STUDIEN UND MATERIALIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE

OLMS

M. Jasenas

A History of the Bibliography of Philosophy

In this textual study of the bibliographies of philosophy, which range from the very first bibliography printed in the sixteenth century down to those published in the second half of our century, the author examines all pertinent information about the bibliographies and their compilers. In order to determine the actual scope of these works, an attempt is made to ascertain what titles of those major philosophical works which are discussed at any length in important standard histories of philosophy are recorded. The author indicates the themes most frequently dealt with by philosophers of various periods and demonstrates the close relation between the evolution of philosophical bibliography and the corresponding stage of philosophical thought. The analysis of the contents of these bibliographies should be of great interest to bibliographers and historians of philosophy alike. Its detailed descriptions indicate to scholars the value of those earlier bibliographies listing many works by minor philosophers which more modern bibliographies omit. Thus such volumes are often the only bibliographical sources available.

GEORG OLMS VERLAG

M. JASENAS · A HISTORY OF
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Herausgegeben von Yvon Belaval, Gerhard Funke,
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To the many whose contributions have not been acknowledged, I feel a sincere appreciation for their gracious assistance. Any errors are, of course, my own responsibility.

ABBREVIATED CITATIONS

ADB — *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.* Hrsg. durch die Historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. 56 vols. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912.

Besterman — Besterman, Theodore. *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography.* 2d ed., rev. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford [1936].

Bocheński — Bocheński, Innocentius M. *Contemporary European Philosophy.* Trans. from the German by Donald Nicholl and Karl Aschenbrenner. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957.

Ersch and Gruber — *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste.* Hrsg. von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber. 167 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1818–50.

Goetten — Goetten, Gabriel Wilhelm. *Das jetzt-lebende gelehrte Europa.* Vol. II. Braunschweig und Hildesheim: L. Schröder, 1736.

Les grands courants — *Les grand courants de la pensée mondiale contemporaine.* Ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. F. Sciacca. 3 pts. in 6 vols. Paris: Fischbacher & Marzorati [c 1964].

Irsay — Irsay, Stephen d'. *Histoire des universités francaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours.* 2 vols. Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1933–35.

Michaud — *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne.* Nouv. éd. publié sous la direction de M. Michaud, rev., corr. et considérablement augm. d'articles omis ou nouveaux; ouvrage rédigé par une société de gens de lettres et de savants. 45 vols. Paris: C. Desplaces, 1854–[65].

Morhof — Morhof, Daniel Georg. *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus et practicus.* 3 vols. in 2. Editio Tertia. Lubecae: Sumtibus P. Boeckmanni, 1732.

Petersen — Petersen, Peter. *Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie im protestantischen Deutschland.* Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1921.

Petzholdt — Petzholdt, Julius. *Bibliotheca bibliographica; kritisches Verzeichniss der das Gesammtgebiet der Bibliographie betreffenden Litteratur des In- und Auslandes.* Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1866.

Randall — Randall, John Herman, Jr. *The Career of Philosophy.* Vols. I–II. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962–65.

INTRODUCTION

To date no comprehensive general history of bibliography has been written, in spite of various attempts made by Grand, Schneider, Besterman, Malclès, and Taylor; [1] and perhaps such a history lies beyond the capacity of one person. In recent times, therefore, scholars have attempted to investigate the development of bibliography either in a particular geographical area [2] or in a special field. [3] Following the example of Fulton and Brodman, [4] I have limited this study to the history of bibliography in only one field, philosophy. It is my belief that such a delimitation makes it possible to do reasonably extensive research, the results of which might serve as a contribution to a future comprehensive history of bibliography.

After initially surveying the bibliographies of philosophy in various periods, I concluded that the two points raised by Brodman in her investigation of medical bibliography have influenced the development of the bibliography of philosophy as well, namely the background of the compilers and the influence of earlier bibliographies on the later ones. Further investigation convinced me that the evolution of the subject matter of philosophy also exerted a considerable influence on the contents and classification of bibliographies of philosophy. The importance of this factor in the development of the bibliography of philosophy derives from the fact that the field of philosophy has always been in a state of flux, with differing conceptions of scope and interest prevailing at different times. In classical antiquity philosophy encompassed almost all fields of knowledge; but later many of them gradually became separated from philosophy as independent disciplines. Consequently, the history of the subject is largely colored by the continuing tendency to re-define and emphasize special areas of interest formerly included in larger definitions. For example, esthetics was part of rhetoric and literature until the eighteenth century when it became a separate branch of philosophy. Historians of philosophy stress that each period of development is characterized by one or several subject areas. For instance, the seventeenth century seems to have emphasized natural science whereas the Enlightenment among other matters turned especially to the study of man's relationship to the world. [5]

Considering these factors, I have asked the following questions about each bibliography examined: (1) As much as the bibliographies may reflect contemporary developments in the subject, what has been the nature and extent of such influence? (2) How much do the background and special interests of the compilers affect the contents of the bibliographies which they produce? (3) What influence was exerted upon later bibliographies by their predecessors? (4) How much influence do twentieth century developments in the field have upon bibliographic arrangement and library classification schemes in philosophy? With these questions in mind, I developed working hypotheses as guiding principles for the interpretation of data derived from the examination of each bibliography and in terms of what is specific and relevant to the bibliography of philosophy in its historical development. In this respect I focused on the influence exerted upon each bibliography by the state of philosophy at the time of its compilation and by the nationality, education, and profession of the compilers as well as their association with certain philosophical schools and movements.

In order to make the study as intensive as possible, I have limited my investigation to the development of bibliographies covering the field of philosophy as a whole, excluding those which are devoted to individual branches of philosophy. Furthermore, the scope of the study encompasses only separately issued bibliographies printed in western languages between 1592, the date of the appearance of the first printed bibliography of philosophy, and 1960. Besterman, Petzholdt, Rand, Stein, Vallee, Walford, and Winchell [6] served as basic sources for the original list of these bibliographies. In addition, I untertook a search for bibliographies in a number of American and European research libraries.

Since only two bibliographies of philosophy were published in the sixteenth century, I have discussed both of them. For the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I have studied all bibliographies considered important by critics who discussed bibliographies of philosophy, by bibliographers of philosophy who made comments on the works of their predecessors, and by historians of philosophy who recommended only a selected number of bibliographies in their histories. For these three centuries I confined my study to ten major bibliographies

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1) E. D. Grand, "Bibliographie," *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris: Lamirault, 1886), VI, 598–641; Georg Schneider, "The Development of Bibliography," in his *Theory and History of Bibliography*, trans. by Ralph Robert Shaw ("Columbia University Studies in Library Service," No. 1; New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 271–91; Theodore Besterman, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (Second Edition, Revised; London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford [1936]); Louise Noëlle Malclès, *La Bibliographie* (Deuxième édition revue, "Que sais-je?" No. 708; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); Archer Taylor, *General Subject-Indexes Since 1548* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press [c1966]), his *A History of Bibliographies of Bibliographies* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1955), and his *Renaissance Guides to Books* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945).

2) Nikolaĭ V. Zdobnov, *Istoriia Russkoĭ bibliografii do nachala XX veka* (Izd. 2; Moskva: Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1951).

3) John F. Fulton, *The Great Medical Bibliographers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951); Estelle Brodman, *The Development of Medical Bibliography* ("Medical Library Association Publication," No. 1; [Washington, D. C.]: Medical Library Association, 1954).

4) Ibid

5) Cf. Wilhelm Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie* (15., durchgesehene und ergänzte Aufl.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1957), pp. 323–77.

6) Theodore Besterman, *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* (5 vols., 4th and final ed. rev. and greatly enl. throughout; Lausanne: Societas Bibliographica [1965–66]); Julius Petzholdt, *Bibliotheca bibliographica* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1866); Benjamin Rand, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, and Cognate Subjects*, Vol. III of *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, ed. by James Mark Baldwin (3 vols. in 4; New York: Macmillan, 1901–05); Henri Stein, *Manuel de bibliographie générale (Bibliotheca bibliographica nova)* (Paris: Picard, 1897); Léon Vallée, *Bibliographie des bibliographies* (2 vols., Paris: E. Terquem, 1883–87); Arthur John Walford (ed.), *Guide to Reference Material* (London: Library Association, 1959) and *Guide to Reference Material, Supplement* (London: Library Association, 1963); Constance Mabel Winchell, *Guide to Reference Books* (7th ed.; Chicago: American Library Association, 1951); *Supplements, 1–4, 1950–62* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1954–63).

to show the continuing developments in the field and relegated the other less important works of the period to Appendix I. Of the twentieth century bibliographies, except for catalogues of booksellers, all of those covering more than one country and listed in Wilhelm Totok's guide [7] are discussed; and Appendix I, which lists all bibliographies of philosophy as previously defined, includes also twentieth century bibliographies of minor importance and those of markedly limited scope.

In addition to a textual study of the bibliographies, I consulted all pertinent information available about them and their compilers. In order to determine the extent of coverage, an attempt was made to ascertain what titles of major philosophical works analyzed at any length in important standard histories of philosophy are recorded in the bibliographies. Appendix II gives the list of such major works. Additional data concerning the influence of the state of philosophy upon bibliographies were obtained by examining, in each bibliography, those headings which reflect the trends in philosophy at the time of the compilation of that bibliography.

In reporting the results of the analysis of each bibliography, the following points have been generally covered: biography of the compiler; the intellectual environment of the compiler; scope and coverage of the bibliography; sources consulted for its compilation; timeliness; and evaluation by critics. The chronological discussion of bibliographies corresponds successively to the Renaissance, the rise of modern philosophy, the German Enlightenment, post-Kantian philosophy, and the specialization in the field of philosophy in our times.

As stated earlier, it is my hope that this study will make a contribution to an eventual comprehensive general history of bibliography. In addition, as in the histories of bibliographies of other fields, this survey intends to furnish bibliographers, librarians, and philosophers with the necessary historical background for a solution to the problem of improving the bibliographical control over the enormously expanding literature in the field. I also believe that the study may be valuable in another respect. The history of the subject plays an extremely important role in philosophy [8] and has even been elevated by some philosophers [9] to the status of a branch of philosophy ("eine philosophische Disziplin"). The historical value of earlier printed bibliographies seems, therefore, to be of importance to research in the history of philosophy. A subject analysis of these bibliographies, indicating the themes most frequently discussed by philosophers of various periods and demonstrating the close relation between the evolution of

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7) Wilhelm Totok, *Bibliographischer Wegweiser der philosophischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann [c1959]).

8) Richard Falckenberg, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie* (Neunte Aufl., verbessert und ergänzt von Prof. Dr. E. v. Aster; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1927), p. 1; Nikolai Hartmann, "Der philosophische Gedanke und seine Geschichte," Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, *Abhandlungen*, Jhrg. 1936, Nr. 5, p. 13; Julius Stenzel, "Zum Problem der Philosophiegeschichte; ein methodologischer Versuch," *Kantstudien*, XXVI (1929), 453.

9) Wolfgang Cramer, "Die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte," *Blätter für deutsche Philosophie*, XIV (Heft IV, 1941), 343–55; Ernst von Aster, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (Kröners Taschenausgabe, Band 108; Leipzig: A. Kröner [c1932]), p. xviii.

philosophical bibliography and the corresponding stage of philosophical thought, should prove useful to historians of philosophy. Analyses and detailed descriptions of bibliographies offer, moreover, as a concomitant result of the study, evidence of the practical utility of the contents of the earlier bibliographies even today. [10]

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10) Theodore Besterman has emphasized this point in his review "Archer Taylor, Renaissance Guides to Books," *Journal of Documentation*, II (September, 1946), 102.

CHAPTER I

RENAISSANCE BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF PHILOSOPHY

The Middle Ages were followed by two centuries of intense intellectual activity leading to the emergence of such major movements as Humanism and Reformation. These movements are characteristic of the Renaissance viewed as a "complex historical period with a great variety of cross-currents, in which each European country and each field of interest underwent its own particular development." [1] The intellectual activity during the Renaissance period caused a tremendous increase in book production and, with it, the extensive development of bibliography. [2] Johann Tritheim, author of the first bibliography produced after the invention of printing and for that reason called by Besterman "the true 'Father of Bibliography'", compiled a theological bibliography, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis,* [3] in which he included writers like St. Augustine who were not only theologians but also philosophers. Soon after Tritheim's work, Symphorien Champier in 1506 published the first medical bibliography, Giovanni Neviziano in 1522 the first legal bibliography, and Otto Brunfels in 1530 the second medical bibliography. [4] In all of these some of the authors listed were not exclusively medical or legal writers but philosophers as well. In 1545 Conrad Gesner compiled his monumental *Bibliotheca Universalis.* [5] It was intended to embrace all knowledge and lists twelve thousand titles. A sequel to it, entitled *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium Conradi Gesneri libri XXI,* [6] contains a classified arrangement of the titles included in the first part and those newly added. In this volume all knowledge is divided into twenty-one classes of philosophy, although the universities had already classified law, medicine, and theology as separate faculties. As Paul O. Kristeller points out, in the Renaissance "the borderlines between philosophy and the other areas of civilization were not always too clearly drawn," [7] and there were "philosophers whose additional interests and pursuits were scholarly and literary rather than theological or scientific." [8] Consequently, a

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1) Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Place of Classical Humanism in Renaissance Thought," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* IV (January, 1943), 59.

2) This is not to say that bibliographical works had not been compiled before. The *De libris propriis liber* of Galen, the first known bibliography, dates from the second century A. D. In the manuscript age several other bibliographies followed, beginning with St. Jerome's *De inlustribus viris* and ending with John Boston of Bury's *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae.* Cf. Besterman, pp. 2–6.

3) Johann Tritheim, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basileae: J. Amerbach, 1494).

4) Bestermann, pp. 11, 14–15.

5) Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus* (Tiguri: Apud C. Froschouerum, 1545).

6) Conrad Gesner, *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium Conradi Gesneri libri XXI* (Tiguri: C. Froschouerus, 1548).

7) Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Renaissance Philosophies," *A History of Philosophical Systems,* ed. by V. T. A. Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library [1950]), p. 227.

8) Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), pp. 4–5.

state of confusion existed as to the proper definition of some of the sciences then known. Inasmuch as knowledge was for Gesner the equivalent of philosophy, the *Bibliotheca Universalis* could have been a bibliography of philosophy at that time.

A comparison of the divisions of Gesner's bibliography with the conceptions of philosophy of Reisch, Manutius, and Estienne (Table 1) shows that by the middle of the sixteenth century the ancient divisions of philosophy (logic, physics, and

TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS OF THE FIFTHEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES[a]

Aldus Manutius (1498)	Reisch (1503)	Robert Estienne (1546)	Gesner (1548)
Grammar	Grammar	Grammar	Grammar
Poetry	Dialectic	Poetry	Dialectic
Logic	Rhetoric	History	Rhetoric
		Rhetoric	Poetry
		Oratory	
		Dialectic	
Philosophy	Arithmetic	Philosophy	Arithmetic
	Music	Arithmetic	Geometry
	Geometry	Geometry	Music
	Astronomy		Astronomy
			Astrology
			Divination
			Geography
			History
			Useful Arts
	Principles and origin of natural things		Natural philosophy
	The soul, logic		Metaphysics
	Ethics		Moral philosophy
			Domestic philosophy
			Civil Arts
			Law
			Medicine
			Christian theology

---

[a]Sources: Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* ([2d ed.]; Argentinae: Johannes Schottus, 1504); and Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London: Trübner, 1859), II, pp. 761–63.

ethics) and the seven liberal arts remained side by side with the disciplines which began to supplement them after the twelfth century. [9]

Gesner listed first, as was customary, the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, still considered history along with geography and magic an ornamental art, and viewed the different philosophies, including theology, as positive sciences. Gesner's desire to cover in a bibliography all branches of knowledge is indicative of the enthusiasm displayed by Renaissance scholars for learning.

At the end of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth the first three printed bibliographies of philosophy appeared: one by Johann Jacob Frisius, another by Israel Spach, and the third by Paulus Bolduan.

The Pioneer Bibliography by Frisius, 1592

The author of the first bibliography of philosophy was Johann Jacob Frisius who was born in Zürich in 1547. His father, Johann Frisius, was a friend of Conrad Gesner with whom he had attended school in Zürich and Paris. After completing his studies, the elder Frisius returned to Switzerland where he became a prominent scholar and educator, contributing to the promotion of classical studies in Switzerland.

His son, Johann Jacob Frisius, completed philosophical and theological studies in Zürich, Geneva, and Paris, and returned to his native city where in 1573 he began to teach Latin, philosophy, and later, logic in the same Theologenschule in which his father had taught. In 1576 he assumed the duties of professor of theology, in which capacity he remained until his death of plague in 1611.

Origin of the work

As a scholar Frisius was active both in philosophy and theology. In philosophy his research was conducted mainly in logic. In ethics he was primarily concerned with the moral philosophy of Valerius Maximus, Roman historian of the first century A. D. Written studies based on his research were distributed in manuscript to his students but never appeared in print. Except for his *Orationes de vita Ministrorum Ecclesiae et de eorumdem concordia,* [10] all Frisius' theological works remain unpublished. His major contribution to scholarship lies not so much in philosophy and theology as in bibliography, in which he is known not only for his bibliography of philosophy but also for his revised edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis,* [11] for which Baehr gives credit to Frisius in the following words:

> Wenn, was die ältere classische, wie die kirchliche Literatur betrifft, wir allerdings jetzt bessere und vollständigere Werke besitzen, so enthält doch für die folgende Periode des Mittelalters und namentlich für die Periode des 16. Jahrh. und die um diese Zeit neu aufblühenden Studien der alten

9) Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Humanist Learning in the Italian Renaissance," in his *Renaissance Thought II; Papers on Humanism and the Arts* ("Harper Torchbooks," TB1163; New York: Harper & Row [c1965]), pp. 10–11.

10) Tiguri: Apud C. Froschouerum, 1595.

11) Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero . . . amplificata per Ioannem Iacobum Frisium* (Tiguri: C. Froschouerus, 1583).

> Literatur und Theologie das Werk in der durch Frisius erweiterten und berichtigten Gestalt gar manche noch jetzt für die Gelehrtengeschichte sehr brauchbare, ja unentbehrliche Nachrichten, die wir aus keiner andern Quelle schöpfen können . . . [12]

The School of Theology in Zürich, where both Frisius and his father taught, had been founded in 1525 by Ulrich Zwingli to promote knowledge of the Bible and its interpretation and to educate clergymen of the new Reformed Church. In addition to purely theological studies, the school's curriculum emphasized the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages. This can be explained by Zwingli's great personal inclination toward classical education and also by the fact that the theological schools of the early Reformation were eager to combine theological studies with the teaching of classical philology in order to enable clergymen to read the Scripture in its original versions. [13]

Among the first professors, in addition to Zwingli himself, were such famous scholars as Conrad Gesner, Conrad Pellikan, Theodor Bibliander, and Peter Martyr Vermigli. Johann Jacob Frisius was to continue this tradition of scholarship, and many features of his *Bibliotheca philosophorum classicorum authorum chronologica* [14] reflect the highly intellectual attitude and preoccupations of the author. Frisius' bibliography came out of his project of dating the authors of the books held in the library of the Theological School at Zürich. Frisius says in his preface that, when he embarked on this enterprise, he discovered that he could not find the dates wanted in books available in the school's library, and, therefore, he had to extend his investigation to other books. At this point he found himself with a chronological list of authors, and this was the beginning of his *Bibliotheca.*

Content

The main body of Frisius' bibliography consists of two sections: (1) "Philosophorum series ab orbe condito ad nostra usque tempora" (a 105–page listing of philosophers) and (2) "Series patrum. A temporibus apostolorum, usque ad tempora scholasticorum ecclesiae doctorum" (a 59–page listing of Church Fathers). As the title indicates, the bibliography is arranged chronologically by decades, giving for each decade two dates – one dating from the creation of the world and the other from the beginning of the Christian era. In the preface Frisius stresses the importance of the chronological arrangement of books for an exact interpretation of their contents. He states that one who begins reading about ancient authors and continues chronologically down to recent times is in a position to follow, from the earliest sources, the development of and various changes in the doctrines of different philosophers. After quoting the ancient author Arcesilaus as having said it is an essential characteristic of philosophy to know the dates of things, Frisius

12) [Johann Christian Felix] Baehr, "Frisius," Ersch and Gruber, 1. Sect., 50. Teil, p. 251.

13) Karl Dändliker, *Geschichte der Schweiz* (3. verb. und verm. Aufl.; Zürich: F. Schulthess, 1901), II, 705.

14) Johann Jacob Frisius, *Bibliotheca philosophorum classicorum authorum chronologica. In qua veterum philosophorum origo, successio, aetas, & doctrina compendiosa, ab origine mundi, usq; ad nostram aetatem, proponitur* (Tiguri: Apud Ioannem Wolphium, typis Frosch., 1592). Hereafter cited as Frisius, *Bibliotheca.*

states his own view that it is even more important to know the dates of people because tracing various authors helps to establish certain facts contributing to the solution of some philosophical and theological problems. In this connection Frisius attempts to explain how a considerable number of errors have crept into the doctrine of the Church as a result of the misinterpretation of chronological data.

Thus, acting as a scholar and a theologian, Frisius strove for accuracy in the chronology of the authors he listed. He admits that he encountered numerous difficulties. At first, he was unable to date a few authors, but finally found a list of philosophers drawn by Gulielmus Morelius, published in Paris in 1547, which he adapted to his needs. [15] As indicated in the title of Morelius' book, it is compiled on the basis of data found in the works of Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Cicero. Frisius also acknowledges the work of Suffridus Petrus, which is based on bio-bibliographical works of Saint Jerome, Gennadius, Saint Isidore of Seville, Honorius Augustodunensis, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, and Henricus Gandavensis. [16] From Suffridus Petrus' work Frisius borrowed some chronological information and many names for his list of Church Fathers, but, in doing so, he corrected certain statements which, as he says, appeared to him erroneous. Of the sources consulted but not mentioned in his preface, Frisius made considerable use of the authors who were popular in his time, especially such classical writers as Athenaeus, Eusebius, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Planudes, Quintilianus, Stobaeus, and Suidas, and such Renaissance authors as Petrus Crinitus, Erasmus, Marsilio Ficino, Gyraldus, Johann Tritheim, Juan Luis Vives, and Raphael Volaterranus. Since certain works of these authors were at the time very popular reference tools, [17] Frisius usually refers only to the author of his sources without bothering to indicate the title of the work.

Frisius calls his work a "Chronological Bibliography of Classical Philosophers" because he devotes most of the volume to the authors of classical antiquity. The main section of the book contains brief bio-bibliographical sketches of some 1500 authors who flourished between 2172 B. C. and 1500 A. D. Appended to this section is a list of authors, "Recentiores autores in philosophia," who became known between 1500 and 1550, giving only the names of authors without information about their works. [18] Eighty-one pages are devoted to the ancient period, thirteen to the Middle Ages, and twenty, including the above mentioned six-page list of sixteenth century philosophers, to the Renaissance period. Of the ancient

15) Gulielmus Morelius, *Tabula compendiosa de origine, successione, aetate, et doctrina veterum philosophorum* (Basileae: Ex officina hervagiana per E. Episcopium, 1580). I was not able to examine a copy of the 1547 edition of Morelius' work.

16) The contribution of these authors to the development of bibliography prior to the invention of printing has been discussed by Besterman, pp. 3–6.

17) Cf. Jacques Boulenger, *Rabelais* (Paris: Editions Colbert [c1942]), p. 158: "Les compilations abondaient alors et le succès était grand, car on aimait cette littérature d'érudition, ces recueils d'*anas*, depuis les anciens, ceux d'Athénée, Macrobe et Aulu Gelle, jusqu'aux modernes, ceux des Caelius Rhodiginus, des Petrus Crinitus, des Alexander ab Alexandro, des Leonicus, des Fulgose, des Sabellicus, des Ravisius Textor et autres auteurs d'*Exempla, Dicta factaque memorabilia, Antiquae lectiones*, etc."

18) Frisius, *Bibliotheca*, leaves 54–56.

philosophers, all the most famous are included, even those whose works were not extant or not collected, viz.: Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes of the Milesian School, as well as Xenophanes, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus, Pythagoras, Philolaus, Archytas, and Zeno of Elea of the so-called cosmological period. Frisius gives a one-column sketch of Socrates, and sketches of all the prominent Socratic philosophers and of the famous sophists, such as Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus. Plato and Aristotle are exceptionally well covered, as are both Platonists and Aristotelians and the representatives of the other schools of ancient philosophy, both Greek and Roman.

Frisius' coverage of medieval philosophy is very brief since he lists only 126 medieval authors as compared to over one thousand ancient authors and 319 Renaissance authors. Consequently, many medieval philosophers, even some prominent ones, are not listed. For example, of the main representatives of the so-called scientific movement of medieval philosophy, Nicolas d'Oresme is the only one listed by Frisius, and in the index only. Other famous names of this movement – Jean Buridan, Peter of Maricourt, Dietrich von Freiberg, Albert of Saxony, and Robert Grosseteste – are not included.

The small number of pages assigned to the Middle Ages in the philosophy section is compensated for by the comparatively extensive coverage of the early Christian era and the medieval period in the section devoted to Church Fathers. The latter section, covering the period extending from 40 A. D. to 1150 A. D., occupies some sixty pages, twice as many pages as in the same period in the section devoted to philosophers. The special attention given by Frisius to Church Fathers is in line with the tradition set by Ulrich Zwingli who, being led to the Church Fathers by Erasmus, was under the influence of Saint Augustine and Italian Neoplatonism. [19] It is likely that Frisius' opinion about the significance of the Church Fathers for education was very close to the one advocated by the Italian humanist educators who "considered patristic theology more appropriate for the religious training of the young than the arrogant subtleties, in their view, of the scholastic theological science." [20] In the preface of his *Bibliotheca* Frisius seems to confirm this view:

> Ut quoque Doctores Ecclesiae proximi Apostolicis temporibus, puritatem doctrinae coelestis Christi & Apostolorum retinuerint: remotiores vero, exorta Theologia scholastica, & primatum obtinente in Ecclesia Pontifice Romano: purioris doctrinae sit facta inclinatio & deprauatio. [21]

This was probably the reason why Frisius stops his list of the Fathers in the 1140's, thus eliminating some famous Scholastics, although up to that date he includes among Church Fathers such men as Alcuin and Charlemagne.

19) Wilhelm Windelband, "Die neuere Philosophie," in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, von Wilh. Wundt *et al.* ("Die Kultur der Gegenwart," Teil I, Abteilung V; Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1909), p. 396.

20) Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "Foreword," in William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, with a foreword by Eugene F. Rice, Jr. ("Classics in Education," No. 18; New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University [c1963]), p. XV.

21) Frisius, *Bibliotheca*, p. [VIII].

Having little regard for the Middle Ages, Frisius seems to have intended compiling chiefly a list of authors of classical antiquity and of the Renaissance, and, in so doing, he acted both as a humanist and as a disciple of Zwingli. However, the Renaissance period is not fully covered because Frisius quite arbitrarily designates 1550 as a terminal date for his bibliography, so that the following philosophers who became known in the later half of the sixteenth century are excluded: Mario Nizzoli, Petrus Ramus, Bernardino Telesio, Andrea Cesalpino, Jean Bodin, Michel de Montaigne, Francisco Sanchez, Giordano Bruno, Jacopo Zabarella, and Alberico Gentili.

Some omissions of Renaissance philosophers who became famous before 1550 are noteworthy and difficult to explain, because most of them had already been listed in Gesner's universal bibliography which, revised by Frisius in 1583, was certainly employed by him in compiling his bibliography of philosophy. An example of such omissions is Alessandro Achillini whose major work *De universalibus* was published in 1501. Gesner included Achillini and called him "philosophus eminentissimus" and "accuratus Auerois interpres." Frisius' omission of him cannot be explained by an assumption that Frisius did not consider an Averroistic commentator of Aristotle worthy of being recorded, because the Averroist Agostino Nifo is included. The two important Neoplatonists, Georgios Gemistos Plethon and Cardinal Basilius Bessarion, are also omitted. It is possible that these two names, important for a Christian interpretation of Plato (whose name both Zwingli and Frisius revered), were listed in Frisius' unpublished work "Nomenclator theologicus" to which he refers at times. Perhaps it is for the same reason that Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther are not listed in Frisius' bibliography, even though their omission might also be explained by assuming that Frisius was strongly influenced by his religious convictions. Melanchthon wanted to prevent a union between Lutherans and Zwinglians, [22] while Johann Wilhelm Stucki, the colleague referred to by Frisius in the preface of his bibliography, was a leader of the struggle begun by Heinrich Bullinger and Peter Martyr Vermigli to bring about a unity in the matters of dogma between Zürich and other Reformed cities. [23] On the basis of this fact it may be assumed that Melanchthon's open opposition to Zwinglianism explains the omission of his name from Frisius' work. The same assumption may be valid with regard to Luther. Moreover, it must be remembered that both Luther and Melanchthon had been instrumental in 1528 in obtaining an order from Duke John of Saxony forbidding the distribution and reading of works of Zwingli and Zwinglians in Wittenberg. [24]

Frisius omits Desiderius Erasmus who exerted a considerable influence upon Zwingli. This omission may perhaps be explained by the assumption which has been

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22) Manschreck quotes Melanchthon as saying: "I would rather die than see our cause polluted by a union with the Zwinglians." Clyde Leonard Manschreck, *Melanchthon, the Quiet Reformer* (New York: Abingdon Press [c1958]), p. 108.

23) Zürich(Canton). Erziehungsrat. *Die Universität Zürich, 1833–1933, und ihre Vorläufer*, hrsg. vom Erziehungsrate des Kantons Zürich. Bearb. von Ernst Gagliardi, Hans Nabholz und Jean Strohl. (Zürich: Verlag der Erziehungsdirektion, 1938), p. 41.

24) Joseph Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1904), pp. 284–85.

mentioned above in regard to Melanchthon and Luther, i.e., that Frisius considered Erasmus a theological writer and, consequently, listed him in his unpublished "Nomenclator theologicus." It appears that there was no clear distinction between philosophers and theologians in Frisius' time. For example, authors like Juan Luis Vives and Nicolaus Cusanus are often considered theological writers, but Frisius lists both in his bibliography. Of course, one should not exclude the possibility of inconsistency in Frisius' work. While he omits Bessarion, he lists Georgius Trapezuntius whose *Comparationes phylosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis* was an attack on Plato to which Bessarion replied in a famous work entitled *Adversus calumniatorem Platonis*. Thus in this controversy Frisius lists only one antagonist, the one who is against Plato whom Frisius himself admires. Though Frisius' bibliography reflects the reformers' awareness of the importance of a chronology to defend their cause, it nevertheless reveals the humanistic concern for the literature of antiquity and, on the basis of omissions at least, it would be impossible to assert that Frisius' bibliography reflects a tendency towards Neoplatonism more than toward Aristotelianism, because the omissions mentioned affect both Renaissance Neoplatonists and Aristotelians.

Influence of Gesner

Like Gesner, Frisius lists only publications in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, because in his time works written in the vernacular were not generally considered scholarly. This fact may explain why he omits such famous poets as Dante and Ariosto, although he does include, for the same period, a number of poets who wrote mostly in Latin. This may also explain why Frisius does not include the famous political writer of the Renaissance, Niccolò Machiavelli, while he records such minor Renaissance political writers as Nicolaus Siculus, Franciscus de Accoltis, and Pomponius Laetus who wrote in Latin.

Frisius follows Gesner's practice of giving brief biographical sketches or short phrases identifying authors and their writings. The length of sketch varies from over a hundred lines for Plato to two line descriptive phrases for such authors as Albertus de Prusa and Baptista Cimatorius whom he obviously considers minor. The sketches of authors considered important are, on the average, nine lines long. Exceptionally long sketches, over thirty lines, are devoted to Dedalus, Homer, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Diogenes Laertius, Apuleius, and Proclus. The sketch of Aristotle is not only shorter than that of Plato, but also shorter than those of Homer, Pythagoras, and Epicurus.

The bibliographical data included in the sketches vary from a brief mention of the subject or subjects dealt with by an author to a detailed enumeration of the works of major authors like Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus. Imprint is not given for individual works, but a paragraph is sometimes added to indicate one or several editions of complete works of an author. Occasionally a critical evaluation is given, usually a quotation from the sources consulted in compiling the bibliography.

Frisius was probably further influenced by Gesner in attaching importance to the alphabetical index to a bibliography. At the end of his work there are two alphabetical indexes, one listing philosophers and the other listing Church Fathers. In both indexes reference is to the decade in which a particular author flourished. Authors whose dates could not be established are omitted from the main body of

the work and listed in the index only. Frequently the sources consulted about such authors are indicated. Sometimes an approximate date is supplied in the index with an explanatory note that a certain author lived after another whose dates are given (e. g., "Antipater Sidonius, poeta Graecus, Stoicae sectae, post Panaetium"). Consequently, the indexes supplement information in the main body of the bibliography.

As was customary prior to the seventeenth century, authors are listed by their first names, both in the indexes and in the main body of the work. Only a few exceptions occur (e. g., Macrobius and Boethius) because, in Frisius' time, some authors were generally known by their last names only. Indexes include cross references which direct the reader from one form of an author's name to another. There are a few errors and omissions in the indexes, but they are minor.

Value

In spite of such achievements as thorough coverage, dating of classical authors, and detailed indexes, Frisius' bibliography is more the work of a theologian and scholar than of a professional bibliographer. In view of the renewed interest on the part of humanists in the writers of antiquity, especially Plato, Frisius wanted to produce as complete a list as possible of classical authors and to separate them from Church Fathers. By giving equal importance to both philosphers and Church Fathers, he strictly followed the teachings of Zwingli, for whom ancient philosophy was almost a religion, and religion was philosophy based upon a Stoic acceptance of Providence.

Frisius' *Bibliotheca* is therefore an obvious product of the Renaissance and the Reformation, a point which has not been emphasized by critics of the work. The importance attributed by Frisius to the authors of classical antiquity, whom he does not fail to bring out above all others, demonstrates his humanistic admiration for ancient literature and philosophy. We should note that his "Philosophorum Series" and "Series Patrum" do not form two separate works but constitute one single book the leaves of which are numbered consecutively, reflecting the desire of some of the early Reformers to combine the ideas of classical antiquity with the teachings of Church Fathers. Rice explains this inclination by noting:

> Humanist educators offered an initial solution [to the problem of reconciling Christian values with the humanist's enthusiasm for classical antiquity] by coupling their enthusiasm for pagan antiquity with a parallel emphasis on Christian antiquity, by embracing the whole of the ancient letters, pagan literature and the writings of the Church Fathers in a comprehensive admiration... In patristic literature humanists found a Christian vision of antiquity. The Fathers had reconciled the tension between Christianity and the ideals of classical culture. [25]

For today's scholars Frisius' bibliography is more a curiosity than a useful work. The nineteenth century bibliographer, Julius Petzholdt, thought that it had no

25) Eugene F. Rice, Jr., "Foreword," in William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, with a foreword by Eugene F. Rice, Jr. ("Classics in Education," No. 18; New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University [c1963]), pp. XIV–XV.

bibliographical value, [26] but Theodore Besterman, more conscious of the historical perspective in which Frisius' work has to be viewed, states that it "formed the basis of more systematic bibliographies of philosophy." [27] It is true that Frisius is not a systematic bibliographer; he pays more attention to authors than books and does not provide a subject index to his bibliography. Nevertheless, his concern for the accuracy of the dates given and his desire to clarify the conception of philosophy as a separate subject by establishing a bibliography entirely devoted to it led to a pioneer attempt similar to Gesner's but in a more restricted field. Like Gesner, Frisius was one of the northern humanists who were protected from the civil violence common to the other, predominantly Catholic countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first bibliography of philosophy appeared in this rather secure environment. Bibliographies of philosophy were to remain an unchallenged prerogative of German scholarship for more than two centuries. In fact, it is only six years after the publication of Frisius' work that the bibliographical activity of Israel Spach established unequivocally the preeminence of Protestant Germany in this field.

Spach's Classified Bibliography, 1598

In the sixteenth century the German-speaking countries belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. This German area was made up of various states from which blew the tempest of the Reformation. From the peripheral cities of the Empire – Frankfurt, Strasbourg, and Basel – numerous Lutheran publications were exported to France and England. In this propagation of Luther's ideas the free imperial city of Strasbourg, the birthplace of Israel Spach, played a major role.

Strasbourg and the Reformation

In the sixteenth century Strasbourg attained its greatest fame both in its religious and intellectual history. [28] After a series of rapid gains the Reformation movement conquered the majority of the city's population in the 1520's. For several years during the century Strasbourg, well-known for its tolerant attitude toward all religions, was a place of refuge for the protestants of Europe. Exiled from Geneva, Calvin himself came to Strasbourg in 1538 and stayed for three years. The intellectual life of the city reached its height during the first three decades of the sixteenth century when such famous humanists as Wimpheling, Sebastian Brant, Geiler, and Murner made the city their home. Wimpheling and other Strasbourg humanists influenced the city authorities to invite the prominent humanist educator, Johann Sturm, to establish a school which would make Strasbourg "an object of envy throughout Germany, and might indeed claim to be the very crown of the Empire." [29] In 1538 Sturm founded the Stadtgymnasium which soon

26) Petzholdt, p. 458.

27) Besterman, p. 28.

28) Philippe Dollinger, *Strasbourg, du passé au présent* (Strasbourg: Editions des Dernières Nouvelles, 1962), pp. 27–35; Henri Strohl, *Le Protestantisme en Alsace* (Strasbourg: Editions Oberlin [c1950]), pp. 60–90.

29) Wimpheling's tract *Germania* published in 1501, quoted by William Harrison Woodward in his *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400–1600* ("Contributions to the History of Education," II; Cambridge: University Press, 1906), pp. 216–17.

attracted students from all over Europe and because of its success was elevated to an Academy in 1566.

In conjunction with the intellectual and religious activity of the city more than seventy-five publishers established houses there, thus making the city one of the greatest book production centers of the sixteenth century. The reasons were both financial and religious. According to Steinberg, "The second quarter of the sixteenth century was a heyday for the Strasbourg printers as they threw themselves vigorously into the religious warfare on the side of the Lutheran Reformation." [30]

Career of Israel Spach

It was in this environment that Israel Spach was born in 1560. He received his secondary education in Strasbourg and then went to Paris where he was a student in medicine of Jean Riolan the Elder, one of the most fervent defenders of Hippocrates against the attacks of the chemists of that time. Subsequently Spach studied at the University of Tübingen where in 1581 he obtained a doctorate in medicine. [31] Upon returning to Strasbourg he began to practice medicine and, on November 7, 1581, married Margaretha Schertzheimer, the daughter of an accountant. [32] His marriage in the then Lutheran Strasbourg Cathedral is the only specific indication of his religious affiliation. In November, 1589 Spach took over the teaching of physics and Hebrew, as well as medicine, at the Strasbourg Academy, predecessor of the University of Strasbourg. He remained at the Academy until his death on April 20, 1610. There are indications that Sprach was in financial difficulties before his death, perhaps even to the extent of having been forced to sell his library. [33]

Although primarily a physician, Spach was not much less a scholar and was apparently more interested in books than Frisius. In the preface to his bibliography of philosophy, he talks about the learning to be drawn from books, ending with these words:

30) Sigfrid Henry Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (2d ed., fully rev.; [Harmondsworth]: Penguin Books [1961]), pp. 47–48.

31) Fr. Edouard Sitzmann, "Spach, Israel," *Dictionnaire de biographie des hommes célèbres de l'Alsace* (Rixheim: Impr. F. Sutter, 1910), II, 798–99; Oscar Berger-Levrault, *Annales des professeurs des académies et universités alsaciennes, 1523–1871* (Nancy: Impr. Berger-Levrault, 1892), p. 229. During a visit to libraries and public archives in Strasbourg I found little information which supplements the scarce printed data regarding Spach's life.

32) The Municipal Archives of Strasbourg: Register of the marriages in the Strasbourg Cathedral during the sixteenth century.

33) According to the document "Fuchs, Ser. V, p. 97, no. 141 (1605)" in the Municipal Archives of Strasbourg, Spach owed enough money to prompt the wife of a creditor to request the sale of Spach's property.

> Quid si petitioni huic meae locus aliquis relinquetur: tantum, quantum in me erit, regratificabor quoque alijs: studiaq; mea semper conabor accommodare utilitati publicae, daturus alia ex supellectile mea libraria. [34]

From this statement it can be inferred that Spach took care to examine personally at least some of the books listed. Such interest and conscientiousness indicate an awareness of the demands of scholarship expected of a professor at the Strasbourg Academy where not only did he preside over nineteen dissertations but also produced a remarkable bibliography of medicine and wrote scholarly works of his own like *De memoria* and *De motu seu exercitiis et quiete.* [35]

Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum

Scope. – According to the preface of his bibliography of philosophy, Spach aimed to list all philosophical works which had appeared up to 1597. He intended to include books in various languages, produced in various countries both in printed and in manuscript form. He excluded only the following categories of publications:

1. translations of philosophical works;
2. "Philosophical disputations" (these, according to Spach, "can easily be sought from the printers of the Academies")
3. almanacs and astrological predictions for each year;
4. individual works which are in another, more general work of the same author (e. g., "the principles of physics" of an author "who has produced a complete course of all philosophy").

In Spach's time the field of philosophy was very broad. Renaissance universities had preserved the four medieval faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy, the latter embracing all branches of knowledge with the exception of those covered in the three other faculties. Spach attempts to cover the arts and sciences included in the *trivium* and *quadrivium* and such other subjects as metaphysics, physics, ethics, history, political science, and economics. Only about one-sixth of the bibliography deals with the subject matter of philosophy as it is defined today. He eliminates from his listing a number of ancient philosophers whose works were not extant. Consequently, while Frisius lists them, Spach eliminates Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Philolaus, Archytas, Prodicus, and Zeno of Elea. It was thus Spach's intention to list only those works, published or in manuscript, which would be accessible to scholars of his time. He

34) Israel Spach, *Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum. Hoc est: Succincta recensio eorum, qui philosophiam omnesque eius partes quouis tempore idiomateue usq; ad annum 1597 descripserunt, illustrarunt, & exornarunt, methodo artificiosa secundum locos communes ipsius philosophiae, cum duplici indice, rerum uno, autorum altero* (Argentinae: Apud Antonium Bertramum, 1598), p. [XIX]. Hereafter cited as Spach, *Nomenclator.*

35) A complete list of Spach's works is given in the *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en Alsace aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Strasbourg: P. H. Heitz, 1955), IV, 1369–72.

proudly states in his preface that he lists 5490 authors, obviously quite an achievement, compared to the 1500 authors included in Frisius.

Besides including all the bio-bibliographical works already mentioned by Frisius, Spach adds to his "Bibliothecarum Scriptores" section bibliographies of various special subjects such as the first medical bibliography by Symphorien Champier, the first Biblical bibliography by Jacob Zannach, and the second legal bibliography by Giovanni Battista Ziletti. [36] Under headings other than "Bibliothecarum Scriptores" Spach records bio-bibliographical works of varied nature, such as Walter Burley's *Liber de vita ac moribus philosophorum* and Aegidius Periander's *Germania,* [37] which are not mentioned by Frisius. Spach lists one imprint as late as 1595: the catalogue of Greek manuscripts at Augsburg, *Catalogus Graecorum Codicum*, ascribed to Hieronymus Wolffius. The only noticeable weakness in Spach's listing of reference tools is in the field of foreign bibliographies. Although Spach lists the first national bibliographies of England and Italy, he fails to record such foreign bibliographies as works of Francois de La Croix du Maine and Antoine Du Verdier, Alonso Garcia Matamoros' *De asserēda Hispanorū eruditione*, Antonio Possevino's *Bibliotheca selecta*, Angelo Rocca's *Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana*, and Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books.* [38] The omission of the last three may be explained by the difficulty of communication at that time, since they were published in the same decade of the century when Spach's bibliography went to press. Despite these omissions Spach should be given credit for his efforts toward completeness and his desire to keep to a minimum the time lag between the date of publication of a work and its listing. The increasing religious intolerance of Strasbourg toward the end of the sixteenth century may explain the omission of such important bibliographical works as Bernardus de Lutzenburgo's *Catalogus haereticorum* and Joannes Cochlaeus' *Catalogus brevis,* [39] because both works list heretics of the time. The same reason may also explain the absence of Cornelis Loos' *Illustrium Germaniae scriptorum catalogus,* [40] since this compilation includes only works written by orthodox Christians, displaying the author's zeal against the Reform.

Among the prominent philosophers of the post-medieval period [41] whose works were published prior to 1597, the only missing authors are Alberico Gentili, Cesare Cremonini, Theophrastus Paracelsus, and Martin Luther. These omissions do not seem to be due to the possible human errors which Spach alluded to in the preface; they probably can best be explained by editorial and historical factors. The omission of Paracelsus and Luther may be due to the fact that Spach considered these men not philosophers, but rather representatives of other fields: Paracelsus of medicine and Luther of theology. Alberico Gentili's *De jure belli*, published in 1588, became famous only in the first half of the seventeenth century after Hugo Grotius' work *De jure belli ac pacis*, published in 1625, established its importance. The major philosophical work of Cremonini, *Explanatio prooemii librorum Aristotelis de physico auditu*, was printed in 1596, and may have reached Spach too late to be included.

Spach's intention was to record as many books as possible notwithstanding the differences of opinion between their authors. Spach states in his preface that he attempts to be objective in the listing of philosophers professing religions other than his own, and in many instances he seems to have followed this principle. Unlike Frisius, for example, who excludes Thomas Aquinas altogether, Spach lists twenty-one titles by Thomas Aquinas. Spach also includes as many as forty titles of Philipp Camerarius, a Lutheran who was noted for advocating religious tolerance, especially in his *Horae subcisivae seu Meditationes historicae*, published in 1591.

Spach makes forty-six references (the highest number made to a single author in his bibliography) to works written by Melanchthon, who was responsible for making Aristotelianism the official philosophy in Protestant universities. In the section entitled "Logica" Spach places Aristotle's *Organum* first, though Aristotelian logic had been strongly criticized by many humanists, especially the avant-garde figure, Petrus Ramus, whose logic became very popular in sixteenth century German universities. Spach covers Ramus well but does not single him out from the other humanists of the period and certainly does not give prominence to his amalgamation of both logic and dialectic into a single discipline. It should be noted also that Spach does not fail to include Jacopo Zabarella, a humanist who had not only become famous for attempting to reconcile Alexandrists' interpretation of Aristotle with the one of the Averroists, but also for the 1594 Strasbourg edition of his works issued by Johann Ludwig Hawenreuter, a colleague of Spach at the Academy. [42] But while listing works of Zabarella, who had only recently been acclaimed in Germany, Spach does not make any mention of Lucius Apuleius, the Neoplatonist. In this connection it should be observed that, if Spach had consulted Frisius, he would not have failed to note the entry on Apuleius, for it is one of the

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36) Symphorien Champier, "De medecine claris scriptoribus in quinque partitus tractatus," in his volume with the title page reading *Index librorum in hoc volumine contentorum. Domini Symphoriani Champerii . . . Libelli duo* (Lugduni? Jannot de Campis? 1506?); Jacob Zannach, *Bibliotheca theologica* (Mulhusii: Hantzsch, 1591); Giovanni Battista Ziletti, *Index librorum . . . in utroq; iure editorum* (Venetiis: Ex officina I. Ziletti, 1559).

37) Walter Burley *Liber de vita ac moribus philosophorum, poetarumque veterum* ([Coloniae: U. Zell, n. d.]); Aegidius Periander, *Germania . . . in qua doctissimorum virorum elogia et judicia continentur* (Francofurti ad Moenum: Per P. Fabricium, 1567).

38) Francois Grudé, sieur de La Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque du Sieur de la Croix du Maine* (Paris: A. l'Angellier, 1584); Antoine Du Verdier, *La bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, seigneur de Vauprivas* (Lyon: B. Honorat, 1585); Alonso Garcia Matamoros, *De asserēda Hispanorū eruditione* (Compluti: Ex officina Ioannis Brocarij, 1553); Antonio Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta* (2 vols. in 1; Romae: E typ. Apostolica Vaticana, 1593); Angelo Rocca, *Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana* (Romae: Ex typographia apostolica Vaticana, 1591); Andrew Maunsell, *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (2 pts. in 1 vol.; London: A. Maunsell, 1595).

39) Bernardus de Lutzenburgo, *Catalogus haereticorum* ([Cologne: E. Cervicorn, 1522?]); Johannes Cochlaeus, *Catalogus brevis eorum quae contra novas sectas scripsit Joannes Cochlaeus* (Apud S. Victorem prope Moguntiam, per F. Behem, 1548).

40) Cornelis Loos (known as Callidius), *Illustrium Germaniae scriptorum catalogus* (Moguntiae: Apud C. Behem, 1582).

41) See Appendix II.

42) Petersen, p. 198.

longest entries in Frisius' *Bibliotheca*. Spach did not consider Frisius a bibliographer; he lists Frisius' work not in his "Bibliothecarum Scriptores" section but in that entitled "Vitae doctorum," in spite of the fact that the title of Frisius' book clearly indicates that it is a bibliography of philosophy.

Arrangement. — In working out a classification of headings for his bibliography Spach was greatly influenced by Gesner. Table 2 shows that Spach eliminates from

TABLE 2
CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS OF REISCH, GESNER, AND SPACH[a]

Reisch (1503)	Gesner (1548)	Spach (1598)
Astronomy	Astronomy	Astrology
	Astrology	Divination
Dialectic	Dialectic	Poetry
Rhetoric	Rhetoric	Logic
	Poetry	Dialectic
		Rhetoric
		Metaphysics
Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Mathematics
Music	Geometry	Arithmetic
Geometry	Music	Astronomy
Astronomy	Astronomy	Astrology
	Astrology	Divination
		Geometry
	Divination	Cosmography
	Geography	Geography
	History	History
	Useful Arts	
		Music
Principles & origin of natural things	Natural philosophy	Natural philosophy
The soul, logic	Metaphysics	
Ethics	Moral philosphy	Ethics
	Domestic philosophy	Politics
	Civil Arts	Economics
	Law	
	Medicine	Mechanical Arts
	Christian theology	Loci communes
		Fables
		Mythology
		Horsemanship
		Witchcraft

[a]Sources: Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica* ([2d ed.]; Argentinae: Johannes Schottus, 1504); Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London: Trübner, 1859), II, 761–63; and Israel Spach, *Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum* (Argentinae: Apud Antonium Bertramum, 1598).

the bibliography of Gesner those subjects which in his time no longer belonged to the faculty of philosophy, i. e., theology, medicine, and law; he keeps the others, including a variety of subjects which cannot be accommodated within the main divisions. These are placed at the end of the work, under such headings as *loci communes*, fables, mythology, nautical science, horsemanship, and witchcraft.

Spach moved metaphysics to a place of prominence between the subjects of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* and music from its traditional place among the subjects of the *quadrivium* to a separate heading between history and natural philosophy. Here he may have been influenced by the curriculum of the Strasbourg Academy. It is known that the baccalaureate examination at the Academy included grammar, examples from poetry, logic, dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, and astronomy, and that the master's degree required examination in dialectic, physics, ethics and politics, mathematics, and astronomy. Music was not a subject for examination.[43)]

In spite of a considerable similarity between Spach's classification and those of Reisch and Gesner, there is no conclusive evidence concerning the factors which influenced Spach to establish a classified arrangement of his bibliography. One point is clear: in Spach's time and during the century which preceded the publication of his bibliography, there was a prevailing trend, as shown in the Reisch and Gesner schemes, to classify philosophy by starting with the subjects of the *trivium*, followed by those of the *quadrivium* which, in their turn, are followed by all other subjects, beginning with natural philosophy and ethics. The fact that Spach took special care to establish such a subject arrangement shows how important the subject approach seemed to him.

A further indication of his concern for the subject approach is demonstrated by the indexes appended to the volume. While the author index is conspicuously traditional in listing Christian names first (e. g., twenty-four columns devoted to Johannes), the subject index, similar to the one in his medical bibliography, is "a real advance in the technique of bibliography making." [44)] To some extent it is an analytical index because, when a work covers more than one subject, each subject is listed separately in the index. For example, the heading "De Uno, Ente, & Essentia" has three entries in the index, i. e., "Unum," "Ens," and "Essentia."

In the main body of Spach's bibliography books are listed without any biographical information about their authors, indicating that Spach's chief concern was not to produce a bio-bibliography, but rather to compile a bibliography where the subject approach prevails over the completeness of entry information. In at least a third of the entries, the information given is not sufficient to identify the bibliographic units easily. Spach frequently abbreviates titles and, in a great many instances, omits them altogether, especially when the title of the book is identical with, or similar to, the subject heading used for the division or subdivision in which the

43) Gerhard Meyer, *Die Entwicklung der Strassburger Universität aus dem Gymnasium und der Akademie des Johann Sturm* ("Schriften des Wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsass-Lothringer im Reich an der Universität Frankfurt"; Frankfurt am Main: Selbstverlag des Instituts, 1926), pp. 7–59.

44) Estelle Brodman, *The Development of Medical Bibliography* ("Medical Library Association Publication," No. 1; [Washington, D. C.]: Medical Library Association, 1954), p. 20.

book is listed. Under the heading "De Animae immortalitate," for example, Pietro Pomponazzi's work *Tractatus de immortalitate animae*, printed by Justinianus Leonardus Ruberiensis in Bologna in 1516, is listed: "Petrus Pomponatius. Bonon." In the preface Spach says that he purposely tried to abbreviate the titles in order not to make the bibliography too voluminous or expensive. There are practically no informative notes or critical evaluations of the works listed, but manuscript copies are located whenever possible.

Frequently Spach gives separate entries for individual volumes of collections comprising works of several authors or collected works of an author, and, in many instances, he analyzes the individual sections of a work. Furthermore, he lists a considerable number of variant editions, many of which are not recorded by Gesner and are not included by Spach's successors because such editions had been superseded by newer ones. In fact, more than fifty per cent of the editions included by Spach had not been recorded by Gesner, showing Spach's intensive coverage of the last half of the sixteenth century.

Unfortunately it is somewhat difficult to trace a specific book in Spach's bibliography since there is no index of titles and the numerous subdivisions make it difficult to know where a book may be listed even if the general class has been located. Moreover, the divisions and subdivisions are not always clearly identified; they are set off from the main body of the text and in a different type, but often independent divisions are set in italic type as if they were subdivisions. Finally, it is impossible to know where the "Mechanica" section ends, since many miscellaneous headings are appended as if they were subdivisions of the whole. Without a system of cross references, the alphabetical subject index is of no help in locating the general section to which a book belongs.

Innovations. – Spach had arranged the material under subject headings and subheadings and had covered thoroughly books in philosophy as understood in his time, and thus had produced what Besterman calls "the most important subject bibliography" [45] of the first century and a half of the printing era. By using abbreviations to an extent even greater than those found in today's short-title catalogues, Spach was able to record the greatest possible number of contemporary writings. After Gesner, whose work has an historic significance in the development of bibliography because it is the first attempt to achieve universality in recording materials printed up to his time, Spach's bibliography of philosophy marks another important phase in the history of bibliography, one showing the continuous efforts of Renaissance bibliographers to achieve completeness in a subject field, no matter how broad the field might be. In his endeavour Spach achieved a definite success because his work was extensively used for a long time after his death. Even at the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth frequent references were made to Spach in such standard works as Daniel Georg Morhof's *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus et practicus.* [46] No wonder, therefore, that Bolduan, the author of the third Renaissance bibliography, made considerable use of Spach's work.

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45) Besterman, p. 32.

46) Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus et practicus* (3 vols. in 2, Editio Tertia; Lubecae: Sumtibus P. Boeckmanni, 1732).

The First Selective Bibliography by Bolduan, 1616

The *Bibliotheca philosophica,* [47] compiled by Paulus Bolduan, is a seventeenth century work but still may be placed in the Renaissance period because it has the main characteristics of a Renaissance bibliography of philosophy – an arrangement which resembles the one of Spach and a coverage which emphasizes the authors of classical antiquity. This fact is corroborated by Kristeller's statement that the Renaissance period extends through the first few decades of the seventeenth century. [48] It seems therefore practical to group the *Bibliotheca philosophica* with Renaissance bibliographies rather than with the next bibliography of philosophy which was published at the end of the seventeenth century.

Bolduan was a native of Stolpe in Pomerania, northern Germany. In 1579, at the age of sixteen, he was admitted to the Theological School at Stolpe and in 1598 he became a Lutheran minister of the village of Vessin near Stolpe. [49] Between 1614 and 1622, in addition to his bibliography of philosophy, Bolduan compiled bibliographies of history and theology as well. [50]

Coverage

The *Bibliotheca philosophica* begins with a preface which is, for the most part, a tribute to knowledge in general and to the European universities and Bolduan's alma mater in particular. Bolduan states that, since all the subjects taught and learned lead to wisdom, almost all of them belong to the field of philosophy which, he says, is the art of recognizing truth and of practicing goodness. Consequently, like Spach, Bolduan's bibliography includes the seven liberal arts, as well as physics, politics, ethics, and mechanical arts.

In the preface Bolduan observes that he decided to make his bibliography selective because of the countless number of books published in the subjects covered by philosophy. In so doing, he claims that he chose only some authors commended by "optimorum ac prudentissimorum DD. suffragiis & calculis," [51] even though he does not reveal explicitly who these "doctors" are. It can be said with some degree of certainty, however, that Melanchthon is one of them because he was as great an authority in philosophy for Lutherans as Suarez was for Catholics. Petrus Ramus may have been another, for in the second half of the sixteenth century his reputation reached its height in Germany. There, for a century, in Protestant universities and gymnasia his philosophy, especially his dialectic, was almost as popular as Melanchthon's, which led to the long dispute between the followers of the two and eventually to the downfall of Ramism in Germany.

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47) Paulus Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica, sive: Elenchus scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum illustrium* (Jenae: Apud Joannem Weidnerum, impensis haeredum Thomae Schureri, 1616). Hereafter cited as Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica.*

48) Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Renaissance Philosophies," *A History of Philosophical Systems*, ed. by Vergilius T. A. Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library [1950]), p. 227.

49) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, pp. [XV–XVI].

50) Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1750), I, 1206.

51) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. [XXII].

Possibly the decrees against Ramism had not yet reached Stolpe at the time Bolduan was compiling his bibliography because in it Ramus is exceptionally well covered; there are entire subsections devoted to Ramus' dialectic, the quarrel between Ramists and Melanchthonians, and the compromise advocated by the partisans of each doctrine. This thorough coverage might be accounted for by Bolduan's desire to be as objective as possible in recording the most important works of his time, including those by non-Lutherans. In the metaphysics division he includes not only books dealing with theurgy – a practice followed also by Frisius and Spach – but some texts of such scholastics as Aegidius Moncurtius, [52] and in the ethics division he lists a Jesuit edition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. It should not be inferred from these examples that Bolduan is tolerant of other religions and that his bibliography is totally unbiased. The space devoted to works by and about Aristotle is more than ten times greater than that allocated to Plato, although in his preface Bolduan calls the latter "the divine Plato." Some books against Protestants are omitted and in the subsection "Moralia," Bolduan lists a book by Desiderius Erasmus, *Libellus de civilitate morum*, but omits the *De libero arbitrio* of Erasmus which marked the final break between Erasmus and Luther. The important work of Bellarmino directed against Protestants, *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos*, is missing in Bolduan as in Spach.

Some other important omissions, like those of Bacon and Montaigne, can probably be explained by the fact that Bolduan's bibliography is weak generally in its coverage of modern European writers outside Germany. Moreover, one of the criteria used by Bolduan in his selection of books may have been their usefulness to education, for he seems inclined to choose a number of books which could be used as texts. He lists many works of a general nature, anthologies of all sorts, and such famous textbooks in sixteenth century Germany as Christopher Petzel's *Epitome philosophiae moralis* and Melanchthon's *Commentarius de anima*. In addition to the complete edition of the latter, printed in Wittenberg in 1560, Bolduan, unlike Spach, lists the 1580 edition which was issued in digest form and was probably considered more suitable than the full text for the large audience he intended to reach.

Comparison with Spach

An examination of Bolduan's work reveals many points in common between the headings and listings of his bibliography and that of Spach. Bolduan's subdivision "De Methodo" is textually almost identical with Spach's "Methodus" in the listing of works published prior to 1597, Spach's terminal date. Moreover, there is a

52) The other works in which Moncurtius' name was found are Daniel Georg Morhof's *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus et practicus* (Lubecae: Sumtibus P. Boeckmanni, 1732), I, 356; Christian Gottlieb Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1750), I, 110; and Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle: Zedler, 1732), I, 627. Morhof classifies Moncurtius as a follower of the Scholastic philosopher Raymundus Lullus. The only information given about Moncurtius by Jöcher and Zedler is that his *Typus omnium scientiarum, & praesertim theologiae scholasticae* was published in Lyons in 1591.

striking similarity between the "Bibliothecarum Scriptores" section in the two bibliographies. Bolduan eliminates from Spach's list only two entries: "Claudij Ptolomaei Sententiae siue de utilitate librorum" and "Ioannis Baleni Scriptores"; Andrew Maunsell is missing in both Bolduan and Spach. [53] Other entries in various sections of Bolduan's bibliography are identical with Spach and in many instances entries incomplete in Spach are incomplete in Bolduan also. For example, in the entry "Engelberti Abbatis Admontensis Ethica quaedam servantur in coenobio Admontensi" the imprint information is omitted in both. [54] These examples should not lead one to the conclusion that Spach's *Nomenclator scriptorum philosophicorum atque philologicorum* was the only source consulted by Bolduan. Morhof indicates the Frankfurt Book Fair catalogues as the source of Bolduan's bibliography [55] and Jonsius makes a similar statement. [56] In this connection it should also be noted that in the "Bibliothecarum Scriptores" section Bolduan includes the first centennial bibliographical repertory of the Frankfurt Book Fair catalogues recording the books published in Germany from 1500 to 1602. At any rate, in many cases where he lists the same titles as Spach, Bolduan must have consulted another source because in such instances he gives more complete entry information than Spach; it would thus be wrong to assert that Bolduan's bibliography is a duplication or a continuation of Spach's work. In selecting titles Bolduan frequently followed general policy lines of his own. In the section "Elenchi Sophistici" he included only one title which was listed in the same section of Spach's work, but he added three new titles of works published before 1597, the latest imprint for books listed by Spach.

Bolduan does not make a confusing use of abbreviations like Spach, and he attempts to make entries as complete as possible. The following examples illustrate the advance in completeness of entry information:

Spach:	Francisci Verini defensio Philosophiae. Romae. 86. in 4.
Bolduan:	Francisci Verini Secundi liber, in quo à calumnijs detractatorum philosophia defenditur, à Nicolao Umbrosio Pisano, in capita distributa. Rom. 1586. in 4.
Spach:	Ludouici à Granata Collectanea moralis Philos. Paris. ap. Guil. Chauder. 83. 8.
Bolduan:	Ludovici Granatensis Collectanea moralis Philosophiae in tres Tomos distributa, quorum I. selectissimas sententias ex omnibus Senecae operibus. II. Ex moralibus Opusculis Plutarchi. III. Clarissimorum Principum Philosophorum insigniora Apophthegmata complectitur. Paris. 1583. in 8. (This entry represents the full title of the work).[57]

53) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, pp. 644–50; Spach, *Nomenclator*, pp. 20–22.

54) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 390; Spach, *Nomenclator*, p. 641.

55) Morhof, I, 199–200.

56) Joannes Jonsius, *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae libri IV . . . cura Io. Christophori Dornii, cum praefatione Burcardi Gotthelfii Struvii* (Ienae: apud viduam Meyerianam, 1716), III, p. 148.

57) Spach, *Nomenclator*, pp. 10, 644; Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, pp. 22, 392.

Like Spach, Bolduan gives no annotations for titles listed, a lack which Morhof had criticized in an otherwise favorable evaluation of Spach's bibliography.[58]

Arrangement

Summaries of the classification systems of Gesner, Spach, and Bolduan (Table 3) show similarities between Bolduan's arrangement and the schemes of Gesner and

TABLE 3

CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS OF GESNER, SPACH, AND BOLDUAN[a]

Gesner (1548)	Spach (1598)	Bolduan (1616)
Grammar	Grammar	Grammar
Dialectic	Poetry	Dialectic
Rhetoric	Logic	Rhetoric
Poetry	Dialectic	
	Rhetoric	
	Metaphysics	
Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Music
Geometry	Astronomy	Arithmetic
Music	Astrology	Geometry
Astronomy	Divination	Astronomy
Astrology	Geometry	Astrology
	Cosmography	
Divination	Geography	
Geography	History	
History		Metaphysics
Useful Arts		
	Music	
Natural philosophy	Natural philosophy	Natural philosophy
Metaphysics		(Physics)
Moral philosophy	Ethics	Ethics
Domestic philosophy	Politics	Politics
Civil Arts	Economics	Economics
Law		
Medicine	Mechanical Arts	Mechanics
Christian theology	Architecture	Agriculture
	Military Art	Architecture
	Agriculture	Military Art

[a]Sources: Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries* (London: Trübner, 1859), II, pp. 761–63; Spach, *Nomenclator*; and Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica.*

58) Morhof, I, 199–200, 208.

Spach. In his arrangement of the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, Bolduan is closer to Gesner than to Spach, but in other subjects Bolduan's classification has much more in commom with Spach. Nevertheless, Bolduan's arrangement has many special characteristics of its own. He omits history which for him was clearly not a part of philosophy. For example, in mentioning in the preface David Chytraeus, a former master at Stolpe, Bolduan makes a clear distinction between the three different aspects of his scholarly activities; he calls him "Theologus celeberrimus, Philosophus ac Historicus eximius,"[59] and the three bibliographies Bolduan compiled cover the subjects implied in this remark. Geography is likewise eliminated, although under the heading "Geometria" he lists such subjects as "Cosmographia," "Mappae," "Itineraria," and "Navigationes."

Logic does not constitute a separate division and titles dealing with this subject have been distributed among the three divisions of the *trivium*, grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric (with most titles in dialectic). This practice may be explained by the fact that, according to Bolduan's views expressed in the preface, logic is a method rather than a branch of philosophy. Unlike Spach, Bolduan does not provide a separate division for poetry but, instead, relegates several headings covering this subject to the end of his work, following the sections devoted to Greek and Latin poetry. Poets of the modern era are poorly represented in the three-page section entitled "Poemata recentiora & selectiora," as if, like many a humanist of the sixteenth century, Bolduan thought that poetry was for pleasure and not for education. As a minister, he could not condone pleasure, as is demonstrated by the sermonizing in the preface. Music, on the contrary, is exceptionally well covered in Bolduan, which is not surprising in view of the prominent place given to musical education in the Protestant Church. Again differing from Spach, Bolduan retains music among the subjects of the *quadrivium*. In the preface he indicates no difference between music, arithmetic, and geometry, in so far as importance is concerned; to him they are all parts of mathematics.

A special feature of Bolduan's bibliography is his grouping of Greek and Latin authors with their commentaries in two special sections entitled "Auctores Graecae Linguae" and "Auctores Latinae Linguae." These sections occupy approximately one fourth of the whole work and precede the last sections devoted to fables, mythology, proverbs, and *loci communes*. The sections on Greek and Latin authors duplicate to some extent the titles already listed under appropriate subjects, thus markedly emphasizing the ancients. Finally, the bibliography ends with a list of the major European universities. In listing them, Bolduan was expressing his admiration for these centers of knowledge about which he speaks with awe in the preface.

As a northern humanist, trained in the art of dialectic, Bolduan was quite able to present a rational explanation of the organization of knowledge. In the preface he showed how one subject led logically to another. Still, when he had to find a classification of the subjects outside of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, he did not have a clear conception of what it should be. He gives no subdivisions for subjects like politics, economics, and mechanics. As a result, agriculture, military science, and architecture, which are subdivisions of mechanics in Spach, became independent divisions in Bolduan's bibliography, and the latter acquired an unbalanced

59) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. [XIV].

structure with one part of the book made up of long divisions, minutely subdivided, and another containing only a series of very brief sections.

Titles in the vernacular

The assignment of many independent headings may have made Bolduan's work easier to use than Spach's, but the failure to provide an author index to a classified bibliography is a serious drawback. If lack of financial support caused this omission, the fact remains that, faced with an alternative of a subject index or an author index, Bolduan chose the former, which was entirely in keeping with his great concern for a subject approach. In regard to cost, Bolduan did accept an increase in the cost of printing by deciding to record a great number of German titles in the vernacular and to print them in Gothic type. Some of the German titles which Spach translated into Latin, Bolduan records in the vernacular, even though the editions cited are exactly the same in both instances. The example given below illustrates the point.

Spach: Ioan. Boteri, cum tabulis in aere. Colon. ap. haer. Ioan. Gymn. 96. fol. Germ.

Bolduan: Johan. Boteri, Allgemeine Weltbeschreibung aller Landschafften . . . Cöln. 1596. Johan. Gymnic. [60]

Sometimes Bolduan was content to enter a book written in German under its Latin title and, like Spach, added the notation "Germ[anice]" to it. If there were many German books to be recorded, he grouped them under a German heading which is actually a translation of the preceding Latin heading. For example, the subdivision "Cosmographia" is followed by the heading "Weltbeschreibung" under which all titles are recorded in the vernacular. The music division provides a curious example of Bolduan's other inconsistency in this matter. Here titles in some subdivisions, like "Psalmen Davids," are recorded in German, since it would have been termed papist to do otherwise, and yet in some other subdivisions, like "Canticum canticorum," titles are recorded in Latin. More understandable is his practice of listing cookbooks in German, while Spach records them in Latin. Bolduan may have done this on the assumption that the housewives of Stolpe who would use the cookbook section might be unable to read Latin titles. If such were really his policy, it would further illustrate the fact that the bibliography was compiled with a heterogeneous reading public in mind. In the preface Bolduan states that he wanted to provide students, teachers, ministers, and lawyers with a practical tool for ready use in their profession and studies, and also to serve the people of Stolpe.

Contribution

In the eighteenth century Bolduan's work was criticized for the absence of annotations of the titles listed; in the nineteenth century Julius Petzholdt considered the broad and vague definition of philosophy the main shortcoming. [61]

60) Spach, *Nomenclator*, p. 409; Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 288.

61) Petzholdt, pp. 458–59.

Both criticisms lack historical perspective. First, it must be remembered that it was not until the eighteenth century that the practice of adding annotations came into general use in bibliographies of philosophy. The truth is that Bolduan was the first bibliographer of philosophy to give reasonably complete entry information – author, title, and imprint – for most titles listed. Secondly, the criticism expressed by Petzholdt fails to take into consideration the fact that Bolduan's broad definition of philosophy was the one generally held at that time. It must be said to Bolduan's credit that he was the first to make an attempt to narrow the field by omitting history from his bibliography. Despite the fact that he was not close to large universities and therefore did not have easy access to books, he nevertheless made an important contribution to the early development of the bibliography of philosophy. According to Petzholdt, Spach's *Nomenclator* served as a model to Bolduan, [62] and indeed similarities between the two bibliographies have been found. But, in any case, Bolduan should be credited with producing a bibliography which, in most of its entries, comes quite close to modern bibliographies in completeness of entry information.

Three Renaissance Bibliographers

Frisius, Spach, and Bolduan compiled different types of bibliographies. In today's terminology, Frisius produced a bio-bibliography, Spach a short-title catalogue, and Bolduan a selective bibliography. Of the three, Spach had the greatest influence on later development in the field because he was the first to show a real concern for a subject bibliography of philosophy in which books should be classified in a thoroughly developed arrangement. The second volume of Gesner's universal bibliography, *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium libri XXI*, may have served as a model for Spach in establishing his classification, but this does not minimize Spach's achievement.

Frisius had realized that philosophers pursued aims which, although they were not contradictory, were not to be confused with those of Church Fathers. As a Zwinglian, he considered it a great mistake to associate pagan teaching with Christian dogma and therefore divided his bibliography into two parts which dealt separately with each of these groups.

Unlike Frisius, Bolduan insisted in the preface that reason was a supreme and beneficent power given to men by God, and thus not the enemy of faith. Bolduan's praise of nature which "menti hominis impressit . . . quasdam notiones" and his eulogy of philosophy called the "animi medicina" [63] correspond to the humanistic form of Protestant education which Melanchthon had introduced into the German schools. According to Randall, Melanchthon "reinstated the idea of natural law . . . and . . . set natural theology once more beside revealed theology." [64] It is not surprising, therefore, that like Spach, Bolduan includes subjects like "Animae Immortalitas," which Frisius would have considered as pertaining to theology only.

62) *Ibid.*, p. 459.

63) Bolduan, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, pp. [IV], [VI].

64) Randall, I, 114.

As a physician and professor of medicine, Spach realized how distinct his own subject was from philosophy and, consequently, having compiled a bibliography of medicine, turned his attention to the other area and produced a bibliography in which philosophy no longer encompassed all the branches of knowledge as it had in Gesner's scheme. Spach's bibliography covers the field of what was considered philosophy at the universities of his time, including his own alma mater. Bolduan's method was simpler than Spach's, because he did not break down some important divisions, such as metaphysics and politics, but narrowed the field of philosophy by eliminating history, his main innovation in scope.

The successes and failures of Frisius, Spach, and Bolduan in their efforts to compile adequate bibliographies of philosophy derive, to a considerable extent, from the state of philosophy in their time. Renaissance science was still very largely theoretical and based chiefly on books rather than on direct observation, and Renaissance scholars frequently turned to Biblical and classical authors for the study of scientific subjects including the applied sciences. In spite of the separation of theology from philosophy, which goes back at least to the thirteenth century, no scientific or philosophical knowledge was entirely free from the traits found in the teachings of the Church. Some confusion existed about subjects like metaphysics and divination which were on the borderline between theology and philosophy. No bibliographer gave metaphysics the same place in the arrangement of subjects. Gesner placed it after natural philosophy, Spach between the subjects of the *trivium* and those of the *quadrivium*, and Bolduan after the subjects of the *quadrivium* before physics. (Table 3).

The bibliographies of Frisius, Spach, and Bolduan owe much to the Renaissance period. The new sources of erudition available at that time, the rediscovered Greek letters, and the widespread compilations of various sorts enabled bibliographers to record a great variety of subjects. The almost exclusive attention paid by Frisius to the ancients, the long section reserved by Bolduan for the ancient authors, and Spach's attention equally divided between ancient and modern writers are typical of an age which had rediscovered the richness of ancient thought. These bibliographies belong in full to humanistic literature. In this respect Frisius is certainly the one who stands out. His listing of ancient authors, even those about whom he seems to know very little or whose works are not extant, speaks for his desire to be as complete in the field as possible. Although Bolduan resembles Frisius in his emphasis on ancient authors, the importance he attributes to Aristotle overshadows his coverage of all the other Greek philosophers, to whom he devotes only half as many pages.

The works of Frisius and Bolduan clearly demonstrate that Renaissance humanism was not the only factor to influence the making of bibliographies of that period. The advent of the Reform had been much more influential. The spirit of controversy animated Frisius when he decided to list chronologically the authors from whom all knowledge originated. He called attention to numerous errors which had slipped into many doctrines because of the inaccurate dating of authors. By reflecting the state of the curriculum in German universities, Bolduan's work shows the impact of Melanchthon's teachings on Protestant philosophy. Bolduan's bibliography covers particularly well new commentaries on Aristotle made by humanists, which is in keeping with the fact that Melanchthon had introduced

Luther's teachings under the aegis of Aristotle. Bolduan's work further illustrates that the important developments in philosophy, once introduced into German universities, were reflected in bibliographies. For example, there is no time lag between publication and insertion in Bolduan's bibliography of works by authors like Ramus, who were reforming or readapting Aristotle to the needs of contemporary education. On the other hand, Machiavelli's *Prince* is not recorded by any of the three bibliographers, and this apparently because of the general hostility to Machiavelli's thought. It can also be suspected that minor authors whose writings were related to the curriculum of a university often had more chance of being listed in the bibliographies of philosophy of the time than a philosopher whose views were so advanced that they remained for a while peripheral to the field.

The numerous controversies which took place during the Renaissance period caused an increase in book production and gave to the scholars of the time a new sense of the importance of examining opposing doctrines. Renaissance bibliographers realized that philosophy, broadly understood as covering the whole realm of secular knowledge, was the main concern of the scholars of the time. As reformers and intellectual revolutionaries, the Protestants were particularly involved in its development, as was also the case with the Protestant universities. It is, therefore, probably not just a coincidence that the first bibliographers of philosophy were Protestants.

Current developments in philosophy exerted more influence on the coverage of a bibliography of philosophy than, for instance, the difficulty of communication. It is true that English, French, and Italian authors, especially those whose works were published late in the sixteenth century, are less thoroughly covered than contemporary German authors, but, considering the time needed to travel from one country to another, Renaissance bibliographies of philosophy demonstrate that knowledge was then European rather than national. Spach's bibliography best illustrates this cosmopolitan spirit, since among several thousand authors covered, fewer than one-tenth are German. Moreover, although each bibliographer had his allegiance to his respective church, Zwinglian or Lutheran, it can be said that, considering the circumstances, Spach and Bolduan in particular aimed at a commendable objectivity.

From all that has been stated it appears that the three bibliographies reflected the spirit of the Renaissance but each in a different way. Frisius adopted a somewhat militant attitude which influenced the arrangement and coverage of his *Bibliotheca*. Spach's attempt at extensive coverage and a great number of subdivisions are characteristic of a strictly bibliographical approach. Finally, Bolduan is representative of those humanists of the late Renaissance who viewed with an abated enthusiasm the intellectual acquisitions of the last two centuries. Compared with Spach, he appears as the humanist who does not believe that all works recently published are "good" for the educated public. He chose to be selective and carried this intention into practice, so that out of fifty-seven major works of Renaissance authors twenty-eight are omitted. The general result was that in the Renaissance period ground was broken for a future development of subject bibliographies in philosophy both selective and inclusive.

CHAPTER II

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND THE RISE OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY

The seventeenth century, which has been called the age of natural science, saw intense bibliographic activity outside Germany, especially in France where Philippe Labbe produced his famous *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum* in 1664. [1] In Germany no major bibliographies were produced, except in medicine and philosophy, until the end of the century. In the bibliography of philosophy Germany retained her monopoly. In 1659 Joannes Jonsius published a history of very great bibliographical value [2], and two decades later Martin Lipen started a series of bibliographies, including one of philosophy. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Burkhard Gotthelf Struve and Gottlieb Stolle, professors at the University of Jena, produced bibliographies of philosophy. Lipen attempted to be universal, remaining clear of the controversies of his time, but the bibliographies of both Struve and Stolle were typically representative of the ideas of the university in which they taught.

Lipen's Attempt at Inclusiveness, 1682

Martin Lipen had been co-rector of the Gymnasium at Halle and later rector of the Gymnasium at Stettin, and was currently co-rector of the Lübeck Gymnasium when, at forty-six, he started the monumental task of compiling a universal bibliography. In 1679 it was an ambitious project to attempt the universality sought by Gesner more than a century earlier, because the number of books published had increased annually. Lipen decided to separate his universal bibliography into four distinctive subject bibliographies, each one corresponding to a division of a university: law, medecine, philosophy, and theology.

The four subject bibliographies appeared successively during a period of six years, from 1679 to 1685. The desire to embark on such a task may have been prompted by the enormous amount of reading he had done during his life before untertaking his great bibliographical project. Lipen had by then thirty-four books and pamphlets on metaphysics, physics, history, theology, and ethics, although in his school years his studies at the University of Wittenberg had been centered on philosophy and theology only. His intensive work (Lipen acquired the reputation of a man who died "épuisé de travail" [3]) as educator and author of many publications brought him in contact with a great number of books which he wanted to see recorded. Finally, he had secured the assistance of two students, the Zeiss brothers, who helped him substantially in his untertaking.

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1) Cf. Archer Taylor, *A History of Bibliographies of Bibliographies* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1955), pp. 21–46.

2) Joannes Jonsius, *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae libri IV* (Francofurti: Ex off. T. M. Götzii, 1659).

3) Jean Pierre Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres* (Paris: Briasson, 1732), XIX, 186.

Lipen's bibliography of philosophy, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica,* [4] was published in 1682. It is the largest bibliography of philosophy produced between the invention pf printing and the end of the nineteenth century. Its forty thousand titles, for the first time including periodical literature, include almost all the important works of famous philosophers published up to Lipen's time. There is no evidence that this bibliography was born of a controversy, as were some bibliographical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Philippe Labbé's *Bibliotheca Anti-Janseniana*, published in Paris in 1659 in the course of the dispute between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. Still, in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century the idea of a complete coverage of philosophical works may have been bold because all the progressive theories of the time would be recorded.

Scope

As stated in the preface, Lipen does not make any bid for an original definition of philosophy. He simply admits that he includes as philosophy all the subject matter taught in the faculty of philosophy and, in general, "whatever can come under the name of polymathy or pansophia", which accounts for the fact that in his bibliography, as in Bolduan's work, one can find such subjects as the art of cooking or ebriety listed next to the then traditional subjects of philosophy. One can observe that Lipen's decision to record all books pertaining to "general learning" or "general wisdom" under philosophy is also determined by the fact that his subject bibliography is part of a universal bibliography in which all the other subjects – law, medicine, and theology – are fairly well defined. Philosophy with its loose, ill-defined limits is once more the general subject in which many a book difficult to classify could be placed. For this reason a great number of subjects are found which were long ago separated from philosophy. There is a wealth of geographical titles, and the total coverage of historical works is approximately twice that of all the specific scientific disciplines. Each major European city and nation has a special section containing primarily works dealing with its history. France, as the most important state in seventeenth century Europe, occupies nearly thirty columns, almost as many as Germany, the country of the author. Such coverage, however, is a drawback compared with that of Bolduan who eliminated history and much of geography.

In conjunction with his intention to achieve completeness in his listing, Lipen aims at recording variant editions with the names of editors, so that, as he emphasizes in his preface, printers would not run the risk of printing as new a book which had already been published, nor scholars regard as first an edition which actually was not. As a result, Lipen's bibliography may contain information which cannot be obtained elsewhere. Lipen is especially good in recording many editions of classical poets and philosophers. He devotes, for example, two columns to the editions of Vergil's works and commentaries upon them. Unfortunately, Lipen did not choose to include full imprint information; he indicates the names of publishers only occasionally.

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4) Martin Lipen, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica omnium materiarum, rerum, & titulorum, in universo totius philosophiae ambitu occurentium* (2 vols.; Francofurti ad Moenum: Cura & sumptibus J. Friderici, typis A. Vogelii, 1682). Hereafter cited as Lipen, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica.*

Almost all the important titles that are expected to be included in a seventeenth century bibliography of philosophy are recorded. In the bibliography of an age turning away from theological speculation to empirical studies of the natural world, it is significant to find that the headings of astronomy, mathematics, and physics occupy one hundred and eleven columns and those of ethics, logic, metaphysics, and politics one hundred and seven columns.

Most of the scientific books which played a great role in the development of modern philosophy are recorded. He lists works of all the prominent scientists of the time: works of the Dutch physician and mathematician Huygens and of the French scientists and philosophers, Mersenne and Blaise Pascal; Hobbes' study on the squaring of the circle, *Quadratura circuli* (1669); Leibniz's new approach to the theory of movement, *Theoria motus abstracti* (1671); and works of the famous astronomers, Kepler and Galileo, who followed in the steps of Copernicus. Descartes has an entire section, in which one can find all his major works listed. Lipen also records books dealing with the discovery of new scientific instruments, such as the compound microscope, the telescope, Otto von Guericke's air pump, and Robert Boyle's compressed-air pump. He covers thoroughly important philosophical works in political science. Machiavelli, for example, whose *Prince* is not recorded by Bolduan and who is entirely absent from Frisius' work, is recorded in a separate section which lists not only his works but also works about him. Lipen's discussion on tyranny in his *Disputatio politica de tyrannide* (1656) may have led him to this extensive coverage of Machiavelli. The general animosity against Hobbes does not prevent Lipen from recording such controversial works as *De cive* and *Leviathan*, and only one of his important works, *De homine*, is missing from the bibliography.

Next to the new giants of the era, like Thomas Hobbes, Lipen, faithful to the spirit of the time and of the bibliography, lists the famous names of antiquity and of the Renaissance. His bibliography is good testimony to the fact that the old and the new continued to live side by side in the domain of man's knowledge. Lipen assigns separate sections to most of the classical authors. Aristotle's influence remained considerable at seventeenth century German universities where his logic, physics, and ethics were still being taught. [5] Lipen has a two-column section devoted to Aristotelian ethics called "Nicomacheorum Libri" to which he refers the reader from sections entitled "Ethica" and "Moralia" where a great number of titles dealing with Aristotelian ethics are recorded. No important works on metaphysics written by Aristotelians are omitted. In addition to famous Renaissance Aristotelians, he also includes such seventeenth century commentators on Aristotle as Henning Arnisaeus, Daniel Cramer, Christian Dreier, Rudolf Goclenius, Jacob Martini, Christoph Scheibler, Daniel Stahl, and Clemens Timpler.[6] In logic, Lipen lists Bacon's *Novum Organum* but of course he devotes an entire section to Aristotle's *Organon*, along with other sections, such as "Aristotelis Impugnatio", "Aristotelis Denfensio", "Analytica Posteriora Aristotelis", and "Rhetorica Aristotelis". The section "Physica" starts with the listing of Aristotle's works on physics and commentaries on them, but also records most of the main works which repudiated Aristotle's view of the universe. Thus Lipen includes Galileo's *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* in which Aristotle's fundamental distinction between the earth and the celestial bodies is denied.

If Lipen cannot thus be suspected of bias, still there is no doubt that his bibliography is typical of what can be expected from a German professor in the seventeenth century. It must be remembered that the new doctrines were debated and studied outside the universities and that Germany was not at the forefront of the discoveries being made. Universities held fast to the traditional doctrines of German education, including their old opposition to Plato. Ramus also survived as an important philosopher, and, although his philosophy was no longer expounded in German universities outside Switzerland, it still remained influential, as can be seen, for instance, from the fact that Christoph Scheibler, famous seventeenth century exponent of Aristotelian metaphysics, was a Ramist in logic. [7] Lipen assigns three sections to Ramus, viz: "Ramus: Ramistae: Ramea Logica," "Rameae Philosophiae & Logicae Defensio," and "Rameae Philosophiae & Logicae Impugnatio." Lipen's good coverage of Ramus can be compared to Bolduan's sections entitled "Rameae Institutiones," "Dialectica Rami ejusque Defensio," and "Dialecticae Rameae Impugnatio.". In Bolduan's work, however, the emphasis on Ramus is balanced by a special section covering the dialectic of Ramus' rival, Melanchthon, while in Lipen's bibliography no such section is provided. Under the special heading "Melanchthon" Lipen lists two works, and these deal only with Melanchthon's life, while the three major works of Melanchthon are scattered under appropriate headings according to their subject. The lack of emphasis on Melanchthon in Lipen's work clearly indicates the decline of Melanchthon's reputation in Germany.

Most of Lipen's omissions of important works, and there are only a few, are in the field of metaphysics, mainly works of the Neoplatonist school of the Italian Renaissance. He lists, for example, only the *Opera omnia* of Nicolaus Cusanus without giving a separate entry for his major work, *De coniecturis*. More striking is the omission of five books written by Giordano Bruno which deal with both metaphysics and ethics, another subject on which Lipen is comparatively weak. The omission of Erasmus' work *De libero arbitrio*, in which he strongly criticized Martin Luther, and Roberto Bellarmino's attack on heretics entitled *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos*, had become traditional in German bibliographies of philosophy.

Some other omissions may be explained by the special difficulties encountered by German bibliographers of the time. In the second half of the seventeenth century,

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5) Cf. Petersen, pp. 148–218.

6) Their importance for the development of Aristotelian metaphysics in seventeenth century Germany is discussed by Petersen, pp. 259–338.

7) Scheibler was called the "Protestant Suarez" because of his work *Opus metaphysicum* (2 vols.; Giessen: [Typis et sumptibus Nicolai Hampelii et Casparis Chmelini], 1617) in which he adapted to the protestant dogma many an explanation of metaphysical problems contained in Francisco Suarez' *Metaphysicarum disputationum ... tomi duo* (See Appendix II) which is said to have remained the most influential and most systematic work of scholastic philosophy after Aquinas; see Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Renaissance Philosophies," *A History of Philosophical Systems*, ed. by Vergilius T. A. Ferm (New York: Philosophical Library [1950]), p. 227. Scheibler's Ramism is noted in Petersen, pp. 289–90.

Germany was still slumbering intellectually after the Thirty Years War, and thus the most important philosophical works, except those of Leibniz, were produced in foreign countries. Some of these were printed just a few years before the publication of Lipen's work and therefore may have not reached him in time. For example, he does not include the 1677 publication of *De anima* by Henry More, an English Platonist, whose two earlier works are recorded; nor does he list Ralph Cudworth, another English Platonist, who published his *True Intellectual System of the Universe* in 1678. The omission of Nicolas Malebranche may be explained by the fact that, although his first important work *De la recherche de la vérité* appeared in 1674, his reputation rose only at the very end of the seventeenth century, after the publication of his *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et sur la religion*.

The coverage of Spinoza's works is more puzzling, but the preface of Lipen's bibliography may supply a clue. In it Lipen states that in his bibliography of philosophy he had first listed titles by concepts, as he had done in his bibliographies of law and medicine, but that later, upon the advice of some friends, he changed his mind and rearranged the whole bibliography of philosophy by key words. [8] It is likely that in the process of overhauling, involving such a complete rearrangement of the enormous bulk of titles, some of them may have been lost. This would explain, for instance, why the only philosophical work of Spinoza recorded by Lipen is the third and fourth parts of Spinoza's *Ethica*, entitled *Affectiones animi* but not the *Ethica* itself. The same reason may account for the fact that, although the field of natural sciences is well covered, Galileo's important work on nature *Il Saggiatore* is missing from Lipen's bibliography, as is the *Discorsi*, his treatise on mechanical philosophy. The only major work of Galileo recorded by Lipen is the *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo*.

Arrangement

The arrangement in Lipen's work is quite unusual, although Georg Draudius had used a similar system of classification about half a century earlier. It consists in selecting the most significant words from the titles of books and in using these words as headings under which books are listed. He arranged the headings alphabetically, and, as a result, the reader finds, side by side, headings which are related to the vocabulary of philosophy, such as "Organon Aristotelis," and others which are not, such as "Ordines Religiosi." Such an "entry-word arrangement," to use the term employed for it by Georg Schneider, [9] eliminated the difficult task of classifying an enormous number of books within concepts. Thus, for example, under the heading "Hypothesis" Lipen lists no books but, instead, refers the reader to the appropriate sections covering books on the specific subjects of various hypotheses.

The increase in number of controversial works published anonymously created a problem for Lipen. For such works he adopted the practice of listing alphabetically

[8] He calls such words *generales tituli* or *rubricae*. Lipen, *Bibliotheca realis philosophica*, I, [v].

[9] Georg Schneider, *Theory and History of Bibliography*, trans. by Ralph Robert Shaw ("Columbia University Studies in Library Service," No. 1; New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), p. 264.

by title under each heading, preceding all the other entries arranged alphabetically by the last names of authors. Unless one looks under the right heading, it is very difficult to find anonymous works because the index gives no reference to them. To find such works, the reader must look up various headings under which they might be recorded. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to find works with self-explanatory titles. For example, it is easy to locate under "Logica" the famous Port-Royal logic, *La Logique ou l'Art de penser*, published in 1662 by Pierre Nicole and Antoine Arnauld anonymously. In other instances an author may seem to be missing if he wrote originally under a pseudonym. Pascal's name, for example, does not appear in Lipen's index, nor does his pseudonym "A. Dettonville," used for his *Lettres de A. Dettonville* on infinitesimal calculus. But the work is listed in the main body of Lipen's bibliography under the heading "Geometria," among the anonymous works. Finally, it should be added that some philosophical books which are missing from Lipen's bibliography of philosophy are listed in his bibliographies of law, medicine, and theology, to which he refers in some headings of his bibliography of philosophy.

Evaluation

Lipen's aim at inclusiveness was carried out reasonably well in that omissions of important works printed up to his time are at a minimum. The only shortcoming is that, unlike Spach, Lipen rarely records unpublished works. Otherwise, the coverage of major philosophical works of the time is good. When one thinks of the resistance of seventeenth century German Protestant universities to new scientific and philosophical thought, Lipen's attempt to list all important philosophers, even the contemporary advocates of doctrines far removed from, or openly opposed to, the teaching of Aristotle, amounts to a manifestation of independence and audacity.

The entry-word arrangement was an innovation in a bibliography of philosophy and is a precursor of the alphabetical arrangement of subjects in American library catalogues. [10] In the preface Lipen speaks with pride of his arrangement and points out that a book which is not found under a special heading may still be listed under a general one. Unfortunately, he very seldom provides cross references from specific to general headings.

Works translated into Latin, like those written in the vernacular, presented a problem. As stated in the preface, Lipen first thought of translating all the titles into Latin, but later, persuaded by his friends, he decided to leave the titles in the vernacular, "being readily convinced that lovers of such books would read in the original rather than in a translation." Frequently, when there are two editions of a work, one in Latin and another in the vernacular, he lists both. For example, for Galileo's *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* Lipen indicates Italian and Latin editions. He is not consistent, however, in this practice because quite often in his entries he translates titles into Latin. He records in Latin, for example, the title of the French and English editions of Pierre Charron's *De la sagesse*. Nor is he

[10] Georg Schneider, *Theory and History of Bibliography*, trans. by Ralph Robert Shaw ("Columbia University Studies in Library Service," No. 1; New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 264–65.

always consistent in recording names in the index. For Henry More there are two entries in the index, one in the English form of his name and another in its Latinized form; each entry refers to his different works as if they were written by two different authors. Lipen's contemporary, Wilhelm Ernst Tenzel, a German polyhistor, observed that Lipen made two, or even three, authors out of one, or one out of two, and at times gave wrong first names. [11] Jean Pierre Niceron made an even more severe appraisal of Lipen's bibliography in the following words:

> Cette Bibliotheque doit avoir couté bien du travail à l'Auteur, cependant rien n'est plus imparfait; tel Ecrivain a composé un grand nombre d'ouvrages, dont on n'en voit ici que deux ou trois, qui en récompense sont repetés cinq ou six fois sous differens titres, ausquels souvent ils ne conviennent guéres. Ajoutés à cela une multitude prodigieuse de fautes d'impression dans les noms propres & dans les dates. [12]

Lipen was to some extent aware of the pitfalls of a task involving the recording of a great number of works. He states in the preface that he noticed mistakes and proceeds to correct a few but admits that the reader may uncover more. He adds that "if any defect appears under a special heading it should be made good from the general heading." But he does not provide an index of subjects, and his index of names is of little help because frequently it refers to wrong pages and, furthermore, in numerous instances fails to include references to pages where an author's works are recorded. Consequently, in order to find the books for which there are no page references in the index, one must look under all possible classifying words.

In spite of its shortcomings, Lipen's great project is not without merit. Even if it must be used cautiously because of numerous inaccuracies, the unique coverage of the period makes his bibliography still of an enormous interest to scholars because of its inclusion of a great number of minor philosophers who are not included in more recent works. It is significant that Lipen's bibliography has been reprinted in Germany. [13]

A Polyhistory by Struve, 1704

At the end of the seventeenth century a form of compilation called polyhistory gained favor and it was adopted in the eighteenth century by men of wide erudition like Daniel Georg Morhof, Johann Albert Fabricius, and Johann Franz Buddeus. [14] The form consisted of a discussion of great books and authors in various branches of knowledge. Burkhard Gotthelf Struve chose this type of

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11) Quoted by Johannes Moller, *Cimbria literata, sive scriptorum ducatus utriusque Slesvicensis et Holsatici, quibus et alii vicini quidam accensentur, historia literaria tripartita* (Havniae: G. F. Kisel, 1744), II, 483.

12) Jean Pierre Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres* (Paris: Briasson, 1732), XIX, 190.

13) Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967. ("Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Frankfurt a. M. 1682.")

14) Petersen, p. 288.

presentation for the bibliographies he compiled: *Bibliotheca iuris selecta* (1703), *Introductio ad notitiam rei litterariae* (1704), and *Bibliotheca philosophica in suas classes distributa* (1704), all published at Jena.

Life of Struve

Prior to the publication of his bibliographical works Struve's life had not been favorable to serious study. Born in 1671, Struve as the son of the famous jurist, Georg Adam Struve, had naturally directed his attention toward law. Having studied at the University of Jena, then at Helmstedt, and finally at Frankfurt on the Oder, the young Struve even practiced law for a few months at Halle. From 1691 on, he traveled with his elder brother in Holland and Germany, collected rare books, studied Hebrew, and led a life of culture mixed with wordliness until his brother was ruined by his expensive experiments in the field of chemistry. While his brother was imprisoned for debts, the young Struve sold his estate, including his rare books, and, very much discouraged by the turn of events, embraced the study of the Bible and the mystics which he had started reading during the course of his peregrinations.

After a period of anxiety when he considered abandoning all sciences deemed contradictory to the dictates of pious living, Struve applied for the position of librarian at the University of Jena and was appointed at the end of 1697. At Jena he inherited a library "schrecklich verwahrlost, in grösster Unordnung" and worked hard to bring it to good shape, greatly improving its catalogues. [15] At the same time he resumed his studies and gave private lessons in the Greek language and ancient literature. His pedagogical skill was so notable that he was asked to assist in the teaching of history. During this time he obtained a Ph. D. degree from Halle in 1702 and embarked on his first serious bibliographical publications. At the time he was working on his bibliographies, Struve was already a learned man, well versed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in the literature of the ancients and mystics, as well as in law, chemistry, physics, and history. Under the influence of Morhof who had published his widely-read *Polyhistor* in 1688, he turned his attention to the writing of polyhistories. When he undertook his bibliographical project, Struve was not yet the well-known professor of history at Jena that he was to become in 1704, nor the prominent scholar and historiographer of the Court of Saxony, who produced the famous multi-volume work on German history.

In the preface of his *Bibliotheca philosophica* [16] Struve apologetically states that he does not feel qualified to review and judge the philosophical writers he lists or the commentaries upon them, as would be required of the polyhistor, because most of his time had not been spent on the study of philosophy. He decided to publish his bibliography of philosophy only at the request of his students and his publisher who urged him not to omit philosophy from his work in progress, *Introductio ad notitiam rei litterariae*.

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15) [Paul] Mitzschke, "Struve, Burkhard Gotthelf," *ADB*, XXXVI, 673.

16) Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica in suas classes distributa* (Jenae: E. C. Bailliar, 1704). Hereafter cited as Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*.

In view of his confession that he was not well versed in philosophy, it may be surmised that Struve had to find some guidance from outside. In order to familiarize himself with philosophy in its historical development, he may have consulted the earliest known modern history of philosophy, Joannes Jonsius' *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae*, first published in 1659. [17] Struve refers to this book with very favorable comment in the chapter devoted to the history of philosophy of his bibliography. Struve may also have relied on Jacob Thomasius' *Schediasma historicum* [18] to which he refers on several occasions. In this work Thomasius deals with many philosophical systems, including those of the gentiles, the occult writers, mystics, and scholastics whom Struve covers in his work. Struve evaluates very favorably the history of philosophy by Thomas Stanley, [19] but his greatest admiration goes to Johann Franz Buddeus who was for a time professor at Halle and later became Struve's cooleague and a well-known professor of theology and moral philosophy at Jena. Buddeus' work, consisting of three main parts, *Elementa philosophiae instrumentalis* (1703), *Elementa philosophiae theoreticae* (1703), and *Elementa philosophiae practicae* (1697), all published at Halle, was used by most professors of philosophy at German universities in Struve's time. Buddeus divides philosophy into three classes – instrumental, theoretical, and practical. According to Struve, Buddeus paid special attention to presenting the difficult subject to his audience and explaining the principles of the more important recent philosophers in a language which made as little use of metaphysics as possible.

Arrangement of Struve's bibliography

An examination of Struve's bibliography reveals that his outlook, method and classification are quite similar to those of Buddeus. Like the latter, Struve has a clear disregard for metaphysics, divides philosophy into instrumental, theoretical, and practical philosophy, and is primarily interested in giving his readers a guide to lead them among the controversial publications of their age.

Struve begins his bibliography with a brief outline of the work done by his predecessors. Then he describes biographical works. The second chapter is assigned to the coverage of the sources of philosophy, with only one-third of the chapter devoted to ancient and medieval philosophers. The following chapters describe introductory works and histories of philosophy of various countries and periods; instrumental, theoretical, and practical philosophy; politics, natural and international law, and economics. Like Spach and Bolduan, Struve treats these disciplines apart from practical philosophy, although they had been grouped under practical philosophy in the ancient school of Aristotle. Struve eliminated history from philosophy, as he did other disciplines of the liberal arts, such as mathematics,

17) Joannes Jonsius, *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae libri IV* (Francofurti: Ex off. T. M. Götzii, 1659).

18) Jacob Thomasius, *Schediasma historicum, quo, occasione definitionis vetustae qua philosophia dicitur γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων, varia discutiuntur ad historiam tum philosophicam, tum ecclesiasticam pertinentia.* (Lipsiae: Sumptibus P. Fuhrmanni, 1665).

19) Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy* (2d ed.; London: Printed for Thomas Bassett, Dorman Newman, and Thomas Cockerill, 1687).

music, mechanics, architecture, and agriculture. The writers in these disciplines are not, for Struve, "true philosophers."

In so far as the broad classes, such as metaphysics and logic, are concerned, Struve's arrangement can be considered traditional. Buddeus had treated metaphysics and logic in his volume on instrumental philosophy. Similarly Struve groups them together in his bibliography. His arrangement for practical philosophy is not so traditional. He reserves that term to ethics only and establishes independent sections for other branches of practical philosophy. For example, he provides a separate division for natural and international law. Thomasius and Buddeus had separated natural law from ethics and politics, but none classified these branches of practical philosophy as independent disciplines.

Struve introduces an entirely new means of classification when, in each broad class, in addition to the traditional division by school, he also classifies writers according to their method of investigation. As he notes,

> In singulis Scriptores non solum secundum sectas suas, sed etiam tractandi methodum fuerunt distincti, non generalium solum, sed etiam potiorum materiarum specialium in quauis classe habita fuit ratio. [20]

This principle of classification is best followed through for such subjects as logic and physics. In logic, for example, to the three major schools covered – Aristotelian, Cartesian, and eclectic – Struve adds a section for writers who, like John Locke, attempt to attain truth through the use of mathematics and experiments. Another example is physics where, among many other subdivisions, Struve includes three sections covering: (1) authors who, like Johannes Baptista van Helmont, deduce their theory from the principles of chemistry; (2) authors who, like Géraud de Cordemoy, use both reason and experiments; and (3) authors who, like Isaac Newton, use experiments only.

In the chapter devoted to ethics, Struve's system of classification begins to break down in its subdivisions. It becomes visibly difficult for him to group a sizeable number of books under specific schools or according to the philosophical method, and he finds himself compelled to establish subject subdivisions. [21] For example, he includes such subdivisions as "Writers about justice and law," "Writers on customs of various nations," and "Writers who demonstrated morals according to the Ten Commandments." Such classification seems somewhat contrived and creates an overlapping of the last subdivision with those on "Writers of moral theology" and "Scholastic writers of ethics." Beginning with chapter six, Struve's classification consists of minute subdivisions which seem somewhat meaningless.

Content

Struve had a clear conception of the kind of bibliographical essay he wanted to produce with his *Bibliotheca philosophica.* In his *Introductio ad notitiam rei litterariae* he had outlined a set of rules concerning the distinction between good

20) Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. [iv].

21) In his preface Struve makes no mention of his intention to subdivide the main classes according to a principle other than philosophical schools and methods.

and bad books. Though rather vague and inclusive, these rules may have been pragmatically useful. They emphasize the following characteristics of a good book: (1) a book which is praised by someone who has read it and whose taste is generally considered good; (2) a book written by a specialist even if he is not well known; (3) a book on which the author has worked for a long time; (4) a book written by an author who has many qualifications and has written many other books recognized as good; (5) a book the preface of which contains enough indication as to its usefulness and value; and (6) a book written by an eclectic, because such a person would be likely to write something more useful than a sectarian. Moreover, Struve would have liked to see all bibliographers examine carefully the books they were recording. He attributes the errors made by Lipen to the fact that the latter did not examine the books thoroughly and was often misled by titles of the books he listed. [22]

In spite of Struve's attempt to cover as many philosophical schools as possible, his coverage of major philosophers is sketchy. Omissions cannot be attributed to bias, since he covers doctrines in which he no longer believes, such as the physics of Aristotle and Melanchthon who is "forgotten today." Moreover, he includes philosophies which he condemns, like atheism and deism. In such cases, however, the name of the author is usually followed by brief unfavorable comments or a reference to an author who refutes these philosophies. For example, the entry of Hobbes' *Elementa de cive* is followed by the names of several of Hobbes' adversaries. Struve places Hobbes and Spinoza in the section entitled "Writers of corrupt philosophy" and speaks of Hobbes' *Leviathan* as a pernicious book because it sows "the seeds of naturalism." As to Spinoza, Struve judges him as "a great enemy of Christian dogma" because he advocates "freedom of thought in theological matters." Although Struve lists Spinoza's *Ethica*, he adds that this book is bad and must be read "with caution."

The numerous omissions of important authors can be explained mostly by the main objective of the work, intended as a guide for students. Moreover, it is typically Thomasian that Struve emphasizes subjects like ethics and political science. These subjects are more thoroughly covered than other branches of philosophy, and the percentage of important authors omitted in moral and political philosophy is smaller than that in natural philosophy and metaphysics. There is of course another reason for a large proportion of the authors omitted in natural philosophy: the revolutionary developments in science in the seventeenth century made the older works unimportant or even obsolete. For example, in the seventeenth century certain works of the major representatives of the Renaissance Italian natural philosophy became quite outdated owing to the advent of Cartesianism. Probably for this reason Struve lists only two Italian natural philosophers, Girolamo Cardano and Tommaso Campanella. Struve's tendency to emphasize modern rather than older works may explain why he omits such famous Renaissance scientists as Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo. The seventeenth century physicists, including Struve's contemporary, Isaac Newton, are listed, although in general only one of their works is recorded. This type of listing seems to be in line with the purpose,

22) Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 3.

i. e., to give students information about philosophical schools rather than provide them with a long list of titles. This may explain also his inclination to record merely the complete works rather than individual works of a major author. For example, in the chapter on logic, Struve lists individual titles about Descartes' philosophy but only the complete works of Descartes, though he clearly recognizes his importance as a philosopher.

Among the other major seventeenth century philosophers omitted are Bernard de Fontenelle, Pierre Bayle, Blaise Pascal, and Kenelm Digby. Struve may have considered Pascal a religious writer who belongs in a bibliography of theology. The omission of the *Demonstratio immortalitatis animae rationalis* by the eclectic philosopher, Digby, can probably be explained by the fact that in Struve's time there were numerous books on the immortality of the soul. [23]

Leibniz's works are entirely omitted. Mention of his name occurs in only one instance in connection with his 1670 edition of Mario Nizzoli's work against the Scholastics, *De veris principiis & vera ratione philosophandi liber contra pseudo-philosophos a Leibnützio editus.* [24] Johann Georg Lotter's edition of Struve's work in 1728 lists only one minor work of Leibniz on the state of Christianity in China, entitled *Novissima Sinica.* [25] Lotter includes three other references to Leibniz. In one of them Christian Thomasius is said to have delivered a lecture defending the scepticism of Francisco Sãnchez from the attacks of Leibniz. [26] This may help explain the lack of esteem for Leibniz at Halle.

Closely following Buddeus who was known for his conciliatory attitude which is typical of most pietist philosophers, Struve calls those philosophers best whose doctrine, however new, remains consistent with Christian dogma. He greatly admires Christian Thomasius for whom logic and metaphysics were not conducive to real knowledge. Therefore Struve devotes only eight pages in all to these subjects and observes that few writers in his day were interested in logic, while metaphysics, once very much studied, "nunc autem plerique saepius in tabernis reperiuntur, quam officinis librariis." [27] It seems that Struve considered himself, like most philosophers of his time, an "eclectic." Applied for the first time to modern authors in a bibliography of philosophy, the term was borrowed from the Greek in the course of the seventeenth century and it referred, as Struve says, to "a new kind of philosophy which is commonly called eclectic because it does not rest upon a certain sect but picks out all that is best." [28] A more complete and precise

23) Gottlieb Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit* (Jena: In Verlegung Johann Meyers seel. Witwe, 1724), pp. 506–507.

24) Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 59

25) Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica in suas classes distributa*, recensuit et largissimis accessionibus instruxit Ioannes Georgius Lotterus (Ienae: Apud E. C. Bailliar, 1728), p. 81.

26) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

27) Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 65.

28) Struve, *Bibliotheca philosophica*, p. 35: "Superiori seculo noua species Philosophiae orta fuit, quae vulgo dicitur eclectica, quia non certae sectae innititur sed optima quaque seligti [sic]".

definition of the term is found in Johann Franz Buddeus' *Elementa philosophiae instrumentalis*. Gottlieb Stolle paraphrases Buddeus' definition in the following words:

> Ein Eclecticus aber heisset allein derjenige, der aus Betrachtung der Dinge selbst gewisse Grundsätze hervorsucht, daraus richtige Folgerungen ziehet, und was er bey andern zustimmendes antrifft, damit zusammen hängt, alles übrige aber fahren lässt. [29]

Struve lists as eclectics the seventeenth century English empiricist Francis Bacon, the English Platonist Henry More, and Christian Thomasius and Johann Buddeus in Germany. In his work Struve calls eclectic philosophy a real source of knowledge which he places after the two other systems he recognizes as great – the Aristotelian and Cartesian systems. Thus in the chapters covering logic, physics, and ethics there appears each time a section on eclectic logic, physics, and ethics including, in addition to Christian Thomasius, the occasionalist Arnold Geulincx and the physicists Jean Baptiste Duhamel and Edme Mariotte. Thomasian in affiliation, and therefore in spirit, at least as far as its comments are concerned, Struve's bibliography is, on the whole, biased from the point of view of the presentation of philosophical schools.

Principal characteristics

In addition to Struve's eclecticism, his bibliography contains some other traits of early eighteenth century thought. Struve's admiration for England and his interest in ethics are indicative of his age. He makes favorable comments on contemporary English authors, except Hobbes, and on the Royal Society. He bemoans the lack of good contemporary books on ethics and greatly admires Christian Thomasius for having devised a new moral philosophy called "private politics which teaches personal wisdom."

Also characteristic of the time is the form of Struve's work. As a polyhistor, Struve was inclined to give more importance to his comments than to the bibliographic description of the works recorded. Accordingly, he emphasizes names rather than books, a practice which is responsible for some shortcomings of the bibliography. For example, he never indicates publishers and, in his comments, frequently names philosophers without listing any of their works. In some cases, as with Jacob Boehme, the names are not included in the index.

In spite of his delimitation of the field of philosophy, Struve's bibliography still retains features found in Renaissance bibliographies. In the chapter on theoretical philosophy he still has sections on rivers, plants, and birds. In physics, though listing such controversial physicists as Mersenne and Newton, he points out, nevertheless, that "the noblest part of a book in physics is the one which studies the soul." In addition, the bibliography is written in Latin. Struve remains traditional in employing such terms as paradigmatic and paraenetic ethics which had been in use for centuries.

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29) Gottlieb Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit* (Jena: In Verlegung Johann Meyers seel. Witwe, 1724), p. 421.

Struve's work was very favorably evaluated by his contemporaries. One of them, Jacob Friedrich Reimann, states that it is better than any previous bibliography in content and arrangement. [30] Several editions of Struve's bibliography were published during his lifetime; the one, which appeared after his death in 1740 and was edited by Ludwig Martin Kahle, is still extremely useful to the historians of philosophy.

A Polyhistory in the Vernacular by Stolle, 1718

Even during his lifetime new editions of Struve's bibliography were revised and enlarged by other scholars because he was involved in many projects outside the field of philosophy. Struve's Jena colleague, Gottlieb Stolle, was, on the contrary, mostly interested in philosophy when he wrote his *Kurtze Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit,* [31] of which all the subsequent editions were revised by Stolle himself. Although called an "Introduction to the History of Learning," it follows the form of polyhistories, including descriptions of the contents of the books listed, comments on them, and information about their authors. Moreover, it is the first bibliography of philosophy published in the vernacular and thus represents a departure from the centuries-long tradition of using only Latin in bibliographical works. Stolle's decision to publish in German may have been due to the influence of Christian Thomasius who replaced Latin with German in classroom teaching at Jena and had his lectures published in German.

Stolle's background

Stolle was born in 1673, the twelfth child of a middle class family at Liegnitz in Silesia. After completing his studies at the Gymnasium of Breslau, where his teacher Christian Gryphius had inspired in him a particular desire for intellectual history, the twenty year old Stolle entered the University of Leipzig to study law. His studies there were interrupted for a few years by travel in Holland and Germany in the company of a young noble whom he tutored. Back from his trip, Stolle received a Master's degree in 1705 after having written a thesis dealing with ethics. From 1705 to 1713, in addition to tutoring students of wealthy families of the nobility, Stolle was invited several times to deliver lectures on the history of learning at the universities of Jena and Halle. In his lectures he tried to survey the broad field of liberal arts by means of a concise discussion of landmark books and authors. In 1712 he obtained a Ph. D. degree, with his dissertation "An Homerus fuerit philosophus moralis." After teaching at the University of Jena for one year, he became in 1714 director of a newly founded gymnasium at Hildburghausen

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30) Quoted by Goetten, II, 641.

31) Gottlieb Stolle, *Kurtze Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit, denen, so den freyen Künsten und der Philosophie obliegen* (Halle im Magdeburgischen, 1718). No copy of the first edition of Stolle's work has been located in the United States. In this study the second edition is used. It is entitled *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit, denen zum besten, so den Freyen-Künsten und der Philosophie obliegen, in dreyen Theilen nunmehr zum andernmal, umb vieles vermehret und verbessert, herausgegeben* (Jena: In Verlegung Johann Meyers seel. Witwe, 1724). Hereafter cited as Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit.*

where he continued his lectures on the history of learning. He remained at Hildburghausen until 1717 when he was nominated professor of political science at the University of Jena. After the death of Struve in 1738, Stolle succeeded him as librarian of the university and in 1743, just one year before his death, he became professor of ethics and the history of literature and sciences. In addition to his bibliographical works, Stolle published a number of studies on Greek philosophy and on some of the famous seventeenth century philosophers such as Spinoza and Descartes. Stolle also wrote poetry, but his poems are, on the whole, of little value. [32]

Originally Stolle did not intend to publish a bibliography of philosophy, but in 1712 his attention was drawn to an anonymously printed book entitled *Die gantze Gelahrheit überhaupt* [33] which consisted entirely of Stolle's lectures delivered at Jena and Halle. This plagiarism led Stolle to publish his own text, a decision strengthened a year later by the discovery of another anonymous publication containing the other lectures Stolle had delivered at Halle; it was entitled *Moralischer Unterricht von denen drey Haupt-Affecten der Menschen etc. nebst beygefügter Betrachtung von der höchstnöthigen Erkenntnis seiner selbst und angehängten Kennzeichen der wahren Weisheit und Thorheit* (1713). The many errors Stolle found in these two works prompted him to make all efforts to have a bibliography derived from his lectures published as soon as possible. His desire was not satisfied until 1718 when at last he found a publisher interested in his work. [34]

Concept of philosophy

Designed as a bibliographical guide for students, the work of Stolle does not duplicate that of Struve, but is a further development of Struve's undertaking, for it includes not concise but explanatory information about books and authors. The first part of Stolle's *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit* contains a bibliographical survey of liberal arts, mainly belles-lettres, while the second and third part cover, on the whole, the same philosophical subjects as Struve's *Bibliotheca philosophica*. Stolle's concept of philosophy is defined in the second part, where he calls philosophy the rational knowledge of all that is necessary for a man's happiness. By happiness he means a state in which morality coexists with contentment. [35] This is why ethics is for him the most important branch of philosophy. All the other branches serve as nothing but a preparation for, and the prelude to, the all

32) Max von Waldberg, "Stolle, Gottlieb," *ADB*, XXXVI, 408–09; Goetten, II, 613–21.

33) *Die gantze Gelahrheit überhaupt, worinnen von allen denjenigen Studiis gehandelt wird, so zu einer galanten Gelehrsamkeit dienen* (Hamburg, 1711). In addition to Stolle's *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. [xiv], the only other work in which a mention of this anonymous publication was found is the British Museum Department's of Printed Books *General Catalogue of Printed Books* (Photolithographic ed. to 1955; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1961), LXXXIII, 390. No name of the publisher is recorded in either instance, and different dates of publication are given – 1712 by Stolle and 1711 by the British Museum.

34) Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, pp. [xiv–xvi].

35) *Ibid.*, p. 423.

important study of ethics. He considers that logic helps one know what knowledge is, and after logic one studies theoretical philosophy (physics and pneumatics) in order to learn about the nature of the material and spiritual elements of the universe. Then, and only then, the student is equipped to know what his behavior should be to attain the essentials of a wordly but pious way of life. It must be observed here that Stolle holds ethics in the same esteem as Struve and similarly regards Cicero as the "old master of ethics." [36]

Stolle's criteria for book selection are the same as Struve's and, in fact, Stolle outlines the latter's rules about good books. [37] Also like Struve, Stolle's outlook is the one which was held at Jena and Halle. Max von Waldberg writes: "Der Einfluss der freien Geistesrichtung eines Thomasius, zu dem St[olle] in Halle in Beziehung getreten war, verleugnet sich in seiner ganzen wissenschaftlichen Production nicht . . ." [38]

In his bibliography Stolle connects eclecticism with the desire to avoid correcting the thoughts of the ancients in order to adapt their philosophy to the needs of Christians; instead, the eclectics, he says, have preferred to postulate an independent philosophy which might retain some selected aspects of classical thought. He observes that "Andre wollten lieber an stat die Heydnischen Secten wieder aufzuwärmen oder zu verbessern, *eclectice* philosophiren." [39] Stolle has a more classical conception of eclecticism than Struve had, for while the latter heads his list of modern eclectics with Jean LeClerc and excludes Descartes, Stolle calls Cardano, Campanella, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Christian Wolff eclectic. [40] Stolle therefore considered as eclectics the forerunners and initiators of modern philosophy. He expresses his condemnation of sectarianism by talking of "die Schädlichkeit des Sectirischen Joches" and states that many now prefer to philosophize eclectically. [41]

On the question of preference of ancient authors over modern ones, Stolle observes that both are needed It must be remembered that a controversy on this subject had raged in France and in other countries at the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth. Stolle supports his middle-of-the-road position toward this controversy with the following words of Jean Le Clerc:

> Je ne demande pas qu'on préfere en gros les Modernes aux Anciens, ni les Anciens aux Modernes. Tout ce que je demande c'est que l'Antiquité soit soumise aux mêmes Loix du Bon-Sens, que nous, que l'on blâme, que l'on loue les Auteurs, sans avoir égard au tems auquel ils ont vécu. [42]

36) Stolle reports with approval Luther's inclination toward Cicero's *De officiis*. Cf. Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. 615.

37) Cf. *supra*, pp. 79–80.

38) Max von Waldberg, "Stolle, Gottlieb", *ADB*, XXXVI, 409.

39) Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. 402.

40) This contradicts Erdmann who says about Wolffian philosophy that "Its *opponents* in Germany ranged themselves under the banner of *eclecticism*." Johann Eduard Erdmann, *A History of Philosophy*, English translation, ed. by Williston S. Hough (Library of Philosophy, ed. by J. H. Muirhead; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1915), II, 247.

41) Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. 554.

42) Quoted by Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. 15.

Stolle further states that the time when books of the ancients had to be read and those of modern writers despised is over, and that books should therefore be evaluated not according to their age but according to the rules of a healthy logic. He even takes a stand against theological orthodoxy and regrets that Lutheranism became impregnated with Aristotelianism.

Arrangement

Contemporary trends in the field may be detected in the arrangement of Stolle's work, in which philosophy is divided into two broad classes as in ancient philosophy: instrumental and theoretical, and practical. This division demonstrates the particular importance Stolle attaches to practical philosophy on which, according to him, all knowledge converges. His class of instrumental and theoretical philosophy is subdivided into four chapters: philosophy in general, logic and metaphysics, pneumatics, and physics. Thus Stolle's bibliography is the first to separate pneumatics from physics, under which heading works about the mind had traditionally been included. In his grouping of instrumental and theoretical philosophy there appears what may be the most significant trait of Stolle as a bibliographer, i. e., his desire to follow what Christoph August Heumann calls a "synthetic method." [43]

While Struve departed from Buddeus in providing separate classes for natural and international law, politics, and economics as if they were independent of practical philosophy, Stolle groups them together. In so doing he subdivides practical philosophy into six chapters, devoted respectively to moral philosophy in general, natural law, "Lehre des Wohlstandes," ethics, politics, and economics; within each chapter the subject matter is covered chronologically. Struve covers the same subjects in four chapters (ethics, politics, natural and international law, and economics) containing seventy-three subdivisions. The minute subdivisions noted in Struve's work are thus avoided in Stolle's bibliography.

Coverage

Like Struve's *Bibliotheca philosophica*, Stolle's work is intended for students. In the preface he makes this point unquestionably clear by stating that "Gegenwärtiges Buch ist nicht vor Lehrer, sondern vor Lernende geschrieben." [44] Therefore his bibliography is selective although he lists more titles than Struve.

Stolle's coverage of major modern works is quite thorough, but the same cannot be said of the older works, especially those written by Scholastics. Almost all Scholastic writers of metaphysics, physics, and ethics recorded by Struve are missing from Stolle's work. On the contrary, Stolle covers exeptionally well writers of the seventeenth century and of the beginning of the eighteenth. He apportions a considerable amount of space even to those authors whom, like Hobbes and Spinoza, he evaluates unfavorably. Among those whom he records with favorable comments are Henry More, Pierre Bayle, and Nicolas Malebranche. Stolle's greatest admiration goes to Christian Thomasius who was for him "the first to shake loose from the yoke of Cartesianism and Aristotelianism and from all sects in general."

43) Quoted by Goetten, II, 617.

44) Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, p. [vii].

Leibniz is called a "world-known" philosopher and the sketch of his life occupies more than one page, but the coverage of his works is limited to the listing of the *Essais de théodicée*. The omission of Leibniz's works dealing with physics and mathematics may be due to the fact that they are difficult to understand, and thus Stolle may have considered them not proper reading material for students.

There are fewer omissions in Stolle's bibliography than in Struve's. The largest number of titles omitted is in metaphysics which he considered the science of obscure concepts and, consequently, far from being essential to philosophy. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the Neoplatonist Nicolaus Cusanus and the Aristotelian Alessandro Achillini are missing because they are especially known for their metaphysical works. Among the works of seventeenth century authors, the elimination of Thomas Hobbes' *De corpore* and Geraud de Cordemoy's *Le discernement du corps et de l'âme* can be attributed to the same reason.

Like his predecessors, Stolle fails to list the works of Pomponazzi, Erasmus, and Luther which deal with the problem of free-will. As to the omission by both Struve and Stolle of Giordano Bruno, it may be assumed that his condemnation as a heretic had so damaged his reputation by the end of the seventeenth century that he was considered of negligible importance if not completely forgotten. [45] That Stolle mentions only one title of Johann Kepler, *Epistolae*, may be due to the fact that Kepler's letters were easier for students to read than his cosmographical work *Mysterium magnum* which, like Newton's *Opticks*, also missing, makes use of a heavy mathematical apparatus. Moreover, the erudite world of Stolle's time was aware of the fact that the philosophical principles of an author can be found in his letters as well as in his main works.

In practical philosophy Stolle, so eager to record works of contemporary authors, unexpectedly omits most of the English moralists of the beginning of the eigtheenth century, John Toland, Bernard de Mandeville, and Lord Shaftesbury, whose major works had been issued at least eigth years before the publication of Stolle's bibliography. It is possible that the reputation of these authors was not yet strong enough to merit inclusion, or, as stated in the preface, because Stolle was not rich enough to undertake the expensive correspondence required to be fully informed of all the publications in the field. The omission of Johann Althusius' *Politica methodice digesta* is surprising because it is included in Struve's bibliography to which Stolle refers frequently. Omission may be due to the fact that Althusius was famous until the beginning of the eighteenth century only and that afterwards his absolutist brand of political theory fell more and more in the esteem of many and then "verfiel er einer unverdienten Vergessenheit." [46]

45) According to Paul O. Kristeller, Bruno's "condemnation and terrible end made it impossible for any Catholic scholar to read or cite him overtly, and even in Protestant countries his works seem to have had a rather limited circulation for a long time." Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Standford: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 138.

46) Richard Falckenberg, *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie von Nikolaus von Kues bis zur Gegenwart* (Neunte Aufl., verbessert und ergänzt von Prof. Dr. E. v. Aster; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1927), p. 41.

In spite of points in common with Struve, Stolle's *Anleitung* is still quite an original work. The main difference between Struve's work and that of Stolle lies in their commentaries and arrangement of the text within each philosophical branch. While in his comments Struve is brief and, most of the time, is just establishing a transition from one author to another, Stolle includes comparatively lenghty explanations of the contents of books, raises questions, quotes, gives anecdotes, and refers the reader to other works where more information can be found about special subjects treated. Even when Struve devotes more space than usual to an author, as in the case of Machiavelli, he still contents himself with giving only a brief description of the author's major work and its commentaries, whereas Stolle in such cases provides a biography of the author, describes various editions of his works and indicates references to authorities who have written about the author and his commentators. Stolle's comments were favorably evaluated by many of his contemporaries. Christoph August Heumann calls Stolle's appraisal of philosophical books and their authors "right and resolute." [47] Johann Christoph Coler strongly commends Stolle's work to students of bibliography for its elegant style and great usefulness deriving especially from the quotations from, or references to, authoritative opinions about books recorded. [48] Among references most frequently used by Stolle are Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Jean Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, Struve's *Bibliotheca philosophica*, Daniel Georg Morhof's *Polyhistor*, Johann Albert Fabricius' *Bibliotheca graeca* and *Bibliotheca latina*, *Acta eruditorum*, and *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*. [49]

In his comments Stolle does not refrain from expressing his own opinion, although, as the motto of his book quotes from Quintilian, "Etiam cum judicium ostendam, suum tamen legentibus relinquo." In his evaluation of a work Stolle is anxious to underline the possible dangers inherent in it. For example. he says of Hobbes and Malebranche, to name just two of the most famous ones, that their doctrines contain many a false principle. He warns that the thoughts of Geulincx could lead to atheism. Stolle probably arrived at this idea because Geulincx's philosophy anticipated the ideas of Malebranche which had been viewed as leading to immaterialism.

Stolle's factual reporting did not eliminate partial or even total condemnation of an author. Most striking is his bias against Aristotle and Scholasticism. He calls

47) Quoted by Goetten, II, 617.

48) Burkhard Gotthelf Struve, *Introductio in notitiam rei litterariae et usum bibliothecarum auctoris ipsius mstis observationibus, Coleri, Lilienthalii, Koecheri, aliorumque virorum literatissimorum notis tam editis quam ineditis aucta* (Francofurti et Lipsiae: H. L. Broenner, 1754), p. 25.

49) Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (2 vols. in 4; Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1697); Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque choisie, pour servir de suite à la Bibliothèque universelle* (26 vols.; Amsterdam: H. Schelte, 1703–13); Daniel Georg Morhof, *Polyhistor... opus posthumum... auctum... à Johanne Möllero* (3 vols. in 1; Lubecae: Sumtibus P. Böckmanni, 1708); Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca* (14 vols.; Hamburgi: Sumptu C. Liebezeit, 1705–28); Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina* (2 vols. in 1; Hamburgi: Apud B. Schiller, 1697); *Acta eruditorum*, Anno 1682–1731 publicata (50 vols. in 33; Lipsiae: Apud J. Grossium & J. F. Gleditschium, 1682–1731); *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (18 vols.; Lipsiae: Grosse, 1715–32).

Aristotle the "philosophical pope" and quotes a friend as saying of Aristotle's metaphysics that it is a "Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademtum." Stolle adds further that the popes had encouraged the over-subtlety in Scholastic texts in order to be able to accuse anyone of heresy. Many books which the popes denounced, called libellous, confiscated or burned were in reality, according to Stolle, quite good. [50] As a result, the authors opposing Catholic theology are favorably evaluated by Stolle, while he objects to those who, like Hugo Grotius in his *De jure belli ac pacis*, retain some aspects of the Scholastic doctrine.

Stolle not only expresses his personal opinion but, on the basis of his knowledge of philosophy, sometimes takes sides. For example, in his section on the Ramists and anti-Ramists he states that Ramus does not deserve the low esteem he fell into. He devotes a whole page to documentation of the dispute which took place between Descartes and Gassendi and favors the latter because, in his opinion, there is nothing in Descartes' logic that was not already in Aristotle. Of Spinoza he says that he is an eclectic, but a "hated" one and adds that he cannot concur with the views of those who see Spinoza as a Cartesian. Thus, in general, Stolle's comments reflect the trends which prevailed among his contemporaries at Jena and Halle.

Stolle's bibliography was highly praised in an outstanding periodical of the time, *Acta eruditorum*, [51] and his contemporary, Friedrich Wilhelm Bierling, found it indispensable for every learned man. [52] In the history of the bibliography of philosophy Stolle's work represents a moment when bibliographies were becoming an essay type of compilation more explanatory than bibliographical, thus following the practice of Morhof and other polyhistors.

Toward New Trends

By the end of the seventeenth century no radical break in bibliographical tradition had occurred with regard to the bibliographies of philosophy. Lipen still followed the tradition set by Spach in the sixteenth century and, in a sort of short-title catalogue, attempted to record not only all philosophical works known to him but also those in other areas of the liberal arts. In coverage of philosophical works Lipen's bibliography reflects two aspects of the seventeenth century: first, it emphasizes natural philosophy and, second, it attributes very little importance to metaphysics. Although Lipen represented a culture which was still lingering in Germany while it was fast disappearing in other countries, his very desire for inclusiveness resulted in an exceptionally thorough coverage of seventeenth century foreign philosophers who were breaking away from the Aristotelian conception of the universe.

50) In this connection Stolle mentions the *Indices expurgatorii* and *Indices librorum prohibitorum* by which, according to him, even the works of some Church Fathers recognized as Saints were not spared and were taken away from the hands of the people. Stolle, *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*, pp. 7–8.

51) Cf. Goetten, II, 617.

52) Friedrich Wilhelm Bierling, *Commentatio de pyrrhonismo historico. Accessit propter adfinitatem argumenti de judicio historico dissertatio* (Lipsiae: Sumpt. N. Foersteri, 1724), p. 198.

The two main characteristics of Lipen's bibliography – inclusiveness and entry-word arrangement – remained an isolated attempt which was not followed by his successors, Struve and Stolle. As the publication of the first bibliographies of philosophy was prompted by the Reformation, the break in bibliographic tradition initiated by Struve and Stolle early in the eighteenth century was due to the influence of polyhistories. They brought into being an entirely new form of bibliography of philosophy resembling an essay type compilation, which was aimed at making university students aware of the new and important developments which had taken place during the seventeenth century, but which were penetrating into Germany more than half a century later. That this penetration was only beginning is made clear by the fact that the division of philosophy in the works of Struve and Stolle does not reflect the interest in methodology and psychology which arose out of Locke's writings. Logic is the only subject of the *trivium* which was retained in philosophy. The first two bibliographers of philosophy of the eighteenth century still considered politics, economics (understood as science of the government of the family), and natural and international law parts of philosophy and in this respect continued the tradition begun in the sixteenth century. The narrowing of the field of philosophy by eliminating the subjects of the *quadrivium* was a significant innovation.

The works of Struve and Stolle demonstrate that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, bibliographies became handbooks in which the compiler was interested mainly either in devising new categories for classifying the books listed, like Struve, or giving extensive comments about books, like Stolle. Works recorded in those bibliographies were selected according to the compiler's judgment as to their importance and usefulness. Stolle seems to have successfully achieved his purpose of providing a guide for students. Written in the vernacular, his bibliography could reach a larger audience than Struve's work because the number of the reading public with no knowledge of Latin was on a constant rise in the eighteenth century due to the increasing use of German both in the universities and in book production. Struve's work was also well received. Julius Petzholdt, usually critical of older bibliographies, points out that Struve's work is "immerhin nicht ausser Beachtung zu lassen," while the bibliographical information in Stolle's work is "wenigstens theilweise nicht ganz untergeordneter Art." [53]

The bibliographies of Struve and Stolle reflect the philosophical thought which prevailed at the universities of Jena and Halle. The most frequently quoted philosophers are Johann Buddeus and Christian Thomasius. The opposition to Aristotelianism and Scholasticism corresponds to the fight led by Francke and Thomasius against Protestant orthodoxy, [54] while the lack of esteem toward metaphysics reflects the then contemporary trend, also seen in Thomasius' works, to replace speculation by the use of a rationalism limited to human understanding. By their so-called "eclecticism" Struve and Stolle claimed an independence of the past and a desire to avoid theological quarrels. As bibliographers of the early eighteenth century, they adopted the method of limiting the coverage of the

53) Petzholdt, pp. 459–60.

54) Jean Marie Carré, "Le piétisme de Halle et la philosophie des lumières (1690–1750)," *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XXVII (Décembre, 1913), 282.

authors of classical antiquity and the early Renaissance, listing them no longer as important philosophers but mostly as sources. Omissions found in Renaissance bibliographies were not rectified, and such writers as Erasmus, Bruno, Montaigne, and Alberico Gentili continued to fare poorly in the bibliographies of Struve and Stolle.

CHAPTER III

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE GERMAN AUFKLÄRUNG

The term *Aufklärung* (translated into English as "Enlightenment") appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century and denoted not a philosophical system but a congeries of attitudes with some similar characteristics. Historians have never been unanimous in defining the limits of the period of the Enlightenment, but in the major standard histories it is generally made roughly equal to the eighteenth century. During the Enlightenment the bibliographies of philosophy, as in the previous century continued to be produced in Germany. They appeared far apart, at the opposite extremes of the century. Those of the early part of the century were discussed in the preceding chapter. The others, which are discussed here, were published in the second half of the eighteenth century when the ideas of the Enlightenment had reached their full development.

With the intense philosophical activity, the Enlightenment brought a widespread interest in education which resulted in the establishment of many new and better schools and in the creation of new libraries and the development of old ones to meet the needs of a rapidly increasing number of students and scholars. [1] It is not suprising, therefore, that the expanding educational and research activity created a greater need for bibliographical tools. France, England, and Germany achieved notable progress in the development of all types of bibliography, universal, national, and specialized. Although Germany remained the only country where bibliographies of philosophy were compiled, [2] except for Johann Andreas Ortloff's unfinished *Handbuch der Litteratur der Philosophie*, no great bibliographical projects were undertaken. The two completed bibliographies of philosophy, compiled by Johann Christoph Stockhausen and Michael Hissmann, are works of highly selective coverage and are intended primarily as guides for students or educated laymen.

Stockhausen's Guide for Polite Society, 1752

Within less than two decades after the appearance of the latest editions of the bibliographies of Struve and Stolle, Johann Christoph Stockhausen (1725–84) published anonymously a critical bibliographical guide for the amateur in philosophy and belles-lettres. [3] Stockhausen was born at Gladenbach in Oberhessen, central Germany, where his father was the Oberpfarrer. [4] In 1741, at the age of

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1) Cf. Hermann Escher, *Ausgewählte bibliothekswissenschaftliche Aufsätze* (Zürich: Hans Rohr, 1937), p. 5.

2) Other countries covered philosophy in universal bibliographies, but coverage was very concise, and no bibliography entirely devoted to philosophy was published elsewhere.

3) Johann Christoph Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf einer auserlesenen Bibliothek für den Liebhaber der Philosophie und schönen Wissenschaften.* In einigen Sendschreiben an einen Freund (Berlin: Ambrosius Haude und Joh. Carl Spener, 1752). Hereafter cited as Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf.*

4) A long article on Stockhausen's life, written by his contemporary, Georg Friedrich Götz, was published in the *Hanauisches Magazin*, Stück 37–42, pp. 337–404, in 1784.

sixteen, he began his studies of philosophy and theology at the University of Giessen. Subsequently he studied at the universities of Jena and Wittenberg. In 1746 he was awarded the doctor of philosophy degree from the University of Wittenberg. In 1761 he was appointed rector of the Johanneum and remained in that position until 1767 when he was named rector of the Fürstliches Pädagogium at Darmstadt. Two years later he became the first Stadtprediger at Hanau, in the neighborhood of Frankfurt am Main. In Hanau, where he remained until his death, he edited the *Hanauisches Magazin*, which he founded in 1778, and published a number of pamphlets, mainly sermons and speeches, dealing with education, philosophy, and rhetoric. [5]

Purpose

Stockhausen compiled his bibliography to provide a very selective list of books for the layman of the polite society who did not need to prepare for a career but who wished to acquire a well-rounded culture. The work was also intended as a book buying guide to help establish a carefully selected private library. It is written in the form of letters, a form widely used in the eighteenth century to popularize philosophical or scientific subjects. The letters are addressed anonymously to a man to whom Stockhausen speaks directly, first explaining the value and purpose of each subject and then recommending a few books on that subject. Approximately one-third of the bibliography deals with philosophy; the rest is devoted to belles-lettres in general, historical writings, novels, poetry, and rhetoric.

Since Stockhausen intended his work for the layman and especially for women, his main concern was, as stated in his preface, to select some 550 titles of best books in philosophy and belles-lettres. In so doing he followed Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey's *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque peu nombreuse, mais choisie.* [6] The books Stockhausen records are preferably those which are not too "dry" and bear witness to the fact that their authors are themselves good philosophers and "know the human heart." [7]

Coverage

Most of the books listed are works of a general nature. They are chiefly either general treatises containing a great deal of information on a broad subject or textbooks from which one can learn about a philosopher's doctrine or about a special subject. Only a few texts of major philosophers are included. They number just eighteen and include works of Montaigne and Charron for the sixteenth

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5) Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten- und Schriftsteller-Geschichte. Von der Reformation bis 1806*, hrsg. von D. Ludwig Wachler (Marburg: In der N. Akademischen Buchhandlung, 1812), XVI, 16–24.

6) The son of a French Protestant refugee, Formey was the "secrétaire perpétuel" of the Berlin Academy. He taught at the Lycée Francais. He was a prolific writer, mainly a popularizer. He also delivered public lectures for the members of the upper class and wrote a popular summary of Christian Wolff's philosophy in the book entitled *La Belle Wolffienne.*

7) Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf*, pp. 9–10.

century, and those of Hugo Grotius, Gassendi, Descartes, Malebranche, Bayle, Locke, Leibniz, Cudworth, and Newton for the seventeenth century. The Cartesian Port-Royal text *Logique ou l'art de penser*, by Pierre Nicole and Antoine Arnauld, is listed anonymously. For the eighteenth century Stockhausen emphasizes chiefly Christian Wolff and Bernard de Fontenelle in natural philosophy, Christian Thomasius in ethics, and Montesquieu in natural law. Above all, Stockhausen recommends the reading of the complete works of Descartes, Newton, Gassendi, and Wolff who are, in his opinion, the key philosophers.

In his selection of major works Stockhausen was probably guided by the main trends prevailing in philosophy at the University of Jena. The choice among major philosophers reveals his inclination toward rationalism. His failure to group the empiricist Locke with the other key philosophers shows that Stockhausen's bibliography does not yet reflect the rising reputation of Locke among Thomasians and Wolffians. Moreover, at the time he was studying at Jena, the philosophical tradition was still eclecticism. The education Stockhausen received at Jena may explain why Gassendi, not Locke, is named as a major philosopher, because Gassendi gave a splendid example of freedom of thought by reviving the teachings of Epicurus and by criticizing both Aristotelians and Scholastics, on the one hand, and Descartes, on the other. Like Struve and Stolle, Stockhausen expresses his high appreciation of Gassendi and adds, in a typically Jenan manner, that the reader who wants to "philosophize eclectically" must first be familiar with the teachings of Descartes, Gassendi, and Newton.

Stockhausen's studies of theology at Jena also explain the presence in his bibliography of some characteristics which are not encountered in the works of Struve and Stolle. In the section on physics, for example, where Stockhausen lists a number of books dealing with natural theology, he says in a somewhat sermonizing tone that the greatest pleasure for the mind in studying physics is to see the presence of God in the structure of the world. [8]

Stockhausen's pietism is demonstrated by the fact that in the section on ethics he lists only a few books and observes that in the matter of morals not the dry intellect but the heart speaks best, and that, therefore, no book can replace the dictates of the sentiments ("Empfindungen") which for him are the best sources of moral judgment. Stockhausen's pietist attitude toward ethics is representative of the views held by many intellectuals in Protestant Germany of the early eighteenth century. [9]

The intellectual attitudes of the time are further reflected in the fact that Stockhausen mentions Wolff as one of the important philosophers and attributes to him the glory of having revived the science of metaphysics which previously had contained only a "dark and confused mass of words." This renewed interest is seen in the section devoted to metaphysics where thirteen major authors are listed, quite a large number for such a highly selective and popular bibliography as Stockhausen's. Also representative of the spirit of the time is the statement that Descartes' main contribution to the world was to have taught everyone to doubt, to liberate himself from the yoke of authority. As he says, "Aus dem Cartesius lernen wir auf eine vernünftige Art zweifeln, und selbst philosophiren; besonders sind seine Briefe lesenswerth, die seinen Werken angehängt sind." [10] Finally, the very fact of having written a bibliography to educate the layman is quite typical of an age when learning had become a fashionable form of activity.

Philosophical works are recorded by Stockhausen in two chapters of his bibliography, one devoted to philosophy proper, and the other to "good taste." In the first he lists some books which were not easy reading for the layman of his time, such as works of Newton and the publications of the academies, including the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and the *Mémoires* of the Académie des Sciences in Paris. In the section of "good taste" Stockhausen intends to list lighter reading material dealing chiefly with the problems of conduct. Some items, however, are not light reading, Pascal's *Pensées* and the *Schriften* of the Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Leipzig and of the Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Jena, for example. Reference works are recorded in the section devoted to belles-lettres; they include such authoritative contemporary works as Morhof's *Polyhistor*, Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Struve's *Introductio ad notitiam rei litterariae*, and Stolle's *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit*.

Stockhausen insists on the importance of a bibliographer having read all the books he records. He himself claims to have done so and to have based his recommendations solely on his own judgment. Thus, contrary to Stolle, Stockhausen includes no quotations from the comments of others on the books he lists. Even on books suggested by Formey, especially those in French, he makes his own comments on the basis of his reading. In applying this practice strictly, he had to eliminate many books, especially scientific ones, about which he admits he did not feel qualified to make comments. This is perfectly understandable because in the course of the eighteenth century science was becoming increasingly more technical and it was more difficult than ever for scholars trained in theology and philosophy to keep abreast of the scientific developments taking place.

Another problem Stockhausen had to cope with was the language problem. Latin, the common scientific language of the previous centuries, had been progressively replaced by the vernacular, and the problem of translation became crucial for the layman who wanted to become acquainted with the ideas of his time, and for the scholars who needed to communicate with others in the same field. Stockhausen was well aware of this problem. One of the important features of his bibliography is his frequent indication of translations of the works listed. He expresses regret for the disappearing Latin and the fact that in his time few were capable of reading the ancient texts in the original. He indicates or announces translations of foreign publications and, if necessary, Latin translations of books originally written in the vernacular. For example, although in the main text of his bibliography Stockhausen gives the original title of John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, in the footnotes he indicates the Latin and French translations of the work. Elsewhere a German translation of Leibniz's *Essais de théodicée* is listed. Sometimes

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8) Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf*, p. 20.

9) Professor Randall observes that in ethics, even in the midst of the Aufklärung, most educated Germans followed "a pietism freed of pessimism and supernaturalism." Randall, II, 52–53.

10) Stockhausen, *Critischer Entwurf*, p. 6.

Stockhausen draws the reader's attention to the need for translations. For example, in announcing a forthcoming revised and enlarged translation of *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* into French, he adds that Germans should do likewise. Of course, the encyclopedia which Stockhausen announces here is the famous *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* of Diderot and d'Alembert, the first volume of which appeared in July, 1751. In another footnote, referring to Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, Stockhausen announces that this book will consist of fifteen volumes and that a German translation will be produced by a Hamburg publisher. Stockhausen announces also a forthcoming German edition of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* and his collected works to be published by the Göttingen Academy. Speaking of the Royal Society, Stockhausen informs his readers of a German translation of its *Philosophical Transactions*. These examples illustrate how well Stockhausen was informed of current or forthcoming publications both in German and in foreign languages.

Value

Stockhausen's awareness of current philosophical works and his familiarity with landmark books in the field made his little volume a success. The fourth edition, published in 1771, rose well above the original purpose modestly set by the author. His successor, Michael Hissmann, who issued his selected bibliography of philosophy seven years after the latest Stockhausen edition appeared, did not condemn the latter for his great selectivity or for his reliance on a few well-known philosophers at the expense of some more recent ones, such as David Hume. The only criticism Hissmann makes of Stockhausen's work is that his appraisal of the more recent philosophical books is too general and not pertinent enough. [11] In its selectivity, Stockhausen's work is a continuation of the bibliographical tradition of Struve and Stolle but, in addition, is a step forward in adapting a bibliography of philosophy to the needs of the upperclass. Moreover, Stockhausen's work is an interesting document on Germany in the mid-eighteenth century, just as representative of the Enlightenment as Frisius' work is of the Renaissance period. Not only does it reflect the Wolffian philosophy well established at German universities at that time but it bears witness to the fact that the books recommended outside universities represented a culture in which the Cartesian spirit combined with the study of the Bible to create a climate which was essentially Protestant and German. Consequently, Stockhausen's bibliography may be considered a somewhat conservative work which remains in the bibliography of philosophy as the last product of pietism and eclecticism of the universities of Halle and Jena although it points to some future development, such as the revival of classical studies and the Storm and Stress period of late eighteenth century Germany.

Hissmann's Guide for Students, 1778

When Michael Hissmann issued his bibliographical guide [12] for students in 1778, the period of Storm and Stress had already started in Germany. But, like

11) Michael Hissmann, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der auserlesenen Litteratur in allen Theilen der Philosophie* (Göttingen: Im Verlage der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1778), p. 27. Hereafter cited as Hissmann, *Anleitung*.

12) Hissmann, *Anleitung*.

Stockhausen's work, Hissmann's bibliography still belongs to the movement of thought of the Enlightenment. It is quite a progressive work inasmuch as it represents "enlightened materialism," that is to say, an extreme development of the combination of rationalism and belief in experience.

Life and philosophy of Hissmann

Born in 1752 at Hermannsstadt in Siebenbürgen, Transylvania, in central Europe, [13] Michael Hissmann completed his secondary education in his home town and then went to the University of Göttingen where he obtained a doctor's degree in 1776. Immediately thereafter he began to teach at Göttingen as an assistant. Six years later he was promoted to the rank of associate professor of philosophy and in 1784, the year of his premature death, he became a full professor. In his short life Hissmann was very active as a philosopher, publishing several books which gave him a place in the history of German philosophy. His major philosophical works include *Geschichte der Lehre von der Assoziation der Ideen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek, 1776), *Psychologische Versuche, ein Beitrag zur esoterischen Logik* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1777) and *Briefe über Gegenstände der Philosophie* (Gotha: Ettinger, 1778). In addition to original works, Hissmann was very active as a translator. The works he translated include Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* and the fifteen-volume *Histoire universelle* of Claude Delisle. From 1778 to 1783 he edited the *Magazin für die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte.* [14]

Basically a sensualist, like the French philosophers Condillac, Bonnet, and Helvetius, Hissmann believed that all knowledge comes from the senses. From this principle he developed a theory similar to the one embraced by the representatives of associationist psychology according to which the image impressions made by objects on the senses combine according to fixed mechanistic laws. Hissmann's English contemporaries, David Hartley and Joseph Priestley, gave further physiological explanations of how the nerves and the brain cooperate in the transmission of images and the elaboration of ideas. Hissmann propagated these doctrines in Germany in his *Geschichte der Lehre von der Assoziation der Ideen*. He was not, however, as bold in his ideas as the men whose principles he adopted, for he did not reject entirely the information which could be obtained through the study of what had been learned on the subject in the past. He maintained a belief in the value of the teachings of history which moderated, to a certain extent, his materialistic views.

On most points Hissmann retained the fundamental views characteristic of the Enlightenment. For example, he despised metaphysics and Scholasticism, emphasized the value of experimental method, questioned the authority of the Church and suggested that theologians be trained in philosophy. [15] He strongly believed in the freedom of man to achieve by himself, through his own powers, his goals of

13) [Samuel] Baur, "Hissmann, Michael," Ersch and Gruber, 2. Sect., 9. Teil, p. 60.

14) Johann Georg Meusel, *Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig: G. Fleischer, 1805), V, 547–49.

15) Philosophical training for theology students in Protestant Germany was introduced at the University of Göttingen a few years after its founding in 1737. Irsay, II, 96.

happiness and prosperity. With some philosophers of the time Hissmann had great hopes for the future of mankind.

Purpose of the Anleitung

Hissmann's bibliography was intended as a guide for students, because, according to him, "junge Leute, die sich ausser Kompendien noch einige Bücher anschaffen konnten, mehrentheils litterarische Quisquilien zusammenkramten." [16] He felt that neither Struve nor Stolle had compiled an adequate bibliographical guide. He reproached Struve for having failed to provide critical explanations of philosophical subjects, while Stolle's work had, according to him, too broad a subject scope. Stockhausen came close to delineating the field of philosophy and its various branches, but Hissmann was not satisfied with Stockhausen's comments and decided to carry out his work on a much higher level. Like Stockhausen, he read every book listed and, for this purpose, used books in the library of the University of Göttingen. Instead of following his predecessors, he was inspired by the bibliographies done by Albrecht von Haller in medicine and by Christian Wilhelm Franz Walch in theology who had produced works of high caliber; but he did not intend to undertake as ambitious a project as they did.

In 1778, the same year as the *Anleitung*, he wrote the *Briefe über Gegenstände der Philosophie*. The bibliography appears to be, at least in part, a by-product of the research done for that work. In the *Briefe* he discusses the object and *raison d'être* of philosophy, but in the bibliography his intention is to give a brief but critical explanation of the object of each branch of philosophy and of the main special subjects within each branch. Such an intention led him to reject a chronological arrangement because if it had been adopted his bibliography would have been only a "Büchergeschichte." It would have offered, as he observes in the preface, an extremely confused information about books because of the great difference of the contents of publications which are not always revealed by their titles. [17]

Content and arrangement

In the *Anleitung* titles are arranged by subject. It is divided into thirteen chapters with numerous sections in each. The chapters and subdivisions begin with critical remarks varying in length from a few lines to three pages, which describe various aspects of a subject. These remarks are followed by a list of selected titles, arranged chronologically, with indication of the place and date of publication. No comments about individual works are included. Hissmann was of the opinion that an analysis and discussion of books belonged to the classroom only, where these could be done at greater length and in a way better adapted to the audience than in a bibliography.

About one-fourth of Hissmann's book is a survey of general works. At the beginning of the bibliography he provides a separate chapter for bibliographical works and the history of philosophy and for the philosophy of history. The presence of the latter is a new feature in a bibliography of philosophy which

16) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 3.

17) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 13.

Hissmann introduces because he thinks that historical studies are useful for philosophers investigating human nature, especially if they establish relationships among the facts described. In such cases historians use a philosophical method. In spite of the title of the chapter, "Philosophie der Geschichte," as in the history sections of the Renaissance bibliographies of philosophy, works dealing with the history of various periods and countries as well as those on cultural anthropology and national characteristics are included. Only two works listed deal with the philosophy of history proper: Voltaire's *La philosophie de l'histoire* (1765) and Johann Georg Herder's *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte* (1774). As can be seen from this title, Hissmann's bibliography reflects the newly mounting interest in the theory of history, a fact more clearly seen by Hissmann's comments than by the books he lists. His failure to record the important work of Vico, *Principi d'una scienza nuova*, should not be considered a grave omission because Vico was then very little known; his importance was generally recognized in the nineteenth century only.

In the chapter on the history of philosophy Hissmann resembles Struve, for he lists all the schools by periods and countries and the listing is detailed and wide in scope, including works by and on oriental philosophers. Hissmann does not hide his contempt for Scholastic philosophy and in this section lists books containing indictments of Scholasticism, such as Jacob Thomasius' *De doctoribus scholasticis* and Juan Luis Vives' *De causis corruptarum artium.* [18] Under the heading "Geschichte der letzten Periode" Hissmann pays tribute to Vives, Erasmus, Montaigne Charron and the martyrs of sixteenth century philosophy, meaning probably Bruno and Vanini. Then he proceeds to list books expounding the Cartesian doctrine. This section is followed by the one entitled "Geschichte der Leibnitzisch-wolfischen Philosophie" which, in turn, is followed by one on Newtonian philosophy. Hissmann clearly expresses his opposition to Wolff whom he often criticizes for his reliance on abstract concepts. Hissmann also observes that the Leibniz-Wolffian philosophy had been superseded by empirical philosophy.

In the following chapter Hissman re-states clearly his materialistic position and, therefore, associates psychology and logic by entitling the chapter "Litteratur der Psychologie oder der Logik." [19] It is the longest chapter of the bibliography, subdivided into a great number of sections. The chapter begins with a section on physiology which, in Hissmann's opinion, furnishes the facts needed by psychologists. According to a statement in the introduction to Hissmann's work, many subjects usually discussed in metaphysics are to be "restored" to other philosophical branches. [20] Following this principle, Hissmann includes in his

18) In this work Vives criticizes the Scholastic approach to learning and advocates the use of experience. Randall presents him as a forerunner of associationist psychology by stating that in his *De anima et vita*, by examining memory, Vives "arrived at a clear formulation of the law of association." Randall, I, 239.

19) Randall says of Hissmann's contemporary, Johann Christian Lossius, another German advocate of materialism, that the latter "saw in logic only a branch of psychology, and ultimately of biology." Randall, II, 68.

20) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 18.

psychology chapter a number of works which are today normally incorporated in metaphysics. Examples are Pierre Daniel Huet's *Traité de la foiblesse de l'esprit humain* and Kant's *Träume eines Geistersehers erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysik*. Hissmann reserves a section to the subject of ideas and states that "Seit Locke's Zeitalter ist die Lehre von den Ideen und ihrem Ursprung eine Hauptuntersuchung der Philosophen geworden." [21]

In the next section on the history of the theory of ideas, Hissmann lists his own book along with a general treatise on the subject but abstains from giving any introductory remarks under this heading. When he comes to Berkeley's idealism, he condemns this doctrine, so opposed to his own views, and chooses to indicate not the famous *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, but the *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous* in which Berkeley attempts to present both sides of the controversy and, at the same time, defends his principles against the nonbelievers. In addition to Berkeley's book, Hissmann lists a collection of essays presenting opposing views regarding idealism. No such attempt at objectivity is made, however, in the section dealing with the theory of sentiments where Hissmann fails to mention Moses Mendelssohn's *Briefe über die Empfindungen*. In the sections devoted to logic, as in those on psychology, Hissmann emphasizes recent works on the subject, therefore omitting Melanchthon's text as well as that of Ramus on dialectics. He includes, nevertheless, the Port-Royal logic of Nicole and Arnauld.

Hissmann's is the first bibliography of philosophy in which a special chapter is assigned to esthetics. Previously, in the sixteenth century, Spach listed books on this subject in the ethics section, and Stockhausen listed a few titles dealing with esthetics in his section on "good taste" which is primarily devoted to ethics. With the appearance of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's two-volume work *Aesthetica* in 1750 and 1758, a very great interest in esthetics was aroused, and it is natural that Hissmann has an extensive chapter devoted to this branch of philosophy. According to Hissmann, the investigation of the problem of the essence of beauty is related to the study of psychology. In this chapter he records a considerable number of works dealing with the history of rhetoric, painting, sculpture, and music which are not today considered as falling within the field of esthetics.

The next chapter is devoted to metaphysics, about which Hissmann talks at length in the introduction to his work, condemning it as a collection of unsubstantiated subleties which can be rejected without any harm to philosophy. According to Hissmann, a few fundamental principles in metaphysics, which can be of some use in philosophy, belong, in fact, to moral philosophy rather than to metaphysics. Examples are the problems of the origin of evil and of man's free will and determinism. Moreover, Hissmann advocates the transfer from metaphysics to psychology or logic of the methodology concerning all general ontological, cosmological, and theological concepts. Despite his strong opposition to it, Hissmann devotes a long chapter to metaphysics in which he includes cosmology and ontology. He justifies this by his desire to follow what was usually covered in the textbooks of metaphysics at his time. Occasionally, however, he cannot abstain

21) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 164.

from expressing his very critical personal views about some metaphysicians. For example, to the entry for de Justi's *Dissertation . . . sur le Système des Monades* (Berlin, 1748), which was awarded a prize of the Prussian Akademie der Wissenschaften, he adds the following annotation: "Die elendeste Schrift, die je gekrönet worden!" [22]

An exceptionally large amount of space, four out of eighteen subdivisions of the metaphysics chapter, is devoted to works dealing with the materiality of the soul. Hissmann discusses this problem at length and makes it clear that this subject does not concern the immortality of the soul. The latter is for him an entirely different problem which should not be confused, as many metaphysicians and theologians have done, with the immateriality of the soul. Hissmann relegates books on the immortality of the soul to his chapter on natural theology. Considering the theory of materialism linked with the question of the freedom of the soul, he devotes a section in metaphysics to this subject and lists here Luther's *De servo arbitrio*, which no other bibliographer of philosophy before him had recorded.

Hissmann's belittling of metaphysics is confirmed by his failure to record a large number of major titles on the subject. The percentage of important omissions in metaphysics in Hissmann's work is higher than in any other branch of philosophy. All the major metaphysical works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are missing. Of the important works of the seventeenth century Hissmann retains only those of Leibniz, Bayle, Cudworth; of Nicolas Malebranche's two works on metaphysics, *Entretiens sur la métaphysique et sur la religion* and *De la recherche de la vérité*, only the latter is listed, and in the psychology chapter rather than with metaphysics. Much more adequate is the coverage of eighteenth century works, since the only notable omission of that period is the *Letters to Serena* of the English deist John Toland.

By providing a special chapter for natural theology, Hissmann became the first bibliographer of philosophy to treat this subject as an independent branch of philosophy. He believes, nevertheless, that the best books on natural theology are those which have some relationship to other fields, especially to moral philosophy. Consequently, most of the books selected for this chapter are listed under the heading "Ueber die ganze natürliche Theologie, in Verbindung mit der Moral." Other sections are provided to cover works dealing with purely theological subjects, such as those on the essence and attributes of God. Special sections are devoted to atheism which he labels "nonsense." An extensive coverage of this subject is understandable, considering the fact that in Hissmann's time Spinoza's philosophy had always been the center of heated controversy in Germany. Hissmann shares the opinion of those who make a distinction between "real" and "theoretical" atheists. The theoretical atheist, according to Hissmann, does not reject moral behavior, but rejects God through philosophical reasoning. [23] In this category he places Spinoza and his followers. Hissmann displays here a cautious moderation by abstaining from

22) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 243.

23) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, pp. 282–84.

listing controversial works on the subject. He indicates, however, the major work of such a French materialist as Baron d'Holbach, *Système de la nature.* [24] Mostly he records works which contain refutations of atheistic views.

The chapter on natural theology notably omits Joseph Butler's defense of revelation entitled *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. It is significant that Hissmann omits all except one of the natural theologians of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries whom Struve had listed. Hissmann records only the *Disputationes de Deo et providentia divina* (London, 1678) of the anti-Cartesian Samuel Parker and places him at the head of the list as a forerunner of those who, like Samuel Clark, François Fénelon, and Immanuel Kant, had begun, according to Hissmann, to study intelligently the subject of the essence of God.

Like Stolle, Hissmann begins his coverage of the branches of practical philosophy with the general works on the subject. Practical philosophy is for him the source of all the rules concerning divine and human legislation, personal conduct, will power, and the art of happiness. This rather short chapter contains sections on sentiments, such as sympathy, passion, and moral sentiment, and a section on physiognomy in which he lists the then famous work of Johann Kaspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente* (Erster bis dritter Versuch; Leipzig und Winterthur, 1774–77).

The special branches of practical philosophy with which Hissmann continues are natural law, politics, ethics, and pedagogics. The chapters on natural law and politics occupy respectively more space than each of the two others. Except for Alberico Gentili's *De jure belli*, not one of the major works on legal philosophy, not even those of the sixteenth century, is omitted. In politics Hissmann fails to record only Roberto Bellarmino's Scholastic work on the power of the Pope, also omitted by all Hissmann's predecessors, and Johann Althusius' *Politica methodice digesta.* Typical of the eighteenth century is the importance Hissmann attributes to such rapidly rising subjects as commerce, government, and economics which he accommodates in the chapter on politics.

The chapter on ethics is only sixteen pages long, the shortest in the bibliography, but it is extensively subdivided, including, for example, a section called "Einzelne Gegenstände der Moral" which covers various subjects, like suicide, and gambling and "other pleasures." The chapter ends with a very brief section on the history of moral philosophy, listing only one work, *An Enquiry into the Morals of the Ancients* of J. [sic] England (London, 1735).

The last chapter, one of the longest in the book, is devoted to education, or pedagogics, which was rising so rapidly during the eighteenth century that it became a separate branch of philosophy. Hissmann thinks that during the eighteenth century there had been a tremendous increase in the production of books concerned with the state of education, which had been damaged, according to him, by the theologians, lawyers, soldiers, and French governesses who had too long dealt with the matter. [25] Hissmann records books on the modern views of

24) Hissmann lists d'Holbach's work under the pseudonym of Mirabaud under which it was first published.

25) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, pp. 420–21.

education, including works dealing with the application of psychology to education, plans for public intervention, lessons of religion, and recreational activities of pupils. He does not fail to list the most famous books on the subject at that time, John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*; works of J. B. Basedow are exceptionally well covered. He also gives a list of textbooks for elementary and high schools.

The books listed on each subject in Hissmann's bibliography are relatively few. In the entire work he records approximately two thousand titles, more than Struve or Stockhausen, but fewer than Stolle. He claims to have selected them mostly on the basis of their usefulness, i. e., the importance of their contents, accuracy in treatment, and the clearness and correctness of their style. It should be observed that, by subdividing minutely each branch of philosophy, Hissmann imposed upon himself limitations in the choice of books pertaining to a special subject and was, consequently, often compelled to list a great proportion of books in one or two of the first sections devoted to general works on a particular branch of philosophy.

Hissmann's bibliography resembles works of his predecessors of the eighteenth century with its strong emphasis on more recent authors. All the major works of Locke and the two major political works of Hobbes, *De cive* and *Leviathan*, are listed. Hissmann places Hobbes among the "most famous new philosophers" although he observes that Hobbes was an "enemy of all liberty." [26] Instead of recording separately the methaphysical and psychological works of Hobbes, *De corpore* and *De homine*, Hissmann indicates a collected edition, *The Moral and Political Works* (1750). Hume's *Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1749) is not recorded, but his *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (1748) is listed. It cannot be asserted that Hissmann neglects Hume because he does include five other works. He does not include the *Treatise of Human Nature* and *Natural History of Religion*, but does record the 1770 edition of *Philosophical and Political Essays*. Of Kant's important works, three of the pre-critical period are recorded, while three others are not. Moreover, four less important works of the same period are included. In these cases Hissmann seems to have preferred to list those works which are of a general nature, in accordance with his purpose of compiling a guide for students.

From the holdings of the library of the University of Göttingen, the richest library in Germany at the time, [27] Hissmann selected titles for inclusion in his bibliography on the basis of his own judgment, after reading all the books he considered for listing. As he admits, it was not easy to solve the problem of how to represent a certain philosophical point of view and still avoid, as far as possible, a bias in his listing. Here Hissmann was obviously faced with a dilemma which rose for German bibliographers with the rapid disappearance of Aristotelian-Melanchthonian philosophy. Hissmann's solution of this problem resembles the one attempted by Struve

26) Hissmann, *Anleitung*, p. 133.

27) Faculty members at Göttingen were urged to participate actively in development of the library's collections. Cf. Johann Stephan Pütter, *Versuch einer academischen Gelehrten-Geschichte von der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen* (Göttingen: Im Verlag der Witwe Vandenhoek, 1765), , 212–13.

and Stolle. He lists all the more recent major works of important philosophers, including those diametrically opposed to his own views, such as David Hume and Christian Wolff. Only in his comments at the beginning of each section does he reveal his own opinion, criticizing his opponents and indicating mostly the names of those authors who had refuted their theories.

With the exception of esthetics and pedagogics, the arrangement of the main classes in Hissmann's bibliography resembles the arrangement of books in the library of the University of Göttingen. In this library the first section of the shelf space reserved for philosophy was assigned to general historical works. Then followed sections for logic, metaphysics, natural theology, natural law, ethics, politics, and economics. Considering the role Leibniz played in the creation of the library,[28] it is possible that Leibniz's division of philosophy, which resembles the order of philosophical branches in Hissmann's work, served as a basis for the establishment of the classification scheme for philosophy at Göttingen.[29]

Contribution

Many features of Hissmann's work are typical of eighteenth century thought, such as the introduction of chapters on education and esthetics and the importance attributed to psychology and natural theology, making them independent branches of philosophy. On the other hand, the association of psychology with logic corresponds to the importance then attached to psychology. However, in establishing a relationship between psychology and physiology in his bibliography, Hissmann set himself aside from what Randall calls the "main stream of German thought" which "largely escaped the critical and solvent acids of empiricism" during the period of the *Aufklärung*.[30] Consequently Hissmann's work is the first bibliography of philosophy which reflects, to a very considerable extent, the author's views rather than the dominant trends of the period in his country. This is probably due, at least in part, to the fact that Hissmann was the first bibliographer of philosophy who was engaged in teaching nothing but philosophy and whose own contributions to the field made him worthy of being mentioned by historians of philosophy. Therefore, in addition to the special place Hissmann's work occupies in the development of the bibliography of philosophy, it is also no doubt a document of interest to historians of German materialism of the second half of the eighteenth century.[31] Moreover, the fact that Hissmann attempted to develop a "scientific philosophy" at a university already famous for its scientists leads one to the

28) Alfred Hessel, *Leibniz und die Anfänge der Göttinger Bibliothek* ("Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Göttinger Universität und Bibliothek," Heft III; Göttingen: A. R. Pillai, 1924), pp. 4–18.

29) In Hissmann's time most German libraries had not progressed beyond a very broad classification of books according to four medieval faculties, within which books were arranged by size. The library of the University of Göttingen was a rare exception in this respect.

30) Randall, II, 52–77.

31) Otto Finger went so far as to say that Hissmann's bibliography contributed considerably to the dissemination of materialistic and atheistic ideas in eighteenth-century Germany. Otto Finger, *Von der Materialität der Seele* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), pp. 178–79.

conclusion that his bibliography reflects at least one aspect of the intellectual climate of his university, although his materialism does not represent the dominant trends of Aufklärung philosophy, including those prevalent at Göttingen at that time.

A Handbook by Ortloff, 1798

The original plan of Johann Andreas Ortloff was to publish additions to Hissmann's bibliography which had appeared six years after Hissmann's death in a re-issue of the first edition, with the last two pages reset. Ortloff, a professor of philosophy at the University of Erlangen, was born in 1769, the son of the shoemaker at Coburg in Bavaria. Through hard work he succeeded in achieving a preliminary education, studied law at Erlangen and, in 1796, obtained a doctorate and immediately began teaching philosophy at the same university. In 1803 Ortloff moved to his native Coburg where he became court counselor and police director.[32] Before issuing the first and only volume of his bibliography[33] in 1798, he wrote a study on stoic philosophy and a few book reviews.

As he worked on his bibliography, Ortloff realized that a supplement to Hissmann would be larger than the main work itself, and therefore he decided to produce a new three-volume work based on Hissmann. Unfortunately, only the first volume was published, although in the introduction to this volume Ortloff states that he will send the rest of the manuscript to the publisher in five months at the latest.

Arrangement and coverage

The first volume of Ortloff's handbook contains only two lists, one recording bibliographical works and the other covering the history of philosophy. In the two sections on bibliographies Ortloff lists, like Hissmann, first the general ones, then those dealing merely with philosophy. In each he records about twice as many titles as Hissmann. About his predecessors he observes that the bibliographies of Struve and Stolle are too old and those of Stockhausen and Hissmann too selective to be useful.

Hissmann divided the history of philosophy into four periods which, in turn, were subdivided by schools, but Ortloff subdivides his history of philosophy by nations and schools into forty sections. Speaking of the division, Ortloff observes that none of the usual presentations by nations and schools chronologically is satisfactory. Without attempting the task himself, he expresses the hope that the exposition of the history of philosophy according to different doctrines will be undertaken by the great historians of philosophy of his time, such as Tiedemann, Meiners, Tennemann and Plessing.

32) Very little has been written about Ortloff's life. The only biographical data found are those contained in Georg Christoph Hamberger, *Das gelehrte Teutschland* (5te Ausg.; Lemgo: Meyer, 1797), V, 523; and in K. Schulz's article on Ortloff's son, "Ortloff, Friedrich O.," *ADB* XXIV, 449–53.

33) Johann Andreas Ortloff, *Handbuch der Litteratur der Philosophie nach allen ihren Theilen*, Vol. 1, *Handbuch der Litteratur der Geschichte der Philosophie* (Erlangen: In der Waltherschen Buchhandlung, 1798). Hereafter cited as Ortloff, *Handbuch*.

Comparison of a few sections in Ortloff's work with corresponding sections in Hissmann's bibliography shows that, besides copying Hissmann's entries, Ortloff borrows some of his comments, in each case giving reference to Hissmann. Ortloff has few comments preceding each section and omits the lengthy introductory remarks to each chapter which characterize Hissmann's work. He avoids emphasis on empirical philosophy, and thus his work is freed from the bias Hissmann was unable to conceal in his listing of various modern schools of philosophy. While Hissmann covers the Newtonian philosophy in a section that follows the Leibniz-Wolffian school, Ortloff covers the philosophy of Hobbes, Locke, and Newton in a single section, followed by the "Leibnitz-Wolff Philosophie." The next section is devoted to the most recent developments in philosophy in England and France, including the work of Berkeley, Hume, and Helvetius. The volume ends with Kant.
Ortloff not only brings Hissmann's bibliography up to date but expands the coverage of older works, listing more than twice as many major authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as Hissmann. Main works of the Renaissance Neoplationists are recorded in a special section entitled "Philosophie nach der Wiederherstellung der Wissenschaften." He devotes an entire paragraph to Giordano Bruno who was omitted by all Ortloff's predecessors in the eighteenth century.

Value

Like his predecessors, Ortloff omits the names of publishers, but gives titles in full and indicates the contents of a serial set. For example, he indicates that the important work of Leibniz entitled *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain*, missing in Hissmann's bibliography, can be found in Leibniz's *Oeuvres philosophiques latines et francaises.* [34] Moreover, Ortloff frequently appraises the value of a listed item for research purposes. For example, he states that he records Jacques Bossuet's *Histoire universelle* because its fifth volume could be of particular interest for historians of philosophy, especially those who might want to study the history of Scholastic philosophy. [35]

Hissmann had written his bibliography for the use of students, but Ortloff dedicates his work to the "Friends and promoters of the bibliography of philosophy." It was no doubt intended for scholars, especially contemporary historians of philosophy. The first volume gives reason to believe that the entire work, had it been completed, would have been an excellent bibliographical handbook, the best among eighteenth century bibliographies of philosophy. Julius Petzholdt notes this thoroughness when he remarks that it is "mit vielem Fleisse zusammengetragen." [36]

Evolution Within Tradition

As this survey of the Enlightenment bibliographies of philosophy has shown, in the eighteenth century no attempt was made to compile a comprehensive bibliographical work which would have met the needs of research workers. Ortloff would

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34) Ortloff, *Handbuch*, pp. 221–22.

35) Ortloff, *Handbuch*, p. 36.

36) Petzholdt, p. 461.

probably have come close to such a goal if his work had been finished. The bibliographies compiled by Stockhausen and Hissmann during the Aufklärung were intended for students or the members of polite society and were very selective in coverage, with emphasis on more recent works. In their selection of titles both Stockhausen and Hissmann chose to limit themselves mostly to the fifty years preceding the publication date of their bibliographies, except for books of a few major philosophers, such as Descartes, Leibniz, and Newton.
Although the eighteenth century witnessed an abundance of works of popularization in practically every subject, it was quite difficult without guidance both for students and educated laymen to select philosophical works for their level. Stockhausen's bibliographical guide was intended to serve their needs in this regard. Not only did he indicate general, readable works in every branch of philosophy, but he also paid particular attention to an up-to-date listing of translations of the landmark works into the vernacular because he realized that the number of educated people familiar with Latin had decreased since the Renaissance.
Limited in scope and purpose, both Stockhausen's and Hissmann's bibliographies are interesting for their form, organization, and contents. Written in the form of letters, each covering a separate broad subject, Stockhausen's work shows that the epistolary form which was widely used by eighteenth century philosophers penetrated the field of bibliography as well. The separation of physics from philosophy and the emergence of psychology, esthetics, pedagogics and the philosophy of history as separate branches of philosophy constitute the main distinguishing characteristics of Hissmann's work. The bibliographies of Stockhausen and Hissmann reflect both the state of philosophy of the time and the author's background.
While alert to the changes that occured in eighteenth century philosophy, both Stockhausen and Hissmann remained respectful of the tradition of such bibliographical matters as the general arrangement of bibliographies, the recording of controversial works, the selection of major philosophers, and the inclusion of comments about philosophical books. Neither changed the order of the main divisions of philosophy. Both preserved the policy of recording all major authors and, in the case of the controversial ones, of making appropriate comments and adding a list of books refuting the controversial ideas. They also followed the example of their predecessors either by making comments about the individual works listed or by including only general comments about each group of books dealing with a particular subject. Ortloff shortened considerably the introductory remarks preceding the listing of titles in each section and limited his notes about individual titles mostly to bibliographical matters, such as information about various editions and the availability of German translations of certain works.
The adherence of Stockhausen and Hissmann to the tradition of their predecessors is demonstrated also by their recording of some authors whose reputation was fast declining in the eighteenth century and whose philosophy (like Huet's Aristotelian refutation of Descartes or Gassendi's scepticism) no longer corresponded to the dominant ideas of the time. In like manner, some branches of philosophy, such as metaphysics, which were of no great interest to contemporary philosophers, were still comparatively thoroughly covered by bibliographers.

CHAPTER IV

POST-KANTIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

In the nineteenth century Germany experienced political tensions caused by the demands for a liberal form of government. In the long movement toward unification, writers and philosophers played a great part. Writers like Schiller and philosophers like Herder and Fichte contributed greatly to the rise of a national feeling in the German-speaking countries. German patriotism became a widely-felt sentiment enhanced by the sense of having a common cultural heritage of great value. In approximately seventy years writers like Goethe, philosophers like Kant and Hegel, and the Romantic movement provided German intellectuals with a position of cultural leadership, if not of supremacy. By the mid-nineteenth century the University of Berlin, founded in 1810, had come to be regarded as the center of a culture which could boast of achievements that were outstanding and specifically German. At this and other German universities freedom of inquiry and development of research on the part of the faculty were cardinal rules. For a while universities became centers of liberal national agitation, but soon the government suppressed all political discussions, especially following the assassination of the writer, August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue, by a student in 1819.

Philosophy remained, nevertheless, a domain of free investigation in German universities. It had become the main subject of the curriculum representing the universal and synthesized knowledge. It was turning away from the experimental sciences which were becoming increasingly specialized subjects. The results achieved by the applied sciences, like the invention of the telegraph and the cylinder press, did not affect the speculations of philosophers who were chiefly concerned in exploring the possibilities of Kant's critical philosophy. They were interested in the power of the mind to create knowledge and tried to explain the nature of the essence of things which Kant had asserted to be unknowable. Kant's awareness of the limitation of knowledge had given rise to the desire to reach the absolute and to be able to affirm the reality of religion, art, man's conscience, and human experience The ideas advanced by Kant and the Romantic philosophers were developed into great systems by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel.

The nineteenth century was also rich in bibliographic production, and this was manifest in all major European countries. In universal bibliography works of lasting importance were compiled, such as Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Jacques Charles Brunet's *Manuel du libraire*, and Johann Georg Theodor Grässe's *Tresor de livres rares et precieux*. During the period of extraordinary German intellectual activity in the first half of the nineteenth century Germany took the lead away from France in the general field of bibliography, a lead which, as E. D. Grand observes, continued into the second half of the century as well. [1] Important achievements were made in all kinds of bibliography. In addition to Friedrich Adolf

[1] E. D. Grand, "Bibliographie," *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris: Lamirault, 1886), VI, 605–07.

Ebert's contribution to universal bibliography and those of Wilhelm Heinsius and Christian Gottlob Kayser to national bibliography, [2] nineteenth century German bibliographers produced a series of specialized bibliographies covering most major branches of knowledge.

In philosophy the first bibliography issued in the nineteenth century was Johann Samuel Ersch's *Literatur der Philologie, Philosophie und Pädagogik*, followed four years later by Karl August Schaller's *Handbuch der klassischen philosophischen Literatur der Deutschen von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit*, of which only the part covering speculative philosophy appeared. The third bibliography of philosophy, Victor Philipp Gumposch's *Die philosophische Literatur der Deutschen von 1400 bis auf unsere Tage*, was published in 1851. No other major bibliographic project in philosophy was undertaken in the nineteenth century until 1895, when the *Revue Néoscolastique* began publication of its bibliographical supplement, the "Sommaire ideologique des ouvrages et des revues de philosophie." The bibliographical needs of scholars in philosophy were served, to a certain extent, by works containing numerous bibliographic references, such as Wilhelm Traugott Krug's *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften* and a number of histories of philosophy, like those of Johann Gottlieb Buhle, Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann, and especially Friedrich Ueberweg. [3]

A Professional Bibliographer, Johann Samuel Ersch

The first bibliography of philosophy compiled by a professional bibliographer was the *Literatur der Philologie, Philosophie und Pädagogik* by Johann Samuel Ersch, published separately in 1812 [4] and also as part of the compiler's *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur.* [5] The *Handbuch* is the work of a scholar who had for many years been compiling bibliographies and had thus acquired a great experience and skill in bibliographic work.

Career of Johann Samuel Ersch

Like some of his eighteenth century predecessors, Ersch had quite a varied life. He was born in 1766 at Grossglogau in Silesia, then a part of Prussia. Ersch studied and

[2] Friedrich Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1821–30); Wilhelm Heinsius, *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon, 1700–1892* (19 vols.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1812–94); and Christian Gottlob Kayser, *Vollständiges Bücher-Lexikon* (36 vols.; Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1834–1911).

[3] Wilhelm Traugott Krug, *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften, nebst ihrer Literatur und Geschichte* (5 vols.; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1827–29); Johann Gottlieb Buhle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie und einer kritischen Literatur derselben* (8 vols. in 9; Göttingen: Vandenhöck und Ruprecht, 1796–1804); Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie* (11 vols. in 12; Leipzig: Barth, 1798–1819); and Friedrich Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (3 vols.; Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1862–66).

[4] Johann Samuel Ersch, *Literatur der Philologie, Philosophie und Pädagogik seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit* (Amsterdam und Leipzig: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, 1812).

[5] Johann Samuel Ersch, *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit* (2 vols. in 8 pts.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1812–14).

worked in three great German universities, Halle, Jena, and Göttingen. In 1785 he enrolled at the University of Halle where he first studied theology, but soon became particularly interested in history. Later, having studied by himself several languages, including French, Italian, English, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish, he was attracted to various books of general knowledge in these languages. In 1786, when his former teacher Johann E. Fabri was appointed professor at the University of Jena, Ersch followed him there to collaborate on the *Allgemeine politische Zeitung*, of which he was editor. Ersch's contributions to this paper were chiefly in history, geography, and bibliography. Because the frequently employed bio-bibliographical dictionary *Das gelehrte Teutschland* of Georg Meusel lacked a list of anonymous works, such a list was compiled and published by Ersch in 1788 as a supplement to the fourth edition. Meusel came to trust him so much that he made Ersch his successor for the continuation of *Das gelehrte Teutschland* after his death. [6]

In 1790 Ersch published an index to periodicals, one of the early attempts of this kind, entitled *Repertorium über die allgemeinen teutschen Journale und andere periodische Sammlungen für Erdbeschreibung, Geschichte und die damit verwandten Wissenschaften.* [7]

This work secured a mounting reputation for Ersch, and from then on he developed into a bibliographer of such fame that he was to acquire the title of the founder of modern German bibliography ("Begründer der neueren deutschen Bibliographie"). [8] Soon after the publication of this work Ersch embarked on a major bibliographic project by assuming the editorship of the bibliographical supplement to the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* at Jena. This bibliography was entitled *Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur* and is commonly known as the *Jena Repertorium* which Ersch edited until 1809. It records both German and foreign publications, including many periodical articles and book reviews printed between 1785 and 1800.

Ersch's other important project was the compilation of a retrospective bibliography of French literature, *La France littéraire contenant les auteurs francais.* [9] Begun in 1794, it was quite an undertaking for a non-Frenchman living far away from Paris, but Ersch was assisted by French exiles from the Reign of Terror. Also helpful was the library of the University of Göttingen, particularly rich in its collections of foreign books. [10]

Early in 1795 when Ersch was working on his *France littéraire*, he was called to Hamburg to take charge of editing the *Neue Hamburger Zeitung*, a paper chiefly devoted to geographical and statistical information. His five-year stay in Hamburg represents the most productive period of his life. In addition to his three-volume

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6) "Ersch, Joh. Samuel," Ersch and Gruber, 1. Sect., 37. Teil, pp. 371–76; [Julius]Schnorr von Carolsfeld, "Ersch, Johann Samuel," *ADB*, VI, 329–31; [Karl] W[eis]s, "Ersch, Jean Samuel," Michaud, XII, 581–82.

7) 3 vols.; Lemgo; Meyer, 1790–92.

8) Paul Raabe, "Der Bibliograph der Goethezeit," *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, Frankfurter Ausgabe, IX (13. Januar 1953), 17.

9) 3 vols.; Hambourg: Hoffmann, 1797–98.

10) "Ersch, Joh. Samuel," Ersch and Gruber, 1. Sect., 37. Teil, p. 373.

France litteraire, the second quinquennial cumulation of the *Jena Repertorium* was published. Moreover, he was one of the editors of the *Annalen der Britischen Geschichte, Minerva*, and the famous *Allgemeine Teutsche Bibliothek*.

This period of his life ended when in 1800 his old friend and former teacher, Christian G. Schütz, recalled him to Jena to serve on the editorial board of the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*. At the same time Ersch was appointed librarian of the University of Jena, and later was named associate professor in the faculty of philosophy. Like Schütz, Ersch was still favorably, though moderately, inclined toward the ideas of the Enlightenment and, as such, incurred the wrath of the Romanticists, with Goethe at their head. As a result, in 1804, the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* moved to Halle where Ersch taught a course in geography and statistics, while remaining librarian at Jena.

In 1808, as soon as the University of Jena reopened its doors after two years of interruption due to the Napoleonic wars, Ersch became chief librarian at Jena and embarked on what was to be his last great bibliographical project, *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur*, which was published between 1812 and 1814 in two volumes, each comprising four parts issued separately. In 1822 the second enlarged edition appeared, but this time Ersch did only the editing, delegating revision of individual parts to numerous collaborators. About the same time Ersch became editor of the monumental *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, for which, due to his rich bibliographic experience and vast reading, especially in the contemporary period, he was particularly well prepared. The encyclopedia ran into financial difficulties and brought many a hardship to Ersch who, saddened by his brother's death in 1824 and burdened by the insurmountable difficulties of his last project, died in 1828.

Ersch's Bibliography of Philosophy

Although Ersch had no special training as librarian or bibliographer, he acquired the necessary skill through his very strong motivation, relentless energy, and hard work. He was convinced that bibliography required professionals with a knowledge of several languages, general familiarity with most subjects, information about current developments in each field, and a thorough knowledge of the history of literature. He insisted on the necessity of gathering and accurately recording a very large number of titles, from which the bibliographer had the task of selecting judiciously the ones to be retained and of classifying them in a way which showed the interdependence of the contents of the books listed. He attempted to apply these principles to all the subjects covered in his *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur*, including philosophy.

Coverage. – In deciding the subjects to include in his bibliography, *Literatur der Philologie, Philosophie und Pädagogik*, Ersch considered philosophy as the science of generalities, encompassing main principles of all knowledge and excluding every special study which leads to a technical or practical application of its results. Consequently, he eliminated esthetics, pedagogics, politics, economics, and the part of psychology directly connected with physiology. His elimination of politics and economics may have been due to the fact that these subjects had developed into independent disciplines by the beginning of the nineteenth century. While Hissman

had retained studies on national characteristics as belonging to a bibliography of philosophy, Ersch covered this subject in the history section of his *Handbuch*, where he also included the philosophy of history.

Ersch records only works published in Germany during the sixty year period from 1750 to 1810. Even within this limited scope he makes no attempt at inclusiveness. Some new editions of the works of major philosophers issued during these sixty years are omitted, but at the beginning of the section in which they should be listed, Ersch indicates their names. At the end of some sections he adds the names of two or three authors whom he apparently considers minor, without recording their works. He also records contemporary German translations of the major works of important non-German philosophers. For sixteenth century authors, for example, he lists German translations of Pietro Pomponazzi's *De immortalitate animae* and Pierre Charron's *De la sagesse*. For the seventeenth century he faithfully records German translations of philosophical works which had become classics, such as Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Leibniz's *Essais de théodicée*, Malebranche's *De la recherche de la vérité*, Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Pascal's *Pensées*, and the main works of Spinoza.

Almost all the major works of German philosophers of the period covered are recorded. The most important omission among writings of contemporary philosophers is Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes*, published at Bamberg in Bavaria in 1807. [11] Since this book was printed in the midst of the Napoleonic war period, it may have been overlooked in the strained conditions of the time. This may also account for the fact that Ersch seems to cover less thoroughly works published after 1805 than those for the period preceding this date. Furthermore, he omits the *Metacritik über den Purismum der Vernunft* of Johann Georg Hamann, who was openly critical of Kant, but records the *Versuch einer neuen Theorie des menschlichen Vorstellungsvermögens* published a year later by Karl Leonhard Reinhold who "made Jena the center of Kantian study and the chief seat of the new philosophical movement." [12] In spite of these few omissions, Ersch covers quite thoroughly the two principal philosophical schools of the time, Kantians and Idealists. Fichte and Schelling are particularly well covered, as are writings of Kant and the Kantians.

Arrangement. – Ersch divides philosophy into two main parts – theoretical or speculative and practical. Speculative philosophy is further subdivided into a priori and empirical and includes logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, and psychology, while practical philosophy comprises natural law, ethics, and philosophy of religion. This division is of course quite traditional, as is the listing of general or encyclopedic works and those on the history of philosophy at the beginning of the bibliography.

In the section devoted to the history of philosophy Ersch records mostly general histories and works dealing with ancient philosophy. In this respect he breaks with

11) The only place where Hegel's name appears in Ersch's bibliography is the entry for the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie* which was edited jointly by Hegel and Schelling.

12) Randall, II, 209; A. Robert Caponigri, *Renaissance to the Romantic Age*, Vol. III of *A History of Western Philosophy* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), p. 498.

the tradition of listing works on particular philosophers or on specific aspects of philosophy as part of the history of philosophy, assigning them, instead, to appropriate subject headings either within the bibliography of philosophy itself, or to other parts of the *Handbuch*.

In the following sections Ersch covers various branches of philosophy. For the main classes, Ersch apparently felt that he could no longer adopt the arrangement of his *Jena Repertorium*, where philosophy was divided into two classes, pre-Kantian philosophy and Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy. Empirical psychology, which forms a separate section in his bibliography of philosophy, was not yet treated as an independent branch of philosophy, and the study of man and his soul, as the major object of philosophy, was covered in metaphysics. [13] Hence, with his arrangement of the philosophy part of the *Repertorium*, Ersch remained close to the views held by the philosophers and bibliographers of the Enlightenment. In the bibliography of philosophy his position became primarily Kantian, for he divides speculative philosophy into two large units, a priori and empirical, thus paralleling the Kantian division of knowledge into rational and empirical. [14]

Ersch's treatment of natural theology also reveals Kantian influence. Although he indicates the heading "Natürliche Theologie" in its traditional place in theoretical philosophy, he lists no titles under this heading: instead, he refers the reader to the section on moral theology, or the philosophy of religion, in practical philosophy, and thus follows again Kant's ideas according to which man's knowledge of God is not "natural" but represents a postulate which has real value only when accepted freely by man's moral convictions. [15]

In establishing the arrangement of his bibliography, Ersch was influenced not only by Kant but also by another famous contemporary philosopher, Friedrich Schelling. This influence can be traced in the distinction he makes between the empirical philosophy of nature, which he covers in the physiology and physics parts of his *Handbuch*, and speculative physics, which for him constitutes a subject of metaphysics. This distinction was drawn and discussed by Friedrich Schelling in his *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur* and *Einleitung zu einem Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie; oder: Über den Begriff der speculativen Physik und die innere Organisation eines Systems dieser Wissenschaft.*

The philosophies of Kant and Schelling are not the only factors which influenced Ersch's bibliography; his personal views, traditionally Christian, can also be observed in his work. It must be remembered in this connection that Ersch had first studied theology and that his brother, his life-time friend and "influential adviser," was a minister. [16] His personal background is particularly evident in his coverage

13) Cf. Claude F. Achard, *Cours élémentaire de bibliographie, ou la science du bibliothécaire* (Marseille: Joseph Achard Fils et Compagnie, 1807), II, 61–63.

14) Cf. Robert Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum and a History of Classifications of the Sciences* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp. 134–35.

15) Cf. Alfred Weber & Denis Huisman, *Histoire de la philosophie européenne*, Vol. II, *Tableau de la philosophie moderne de la Renaissance à 1850* (Paris: Fischbacher, [1965]), pp. 430–35.

16) [Julius] Schnorr von Carolsfeld, "Ersch, Johann Samuel," *ADB*, VI, 329.

of occultism with the diseases of the mind and in his listing of such materialists, as Helvetius and Holbach under the heading "Elementarlehre" in the a prior philosophy, as if there were nothing empirical in their investigations.

Numerous subdivisions in Ersch's bibliography include special sections covering not only various subjects but also subsections grouping books according to the level of treatment. There are, for example, subsections for textbooks, study guides, and scientific works and also separate subsections for works which survey a subject in general and for those which bring up problems or discussions on that subject. Each smaller unit within a subsection groups titles around a subject, concept, or method of treatment, so that by looking at the location of the title, a preliminary knowledge of the contents of the work listed may be acquired to an extent that no previous bibliography of philosophy had given. For instance, the place assigned to Hissmann's *Geschichte der Lehre von der Assoziation der Ideen* indicates that it belongs to a "speculative, empirical, didactic" approach to psychology and expounds a theory of "association of ideas concerning man's acquisition of knowledge."

In establishing subdivisions, in many cases Ersch had to act from the bibliographical rather than the philosophical point of view. [17] He grouped, for example, both the Cartesian and the Kantian systems in the same section, "Elementarlehre" of the a priori philosophy, which a philosopher-bibliographer would not have done because of the definitely divergent views of these two philosophies.

Among the divisions of his bibliography, the unit assigned to a priori philosophy is by far the largest. It includes logic and metaphysics with all their subdivisions. In it appear most of the works by Malebranche, Kant, and Fichte. In empirical philosophy Ersch covers the philosophy of nature, empirical psychology, and anthropology. The two latter are grouped in one single section because Ersch considers them sciences concerned with the characteristics of man, his mind, and its mechanism.

The other large unit of Ersch's bibliography is devoted to practical philosophy, in which, like his predecessors, he includes natural law and ethics. The most striking innovation is a special section provided for the philosophy of religion, or moral theology, where he lists books on the essence of God and the immortality of the soul, which his predecessors recorded in chapters on theoretical philosophy. This shows again an influence of Kantian philosophy on him. [18]

Importance. – Ersch achieved greatness in the history of German bibliography by conceiving the work of the bibliographer as a valuable professional task which involved the solution of many specific problems and required serious training, including an encyclopedic knowledge combined with a familiarity with general and literary history and foreign languages. He thus earned the praise and recognition of future generations, and Paul Raabe in our time still pays tribute to Ersch in the following words:

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17) Johann Samuel Ersch, *Handbuch der Deutschen Literatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1812–14), II, Pt. VIII, viii-ix.

18) Cf. Konrad Feiereis, *Die Umprägung der natürlichen Theologie in Religionsphilosophie.* Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1965.

> Was man heute von einer guten Bibliographie verlangt – ausführliche, zuverlässige Titelangaben mit allen erforderlichen Zusätzen, klare Ordnung und Zusammenstellung des Ganzen – das alles geht auf Ersch zurück. [19]

It can be added that Ersch's bibliography of philosophy, the third edition of which was reprinted in 1965, was a work in which contemporary trends provided guide lines for the establishment of categories. Ersch revised the traditional classification system while preserving the division of philosophy into theoretical and practical branches.

Schaller's Critical Bibliography, 1816

Ersch's immediate successor, Karl August Schaller, also limited his bibliography, *Handbuch der klassischen philosophischen Literatur der Deutschen von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit,* to German publications. [20] Published just for years after Ersch's work, this bibliography does not duplicate that work because Schaller conceived his task in an entirely different form. With its extensive comments and lengthy excerpts, it is rather a mixture of critical bibliography and anthology.

Very little is known of Schaller, although he was a rather active writer. Printed sources supply no information about the place and date of his birth. [21] Before 1807 he served as chaplain of the Royal Prussian Army at Halle, but after the war he became a preacher at Magdeburg belonging then to the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia. He obtained his Ph. D. in philosophy in 1812 when he had already published moral sermons, textbooks for the study of philosophy, the first volume of the *Handbuch der neuern deutschen klassischen Literatur von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit,* and the *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Wissenschaften.* [22] Schaller died in 1819.

Arrangement of the Handbuch

Schaller arranges his bibliography according to the classification of philosophy outlined in his *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Wissenschaften.* He divides the field into pure or speculative and applied philosophy, thus applying the Kantian term "pure" to what Ersch had called theoretic, and replacing the word practical

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19) Paul Raabe, "Der Bibliograph der Goethezeit," *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel,* Frankfurter Ausgabe, IX (13. Januar 1953), 17.

20) Karl August Schaller, *Handbuch der klassischen Literatur der Deutschen von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit,* Vol. II, *Handbuch der klassischen philosophischen Literatur der Deutschen von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit* (Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1816). Hereafter cited as Schaller, *Handbuch.*

21) The only biographical data found about Schaller were: Johann Georg Meusel, *Das gelehrte Teutschland* (Lemgo: Im Verlage der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1811), III, 272; Wilhelm Traugott Krug, *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philoscphischen Wissenschaften* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1828), III, 525; and Christian Friedrich Rassmann, *Literarisches Handwörterbuch der verstorbenen deutschen Dichter und zur schönen Literatur genörenden Schriftsteller, in acht Zeitabschnitten, von 1137 bis 1824* (Leipzig: Lauffer, 1826). p. 419.

22) Karl August Schaller, *Handbuch der neuern deutschen klassischen Literatur von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit.* Erster Band, die poetische Literatur enthaltend (Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1811) and *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Wissenschaften* (Magdeburg: Heinrichshofen, 1812).

with applied, roughly equivalent to Ersch's "practical" philosophy. These two main classes are subdivided into formal and material philosophy. Formal speculative philosophy consists of two branches: logic and "pure general esthetics." Material speculative philosophy includes the theory of knowledge, metaphysics of nature (rational physics and rational psychology), and metaphysics of ethics (principles of ethics, natural law, and natural theology). Applied philosophy, which was supposed to have been covered in the second volume of Schaller's bibliography of philosophy, would have included applied logic, esthetics, and physics, empirical psychology, applied natural law, and applied ethics, and finally pedagogics. This part and the two appendices planned, one on the history of philosophy and the other on "classical religious writings," were never published.

One of the most striking characteristics of Schaller's classification is the importance attributed to metaphysics, reflecting the influence of Kant who assigned to metaphysics and mathematics "the whole world of science." [23] and who saw two kinds of metaphysics, one of nature and another of ethics. In Schaller's classification both kinds of metaphysics appear in both speculative and applied philosophy. By introducing such a recurring terminology (e. g., pure and applied metaphysics of nature and metaphysics of ethics, pure and applied formal and material philosophy), Schaller brings into his classification an element of unity between speculative and applied philosophy which corresponds to the preoccupations of philosophers like Fichte and Schelling, who tried to resolve the contradictions brought about by Kant's dualism and were looking for the answer to the question: "What is the essential unifying factor in all knowledge and in all that is known?" [24]

Content

At the beginning of his bibliography Schaller gives a very concise fifteen page historical survey of philosophy entitled "Kurze Andeutungen aus der Geschichte der deutschen Philosophie bis auf das Zeitalter Lessings." Despite this title, Schaller ends the survey with Wolffian philosophy, just before Kant's time. According to Schaller, Lessing, and not Kant, was the real founder of the new ("classical") era in German philosophy, although he admits that Lessing did not produce any work in which the whole field of philosophy or even one of its branches was systematically examined. However, Schaller finds Lessing's philosophical talent in each of his works, including poetry. He considered Lessing's *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* an obvious attempt to create a new philosophical system, though he never founded one, leaving the task to others. Lessing is thus for Schaller a great seminal mind whose great ideas prepared the ground for Kant, as a systematic and trained philosopher, to develop them further and to found a philosophical system. Schaller compares Lessing's mind in his search for truth and beauty to Plato's and particularly stresses Lessing's great influence upon the promotion and expansion of a free and impartial research and upon the awakening of philosophical thought and

23) Robert Flint, *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 135.

24) *Ibid.*, p. 149.

spirit in Germany. According to Schaller, Lessing's writings were instrumental in violently undermining the belief in authority. [25]

While starting with the era of Lessing and Kant, Schaller aims primarily at portraying the state of German philosophy in his time. In so doing he does not attempt to imitate Ersch but is principally concerned with a critical survey of the major works of important contemporary philosophers. [26] Consequently, Schaller's comments on the books listed are quite long and, for important philosophers, he gives not only basic biographical data but also rather lengthy excerpts from their writings.

The coverage of separate branches of speculative philosophy, to which the published part of Schaller's bibliography is devoted, is preceded by a section of well over a hundred pages on general philosophical works, such as introductions to the study of philosophy, general surveys of the whole field or of speculative philosophy only, and encyclopedic works about the objects of philosophy. This section also records translations of notable works by foreign philosophers. In Schaller's opinion, earlier introductions to philosophy lost their value almost entirely after Kant had produced his "great and most meritorious" works on the subject. [27] It is no surprise, therefore, that Schaller starts this section with a lengthy summary of Kant's introduction to the study of philosophy included in the part entitled "Transcendentale Methodenlehre" of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Of the other important German philosophers Schaller covers here at considerable length Karl Leonhard Reinhold, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich Schelling.

The longest of the subsequent sections is the one assigned to esthetics, occupying eighty pages. This is of course entirely in line with Schaller's admiration for literature, especially poetry, to which he devoted the first volume of his *Handbuch der klassischen Literatur der Deutschen von Lessing bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit.* Schaller observes that writers of belles-lettres may have, at least in esthetics, as much philosophical insight as philosophers. Therefore he discusses works of such famous writers as Jean-Paul Richter, Christoph Martin Wieland, Friedrich Schiller, Novalis, and Goethe. In the section devoted to "pure general esthetics" Schaller includes an excerpt from Shakespeare's *King Lear*. This may be due to the particular emphasis placed upon Shakespeare by Schaller's prominent contemporary, August Wilhelm von Schlegel.

The greatest contribution to esthetics Schaller ascribes to Kant by pointing out that

> Eine neue Epoche für das Ganze der reinen Aesthetik beginnt mit Kant, er verdient also wohl hier die erste Stelle. [28]

In all other sections Schaller takes every occasion emphasize the epoch-making contributions to philosophy made by Kant and Schelling. Kant is praised particularly for his achievements in the theory of knowledge. As Schaller says in the section devoted to this subject,

25) Schaller, *Handbuch*, pp. 2–21.

26) He calls them classical, disagreeing here completely with Kant's argument that there is no such thing as a classic in philosophy. Schaller, *Handbuch*, pp. 1–2.

27) Schaller, *Handbuch*, p. 22.

28) Schaller, *Handbuch*, p. 153.

> Eine so bedeutende, tief eindringende Revolution in dem Gebiete philosophischer Wissenschaften, als Kant durch seinen Kriticismus hervorgebracht hatte, musste nothwending, das war vorauszusehen, nicht nur eine bedeutende Menge nützlicher und wichtiger Erkenntnisse im Gebiete der Philosophie verbreiten, sondern zugleich alle empfänglichen Geister neu elektrisiren, und sie zur Erschaffung neuer Ideen begeistern. [29]

Schaller finds Schelling's greatest contribution to philosophy in the philosophy of nature. [30]

An exceptionally thorough coverage of Kant, Schelling, and a number of his other great contemporaries does not overshadow entirely important non-German philosophers whose writings were translated during the period falling within the time scope of Schaller's bibliography. At the end of each section he reserves a unit for non-German philosophers, beginning with ancient authors and ending with modern English and French philosophers, but he includes fewer titles than Ersch and often gives very incomplete bibliographic information, sometimes omitting even the date of publication. Omissions of major German works are very few. The only important thinker not covered at all is Johann Georg Hamann whose *Metacritik über den Purismum der Vernunft*, critical of the Kantian philosophy, is omitted by Ersch also.

Value

The extensive coverage of the major philosophical writings of his famous contemporaries makes Schaller's work more than a bibliography. In this respect it resembles Stolle's *Anleitung zur Historie der Gelahrheit* but represents a great improvement on the latter. Schaller's focus on classical German philosophers and his consistency in devising and arranging subdivisions bring to this hybrid form of bibliography, part anthology and part bibliography, a clarity and organization which were lacking in Stolle's work.

A Comprehensive Bibliography by Gumposch, 1851

Following the tradition of Ersch and Schaller of limiting his bibliography to German philosophy, Victor Philipp Gumposch published in 1851 *Die philosophische Literatur der Deutschen von 1400 bis auf unsere Tage*, [31] which not only brings their bibliographies up to date but also supplements them by extending the time scope backward over three centuries and a half before the period covered by them. As an added title page indicates, a second volume on theology was planned but it never appeared because of the author's death. The volume on

29) *Ibid.*, pp. 271–72.

30) According to Schaller, "Schellings grösstes und eigenthümlichstes Verdienst ist die von ihm eigentlich erst erfundene speculative Physik oder reine Naturphilosophie." *Handbuch*, p. 289.

31) Victor Philipp Gumposch, *Die philosophische und theologische Literatur der Deutschen von 1400 bis auf unsere Tage*, Vol. I, *Die philosophische Literatur der Deutschen von 1400 bis auf unsere Tage* (Regensburg: G. Joseph Manz, 1851). Hereafter cited as Gumposch, *Die philosophische Literatur.*

philosophy is an attempt at both inclusiveness and the preservation of some features of a critical bibliography, with emphasis on biographical and historical coverage.

Born in 1817 at Boos near Memmingen in southern Germany, Gumposch studied philosophy at the University of Munich from which, after defending his dissertation "Ueber die Grenzen aristotelischer Logik," he received his doctorate in 1838. Except for the academic year of 1842/43 when he taught at the canton school at Chur in Switzerland, he worked from 1837 until his death in 1853 in the Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich. [32] A learned man with special knowledge of philosophy and literature, Gumposch was a typical German scholar of the time who, with no renumeration nor particular recognition, dedicates his life to intellectual activity with "unshakable industry and greatest perseverance." [33] In his short life he published a number of books dealing primarily with philosophy, religion, and literature.

Organization

Gumposch's bibliography is divided into three parts, corresponding to three time periods. The first extends from 1400 to Leibniz, the second from Leibniz to Kant, and the third from Kant down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the date of publication of the bibliography. Since seventeenth century Germany did not participate in the natural science movement in philosophy until Leibniz, i. e., at the end of the century, it was historically correct for Gumposch to combine the fifteenth, sixteenth, and most of the seventeenth century in one period extending from 1400 to Leibniz, and to show that German cultural history during this period was closely related to the development of the Reformation.

At the beginning of the first part Gumposch records the works of Scholastic philosophers. Then he covers those of Catholic and Protestant authors, the latter being particularly well treated since he devotes special sections to naturalistic, humanistic, and mystic currents of Protestant philosophy. He continues with German authors who were directly influenced by great philosophers of other countries, such as Ramus, Descartes, Francis Bacon, and Hobbes. The first of the two final sections in this part is devoted to juridical and theological works opposing the political philosophies of Grotius, Pufendorf, and Christian Thomasius, and the second records works written by Catholics after the Reformation.

The second part, devoted to the philosophy of Leibniz and post-Leibnizian philosophy, contains sections which, in addition to Leibniz-Wolffian philosophy, cover Protestant mystics and such developments in German philosophy as "Die nationale Strömung," "Philologische Strömung," and "Naturalistische Strömung." The other sections of this part are of varied nature. One is devoted to various currents of Protestant philosophy, another to the early "Historical School" of criticism of the doctrines of natural law, the third to the early periodical literature, and the final section to the esthetics of music.

Sections in the third part on Kant and post-Kantian philosophy are less varied than those in the second. The first section here is assigned to the great philosophers of

32) Hyac[inth] Holland, "Gumposch, Victor Philipp," *ADB*, X, 121–22.

33) *Ibid*, p. 121.

the time (Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel), and the second to the sentimental reaction against them by some Protestant philosophers of religion, such as Herder, Jacobi, and Schleiermacher. Sections three through six cover representatives of naturalism, philologists and historians of philosophy, legal and political philosophers, and miscellaneous philosophers from different geographical areas. The seventh and final section lists works of a "miscellaneous nature" written in cooperation, mostly publications of academies and literary societies. This section, along with that on periodical literature in the preceding part, is a valuable feature showing the final recognition of the importance of these publications. Gumposch is the first bibliographer of philosophy who covered them so thoroughly.

The last part of the bibliography contains a very concise historical survey of all branches of philosophy, including the philosophy of history, pedagogics, and, for the first time in a bibliography of philosophy, the philosophy of language. At the end of each section covering a branch of philosophy, a few titles are indicated on the history of that particular branch.

This arrangement with a great variety of divisions and apparent lack of organization is a far cry from the systematic arrangement of Ersch and Schaller, but such a presentation can be linked with the Romantic ideal described by Randall in the following words:

> The notion of a single eternal standard, a truth and a rational ideal to be reached once and for all, has vanished – vanished before the concrete experience of human history and the variety of forms in which men have sought and organized their happiness. [34]

Moreover, the extensive coverage of Catholic authors, so poor in previous bibliographies of philosophy, indicates Gumposch's desire to recuperate all the past of German philosophy and to associate Catholics and Protestants alike in a national cultural heritage.

In the first three main parts of the bibliography only three sections are consistently carried throughout: one on "Die protestantische Mystik," another on "Naturalistische Strömung," and the third on miscellaneous philosophers from different geographical areas. In all three parts an attempt is made to provide separate sections for Protestant and Catholic philosophers, but the emphasis on them varies; there are lengthy sections on both of these groups in the first part, shorter ones in the second, and only a short section on Protestant philosophers and none on Catholics in the third.

In the preface of his work Gumposch states that he wanted to produce not merely a list of books but also a "Geschichte der Bücher." He observes that his intention was to introduce historical elements into his bibliography. Some insight into what Gumposch means by this type of history can be gained through a consideration of the prevalent notion of historicism in the second third of the nineteenth century. [35] Besides the teachings of Lessing and Herder, Hegel's philosophy of history

[34] Randall, II, 105.

[35] Gumposch points out that historicism was typical of his time. Gumposch, *Die philosophische Literatur*, p. 373.

had given rise to historicism. Historical elements played an important role in establishing the arrangement of the bibliography through Gumposch's delimitation of periods and his tracing of influences. The importance attributed by him to the delimitation of periods can be seen in his division of German philosophy into three major periods and then the subdivision into smaller periods, such as sections, subsections, or even the life span of an individual author. Thus in the subsection on Spinoza, German authors influenced by him are classified into three periods, and in the section dealing with the esthetics of music, Gumposch establishes again three major periods and lists in separate subsections writers on music belonging to each. In the case of some individual authors he distinguishes several periods during their life span, listing their books chronologically within each period. For example, he distinguishes five periods in the philosophy of Schelling. [36]

Some apparent oddities of arrangement of titles can also be traced to the individual and varied aspects of a period once it is approached from an historical point of view. The latter explains the curious disappearance of a list of works in the philosophy of law for the period roughly corresponding to the eighteenth century. In the opinion of Gumposch, between the time of Hugo Grotius and the nineteenth century when new developments occurred in legal philosophy, no works of revolutionary importance amounting to an historical event were written on the subject. Another example is the limitation of the esthetics of music to the eighteenth century only. In so doing Gumposch places his main focus on the major developments of philosophy in a given period. While in the eighteenth century, the period of Bach, Händel, and Gluck, there was among music enthusiasts great interest in the study of the esthetics of music, strangely enough at the time of Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven philosophers showed, as Gumposch states it, a certain disdain of music and, consequently, interest in the esthetics of music fell accordingly. Kant had asserted that music was more a pleasure than a source of culture, and the opponents of Kantian philosophy did not, according to Gumposch, know enough about music to discuss the point. Therefore, Gumposch does not provide a section on the esthetics of music for the Kantian and post-Kantian period. In the philology section he includes subsections on the philosophy of the art of painting and poetry. For each chapter Gumposch includes sections in which authors are grouped by towns or countries in which they were born, taught or lived most of their lives. Thus a long section entitled "Gemischte Literaturpunkte" consists of thirty-six subdivisions, such as Königsberg and Berlin. In explaining in the preface why he devised such an arrangement, Gumposch states that all types of relationships have their influence on philosophy and that he made this fact serve as a principle for the classification of the many authors he had to list. As he says,

> Wenn man die Religion als das angeborene Verhältniss zu Gott bestimmen darf, so ist die Philosophie das wissenschaftlich entwickelte Verhältniss zu allem Sein. Nehmen wir aber dies an, so werden auch alle Verhältnisse ihren Einfluss auf die Philosophie äussern, und wir werden beim Hinblicke auf jene das Princip der Charakterisirung und Gruppirung einer schwer zu bewältigenden Literaturmasse gewinnen. [37]

[36] Gumposch, *Die philosophische Literatur*, pp. 295–98.

[37] Gumposch, *Die philosophische Literatur*, p. 1.

Since geographical areas are suggestive of a social environment, Gumposch seems to have made use, for bibliographical purposes, of the fact that Hegel attributed to social life the power of shaping the consciousness of individuals. In discussing Hegel, Randall states:

> Men, their minds and ideas, are essentially social products; their cultural heritage conditions them and makes them what they are, and even determines how they shall go about reconstructing it. It is the atmosphere in which they live and breathe, the medium in which they swim. [38]

These influences are not limited to specific areas but are related to the national culture, the importance of which is emphasized by Gumposch. The very purpose of the work, which by its complete coverage of all German philosophy from its beginnings was intended to give the Germans a knowledge of their cultural heritage, stresses this point. Gumposch even sets off Tschirnhausen and Wolff from the sections entitled "Die nationale Strömung" because they were influenced by French and English philosophy and therefore did not belong to the sections devoted to the development of a specifically German philosophy as Leibniz and Lessing did.

Gumposch's intention of strongly stressing the German philosophical heritage inevitably introduces nationalistic elements into the bibliography. The most striking of them is the importance attributed to German religious philosophy, which Gumposch emphasizes in the headings of his work. It is possible that he was induced to do so by Hegel who, it must be remembered, had brought to light the religious character of German thought and its spiritual value. Summarizing Hegel's ideas on this question, Emile Brehier states:

> La race germanique est donc l'élue finale de l'esprit du monde, grâce à son affinité avec l'esprit chrétien . . . La supériorité définitive du germanisme est donc une supériorité spirituelle: la race germanique possède les qualités naturelles qui lui permettent de recevoir la plus haute révélation de l'Esprit. [39]

The inclination of Gumposch toward such a Hegelian view is noticeably evidenced by several sections he assigns to the coverage of various currents of Protestant philosophy, including eighteenth century pietism.

Coverage

The bibliography of Gumposch has a longer time scope than the works of Ersch and Schaller and also a broader geographical coverage. It includes works by German authors and those of German origin, no matter how far away from the German states they lived. Therefore Gumposch includes, for example, works written by authors of German origin who lived in Russia or France. Thus Baron d'Holbach, the author of the *Système de la nature*, appears in Gumposch's bibliography as a

38) Randall, II, 315.

39) Emile Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie* (4e ed.; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), II, Part 3, 776–77.

German because he was born in southern Germany although, in his childhood, he settled in Paris and lived there until his death. Moreover, considering that there exist close ties of consanguinity between the people of the German states and those of other northern countries, Gumposch extends the meaning of the word "German" to embrace Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, and Swiss authors. Thus he considers the famous Danish philosopher of religion, Sören Kierkegaard, and the eighteenth century Belgian-Dutch occasionalist, Arnold Geulincx, north German authors, and their major philosophical works are thoroughly covered. In this respect Gumposch was probably influenced by Hegel and German Romantic philosophers like August Schlegel and Herder who, through their works on the history of the human race and on folk literature gave the Germans the feeling of belonging to the Nordic race as entirely distinct from the Mediterranean race. [40]

The primary concern for the German heritage led Gumposch to present a total view of the German contribution to the field of philosophy, thus implicitly boasting of the value of national culture. When he reaches the period of Leibniz, with whom Germany began to take the lead in philosophy, he exclaims triumphantly:

> Es beginnt die deutsche Philosophie, die deutsche Ästhetik, Religions-, Rechts-, Geschichts-Philosophie etc. ihr reineres, organisches Leben. [41]

The bibliography reflects the influence of another philosophical current of the time, that of Romantic philosophy. Gumposch devotes a comparatively large amount of space to Herder, "the first German Romanticist," whose unique contribution to philosophy he emphasizes by quoting the words of A. F. C. Vilmar:

> . . . ist Herder das Centrum der neuen Zeit, der Mittelpunkt aller der Kreise geistiger Bewegung, welche vom 15. Jahrhundert an erst in engeren, dann in weiteren und immer weiteren Bogen sich zu schliessen streben; – hatte das 15. und 16. Jahrhundert die Griechen und Römer, hatte die Folgezeit die Franzosen und Niederländer, die Italiener und Engländer zu fassen, zu verstehen und in den Bereich des eigenen Lebens hineinzuziehen versucht, alle diese Versuche fanden ihr Ziel und ihr Ende, ihre Erfüllung und Vollendung in Herder. [42]

Gumposch also covers extensively some earlier German philosophers whom the Romanticists admired, such as Jacob Boehme, whom Tieck and Novalis praised very highly. Among fifteenth century philosophers Nicolaus Cusanus is exceptionally well covered; it must be remembered that Cusanus influenced Giordano Bruno who was brought back into favor in Germany through Schelling's work on Bruno. [43]

40) In her work *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* (2 vols.; Paris: Maradan, an VIII [i. e. 1800]) Madame de Stael popularized this view and also made the distinction between two literatures, one northern and the other Mediterranean.

41) Gumposch, *Die philosophische Literatur*, p. 165.

42) Quoted by Gumposch, *ibid.*, p. 315.

43) Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Bruno, oder über das göttliche und natürliche Princip der Dinge; ein Gespräch* (Berlin: J. F. Unger, 1802).

There are very few omissions of major works. The only two notable German authors who are not mentioned are Johann Kepler and Julius Robert Mayer. Although Kepler's *Mysterium cosmographicum* and Mayer's *Bemerkungen über die Kräfte der unbelebten Natur* are important works in the history of philosophy, these authors were not primarily philosophers but scientists. Consequently, Gumposch may have felt that the proper place for them was in a bibliography of science Probably for the same reason he omits Leibniz's treatises dealing with physics, *Hypothesis physica nova* and *Theoria motus abstracti*, while he covers the philosophical works quite extensively. Although these omissions suggest the selective nature of Gumposch's bibliography, they are so few that they do not destroy its value as a complete bibliographical survey of German philosophy for four and a half centuries.

The coverage of non-German philosophers of the modern era is very sketchy. Only one page of the section "Die steigende Verbreitung der fremdländischen Literatur" is devoted to listing German translations of the major works of such famous authors as Machiavelli, Montaigne, Malebranche, Pascal, Newton, Locke, Hume, Berkeley, and Helvetius, and in another section, covering German followers of Ramus, Descartes, Francis Bacon, and Hobbes, no works of these philosophers are recorded. On the other hand, Gumposch covers German works on ancient philosophy quite thoroughly; there are as many titles listed about Aristotle and Plato as about Kant. Such good coverage of the ancients, especially Greek philosophers, is probably due to the fact that Gumposch had a special interest in ancient philosophy; not only did he write his doctoral dissertation on Aristotle, but he also published another book on him entitled *Ueber die Logik und logischen Schriften des Aristoteles*. Of course Gumposch does not supply any bibliographic information about writings of ancient philosophers because he apparently does not consider this as falling within the scope of his work. As to the other works listed, their bibliographic description is limited to such essentials as a brief title and the place and date of publication. However, this is compensated for by the biographical data about authors, critical annotations of their books, and quotations from other authors evaluating the books listed, which somewhat resembles the treatment of Stolle. At times quotations run through more than one page, and in most instances exact references to the quoted works are indicated.

Gumposch's thorough coverage of German authors with his own comments and those selected from other authors makes his bibliography a scholarly handbook which, in his time, could supplement not only bibliographies of his predecessors but also the best philosophical dictionary of the time, Wilhelm Traugott Krug's *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften*, [44] and the bibliographical section of the voluminous history of philosophy, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, by Wilhelm Gottlieb Tennemann. [45] The chronological treatment of German philosophical literature combined with extensive biographic data gave Julius Petzholdt occasion to criticize Gumposch for not determining clearly the

44) 5 vols.; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1827–29.

45) 11 vols. in 12; Leipzig: Barth, 1798–1819.

kind of work he wanted to produce. [46] Such a criticism seems hardly justified because in the preface Gumposch observes quite explicitly that he wants to make a bio-bibliography with added evaluative statements excerpted from histories of philosophy and from book reviews in periodicals.

Bibliographers of German Philosophy

The scope of the three nineteenth century bibliographies of philosophy is limited to the country of their authors. The colossal accumulation of philosophical works since the invention of printing had made selectivity imperative. It is not therefore surprising that the limitations of these bibliographies to the country of origin came at a time when a national consciousness was awakening in Germany. The limitation of scope may have been occasioned also by the unprecedented rise of German philosophy in the post-Kantian era, which gave the compilers some assurance of prompt success with bibliographies limited to German publications.

Despite this basic similarity, Ersch, Schaller, and Gumposch differ considerably in the further delimitation of the scope of their works. First, they cover different periods of time. While the Gumposch bibliography is fully retrospective, the works of Ersch and Schaller cover hardly more than half a century. Secondly, even within the short period in which they overlap, the coverage of authors varies according to the compiler. While Ersch and Gumposch attempted to be as inclusive as possible, Schaller was interested in recording only the works of "classical" authors, and thus his bibliography is primarily a guide to the great books of the time. Thirdly, the scope of these three bibliographies varies according to the different definitions the compilers established for the field of philosophy. Ersch limited the field most, eliminating politics, economics, esthetics, pedagogics, and the philosophy of history. Schaller restored esthetics and pedagogics, and Gumposch included both these and the philosophy of history. In addition, Gumposch introduced an entirely new branch, the philosophy of language.

The difference between Ersch's definition of philosophy and that of his successors may be explained by his different educational background. Schaller and Gumposch, who had an academic training in philosophy, included in their bibliographies all the branches of philosophy taught at the universities of their time. Ersch, primarily a bibliographer, did not follow the traditional definition used for curricular purposes but preferred rather to accept the view advocated by some philosophers of his time, according to which philosophy, as the science of generalities, excludes all special studies the results of which may have some practical applications. The transfer of the philosophy of history to the bibliography of history may also have been due to Ersch's special interest and training in history.

The greatest difference between Ersch, Schaller, and Gumposch can be observed in the arrangement of their bibliographies. Both Ersch and Schaller followed the dominant trends in contemporary philosophy in establishing categories for their classification systems. Ersch should be credited with being the first bibliographer of philosophy to devise for the main divisions of philosophy some new categories resembling those of Kant and Schelling. Since he was guided chiefly by bibliographical rather than philosophical considerations, he grouped authors of different

46) Petzholdt, pp. 462–63.

schools together. Schaller, on the contrary, acted not as a professional bibliographer but as a philosopher whose main concern was to organize the field. Thus he brought into his classification some elements which are typical of a trained philosopher. This is particularly noticeable in the distinction he makes between "formal" and "material" components of pure and applied philosophy. Such a distinction, which no bibliographer before Schaller had ever made, had been current among philosophers for a long time; it can even be traced back to Scholasticism. [47]
The arrangement of Gumposch's bibliography reveals the impact of the historicism which penetrated German universities with the advent of the Hegelian era. Innocentius M. Bocheński observes that most of the universities of the late nineteenth century "were dominated by a certain historicism, confining themselves to the sheer cataloguing of past doctrines." [48] It is possible that under the influence of such historicism Gumposch discarded the idea of a logical arrangement and, instead, decided to cover German philosophical literature chronologically, by juxtaposing the various developments he saw in philosophy at a given time.

Fundamental differences in treatment can also be discerned in the three bibliographies. Although Schaller's bibliography and Ersch's work, in which his bibliography of philosophy first appeared, are both called handbooks, they are extremely different from the point of view of treatment. Ersch limits his work to a bare listing of titles and, as such, had no influence on his immediate successors despite his fast rising fame as the founder of modern German bibliography. Both Schaller and Gumposch restored to the bibliography of philosophy those comments on books and authors which had been a traditional feature for the entire eighteenth century.

In conclusion, it can be said that Ersch combined tradition with innovations in arrangement and scope. The compact information methodically presented within clearly defined lines, comprehensiveness, and accuracy demonstrate Ersch's desire to lay the foundations of bibliography as a science. Schaller emphasized the major philosophers of the Kantian era, and metaphysics is again well covered in a bibliography of philosophy, departing from the sparse treatment of this subject in the eighteenth century. Finally, Gumposch's historical approach betrays a deep pride in the greatness of German philosophy and thus establishes a relationship between a bibliography and the national prestige.
All three bibliographers were trying to bring the arrangement and coverage closer to contemporary philosophical ideas. Each tried a different approach, and while eighteenth century bibliographies had many points in common, those of the nineteenth century differ considerably. This change shows that bibliographies of philosophy were no longer conceived as a particular use of the art of compilation and annotation learned in the eighteenth century universities. They were viewed as specific projects which could take many fórms closely connected with the individual intention of each bibliographer. In this respect the nineteenth century bibliographies of philosophy anticipate those of the twentieth century.

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47) G. Giannini, "Formale," *Enciclopedia Filosofica* [a cura del] Centro di Studi Filosofici di Gallarate (Venezia: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale [1957]), II, 492–93.

48) Bocheński, p. 22.

CHAPTER V

VARIETY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After the middle of the nineteenth century the enormous progress of science brought a return to analytical and mechanistic philosophical systems among which positivism has been the most influential and durable. Originated by Auguste Comte in France it received substantial support from Charles Darwin's theory of evolution expounded in *The Origin of Species*, first published in 1859. Toward the end of the century new forms of idealism arose, attacking the tendencies of both positivism and evolutionism. The voluntaristic philosophies of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche emphasized an irrationalism which was very critical of science. The methods and value of history were criticized as well.
The end of the century saw a return to metaphysics in Germany and France akin to the irrationalistic philosophies. Nevertheless, philosophies with strong rationalistic tendencies appeared again; for example, Neocriticism attacked anew the problem of knowledge and still followed basically the lines established by Kant. Other philosophies, like Neorealism and Empiricism, also gained ground and developed into currents which penetrated into twentieth century philosophy. [1]
The intense and varied twentieth century philosophical activity created new needs in the field of bibliography, and bibliographers responded to the tremendous production of philosophical works by compiling current bibliographies of philosophy. It became increasingly difficult for any one person to compile a comprehensive bibliography, and, as a result, there was less emphasis on individual compilers or editors; bibliographic work, taken over by teams of specialists, was usually sponsored by journals, organizations, institutes, or even government agencies. Finally, the increase in book production brought with it a trend toward abstracts. In the following discussion the bibliographies are grouped into three main categories: general bibliographies, those covering limited periods, and current bibliographies.

General Bibliographies
The beginning of the century saw the publication of an important bibliography of philosophy by Benjamin Rand, which has never been entirely superseded. Other projects in the field of general bibliography of philosophy were undertaken by Richard Herbertz, Jean Hoffmans, Innocentius M. Bocheński, and Gilbert Varet.

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1) The most comprehensive history of twentieth century philosophy is the six-volume work entitled *Les grands courants de la pensée mondiale contemporaine*, ouvrage publié sous la direction de M. F. Sciacca (3 pts. in 6 vols.; Paris: Fischbacher & Marzorati [c1964]). In English a study combining conciseness with thoroughness is I. M. Bocheński's *Contemporary European Philosophy*, translated from the German by Donald Nicholl and Karl Aschenbrenner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957). For the philosophy in the United States, a useful survey can be found in Herbert Wallace Schneider's *A History of American Philosophy* (2d ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). The four-volume work, *Philosophy in the Mid-Century*, edited by Raymond Klibansky (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1958–59), is also of value, especially for the bibliographical information included.

Rand

In the twentieth century, leadership in the bibliography of philosophy was taken over by the United States where in 1905 Benjamin Rand's *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology and Cognate Subjects* was published. It forms two separately printed parts of volume three of James Mark Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology.* [2] Rand's work marks the resumption of compiling unannotated bibliographies, continuing in this respect the tradition established by Ersch at the beginning of the preceding century.

Rand was born at Canning, Nova Scotia in 1856, did his undergraduate work at Acadia University and in 1885 received his Ph. D. in philosophy from Harvard, [3] where he was particularly inspired by his metaphysics professor, George Herbert Palmer. Rand spent one year at the University of Heidelberg, where he had as teacher the famous historian of philosophy, Kuno Fischer. Subsequently Rand became assistant instructor in philosophy at Harvard but soon chose to devote his time to research and compilation. It was then that he prepared his bibliography. One year after its publication he was appointed librarian of the newly established departmental library of philosophy which, according to Arthur L. Tunnell, he made the most complete collection of philosophical works in America. [4] He remained in this capacity at Harvard until his retirement in 1933. His death occurred a year later. In addition to his bibliography, Rand wrote a number of studies which deal mainly with the history of philosophy, especially eighteenth century English authors.

It took Rand ten years to prepare his bibliography. Planned as a comprehensive international bibliography, i. e., neither selective nor exhaustive, but as complete as possible for works of major authors, its coverage extends from the first Ionian philosopher, Thales, of the sixth century B. C. down to Rand's contemporaries at the turn of the century. The work is limited chiefly to the western world and to publications in the English, French, German, and Italian languages.

The sources used reflect both the traditional approach and the new array of tools available to a bibliographer at the beginning of the twentieth century. Like Hissmann in the eighteenth century, the first direct source of information used by Rand was his university library which had a collection of twelve thousand titles in philosophy. In addition, he drew heavily from the histories of philosophy of Johann Eduard Erdmann and Friedrich Ueberweg. [5] He was also considerably

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[2] Benjamin Rand, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, and Cognate Subjects*, Vol. III of *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, ed. by James Mark Baldwin (3 vols. in 4; New York: Macmillan, 1901–05).

[3] A[rthur] L. T[unnel] "Rand, Benjamin (1856–1934)," in *A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography; the Canadian Who Was Who*, editors Sir Charles G. D. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell (Library Edition; Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938), II, 364–65; Henry James Morgan, *Canadian men and Women of the Time; a Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters* (2d ed.; Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), p. 926.

[4] Tunnell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[5] Johann Eduard Erdmann, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (2 vols., 4. Aufl. bearb. von Benno Erdmann; Berlin: W. Hertz, (1896); and Friedrich Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (4 vols., 9. Aufl.; Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn, 1901–05).

helped by such modern sources as bibliographical surveys in philosophical periodicals. By contrast, he found the older bibliographies of philosophy, like the ones by Ersch and Gumposch, of little help, because most works listed by them were no longer in print. Rand's intention was to record only available titles so that his bibliography would serve the needs of research workers and assist in building library collections in philosophy. Stockhausen had expressed the same pragmatic purpose of direct, immediate service to the individual user and to libraries in general, but in the twentieth century for a comprehensive bibliography this intent can detract from the total value of the bibliography. For instance, by applying the condition of availability to a general bibliography, Rand changed the traditional function of establishing a list of books written on a subject. Moreover, the availability of a book is difficult to determine; as Mademoiselle Malclès states, "les textes imprimés finissent toujours tôt ou tard par échouer dans des dépôts publics, en vertu de lois ou de conventions, ou par la voie des achats, des dons et des legs." [6]

Almost the entire first volume of Rand's work is an alphabetical list of important authors from ancient times to the last third of the nineteenth century, largely selected from those starred in Erdmann's and Ueberweg's histories. Under each author are recorded editions of collected works, major individual works, translations into various languages, and, if the author is particularly important, biographies and other major works about him. Famous philosophers of the first half of the nineteenth century are exceptionally well covered.

The second volume deals with what Rand considers the most important philosophical subjects, arranged in a combination of systematic and alphabetic order. The volume is divided into six sections: systematic philosophy, logic, esthetics, philosophy of religion, ethics, and psychology, with the space assigned to each varying considerably. The psychology section is almost three times the length of that on systematic philosophy or ethics and almost five times that of logic or philosophy of religion. Except for esthetics, the smallest section, each is subdivided into its general and special components. Under "General," Rand lists mostly bibliographies, dictionaries, periodicals, works on history, and "systems and essays." Under "Special," he devises various philosophical topics without a clear criterion. For instance in the section on the philosophy of religion, under "Special," he uses headings like "Deism," "Evolution and Religion," and "Future Life." If the "Deism" can be connected with a philosophical movement, the same cannot be said of the two other headings.

Most of the works listed in the second volume are by authors of the second half of the nineteenth century. Some works of philosophers no longer living and considered particularly important are covered twice, their names appearing in both volumes. For example, Alexander Baumgarten's *Aesthetica* and Francis Bacon's *Novum organum* are recorded in the first volume under their names and in the second volume in the esthetics and logic sections respectively.

It is very difficult to be absolutely certain whether a title is listed or not in the second volume because there is no author index. A spot check for such philosophers as Johannes Volkelt, Harald Höffding, Rudolf Eucken, Edmund Husserl,

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[6] Louise Noëlle Malclès. *La Bibliographie* (Deuxième édition revue, "Que sais-je? " No. 708; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), p. 127.

Maurice Blondel, André Lalande, and Henri Bergson reveals their presence but only after a careful search through the various sections. This discloses what may be a serious drawback of the bibliography in which contemporary philosophers are listed under outdated or too inclusive headings instead of being recorded under new headings representative of the position of each philosopher at the time. "Symbolic Logic" is the only new subject included by Rand. Others, like the philosophy of history and the philosophy of language, have not been assigned special sections, although they had become new branches of philosophy long before the publication of Rand's work. Pedagogics and social or political philosophy are not listed separately. Consequently, such a work as Émile Durkheim's *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* is found in the psychology section, while some works on social philosophy are recorded under the headings "Right or Wrong" and "Sanctions" in the ethics section. An analytical subject index with an up-to-date terminology would have eliminated these shortcomings.

Rand's work was favorably evaluated by most of his contemporaries. Today it is still used in academic and general research libraries both in America and abroad. A useful feature is the inclusion of numerous references to review articles of books listed. Gilbert Varet commends Rand's bibliography for its richness in references of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; an almost exhaustive coverage of nineteenth century authors; a well-balanced coverage of the authors of different countries; and the accuracy of the information included. [7]

In his very critical appraisal of Rand's work, his contemporary, David Morrison, deplored the absence of sections for the philosophy of history and sociology and expressed objections to the alphabetical arrangement of topics within the sections devoted to philosophical branches. Morrison thought that such an arrangement "breaks up chronological order without furnishing him [the research student] with any logical clues" and that the greatest service of Rand's work would be "to stimulate the production of complementary works traversing the same ground more minutely and surveying it more systematically." [8]

Herbertz

Rand's bibliography includes over sixty-thousand titles; no other general bibliography has attempted such inclusion. Most compilers chose to issue selective bibliographies limited to what they considered major works. The first important bibliography of this kind was compiled by Richard Herbertz, professor of philosophy at the University of Bern. It was published in 1912 under the title *Die philosophische Literatur.* [9] It is a study guide, issued in response to many requests addressed to Herbertz after he had published a provocative article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, condemning dilettantism in the philosophy of his time. [10] Herbertz states that, in view of the considerable number of "philosophical" works written by persons with no real knowledge of philosophy, he considered it his duty to help readers interested in philosophy to know "really philosophical scientific literature," to enable them to pursue their study of philosophy with success.

Beginning with a list of introductory works and histories of philosophy, Herbertz devotes most of his book to the coverage of major works in various philosophical branches: logic, metaphysics and the theory of knowledge, psychology, philosophy of nature, ethics, legal and political philosophy, esthetics, philosophy of religion, and philosophy of history. An appendix lists philosophical and psychological periodicals and philosophical dictionaries.

Herbertz observes that he has attempted to include writings representative of all important philosophical currents, no matter whether he personally inclined toward them or not. As he says, "Es sollen alle beachtenswerten Meinungen und Standpunkte zur Geltung kommen." Consequently, he records almost an equal number of works by positivists and idealists. The representation of other schools is also well balanced, but with emphasis on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the beginning of the twentieth. Except for Bertrand Russell, William James, and Ferdinand C. S. Schiller, coverage of the twentieth century is limited exclusively to works of major German philosophers. For example, Herbertz provides a special section on the relationship between logic and mathematics, where he devotes three pages to works of German authors but mentions only in passing that the English logicians, including Bertrand Russell, have done interesting research on the subject; he lists here Bertrand Russell's *Principles of Mathematics*, his first principal work on mathematical philosophy and formal logic.

Except for those in the appendix, the titles listed are annotated. Herbertz' comments show that he was well aware of new developments in the field. A particularly striking example of this is his emphasis on the importance of Edmund Husserl's phenomenological method which had not yet achieved the high reputation it enjoys today. Another example is the good coverage of the German psychological school of esthetics.

A contemporary, Otto Braun, considered Herbertz' selection of important titles very successfully made. Therefore Braun concluded that the work, as a study guide, "gut seinen Zweck erfüllen wird, die Orientierung zu erleichtern und die Auswahl der Literatur sachlich zu leiten." [11]

Hoffmans

Eight years after the publication of Herbertz' guide, Jean Hoffmans, doctor of philosophy and member of the Neoscholastic Institut Supérieur de Philosophie at Louvain in Belgium, [12] issued another study guide entitled *La Philosophie et les*

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7) Gilbert Varet, *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* ("Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), I, 8–9.

8) David Morrison, "*Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*. Edited by James Mark Baldwin. Vol. III, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, and Cognate Subjects*. Compiled by Benjamin Rand" [Review], *Mind*, XXXI (July, 1906), 423–24.

9) Richard Herbertz, *Die philosophische Literatur. Ein Studienführer* (Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1912).

10) *Ibid.*, pp. iii and 3–4.

11) Otto Braun, "Herbertz, Rich. Die philosophische Literatur. Ein Studienführer. Stuttgart, W. Spemann, 1912" [Review], *Kantstudien*, XVIII (1912), 276.

12) Examination of numerous sources pertaining to Belgian scholars and to philosophers in general yielded no further information about Hoffmas' life.

Philosophes. Ouvrages généraux. [13] Hoffmans' compilation is limited chiefly to general works, handbooks, and introductions to philosophy published after the middle of the nineteenth century, as well as all the histories of philosophy of which he was aware. It is a work entirely different from the bibliography of Herbertz because it does not record major works of principal authors but, instead, provides a list of multi-volume collections, like the English series "Library of Philosophy" and "Home University Library of Modern Knowledge" and the French "Collection Historique des Grands Philosophes."

The bibliography is divided into seven chapters: philosophical dictionaries, treatises and manuals, histories of philosophy, editions and translations of collected philosophical works, periodicals, bibliographies of philosophy, and general reference books. The chapter on histories of philosophy is the longest, occupying nearly one-half of the volume. It is subdivided into sections on general histories, histories of various periods, philosophical movements, schools and systems, and branches of philosophy. The arrangement of the section "Les systèmes philosophiques" is somewhat confusing, because, in addition to the subsection "Histoirès spéciales des systèmes philosophiques" in which most philosophical systems are treated, there is a short separate subsection on "Les systèmes philosophiques modernes." In this subsection Hoffmans covers Cartesianism, Sensualism, Positivism, Criticism and Neocriticism, Pragmatism and Humanism, and Modernism. It is possible that Hoffmans considered these systems entirely products of the modern era and, for that reason, singled them out as not having their origins in antiquity. Since Hoffmans gives no explanation about his arrangement and does not provide a subject index, there is no way of finding a work on a particular subject in this and other sections unless one looks through a sixteen-page table of contents.

The section on philosophical branches in chapter three, like the one on special treatises of philosophy in chapter two, is subdivided traditionally, i. e., into logic, the theory of knowledge, metaphysics, philosophy of nature, psychology, pedagogics, philosophy of religion, ethics, philosophy of law, and esthetics. The volume ends with a section on the philosophy of history which records only seven titles.

The Neothomist views of Hoffmans, a member of the Catholic Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, may have been responsible for the special emphasis he lays on Christian literature in general and the medieval period in particular. In chapter three, for example, in the section on "Histoires littéraires de la Philosophie et Répertoires des sources de l'Histoire de la Philosophie," he lists almost four times more titles on Christian literature than on ancient literature. Moreover, he ends the section with the medieval period.

Although Hoffmans' work is not entirely free from Neoscholastic bias and is no longer up to date, it still has value because of such special features as the extensive

13) Jean Hoffmans, *La philosophie et les philosophes. Ouvrages généraux* (Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1920).

coverage of the histories of philosophy and its special section listing the publications of the first philosophical congresses. [14]

Bocheński

After Hoffmans' work, more than a quarter of a century elapsed before a new general bibliography of philosophy appeared. The project was undertaken by the Dominican father, Innocentius M. Bocheński, and was conceived as a series of bibliographical introductions, each dealing with a particular aspect, period, school, or movement of philosophy, or a great philosopher. The series is entitled *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie.* [15]

Bocheński was born at Czuszow in Poland in 1902. He received his secondary education at the Catholic seminary at Gniezno [16] and studied law and political economy at the Polish universities at Lvov and Poznan. Later he went to Switzerland to study philosophy and pedagogics at the University of Fribourg from which he received a doctor's degree in philosophy. He also studied theology at the Institutum Angelicum in Rome and received a doctorate from that institute. Bocheński taught at the University of Krakow in his native country but after the Second World War he settled in Switzerland at the University of Fribourg where he has been teaching the history of philosophy since 1948 and presently is also the president of that university.

Bocheński belongs to the Neothomist philosophical school which wishes to "enrichir la synthèse thomiste d'éléments nouveaux et la rendre, par le fait même, plus abordable au monde philosophique moderne." [17] Bocheński's publications include several works dealing with logic, a detailed survey of Soviet dialectical materialism, and a history of contemporary European philosophy, *Europäische Philosophie der Gegenwart* (Bern: Francke, 1947).

According to Bocheński, philosophy is not as easily understood today as in past centuries, due to the fact that specialization has now become so great that only trained philosophers can understand contemporary publications in the field. [18] He believes that there is therefore a need for guides to indicate the preparatory works which should be read before deciding the philosophical system to be studied further and before reading more serious works of contemporary philosophers. Bocheński expressed the hope that his *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der*

14) Wilhelm Totok thinks that Hoffmans' bibliography can still render some service. See his *Bibliographischer Wegweiser der philosophischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann [c1959]), p. 10. Hofmans' work is listed in Louise Noëlle Malclès' *Les sources du travail bibliographique* (Genève: Droz, 1950–58) and in Gilbert Varet's *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* ("Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956).

15) Innocentius M. Bocheński (ed.), *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie* (Nos. 1–23; Bern: Francke, 1948–53).

16) *Les grands courants*, Part I, Vol. II, pp. 1025–26; *Who's who in Switzerland including the Principality of Liechtenstein* (Zürich: Central European Times, 1965), p. 63.

17) *Les grands courants*, Part I, Vol. II, p. 1023.

18) Bocheński, p. 38.

Philosophie would serve as a guide to a person interested in doing independent research in philosophy. [19]

The first number of the series is devoted to the bibliography of bibliographies of philosophy. It was prepared by Bocheński and F. Monteleone, director of the Library of the Canton of Fribourg and the University of Fribourg. In the introductory remarks Bocheński states that there are very few good handbooks on systematic philosophy and that the bibliography of philosophy is a field which has not yet been well developed. Consequently, he suggests that the researcher consult national and universal bibliographies as well as bibliographies of philosophy. [20]

Between 1948 and 1953 twenty-three numbers of the *Bibliographische Einführungen* were published. One number is devoted to each of the following: general introduction, symbolic logic, logical positivism, and French and German existential philosophy, and seven numbers to individual philosophers, all ancient and medieval except Kierkegaard. Five others treat philosophy by periods and countries, and the remaining four are devoted to Jewish and Patristic religious philosophies. In addition, double numbers are devoted to Thomas Aquinas, Thomism, and Buddhist philosophy. Almost one-half of the numbers published so far deal either with medieval authors and medieval philosophy or with religious philosophies of other periods.

Each number is compiled by a professor of philosophy familiar with the subject to which the number is devoted. Thus Michele F. Sciacca, professor of philosophy at the University of Genoa and the editor of the *Giornale di Metafisica*, is the author of the number covering contemporary Italian philosophy, and Monsignor Régis Jolivet, professor at the Catholic University of Lyon and author of several studies on existentialism, is the compiler of the number on Kierkegaard and the one on French existentialism. The presentation varies with each number because authors were given full freedom as to content and form of their bibliographies. Thus, Ralph Winn, covering American philosophy, wrote a lengthy summary and a critical evaluation of each book listed, but E. W. Beth, in the number on symbolic logic, gave only a line or two of comments, and Odulf Schäfer in his bibliography on Johannes Duns Scotus includes no comments at all. In most numbers, however, titles are followed by short critical or descriptive notes.

The only requirement with which the compilers had to comply was that their bibliographies should be in accordance with the purpose of the work, i. e., to serve as a guide for beginners in a particular philosophical subject. In following this general editorial policy faithfully, the compilers produced quite selective bibliographies with special emphasis on introductory works.

Despite the editorial freedom enjoyed by the compilers, the fact that most of them were professors at Catholic universities or had an inclination toward some currents of Neoscholastic philosophy may substantiate a criticism of bias in favor of Scholasticism or Catholicism in the series. [21] The importance given to the coverage

19) Innocentius M. Bochenski (ed.), *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie* (Bern: Francke, 1948), I, 3.

20) *Ibid.*, I, 3–5.

21) Cf. Gilbert Varet, *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* ("Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), I, 11; and Louise Noëlle Malclès, *Les sources du travail bibliographique* (Genève: Droz, 1952), II, 635.

of medieval philosophy and medieval authors seems to give some justification to such a criticism. Some critics find in Bocheński's series an editorial bias toward logical positivism. Since only two numbers on symbolic logic and logical positivism respectively have been published, there is not enough evidence to substantiate the validity of this criticism.

Varet

The most recent general bibliography of philosophy is Gilbert Varet's *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique,* [22] which appeared in the series "Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques; Collection fondée par Louis Lavelle, continuée par René Le Senne et dirigée par Gaston Berger." In the preface Varet states that in his bibliography he wants to be faithful to the principles and intentions of the two founders and first editors of this series, Lavelle and Le Senne. He seems the right person to succeed in this because he wrote his doctoral dissertation, "Réflexion," under the guidance of Le Senne at the Sorbonne, and has published a study on Lavelle.

Besides his training in philosophy, Varet has had extensive experience in bibliographic work as well. He has been a bibliographic assistant at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and has written the chapter on "Sciences philosophiques" in Malclès' *Les sources du travail bibliographique.* [23] Subsequently he has been teaching at the University of Besancon and is editor-in-chief of the *Bibliographie de la philosophie.*

In order to understand Varet's conception of a bibliography of philosophy, one must read the supplementary thesis he wrote at the Sorbonne, entitled *Histoire et Savoir.* [24] It is difficult to read because of the specific terminology showing both the influence of Edmund Husserl's phenomenological philosophy and that of the so-called *philosophie de l'esprit* developed by Louis Lavelle and René Le Senne. [25] Varet talks, for example, about transcendental absolutes, such as *le Savoir* opposed to *le savoir* or *Valeur* placed above *les valeurs.* Varet's main concerns and aims both in philosophy and in the bibliography of philosophy seem to be primarily based on the principles of the *philosophie de l'esprit* which Bochenski summarizes as follows:

> . . . the recognition of the absolute, an accounting for the whole of human experience and a readiness to embrace all those spiritual efforts which promote the understanding of the human person.[26]

22) Gilbert Varet, *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* (2 vols., "Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956). Hereafter cited as Varet, *Manuel.*

23) Louise Noëlle-Malclès, *Les sources du travail bibliographique* (Genève: Droz, 1952), II, 633 83.

24) Gilbert Varet, *Histoire et Savoir. Introduction théorique à la Bibliographie. Les champs articulés de la bibliographie philosophique* ("Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besancon," Vol. 12; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956). Hereafter cited as Varet, *Histoire et Savoir.*

25) Bocheński observes that all the representatives of the *philosophie de l'esprit* "express themselves in deliberate but very difficult language." Bocheński, p. 208.

26) Bocheński, p. 208.

In *Histoire et Savoir* Varet expounds his theory of an ideal bibliography of philosophy. It should be impartial and complete in relation to the specific subject. In the field of philosophy the bibliographer's intention should be: (1) to record publications providing philosophers with information on the history of philosophy, which is for Varet the succession in time of the "perpetual inspirations" of philosophical thought (i. e., thoughts which have always been inherent in philosophy); (2) to record publications which provide philosophers with information about the essential problems they encounter and try to solve. In so doing, the bibliographer gives the specialist a general view of his field and helps him to relate the special problems he is investigating to the permanent inspirations of the *philosophia perennis*. Thanks to such a bibliography, the specialist would, according to Varet, no longer be isolated within his narrow sector of research. This is why Varet thinks that if such a work were produced, a philosopher would consider it his duty to consult it; it would be his "devoir bibliographique." [27]

The work of the bibliographers is, in Varet's view, twofold. First, they must determine the constant issues which run through the history of philosophy and document them by listing pertinent publications in philosophy and other fields. They must do this indiscriminately because it is not up to the bibliographer to formulate a value judgment about the works to be listed. The only criterion of selection is to see that the selected publications are relevant to the special subject of the bibliography. The second and no doubt the most difficult task prescribed by Varet is to embrace the whole field of contemporary philosophy in order to recognize its unity. Bibliographers must group the material which fits their purpose around a unifying thought. It is here that Varet indicates more clearly than elsewhere the solution he foresees. He thinks that the bibliographer who intends to compile a bibliography of philosophy must get away from the classification by subjects or authors because this can be done by current catalogues, encyclopedias, and dictionaries. The bibliographer must adapt the selection of titles and their arrangement to the specific needs of the planned compilation, these needs being in direct correlation with the essence of the subject or subjects covered.

In Varet's opinion, a "Bibliographie générale de la philosophie" should be a bibliographical survey of the "sciences philosophiques," a general term which encompasses all the speculative aspects of knowledge divided into the philosophies of history, art, religion, the sciences, man, and being and value. Each division should include complete documentation on the essential problems within its subject matter and, in order to achieve this, the bibliographer must first determine the essential character of each philosophy from a bibliographical point of view, seen as the task to present it to the "conscience du savant," i. e., to make him aware of the problems pertaining to that philosophy. In the philosophy of art, for example, the bibliographer should present the metaphysical unifying aspect of art in general. For art he should provide a varied but relevant documentation, including names of artists who wrote nothing on their art but showed in their work a "dimension *métaphysique*, en sorte que leur oeuvre constitue en quelque façon elle-même une source d'inspiration philosophique." [28]

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27) Varet, *Manuel*, I, ix.

28) Varet, *Histoire et Savoir*, p. 138.

These principles were intended to find application in Varet's bibliography, but in practice he found it was not entirely feasible. There were not enough books dealing only with the speculative aspects of each discipline for which Varet wanted to provide a special philosophical section. To compile the intended bibliography he would have had to extract from various books in all branches of knowledge the chapters or even smaller portions containing the "metaphysical dimension" wanted. Varet found this an impossible task and one which would not serve the needs of philosophers properly, because his bibliography

> aurait dû le plus souvent renvoyer à un grand nombre d'instruments de disciplines voisines dont le philosophe n'a pas l'usage et dans lesquels la petite partie proprement philosophique doit être récupérée au prix de beaucoup de peine dans une immense matière étrangère. [29]

Varet found it necessary to compromise and to narrow the scope of his work.

The first volume of Varet's bibliography is devoted to the "philosophies classiques." Trying to get away from the arrangement of the major division by concepts, he groups chronologically the "lasting influences" ("inspirations permanentes") which have fed and still are feeding philosophical thought, i. e., beginning with ancient philosophy, especially Plato and Aristotle, and continuing with Christian, Cartesian, and Kantian philosophy. Within his categorical system Varet manages to include many traditionally divergent philosophers under very broad and unconventional headings, such as the English Empiricists within "La Philosophie Cartesienne."

Within the smallest units of the first volume Varet arranges titles in a strictly chronological order. For example, in the subchapter "De 1784 a 1804" Hegel's works are not all grouped together but are scattered so that his earlier writings are separated from the later ones by works of Fichte, Schelling, and other philosophers whose books appeared in the intervening years. Varet termed this method chronobibliography.

In the second volume devoted to the "sciences philosophiques" Varet undertakes the task of listing systematically the problems treated by each philosophy of arts and sciences. The volume is divided into three main parts: "Les Philosophies de la Culture," "Les Philosophies des Sciences," and "Les Philosophies de l'Homme." The order in which these parts follow each other answers to Varet's intention of portraying the evolution of man's thinking from the past to the present. Varet is of the opinion that man thought first in terms of general culture, then in terms of science, from which finally sprang the past and present involvement of philosophical thought in the study of man himself.

Within each part and chapter of the second volume Varet follows an arrangement established according to his own interpretation of the field. Thus in the part on "Les Philosophies des Sciences," the first three chapters, "L'esprit scientifique," "La logique," and "Epistémologie générale," precede "Philosophie des mathématiques," "Philosophie de la physique," and "La vie," because the study of man's reasoning and approach to knowledge must precede the use of man's reason and

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29) Varet, *Manuel*, I, viii.

knowledge in the sciences. Such an arrangement, however systematic it may be, results in a dislocation of the usual categories. For example, sensation and perception are covered in the chapter on the philosophy of physics while experimental psychology and physiological psychology are in an entirely different part, "Les Philosophies de l'Homme."

The part on "Les Philosophies de l'Homme" consists of four chapters: I. "L'homme individuel et social" (meaning, for Varet, man taken away from the field of his actions); II. "Le Droit et l'Etat" (Covering philosophies pertaining to the actions of men in collective bodies); III. "Education et Morale" (dealing with the actions of the individual only) and IV. "Les philosophies de l'Etre et de la Valeur." The latter occupy the last chapter because Varet believes that philosophies about man's being and values can be established only through the study of man's actions. [30] This last chapter contains a variety of names, grouped here because Varet considers that all the philosophers of our time, whatever their opinions and special interests, are concerned with the problem of man and his value. Therefore Varet characterizes contemporary philosophy as follows:

> ... c'est, au niveau philosophique, la réflexion philosophique sur les valeurs qui remplace avantageusement, dans la pensée contemporaine, la théorie des facultés et même en général la critique au sens kantien. [31]

The coverage of Varet's bibliography is as unusual as its arrangement. The first volume lists publications through 1954 and the second to the middle of 1955. Consequently, the work could be expected to bring up to date G. A. de Brie's *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–1945*, but actually it does not. Although it records some 20,000 titles, a few major works are not listed. Omissions of important authors are less striking than omissions of major works because Varet frequently records articles or minor books of important authors, but fails to list their major works. For example, Paul Tillich's name occupies a prominent place among the authors of the "Théories générales des religions" with nine of his titles listed, but Tillich's major work, *Systematic Theology*, is omitted. The same is true of other philosophers, such as Emmanuel Mounier, Oswald Spengler, Alfred Weber, and Leopold Ziegler. On the other hand, Varet lists many anthologies and introductory works, such as Adolphe van Bever and Paul Léautaud's *Poètes d'aujourd'hui* and Guy Michaud's *Message poètique du symbolisme*. This can be explained by his desire to record materials which cover many aspects of a problem.

Varet is aware of the unusual arrangement and coverage of his work and frequently refers the reader to other bibliographies. For some authors, like Carlyle and Emerson, he lists their names but for their works refers the reader to the appropriate author bibliographies. Moreover, he devotes two chapters of the first volume to general reference works and bibliographies.

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30) Varet, *Histoire et Savoir*, p. 145.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Varet's work has surprised and even irritated some bibliographers. In a critical review of it, [32] Alexandre Lambrino expressed his understanding of Varet's desire for a new conception of bibliography, agreed with his concern for the special needs of scholars and accepted the idea that arrangement by the usual categories cannot cover satisfactorily the newest developments in the field because modern scholars are getting away from such catergories. Nevertheless, Lambrino found many shortcomings in Varet's bibliography, one of them, ending the bibliographical survey of the history of philosophy with Kant. Lambrino thought the arrangement of the second volume should be entirely redone, making two sections of "Les Philosophies des Sciences," one arranged by usual categories and the other by research problems. Lambrino was surprised at the failure to list Francis Bacon in the first volume and the omissions among the works of contemporary psychologists. He objected to Varet's grouping of many different philosophers in the last chapter of his bibliography, "Les Philosophies de l'Etre et de la Valeur," and to his listing of books "dont l'apport scientifique est douteux." He concluded that Varet's undertaking was deserving but should have been done by a specialist. Lambrino's remarks point to the fact that Varet's bibliography cannot be understood by itself but must be explained by the *Histoire et Savoir* which was written earlier.

In the history of the bibliography of philosophy Varet's *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* represents a total departure from the past and reflects the problems which confront both the philosopher and the bibliographer in our time. His conception of philosophy as a transcendental discipline, which towers above all branches of knowledge, demonstrates a concern for the contemporary isolation of the specialist. In speculative philosophy he saw a possible answer to this problem and in bibliography the tool for the future, the instrument of the specialist's salvation.

Bibliographies Covering Limited Periods

Most of the bibliographies covering limited periods were originally compiled as current bibliographies, published once or several times a year. They ceased publication for various reasons after a limited period of time, usually not more than ten years.

Die Philosophie der Gegenwart

At the Third International Congress of Philosophy held at Heidelberg in 1908 Professor Alessandro Levi of the University of Ferrara proposed the establishment of a current international bibliography of philosophy. Since no financial support came from the countries represented at the Congress, the bibliography was started by the Heidelberg firm Weiss'sche Universitätsbuchhandlung. The first double volume of the bibliography covering the years 1908 and 1909 appeared in 1910 under the title *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart. Eine internationale Jahresübersicht.* [33] It was edited by Arnold Ruge, lecturer in philosophy at the University of

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32) Alexandre Lambrino, "Varet (Gilbert) – *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique*" [Review], *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*, II (Février, 1957), 164–70.

33) *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart. Eine internationale Jahresübersicht*, hrsg. von Dr. Arnold Ruge (5 vols.; Heidelberg: Weiss'sche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910–15).

Heidelberg. Ruge was well qualified for the job because of his subject knowledge and because of his active participation in international professional meetings where his contacts with philosophers of various countries helped him find many contributors to the bibliography. In spite of the success of *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* the First World War prevented its continuance and it ceased publication with the fifth volume published in 1915.

The five volumes of the bibliography record over seventeen thousand titles of books and articles, more than half annotated. The notes are usually brief summaries which Ruge secured from the authors themselves. For most of the books, references are given to reviews in professional journals. In cases where no annotations could be obtained from the authors, summaries of the tables of contents are included. A special section is provided for scholarly journals with analysis of their contents. Full imprint information and pagination are given for all books recorded.

In the preface of the first volume of the bibliography Ruge states that he intends to record mostly German, English, American, French, Dutch, Russian, Italian, and Spanish publications, but he admits that he was not successful in obtaining much cooperation from Russia and Spain. This appears to be true of other volumes as well, for a number of important Russian philosophical works of the period, such as Chelpanov's *Sbornik statei*, Georgiĭ Plekhanov's *Osnovnye voprosy marksizma*, and Victor Nesmelov's *Vera i znanie*, remain unrecorded. Publications of other major countries are covered quite thoroughly. Ruge further observes that he tried to be impartial in editing the bibliography and therefore limited the annotations to factual information, leaving it to the reader to make value judgments about the publications listed.[34] An "absolute impartiality" is claimed by Ruge in his selection of titles from general catalogues.[35]

Die Philosophie der Gegenwart is arranged systematically by philosophical branches, preceded by three chapters devoted to periodicals, collections, and reference works, critical editions of texts, and the history of philosophy. Ruge's chief innovation in the arrangement of the branches of philosophy is his grouping of some of them: logic with the theory of knowledge, ethics with legal and social philosophy, and the philosophy of culture with the philosophy of history and the philosophy of language. Also, Ruge was the first bibliographer of philosophy to introduce the philosophy of culture as a separate branch of philosophy. On the other hand, Ruge did not provide a separate section for pedagogics; apparently, like Ersch, he considered this subject an independent discipline. Some pedagogical works which he deemed necessary to record are covered in the chapter on ethics under "Einzelprobleme der Ethik und Arbeiten auf dem Grenzgebiete der Ethik, Psychologie und Pädagogik." Psychology is still considered a philosophical branch, even though Ruge limits the chapter on it to works which have some relationship to philosophy. He did this because he was aware of the annual bibliography of psychology published as a supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*, to which he refers the reader.

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34) *Ibid.*, I, iv–v.

35) Arnold Ruge, "Die Begriffe der Philosophie und die Idee einer internationalen Bibliographie," *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, CXLIX (1913), 149.

An almost comprehensive coverage of current philosophical publications in many languages and the inclusion of valuable information, like the numerous references to reviews, made *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* a bibliography highly valued by philosophers of the time. Today it is still an excellent bibliography which has not been equalled by any other work for the six-year period covered.

Literarische Berichte

After the First World War another current bibliography of philosophy, *Literarische Berichte*, was started in Germany in 1923.[36] In all, twenty-six numbers were issued, the last in 1932. It was edited by Arthur Hoffmann, professor of psychology, pedagogics, and philosophy at the Pädagogische Akademie of Erfurt in central Germany. Most of the contributors were professors of philosophy or experts in different branches of philosophy; other contributors included psychologists, scientists, theologians, political scientists, professors of literary and intellectual history, and librarians, all of whom had a special interest in philosophy.

There are two regular sections of the *Literarische Berichte*, one containing surveys of research on branches of philosophy, prominent philosophers, or new developments in the philosophy of a given country, and the other devoted to unannotated lists of current publications. Most numbers include one or more of the following lists: new German philosophical books; German university publications in philosophy, including doctoral dissertations; and articles on philosophical subjects in German periodicals. The twenty-six numbers published cover books from 1923 to 1928, university publications from 1925 to 1931, and periodical articles from 1924 to 1929. Despite the editor's intention to print them regularly, two other lists, one recording non-German publications and the other devoted to a survey of the courses currently taught in philosophy in German universities, were included very irregularly. Some numbers contain bibliographies devoted either to a special subject or to a philosopher, such as "Bibliographie des Wertbegriffes," "Die deutsche Hegel-Literatur 1828–1928," and "Bibliographie der deutschen Literatur über Nietzsche 1872–1931," each compiled by an expert on the subject.

The bibliographies included in the *Literarische Berichte* are arranged systematically by philosophical branches, preceded, as was customary, by general works, texts, and histories of philosophy. Among the branches of philosophy included are pedagogics and such new subjects as philosophy of literature, philosophy of technology, and philosophy of medicine. The retention of pedagogics as a branch of philosophy, contrary to the practice of Ersch and Ruge, may be due to the background of the editor, who taught this subject at the Erfurt Pädagogische Akademie. The provision for special sections for the philosophy of fields not traditionally found in bibliographies of philosophy is indicative of the contemporary trend toward a steady expansion of philosophical research in those fields.

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36) *Literarische Berichte der Deutschen Philosophischen Gesellschaft.* Unter Mitwirkung führender Fachvertreter und in Verbindung mit den Verlagshäusern, hrsg. von Arthur Hoffmann (26 nos.; Erfurt: Kurt Stenger, 1923–32). The two first numbers appeared as publications of the Deutsche Philosophische Gesellschaft, but beginning with the third number the name of the Gesellschaft was dropped and the title changed to the *Literarische Berichte aus dem Gebiete der Philosophie.* Hereafter cited as *Literarische Berichte.*

The critical surveys of research included in the *Literarische Berichte* are still of value to present day research workers concerned with the developments of various branches of philosophy during the period covered. The bibliographical sections can, according to Totok, also be very useful because "für diese Jahre eine umfassende bibliographische Übersicht fehlt." [37]

"Literaturberichte"

A year after the first number of the *Literarische Berichte* appeared, the *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik*, the organ of the German empirical school of Hans Vaihinger, introduced a special section, "Literaturberichte," containing annotations of current works in philosophy and cognate subjects. [38] The section, which amounted to about 150 pages a year, was paged separately and made available in reprint copies. The annotations, averaging about seventy words per title, are limited to publications in German, English, French, and Italian, and give summaries of contents with no critical comments. Although the editors intended to offer a complete coverage of current philosophical literature in these languages, the goal was achieved only for German publications, which constitute more than one-half of all the works listed. The systematic arrangement of the "Literaturberichte" is traditional, markedly resembling the arrangement in the *Literarische Berichte*. The publication of the "Literaturberichte" was suspended in 1929 when the *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik* was transformed into a new periodical, *Erkenntnis*.

Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36

An attempt to include a current bibliography in a philosophical periodical was also made in the United States where the *Journal of Philosophy*, from 1934 to 1937, devoted the August number to a bibliography which was reprinted under the title *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36.* [39] This short-lived compilation was intended to supplement a bibliography of philosophy which, if published, would have covered the years 1902–32 and thus would have brought Rand's work up to date. [40]

The purpose of the *Bibliography of Philosophy* was to record all the "scholarly" books and articles in philosophy published during the preceding year. Like the "Literaturberichte", the scope is limited to publications in English, French,

37) Wilhelm Totok, *Bibliographischer Wegweiser der philosophischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann [c1959]), p. 13.

38) "Literaturberichte," *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik* (Vols. IV–VIII; Leipzig, 1924–29).

39) *Bibliography of Philosophy*, 1933–36 (4 vols.; New York: Journal of Philosophy, 1934–37).

40) Emerson Buchanan, then a graduate student in philosophy at Columbia, was engaged on this unpublished bibliography for many years. The files are preserved in the Philosophy Library of Columbia University. Buchanan was consulted by the editors of the *Journal of Philosophy* about the arrangement of the *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36*. See "A Bibliography of Philosophy for 1933," *Journal of Philosophy*, XXXI (August 16 and 30, 1934), 451.

German, and Italian. [41] The arrangement is systematic by philosophical branches, within which Rand's practice of separating the general from the special topics is followed. A close resemblance to Rand can also be observed in the grouping of metaphysics, epistemology, and the philosophy of science under systematic philosophy. The differences between Rand's work and the *Bibliography of Philosophy* are that the latter does not provide a special section for psychology but covers it under philosophy of science in systematic philosophy, and that an entirely new section on social and political philosophy is introduced.

In the *Bibliography of Philosophy* the headings of subsections vary from year to year. This is particularly true of the sections on the philosophy of religion and social philosophy. For example, for the year 1933 in the section on the philosophy of religion, special topics singled out are Christian philosophy, Oriental philosophy, God, Humanism, Immortality, and Science and Religion; for 1934 the topics are God, Mysticism, Immortality, and German "Paganism"; and in 1935 and 1936 just God and Mysticsm. Another example is the section on social philosophy. For 1933 the special subjects treated in this section are Christian social and political theory, Communism, the German crisis, and international relations; for the subsequent years they include "Marxist," "Contemporary German" and "Contemporary Italian" political theories, philosophy of history, and philosophy of law. The reappearing coverage of the two main new ideologies of pre-war Europe, Communism and Fascism, is characteristic of the period before World War II.

In spite of the intention to offer a complete listing for the current literature in the field in the four major languages, the *Bibliography of Philosophy* failed to record a number of major German philosophical works published during the period 1933 to 1936, such as Martin Buber's *Deutung des Chassidismus*, Werner Heisenberg's *Wandlungen in den Grundlagen der Naturwissenschaft*, Carl Gustav Hempel's *Der Typusbegriff im Lichte der neuen Logik*, Friedrich Meinecke's *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, Erich Rothacker's *Probleme der Kulturanthropologie*, Heinrich Scholz's *Forschungen zur Logistik*, and Aloys Wenzl's *Theorie der Begabung*.

The *Bibliography of Philosophy* ceased publication in 1937 when the International Institute of Philosophy began to issue its *Bibliographie de la philosophie.*

Philosophic Abstracts

Two years after the suspension of publication of the *Bibliography of Philosophy* an attempt was made in the United States to publish a quarterly abstracting journal in philosophy called *Philosophic Abstracts.* [42] It was started in the winter of 1939/40, a time unfavorable for such an undertaking because of the difficulties involved in receiving foreign publications due to the war. The first editor of *Philosophic Abstracts* was Dagobert Runes, author of several philosophical books and an editor of the Philosophical Library publishing house. Runes gathered a number of important collaborators: George Boas, Rudolf Carnap, Paul

41) *Ibid.*

42) *Philosophic Abstracts, 1939–53* (16 vols.; New York: Russel F. Moore, 1940–54). *Decennial Index to Philosophical Literature, 1939–1950* (New York: Russell F. Moore [1952]).

Oskar Kristeller in this country and Innocentius M. Bocheński and Jean Wahl in Europe. Runes was succeeded in 1946 by Ralph Winn, then an associate professor of philosophy at Hofstra College, who in turn was succeeded by Russell F. Moore, the publisher of the journal.

Until 1950 *Philosophic Abstracts* included two regular sections: one analyzing periodical literature, and the other containing abstracts of current books of all countries. The average length of abstracts is about one hundred words. The treatment of individual books varies considerably; for some of them only factual information about contents is given, while for others evaluative comments are added. In 1950 the section on periodical literature was dropped. The publication of *Philosophic Abstracts* was discontinued in 1954 when the International Institute of Philosophy transformed its *Bibliographie de la philosophie* into an abstracting journal. [43]

A cumulative index, *Decennial Index to Philosophical Literature, 1939–1950*, was issued separately in 1952. [44] A check of this index reveals that more than two thirds of the important philosophical works published during the period are not listed in *Philosophic Abstracts*. This is true not only of foreign publications of the war years but also of English publications of the post-war period. A careful examination of the bibliography fails to disclose a consistent policy for the selection or exclusion of various publications.

Bibliographia Philosophica

The most comprehensive of all the bibliographies covering limited periods was *Bibliographia Philosophica*, which was issued in Belgium between 1950 and 1954. [45] Its publication was supported by a grant from UNESCO, and it was edited by the Dominican father Andre de Brie, doctor of philosophy and professor of theology at the Universite Catholique de Louvain in Belgium.

The *Bibliographia philosophica*, covering a twelve year period from 1934 to 1945, is limited to publications in the Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, and Scandinavian languages. The bibliography records both books and periodical articles and gives references to book reviews in philosophical periodicals. The principal sources used by De Brie are: the bibliographical supplements to the Neothomist periodicals of philosophy, *Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie*, and *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*, both published at Louvain. De Brie observes that he has revised, supplemented, and rearranged the listings found in these periodicals.

The first of the two volumes of the *Bibliographia philosophica* is devoted to the history of philosophy. The second covers systematic philosophy and is arranged by

43) According to Totok, *Philosophic Abstracts* stopped "möglicherweise im Zusammenhang mit dem neueingerichteten *Bulletin trimestriel* der *Bibliographie de la philosophie*." Wilhelm Totok, *Bibliographischer Wegweiser der philosophischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann [c1959]), p. 16.

44) *Decennial Index to Philosophical Literature, 1939–1950* (New York: Russel F. Moore [1952]).

45) *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–45*, edidit G. A. de Brie (2 vols.; Bruxellis: Editiones Spectrum, 1950–54).

philosophical branches. Except for assigning a separate section to theodicy, all other sections are practically the same as in the *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*. [46] The order of the sections covering philosophical branches is exactly the same, beginning with logic and epistemology and continuing with metaphysics, philosophy of nature, psychology, ethics, philosophy of law, philosophy of linguistics, esthetics, and philosophies of religion, culture, history, and education.

For the years 1934 to 1945 the *Bibliographia philosophica* gives an almost complete record of the current philosophical publications. De Brie states that because of the "impossibility of having available in Europe, even after the cessation of hostilities, some sources of information" he may have omitted some English and American works published during the war. [47] A close examination, however, reveals the omission of only two important works, one American and the other German, Otto Neurath's *Modern Man in the Making* and Martin Buber's *Deutung des Chassidismus*. These omissions may be regarded as negligible, considering the fact that De Brie recorded over 48,000 titles and that he accomplished this tremendous task in a relatively short time.

Current Bibliographies

In spite of past unsuccessful attempts to continue current bibliographies of philosophy on a regular basis, four such bibliographies, all international in scope, are being published at the present time. A fifth one, *The Philosopher's Index*, published in the United States, is not discussed here because it is chronologically beyond the scope of this study. One of them has been issued by the International Institute of Philosophy since 1937; another is a publication of the French government; a third is published by the Catholic Institut Superieur de Philosophie at Louvain; and a fourth is the product of private initiative in Germany.

Bibliographie de la Philosophie

Although the Institut Superieur de Philosophie at Louvain has been issuing a bibliographical supplement to its *Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie* since 1895, the first separately published current bibliography of philosophy which has been continued to the present is the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*. [48] Before the war it was issued by the International Institute of Philosophy, with the Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin as sponsor, but it is now distributed by Vrin and published jointly by the Institute and the International Federation of Philosophical Societies under the auspices of the International Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, with the aid of UNESCO and of the Centre National Francais de la Recherche Scientifique.

Until 1954 the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* recorded both books and periodical articles, but in 1954, upon the recommendation of UNESCO, it became a quarterly abstracting journal limited to the coverage of books. In the first issue of the

46) Discussed later on pp. 119–20.

47) *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–45*, edidit G. A. de Brie (Bruxellis: Editiones Spectrum, 1950–54), I, [xi].

48) *Bibliographie de la philosophie* (Paris: Vrin, 1937–; semiannual until 1953, quarterly since 1954).

bibliography published in the summer of 1937 the editors, members of the Bureau de l'Institut International de Collaboration Philosophique, expressed the opinion that there was no bibliographic system which would be acceptable to all philosophers.[49] Therefore they decided to arrange the bibliography by classifying words following the terminology used in André Lalande's *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie.*[50]

The arrangement in the second series, begun in 1954, is systematic. Most of the ten sections into which the bibliography is divided are devoted to the coverage of one or several branches of philosophy. Separate sections are provided for philosophical psychology and philosophy of religion. The addition of semantics, philosophy of language, and the philosophy of science to the section on logic, epistemology, and methodology amounts to grouping together philosophical subjects which have a bearing on science. Pedagogics is no longer isolated from other subjects to which it is related; it is grouped with the philosophy of culture and philosophy of history. The first section reads as follows: "Philosophy in general. Metaphysics. Phenomenology. Philosophical Anthropology. Ontology and Existential Philosophy." Stressing phenomenology, philosophical anthropology, and existential philosophy clearly reflects the dominant trends in twentieth century metaphysics. The person responsible for the arrangement of the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* was the first editor of the second series, Raymond Klibansky, professor of philosophy at McGill University.

The editor has not been responsible for the selection of books. That has been the responsibility of the "centres of philosophical bibliography" in each country represented in the International Institute of Philosophy.[51] These centers are also responsible for the wording of the abstracts of books selected. The present editor is Gilbert Varet, professor of philosophy at the University of Besancon in France. That the editor's nationality does not influence the selection of books seems confirmed by the fact that the major omissions during the editorship of Varet have been French publications.

At present the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* includes approximately six hundred abstracts a year, varying in length from two or three lines to four hundred words. The abstracts are written in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish and are limited to factual information about content with no attempt at critical appraisal. Most of the signed abstracts are by professors of philosophy in various countries.

Each annual volume of the second series of the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* records only one-tenth as many titles as an annual volume of the old series; the elimination of entries for periodical articles accounts for the difference. Since periodicals are thoroughly analyzed in other publications, the decision to change the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* into an abstracting journal for books only was

49) "Note liminaire," *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, I (Premier fasc. 1937), [v].

50) André Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*, revu par MM. les membres et correspondants de la Société francaise de Philosophie (3 vols., 4e ed.; Paris: F. Alcan, 1932).

51) Raymond Klibansky, "Introduction," *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, N. S. I (Janvier-Mars, 1954), 11.

made by the International Institute of Philosophy to avoid duplication. An efficient editorial machinery, cutting to a minimum the time lag between publication of books and their appearance in the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, has succeeded in providing philosophers and librarians alike with quick and objective information about the contents of important books in the field.

Bulletin Signalétique

The first abstracting journal for periodical articles in philosophy, *Bulletin analytique: Philosophie,*[52] was started in 1947 by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, a French governmental agency established in 1939 and reorganized in 1945, which promotes and coordinates research in all areas of scholarly inquiry. One of its numerous services is the Centre de Documentation which publishes the *Bulletin signalétique.*

Until the end of 1955 the volume of the *Bulletin analytique* devoted to philosophy included the usual branches of philosophy, such as metaphysics, ethics, esthetics, logic and epistemology, philosophy of history, and political philosophy and also religious sciences, psychology and pedagogics, philosophy and history of sciences, and sociology. Contrary to usual practice the history of philosophy was treated at the end of all other divisions and a special division was provided for the "Théorie des valeurs," a subject which has gained great importance in our time.

In 1961 the philosophy volume of the *Bulletin signalétique* was considerably reorganized. Though still issued in a single volume, it was subdivided into four parts: philosophy and religious sciences, psychology and pedagogics; sociology and ethnology and the history of sciences and technology. Moreover, within the section devoted to philosophy proper, the order of subsections was changed by treating the history of philosophy at the very beginning and religious sciences at the end. In 1964 a separate section was created for linguistics, and the entire volume was entitled *Bulletin signalétique,* [*Sections*] *19–24: Sciences Humaines. Philosophie.* Each year the *Bulletin signalétique* prints approximately 20,000 abstracts of articles and book reviews published in the various countries of the world. Particularly thoroughly treated are the publications of international congresses of philosophy and of its branches. As in the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, the abstracts in the *Bulletin signalétique* are limited to brief summaries with no attempt at evaluation.

Répertoire Bibliographique de la Philosophie

Two years after the *Bulletin signalétique* was started in France, the Societe Philosophique de Louvain and the Institut Superieur de Philosophie at Louvain began to issue a current bibliography of philosophy entitled *Répertoire biblio-*

52) *Bulletin analytique: Philosophie* (Vols. I–IX; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1947–55; quarterly). In 1956 the title was changed to: *Bulletin signalétique. Philosophie. Sciences Humaines* (Vols. X–XVIII; Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956–64; quarterly). Since 1965 it has continued as a quarterly publication of the Centre under the title *Bulletin signalétique,* [*Sections*] *19–24: Sciences Humaines. Philosophie.*

graphique de la philosophie. [53] It is published under the auspices of the International Institute of Philosophy and with the aid of UNESCO and the Belgian Ministry of Education.

The *Répertoire* is not an entirely new bibliography. Its beginnings trace back to 1895 when the *Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie* published a bibliographical supplement called "Sommaire idéologique des ouvrages et des revues de philosophie." The title was changed in 1906 to *Bibliographia philosophica* and in 1934 to *Répertoire bibliographique*. Since 1949 this supplement has been published separately as the quarterly *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*.

The revue was founded by Cardinal Désiré Mercier in 1894 as the leading organ of the Neothomist philosophical movement. Five years later, with the support of Pope Leo XIII, he founded the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie at Louvain, the main objectives of which are to promote contact between the great medieval Scholastic systems and the achievements of modern sciences. [54]

The members of the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, who compile the *Répertoire*, aim at listing only the "littérature proprement philosophique," i. e., strictly philosophical works. In addition to the coverage of the traditional branches of philosophy, the bibliography records works on the history of philosophy, the philosophies of law, language, art, religion, culture, history and education. Realizing that philosophers must consult the rich literature of the auxiliary scientific disciplines, such as mathematics and psychology, the compilers attempt to list titles in these disciplines on a selective basis. [55] In keeping with their intention of listing strictly philosophical works, they select from the scientific disciplines only the works dealing with methodology, criticism, and classification of sciences. The scope of the bibliography is further limited almost exclusively to publications in French, English, German, Dutch, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, and Portuguese. Within these limitations the aim of the bibliography is to offer as extensive a coverage as possible.

The *Répertoire* lists annually nearly seven thousand books and periodical articles, in addition to over three thousand book reviews. It analyzes about three hundred periodicals. This does not guarantee that all important articles falling within the scope of the *Répertoire* are recorded, because, as Wilhelm Totok observes, there is hardly a periodical which would not include at least occasional articles dealing with philosophical subjects. [56]

A check of thirty-four major titles (Appendix II) published between 1949 and 1960 reveals that six of them are not listed in this bibliography. Most of the omissions are American, German, and Russian publications falling within the period from 1949 to 1953 Afterwards the number of omissions diminishes considerably; there is only one omission between 1955 and 1960. There was no evidence to indicate the presence of a Neothomist bias on the basis of these omissions.

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53) *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*, publié sous les auspices de l'Institut International de Philosophie avec le patronage de l'UNESCO (Louvain: Editions de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1949–; quarterly).

54) Cf. "Institut Supérieur de Philosophie Löwen, "*Universitas*, VII (1952), 437.

55) "Introduction," *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*, XVI (Février 1964), 3–5.

56) Wilhelm Totok, *Bibliographischer Wegweiser der philosophischen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann [c1959]), p. 14.

Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger

In the same year that the *Répertoire* began publication in Belgium, a new current bibliography made its appearance in Germany. It was the *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger*, a book reviewing rather than an abstracting journal. [57] Since the beginning it has been edited by Georgi Schischkoff, who has also been editor of the *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* since its founding; moreover, Schischkoff has written several studies on philosophical and bibliographical subjects. [58]

The bibliography appears eight times a year, each number containing from twelve to twenty reviews of new philosophical books. Most writers of reviews are professors of philosophy in German universities. On the average the reviews extend over more than two pages. According to the editorial policy, the reviews are to supply brief information about the contents of the books, i. e., to include a concise but professional description of such essential elements as the basic issues raised by the author of the book, his theses, the results of research, and arguments. After three years of publication Schischkoff admitted that it was often necessary for him to be flexible in the application of the policy. [59] The problem of selecting books to be reviewed has also been difficult. To cover only German philosophical books which number from five to six hundred a year would require enlargement of the bibliography five times. Although the main concern is to include reviews of those books which have research value to specialists in the field, on many occasions Schischkoff must include others for various reasons. Books sent by important publishers for review purposes and some popular books or those of a religious character must be included. There is also the difficulty of securing reviews of some books dealing with very special philosophical subjects. Schischkoff thinks these problems could be eliminated or considerably reduced if substantial support were obtained to finance the publication of *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger* or if a semi-governmental agency were created to take care of the documentation of philosophy in Germany.

Bibliographies and Classification Schemes

In establishing arrangement in the bibliographies of philosophy, twentieth century compilers seem to have adhered chiefly to one or a combination of the following principles of classification: philosophical, curriculum-centered, and functional. The arrangement of Varet's work is a striking example of a bibliographic system based on philosophical principle, because it lists titles according to the classification of the field devised by a philosopher. The only bibliography which has a purely functional arrangement is the old series of *Bibliographie de la philosophie*. Here the compilers were primarily concerned with establishing an arrangement which would

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57) *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger. Ein Referateorgan für Neuerscheinungen der Philosophie und ihrer gesamten Grenzgebiete*, hrsg. von Dr. G. Schischkoff (Schlehdorf am Kochelsee/ Obb.: Bronnen-Verlag, 1949–; eight times a year).

58) Schischkoff's studies on philosophical reference works and bibliography include: "Über die Möglichkeit der Dokumentation auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung*, VI (April 1952), 282–92; and "Begriff und Aufbau eines kategorial-analytischen Wörterbuches," *Ibid.*, III (November 1949), 547–65.

59) Georgi Schischkoff, "Erfahrungen und Überlegungen nach drei Jahren 'Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger'", *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger*,IV (Januar 1952), [iii–v].

best serve the needs of the users, i. e., the philosophers of the time. These, it was assumed, were all familiar with André Lalande's *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie,* [60] and consequently, the bibliography was arranged alpha-

TABLE 4
CLASSIFICATION SCHEMES IN PHILOSOPHY[a]

Dewey	Universal Decimal	Library of Congress	Bliss	Colon
History	History (alternative)	History and Systems	History	
			Writings of philosophers	Logic
Metaphysics	Metaphysics	Logic		Epistemology
Ontology	Ontology	Speculative philosophy	Philos. in general	
Methodology	Cosmology	Introductions		Metaphysics
Cosmology	Speculative metaphysics	General works	Philosophy, general	
		Metaphysics	Systems	
		Epistemology	Metaphysics	
Metaphysical theories	Philos. systems	Methodology	Ontology	
	Psychology	Ontology	Cosmology	
Epistemology		Cosmology	Epistemology	Ethics
Fields of psychology	Logic			Esthetics
	Epistemology			
Psychology		Psychology	Philosophy of life and of human nature	
	Ethics		Psychology (alternative)	History and systems
Logic	Esthetics	Ethics	Ethics (alternative)	
	History	Esthetics		
Ethics				

[a]Sources: Melvil Dewey, *Dewey Decimal Classification and Relative Index* (2 vols., Ed. 17; Lake Placid Club, N. Y.: Forest Press, 1965); International Federation for Documentation, *Universal Decimal Classification* (Abridged English ed., 2d ed. rev., "Publication," no. 289; London: British Standards Institution, 1957); U.S. Library of Congress, Subject Cataloging Division, *Classification. Class B. Part 1, B–BJ: Philosophy* (2d ed.; Washington: U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1950); Henry Evelyn Bliss, *A Bibliographic Classification* (4 vols. in 3, 2d ed.; New York: Wilson, 1952–53); S. R. Ranganathan, *Colon Classification* (4th ed.; Madras: Madras Library Association, 1952).

60) André Lalande, *Vocabulaire technique et critique de la philosophie*, revu par MM. les membres et correspondants de la Société francaise de Philosophie (4e ed.: Paris: Alcan, 1932).

betically by classifying words corresponding to the concepts defined by Lalande.

The classification systems in other bibliographies of the century are mostly curriculum-centered, at least in so far as their main divisions are concerned, because the latter represent the major branches or subjects of philosophy taught at the universities. Inasmuch as a curriculum-centered arrangement is usually introduced into a bibliography with the assumption that it can best serve its users because of their familiarity with it, such an arrangement is at the same time also functional. With a few exceptions the curriculum-centered arrangement by philosophical branches has become traditional in twentieth century bibliographies.

The major classification schemes used in libraries today also have the dominant features of the curriculum-centered arrangement, as far as the main divisions are concerned; as in most bibliographies, the arrangement is traditional, i. e., by branches of philosophy. The greatest similarity between twentieth century bibliographies and classification schemes can be observed in the tendency of most of them to begin with the history of philosophy followed by metaphysics or logic. (Table 4).

If included at all, psychology is usually placed in the middle of a classification scheme; it precedes logic in the Dewey Decimal Classification, esthetics in the Library of Congress Classification, and ethics in the Bliss Classification.

There is a general tendency among classification schemes to juxtapose ethics and esthetics as branches of the philosophy of value. Among the major schemes the only exceptions from such a grouping are the Dewey Decimal Classification and the Bliss scheme which exclude esthetics from the philosophy class altogether. [61]

Most classification schemes assign different places to the two other branches of philosophy, logic and epistemology, which have a considerable affinity because they both deal with the problems of knowledge. Among the major schemes the Colon and the Universal Decimal Classification are the only ones which place logic and epistemology in juxtaposition. In the general synopsis of the Bliss Classification logic is placed next to mathematics, occupying a special place between philosophy and science, because Bliss considers logic "not a branch but a general method of philosophy and of science, available in reasoning and inference." [62]

With the exception of the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, bibliographies begin with the history of philosophy, followed by systematic philosophy including metaphysics or by logic and epistemology. (Table 5). Like the major classification schemes, most of the bibliographies assign psychology the middle place, usually preceding ethics, as in the *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie* and the "Literaturberichte" of the *Annalen der Philosophie*, or preceding esthetics, as in the *Literarische Berichte* and the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*. Ethics and esthetics are, as branches of the philosophy of value, placed in juxtaposition in most bibliographies. The overwhelming majority of the bibliographies have also managed to bring together the philosophical branches dealing with the problems of

61) In the fifteenth edition of the Dewey Decimal Classification esthetics was included in the philosophy class but was assigned a place which is remote from the parent branch of philosophy, ethics. Melvil Dewey, *Decimal Classification* (Standard [15th] ed.; Lake Placid Club, N. Y.: Forest Press [1951]), pp. xxx–xxxi.

62) Henry Evelyn Bliss, *A Bibliographic Classification* (2d ed.; New York: Wilson, 1952), I, 77.

TABLE 5
ARRANGEMENT OF TWENTIETH CENTURY BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF PHILOSOPHY[a]

Rand	Bibl. of Philos., 1933–36	Literarische Berichte	"Literaturberichte"	Répertoire bibliographique	Bibliographie de la philosophie	Varet
History	History	History	History	History	Philos. in general	History
Systematic philos.	System. philos. & metaphysics	Logic & epistemology	Logic & epistemol.	General	Metaphysics	Philos. of culture
General	Introd.	Metaphysics & philos. of nature	Metaphysics	Introductions	Phenomenology	Ideologies & philos. of history
Introd.	General	Psychology	Psychology	Epistemology & logic	Philosophical	Philos.of religion
Systems	Theory of knowledge	Esthetics	Pedagogics	Philos. of mathematics	Anthropology	Philos.of art
Metaphysics	Philos. of the sciences	Ethics	Ethics	Metaphysics	Ontology & existential philos.	Philos. of sciences
Epistemology	Mathem.	Legal, social & pol.philos.	Estetics	Philos. of nature	Logic	Logic
Cosmology	Physical	Philos.of medicine	Philos. of religion	Psychology	Semantics	Epistemology
Special	Biological	Philos.of hist. & culture	Philos. of history	Ethics	Philos.of science	Phil. of mathematics
Absolute	Psychological	Philos. of religion	Philos. of culture	Philos. of law	Phil. of language	Phil. of physics
Atomism	Spec. topics	Philos. of language	Phil.of law	Philos. of nature	Epistemology	Life
...	Logic	Pedagogics	Political philosophy	Philos. of language	Methodology	Philosophies of man
Ontology	Ethics		Social phil.	Philos. of education	Phil.psychology	Psychology
...	Social philos.		Philos. of nature	Philos. of religion	Phil.of art.	General sociology
Teleology	Soc.& pol.theory		Philos. of language	History of philos.	Esthetics	Law and state
Logic	Philos.of hist.			Reference books	Phil.of value.Ethics	Education and ethics
Esthetics	Philos.of law				Social philos.	Philosophy of being and value
Philos. of religion	Philos.of relig.				Phil.of education	
Ethics	Esthetics				Philos.of religion	
Psychology					History of philos.	
					Reference books	

[a]Sources: Benjamin Rand, *Bibliography of Philosophy, Psychology, and Cognate Subjects*, Vol. III of *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, ed. by James Mark Baldwin (3 vols. in 4; New York: Macmillan, 1901–05); *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36* (4 vols.; New York: Journal of Philosophy, 1934–37); *Literarische Berichte aus dem Gebiete der Philosophie*, hrsg. von Arthur Hoffmann (26 nos.; Erfurt: Kurt Stenger, 1923–32); "Literaturberichte," *Annalen der Philosophie und philosophischen Kritik* (Vols. IV–VIII; Leipzig 1924–29); *Repertoire bibliographique de la philosophie* (Vols. I–XVII; Louvain: Editions de l'Institut Superieur de Philosophie, (1949–65); *Bibliographie de la philosophie* (Vols. I–XII, New Series; Paris: Vrin, 1954–65); Gilbert Varet, *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique* (2 vols., "Logos: Introduction aux Etudes Philosophiques"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de Francc, 1956).

knowledge, i. e., logic and epistemology; the only exceptions among them are the work of Rand and the *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933 – 36.*

The chief difference between bibliographies and classification schemes is that, in accordance with modern developments in philosophy, bibliographies have a more comprehensive coverage of the field than classification schemes; they provide headings for philosophies of various fields, such as the philosophy of sciences, philosophy of religion, social and political philosophy, philosophy of history, and philosophy of education. In the classification schemes these subjects are treated within the schedules of the appropriate branches of knowledge, viz.: the philosophy of sciences in the science schedule, philosophy of religion in the schedule of religion, and so on.

Some classification schemes have no doubt been influenced by contemporary bibliographies. Rand's work, for example, was used in the original preparation of the Library of Congress Classification scheme in philosophy. On the other hand, some bibliographies have followed the arrangement of the schemes. For example, the predecessor of the *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*, "Sommaire idéologique des ouvrages et des revues de philosophie," adopted the arrangement of the Universal Decimal Classification and even used its numbering system. Twentieth century philosophers acknowledge their lack of agreement on the divisions of philosophy. [63] Some are of the opinion that there cannot be any strictly delimited branches of philosophy. Georgi Schischkoff, editor of the *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung*, expresses his opposition to the division of philosophy into special branches in the following statement:

> Die Einteilung in Sachgebiete ist eigentlich ein Brauch, der sich längst überlebt hat, was wahrscheinlich nur Bibliothekare nicht beachten wollen. Fachphilosophen wissen zur Genüge, dass es im Grunde genommen keine abgeschlossenen differenzierten Disziplinen der Philosophie gibt, sondern Probleme, deren einzelne Momente und Begriffe sich weitgehend überschneiden. [64]

As a substitute for the traditional branches of philosophy, Schischkoff suggests dividing the field by main concepts, problems,points of view, and methods. However, a similar method of alphabetical classification by concepts was abandoned in 1954 by the editors of the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*; they returned to the traditional pattern of arranging the bibliography by broad subject areas mainly covering one or several branches of philosophy.

Problems of Current Bibliographies

In the twentieth century the compilation of a general bibliography of philosophy was an impossible task. It was attempted, nevertheless, and achieved by narrowing the scope or limiting the coverage to works in certain languages. Both Rand and Varet applied to earlier centuries the principles of listing major authors only.

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63) "Note liminaire," *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, I (Premier fasc., 1937), [v].

64) Georgi Schischkoff, "Über die Möglichkeit der Dokumentation auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung*, VI (April 1952), 285–86.

Bocheński solved the problem of covering the whole field of philosophy by devoting a few separate numbers to a single past philosopher or school. Bocheński relied on cooperative effort but Varet made the point that a general bibliography should not be a cooperative undertaking. In his work he tried to show how a general bibliography should be conceived in the twentieth century and in this respect his bibliography is the demonstration of a theory as well as a reference tool.

Of the three general bibliographies produced in the first quarter of the century, only that of Herbertz reflected new subjects and new developments in the field, while those of Rand and Hoffmans, however valuable, were turned toward the past and, in spirit, still belong to the end of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, the works of Bochenski and Varet reflect the trends of contemporary philosophy toward specialization. The works of Herbertz, Hoffmans, and Bocheński, intended as study guides, were prompted by the need to orient the general reader. This need was caused by the rise of specialization which demands of the reader a preparatory knowledge of the different systems of philosophy.

No final solution seems to have been found for the compilation of a general bibliography in this century. Approximately half a century separates the works of Bocheński and Varet from that of Rand. This long period of silence indicates that, as the century progressed, the task of producing a general bibliography of philosophy was judged almost impossible. Bocheński realized that only through cooperative collaboration could his project be carried out, and Varet started from a specific point of view. In both cases success was only relative; Varet's work has been severely criticized and no new number of Bocheński's bibliography has appeared since 1953.

The publication of current bibliographies of philosophy during this century represents a continuous bibliographical activity with only brief interruptions caused by the two world wars. The large number of bibliographies published reflects the richness and variety of the philosophical activity of the century. Except for the *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–1945*, all the bibliographies covering limited periods were current bibliographies in their time. Their editors aimed at comprehensiveness in different ways. *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* and the *Philosophic Abstracts* provided abstracting services, the *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36* and "Literaturberichte" limited their coverage to unannotated listings of current works in four major languages, and the *Literarische Berichte* included surveys of research in addition to lists of current publications. The *Bibliographia philosophica* represents a twelve-year cumulation of the bibliographical supplements to the *Revue Néoscolastique de Philosophie* and the *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*.

These bibliographies compiled by experts reflect new developments not only through the listings of contemporary works but also in their systematic subject arrangements. Modern trends are also reflected in the introduction of sections on new branches of philosophy or new ideologies. For example, epistemology and logic are brought together for the first time in *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart* and ethics placed with esthetics in the *Literarische Berichte*. Early in the century the bibliographies began to widen their coverage by including the philosophies of various sciences, such as the philosophy of medicine and the philosophy of technology.

Most current bibliographies are sponsored by international or national professional associations, and financially supported by UNESCO or national governments. In these bibliographies the dominant trend is the maintenance of abstracting services. The only exception is the *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie*, where the absence of abstracts is compensated for by the very extensive coverage. Nevertheless, the fact that three of the four current bibliographies of philosophy are abstracting journals demonstrates that an unannotated bibliography is no longer entirely satisfactory for the present day philosopher.

In spite of modern means, even the best equipped organization cannot publish absolutely comprehensive bibliographies. Only a small number of abstracts of non-western publications is included in the current abstracting journals. Moreover, today's bibliographies must reappraise the concept of their subject scope. They must choose either to be study guides which refer the user to bibliographies of specific philosophical subjects for specialized information, or to list exclusively works of very special character and, for more general information, refer the reader to bibliographies devoted to introductory and general works. In either case, a bibliography of philosophy is not able to meet the needs of all users doing research in philosophy. For many specialists in the field the bibliographies covering the whole field of philosophy are no longer specialized enough and must be supplemented by bibliographies of special philosophical subjects.

Another problem for bibliographers of philosophy is created by the lack of agreement among philosophers with regard to the division of the field. The main sections of the classified bibliographies of the twentieth century follow the traditional pattern of dividing philosophy into the branches constituting curricular subjects in the universities. Most philosophers, including some of those who introduced this division of the field into the bibliographies, consider such an arrangement arbitrary, though unavoidable. A substitute device, the classification by concepts, points of view, problems, and methods, advocated by Schischkoff, has not been attempted in any of the recent compilations.

While compilers of twentieth century bibliographies were attempting to achieve a certain degree of stability and unity in order to serve the greatest possible number of users, the field of philosophy has been constantly changing with the introduction of new subjects and methods of investigation. A bibliography which is not specialized tends to be useful primarily to the historians of philosophy but of little value to other philosophers. In spite of the great variety of attempts, the impressive number of important compilations and the cooperation and support received from organizations and philosophers alike, the twentieth century bibliography of philosophy is still faced with the many problems brought about by the wealth of philosophical ideas, publications, and technical progress.

CHAPTER VI

TRADITION AND PROGRESS

Bibliographies devoted to philosophy have appeared since the Renaissance. Each of the three earliest bibliographies of philosophy issued during the Renaissance period had its share in the development of the bibliography of the field. After Frisius, the pioneer in the bibliography of philosophy, Spach produced a classified bibliography, while Bolduan made the first attempt at completeness of entry information. An analysis of the three bibliographies demonstrated that all were typical products of the Renaissance and the Reformation, since they reflect both the characteristics of Renaissance philosophy in their emphasis on classical antiquity and the influence of the Reformation in so far as the presence of certain elements in the works seems to be related to the affiliation of their compilers with the Zwinglians or Lutherans. In the work of Frisius, a Zwinglian, the influence of the Reformation was particularly noticeable in his concern for the accuracy of dates for the authors listed and in his attempt to combine in one volume both ancient writers and Church Fathers, a pursuit in line with the views of Ulrich Zwingli and some other early Reformers. The influence of the Reformation on Frisius' work was observed in his statements expressing an uncompromising opposition to Scholasticism and in his elimination of the names of the great Scholastics, such as Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard.

Frisius' successor, Spach, recorded practically all the major philosophers, including Thomas Aquinas, but covered exceptionally well Aristotle and Aristotelians and Philipp Melanchthon who had been responsible for making Aristotelianism the prevalent philosophy in Protestant Germany. Eighteen years after Spach's work, the third Renaissance bibliographer, Paulus Bolduan, a Lutheran minister, presented an even more comprehensive coverage of Aristotle than Spach, but his treatment of Melanchthon was matched by his coverage of Petrus Ramus, whose fame had expanded rapidly over Germany in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth. Intending to be as objective as possible, Bolduan attempted to cover the important works by non-Lutheran philosophers as well but succeeded only within certain limits; like Spach, he omitted some works critical of Luther or Lutheranism.

The Renaissance bibliographers all conceived of philosophy as having a very broad scope. Obviously, they narrowed down Gesner's definition of philosophy as embracing all knowledge but continued to include all of what was called *artes liberales* at that time, i. e., all the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, in addition to such other subjects as history, political science, economics, and agriculture. The difference between these divisions and those of Gesner was particularly noticeable in the work of Spach and Bolduan, even though there were some similarities in the arrangement of their bibliographies and that of Gesner. No striking difference in scope was observed in the Renaissance bibliographies themselves, except that Bolduan made a step forward in narrowing down the field by eliminating history from his work.

The influence of their predecessors in bibliographies was noted in similarities of entry information in the works of Gesner and Frisius and in the identity of a number of entries and headings in the bibliographies of Spach and Bolduan. No

direct evidence was found on the sources used by the compilers, except that Frisius provided references to sources in many of the individual entries.

Three bibliographies of philosophy were issued at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Protestant Germany remained the only producer of bibliographies of philosophy, and there the coming of the Enlightenment was hindered by the strong Aristotelian orthodoxy prevailing both among the clergy and in the universities. The findings derived from examination of all three bibliographies revealed that these works clearly reflected one important development in the philosophy of the period, the general decline of interest in metaphysics. Another dominant trait of seventeenth century philosophy, the strong emphasis on natural science, was quite markedly exhibited in Lipen's work by the exceptionally thorough coverage of those scientific books that played an important role in the development of modern philosophy. This notwithstanding, Lipen's bibliography did not represent a break with the traditional Aristotelian philosophy because, as in Spach's and Bolduan's works, Aristotle is exceptionally well covered; Lipen's work demonstrated that, in this transitional period, the old still coexisted with the new. The other striking traditional traits, which Lipen preserved from his predecessors, were the broad coverage set for his work and the adoption of the form of a short-title catalogue in order to achieve the greatest possible inclusiveness. The important innovation achieved by Lipen was the entry-word arrangement used for the first time in a bibliography of philosophy.

The two bibliographies compiled by Struve and Stolle at the beginning of the eighteenth century represented a complete break with tradition, evidenced both in content and form. An examination of content revealed an affiliation with the two main centers of the *philosophia eclectica*, the universities of Halle and Jena. Evidence of the influence of this philosophy on Struve and Stolle was particularly confirmed by their clearly expressed bias against Aristotelianism and their relative lack of interest in the philosophers of classical antiquity. The break with bibliographic tradition in form was observed in their adoption of an essay type of compilation similar to the works of contemporary polyhistors, such as Georg Daniel Morhof. The greatest innovation in the works of Struve and Stolle, which marked an entirely new trend in the development of the bibliography of philosophy, was the attempt to narrow down the field by eliminating the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* and limiting philosophy to logic, metaphysics, physics, and political science. Moreover, Stolle was credited with being the first to compile a bibliography of philosophy in the vernacular.

A survey of the bibliographies of the Enlightenment showed that German scholars, who remained the only bibliographers of philosophy, continued the tradition of Struve and Stolle of issuing selective compilations. The first of them, Stockhausen, intended his work as a book buying guide for the layman of the polite society, while the second, Hissmann, aimed at serving the needs of students.

Although there was no direct evidence of Stockhausen's influence on Hissmann, noticeable similarities were discerned in their practices and policies. Both emphasized more recent works, mostly eighteenth century publications. They also explicitly stated their policy of reading all the books which were to be recorded. Pursuing the tradition of Struve and Stolle, they included controversial authors, making comments about them, and, in arrangement, they preserved the same order of main divisions as their predecessors.

In spite of these similarities, an examination of the bibliographies of Stockhausen and Hissmann uncovered significant differences in their treatment of major authors and subjects. Stockhausen attributed primary importance to Wolffian philosophy and emphatically commended Wolff's contribution to metaphysics. Furthermore, Stockhausen's work reflected both the *philosophia eclectica* of Christian Thomasius and pietism. These movements prevailed at the University of Jena at the time of Stockhausen's studies and were still popular, especially among German clergy, when Stockhausen, a clergyman, compiled his bibliography.

Hissmann, on the contrary, studied and subsequently taught at the progressive University of Göttingen, where he was able to develop into an independent-minded philosopher with a strong inclination toward materialism and psychological empiricism not typical of what Randall calls "the main stream of German thought" during the Aufklärung. These views of Hissmann were evidenced in his bibliography, especially in the marked emphasis on psychology, the experimental method, and a hostile attitude toward metaphysics and Wolffian philosophy. Hissmann's important advance over Stockhausen was observed in his introduction of separate sections for four new branches into a bibliography of philosophy, those of psychology, esthetics, pedagogics, and the philosophy of history. Moreover, he was the first bibliographer of philosophy to eliminate physics and to provide a special section for natural theology. Except for the new subjects, the headings of the other main divisions remained traditional; Hissmann even preserved a section, one of the longest ones, on metaphysics, a subject which he sarcastically called a collection of unsubstantiated subtleties. [1)]

The unfinished work of Ortloff seemed more likely than that of his two predecessors to serve the needs both of students and of research scholars. The finished part of Ortloff's bibliography revealed that he intended to bring Hissmann's work up to date and expand it by including numerous writings of the earlier centuries neglected by Hissmann. While limiting his annotations mainly to information of a bibliographical nature, Ortloff seemed to avoid the bias present in Hissmann's bibliography.

In the nineteenth century, the bibliographies of Ersch and Schaller appeared in 1812 and 1816 respectively. They covered German philosophical literature from the middle of the eighteenth century. A third bibliography, compiled by Gumposch, was issued about forty years later. It was also limited to Germany but encompassed a period which went as far back as the beginning of philosophy in German-speaking countries, i. e., the fifteenth ccentury.

Although contemporary with one another, the first two bibliographies did not overlap to any considerable extent because their compilers were guided by quite different consideratons. Ersch was a professional bibliographer who wanted to list the greatest number of books in the smallest possible space and to control the material at hand by arranging it within precise limits, for philosophy was to Ersch only one of the many segments of general knowledge. Schaller, on the contrary,

1) Michael Hissmann, *Anleitung zur Kenntniss der auserlesenen Litteratur in allen Theilen der Philosophie* (Göttingen: Im Verlage der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1778), p. 19.

maintained a philosopher's point of view. He was interested in separating works of real philosophy from what he considered pseudo-philosophical literature. Consequently, he listed only a few works but did not limit the field as much as Ersch; he thus compiled the kind of bibliography which had already been known in the preceding century, a bibliography containing a vast amount of information about the books and the authors.

The bibliography of Gumposch was a work of an entirely different nature. It underlined the difference between the purely bibliographical and philosophical approaches to the task of listing a large number of titles. Contrary to Ersch's practice, Gumposch widened to the utmost the field of philosophy and the temporal and geographic coverage. He abandoned a systematic arrangement for one which reflects the development of German philosophy through the centuries. He included lenghty comments about books listed but to a lesser extent than Schaller, who covered a very limited number of titles. Thus, while Ersch was concerned with compactness and clarity, the practical and the useful, Gumposch cared not so much for bibliographical matters as for stressing the achievements of German philosophy during a period of four and a half centuries. In this respect, he continued and broadened the undertaking of Schaller whose conception of classical authors implied an equally great pride in the accomplishments of German philosophical thought since the middle of the eighteenth century.

Each of the bibliographies reflected the dominant schools of German philosophy of the time. The influence of Kant and Schelling on Ersch was seen in the classification system he devised for his work. Schaller's bibliography revealed the influence of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling both in arrangement and terminology used. Finally, Gumposch's work demonstrates the impact of historicism, Hegelianism, and Romantic philosophy in its arrangement and comments.

Of the three nineteenth century bibliographers, only Ersch saw in the rapidly increasing intellectual activity of the time both a need and a problem: the need for bibliographies and the problem of an uncontrollable number of publications. He responded to these two aspects of the situation by finding a strictly bibliographical solution. His limitation of the field and the period covered, the special devices he used in the arrangement and listing of titles, and his conscientiousness in striving for accuracy were important innovations and qualities for which he earned the title of the founder of modern German bibliography.

In the twentieth century more bibliographies of philosophy appeared than in all the preceding centuries. They fall into three groups: general bibliographies, bibliographies covering limited periods, and current bibliographies.

Five general bibliographies were issued between 1905 and 1956. Three of them were intended primarily as guides for students, and two others, by Rand and Varet, aimed at serving the needs of philosophers. Limited to works in four major western languages, Rand's compilation achieved a much higher degree of comprehensiveness than Varet's work and remains the most inclusive international general bibliography. Varet arranged his work according to his own interpretation of philosophy and seemed to limit its coverage to titles which fitted into his scheme; the data gathered provided no evidence to indicate other reasons for omitting certain major works in the field. The *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, edited by I. M. Bocheński, reflects recent developments of twentieth

century philosophy, although on the basis of the numbers published so far, some evidence of an editorial bias was found in favor of Scholasticism.

Another group of twentieth century bibliographies of philosophy comprised works covering limited periods. Except for one, the *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–45*, all were issued originally as current bibliographies but after a few years ceased publication. The earliest, *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart*, was the first abstracting journal in philosophy, the first bibliography of philosophy providing a special section for scholarly journals with an analysis of their contents, and the first twentieth century bibliography of philosophy which gave not only full imprint information and pagination but also size and price. It was furthermore the most comprehensive bibliography for the period covered, i. e., from 1908 to 1913, even though it failed to record some important Russian publications of the time. No other bibliography of a limited period offered as complete a coverage as *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart*. The *Bibliography of Philosophy, 1933–36* and the "Literaturberichte" were limited to publications in English, German, French, and Italian. The *Literarische Berichte* covered primarily German publications, while *Philosophic Abstracts* included less than one-third of important philosophical works of the period.

The only bibliography originally intended to cover a limited period was the *Bibliographia philosophica, 1934–45*, markedly resembling the *Répertoire bibliographique de la philosophie* in scope and arrangement. Like the *Repertoire*, it offered a comprehensive listing of publications within the limits of scope and period covered. Like the *Bibliographia philosophica*, all the other bibliographies in this group were intended to be comprehensive within the scope of their limited periods. If some important publications were omitted, it was probably not due to editorial bias but rather, as some of the bibliographers admit, to the impossibility of securing copies of these publications or their abstracts.

The third group of twentieth century bibliographies are the current compilations. One, the *Bibliographie de la philosophie*, is issued by the International Institute of Philosophy; another, the *Bulletin signalétique*, by the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique; the third, *Répertoire bibliographique*, by the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie; and the fourth, *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger*, by a private firm. Each of these treats philosophical literature in a different way, avoiding thus any considerable duplication. The *Bibliographie de la philosophie* prints annually some six hundred abstracts of books, the *Bulletin signalétique* about 20,000 abstracts of articles, the *Répertoire* some 10,000 unannotated references to books, articles, and book reviews, and the *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger* approximately one hundred book reviews. An examination of a selected number of abstracts in one of the publications has revealed that the editorial policy to limit abstracts to factual information has been carried out successfully. On the basis of omissions discovered in the *Répertoire* during the period extending from 1949 to 1960, no evidence was found to indicate the presence of a Neothomist bias in this Catholic publication.

Although there is no agreement among philosophers about the division of the field, tradition remains a need. The International Institute of Philosophy, after having attempted to list its publications under concepts, shifted to the traditional pattern of arrangement by broad subjects chiefly representing the usual branches of philosophy. In addition to some general patterns of arrangement, there are other

points which most twentieth century bibliographies of philosophy have in common. They are either compiled by philosophers or issued by national or international philosophical organizations or government agencies. Moreover, as in other fields, almost all recent twentieth century bibliographies of philosophy are cooperative projects. Finally, the examination of these bibliographies led to the conclusion that there is a definite general tendency to expand the coverage of publications dealing with speculative aspects of all branches of knowledge, and that this tendency is fostered by the unprecedented rise of specialization among twentieth century philosophers.

Analysis of the data gathered in this study leads to the following concluding observations concerning the development of the bibliography of philosophy through the centuries.

Unlike bibliographical works in other fields, bibliographies of philosophy in various periods have always covered different subjects, except for logic, metaphysics, and ethics which were retained by all the compilers. During early centuries all knowledge was included except law, medicine, and theology, but bibliographies of philosophy later narrowed their scope to cover only those subjects which represented the traditional branches of philosophy. Twentieth century bibliographies are again expanding in scope to include publications dealing with the speculative aspects of all areas of human knowledge and activity. These variations of scope, as expressed in the headings and arrangement of bibliographies, have reflected the contemporary delimitation of the field of philosophy. Moreover, in practically all cases the treatment of major authors and subjects in bibliographies has coincided with the degree of their relative importance at the time, which explains the marked differences observed in the coverage of authors whose reputation changed in various periods, philosophers like Ramus, Melanchthon, Spinoza, Christian Thomasius, and Christian Wolff. Consequently, the findings of the study demonstrated that changes both in coverage and in scope paralleled major developments in the field throughout the history of philosophy. Nevertheless, the additional variables of the time and place of the bibliography must be taken into consideration. In many cases there have been delays in reflecting new philosophical movements or systems which have not originated in the country producing the bibliography. This is especially true of the bibliographies compiled before the ninteenth century, because there was always a lapse of time between the period when a great philosophical movement flourished and the appearance of the bibliography reflecting it. The bibliographies reflecting Renaissance thought appeared at the end of that period, and Cartesian philosophy was not reflected in a bibliography of philosophy until the end of the seventeenth century. It was only with the rise of German philosophy that German-compiled bibliographies reflected important philosophical developments immediately.

The state of philosophy seems to have had an influence on the purpose of bibliographies also. Thus it was observed that when Humanism prevailed, two of three bibliographies of philosophy were intended for scholars only, but when a trend toward popularization was manifest, as in the eighteenth century, all the bibliographies then published were intended for non-specialists. Since the turn of the century, a period in which great importance is attached to specialization, thirteen of the fifteen bibliographies discussed were designed for the specialist.

An attempt was made in the study to show the influence on bibliographies of the nationality, education, and profession of the compilers, as well as their association with certain philosophical schools or movements. This was particularly noticeable in the pre-twentieth century works. The compilers were professors or clergymen whose works reflected chiefly the dominant philosophy of their universities, such as the *philosophia eclectica* of Christian Thomasius at Jena and Halle, or the religious and moral views held by the German clergy, such as the ones inspired by Pietism. All produced in German-speaking countries, these bibliographies were not free from a Protestant bias which was particularly evidenced in their coverage of Scholasticism. In the twentieth century, when compilers are intent on avoiding all bias, some traces of it still have been uncovered.

Still another finding was the effect of tradition in the development of the bibliography of philosophy. In the course of time some philosophers have become authorities or even, as Varet says, sources of permanent inspiration. [2] At first these authors were, as new philosophers, treated at length in a bibliography, but later it became a tradition to consider them as sources belonging to the history of philosophy and to record their complete works along with contemporary commentaries. The influence of tradition was detected also in the treatment of titles. Nine of the sixteen general bibliographies compiled by a single individual were annotated. The trend toward annotated compilations is particularly demonstrated by the introduction and considerable expansion of abstracting services in philosophy during this century. Moreover, an attempt was made to show the influence of tradition on the arrangement of bibliographies. From the time in the sixteenth century, when Spach introduced a classified subject arrangement into a bibliography of philosophy, this method has become a tradition. During two and a half centuries, in which the compilation of bibliographies of philosophy was in the hands of German scholars, only two bibliographies, those of Lipen and Gumposch, deviated from this practice, which is continued in all the twentieth century current bibliographies, except the *Philosophischer Literaturanzeiger*. Consequently, with regard to tradition, the bibliography of philosophy developed similarly to bibliographies in other fields, supporting the hypothesis concerning the influence of earlier bibliographies of philosophy on later ones.

Finally, a comparison of the arrangement of bibliographies of philosophy with the philosophy schedule of library classification schemes has revealed preference for a curriculum-centered, arrangement, i. e., the division of philosophy into its usual branches, and for juxtaposing certain branches, such as ethics and esthetics. This comparison has provided evidence that bibliographical arrangement and library classification schemes in philosophy are both influenced by current developments in the field. Nevertheless, it must be observed that this hypothesis was tested by analyzing data limited to the twentieth century and to the main divisions of philosophy.

An examination of the findings of this study concerning the factors influencing bibliographies led to the conclusion that these factors do not act in a vacuum and,

[2] Gilbert Varet, *Histoire et Savoir* ("Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besancon," Vol. 12; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956), pp. 95–96.

in most cases, interact upon each other. With Hissmann, it is difficult to establish with certainty which one of three factors was most influential. Likewise the constant omission of the Neoplatonists or their major works from bibliographies of philosophy during two centuries may have been due first to one factor and later to another. At first it may have been caused by a Protestant bias, but afterwards a tradition of indifference may have set in, contributing to the omission of these philosophers from the bibliographies. Furthermore, tradition seems to have played a part in making all bibliographies before the nineteenth century international in scope. The breaking of this tradition in the nineteenth century cannot be ascribed to one factor only, for both the background of the compilers and the major developments in German philosophy at the time may have been instrumental simultaneously.

The present study was limited to a survey of the coverage of major works in the bibliographies of various periods. Further studies might concentrate on specific periods. The results of such investigations would be particularly interesting for the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, because these periods displayed great activity both in bibliography and in philosophy. In addition to minor authors, the coverage of ancient writers in Renaissance bibliographies should be investigated in greater detail to acquire additional data about what Renaissance bibliographers knew of antiquity; such a study would make an important contribution to Renaissance scholarship. Further studies limited to a single period might trace the relationship between the development of the bibliography of philosophy and that of bibliography in general or in other fields. Such a comparison might give insight into the question of why bibliographies of philosophy were exclusively produced by Germans almost until the twentieth century, or why Catholics did not produce such bibliographies until the nineteenth.

It may be added that the state of philosophy itself in a given country may have given rise to the publication of the bibliographies of philosophy. This would explain why bibliographies seem to have had a tendency to appear at times which correspond to a radical change in the state of philosophy. It was observed that several bibliographies appeared in succession with the emergence of the Renaissance, the beginnings of modern philosophy in Germany, the rise of German philosophical thought at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and the age of specialization among twentieth century philosophers. On the other hand, no bibliographies of philosophy were compiled at the time of the rise of Cartesianism or English Empiricism. Further research might explore the complex relationship between the production of bibliographies and the increase of philosophical activity at certain periods.

As far as arrangement is concerned, the survey of bibliographies has revealed that subdivisions varied a great deal from one compiler to another. Some compilers divised classification systems which were not always followed. For instance, Lipen's entry-word arrangement was not followed, but an arrangement based on a similar principle reappeared in the *Bibliographie de la philosophie* in 1937. Further investigations of subdivisions in bibliographies could be conducted to provide more data about the special problems encountered by the compilers, as well as their attempts to solve these problems. Such studies, each limited to a particular period,

could uncover information which might prove useful to present day bibliographers of philosophy.

The problems of arrangement are all the more serious in our time since there is a definite trend in philosophical research to encourage breaking away from tradition. It has even been said that today's philosophical research has the purpose "de faire éclater les cadres de la science." [3] Yet the bibliographer needs to devise an arrangement adapted to the habits of the users. In view of such problems, further research might be conducted to dertermine possible arrangements which would be flexible and yet have a certain amount of stability.

The three major factors which influenced bibliographies of philosophy have at times been detrimental to the adequate coverage of philosophical literature, and therefore further research is needed to devise methods which could be applied to control the influence of these factors. In the twentieth century the bibliographies issued by philosophical societies, the International Institute of Philosophy, and other organizations seem to have averted personal bias in most instances, but these cooperative bibliographies have a large number of contributors who may not all be free from bias, and further research is necessary to determine how much the background of the contributors affects the contents of a bibliography.

Since annotated bibliographies have been prevalent in philosophy since the eighteenth century, it may be hypothesized that such works are preferred by philosophers and students alike. In order to test this hypothesis a normative survey study might attempt especially to determine whether or not the present practices of abstracting services in philosophy are satisfactory to users, and, if not, what should be done to improve them.

It has been pointed out that it has now become a very complicated problem for a general bibliography of philosophy to meet the needs of all philosophers because of the great specialization among them. Furthermore, the gap is greater than ever between the guide to research or study and the selection or advisory tool. A survey might be conducted to determine present needs and to find out what bibliographical works should be provided for different categories of users in the future.

The present study places the bibliography of philosophy of the twentieth century in its proper perspective. Varet and Charles L. Higgins [4] have shown a tendency to think that the contemporary bibliographies of philosophy had no past, or only a fairly recent one. If it is true that the nineteenth century histories of philosophy and philosophical journals have been instruments of information out of which "la bibliographie philosophique moderne est née," [5] it is equally true that great achievements in the bibliography of philosophy occurred in the previous centuries as well. Just as current bibliographies tend to reflect in their headings the contemporary division of philosophy into the philosophies of science, being, and value, so compilers like Struve, Stolle, Ersch, and Schaller turned to historians of

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3) Alexandre Lambrino, "Varet (Gilbert)- *Manuel de bibliographie philosophique*" [Review], *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*, II (Février, 1957), 168.

4) Charles L. Higgins, *The Bibliography of Philosophy; a Descriptive Account* ("University of Michigan Department of Library Science Studies," 7; Ann Arbor, Mich.: Campus Publishers, 1965), pp. 1–15.

5) Varet, *Histoire et Savoir*, p. 134.

philosophy or to philosophers themselves in order to present an accurate picture of the state of philosophy. Before Rand "laid the cornerstone of a systematic and evaluative approach to philosophical writings," [6] many a cornerstone of exactly the same type had been laid by earlier bibliographers from Bolduan to Schaller.

A knowledge of the past makes somewhat doubtful the statement by Higgins that Rand's arrangement set the example for Varet. Long before Rand's time there were examples of classification and coverage similar to Varet's. As early as the eighteenth century, Struve, Stolle, and Hissmann had already devised classifications which have some common points with Rand's. In comprehensive coverage Rand also had a predecessor in Lipen; and Varet's method of following "the development of philosophical thought historically" [7] started with Struve in 1704 and culminated with Ortloff, the great predecessor of Hoffmans.

More debatable yet is Varet's assertion that the bibliography of philosophy was born after Kant. Such post-Kantian "historical" bibliographies he describes as follows:

> Ainsi naquit, à un tournant décisif de la culture européenne, la bibliographie philosophique sous forme d'une bibliographie *historique* de la philosophie. Sa genèse spontanée s'est donc faite sur un rythme du temps intellectuel et selon un canon commandes l'un et l'autre par *une certaine* philosophie de l'histoire. 8)

These words could well serve to describe the bibliography of Gumposch, but not the birth of the bibliography of philosophy. Even before Ersch, compilers like Stolle and Hissmann had studied the field of philosophy and had been quite aware of the specificity of their task. And earlier, before Stolle, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, Struve's attempt to classify the material at hand according to the methods of philosophical inquiry recalls Varet's own desire to arrange titles according to philosophical problems.

In the present era the bibliography of philosophy has not emerged directly from a barbaric past; it has a long history, even if in its infancy the compilers equated philosophy with knowledge. Various compilations were made by men who, without having been necessarily influential on other bibliographers, as Spach and Ersch were, nevertheless, pursued an idea, saw the road which the bibliographers of philosophy should follow, and tried to find the type of compilation which would best serve the needs of the user. Present day bibliographers are simply carrying further, with more funds, more refined tools, and surer criteria, the task of the men who made the history of the bibliography of philosophy.

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6) Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

8) Varet, *Histoire et Savoir*, p. 122.

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APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

SHORT-TITLE LIST OF MAJOR PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS DISCUSSED IN STANDARD HISTORIES OF PHILOSOPHY[1]

Arranged by Centuries

Fifteenth Century

Bessarion, originally Ioannes, cardinal. *Adversus Platonis calumniatorem.* Roma: C. Sweynheym & A. Pannartz [Before September, 1469].

Ficino, Marsilio. *Platonica theologia.* Florentiae: A. Miscomini, 1482.

Nicolaus Cusanus, cardinal (name originally Nicolaus Krebs [Khrypffs, Chrypffs] of Cues or Cusa). "De docta ignorantia libri tres." In his *De docta ignorantia, etc.* Pt. 1. Strassburg: M. Flach [n.d.]

Nicolaus Cusanus. "De coniecturis libri duo." In his *De docta ignorantia, etc.* Pt. 1. Strassburg: M. Flach [n.d.]

Petrarca, Francesco. *De contemptu mundi.* Strassburg: The R-Printer (now usually identified as A. Rusch) [Not after 1473].

Petrarca, Francesco. *De vita solitaria.* Strassburg: The R-Printer [Not after 1473].

Petrarca, Francesco. *De remediis utriusque fortunae.* [Esslingen: C. Fyner, 1475?]

Picco della Mirandola, Giovanni. "Oratio quaedam elega ntissima." In his *Opera.* Pt. 1. Bononiae: B. Hectoris, 1496.

Valla, Lorenzo. *De libero arbitrio.* Strassburg: G. Husner [n. d.]

Valla, Lorenzo. *Dialecticae libri III.* [Venetiis? *ca.* 1500].

Sixteenth Century

Achillini, Alessandro. "De universalibus." In Aristoteles, *Secretum secretorum ad Alexandrum.* Bononiae: Impensis B. Hectoris, 1501.

Bellarmino, Roberto F. R., Saint. *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos.* 3 vols. Editio secunda. Ingolstadii: Ex officina typographica D. Sartorii, 1588–93.

Bellarmino, Roberto F. R., Saint. *Tractatus de postetate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus Gulielmum Barclaium.* Romae: Ex typographia B. Zannetti, 1610.

Bodin, Jean. *Les six livres de la république.* Paris: J. Du Puys, 1576.

Bruno, Giordano. *De umbris idearum.* 2 Pts. in 1 vol. Parisiis: Apud Ae. Gorbinum, 1582.

Bruno, Giordano. *De la causa, principio et uno.* Venezia [London: J. Charlewood] 1584.

1) Full imprint information has been given for almost all titles, except for a few Russian publications of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; and first editions are cited for practically all titles in the list. Titles have been verified in the catalogues of national and other large research libraries, in national bibliographies or biographical dictionaries, author and subject bibliographies, or from the title pages of the books. Form of entry for authors' names is that of the Library of Congress catalogues.
Authors are recorded alphabetically under the century in which their first works appeared.

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Bruno, Giordano. *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante.* Parigi [London: J. Charlewood] 1584.
Bruno, Giordano. *De gl'heroici furori.* Parigi: A. Baio, 1585.
Bruno, Giordano. *Camoeracensis Acrotismus.* Vitebergae: Apud Z. Cratonem, 1588.
Bruno, Giordano. *De triplici minimo.* Francofurti: Apud J. Wechelum et P. Fischerum consortes, 1591.
Cardano, Girolamo. *De subtilitate libri XXI.* Norimbergae: Apud J. Petreium, 1550.
Cardano, Girolamo. *De rerum varietate libri XVII.* Basileae: Per H. Petri, 1557.
Cesalpino, Andrea. *Peripateticarum quaestionum libri quinque.* Venetiis: Apud Juntas, 1571.
Copernicus, Nicolaus. *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri VI.* Norimbergae: Apud I. Petreum, 1543.
Cremonini, Cesare. *Explanatio prooemii librorum Aristotelis de physico auditu.* Patavii: Apud M. Novellum, 1596
Erasmus, Desiderius. *Moriae encomium.* [Paris: G. de Gourmont, 1509].
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Thomaeus, Nicolaus Leonicus, *see* Leonicus Thomaeus, Nicolaus.
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I: Wilhelm Risse, Bibliographia Logica.
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Part 1: *Verzeichnis der Druckschriften zur Logik mit Angabe ihrer Fundorte 1472—1800.*
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Part 3: *Zeitschriftenaufsätze in systematischer Anordnung.*

Part 4: *Logikhandschriften.*
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IX: Giorgio Tonelli, Heines politische Philosophie, 1830—1845.
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Available

This study is devoted to the most fertile period in Heinrich Heine's political thought. In spite of all the deviations, at least some of them opportunistic, it is possible to trace the development of a uniform, relatively straightforward, and individual conception, which had very little in common with the socialism of the period and was based philosophically on a particular form of pantheism. The author discusses Heine's personal experiences and the prevailing political situation as factors influencing his thought, and shows the relationship of this thought to his work as a poet.

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