bulky folios, partly filled with autograph notes and tracts by Grotius and partly with copies of all sorts of documents made on his behalf by his secretaries. Thus, the manuscript III C 4 consists almost completely of a large collection of excerpts of a theological nature, e.g. from the books of the Old Testament, from Jewish authors (i.e. Mishna, Maimonides, Manasse ben Israel, Philo Iudaeus, Flavius Josephus), from early councils, from Apostolic Fathers, from Church Fathers (i.e. Tertullian, Ambrose, Lactantius, Gregory of Nazianzum, John Chrysostomus, Augustine, Jerome, Eusebius) and from contemporary theological literature.

Those manuscripts which are nowadays at the libraries at The Hague, Leyden and Rotterdam are mainly papers from that part of the estate which until shortly before 1864 was still in the possession of the De Groot family. This part was auctioned in 1864 at Martinus Nijhoff's in The Hague⁴¹, an occasion at which, apart from the libraries which have already been mentioned, also the Public Record Offices at The Hague and Stockholm as well as the Municipal Archives at Rotterdam were able to acquire a collection of Grotiana.

The consultation of these documents is as difficult (as a result of Grotius' extremely difficult handwriting) as it is necessary for further investigations into the genesis of Grotius' works and the knowledge of the literature which was consulted by him to that purpose. A few examples, again taken from the theological work *De satisfactione*, will show this.

It becomes clear from Grotius' correspondence, that for a certain opinion (which he ventilated in this book) about the effect of Christ's sacrificial death he found support in a work of the Southern Dutch theologian Johannes Driedo (ca. 1480-1535); apparently, therefore, Grotius had consulted Driedo's book while preparing his own tract. On 12 January 1617 Grotius wrote to Gerardus Vossius: «video a Driedone quoque [. . .] et aliis hoc ipsum defendi» («I see that also Driedo and others defend this very point»)⁴².

Where this opinion of Driedo's can be found in his works (which take up

⁴⁰ See e.g. his note at the beginning of ms. Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, RK III C 2: «Dit volumen der overgebleven schriften en verzamelingen van den Heeren Hugo de Groot heb ik op mijn verzoek nevens anderen verkregen van zijne nazaten om die te mogen plaatzen volgens mijn goetvinden op de bibliotheek der Remonstranten te Amsterdam. Adrianus van Cattenburch, S.S. Theol. Professor, scripsi 25 Maart 1737».

⁴¹ Cf. VAN EYSINGA - NOORDHOFF (1952). See for the part of these papers now in the Netherlands NOORDHOFF (1953).

⁴² *BW* I, no. 498 p. 554; partly reprinted in my edition on p. 475.

no less than four folios) is not stated by Grotius, but in this case the excerpts come to our aid. In the manuscript no. 415, now in Rotterdam (Municipal Library, collection Remonstrant Church; vol. XIX lot 83 of the 1864 auction⁴³, there designated in the catalogue as «Hug. Grotii Excerpta et notae theologicae») one finds on f. 12^{r-v} an excerpt which is described as follows in the autograph table of contents: «De satisfactione». If one consults the text, this turns out to be an excerpt from Johannes Driedo's work *De captivitate et redemptione humani generis* (Louvain 1534); as appears from the references to pages which Grotius included in his excerpt he consulted this work in the edition Louvain 1548, which is part of Driedo's *Opera*. In this connection it should again be noted that this edition of Driedo's works was in Gerardus Vossius' library (amongst the «theologi in folio» on f. 183^v of the catalogue: «Driedonis et Latomi Opera tom. duobus. Lovanii 1547»).

Another manuscript which is nowadays in the Municipal Library at Rotterdam, collection Remonstrant Church, manuscript 416 (vol. VII lot 68 of the 1864 auction, designated in the catalogue as «H. Grotii. Excerpta et adversaria theologica») contains an excerpt from a book by Henry Sanford (completed and seen through the press by Robert Parker), *De descensu Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad inferos libri IV* (Amsterdam 1611). On f. 168^v Grotius noted in the margin of his excerpt: «De satisfactione». It turns out that Grotius took a number of citations from Church Fathers from this book⁴⁴. Again, it is likely that Grotius borrowed the book from Gerardus Vossius; in the catalogue of the latter's library one finds on f. 209^r (amongst the «theologi in quarto») the following entry: «Sanfordus et Parkerus de descensu Christi ad inferos. Amsterdami 1611».

It may have become clear from the above that consultation of the library list of 1620 alone is not at all enough for the reconstruction of the intellectual background of Grotius' works, not even where his Dutch period (before 1621) is concerned. For this period it is as much necessary to ascertain from the notes he himself added to his texts, and furthermore from the correspondence, the preserved excerpts and the catalogue of Vossius' library which books which were not in his possession he did consult or may have consulted. There is ample room for new discoveries here⁴⁵.

⁴³ VAN EYSINGA - NOORDHOFF (1952), p. 29; see also NOORDHOFF (1953), pp. 71-72.

⁴⁴ For further details I refer to my edition.

⁴⁵ The difficulties confronting the scholar who wishes to consult and use the excerpts are formidable. A distinction should be made between excerpts from complete books, which as it seems were not directly made with a view to a specific publication, and excerpts, mostly collected from more than one book, which were made for such a purpose. An intermediate case are those excerpts from a single book which was read with a view to a specific publication; here

AFTER 1621 - I: THE FATE OF THE «ROTTERDAM» LIBRARY

Whatever happened to Grotius' books mentioned in the library list of 1620 after the escape from Loevestein castle (on 22 March 1621), is largely unclear⁴⁶. But in a small number of cases it can reasonably be argued that at some time after 1621 Grotius had at his disposal the same book in the same copy as in 1618. Thus, regarding the desk copy of *De satisfactione*, the marginal notes of which were included in the edition of the *Opera omnia theologica* of the year 1679, I have tried to show that this copy has been in Grotius' possession both before 1618 and (at some time) after 1621: for it can be proved that the copy contained both the notes made in the winter of 1617-1618 for the purpose of the second edition, which was published in 1618 even before Grotius' apprehension, and notes from books which were not published until after 1621⁴⁷. It does, to be sure, remain problematic that exactly this book is lacking on the list of 1620. This is, however, not really an objection, because the book may have been among the unbound volumes, which are not specified in detail⁴⁸; as Molhuysen remarks, this lot will have included copies of Grotius own works, since authors usually received a part of their copies from the publisher in unbound form.

In the spring of the year 1630, after many years of continuous litigation, Grotius' spouse Maria van Reigersberch finally managed to ransom the confiscated possessions, including the books, at a total amount of £ 60. Whatever happened to the books from then on until after Grotius' death in 1645 is not known, but can be reconstructed as a result of the discoveries of Folke Dovring at Lund and in other Swedish libraries⁴⁹. When Grotius, returning from Sweden, had died in 1645 at Rostock, his widow Maria van Reigersberch was, under the will which had been made by Grotius some time before, his universal heiress. In the summer of 1648 the Swedish queen Christina ordered her ambassador at Paris, Schering Rosenhane, to enter into negotiations with the widow about the purchase of Grotius' library; these negotiations were concluded successfully⁵⁰. The library was purchased by Christina at the total amount of 24.000 guilders.

Shortly after the Second World War the Swedish scholar Folke Dovring

often only a partial excerpt is found, or it becomes clear from the arrangement among the papers what Grotius' intention with the book was.

⁴⁶ Cf. mainly MOLHUYSEN (1943), pp. 4-5 (48-49).

⁴⁷ For details cf. RABBIE (1990), pp. 35-36.

⁴⁸ Cf. MOLHUYSEN (1943), p. 18 (62): «Noch een deel ongebonden boecken».

⁴⁹ See now also BLOK (1990), pp. 4-23; 87-95.

⁵⁰ See the letter of queen Christina to Maria van Reigersberch d.d. 12.VIII.1648 in Grotius' *Opera omnia theologica*, I, Amsterdam 1679, f. [*4]r.

discovered in the University Library at Lund seventeen books of which it could be proved either by an inscription on the title page or by a dedication or by manuscript notes that they had originally belonged to Grotius. Some years later the same scholar made similar discoveries (eleven books) in other Swedish libraries (Västerås, Strängnäs, Stockholm, Uppsala, Växjö) and (one book) in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana⁵¹.

This again confirmed what was already well-known, viz. that Grotius' library had been sold to Sweden after his death; in another respect, however, the discovery was an important contribution to our knowledge of the fate of Grotius' library in the years 1620-1645. For a number of books which were found back by Dovring turned out to belong undoubtedly to the collection of the year 1620. Some of these are not to be found on the list published by Molhuysen⁵², but other works are certainly the same copies as were assessed in 1620⁵³. This proves that after 1630 Grotius got back at least part of the books which were confiscated in 1618.

As a result of Dovring's discoveries E. M. Meijers made a similar investigation among the Vossiani in the University Library at Leyden. The result was: nineteen books from Grotius' library⁵⁴. These books were taken away from Christina's library in 1654 by Gerardus Vossius' son Isaac as a «compensation»; after his death they were purchased by the Leyden University Library. That part of his Stockholm booty which did not interest him was put up for auction by Vossius in Leyden in 1656⁵⁵.

AFTER 1621 - II: NEW ACQUISITIONS

It is obvious that in the years between his escape and the restitution of his library – more than a full decade, from 1621 until (at least) 1630 – Grotius tried to add new books to his collection by any possible means in order to

⁵¹ MOLHUYSEN (1943), p. 5 (49) had tentatively supposed that the library as a whole would be in the Vatican (where most of Christina's books ended up); he had doubts about the possibility of proving this, «since Grotius was not wont to write his name into his books» (something which, as we have seen, is not correct; furthermore, there are other means of identification, as Dovring's discoveries have taught us: dedications; manuscript notes).

⁵² E.g. DOVRING (1949), no. 1: A. ALCIATUS, *Iudicarii processus compendium* [. . .], Cologne 1538, with a note on the endpaper: «Anno virginei partus 1609 emptus a H. Gt.».

⁵³ E.g. DOVRING (1949), no. 2: C. BARLAEUS, *Bogermannus* ἐλεγχόμενος, Leiden 1615, with the following dedication on the endpaper: «Amplissimo clarissimoque viro Hugoni Grotio Reipubl. Roterodamensis syndico [. . .] dedicavit Author», cf. MOLHUYSEN (1943), no. 146: «Bogermannus Barlei».

⁵⁴ Cf. MEIJERS (1949), pp. 15-22 (251-58); see, however, above, note 20.

⁵⁵ Cf. BLOK (1974), pp. 16-42.

reach at least a partial restoration of the situation of 1618. Apart from this, of course, he also bought books which were newly published in those years. For this period, however, we do not possess a similar library catalogue; only of a small number of books which were found back by Meijers and Dovring⁵⁶ and of the books published after 1618 in the Vossius auction catalogue of the year 1656⁵⁷ (together 28 books) as well as of books which are mentioned at various places in the correspondence can it be said with certainty that Grotius owned them.

But *mutatis mutandis* the same holds true for the period of Grotius' exile as has already been stated above about his Dutch period: the mere reconstruction of his library will not do. Apart from isolated curiosities as, e.g., a short list «libri editi anno MDCXXXIX in Fed. Belg.» in ms. Rotterdam RK no. 415 f. 41^r, which has been taken from the *Catalogus universalis* for the year 1639 of the Amsterdam publisher Broer Jansz⁵⁸, the function of which is not quite clear⁵⁹ – did Grotius intend to ask these books on approval from a Paris bookseller or did he actually purchase them? – especially for the period of the exile the voluminous correspondence provides us with a rich quantity of facts which may serve to identify what Grotius set eyes on, both printed books and manuscripts. Already one month after his escape Grotius asked the Paris scholar Jacques Dupuy for the loan of an edition of Aeschylus⁶⁰, and, from that moment onwards, his letters to especially the Dupuys and to brother Willem de Groot are full of request for (information about) books⁶¹. Furthermore, of course many scholar friends sent complimentary copies of their new publications to Grotius; one example out of many: on 26 February 1638 the Strasbourg professor Matthias Bernegger sent a complimentary copy of his edition of Tacitus to Grotius⁶².

While in his Dutch period Grotius made use of the library of his scholar friend Gerardus Vossius, in Paris he was able to consult books from a number

⁵⁶ See MEIJERS (1949), nos. 17; 18; 19; DOVRING (1949), nos. 3; 8; (1951), nos. 2; 3; 4; 12.

⁵⁷ See BLOK (1974), pp. 36-42, nos. 2; 3; 4; 5; 8; 11 b, c; 12; 13 a, b, c; 16; 17; 18 a, b, c, d; 19; 29.

⁵⁸ *Catalogus universalis, hoc est designatio librorum qui in Foederatis hisce Belgii Provinciis anno aëris [sic] Christiani M DC XXXIX vel novi vel emendatiores et auctiores in lucem prodierunt* [. . .], Amsterdam 1640. The volumes of the *Catalogus universalis* have been published in a facsimile reprint: DE KOOKER (1986).

⁵⁹ The list has been published with an introduction and identification of the titles by WITKAM (1982).

⁶⁰ *BW* II, no. 634 p. 68 d.d. 27.IV.[1621].

⁶¹ One special category of these letters, those relating to the preparation of the edition of *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625), have been published separately by C. VAN VOLLENHOVEN (1926).

⁶² *BW* IX, no. 3469 pp. 108-10.

of amply provided private libraries; he is known to have visited and worked at the libraries of the Dupuy brothers, of François-Auguste de Thou⁶³ and of Jean des Cordes (which, after the latter's death in 1642, was acquired by cardinal Mazarin)⁶⁴. Likewise, he had access in Paris to the rich collection of the Bibliothèque Royale; he had been in touch with its learned librarian, Nicolas Rigault, already when living in Holland.

Like the correspondence, also the excerpts, in order not to forget this important source of knowledge for Grotius' intellectual development, are much more copious for this period than for the years before 1618; he who dares to confront the difficult handwriting of the Dutch scholar can expect a rich harvest in these documents, which have until today hardly or not at all been studied.

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⁶³ The catalogue of this library has been printed: *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae, a Petro et Jacobo Puteanis [...] primum distributus, tum [...] a [...] Ismaele Bullialdo digestus, nunc vero editus a Josepho Quesnel*, Paris 1679; Hamburg 1704.

⁶⁴ On the library of Des Cordes cf. FRANKLIN (1867-73) III, p. 40. A catalogue was printed in Paris in 1643 ([G. NAUDÉ], *Bibliothecae Cordesanae catalogus, cum indice titulorum*); cf. *BW* XIII, no. 5918 p. 472 d.d. 17.X.1642 to Willem de Groot with n. 9. Grotius visitor of Mazarin's library: *ibid.*, pp. 42, 46.

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