

A short biography of Johannes de Raey by Andrea Strazzoni

Johannes De Raey was born in Wageningen in 1620 as son of Jan Jansz van Ray and Hendersken van Lennep. He began his studies in philosophy and medicine at the Utrecht University under the guidance of Henricus Regius and completed them at the Leiden University in 1647. He got the titles of *liberarum artium magister* and *medicinae doctor* discussing a thesis *De igne*¹ under the guidance of Adriaan Heereboord on the 15th of July and a thesis *De arthritide*² with Adolf Vorstius a day later.

In the earliest phase of his life he was involved in the struggle for cartesianism in the Dutch universities: in 1641 and 1643 he acted as *respondens* in some medical disputations presided by Regius, later collected in the *Physiologia sive cognitio sanitatis*³. Moreover, on the 23th of December 1647 he was the *opponens* in a disputation *De Deo* presided by Adam Stuart (professor of physics at Leiden University), which ended in an uproar. In this disputation, recorded by Heereboord in his *Meletemata philosophica*⁴, Stuart referred to the existence of some philosophers doubting God's existence and admitting an innate notion of Him⁵. De Raey beat Stuart affirming that the Curators of the University forbid to discuss the opinions of such philosophers, implying with this that Stuart himself broke their edict⁶. Indeed, in 1647 the Curators of Leiden University forbade to mention the names and the opinions of the Cartesian philosophers during the academic lessons and disputations⁷, according to a prohibition renewed in 1651. De Raey read, however, some lines from Descartes' *Epistola ad Voetium* and from a disputation presided by Heereboord *De notitia Dei naturalis*⁸, concerning the themes of the presence of the innate idea of God in the human

1 J. De Raey, *Disputatio philosophica inauguralis de igne*, Leiden, F. Hack 1647.

2 J. De Raey, *Disputatio de arthritide*, Leiden 1647.

3 H. Regius, *Physiologia sive cognitio sanitatis; tribus disputationibus in Academia Ultraiectina publice proposita*, Utrecht, ex officina Aegidii Roman 1641-1643. See J.J.F.M. Bos, *The Correspondence between Descartes and Henricus Regius*, Proefschrift Universiteit Utrecht 2002, pp. 195-248. De Raey was the *respondens* in *De sanitate pars prior* (17th of April 1641), *De actionibus animalibus pars posterior* (30th of June 1641), *De morborum signis* (15th of December 1641); *De therapeutica* (June 1643).

4 A. Heereboord, *Meletemata philosophica*, Leiden, F. Moyard 1654.

5 «Inveniuntur neoterici nonnulli philosophi, qui certam omnem fidem sensibus abrogant, et philosophos Deum negare, et de eius existentia dubitare posse contendunt, qui insitas interim a natura humanae mentis de Deo notitias actuales, species et ideas admittunt», *ibid.*, p. 18.

6 «Resposuit alter, D. Curatorum decreto, non tantum esse cautum ne nomen Cartesii, quem significabat Praeses, nominaretur, sed insuper vetitum ne de eius opinione vel opinionibus disputaretur; atque hic magis violari a praeside eorum auctoritatem quam si eum aut alios neotericos philosophos, opinionum istarum autores, nominaret: itaque hoc denuo repetiit ac postulavit», *ibid.*

7 P.C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff III:1918, pp. 4-6.

8 «Et protulit locum ex epistola Cartesii ad celeberrimum Voetium pag. 236. Sed notandum est eas omnes res, quarum cognitio dicitur nobis esse a natura indita, non ideo a nobis expresse cognosci, sed tantum tales esse ut ipsas absque ullo sensuum experimento ex propriis ingenii viribus cognoscere possumus. Ac iam in eo erat ut proferret locum ex th. 6 Disp. meae select. 3 de notitia Dei naturali, olim habitae, ubi sunt verba: ante rationis usum mens hominis, neque propositiones comprehendit, neque terminos simplices apprehendit, veritatem proinde ac falsitatem nullius propositionis actu cognoscit: hoc enim si faceret, ratione iam uteretur, et huius actualis cognitionis respectu anima dicitur tabula rasa», *Meletemata*, p. 19. The text of Heereboord's disputation is reported *ibid.*, pp. 21-26.

soul. This provoked Stuart's wrath⁹ and an uproar among the students¹⁰. According to Stuart such disorders, which happened again on February 1648, were aroused by De Raey and Heereboord¹¹. The debated topics, namely the theological consequences of Descartes' philosophy, are relevant for the development of De Raey's theories.

De Raey started his academic duties in Leiden giving some private lessons on Cartesian philosophy; these were suspended in 1648 after an intervention of Jacob Revius¹². Indeed, in such lessons he violated the Curators' censorship on Cartesian philosophy. Moreover, in 1651 he was assigned by the Curators to give lessons and preside disputations on Aristotle's *Problemata*. This assignment was not covered by a salary, thus De Raey maintained the status of private professor¹³. According to him these didactical activities represented an occasion to study and to deepen his knowledge¹⁴, even if he was feared by the responsibilities implied by an official assignment, from which he was free during his private lessons¹⁵.

The assignment was subordinated to the condition that he had to limit himself to the discussion of Aristotle's positions¹⁶. In fact, De Raey was free to spread Descartes' ideas through his lessons, thus the Curators' prohibitions seem to be more a protective measure against the theologians' attacks than

9 «Cum exandescere et in furorem agi caepit praeses. Et postquam, furibundi instar, corpus suum in cathedra nunc huc nunc illuc circumiectasset, ac varia effutisset convitia in opponentem (qui ursit vehementer et institit ut loqui posset), tandem plenus irae mota mente, 'ego', inquit, 'pro autoritate publica silentium tibi impero. Tace: nolo te audire'», *ibid.*, p. 19.

10 «Auditores tam indigne id tulerunt, ut continuo ultra quadrantem horae pedum strepitu ac plausu omnem ulterius opponendi occasionem intercluserint», *ibid.*

11 *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit*, pp. 10, 13, 16.

12 «Visum est D. Raio nomine D. D. Curatorum indicandum esse, privata collegia, nisi consulto D. D. rectore et singularum facultatum professoribus, non esse habenda, et ab omni philosophia cartesiana abstinendum esse», *ibid.*, p. 11.

13 T. Verbeek, *Dutch Cartesian philosophy*, in S.M. Nadler (ed.), *A companion to early modern philosophy*, Oxford, Blackwell 2002, pp. 167-182, p. 174.

14 «Ego [...] sive ex tacito genii mei instinctu, sive ex more seculi me ad docendum appulisse animum confiteri debeo, nullumque hactenus invenire potuisse vitae genus, quod tranquillius atque ad sapientiae veritatisque studium commodius mihi videatur. Si enim clavo reipublicae assideas, si causas agas in foro, si faciendae medicinae fueris intentus, vel mercatura, vel arte mechanica, vel alio vitae munere impeditus, iis te distractum sentis occupationibus, quibus vel parum vel nihil cum sapientiae studio est commercii. At nemo sapientiae praecepta aliis tradit, nisi semetipsum in iis continuo exerceat; nam abdita naturae ostendit ac revelat alteri, nisi ea prius ex veritatis puteo eruerit», J. De Raey, *Clavis philosophiae naturalis, seu introductio ad naturae contemplationem, aristotelico-cartesiana*, Leiden, Elsevier 1654 (2nd ed. Amsterdam 1677, published as *Clavis philosophiae naturalis aristotelico-cartesiana. Editio secunda, aucta opusculis philosophicis varii argumenti*, enlarged with additional texts), p. 4. He writes also «animalium quidem ac plantarum corpora enervari videmus ex uberiori seminum defluvio, nec non effoeta reddi ac sterilia post frequentes generationes, sed humanae mentis longe alia est ratio. Haec enim quo enixe magis parere studet ac aliis communicare conceptus suos et intelligentiae foetus, tanto magis vegeta evadit ac foecunda», *ibid.*, p. 5.

15 «Saepius tamen apud animum meum dubitavi an uti ex privatis quibus hactenus incubui institutonibus, ita etiam ex hoc publico docendi ac disputandi munere, quod hodiernus dies obtulit, ista quae iam recensui commoda exspectare debeam. Haec ipsa enim cathedra, isti parietes ac tam densa auditorum corona nescio quam novam rerum mearum faciem exhibent. Non iam amplius cum notis tantum ac familiaribus inter privatos parietes agendum mihi erit, sed in hocce theatro ac inter tot roscios personam aliquam mihi assumendam video, adeoque omni ope annittendum ut talia doctrinarum fercula auditoribus offeram, quae non modo exquisitae aliquorum eruditioni et delicatis auribus, sed etiam diversis varie sentientium probentur desideriiis, atque una etiam non omnino indigna inveniantur seculi sapientia huiusque Academiae celebritate. [...] Adeoque aliquanto quam optarem longius a veteri vitae instituto aberrasse mihi videor, iisque ex parte factus similis qui ob publica vitae munia sapientiae studium negligentius tractare tenentur», *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

16 *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit*, p. 54.

a real censorship on Cartesian philosophy¹⁷. Indeed, the text discussed in the disputations was just the starting point for a Cartesian resolution of the problems involved by the aristotelian arguments¹⁸. The disputations *Ad Problemata Aristotelis*¹⁹ were carried on from a Cartesian standpoint and through them De Raey tried to show an agreement between Descartes' and Aristotle's philosophical systems. These disputations were opened by an inaugural dissertation²⁰ in which De Raey clearly distinguished the aristotelian or childish knowledge from the Cartesian science. The texts of the disputations were later collected in De Raey's first main work, the *Clavis philosophiae naturalis* (1st ed. 1654, 2nd ed. 1677). The aim of his author was to show that new philosophy could be introduced in the academical curriculum without relevant contradictions with the traditional thought. Indeed, according to De Raey only the scholastic interpretations of Aristotle's philosophy were contradicting Cartesian philosophy, and therefore corrupting the real sense of Aristotle's words. Thus, the Aristotelian thought that the Curators defended seems to be the Cartesian philosophy, made more eligible for its acceptance in the universities by De Raey's effort to show its concordance with the aristotelian thought. In the *Epistola dedicatoria* of the *Clavis* De Raey points out that the Curators themselves approved the spreading of the new philosophy²¹ suggesting him to reconcile the old and the new philosophy²². De Raey was chosen for this assignment because Golius, the rector of Leiden University in 1652, informed the Curators that he would have taught Aristotelian philosophy in its pure form, departing it from its scholastic misinterpretations²³. Anyway, since he mentioned the name of Descartes in the title of his *Clavis*, breaking the Curators' decree, no salary was paid to him²⁴.

17 T. Verbeek writes that «in 1647 the University administration had forbidden professors to mention Descartes' name in their lessons or to discuss his opinions – a measure which, for that matter, was effective only in so far as it prevented theologians from attacking Descartes», *Dutch Cartesian philosophy*, p. 174.

18 See T. Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch. Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophers, 1637- 1650*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press 1992, p. 72.

19 C. ter Haar, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis prima, de praecognitis in genere*, Leiden, Hack 1651; P. van Staveren, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis secunda de natura materiae*, Leiden, Hack 1651; P. Berckelius, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis tertiae de origine motus, pars prior*, Leiden, J. Maire 1651; G. Mirkinus, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis tertiae de origine motus, pars secunda*, Leiden, Hack 1651; J. Fremautius, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis tertiae de origine motus, pars tertia*, Leiden, Hack 1651; S. Theyls, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis quarta de propagatione motuum*, Leiden, Hack 1652; T. Zasius, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis quintae de materia subtili, pars prior*, Leiden, Hack 1652; J. Crooswyck, *Disputationum physicarum ad Problemata Aristotelis quintae de materia subtili, pars posterior*, Leiden, Hack 1652.

20 J. De Raey, *Oratio inauguralis de gradibus et vitiis notitiae vulgaris circa contemplatione naturae et officio philosophi circa eandem*, Leiden, F. Hack, 1651.

21 «Facile a vobis fieri potuit [...] ut [...] omnibusque [...] non solum citra sed etiam contra auctoritatem Aristotelis recens detectas veritates asserere liceret. Et ex numero eorum, qui id in libera Academia [...] non modo licitum, sed [...] tacite aliquo modo mandatum esse putarunt, me quoque esse profiteor», *Clavis*, pp. XVI-XVII.

22 «Vos estis, qui me ex doctore privato publicum professorem creastis, et ut eam philosophandi rationem, quam pluris a me fieri atque etiam Aristoteli valde adversam ab aliquibus censori notum erat, cum Aristotele componerem, haud obscure imposuistis», *ibid.*, p. XXIV.

23 *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit*, p. 60.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 107. However, in the *Admonitio ad lectorem* of the *Clavis* he underlines that his mentioning could seem erroneous only from the standpoint of the historical contingencies: «lector candide, [...] Aristotelis et Cartesii nominibus titulum istum ornavi, non quod, ut longo tempore in Scholis factum fuisse [...] ostendimus, humana potius auctoritate quam proprie cognitionis ratione niti, sed quibus autoribus ducibusque profecerim, et a quibus

Meanwhile, in 1653 he became *professor extraordinarius* of physics, occupying the chair once belonging to Stuart²⁵, and in 1658 he was allowed to teach *institutiones medicinae*, which he abandoned after some problems with the medical faculty²⁶. Finally, in 1661 he became *professor ordinarius* of philosophy²⁷. Seven years later (on the 1st of November 1668²⁸) he was invited at the *Athenaeum illustre* of Amsterdam, where he was in charge as *professor primarius* of philosophy and one of the best paid professors of the Republic. He pronounced his inaugural dissertation in Amsterdam on 17th of January 1669, devoting it to the wisdom of the ancients, *Dissertatio de sapientia veterum*²⁹. In Amsterdam he also belonged to the *Collegium privatum amstelodamense*, a scientific society whose members (like Jan Swammerdam) carried on anatomical investigations³⁰. The relation between De Raey and Swammerdam is recorded in a text by the anatomist Jan Baptist van Lamsweerde, *Respirationis Swammerdamianae exspiratio, una cum anatomia neologices Joannis de Raei, quibus adjecta est utriusque philosophiae clavis* (1674)³¹, a criticism of Swammerdam's theories.

The most important information on the later phase of De Raey's life are reported in two letters contained in the *Cogitata de interpretatione* (1692)³², the second main work by De Raey, devoted to the analysis of the linguistic aspects of Cartesian philosophy. In the first letter, addressed to Christopher Wittich on 12th of August 1680 De Raey traces an outline of the development of his latest main philosophical topic, namely, the detachment of Cartesian philosophy from the three major arts, medicine, theology and law, as well as from mechanical arts. According to De Raey philosophy is finalized only to the discovery of truth, whereas all the other disciplines consider things just as they are related to us (that is, through senses), and are finalized to practical goals. In this letter he reminds that he sustained the difference among physics and all the other disciplines since the time of the disputations on the *Problemata*, outlining by them a difference between the aristotelian knowledge and the Cartesian science³³. He also stresses the importance of the presence of Clauberg

praecipue naturalis philosophiae fundamenta optime posita esse iudicaverim, lectoribus, nimium talia curantibus, notum facere necessarium duxerim. Si quid hac in parte peccatum putes, id, credo, non mihi sed seculi moribus imputabis», *Clavis, Admonitio ad lectorem*.

25 *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit*, p. 76.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

27 W. van Bunge, H. Krop, B. Leeuwenburgh, H. van Ruler, P. Schuurman, M. Wielema (eds.), *The Dictionary of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Dutch Philosophers*, Bristol, Thoemmes Press I: 2003, p. 813.

28 See the *Album academicum* of the Amsterdam University, www.albumacademicum.uva.nl.

29 J. De Raey, *Dissertatio philosophica de sapientia veterum, recitata in Illustri Amstelodamensium Athenaeo cum primariam philosophiae professionem auspicaretur*, Amsterdam, J. Ravenstein 1669.

30 See the *Observationes anatomicae selectiores Collegii privati Amstelodamensis*, Commelinus, Amsterdam 1667.

31 J.B. van Lamzweerde, *Respirationis Swammerdamianae exspiratio, una cum anatomia neologices Joannis de Raei, quibus adjecta est utriusque philosophiae clavis et mirabilis de carbonum, arenarum et lapillorum excretionem per alvum et vesicam urinaeque vomitu historia*, Amsterdam, J. A. Someren 1674.

32 J. De Raey, *Cogitata de Interpretatione: quibus natura humani sermonis et illius rectus usus, tum in communi vita et disciplinis ad vitae usum spectantibus, tum in philosophia, ab hujus seculi errore et confusione vindicantur. Accedunt Notae recentes ad partem primam generalem, cum Appendice ex olim scriptis, propter cognationem*, Amsterdam, Wetsten 1692.

33 «In ipso studii academici curriculo in eam inciderim cogitationem, quod in physica vulgari universaque scholarum philosophia aristotelica, magnam partem, multum inveniatur veritatis, qua potissimum tot seculis se ipsam tueri ac

in his first didactical activities, whose logic was not, however, influenced by the difference he sustained among the aristotelian or common way of knowledge and the philosophical understanding. He also reminds his effort to teach Clauberg's logic, which had, however, no success³⁴.

Other important steps in the development of De Raey's later thought were his meeting of Franciscus de le Boë Sylvius, who sustained the role of sensible knowledge in medicine³⁵, and the acknowledgment of the positions of Baruch Spinoza and Lodewijk Meijer³⁶. Thus, it is possible to place his "philosophical turn", that is, the development of a comprehensive theory on the difference between the philosophical and the common knowledge, after the publication of the *Principia Philosophiae Cartesianae* and the *Cogitata metaphysica* (1663) by Spinoza and the *Philosophia Sacrae Scripturae interpres* (1666) by Meijer³⁷.

In the second letter, addressed to the theologian Gijsbert Wessel Duker³⁸, De Raey gives some more information regarding his criticisms to the misuse of Cartesian philosophy. Indeed, he refers to an earlier phase of his life to explain the later development of his thought, reminding the struggle for cartesianism which took place in Utrecht in 1641 (the "Utrecht crisis"). According to him, his former master Regius was more culpable in the corruption of Cartesian philosophy than its direct opponent Voetius, for Voetius criticized just what De Raey calls the misinterpretations of Descartes' thought, whereas Regius abused of Cartesian philosophy applying it to medicine and theology³⁹. De

subsistere potuit; atque hanc veritatem veramque cognitionem cogitavi omnium hominum communem atque in communi intellectu fundatam esse, non propriam huius intellectus qui philosophum facit. Ex hac una cogitatione, ista aetate iuvenili, incredibilem in studiis facilitatem ac lucem percepi. Huic potissimum (quando postea animum ad docendum appuli) superstruxi ipsam Orationem inauguralem de differentia cognitionis vulgaris et philosophicae, ipsasque primas praelectiones publicas (ut iam de scholis privatis non dicam) atque Disputationes iis accomodatas, quando Aristotelis in Academia Lugd. Batava coepi Problemata interpretari, anno 1651 mense martio», *ibid.*, p. 657.

34 «Florem adolescentiae contriveram in studio logico, nec poenitet vel poenituit unquam ad haec tempora usque; [...] haerens tandem dubitare coepi, an ea ars cuius nomen duplex, logica et dialectica est, eo modo quo hactenus putaveram, utilis et necessaria sit. Quandoquidem observabam, ab una parte quidem, plurimos, qui hanc artem magni faciunt, ea sapientiores non reddi, quin etiam non raro minus sapientes videri caeteris; et tam ab altera parte, neque me neque alios sentiebam sine logicae cognitione, commode posse docendi munere fungi [...]. Paulo post et fere eo ipso, quo sic dubitabam, tempore, editur in lucem Logica Claubergii. Hanc tracto et praelego in scholis privatis, at sine eo, quem desiderabam, successu», *ibid.*, p. 658.

35 «Sequuta fuit non una occasio haec mea cogitata latius deducendi atque ad plura alia extendi. Franciscus Sylvius vocatur ad medicinam docendam in Academia Leidensi, atque conatur Physicam scientiam miscere et confundere cum medica arte, confidenter docens tam in physica quam in medicina id omne quod vere scitur sola experientia sciri. Quo solo propria physici-philosophi cognitio secundum sublimiorem intellectum reiicitur, revocanturque omnia ad intellectum communem, qualis a natura iunctus cum sensu in omni homine invenitur, etiam absque philosophiae studio», *ibid.*, p. 659.

36 «Tandem denique his accessit occasio sive nova excitatio ultima, quando, circiter una cum Sylvio, Spinoza et cum ipso quoque Philosophia Scripturae interpres coepit inclarescere, ut iam de pluribus aliis non dicam», *ibid.*, p. 660.

37 «Ab illo tempore, aliquando magis quam hactenus, coepi sollicitus esse magisque ad animum revocare magnum discrimen inter duplicem de quo dixi intellectum, ortumque ex eo humanum sermonem duplicem. Ac ulterius sum, conor progredi continuo et contra torrentem niti erroris», *ibid.* For a deep outline of the evolution of De Raey's thought, see T. Verbeek, *Les cartésiens face à Spinoza: le cas de Johannes de Raey*, in P. Cristofolini (ed.), *The Spinozistic Heresy. The debate on the Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, 1670-1677 and the immediate reception of spinozism. Seminar Cortona 1991*, Amsterdam-Maarssen, APA-Holland University Press 1995, pp. 77-88.

38 See C.L. Thijssen-Schoute, *Nederlands cartesianisme, avec sommaire et table des matières en français*, Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Mij. 1954, pp. 131-132.

39 «Si liceat libere profiteri id de quo omnino persuasus sum et sui ab ipsa iuventute (quod singulari deputare foelicitati

Raey declares to be closer to Voetius' criticism of Cartesian philosophy than to Regius' interpretations Descartes' thought⁴⁰, and was actually called “voetianus”⁴¹. In fact, his contacts with Regius are to be considered as one of the main causes of his attempt to detach Cartesian philosophy from all the other disciplines. In this letter he also complains the attacks of some students of the Amsterdam University who sustained the role of philosophy as *domina artium*, (even accusing him to be too old⁴²), and the loneliness he knew in Amsterdam⁴³, which he praised in 1669 as the *compendium orbis*⁴⁴. Moreover, he criticizes also Hermann Alexander Röell and Ludwig Wolzogen as “betrayers” of Descartes⁴⁵.

The main contemporaries of De Raey who recorded his role as philosopher are John Locke, who mentioned him in his journal⁴⁶; Leibniz, who admitted his influence in the development of a *philosophia novantiqua*⁴⁷; his pupil Clauberg and Adrien Baillet. Clauberg records in his *Logica*

soleo) hic praecipuus error fuit eorum omnium qui philosophiam cartesianam oppugnaverunt, ipsiusque celeberrimi Voetii, quod non intellexerint Cartesium, sua omnia ad propriam philosophiae cognitionem referre, quae toto coelo ab omni alia aliarumque artium et disciplinarum cognitione diversa est [...]. Quos tamen ego adversarios impugnatoresque excusandos et tolerandos puto, quia non sub distincta, quam nos cum Cartesio supponimus, verum sub confusa notione, quae communiter solet supponi, tam ab una parte defensa quam a parte altera impugnata est, contra mentem Cartesii, philosophia», *Cogitata*, p. 663.

40 «Dixi et inculcavi ab initio muneris academici, etiam in scholis primum privatis, ab anno 1647, 1648 iam tum praesagiens hoc malum (quod bene memini et forte meminere illorum temporum, si qui supersint, discipuli) facilius cum Voetio quam cum Regio redibimus in gratiam. Quam verus in eo vates fuerim, experientia coepit longo tempore docere. Regius in corrumpenda philosophia antecessor fuit, Spinozae etc. a quorum ille erroribus infandis alienus non erat», *ibid.*, p. 666.

41 «Quia me huic adeo pernicioso errori atque confusio oppono, et opposui longo satis tempore, dixique publice et privatim Voetium olim non sine gravi causa oppugnasse cartesianam philosophiam (sub confusa, ut vidimus, notione, quam nobis ipsi cartesiani formant) vocor voetianus: nec me pudet huius appellationis quatenus in bonam potest ac debet partem accipi. Celeb. Voetius habuit suos errores. Homo fuit ut nos sumus, habuit vero etiam insignes, quas semper agnovi, virtutes, quibus, mea quidem opinione (quam nunquam mutavi) et de Rep. et de Ecclesia bene meritus est», *ibid.*

42 «Postquam ego stationem mutavi, et latere coepi in urbe amplissima, consilia iuvenum praevaluerunt monitis meis senilibus; quin accusabant paucos post annos, accusant his temporibus aperte, nimium provectoram in me aetatem contra Hobbesi sui in politicis, et nostri Aristotelis in Ethicis monita. Hic fervor iuvenilis accedens ad neglectum distinctionis, de qua dixi, prima huius confusionis causa fuit, et, ut ego praevideo, evertet eam ipsam quam videntur tueri velle philosophiam, quia non tam virtutes tuentur, quam vitia, quorum accessio facta ingens est», *ibid.*, pp. 666-667. See Aristotle, *Politica*, VII, 1329a 12-15; *Ethica Nicomachea*, VI, 11, 1143b 12-14; T. Hobbes, *Leviathan, The Matter, Forme and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*, London, A. Croke 1651, p. 10.

43 «Doleo valde, et dolui per multos annos, quod in hac urbe amplissima tam paucos inveniam, quibus cum plena fiducia liceat communicare cogitationes meas et per quos in aliquibus proficere possim [...]. Hactenus loco suarum rationum, quasi meae rationes nullae sint, irrisiones, contemptum atque suam incredibilem in his ignorantiam reposuerunt, in sinu gaudentes quod philosophia omnium artium facta domina sit», *Cogitata*, pp. 667-668.

44 «Compendium orbis, naturae delictum, artis ac industriae omnis miraculum», *De sapientia veterum*, p. 3.

45 «Illi enim male philosophantes, quia non intelligunt vel contemnunt distinctionem de qua diximus, forte urgebunt unam tantum veritatem esse sive veram cognitionem, unam methodum eam percipiendi (Roel. disp. de princ. veritatis cognoscendae § XII) sicque adeo verum sit solem in medio stare [...] planetarum, tam hoc verum in theologia quam philosophia esse debereque adeo secundum hanc in philosophia veritatem dicta S.S. atque theologorum intelligi de sole, terra, planetis. [...] Prudentia opus est in his et non omnino contemnenda admonitio Lud. W. quae cap. II § IX allegatur his verbis, si quid S.S. de usu syderum, Terrae constitutione etc. non tam in his verbis puto errorem latere quam in sequentibus, ubi ratio ut dux et ministra dicitur omnia in S.S. ad examen revocare. Ratio, ut nos putamus, nihil in S.S. ad examen revocat eo sensu quo vellent philosophi, primum dubitando, deinde ad ideas nobis a natura inditas attendendo, quae duae philosophici, de quo loquimur, examinis partes sunt», *Cogitata*, pp. 664-665. See H.A. Röell, *Disputatio philosophica de principio veritatis cognoscendae*, Franeker, J. Gyselaar 1686; L. Wolzogen, *De Scripturarum interprete adversus exercitorem paradoxum libri duo*, Utrecht, Ribbium 1668. See also *Nederlands cartesianisme*, pp. 447-448.

46 J. Locke, *Journal*, 1678, MS Locke f. 3, Bodleian Library.

47 See G.W. Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag II, 1: 1987, pp. 10, 12, 13, 15, 19.

vetus et nova (1654) the appreciation of Descartes for De Raey, considered by him as the best teacher of his philosophy⁴⁸, and dedicates his *Physica* to him⁴⁹. Baillet mentions De Raey in his *Vie de M. Descartes* (1693) pointing out his friendship with Clauberg and Descartes⁵⁰. He also records that De Raey was present at the opening of the case that Descartes left in the Netherlands after his departure to Sweden⁵¹. Since De Raey knew Descartes personally, Baillet also asked him some information on Descartes' life. However, De Raey refused to help him⁵², for he believed that the Frenchmen will not understand Descartes' plain conduct of life⁵³.

De Raey is also credited to have edited Descartes' works⁵⁴ and to have translated his correspondence⁵⁵. This point is open to question⁵⁶, however, it is possible to read his name along

48 He writes to Tobias Andreae «quamobrem tuum secutus consilium contuli me Lugdunum Batavorum, ubi non sine insigni studiorum emolumento cognitus mihi communis amicus Johannes de Raey, quem ipse Philosophus hoc ornavit testimonio, quod suam optime doceret philosophiam», J. Clauberg, *Logica vetus et nova modum inveniendae ac tradendae veritatis, in genesi simul et analysi, facili methodo exhibens*, Amsterdam, Elsevir 1658, 2nd ed., p. 3.

49 J. Clauberg, *Physica, quibus rerum corporearum vis et natura, mentis ad corpus relatae proprietates, denique corporis ac mentis arcta et admirabilis in Homine conjunctio explicantur*, Amsterdam, Elsevier 1664, p. I.

50 «M. Clauberg étoit encore alors Professeur en Philosophie dans l'Université de Herbronn au Comté de Nassaw, d'où il passa depuis en celle de Duvsbourg sur le bas Rhin au Duché de Clèves. Il avoit déjà reçu les premières teintures de la Philosophie nouvelle, c'est-à dire, de la doctrine de M. Descartes. [...] L'exemple du sieur Tobie d'André Professeur à Groningue en Frise l'avoit aussi entièrement déterminé à ne point prendre d'autre guide que M. Descartes, lorsque sur les avis de ce Professeur il vint à Leyde durant l'été de l'an 1648 pour consulter M. De Raey. Il fut témoin de succès avec lequel ce jeune médecin enseignoit la philosophie cartésienne; et il sçut en même tems qu'il n'avoit point l'approbation de M. Descartes à demy comme M. Regius, mais qu'au jugement de ce maître commun, il étoit entré dans une connoissance parfaite du système entier de toute sa doctrine. M. de Raey faisoit dès lors beaucoup d'honneur au Cartésianisme. Il passoit déjà pour un homme de grand esprit, de beaucoup d'érudition et d'une facilité merveilleuse à s'expliquer noblement dans les langues de sçavans. Il étoit particulièrement attaché à M. de Hooghelande, qui ne contribuoit pas peu à le fortifier contre Revius et les autres ennemis de M. Descartes. M. Clauberg s'unit avec luy d'une amitié fort étroite, et ils s'encouragèrent réciproquement dans la résolution de bien expliquer et de défendre les sentimens de leur maître commun», A. Baillet, *Vie de M. Descartes*, Paris, D. Horthemels, II:1691, p. 350.

51 «L'on n'a point crû pouvoir mieux s'adresser qu'au sçavant M. de Raey qui vit encore maintenant à Amsterdam et qui fait toujours beaucoup d'honneur à son pays et à sa profession. L'attachement qu'il a toujours fait paroître pour la doctrine de M. Descartes et les habitudes particulières qu'il avoit eues avec luy et avec la plupart de ses amis de Hollande sembloient nous promettre toutes choses de son honnêteté. Il s'étoit trouvé présent à l'inventaire qui s'étoit fait à Leyde trois semaines (le 5 mars 1650) après la mort de M. Descartes d'un coffre qu'ilavoit laissé chez M. de Hooghelande [...]. M. de Raey reste aujourd'hui le seul de ceus qui auroient pu dire des nouvelles d'un paquet de papiers et de lettres qui se trouverent dans ce coffre», *Vie de M. Descartes*, I:1691, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

52 «On l'avoit donc fait prier tres-respectueusement de vouloir donner sur cela et sur ce qu'il pouvoit sçavoir d'ailleurs des éclaircissemens pour l'histoire de M. Descartes. [...] M. de Raey a eu la bonté de répondre sur le premier chef que les papiers qui s'étoient trouvez dans le coffre étoient en très petit nombre et de peu d'importance: et que M. Descartes avoit emporté les principaux en Suède (lettr. ms. de M. Van Limborch du 15 Avril 1690). [...] Mais pour le second chef, qui regarde la prière qu'on a fait à M. de Raey de vouloir contribuer par ses conseil et ses lumières à l'histoire de la vie de M. Descartes selon la connoissance qu'il en pourroit avoir, il est bon que l'on sçache que ce zélé Cartésien a mis la chose en délibération. Il a consulté M. le Bourgmaitre Hudde, autre Cartésien de grande distinction, et après avoir murement considéré ce qu'on étoit capable de faire en France, ils ont été d'avis de ne se mêler en aucune maniere dans cette description de la vie de M. Descartes, et de n'y contribuer aucune chose», *ibid.*, pp. XXXVIII-XL.

53 «M. de Raey a dit en particulier [...] VITA CARTESII RES EST SIMPLICISSIMA, ET GALLI EAM CORRUMPERENT. [...] Je souhaite pour tout ressentiment que Dieu benisse M. de Raey, et j'ose espérer de tout la Nation qu'il a outragée, qu'il n'y trouvera personne qui daigne se vanger de luy», *ibid.*, p. XL.

54 R. Descartes, *Opera philosophica, editio ultima, nunc demum hac editione deligenter recognita, et mendis expurgata*, Amsterdam, Elsevir 1677.

55 R. Descartes, *Epistolae, partim ab auctore latino sermone conscriptae, partim ex gallico translatae*, Amsterdam, Elsevir 1668.

56 See *Nederlands cartesianisme*, pp. 134-137; T. Verbeek, E.-J. Bos, J. van de Ven (eds.), *The Correspondence of René Descartes: 1643*, Utrecht, Zeno, The Leiden-Utrecht Institute for Philosophy 2003, p. XXIII n.

with Van Schooten's one in Elzevir 1677 edition of Descartes' works⁵⁷. Another text which is often ascribed to him is a *Dictionarium geographicum*⁵⁸: actually, it was written by his son Johannes De Raey de Jonge⁵⁹.

De Raey died in Amsterdam on 28th of October 1702; his colleague Peter De Frans, (a professor of rhetoric, Greek and history, whose verses open the *Cogitata de interpretatione*⁶⁰) wrote an epitaph for him⁶¹, whereas Bartholomeus Bolk⁶² wrote a *Monumentum Raianum*⁶³, describing him as the *alter Cartesius*:

Ita tres annorum decades et triennium
Magnus in urbe maxima implevit philosophus,
Praecedentis seculi magnum post Cartesium maximus,
Vel Renatus alter Cartesius,
Detecta nova, utili, necessaria,
De sermonis humani interpretatione,
Huiusque vario usu,
Philosophia.⁶⁴

57 «Cum in nova hac operum illustris viri Renati des Cartes editione adornanda in id unice fuerimus intenti ut quam accuratissime prodirent; a clarissimis viris D. Joanne de Raey, philosophiae; et D. Francisco a Schooten, matheseos, in Acad. Lugd. Bat. professoribus, impetravimus, ut ille quidem mendorum typographicorum, quae in Principiis et Methodo in priores editiones illapsa fuerant, emendationem suppeditaverit», R. Descartes, *Opera philosophica, editio ultima, nunc demum hac editione deligenter recognita, et mendis expurgata*, Amsterdam Elsevir 1677.

58 J. De Raey de jonge, *Dictionarium geographicum ofte Schat- en Woordt-boeck des Aerdt-Rycks*, Amsterdam, Abraham Wolfganck 1680¹, 1700²; *Dictionarium geographicum universalis ofte Algemeen woordenboek des gantschen aardryks*, Amsterdam, Jan ten Hoorn 1709.

59 See P. Rabus, *De boekzaal van europe, January en February 1700*, Rotterdam, P. Van der Slaart 1700, p. 120.

60 *Cogitata*, p. XVI.

61 P. de Frans, *Viro clarissimo Joanni De Raei, Philosophiae Professori In Illustri Amstelaedamensi Athenaeo, Epitaphium: Obiit a. d. XXVIII. Novemb. MDCCII. Aetat. LXXXII*, Amsterdam, J. Rieuwerts 1702.

62 He was an opponent of Spinoza: see his *Animadversiones philosophicae in Decantatam Spinozae Propositionem, Quae res nihil commune inter se habent, earum una alterius causa esse non potest*, Amsterdam, Jacobus Borstius 1719.

63 B. Bolkius, *Monumentum Rayanvm, S. Memoriae Viri Clarissimi, D. Johannis De Raei, Medic. Et Philos. Doctor. Huius Olim In Leidensi Academia, Dein In Illustri Amstelaedamensium Athenaeo, Professoris Primarii : Obiit D. Quarto Calend. Decembr. M.D.CCII*.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 2.