



## Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research

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### Abstract

This paper concerns the identification of the hitherto unknown printers of the works of Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-77). For centuries the identity of these printers has remained a mystery. The publisher Jan Rieuwertsz, or the printer Christoffel Cunradus, were often mistakenly mentioned as printer of the works of the seventeenth-century Dutch philosopher. These assumptions are incorrect. Despite several studies published in the last decades, the true identity of the printer was still unknown.

In this paper we will describe how we were able to identify Spinoza's anonymous printers by means of analytical bibliography. The identity of printers can be established by their usage of unique printing types, initials and ornaments. By comparing printing materials of known printers to unidentified samples, anonymous works can be ascribed to a certain printer. In seventeenth-century books a decorated initial is often used to start the text. This initial belongs to a certain printer and by comparing different prints of similar initials in detail, small differences may be found. These differences can be caused by damages of the initial concerned, such as small cracks. If these differences are consistent over different prints, one can ascribe certain works to the same printer.

By such research the Amsterdam-based printers Daniel Bakkamude and Herman Aeltz can be identified as the printers of the two earliest published works of Spinoza. His most famous works, *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Opera Posthuma* (including the *Ethica*), were printed by another Amsterdam-based printer: Israël de Paull (1632-80).

### Keywords

Benedictus de Spinoza, Israël de Paull, Herman Aeltz, Daniel Bakkamude, ornamented initials, analytical bibliography

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### Preface

An anonymously printed book is a particular challenge to the historian. Even though the object is tangibly present, a great part of its context is missing.

Hence, an invaluable component of the supposedly complete historical resource remains hidden. But interpretation and context should always go hand in hand. As the identity of the author and the time and place of composition are formative to its meaning, so, too, are the printer's person and milieu. The more significant the author and his work, the more important it is to know who the printer was. Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-77) is widely considered to be one of the major Western philosophers of all time. He is accredited with several works which had a profound influence on successive generations of thinkers. Saliently, historians have never been able to positively connect a single one of these books to a printer. In the following pages we will reveal who Spinoza's printers were and demonstrate the method that enabled us to identify them.

In 1663, the Latin edition of Spinoza's adaptation of Descartes' *Principia philosophiæ* (1644) appeared. A year later, this *Renati Des Cartes principiorum philosophiæ* was published in Dutch as well, under the title *Renatus Des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte*. Both works listed publisher Jan Rieuwertsz on their respective title-pages. *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* was printed near the end of 1669, in a quarto volume. In the following years it was reprinted several times. In addition reprints in octavo were issued.<sup>1</sup> In the same year of Spinoza's death, 1677, his *Opera Posthuma* appeared, followed by a Dutch version called *De Nagelaten Schriften*. These collected works contained what is considered to be the thinker's major work, the *Ethica*. Spinoza's books caused much commotion in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Upon publication, his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* evoked heavy criticism and stirred up controversy. In anticipation of this adverse notoriety, the author refrained from mentioning his name in the work. The printer and publisher/bookseller chose the same tactic and retreated in anonymity as well. Instead, pseudonyms served as a protective measure ensuring the anonymity of the printers in a political climate in which dissident books were often scrutinized. *Opera Posthuma* – containing the important *Ethica* – appeared in the same cloud of mystery, bearing the initials B.d.S. instead of the full author's name.

That Spinoza was its author had already become common knowledge in his own time. However, in spite of elaborate research, the name of the printer has eluded scholars for centuries. Without a clear foundation, Jan Rieuwertsz was often – erroneously – identified as the mysterious printer. Presumably the

<sup>1</sup> J. Kingma & A.K. Offenbergh, *Bibliography of Spinoza's works up to 1800* (Amsterdam 1977); F. Bamberger, 'The early editions of Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*. A bibliohistorical reexamination', *Studies in bibliography and booklore*, 5 (1961), pp. 9-33.

mistake occurred because Rieuwertsz was Spinoza's *publisher*; the actual printer remained hidden however. Our research sought to establish once and for all who acted as Spinoza's printer. We focused therefore on the first editions of his works.<sup>2</sup> There are no archival sources to establish the names of those responsible. Ironically, since the printers purposely avoided any association with Spinoza's works, the key to identification lies nonetheless in the very same books they did not wish to claim responsibility for. Many seventeenth-century printed books were ornamented with initials – remnants of the handwritten texts of their medieval forbearer. Depending on period, location and fashion, these initials were applied at the beginning of a book and/or were used to head the chapters. Sometimes beautifully decorated, and on other occasions merely larger-sized specimens of simple letters, each printer owned various sets of such ornamented initials. Being utensils, these materials gradually wore down from use. For (book) historians, this makes them an ideal tool to identify anonymous presswork, because their representations in ink function as veritable fingerprints. Each book that contains ornamented initials provides a point of reference. Various works can thus be attributed to a certain printer, whether identified or anonymous. More importantly still, by comparing the initials of anonymous printers with those of known printers, the names of the former can be revealed.

### A Method of Identification

The practice of identifying anonymously printed matter with the use of typographic material is not a new undertaking. Already in the sixteenth century, Margaret of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands, ordered the Margrave of Antwerp to pursue the printer responsible for a certain dissident book. She advised the Margrave 'd'enquérir dextrement entre les imprimeurs si l'on scaura reconnoistre les caractères'.<sup>3</sup> The Margrave – Jan van Immerseel – must have taken the recommendation to heart because he did discover in which printing shop the dissident work was produced. In 1562 Van Immerseel showed up on the doorstep of Christopher Plantin to charge him with the printing of dissident books, only to find that the printer had gone off to Paris on a business

<sup>2</sup> Up to and including those of the year 1677, pending our research of other (later) (re)prints of Spinoza's works.

<sup>3</sup> 'Make discreet inquiries among the printers to see if anyone can identify the types' – translation taken from H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-century printing types of the Low Countries* (Antwerpen 1968), p. 4.

trip.<sup>4</sup> Similar examples, although scarce, can be found throughout Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

However, a truly academic approach to this type of analytical-bibliographic research only took shape in the late nineteenth century. William Blades and Henry Bradshaw rediscovered typographic research in order to detect the work of unidentified printers. Their methods were adapted and modernised by Robert Proctor and Conrad Haebler. These early scholars were mainly concerned with incunabula. A substantial number of fifteenth-century books were printed anonymously and often lacked a date of publication. However, information on the origin and date of the book is essential for a deeper understanding of the original process of printing. Analytical bibliography in this context was deployed as a tool in solving questions concerning the creation and diffusion of early printed books.<sup>6</sup>

Past research on printing, publishing and the book in the seventeenth century has mainly focused on the eminent printing houses of Elzevier, Blaeu and others. Today, the focal point of scholars regarding the history of the book in the Dutch Golden Age is much more diversified. And while book history encompasses more than analytical bibliography alone, typographic analysis should always be included in any study on this subject. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century 25 per cent of all published books were brought out anonymously or pseudo-anonymously.<sup>7</sup> There are various reasons for this practice. To name but a few: a publisher trying to avoid paying the author of the work, a printer judging his own place of residence too humble and making it appear as though the work was printed at a more cosmopolitan place like Amsterdam or London, or reasons as simple and mundane as habit or preference. However, the most obvious explanation for anonymity when printing or publishing – and the reason most relevant to our research – was imposed censorship. As Paul Dijstelberge states in his dissertation on the identification of printed works, there is an obvious relation between the number of anonymously printed books and the political climate in which books were produced.<sup>8</sup> When in a given year almost half of the book-production in the

<sup>4</sup> S. Harvard, *Ornamental initials. The woodcut initials of Christopher Plantin. A complete catalogue* by Stephen Harvard (New York 1974), p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> P. Dijstelberge, *De beer is los! Ursicula: een database van typografisch materiaal uit het eerste kwart van de zeventiende eeuw als instrument voor het identificeren van drukken* (Amsterdam 2007), pp. 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> Dijstelberge, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

seventeenth-century Dutch Republic consisted of pamphlets lacking the name of a printer, one may safely assume there were outside forces at play. The possible intervention of political or religious authorities made printers and publishers cautious about revealing their true identities, although the power of these authorities should not be overestimated. Official censorship could not always prevent books from being printed and distributed – it often only put a stop to the naming of those involved. Identifying printers and publishers involved in a bookmaking process implies using all possible means to uncover their anonymity. There is some information to be found in the various municipal and regional archives. And while information obtained in such institutions is indispensable for research on all matters concerning the printing, publishing and distribution of books, the records kept are often very scarce or incomplete. When archival sources are unavailable or inconclusive, the key to disclosure of a nameless printer can only lie in the book itself.

One of the pioneers of contemporary typographic research in the Netherlands was Paul Valkema Blouw (1916-2000). From the third quarter of the twentieth century onwards he carried out extensive research on anonymous printing in the sixteenth century. With an attribution rate of 80 per cent the results of Blouw's research have radically changed our perspective on printing in the northern Netherlands during the Dutch Revolt.<sup>9</sup> Like book historians before him, Blouw made use of typographic material in his quest to uncover hidden printers and publishers – but unlike most of his predecessors, he mainly used ornamental elements as primary sources of information. The printing type itself only came in second. Blouw adhered to the belief that type and a specific font should only fulfil a supportive role after identification was already made on the basis of ornamental comparison. Blouw's thorough approach proved its validity with the previously mentioned high attribution rate which stood at the base of his magnum opus *Typographia Batava 1541-1600*. As Andrew Pettegree stated in his preface to the collected works of Paul Valkema Blouw: 'If real discoveries are to be made, it will only be from the sort of forensic investigation presented here with such elegance and authority.'<sup>10</sup> Blouw provided book historians with a method that is both practical and suited to the tasks at hand. More or less the same approach was used by Johan Gerritsen (1920-2013). As a literary historian, Gerritsen mainly focused on the bibliography of printed works by the seventeenth-century Dutch playwright Joost van den Vondel

<sup>9</sup> [Paul Valkema Blouw,] *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century. The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw*, eds. A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen & P. Dijkstra (Leiden 2013), p. xi.

<sup>10</sup> Croiset van Uchelen & Dijkstra, op. cit. (n. 9), p. xii.

(1589-1679). Like Blouw, he principally used the ornamental elements to make a comparative analysis between books that bear the name of their printers and anonymously printed works. The use of this method not only resulted in great progress concerning the Vondel bibliography, but also on the bibliographic study of the Dutch Golden Age as a whole.

The ascription of anonymous presswork remains a time consuming and painstaking business. Paul Dijkstra (1956) is working on ways to speed up the process with the development of a digital database – a project he started in the spirit of Blouw's method. Dijkstra created *Ursicula* with initials of Dutch printers from 1600 to 1625.<sup>11</sup> Ideally, this database would contain all the ornamented initials used in the Dutch Republic between circa 1540 and 1750. While Blouw had to make do with photocopies and his own memory, nowadays we make use of the advantages of digitization which presents endless possibilities of automatic image recognition and photo editing, and of internet access as a convenient source of information. Having said that, the present research still relies heavily on the old fashioned method in which materials are to be compared by hand and eye. Despite our digital cameras, in the end much came down to manual labour.

### Pulling Back the Curtain of Anonymity

Every printing house had its own specific corpus of typographic materials, consisting of various types and ornamental equipment. By examining these printing materials – using works for which the printers concerned explicitly claimed responsibility – one is able to compile a list of reliable 'trademarks' of their shops. In this way anonymously printed works may be cross-referenced to these identifiable 'signatures', enabling the book historian to pull back the curtain of anonymity. But in order to make this method of identification operational, an overview – as complete as possible – of the ornamented initials of every printer is an essential tool. Now, the printers' materials were unique from the outset, but we are helped along to a considerable extent by the slight, or substantial traces of wear or damage that can be detected on these materials. In fact, Gerritsen maintained that 'in order to become recognisable a piece of typographic material must show traces of wear, and wear results of use.'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Dijkstra, op. cit. (n. 6).

<sup>12</sup> J. Gerritsen, 'Vondel and the new bibliography. Notes towards a new edition of "Unger"', *Hellinga Festschrift / Feestbundel / Mélanges. Forty-three studies in bibliography presented to Prof.*

Letters had a long lifetime; they were re-used until they were truly worn out.<sup>13</sup> Traces of damage are an invaluable part of our method of identification, because wear results in additional unique features to the letters.<sup>14</sup> We could occasionally observe the gradual process of decline of certain letters over a period of many years.

A word of caution is in order however. There was only a small number of suppliers and although the materials they provided were different on each occasion, these differences are subtle.<sup>15</sup> Similarities are pronounced because of trends in fashion and imitation. Moreover, in some cases the ink has caked onto the initial, thus obscuring the minute cracks that are so useful to us. In other cases, the wooden material, by its very nature, has either expanded or contracted and resealed the cracks. Finally, the way in which the ink was applied may cause confusion. Even an initial that has been used over and over again within a single book may literally leave in each case a different impression, due to varying doses of ink applied. A further problem is the redistribution of typographic materials upon the demise of a printer or the dismantling of a printing shop. This may result in false attributions, so we should be careful to take into account a *terminus ante quem* for each printer or shop. Auction catalogues and other archival materials reveal that printers sometimes took over each other's typographic material. However, in general these sources rarely specify who purchased a specific set of letters or initials.<sup>16</sup> Some sets may be traced to subsequent owners. Gerritsen, for instance, was able to connect materials of *Renati Des Cartes Principia philosophiae* (both the Dutch and Latin edition) to the printing shop of Thomas Fonteyn.<sup>17</sup> But this printer died in 1661 (the termi-

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*Dr. Wytze Hellinga on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the end of the year 1978*, ed. A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (Amsterdam 1980), p. 208.

<sup>13</sup> J. Gerritsen, 'Inleiding', A.C. Schuytplot, *Catalogus van werken van en over Vondel. Gedrukt vóór 1801 en aanwezig in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam* (Nieuwkoop 1987), p. x. There are some exceptions, like Plantin, who melted down his damaged materials, cf. Gerritsen, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 208.

<sup>14</sup> J. Gerritsen, art. cit. (n. 13, 1987), p. x.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. x. The differences in the design are more pronounced in wooden letters than in initials that are cast in metal.

<sup>16</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Zo vergaat de roem. Het einde van de Officina Hackiana', *Van pen tot laser. 37 opstellen over boek en schrift aangeboden aan Ernst Braches bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam in oktober van het jaar 1995*, eds. A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen & H. van Goinga (Amsterdam 1996), pp. 157-70.

<sup>17</sup> J. Gerritsen, 'Printing Spinoza. Some questions', F. Akkerman & P. Steenbakkers, *Spinoza to the letter. Studies in words, texts and books* (Leiden 2005), p. 255.

nus), while Spinoza did not complete his *Principia* before 1663. Clearly Fontein himself could not have been responsible, but there are no clues as to who succeeded him in his shop or acquired his materials by other means.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, we have to consider the small but not altogether negligible possibility that printers borrowed each other's materials. Therefore we cannot sufficiently carry out our research by focusing on single initials. Rather, widening the net to include various initials, complemented with additional typographic evidence, is the only way to substantiate a claim of identification. Apart from making a stronger case, it virtually eliminates the chance of ending up with a false positive conclusion. Indeed, in the course of our research we noted that, when we were able to match a 'signature' to an anonymous printer, it was never on a single point.

Initials were crafted in complete sets of the entire alphabet; the letters of a single set were all ornamented in the same style. In the course of his career, a printer would acquire various sets in varying sizes and styles. So, two printers could possess one and the same set at a different moment in time, but all their sets put together form a unique corpus. Therefore we were never satisfied in our research by a single match. A glance at the inside of a seventeenth-century book clearly shows that printers did not stick to one set of initials, but arbitrarily mixed up their sets. When printing a book, differently styled initials could be applied and a brand new initial could well be used beside an older one that had ornamented presswork for decades.<sup>19</sup> Besides taking a cautious approach to the initials it is important to keep in mind that a single book was sometimes printed by more than one printer. We have encountered several cases where the Spinoza printer was only responsible for the preface of a work. This implies that no assumptions can be made about the printing of an entire work based on single quires. Research based on ascription by ornamented initials should always be supplemented by information derived from the typeface(s) used and other documentation. Of course, it is possible to compose and expand the corpus of an anonymous printer, even though this brings us no closer to a positive identification of his identity.<sup>20</sup> Our corpus of the initials of the Spinoza printer consists of initials used, not only for books

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<sup>18</sup> An article by Dijkstra and Jagersma on the successors of Thomas Fonteyn is forthcoming.

<sup>19</sup> Sometimes with the exception of a rare letter.

<sup>20</sup> When comparison makes clear that work B was printed by the same printer as work A and contains initials taken from work C (of which the initials only match with those in work B), the printer of A would be also the printer of work C – A=B=C. Hereby keeping dates and succession in mind.



by Spinoza, but also in other works attributed to this nameless individual.<sup>21</sup> Theoretically one could ascribe all anonymous materials to certain printers.

### Künraht, Colerus and Rieuwertsz

Upon looking at the title-page of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the printer would appear to be Henricus Künraht of Hamburg. However, at the time there was no Henricus Künraht active as a printer or publisher in Hamburg. Künraht turned out to be the pseudonym of a printer who – as readers expected even then – was not even working in the German city mentioned on the title-page.<sup>22</sup> Such anonymity was not unusual. Many printed works of the seventeenth century appeared without naming the real printers. As stated above, the reasons for this practice were numerous. Names included on the title-page or in the colophon were often pseudonyms or the names of the publisher or bookseller.

Spinoza's books are a case in point. The names on the title-pages seem to belong to all involved in the bookmaking process, but the reality is more complex. In Spinoza's first published work – *Principia*, in both Latin and Dutch – Jan Rieuwertsz' name appears at the bottom of the title-page. Rieuwertsz, whose bookshop was under scrutiny of the Church Council on suspicion of nefarious dealings, is here stated as the publisher of the work. Nevertheless he is still regularly considered to be the printer of not only this book, but of all the works from Spinoza's hand. This assumption is based on a misunderstanding of the proceedings at a seventeenth-century Amsterdam printing house. Printing, publishing and bookselling are three activities that are not mutually exclusive, but not necessarily carried out by the same person either. Although Rieuwertsz was later appointed *stadsdrukker* (city printer), it is doubtful whether he ever owned a printing press.<sup>23</sup> This could imply that Rieuwertsz was not, as has often been claimed, the printer of Spinoza's writings. However, he is named as the publisher of Spinoza's first published work and his posthumously released

<sup>21</sup> Further on in this article Johan Gerritsen's research will be discussed more elaborately. See also Appendix I.

<sup>22</sup> Bamberger, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> The possibility that after his appointment in 1674 Rieuwertsz had one press specifically meant for city publications, was not rejected by Van Eeghen; cf. I.H. van Eeghen, 'De "uitgever" Henricus Cunrath of Künraht van de Polygamist Lyserus en de filosoof Spinoza', *Amstelodamum*, 50 (1963), p. 77.

*Opera Posthuma* and *De nagelate schriften*.<sup>24</sup> The exact role of Jan Rieuwertsz within the rather obscure circle of Spinoza's adherents will be the subject of Trude Dijkstra's dissertation.

But who was the person hidden behind the fictitious name of Henricus Künraht? For some time the answer to this question was thought to be found in one of the earliest biographies of Spinoza. In 1693 the Düsseldorf-born clergyman Johannes Colerus was called as minister to the Lutheran community of The Hague, where he settled in the former residence of Spinoza. Intrigued by the fact that his workroom was once inhabited by the illustrious philosopher, Colerus set out to write Spinoza's biography. The account of Spinoza's life and works was published in 1705, together with an Easter sermon condemning Spinoza's supporters.<sup>25</sup> Although Colerus showed a certain degree of respect for Spinoza, as a Lutheran minister he was critical of the philosopher's radicalism. The biography was received as a fairly accurate account. Colerus succeeded in painting an informed picture in which his own perception of the subject is made clear without overpowering the whole narrative.

Colerus gives some apparently firsthand information about the publication of *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*:

Dit heilloos Boek moet op het Tytelblad de naam voeren, als of 't tot Hamburg by Hendrik Koenraad gedrukt was, daar 't dog zeker is, dat nog de Magistraat nog 't Eerw. Ministerium aldaar ooit of ooit zouden geleden hebben, dat een zoo Goddeloos Tractaat in hare Stad opentlyk gedrukt en verkogt wierde. 't Was dan gedrukt tot Amsterdam by Christoffel Conradus Boekdrukker op d'Egelantiers gragt, die my, in 't jaar 1679 derwaarts beroepen werdende, verscheide exemplaren daarvan vereerde, hy zelfs niet wetende dat het zoo een verderffelyke Schrift was.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> After Spinoza's death his papers were sent to Jan Rieuwertsz. This legacy included letters and (unfinished) manuscripts. These were published together in the *Opera Posthuma*; cf. S. Nadler, *Spinoza. A life* (New York 1999), p. 349.

<sup>25</sup> J. Colerus, *De waarachtige verryzenis Jesu Christi uit den dooden, tegen B. de Spinosa [...]* *verdeedigt* (Amsterdam, J. Lindenberg, 1705).

<sup>26</sup> Colerus, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 28. The translation in J. Colerus, *The life of Benedictus de Spinosa. Done out of French* (London, D.L. 1706), pp. 55-6, as it happens not quite accurate, reads as follows: 'If we believe the Title Page of that book, it was printed at Hamburg, by Henry Conrad. But it is certain, that the Magistrates, and the Reverend Ministers of Hamburg had never permitted, that so many impious things shou'd have been printed and publicly sold at their city. There is no doubt but that Book was Printed at Amsterdam by Christopher Conrad. Being sent for to Amsterdam in 1679 for some Business, Conrad himself brought me some Copies of that Treatise, and presented me with them, not knowing that it was a very pernicious Book.'

[The title-page of this impious book would have us believe that it was printed in Hamburg by Hendrik Koenraad, but certainly neither the Magistrates nor the Reverend Ministers of that city ever have, or would have, permitted such an unholy tractate to be publicly printed and sold in their town. As it happens, it was printed at Amsterdam by Christoffel Conradus, by the Egelantiers canal. When I had been called as minister to that city in 1679, he presented me with several copies of it, not knowing it was such a pernicious book.]

Apparently the man hiding behind the false name of Henricus Künrath was the printer Christoffel Cunradus (or, as he was called in his baptism certificate of 1668, Coenraets).<sup>27</sup> The 'confession' and coincidental similarity of the names gave rise to the assumption that Künrath was the printer of Spinoza.<sup>28</sup> The supposition was given credence when Meinsma took over this information in his magnum opus *Spinoza en zijn kring*<sup>29</sup> and was accepted at face value by bibliographers such as Bamberger, who expressly concluded: 'Christoffel Cunrad did print the *Tractatus* at the expense of Jan Rieuwertsz who published and distributed it.'<sup>30</sup> This would remain the accepted scholarly view, and caused the frequent recurrence of both Rieuwertsz and Cunradus as publisher and/or printer of Spinoza in secondary literature.

But doubts about the truth of the inference soon arose. Various (book) historians dug into the case and discovered that Cunradus was a red herring.<sup>31</sup> After careful examination of all books printed by Cunradus we were able to confirm that the printer of Spinoza was not Christoffel Cunradus – without, however, getting nearer the true 'culprit'. One of those book historians was Johan Gerritsen, who succeeded in linking the Spinoza printer to several hitherto unattributed works. Unfortunately, these works were also printed anonymously and so the search continued.

<sup>27</sup> Christoffel Cunradus. Project Amsterdamse drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers onder redactie van P.J. Verkruijsse, via: <http://cf.hum.uva.nl/bookmaster/cunradus>. Seen on 28 August 2013.

<sup>28</sup> Bamberger, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> K.O. Meinsma. *Spinoza en zijn kring. Historisch-kritische studiën over Hollandsche vrijgeesten* (Utrecht 1980; reprint of the 1896 edition), p. 196.

<sup>30</sup> Bamberger, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> After careful comparison of the ornamented initials used by Cunradus, we came to the same conclusion.

## Gerritsen

In 2005 Johan Gerritsen (1920-2013) published an article about his quest to discover Spinoza's printer. Although he did not succeed in his main goal, he managed to connect the anonymous printer to various other works – none of which, unfortunately, bore that elusive individual's name. The common denominator of these books was that all went to press in the 1670s and all but one were voluminous, meticulously produced works (see Appendix I for a full list).<sup>32</sup> Using typographic materials, Gerritsen established that *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Opera Posthuma* originated from the same printing shop.<sup>33</sup> Further, he astutely observed that the Amsterdam origin of the books was far from certain.

[W]e were thus still left with virtually all the Netherlands to choose from. [...] In the course of the investigation it had also become evident that the number of printers signing their names in books by Amsterdam publishers was by no means considerable at this period, and this led to the idea of investigating what works published by Rieuwertsz's Amsterdam colleagues did name their printers and of checking those.<sup>34</sup>

Gerritsen researched a great number of printers and concluded:

Not Bakkamude, Blaeu, Boeteman, Borstius, Boterenbrood, Commelin, Elsevier, Houthaek, Widow de Jonge, Lescaille, Matthysz, van Ravensteyn, Smient, van Waesberge, or, apparently, Christoffel Cunradus; not Hendrick & Jacob Keur or Gillis Nering at Dordrecht, not Johannes Gyselaar at Franeker, and not a variety of anonymous printers in unsigned books printed for Jan Rieuwertsz, Pieter Arentsz, Dirck Boom, Johannes van Someren, and a variety of others.<sup>35</sup>

Eventually, he tracked down Johannes van Someren, a publisher who had collaborated with the anonymous Spinoza printer on several occasions. But though he found numerous examples of their joint ventures, in each case the publisher's was the only name mentioned. That is to say, until Gerritsen came across the collected works, in eight volumes, of Johannes Coccejus – again,

<sup>32</sup> Gerritsen, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 251.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 256-7.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 256.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 256, note 5.

published by Van Someren.<sup>36</sup> In the final volume mention is made of the Leiden-based printer Abraham Verhoef. But while the first seven volumes show an abundance of initials that were also used in Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma* (in Dutch and Latin), the last volume was completely devoid of them. It turned out that Verhoef was only responsible for the last volume, the previous seven having been partially printed by the Spinoza printer.<sup>37</sup> All in all, Gerritsen succeeded in attributing a number of works to the Spinoza printer. Nonetheless, the name of that printer still remained a mystery.

### Printers Plural

We began our research on the – assumedly untraceable – printer of Spinoza in early 2013. The primary objective was to discover the name and workplace of that selfsame printer. After looking into, and subsequently discarding, the usual suspects, Cunradus and Rieuwertsz, we were soon on the trail of various printers and publishers usually considered to be closely affiliated with Spinoza.

Our first clue was found in Adriaan Koerbagh's *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheid sonder verdriet* [...]. As a more radical contemporary of Spinoza, Koerbagh wrote one of the most notorious works of the Dutch Golden Age.<sup>38</sup> *Een Bloemhof* contains an initial D, that is identical – the traces of damage as much as anything else – to a D in *Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte* from 1664. Considering the fact that a distinctly damaged initial can be traced to one particular printer, the books had to come from the same printing shop. The name of this artisan cannot be found in the book itself, but some relevant information can be found in the city archives of Amsterdam. In the course of the trial of 1668 against Koerbagh, his printer was indicted as well. He turned out to be Amsterdam-based Herman Aeltz (1620/1-96), who was called as a witness in the legal proceedings.<sup>39</sup> Koerbagh's fate is well-known: he was imprisoned in the *Rasphuis* for the controversial ideas he had voiced.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 257.

<sup>37</sup> Gerritsen, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 257-8.

<sup>38</sup> Our special thanks to Ton Bruins, curator at the Special Collections of Amsterdam University Library, who brought *Een Bloemhof* to our attention, and to Paul Dijkstra, who noticed the similar D's.

<sup>39</sup> By using the term *printer* we more specifically mean *printing office* of...

He died a few months later in that prison. As his printer, Aeltsz was convicted to a penalty of 630 guilders.<sup>40</sup>

Could this be an indication that Herman Aeltsz was the most important printer of the early (or Radical) enlightenment? Not exactly. After examining all his works, we discovered that the initials Aeltsz used only corresponded to those used in *Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte*.<sup>41</sup> The ornamented initials do not correspond to those used in Spinoza's other works, not even to those in *Renati Des Cartes Principia Philosophiae* of 1663 – the Latin edition of *Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte*. The latter finding was a particular surprise, since the identical illustrations in both editions had led us to believe they were of one and the same printer. This, then, is the only possible explanation: Spinoza did not use one, but printers plural.

But who were these? Carrying out our research in the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam we worked within the proximity of thousands of books, pamphlets and other printed materials from the seventeenth century. It was almost inevitable that one of those publications would bear the name of our illustrious printer. After digging further we came across the printer of another influential and banned book of the early Enlightenment. In 1674, the Court of Holland promulgated a placard that reiterated the ban on Socinian and other books that were considered dangerous. On this occasion some titles were listed. Apart from Spinoza's *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* was mentioned, as was *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*.<sup>42</sup> The publisher of this last work – Frans Kuyper of Amsterdam – was already found out by the Amsterdam Church Council in 1669, but its printer remained unknown.<sup>43</sup> Research by Piet Visser (1949), identified Amsterdam-based Daniel Bakkamude as the printer of these collected works of the Polish Brethren. Visser came to those results by applying the same method Blouw, Gerritsen and Bamberger had used before

<sup>40</sup> I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam 1965), p. 14.

<sup>41</sup> An overview of the matching initials is given in Appendix II, but to summarise: three different D's of *Principia* were all used in individual books which bear the name of Aeltsz. An H can be found once, an I once and an O once as well. The earliest of these books was printed in 1659, the last in 1683, thus well covering the period concerned.

<sup>42</sup> J. Freudenhal, *Die Lebensgeschichte Spinozas in Quellenschriften, Urkunden und nichtamtlichen Nachrichten* (Leipzig 1899), pp. 139-40; cf. Nadler, art. cit. (n. 24), p. 408.

<sup>43</sup> P. Knijff, *Drie generaties socinianisme en één foliant. De (voor)geschiedenis en totstandkoming van de Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum 1579-1669* (Amsterdam 1997), p. 36.

him, namely that of comparing ornamented initials.<sup>44</sup> Our own research is reminiscent of Visser's quest for the printer of *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*.<sup>45</sup>

Our examination of the initials of Daniel Bakkamude established that it was he who printed the *Renati Des Cartes principiorum philosophiæ* (1663).<sup>46</sup> In short: the two earliest published works of Spinoza were printed by two different printers, this in contrast to the prevailing view of a single printer for both. Both men were based in Amsterdam, and both had printed subversive works before. However, in each case the initials of these printers can only be linked to a single work of Spinoza's and their materials match neither those used for *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, nor those used for *Opera Posthuma*.

### A Seemingly Small-Time Printer

Although we were given confidence by these initial findings, our most sought-after printer – the one responsible for *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Opera Omnia* – was still beyond our reach. Although *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* does not contain ornamented initials, based on the matching of ornamental and other typographic materials, its printer may be considered to have been responsible for the printing of the *Opera Posthuma* and *De Nagelaten Schriften* as well.<sup>47</sup> Gerritsen: '[...] volumes 2 and 3 [of Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* published by Van Someren, RJ/TD], included six occurrences of Spinoza version of the fruit vignette, besides, throughout these seven volumes, occurrences of nearly all the ornamented capitals seen in the *Opera posthuma* and *De nagelaten schriften*. Besides, there were at least two instances of a capital S with the same

<sup>44</sup> P. Visser, *Godtslasterlijck ende Pernicieus. De rol van boekdruckers en boekverkopers in de verspreiding van dissidente religieuze en filosofische denkbeelden in Nederland in de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1996), p. 18; cf. Knijff, op. cit. (n. 43), p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> His interest also revolved around a 'book-historical problem that has occupied minds for centuries' and involved a publisher (Kuyper) who was mistaken for a printer, printers (Blaeu, Colom) who were held responsible for the work, for lack of better candidates, and eventually a typographic analysis that produced a completely unknown printer; cf. Visser, op. cit. (n. 44), p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> We were able to match the A, the D, the I and the P. The I and the D of the *Principia* appeared in printed works by Bakkamude ranging from 1664 to 1670. The P and the A are found in *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*; see Appendix II.

<sup>47</sup> *Tractatus theologico-politicus* only has a fruit vignette on its title-page and a small ornament. Although almost every printer in this period was in possession of one of those, small differences are noticeable. These differences usually occur on the top of the ornaments or in the bows seen on both sides. When there is clear damaging the ornaments can be used for identification.

fault as that at the end of *POLITICUS* in the first and second editions of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (which of course also have the vignette).<sup>48</sup>

Like Gerritsen, we initially focussed on the major printing houses active in the second half of the seventeenth century. We principally aimed at printers affiliated with Spinoza's presumed network of radical thinkers. As a by-product of our efforts we were able to ascribe several further titles to the anonymous printer's body of work as, for instance, *G. Brandts stoute geveynstheyt en liefde-loose geest* (1676) and *Naukeurige beschryving van gantsch Syrie, en Palestyn of Heilige Lant* (1677) (see Appendix I). Although this provided a larger point of reference for our comparison, it did not yield the result we craved for most: a name. In order to systematically compare the initials of as many printers as possible, we used the STCN to draw up a list of all Amsterdam-based printers who were active in this period. Subsequently we undertook a lengthy comparison in the course of which we scrutinised each and every one of them – including the usual suspects and the candidates Gerritsen favoured.<sup>49</sup> Using this method we were able to eliminate most. What remained were those printers who according to the STCN printed only four works or less. In most cases, these were either authors who printed their own works, booksellers with a printing press in their homes or small-time printers. Yet Spinoza's works seemed too well-produced to have come from one of these insignificant printers.

Israël de Paull, with only four surviving works that bear his name, seemed to be such an unimportant printer, one that could easily be overlooked. His successors had likewise attached their names to only a few printed works. However, this does not mean that they printed virtually no books or that their printing shop was hardly active. We found Israël de Paull to be the printer of *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, *Opera Posthuma*, *De nagelate schriften* and several other works found by Gerritsen and supplemented by us. An initial A from the *Opera Posthuma* perfectly matched an initial A from *Een brief aan een vriendt* (1678) – including the damage. Both works are also decorated with the same vignette in the form of a grotesque with fruit and flower decorations. Once on the trail of Israël de Paull we soon found matching initials in the works of his direct successor Abraham Olofsz. *Vita Politica* (by Simon Stevin, 1684) and *Vriendelijcke samen-spraack* (1684), both printed under his supervision, showed an initial D which corresponded with one in *De Nagelate Schriften*. In addition to this, a

<sup>48</sup> Gerritsen, op. cit. (n. 17), p. 257.

<sup>49</sup> Johan Gerritsen made a list of printers which he thought were not responsible for Spinoza works. He does not mention Aeltz in this list, but excluded Bakkamude as Spinoza-printer.



W in a work ascribed by Gerritsen was also found in four works by Coccejus.<sup>50</sup> The successors of De Paull and Olofsz continued to use those same initials even into the eighteenth century.

### Israël de Paull

But who was this obscure printer Israël de Paull?<sup>51</sup> I.H. van Eeghen was the first to examine his firm in her monumental work on the Amsterdam book trade. The printing shop of Israël de Paull (1632-80) was located in the Tuinstraat – a street in the Amsterdam Jordaan district.<sup>52</sup> It turned out that this seemingly insignificant firm, located in an equally insignificant part of the city, was the birthplace of two of the most important works of the seventeenth century: *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Ethica* (which is a part of *Opera Posthuma / De Nagelate Schriften*). There are only four works by Israël de Paull mentioned in the STCN.<sup>53</sup> Two are dated 1661, one 1664 and a pamphlet issued in 1678. The books published in 1661 and 1664 show his name on the title-page alongside that of his companion Gerrit Harmansz. They started their joint venture on Oude Nieuwstraet, later moving to Tuinstraat. After the death of Harmansz in 1666 the business was continued by Israël de Paull. It was also in that year that De Paull married Elizabeth Wiaer (1640-1709) who proved to be the key to the long continuation of the business started by Harmansz and De Paull. When De Paull died in 1681 Elizabeth married Abraham Olofsz, a textile worker who was registered as *poorter* (burgher) in the same year.<sup>54</sup>

As evidenced by the damaged initials, the printing shop executed *O Novo Testamento*, a Portuguese translation of the New Testament, in the same year. This work appeared without the printer's name, but the publisher was identified: the widow of Johannes van Someren.<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth was widowed again in 1686, but without much delay married compositor Andries Pieters. Like

<sup>50</sup> *Verklaringe over den brief van den heiligen apostel Judas; Van den antichrist; Ondersoek van de kerke en Babylon; De Heydelberge catechismus der christelijker religie, vit de H. Schrifture verklaart.*

<sup>51</sup> For a more elaborate biography and extensive details we invite the reader to consult the article by John Lane, further on in this journal. Lane had done research on De Paull and his printing shop a few years previously.

<sup>52</sup> Van Eeghen, op. cit. (n. 40), pp. 142-3; cf. also her, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. V<sup>2</sup> (Amsterdam 1978), p. 381.

<sup>53</sup> Short Title Catalogue Netherlands Online – via [www.pica.picarta.nl](http://www.pica.picarta.nl), seen on 27 August 2013.

<sup>54</sup> Van Eeghen, op. cit. (n. 40), p. 143.

<sup>55</sup> See a forthcoming article by Jagersma for more information.

Harmansz, Pieters was registered as *poorter* in his capacity as printer. This marriage was also short-lived – Pieters died in 1693. Elizabeth married again in 1697 – her last marriage. Her husband's name was Jan Groenwoudt and this marriage proved a failure in its own right. A deed of divorce was signed in 1705. The notarial act states that Groenwoudt was guilty of lecherous behaviour resulting in a bad reputation that reflected on his wife. Elizabeth Wiaer died in 1709 after which the household effects and the inventory of the printing shop were put up for auction.<sup>56</sup> Whoever supervised the printing shop in the course of time, none of them was named in more than just a handful of works. This was not an unusual practice, and we can only guess at their motivations for this course of action. Concerning Spinoza's works, the reason for this secrecy seems evident; in other cases it is less obvious why De Paull and his successors chose to conceal their identity. Fortunately, these printers occasionally did mention their names in the works. In an additional stroke of good fortune, these same works contain ornamented initials. Initials moreover, that match those in Spinoza's works.

## Conclusion

Aeltsz, Bakkamude and De Paull turn out to have been the printers of Spinoza's works.<sup>57</sup> Apart from being responsible for the production of Spinoza's works, in the 1660s both Aeltsz and Bakkamude printed one book each of Adriaan Koerbagh and the Polish Brethren respectively. In the 1670s it was De Paull who undertook the risky enterprise of printing the pivotal works of the early Enlightenment. The STCN suggests that he produced no more than four works, but this is a misleading statistic since the Catalogue only attributes titles that explicitly name their printers. Thorough research of the typographic materials will have to supply new answers about the actual scope of De Paull's printing activities. This is a time-consuming enterprise, but by developing the databases we proposed, projects of this kind will be more easy – and far less time-consuming – to carry out. Our own research could have been completed in a few hours, instead of the several months it took us in present conditions.

Some questions remain unanswered. Why was De Paull asked to print *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Opera Posthuma* and not somebody else?

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<sup>56</sup> Van Eeghen, op. cit. (n. 40), pp. 142-3.

<sup>57</sup> Special thanks are due to Paul Dijkstra, Jim van der Meulen, Tamara Bouwman and the staff of the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam.

Who printed the octavo-editions of *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and its Dutch translations of the 1690s? Who hid behind the pseudonym Künrath: Rieuwertsz or De Paull? And who thought up this false name? These questions need to be answered to further our understanding of the production of Spinoza's works.<sup>58</sup> As Johan Gerritsen posited: '(by identifying Spinoza's printer) it might become possible to determine to what extent the Latin found in the *Opera Posthuma* is Spinoza's, or the printer or editor's'.<sup>59</sup> We will continue our research on De Paull and the works of Spinoza, whilst paying particular attention to the exact role Jan Rieuwertsz played. Having established De Paull was hardly a small-time printer, we know for certain we will be able to attribute additional works to his shop. As Paul Dijstelberge wrote: this discovery may mean the end of a specific quest, but it forms the beginning of a far greater research.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> A sensible word on the connections between other authors, whose work was printed by De Paull or his successors, and Spinoza or Rieuwertsz: only further research will be able to shed light on their possible relations. A first glance at the STCN learns that there are some connections to be found, but the true nature of these connections is at present unclear.

<sup>59</sup> Gerritsen, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 251.

<sup>60</sup> Paul Dijstelberge, 'Einde van een speurtocht, begin van een onderzoek', *De Boekenwereld*, 29-4 (2013), pp. 91-2.

## Appendix I

List of works printed by Israël de Paull  
(Information based on the STCN)From the STCN:<sup>61</sup>

Year	Title	Publisher/book seller	Author	Comments
1661	<i>Arithmetica, ofte reken-konst</i>	–	Claes Hendricksz Gietermaker	
1661	<i>Toe-gift, op den tweeden feest-dagh van sr. Joan Boekart, bruydegom; en juffr. Anna van Oldenhooven, bruyt</i>	–	B. Le Bruyn	
1664	<i>Twee diepzinnige en heilzame onderzoekingen nopende de pest</i>	Abraham Wittelingh	Antonius Deusingius	
1678	<i>Een brief aan een vriendt, beschrijvende de tegenwoordige zware vervolging, en verdrukking van de vroome belijders, in Schotlandt</i>	–	Timotheus Philadelphus	

Books found by Johan Gerritsen:<sup>62</sup>

Year	Title	Publisher	Author	Comments
1672	<i>Verdediging van de oude Hollantsche regeringh</i>	Joannes van Someren	Pieter de Huybert	

<sup>61</sup> Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) – <http://picarta.pica.nl/DB=3.11/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=07555545X>, seen on 6 August 2013.

<sup>62</sup> Gerritsen, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 256-7.

(cont.)

Year	Title	Publisher	Author	Comments
1675	<i>Tooneel des Oorlogs</i>	Joannes van Someren and Jacob van Meurs	Lambert van den Bos	
1679	<i>Verklaringe over den brief van den heiligen apostel Judas. Van den antichrist. Onderzoek van de kerke en Babylon. De Heydelbergse catechismus der christeliker religie, vit de H. Schrifture verklaart.</i>	Widow of Joannes van Someren	Johannes Coccejus	Four works of Coccejus's in Dutch translation, published by the Widow van Someren in 1679 <sup>63</sup>
1671	<i>Contemplationes Sionis</i>	Widow of Jan Jacobsz Schipper	Joseph Hall	
1671	<i>De beschryving van de leste oorlog in't koninkrijk Kandia</i>	Hendrick and Dirk Boom	Translation: J.H. Glazemaker	One of the works Gerritsen was able to identify as printed by the Spinoza-printer, was <i>De beschryving van de leste oorlog in't koninkrijk Kandia</i> . Several initials (for example D and G) do match with initials in Spinoza's <i>Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte</i> , but this work is not by Israël de Paull, but by Herman Aeltz.
1673-79	<i>Opera Omnia – Coccejus</i>	Joannes van Someren	Johannes Coccejus	Volume eight was printed by Leiden-based printer Abraham Verhoef.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 257, note 6.

## Our new findings:

Year	Title	Publisher	Author	Comments
1670s <sup>64</sup>	<i>Tractatus theologico-politicus</i>	–	Benedictus de Spinoza	Printer/publisher: Henricum Künrath
1677	<i>Opera posthuma</i>	–	Benedictus de Spinoza	
1677	<i>De nagelate schriften</i>	–	Benedictus de Spinoza	
1676	<i>G. Brandts stoute geveynstheyt en liefdeloose geest vertoont in sijn boeck genaemt de Historie der Reformatie</i>	Joannes van Someren	Henricus Rulaeus	
1676	<i>Twee brieven van een liefhebber der Waarheit</i>	–	–	Printed by Lieven van Vreelant
1677	<i>Naukeurige beschryving van gantsch Syrie en Palestyn of Heilige Lant</i>	Jacob van Meurs	Olfert Dapper	
1681	<i>O Novo Testamento</i>  <i>Isto he Todos os Sacro Sanctos livros</i>	Widow of Joannes van Someren	João Ferreira de Almeida  Theodorus Beza	In Portuguese; printed after the death of De Paull, by his successor

<sup>64</sup> Bamberger, op. cit. (n. 1) and Kingma & Offenbergh, op. cit. (n. 1).

## Appendix II

### Matching initials

Matching initials can be found in several books. This appendix contains some examples.

Daniel Bakkamude printed *Renati Des Cartes principiorum philosophiæ* (1663) (Amsterdam, UB: O 60-1109)<sup>65</sup>

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*Renati Des Cartes principiorum philosophiæ* Works bearing the name of Daniel Bakkamude as the printer

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*Joannis Crellii opera omnia* (Amsterdam, UB: OF 63-94)



*Roomsche mogentheid, in gezag en staatsbekleeding der oude keyzeren* (1664) (Amsterdam, UB: OG 63-5337)

See also for other examples:

*Roomsche mogentheit, of Naeuwkeurige beschryving, van de macht en heerschappy der oude roomsche keyseren* (1669) (Amsterdam, UB: OG 63-2147)

*De laetste vernieuwde Urania* (1669) (Amsterdam, UB: OK 62-3490)

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<sup>65</sup> Amsterdam, UB = Amsterdam University Library, Leiden, UB = Leiden University Library, The Hague, KB = National Library of the Netherlands (Koninklijke Bibliotheek).

(cont.)

*Renati Des Cartes principiorum philosophiae*Works bearing the name of Daniel  
Bakkamude as the printer*Roomsche mogenthey, of Naeuwkeurige  
beschryving, van de macht en heerschappy  
der oude Roomsche keyseren* (1670)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 63-4514)*De Nederlandse Herbarius of Kruydt-boeck*  
(1670) (Amsterdam, UB: O 80-636 (1))*Commentaria Posthuma* (1665) (Amsterdam,  
UB: KF 61-5192)Herman Aeltz printed *Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte* (1664)  
(Amsterdam, UB: OG 63-6519)*Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der  
wysbegeerte*Works bearing the name of Herman Aeltz  
as the printer*Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder  
verdriet* (1668) (Amsterdam UB: OK 61-1649)

See also for other examples:

*Octroy van de Purmer* (1683) (Leiden, UB:  
THYSPF 10675)



(cont.)

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*Renatus DesCartes Beginzelen der  
wysbegeerte*


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**Works bearing the name of Herman Aeltsz  
as the printer**


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*Ter bruiloft van den bruidegom Gerard  
Reezen, en de bruid Maria Nering* (1670)  
(Leiden, UB: 1197 B 36:9)

See also for other examples:

*Octroy van de Purmer* (1683) (Leiden, UB:  
THYSPF 10675)



*Vermaeck der stuerlieden. Inhoudende de  
voornaemste stucken der zeevaert* (1659)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 61-1575)

See also for other examples:

*Slot en sleutel van de navigation, ofte groote  
zeevaert* (1659) (Amsterdam, UB: O 62-2605)



*Den Amsterdamschen belachelijcken  
geometrischen bril-maker Cornelis van  
Leeuwen* (1663) (Amsterdam, UB: O 63-7859)

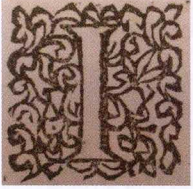
(cont.)

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Renatus DesCartes *Beginzelen der wysbegeerte*

Works bearing the name of Herman Aeltz as the printer

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*Euangelische leeuwerck, ofte Historie-  
liedekens* (1667) (Leiden, UB: 1197 F 10)



*Euangelische leeuwerck, ofte Historie-  
liedekens* (1667) (Leiden, UB: 1197 F 10)

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Israël de Paull printed the *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, *Opera Posthuma* and *De Nagelaten Schriften*

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*De Nagelaten Schriften* (1677)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 80-434)

*De Heydelbergse catechismus der christelijker religie, vit de H. Schrifture verklaart* (1679) (Amsterdam, UB: K 61-7062)

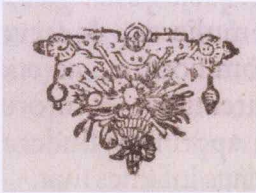
*Vita Politica* (1684)  
(Amsterdam, UB: Pfl. K R 12)  
(printed by Olofsz)



*Opera Posthuma* (1677)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 63-8387)



*Een brief aan een vriendt*  
(1678) (Amsterdam, UB: Pfl.  
J z 1b)



*Opera Posthuma* (1677)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 63-8387)



*Een brief aan een vriendt*  
(1678) (Amsterdam, UB: Pfl.  
J z 1b)



*Verklaringe over den brief van*  
*den heiligen apostel Judas*  
(1679) (Amsterdam, UB:  
K 61-7062 (4))



*Een vriendelijke samen-*  
*spraak* (1684) (The Hague,  
KB: pfl 12263)



*Opera Posthuma* (1677)  
(Amsterdam, UB: O 63-8387)



*Opera Omnia* of Coccejus:  
*Johannis Coccei* [...] *Opera*  
*omnia theologica* (1675)  
(Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-748)



Opera Omnia of Coccejus:  
*Opus Johannis Coccei* [...] ]  
*tomus septimus* (1673)  
 (Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-754)



*Alle de brieven ende schriften*  
 [...] C. v. Beuningen [...] ]  
 (1689) (Amsterdam, UB:  
 O 78-70)  
 (printed by Pieters)

### Appendix III

#### Acanthus Initials

This appendix contains an overview of a set – as yet incomplete – of acanthus initials from the printing office of Israël de Paull and his successors. They were used in Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma* and *De Nagelaten Schriften*, and other works. The initials are 26 mm high and ornamented with acanthus leaves. We believe that the printing office had more of these acanthus initials, with more or less the same design. There is, for example, an initial Q in the Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* and a slightly different initial Q in Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma*.

1. Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma*, 1677 (Amsterdam, UB: O 63-8387)
2. Spinoza's *De Nagelaten Schriften*, 1677 (Amsterdam, UB: O 80-434)
3. Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-750)
4. Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-751)
5. Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-752)
6. Coccejus' *Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, UB: KF 61-754)
7. *Een vriendelijcke samen-spraack*, 1688 (The Hague, KB: pfl 12263)



Initial A as printed  
 in: 1



Initial B as printed  
 in: 2



Initial C as printed  
 in: 4



Initial D as printed  
 in: 2



Initial E as printed  
in: 3

F



Initial G as printed  
in: 3



Initial H as printed  
in: 1



Initial I as printed  
in: 2

J

K



Initial L as printed  
in: 1



Initial M as printed  
in: 6



Initial N as printed  
in: 2



Initial O as printed  
in: 3



Initial P as printed  
in: 1



Initial Q as printed  
in: 6



Initial R as printed  
in: 6



Initial S as printed  
in: 2



Initial T as printed  
in: 1

U

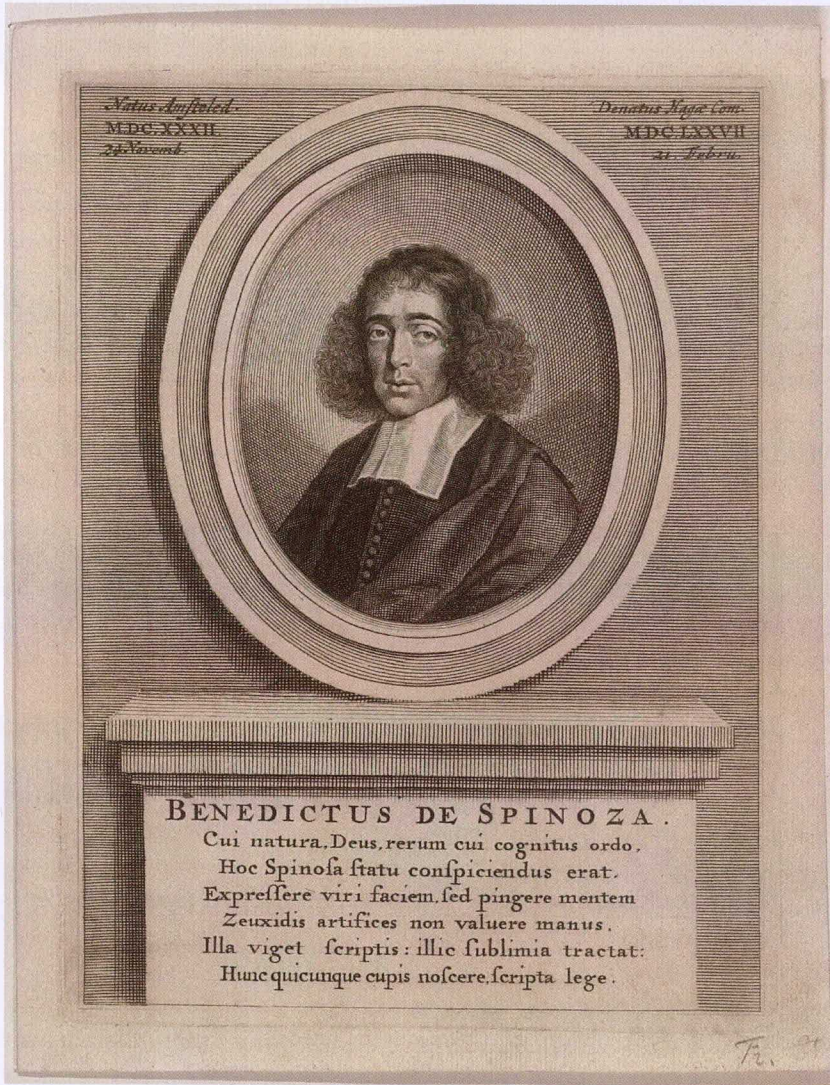


Initial V as printed  
in: 5



Initial W as printed  
in: 7

X/Y/Z



Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.508110>)

## Appendix IV

### A Portrait of Spinoza

The iconography of Spinoza's portrait goes back to two pictorial representations: the first is the copper engraving found in several copies of *Opera Posthuma* (1677) and *De Nagelaten Schriften* (1677). This engraving is known under the fitting title of *Opera* portrait. The second portrait can be found in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel (the so-called *Wolfenbüttel* portrait). All ensuing pictorial representations go back to these two images, such as, for instance, the painting found at the Historical Museum of The Hague – which is a copy of the *Wolfenbüttel* portrait – and the drawings by Johan Faber (c.1650/60-1721), made in 1691 and 1692 after the *Opera* portrait.<sup>66</sup> The image of Spinoza on the Dutch one thousand guilder banknote (issued between 1972 and 2001), was derived from both the *Opera* portrait and the *Wolfenbüttel* portrait.

The *Opera* portrait was not originally included in *Opera Posthuma*, but was produced later and added to some copies. Art-historian Rudi Ekkart suspects the copper engraving to have been produced around 1680.<sup>67</sup> The engraving was accompanied by a Latin caption. In some cases, however, this text was replaced by a Dutch translation.<sup>68</sup>

The similarities between the *Opera* portrait and the *Wolfenbüttel* portrait suggest that both portraits are copies of a now lost original, possibly made in Spinoza's lifetime. The resemblance between the two surviving contemporary portraits is striking – note, for instance, the philosopher's left eye.

According to various eye-witnesses, Spinoza was 'a good-looking young man, with an unmistakably Mediterranean appearance'. A certain friar Tomas and a captain Miguel Pérez de Maltranilla reported to the interested Spanish Inquisition on the philosophy of the young Spinoza. In addition they also made notes about his appearance. Friar Tomas described him as 'a small man, with a beautiful face, a pale complexion, black hair and black eyes', to which captain

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<sup>66</sup> R. Ekkart, 'Spinoza in beeld. Het onbekende gezicht / Spinoza in portrait. The unknown face', P. van der Lugt, *De steen vliegt. Verkenningen geïnspireerd door het gedachtegoed van Benedictus de Spinoza / A stone in flight. Artistic explorations inspired by Benedictus de Spinoza* (Amsterdam/Rijnsburg, 1997), pp. 143-4.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Mantranilla added 'a well-formed body, thin, long, black hair, a small moustache of the same color, a beautiful face'.<sup>69</sup>

In *La Vie de Spinoza*, Jean Maximilien Lucas characterized Spinoza as 'Il étoit d'une taille médiocre, il avoit les traits du visage bien proportionnez, la peau fort brune, les cheveux noirs & frisez, les sourcils de la même couleur, les yeux petits, noirs & vifs, une Physionomie assez agréable, & l'air *Portugais*'.<sup>70</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, a German philosopher who had met Spinoza, described him as having 'an olive-colored complexion, with something Spanish in his face'.<sup>71</sup>

The Lutheran minister Colerus, one of Spinoza's earliest biographers, mentioned a self-portrait by the philosopher, which unfortunately has hitherto remained untraceable. Colerus claimed to have in his possession a booklet containing portraits made by Spinoza, of people who occasionally visited him. One of these portraits depicted a fisherman with a net on his shoulders. Spinoza's former landlord, the painter Hendrik van der Spyk, declared this fisherman to be a striking image of the philosopher.<sup>72</sup> Spinoza portrayed himself in the same pose in which the Neapolitan fisher and rebel leader Tommaso Aniello (1620-47, also known as Masaniello) was often depicted.

<sup>69</sup> Nadler, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 155.

<sup>70</sup> J.M. Lucas, *La Vie de Spinoza* (Hamburg 1735), p. 42.

<sup>71</sup> Nadler, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 155.

<sup>72</sup> 'Daar na leerde hy van zig zelven de teekenkonst, om ymand met ink of kolen af te schetzen. Ik hebbe een geheel boekje van deze zyn konst in handen, waar in hy verscheide voorname Personagen, die hem bekend waren, en hem by gelegendheid wel eens bezogten, afgebeeld heeft. Onder anderen vinde ik op 't vierde blad een visser in 't hemt geteekend, met een schep-net op zyn regte schouder, just op die wyze als dien berugten Napolitaanschen Hoofdrebél Mas Anjello in de Historische Printen verbeeld werd. Waar van my Sr. Hendrik van der Spyk zyn laatstgewezen huisheer zeide, dat het Spinoza op een top geleek, en dat hy 't buiten twyffel na zyn eigen aangezigt ontworpen had. Andere personen van aanzien in 't zelve afgebeeld, zal ik om redenen verswygen.' Colerus, op. cit. (n. 25), pp. 145-6.

['After he had perfected himself in that Art, he aply'd himself to Drawing which he learn'd of himself, and he cou'd draw a Head very well with Ink, or with a Coal. I have in my Hands a whole Book of such Draughts, amongst which there are some Heads of several considerable Persons who were known to him, or who had occasion to visit him. Among those Draughts I find in the 4th Sheet a Fisherman having only his Shirt on, with a Net on his Right Shoulder, whose Attitude is very much like that of Massanello the famous Head of the Rebels of Naples, as it appears by History, and by his Cuts. Which gives me occasion to add, that Mr. Vander Spyc, at whose House Spinoza lodged when he died, has assured me, that the Draught of that Fisherman did perfectly resemble Spinoza, and that he had certainly drawn himself. I need not mention the considerable Persons, whose Heads are likewise to be found in this Book, amongst his other Draughts.'] Translation taken from Colerus, op. cit. (n. 26), pp. 33-4.



Colerus also described Spinoza's appearance:

Hy was van een middelmatige lengte, en van een besneden aangezigt. Uit zyn wezen konde men genoegzaam bespeuren, dat hy van Portugeesche Joden afkomstig was; zynde vry swart van vel, hebbende swart gekrult haar, en lange swarte wingbrauwen. In zyn kleeding was hy slegt en borgerlyk, slaande weynig agt daarop, hoe hy gekleed ging. In huis een slordige Japonsche rok aange-trokken hebbende, wierd hy dieswegen eens van een voornaam Raadsheer berispt, met aanbieding van een nieuwe; dien hy ten antwoord gaf: zal ik dan een ander man zyn? 't Is een slegte zaak, als de zak beter is, als 't vleesch dat daarin steekt.<sup>73</sup>

[He was of a middle size, he had good features in his Face, the Skin somewhat black, black curl'd Hair, long Eyebrows, and of the same Colour, so that one might easily know by his Looks that he was descended from Portuguese Jews. As for his Cloaths, he was very careless of 'em, and they were not better than those of the meanest Citizen. One of the most eminent Councillors of State went to see him, and found him in a very slovenly Morning-Gown, whereupon the Councillor blam'd him for it, and offer'd him another. Spinoza answer'd him, that a Man was never the better for having a finer Gown. To which he added, *It is unreasonable to wrap up things of little or no value in a precious Cover.*]<sup>74</sup>

All the descriptions mentioned above, give an unambiguous indication of what Spinoza may well have looked like: a handsome, young man with curly black hair. All in all, much like the philosopher is depicted in the extant portraits.

An overview of various Spinoza portraits is offered at the museum *Het Spinozahuis* in Rijnsburg (The Netherlands); in Rudi Ekkart's article *Spinoza in beeld. Het onbekende gezicht / Spinoza in portrait. The unknown face* (1999); there is also a Dutch online overview, made by Stan Verdult via [Spinoza.blogse.nl](http://Spinoza.blogse.nl).

<sup>73</sup> Colerus, op. cit. (n. 25), pp. 150-1.

<sup>74</sup> Translation taken from Colerus, op. cit. (n. 26), p. 39.