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Bibliography of Joseph S. Freedman on Philosophy in Central Europe (1500-1700): Second Part

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Articles

1. Freedman, Joseph S. 1999. "Philipp Melanchthon's Views Concerning Petrus Ramus as Expressed in a Private Letter Written in 1543: A Brief Assessment." In *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren. Vol. II*, edited by Mahlmann-Bauer, Barbara, 841-848. Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek.
2. ———. 1999. "Introduction: The Study of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century Writings on Academic Philosophy: Some Methodological Considerations." In *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500-1700. Teaching and Texts at Schools and Universities*, 1-40. Aldershot: Ashgate.
 "Instruction in philosophy and the arts was a normal part of the university-level and secondary education routinely received by students in late medieval and early modern Europe. Yet the study of this instruction has received relatively little attention by modern scholars. The articles in this collection focus on this largely neglected area of research with a primary focus on Central Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 The purpose of article I is to bring together as well as to expand upon many of the topics discussed and conclusions stated in articles II through VIII; in doing so, the concepts of classification and definition as well as some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century views concerning "schools of philosophers" (*sectae*) are discussed. Article II draws a connection between the evolving role of philosophy instruction within the institutional framework of Central European schools and universities between ca. 1500 and ca. 1650 and the evolution of the philosophy concept during that same period. Article III is devoted to discussion of how and why Cicero's writings were used to teach rhetoric at European schools and universities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Article IV begins by presenting evidence - published by Walter Ong - that the writings of Petrus Ramus and Omer Talon were printed most often in Central Europe than anywhere else, and mainly between c. 1570 and c. 1630; this article then examines why that was the case, and attributes this not to the influence of ideology, but instead mainly to pragmatic decisions made at individual Central European academic institutions.
 Article V focuses on the manner in which Aristotle's writings were utilized in Central Europe during the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth; it is argued that individual philosophers and individual academic institutions elected to utilize Aristotle's writings largely due to practical considerations and not because of any general affinity for "Aristotelianism" or "Aristotelian" views. Article VI examines the evolution of the encyclopedic philosophical writings produced in Central Europe

during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in doing so, attention is given to the decline and subsequent rebirth of the discipline of metaphysics, to the concepts of method and system, to the writings of Petrus Ramus and Omer Talon, to the evolution of philosophical curricula at Central European schools and universities, and to the manner in which encyclopedia and related concepts are utilized in writings of this period. Article VII focuses on classifications of philosophy, the sciences, and the arts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; attention is given to definitions of philosophy, mention of individual philosophical disciplines, discussions of the liberal arts, and the evolution of the philosophy concept itself. Article VIII provides new biographical and bibliographical material concerning Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609); it also discusses Keckermann's contributions to intellectual history as well as why and how he became so famous in academic circles during the early seventeenth century." (from the Preface)

"1. Topics discussed within this collection of articles; 2. Definitions and classifications within the context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thought and beyond; 3. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings on philosophy normally arose within the context of academic instruction; principal philosophical subject matters (academic disciplines) and genres of philosophical writings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; 4. Academic philosophical writings vs. academic writings on jurisprudence, medicine and theology; 5 . Academic philosophical writings vs. non-academic treatises; 6 . Schools of philosophers (*sectae*) as discussed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; ideological constructs and the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century academic philosophy; 7. To what extent was religious confession a major factor within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century academic philosophy? 8 . To what extent were there variations between different regions of Europe with regard to academic philosophy? 9. Complex philosophical concepts (e.g., nature, signs, theory of knowledge) and the parameters of individual academic disciplines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; 10 . Due to the rudimentary state of our knowledge concerning sixteenth- and seventeenth-century philosophy, the conclusions arrived at in this volume are stated in cautious terms; the primary aim of this volume is to further research in this subject area.

1. Articles II through VIII of this collection all pertain to texts on philosophy and the arts as utilized at schools and universities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with an emphasis on Central Europe. These seven articles focus on three kinds of topics: 1. authors of these texts, 2. the academic institutions at which those authors taught and produced texts in published and unpublished form, 3. terms, concepts, and subject areas discussed within texts. The three indices which accompany this collection are devoted to 1., 2., and 3. above.

The authors mentioned in this collection represent a small sampling of the thousands of such authors who taught at Central European schools and universities - or whose writings circulated there - during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. An addition, four separate articles (III, IV, V, and VIII) focus on how educators of the High and Late Renaissance discussed two ancient authorities (i.e., Aristotle and Cicero) and two more "recent" ones (i.e., Petrus Ramus and Bartholomew Keckermann). Curriculum plans and texts specifically intended for or used at individual academic institutions in sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Central Europe are the principal sources used in order to discuss those same academic institutions; one article (II) focuses primarily on curriculum plans.(1) The concepts of philosophy (via "classifications of philosophical disciplines") and encyclopedia (via "encyclopedic philosophical writings") are discussed within two separate articles in this collection (VI and VII). The concepts of classification, definition, nature, and sign are discussed within sections 2 and 9 of this introductory article. (1)Article VIII, however, also makes extensive use of some additional kinds of primary source materials (e.g., academic correspondence, dedications/prefaces to published textbooks, and the minutes of faculty governing bodies at the University of Heidelberg) as sources of biographical information." (pp. 1-2)

3. ———. 2001. "Melanchthon's Opinion of Ramus and the Utilization of their Writings in Central Europe." In *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, edited by Feingold, Mordechai, Freedman, Joseph S. and Rother, Wolfgang, 68-91. Basel: Schwabe.
- "Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) and Petrus Ramus (1515-1572) can be considered as two of the sixteenth century's most significant educators. To what extent were the writings of these two authors utilized in Central European schools and universities during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries? Were Melanchthon and Ramus regarded as complementary or as contrary authorities? The search for answers to these two questions requires examination of the ways in which writings on the arts by Ramus (i.e., logic, rhetoric, grammar, arithmetic, and geometry) and Melanchthon (i.e., logic, rhetoric, grammar, physics, the soul, and ethics) were utilized during that period. This article will attempt to provide such answers through discussion of the following ten points:
1. the demand for Ramus' writings on logic as well as other arts disciplines;
 2. the demand for Melanchthon's writings on logic and the other arts;
 3. adoption of, and commentaries on, Melanchthon's writings on the arts;
 4. adoption of, and commentaries on, Ramus' writings on the arts;
 5. polemical writings against Ramus' writings on the arts;
 6. the lack of extant polemical writings against Melanchthon's writings on the arts;
 7. the frequency with which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings on the arts authored by both Lutherans and Calvinists utilized works by Ramus in combination with works by Melanchthon;
 8. the eclectic and independent manner in which Melanchthon, Ramus, Aristotle, and other authors were utilized by late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writings on the arts;
 9. revised versions of Ramus' and Melanchthon's writings on the arts;
 10. differences between individual commentaries on Ramus' and Melanchthon's writings on the arts." (pp. 68-69)
4. ———. 2001. "'Professionalization' and 'Confessionalization': The Place of Physics, Philosophy, and Arts Instruction at Central European Academic Institutions During the Reformation Era." *Early Science and Medicine* no. 6:334-352.
- Abstract: "During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, physics was regularly taught as part of instruction in philosophy and the arts at Central European schools and universities. However, physics did not have a special or privileged status within that instruction. Three general indicators of this lack of special status are suggested in this article. First, teachers of physics usually were paid less than teachers of most other university-level subject-matters. Second, very few Central European academics during this period appear to have made a career out of teaching physics. And third, Reformation Era schools and universities in Central Europe emphasized language instruction; such instruction not only was instrumental in promoting the confessional-i.e., Calvinist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic agendas of those same schools and universities, but also helped to prepare students for service in nascent but growing state governments."
- "Why did Central European academic institutions place primary emphasis on language - and not physics - within their instruction on philosophy and the arts during the Reformation Era? Two answers to this question will be ventured here. First, the nascent development of state governments - at the local, regional, and supra-regional levels as well as by secular and ecclesiastical authorities - during this period went hand-in-hand with the need for individuals who could use language training (especially the ability to speak and write well) in the service of these governments. Second, it could be argued that competition between Calvinists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics had a major impact within Central European education during this period, and especially from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. The establishment of new schools by Protestants in the decades after 1550 had its counterpart in the establishment of Jesuit educational institutions beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century.(56) And while Lutherans and Calvinists

established (or expanded some already existing Protestant schools into) multi-level, consolidated schools, Jesuits kept pace with that development by gradually adding upper-level grades to some of their own Central European schools. (57) The establishment or expansion of a Calvinist, Lutheran, or Roman Catholic academic institution at a given locality was sometimes matched by the establishment or expansion of an academic institution representing an opposing confession at a nearby location. (58) One could make the case that this expansion and confessional competition in the realm of Central European education actually increased as the Thirty Years' War approached and began. It appears that this confessional competition gave birth to some pedagogical innovations in the early decades of the seventeenth century; these innovations included the introduction of comprehensive encyclopedic instruction-accompanied by the publication of encyclopedic philosophical writings intended for students-at the school level, by the development of a large number of new academic subject-matters (usually referred to as "disciplines"), by the introduction of the term "system" as a name for methodically ordered textbooks (*), and by what appears to have been the increasing emphasis placed on the development of curricular materials for students at various academic levels.(59) And two of Europe's best known educational innovators from the early modern period - i.e., Wolfgang Ratke (1571-1635) and Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670)--were active during this same period.(60)" (pp. 350-351)

(56) Refer to Freedman (1999), I (12-13), II (121-22).

(57) The gradual expansion of the Luzern Jesuit Academy from 1574 onwards can be traced through the extant *Catalogi personarum et officiorum a prima origine Collegii nostri Lucernensis*, 1574 [-1773] [Luzern SA:Cod KK70]; also see the following general study pertaining to this same topic: Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuiten universitäten*, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, Neue Folge, 2 (Paderborn, 1981).

(58) The very close proximity of a Protestant Academy in Lauingen (Danube) to the Jesuit University of Dillingen (Danube) is mentioned in Freedman (1999), II (146, 148-49). The *Gymnasium illustre Arnoldinum* in Steinfurt (Westphalia) appears to have been largely intended as a Calvinist counterweight to a Jesuit Academy in nearby Münster (Westphalia); refer to the discussion given in Freedman (1988), 46-48, 489-90.

(59) Refer to Freedman (1999), VI; concerning the introduction of such new subject-matters see Freedman (1999), VII (46-47). Bartholomew Keckermann's publication of logic textbooks at various academic levels of difficulty is discussed in Freedman (1999), VIII (317-18).

(60) See Freedman (1999), I (13, 39-40).

(*) [On the introduction of the term *systema*, see J. S. Freedman, *The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)*, pp. 312-314.]

5. ———. 2002. "Philosophical Writings on the Family in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe." *Journal of Family History* no. 27:292-342. "Recent research on the early modern European family has largely been based on archival sources that are extant for relatively few localities during this same period. This research can be augmented by examining discussions of the family contained within academic writings on theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy during the early modern period. This article focuses on philosophical writings that arose in connection with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century academic instruction. These writings routinely discuss the proper relationship between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between masters and servants; also discussed are various categories of domestic possessions and how these possessions should be acquired and administered. Within these philosophical writings, one controversial issue pertaining to family life is sometimes raised: whether servants are more essential to the family than children. These writings uniformly equate the family with the nuclear family; in doing so, they provide collaboration for similar findings by social and demographic historians."

6. ———. 2003. "When the Process is Part of the Product: Searching for Latin-Language Writings on Philosophy and the Arts used at Central European Academic Institutions during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Germania latina Latinitas teutonica. Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit. (Band II)*, edited by Kessler, Eckhard and Kuhn, Heinrich C., 565-591. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- "While Central Europe witnessed a growing trend towards the use of the vernacular during the 16th century, Latin still remained the dominant language in Central European academic institutions well into the 18th century. This paper will discuss Latin language writings on philosophy and the arts which arose in connection with academic instruction at those academic institutions. More specifically, this paper will focus on the following six questions (1-6): 1. What are the various subject-matters which comprised "philosophy and the arts" at Central European academic institutions during the 16th and 17th centuries? 2. What are the various genres of writings -- and the component parts of these genres -- that comprised philosophy and the arts? 3. How does one find such writings at individual libraries and other information repositories within as well as beyond Germany? 4. What are some of the factors and problems involved in searching for such writings? 5. How does this search process enable us to gain knowledge concerning 16th- and 17th-century writings on philosophy and the arts? 6. Can this search process provide us with additional insights pertaining to yet other areas of inquiry?" (p. 565)
- (...)
- "Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings on philosophy and the arts - which normally arose in connection with academic instruction both in and beyond Central Europe - have generally remained unstudied to up the present day. One principal reason for this can be suggested here: the process involved in finding such writings is quite complex but rarely understood. Yet it would be a mistake to focus only on the published results of such research; when undertaking the study of these writings, the research process usually cannot be clearly separated from the resulting product. (54)
- Much of the knowledge one has concerning these writings on philosophy and the arts is derived from one's own research in progress, i.e., from that stage or stages when one is in the process of finding primary source materials, some of which may be used in one or more publications. This knowledge can often be used to assist other researchers, including professional colleagues as well as students. And this process - with its many facets and variations - will have to be revisited as a necessary component of all future research and publication pertaining to this same genre of writings." (p. 591)
- (54) The importance of process as a part of product has been recognized by many individuals from the business world and well as by academics in some fields; for example refer to the following serial articles: Edwin E. Bobrow, »Successful New Products ar Product of Process,« Marketing News 28, no. 9 (April 25, 1994): E10; Samuel S. Myers, Performance Reading Comprehension - Product or Process,«Educational Review 43, no. 3 (1991): 257-272.
7. ———. 2004. "Academic Philosophical and Philological Writings on the Subject-Matter of Women, c. 1670-c. 1700." In *Geschlechterstreit am Beginn der europäischen Moderne. Die Querelle des Femmes*, edited by Engel, Gisela, Hassauer, Friederike, Rang, Brita and Wunder, Heide, 228-244. Königstein/Ts: Verlag Ulrike Helmer.
- Kulturwissenschaftliche Gender Studies, Vol. 4.
- "Suzanne Hull begins the preface to her exemplary book titled »Women According to Men: The World of Tudor-Stuart Women« with the following paragraph: The goal of this book is to provide an introduction to the world of English women from 1525 to 1675, using the written words of men of that time. It was an era recorded, in print, almost exclusively by men. More than 99 percent of all publications were by male authors (1).

Hull's point applies aptly to discussions of women and gender in philosophical and philological writings which arose in connection with instruction held at schools and universities in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. In fact, no such writings authored by women are known to have survived (2). And furthermore, it was not until about the year 1670 that men began to publish – in relatively moderate quantities – writings on the subject matter of women; these publications on women appear to have been limited – with no, almost no or very few exceptions – to Central Europe and Scandinavia.

This article addresses the following four questions.

- What kinds of philosophical and philological writings discussed women and gender during the 16th and 17th centuries?
- Which sorts of specific topics pertaining women and gender were discussed within these writings?
- Why did an increased number of academic writings written on the subject-matter of women begin to be published from shortly before the year 1670 onwards?
- Why do such writings have been published only – or overwhelmingly – in Central Europe and in Scandinavia through the year 1700?" (p. 228)

(...)

"Two volumes on family life (*oeconomica*) by Christian Wolff (1679-1754) were published in the years 1754 and 1755, respectively (74). Wolff subordinates the wife to the husband within the household. He states that it is in accordance with order and with the nature of things that the husband occupy himself with tasks which are masculine and more difficult while the wife should concern herself with tasks which are feminine and easier (75).

The four primary qualities – which had been used during the 16th and 17th centuries to justify prejudicial attitudes towards women – appear to have had no presence within Wolff's philosophical writings; did some other philosophical concept(s) stand in for the four primary qualities in this regard? His occasional references to »physical capability« (*habilitas physica*) and »virtue« (*virtus*) may have been meant to serve in part to serve this purpose (76). But more detailed examination of the views expressed within philological and philosophical writings by Christian Wolff and other 18th century academic authors lies outside the scope of the present study (77)." (p. 236)

(1) Suzanne W. Hull, *Women according to Men. The World of Tudor-Stuart Women*, Altamira Press 1996, 9.

(2) This is not to say that there were no philosophical and philological writings authored by women during these two centuries. For example, refer to the following: Olympia Fulvia Morata, *Omnium eruditissimae latina et graeca, quae haberi potuerunt, monumenta* (Basileae: Apud Petrum Pernam, 1558) [Heidelberg UB: D 8544 Res]; Anna Maria a Schurman, *Opuscula hebraea, graeca, gallica, prosaica & metrica* (Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Elsevirorum, 1648) [Hannover LB: Ba-A 1717]; (Margaret) [Cavendish], Duchess of Newcastle, *Grounds of natural philosophy: divided into thirteen parts ...* The second edition, London, (1668). [Berlin SB: 40 NI 144272].

(74) Christianus L. B. de Wolff, *Oeconomica methodo scientifica pertractata. Pars prima in qua agitur de societatibus minoribus, conjugali, paterna, et herili* (Halae Magdeburgicae: Prostat in officina Libraria Rengeriana, 1754) [Erlangen UB: 40 Phs. I, 47 Qu], (Reprint edition: Hildesheim und New York, Georg Olms, 1972). *Christian Wolff Gesammelte Werke. II. Abteilung. Lateinische Schriften. Band 27. Oeconomica*; Christianus L. B. de Wolff, *Oeconomica methodo scientifica pertractata pars reliqua, in qua agitur de societatibus minoribus, conjugali, paterna, et herili. Post fata beati autoris continuata et absoluta a Michaele Christoph. Hanovio* (Magdeburgicae: Prostat in officina Libraria Rengeriana, 1755) [Erlangen UB: 40 Phs. I, 47 Qu] (Reprint edition: Hildesheim und New York: Georg Olms, 1972) *Christian Wolff Gesammelte Werke. II. Abteilung. Lateinische Schriften. Band 28. Oeconomica*.

(75) »Ordini & naturae rerum nihil est convenientius, quam ut maritus praesit actionis masculinis & difficilioribus, uxor femininis potissimum faciliioribusque ...«

Wolff, *Oeconomica ... pars reliqua* (1755) (cf.73), 603 (§767).

(76) Wolff, *Oeconomica ... pars prima* (1754) (cf. 73), 52-53 (§37), 378 (§225).

(77) I am currently preparing to publish an article devoted to Christian Wolff's two treatises on family life (*oconomica*), (cf. 74).

The following abbreviations are used:

HAB = Herzog August Bibliothek / Duke August Library; KB = Kunglige Biblioteket / Royal Library; LB = Landesbibliothek / Provincial Library; SB = Staatsbibliothek State Library; StB = Stadtbibliothek / Municipal Library; U of Ill, U-C: University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Special Collections; UB = Universitätsbibliothek / University Library; ULB = Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek / University and Provincial Library; UStB = Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek / University and Municipal Library; ZB = Zentralbibliothek.

8. ———. 2004. "The Soul (*anima*) according to Clemens Timpler (1563/4-1624) and Some of His Central European Contemporaries." In *Scientiae et artes. Die Vermittlung alten und neuen Wissens in Literatur, Kunst und Musik*, edited by Mahlmann-Bauer, Barbara, 791-830. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz.
- "This paper will focus on the concept of the soul as expounded within the extant writings of Clemens Timpler (1563/4- 1624)" (p. 791)
- "Timpler's views on the soul will be placed into the context of some selected views on that same subject-matter presented by sixty of his Central European contemporaries, i. e. by Calvinist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic authors who taught philosophy and the arts at Central European schools and universities between 1590 and 1625. (4) These views on the soul have survived within published writings (principally disputations, textbooks, and orations) as well as within manuscripts (mainly lecture notes). (5)
- Timpler's views on the soul are contained for the most part within his textbooks on metaphysics and animate physics (*Empsychologia*) - first published in the years 1604 and 1607, respectively - as well as within five published disputations - published in the years 1594, 1597, ca. 1597, 1609, and 1611 - over which he presided; some material contained within his textbooks on general physics, inanimate physics (*Apsychologia*), ethics, logic, and human physiognomy as well as within his collection of philosophical exercises also pertain to this subject matter. (6) It is mainly short disputations on the concept of the soul published by Timpler's Central European contemporaries that will be utilised in this article in order to place some of his views on this subject-matter into a broader context. (7)" (pp. 792-793)
- (4) In arriving at the sum of sixty authors here I have only counted each praeses of any given disputation as its author. If one was to count the praeses as well as the respondens in the case of each disputation listed in the bibliography, the number of authors would be considerably higher than sixty. General discussions concerning Renaissance notions on the soul have been published by Kessler (1988) and Park (1988); Kennedy (1980), Kuhn (1996), and Spruit (1997) discuss aspects of the concept of the soul as understood by two Italian authors, Bernardino Telesio (1509 - 1588) and Cesare Cremonini (1550 - 1631). See section E of the bibliography in this article.
- (5) Here it should be noted that Central European Roman Catholic authors published very few philosophical textbooks during the period between 1590 and 1625. The bulk of textbooks pertaining to philosophy and the arts that were utilized by Roman Catholic academic institutions in Central Europe during this period were written by Italian, Portuguese and Spanish authors. Some lecture notes in manuscript form — written by Central European Roman Catholic professors as well as by their own students - are extant; for example, see Wenk and Zurcher (1623). Yet printed disputations provide us with the bulk of philosophical source material for Roman Catholic philosophy instruction held between the years 1590 and 1625.
- (6) See section A of the bibliography for the known publishing history of these writings by Timpler as well as Freedman (1988). Timpler's names for his textbooks on "inanimate" physics (*Apsychologia*) and "animate" physics (*Empsychologia*) may have been his own creations. In the course of the seventeenth century such new

names for treatises - as well as sections of treatises- were not uncommon. Refer to the discussion given in Freedman (1999), VII, pp. 37-65 (no. 47). In his textbook on metaphysics (first published in the year 1604) he also refers - in M: L.4C.5Q.9 (pp. 461-462)- to his own *Anthropologia*, which apparently was never published separately; it was published as Book 3 of his textbook on *Animate Physics* in the year 1607. Previous to the year 1607, an *Anthropologia* authored by Timpler possibly circulated at the Steinfurt Academy in manuscript form.

(7) In the case of Timplers Roman Catholic Central European contemporaries, such short disputations serve as our main body of extant source material (refer back to footnote 5 above). And due to the complexity of the anima concept it has been deemed best to place Timpler's views on this subject-matter in context by focusing on a small number of relatively clear issues that appear within short writings as well as within longer ones.

Nonetheless, a few longer writings by Timpiers Lutheran and Calvinist Central European contemporaries devoted in whole or in part to the concept of soul have been utilized here as well; see Alstedius (1620), Casmannus (1594), Ulianus (1598), Caufungerus/ Magirus (1603), Hippius (1603), Hotstius (1607), Keckermannus (1614), Lorhardus (1613), Magirus (1600), Scheiblerus (1614), Strigelius (1590) and Wolfius (1590). Two short orations by Lutheran authors - i. e., Rhesius (1600) and Granius (1608) - have also been used.

[Works cited]

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Freedman, Joseph S.: *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. The Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4 - 1624)*, 2 Vols, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York: Georg Olms 1988 (Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie 27).

Kennedy, Leonard A.: Cesare Cremonini and the Immortality of the Human Soul, in: *Vivarium* 18, no. 2 (1980), pp. 143- 158.

Kessler, Eckhard: The Intellective Soul, in: Schmitt, Charles, B. et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press 1988, pp. 485 -534.

Kuhn, Heinrich C.: *Venetischer Aristotelismus am Ende der aristotelischen Welt. Aspekte der Welt und des Denkens des Cesare Cremonini (1550- 1631)*, Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang 1996 (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Series 20: Philosophy. Volume 490).

Park, Katharine: The Organic Soul, in: Schmitt, Charles, B. et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press 1988, pp. 464- 484.

Spruit, Leen: Telesios Reform of the Philosophy of Mind, in: *Bruniana & Campanelliana* 3, no. 1 (1997), pp. 123-143.

9. ———. 2005. "Disputations in Europe in the Early Modern Period." In *Hora Est! On Dissertations*, 30-50. Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden. Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, Nr. 71. "During the early modern period, disputations constituted a major component of the curriculum at schools and universities scattered throughout Europe. Disputations and disputation theory are the subject matter of a number of recent publications. (1) A number of recent scholarly writings on university history have also included detailed discussion of this same topic. (2) The present article intends to highlight some results of this recent research (including my own as Scaliger fellow in Leiden) and place it within the context of

the abundant and valuable holdings at the Leiden University Library.

A working definition of disputation can be constructed by looking at the theory as well as the practice of disputations. (3) The disputations were frequently examined within the context of textbooks and other writings on logic. (4) Beginning in about the year 1550, writings devoted specifically to the subject-matter of disputations were published in Europe. (5) Curriculum plans, instructional schedules, and statutes frequently discuss disputations that are to be held, often mentioning genres and categories thereof. (6) And most importantly, one can examine actual extant disputations themselves, though it is possible to become almost overwhelmed by the sheer mass and variety of them which are extant in European and non-European libraries. Within this complex context, disputations during the early modern period can be understood here as logical exercises – held on a very wide range of possible subject-matters – which were held by two or more participants as part of academic instruction at European schools and universities. (7)

These disputations were almost invariably held in Latin and were known by a variety of different names. *Disputatio* and *dissertatio* were especially common; *exercitatio* / *exercitationes* and *thesis* / *theses* were among other terms which were sometimes used. (8) To date, a multi-institutional or multiregional pattern for the use of these various terms has yet to be identified.

At Leiden University, the inaugural disputation in philosophy – i.e., the disputation held in partial fulfillment of requirements for the terminal degree in philosophy and the arts – apparently was known as a *disputatio philosophica inauguralis* until the 1720s, when the name seems to have changed to *dissertatio philosophica inauguralis*. (9)" (p. 30)

(1) Among recent encyclopedia articles, books/monographic treatises, journal articles and bibliographies pertaining to this topic the following can be mentioned here: Hanspeter Marti, 'Dissertation' and 'Dissertation', Gert Ueding, ed., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1994): pp. 866–884; Margreet J. A. M. Ahsman, *Collegium und Kolleg. Der juristische Unterricht an der Universität Leiden 1575–1630 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Disputationen*, aus dem Niederländischen übersetzt von Irene Sagel-Grande (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2000); Donald Leonard Felipe, *The Post-Medieval Ars Disputandi Ph.D. Dissertation*, University of Texas, Austin (USA): 1991; Hanspeter Marti, 'Die Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Dokumentationswert alter Dissertationen,' *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* 1 (1981): pp. 117-132; Ferenc Postma and Jacob van Sluis, *Auditorium Academiae Franekerensis: Bibliographie der Reden, Disputationen und Gelegenheitsdruckwerk der Universität und des Athenäums in Franeker 1585-1843* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1995); Hanspeter Marti, *Philosophische Dissertationen deutscher Universitäten* (München et al.: K. G. Saur, 1982). The following older study is still valuable: Ewald Horn, *Die Disputationen und Promotionen an den deutschen Universitäten vornehmlich seit dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Elftes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1893; reprint ed.: Nendeln / Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint / Wiesbaden: Otto Harrossowitz, 1968).

2. Disputations and their place in instruction during the 16th and 17th centuries – primarily in Central Europe – are frequently mentioned within the following collection of articles: Joseph S. Freedman, *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500–1700. Teaching and Texts at Schools and Universities*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 626* (Aldershot et al.: Ashgate / Variorum, 1999), Index 3.

A very valuable discussion of disputations, together with a detailed list and analysis of philosophy disputations held at the University of Basel during the 17th Century is given in Wolfgang Rother, *Die Philosophie an der Universität Basel im 17. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Analyse* (Dr. phil. Dissertation, Universität Zürich, 1980), pp. 62-66, 97-99, 326-330, 450-451.

3. The concept of definition was itself a subject-matter that was regularly discussed as part of academic instruction on logic during the early modern period; the concept of definition – including various kinds of definitions – was also usually examined in

published writings on logic. For example, refer to the following: Cornelius Valerius, *Tabulae, quibus totius dialecticae praecepta maxime ad usum disserendi necessaria breviter & summatim exponuntur, ordine perspicuo digestae* (Antwerpiae: Ex officio Christophori Plantini, 1575), pp. 27-32 [UBL 191 E 26: 2]; Johannes Rudolphus Faber, *Totius logicae Peripateticae corpus ... Nec-non totius organi Aristotelico-Ramei compendium* (Aurelianae: Apud viduam & haeredes Petri de la Roviere, 1623), pp. 537-542 [UBL 546 B 12]; Daniel Wytttenbachius, *Praecepta philosophiae logicae* (Amstelodami: Apud Caesarem Noëlem Guerin, 1781), pp. 142-166 [UBL 652 B 11]. Definition itself was considered by early modern academic authors as a problematic concept. A detailed discussion of the concepts of classification and definition is given in Freedman, *Philosophy and the Arts* (see footnote 2), I: 2-7.

4. Hundreds of examples could be given in this connection, including the following: Bartholomaeus Keckermannus, *Gymnasium logicum, id est, de usu et exercitacione logicae artis absolutiori & pleniori, libri III. Annis ab hinc aliquot in Academia Heidelbergensis privatae praelectionibus traditi* (Hanoviae: Apud Guilielmum Antonium, 1608), pp. 122-152 [UBL 650 D 9: 2]; Faber, *Totius logicae [...]* compendium (see footnote 3), pp. 537-542; P[etrus] van Musschenbroek, *Institutiones logicae praecipue comprehendentes artem argumentandi. Conscriptum in usum studiosae juventutis* (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Samuelem Luchtmans et filium academiae typographus, 1748), pp. 197-206 [UBL 652 B 8]; Wytttenbachius, *Praecepta* (see footnote 3), pp. 235-238. The above-mentioned work by Keckermann was first published in the year 1605; refer to Joseph S. Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141, no. 3 (September 1997): pp. 305-364 (343).

5. These also included disputations held on the subject-matter of disputations themselves; for example, see Joh. Nagelius (praes.) & Leonh. Appoltus (resp.): *Specimen academicum [...] de modo disputandi*. Altorfii, 1737 [UBL 17 B 68]. The topic of this disputation – the manner in which Jewish teachers in Nuremberg and in Regensburg conduct disputations when teaching their students – is very unusual during the early modern period. The text thereof is written in Latin but contains many passages in Hebrew.

6. The following detailed discussion of disputations within a curriculum description for a school in Duisburg published in the year 1561 can be mentioned here: Henricus C. Geldorpius, *De optimo genere interpretandae philosophiae, in quo explicatur simul ratio atque ordo Scholae Dusburgensis* (s.l.: 1561) [UBL 20643 F 16]. Numerous curriculum plans in which disputations are discussed and cited within Joseph S. Freedman, 'Philosophy Instruction within the Institutional Framework of Central European Schools and Universities during the Reformation Era,' *History of Universities* 5 (1985): pp. 117-166.

7. Hanspeter Marti's definitions of *disputatio* (German: Disputation) and *dissertation* (German: Dissertation) point to the difficulties involved in any attempt to define each concept. His definitions are given here in full: 'Allgemein versteht man unter D[isputation] ein Streitgespräch oder eine Streitschrift, speziell die seit dem hohen Mittelalter bis zum späten 18. Jh., an Universitäten und anderen Schulen neben der Vorlesung (lectio) verbreitete, institutionell festverankerete Art des gelehrten Unterrichts. Die Vielfalt der Erscheinungsformen sowohl der mündlichen wie der schriftlichen D[isputation] lässt keine allgemeingültige Beschreibung ihres Ablaufs bzw. ihrer Gattungsmerkmale zu. Typisch für die Bedeutungsvielfalt des Begriffs <D[isputation]> ist, daß damit nicht bloß das Streitgespräch und die schriftliche Thesenbehandlung (Dissertation), sondern auch, obwohl selten, der Gegenstand des mündlichen Disputationsaktes bezeichnet wird.' Marti, 'Disputation' (see footnote 1): 866; 'Unter einer D[issertation] wird heute einzig die Inauguraldissertation, Hauptbedingung für den Erwerb des Doktorgrades an den Universitäten, verstanden.

Deshalb wird hier vor allem auf sie und ihre Geschichte eingegangen. Bis ca. 1800 wurde jede Abhandlung <D[issertation]> genannt, die den Gegenstand einer mündlichen, auch bloß übungshalber veranstalteten Disputation vorstellte und in der

Regel dem Streitgespräch als Einladungsschrift zugrundelag. Als D[issertation] konnte damals auch eine akademische Streitschrift bezeichnet werden, über die nicht disputiert wurde oder, seltener, eine Rede sowie der ganze Disputationsakt.' Marti, 'Dissertation' (see footnote 1): 880.

8. See the various title pages reprinted in this publication.

The online catalog of Leiden University Library provides with extant information concerning this transition of names. An online search conducted on January 12, 2005 provided the following information. An 'any word' search for *disputatio philosophica inauguralis* produced inaugural disputations held at Leiden University in the years 1642, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1676, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1690, 1693, 1698, 1702, 1703, 1707, 1721 and 1728. An 'any word' search for *dissertatio philosophica inauguralis* resulted in finding inaugural disputations held at Leiden University in the years 1725, 1728, 1730, 1734, 1743, 1745, 1751, 1753, 1764, 1766, 1769, 1774, 1780, 1790, 1808, 1818, 1822 and 1831.

10. ———. 2005. "A Neglected Treatise on Scientific Method (*methodus scientifica*) published by Joannes Bellarinus (1606)." In *Geschichte der Hermeneutik und die Methodik der textinterpretierenden Disziplinen*, edited by Schönert, Jörg and Vollhardt, Friedrich, 43-82. Berlin: de Gruyter. *Historia Hermeneutica*. Series Studia Band 1.
- "The text consists of an introduction and four 'Books' [libri]. In the introduction, Bellarinus equates scientific method [*methodus scientifica*] with the practice of the sciences [*praxis scientiarum*].
- In Book 1 [Concerning science and the knowable], Bellarinus defines science [*scientia*] in terms of cognition [*cognitio*].
- In Book 2 [Concerning rules of logic], it is noted that science focuses on universals.
- In Book 3 [Concerning the instruments of knowledge], is stated that ten instruments [*instrumenta*], through which cognition [*cognitio*] is made certain [*certa*] and evident [*evidens*].
- In Book 4 [Concerning method] Bellarinus defines method [*methodus*] as the correct way to discover, 'be taught' and teach [scientific] knowledge [*recta ratio scientiam inveniendi, discendi, atque docendi*]; he equates method with scientific method when this knowledge is perfect knowledge."
- "As common as discussions of method - and of scientific method in particular - are in recent scholarship and pedagogy, our knowledge of the early evolution of these two concepts is still relatively scant.(1) This article will highlight a neglected treatise on the concept of scientific method - published by Joannes Bellarinus in the year 1606 (*) - which appears to be the first known published treatise bearing this title. This treatise can be placed in the context of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century discussions of method, definition theory, classification theory, and the classification of academic disciplines. Such early discussions of scientific method and related concepts can be used to provide useful insights pertaining to recent scholarly discussions on these same subject-matters.
- The history of the concept of method during late middle ages has not yet been studied extensively. And while this concept was mentioned occasionally within some writings during the early sixteenth century, it was not until mid-century that the concept of method begins to be accorded direct and extensive discussion. Such discussions of method are very numerous from the 1550s onward. The bulk of these discussions - contained within treatises on method itself, within treatises on logic, and within treatises on other subject-matters - have yet to be studied; the authors of many treatises containing such discussions on method have been forgotten for centuries.
- (...)
- A thorough examination of the concept of method during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries would require a separate study extending well beyond the parameters of this article. Here the following summary points can be made concerning discussions of method during this period (I - III): (I) the distinction

between method and order was sometimes discussed during this period, as was the distinction between method and reason (ratio); (II) the concept of method was often understood as having various degrees of perfection and/or imperfection; (III) the concept of method was often explained with the aid of the concepts of definition and/or classification and/or demonstration.(5) As shall be elucidated shortly, all three of these points pertain to the content of Joannes Bellarinus's treatise on scientific method." (pp. 43-45, some notes omitted)

(*) Joannes Bellarinus: *Praxis scientiarum, seu methodus scientifica practice considerata, ex Aristotele potissimum acceptis*. Mediolani: Apud haer. Pontij & Joan. Baptistam Piccaleum impressores archiep. I606.

(1) The books by Henry Batter and Lutz Danneberg cited in this article provide bibliographical information on recent studies pertaining to method and scientific method. Henry H. Bauer: *Scientific Literacy and the Myth of the Scientific Method*. Urbana and Chicago 1992; Lutz Danneberg: *Methodologien. Struktur, Aufbau und Evaluation*. (Erfahrung und Denken 71). Berlin 1989. -- The following older but still very valuable study examines the concept of method as discussed by selected Italian, English, and German authors during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Neal W. Gilbert: *Renaissance Concepts of Method*. New York 1960.

(5) The concept of method as examined by numerous Central European authors during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is discussed in Joseph S. Freedman: *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500-1700. Teaching and Texts at Schools and Universities*. (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS626). Alderhot u.a. 1999 - see here particularly my articles: *The Diffusion of the Writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, c.1570-c.1630*, pp. 106-111; *Encyclopedic Philosophical Writings in Central Europe during the High and Late Renaissance (ca. 1500-ca. 1700)*, pp. 222.223, p. 232, p. 245 (Table L) and pp. 251-252 (Table R). The concept of method was discussed - from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards - within treatises specifically devoted to method as well as within general treatises on the subject-matter of logic: for example, refer to the following: Hieronymus Borrius: *De Peripatetica docendi atque addiscendi methodo*. Florentine: Apud Bartholomaeum Sermattellium 1584. [Chicago, Illinois. USA, Newberry Library: Case / B / 235 / .1034]; Augustinus Hunnius: *Dialectica seu generalia logices pracepta (...) consueverunt*. Lovanii: Apud Hieronymum Wellaeum 1561 (pp. 165-171: de methodo). [Municipal Library / Stadtbibliothek (StB) Trier: Ao / 80 / 20 (2)] Many additional writings from this period pertaining to the concept of method are mentioned in the monograph *Renaissance Concepts of Method* by Neal Gilbert (fn. 1).

11. ———. 2006. "Ramus and the Use of Ramus at Heidelberg within the Context of Schools and Universities in Central Europe, 1572-1622." In *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession. Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philosophie in Heidelberg an der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by Strohm, Christoph, Freedman, Joseph S. and Selderhuis, Herman J., 93-126. Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck.
- "The brief residence of Petrus Ramus (1515-1572) in Heidelberg (1569-1570) is a matter of record; detailed examination thereof has also been given by Kees Meerhoff, both in a previous publication as well as in his contribution to this volume (1). Yet very little is known concerning the extent to which Ramus's writings were utilized in Heidelberg during the five decades following his death. In this article, extant evidence concerning the utilization of Ramus's writings in Heidelberg between 1572 and 1622 is evaluated within the context of how Protestant academic institutions in Central Europe made use of those writings in the course these same decades (2)." (p. 93)
- (1) Kees Meerhoff, *Ramus et l'Université. De Paris à Heidelberg (1569-1570)*, in: Idem/Michel Magnien (eds.), *Ramus et l'Université*, Paris: Editions Rue d'Ulm, 2004, 89- 120.
- (2) The year 1572 has been chosen here since it is the year of Ramus's death. "In an earlier publication I have argued that there does not appear to have been a "Ramist" position with regard to the following two selected points of doctrine: the

classification of philosophical disciplines and the concept of method. Tables V-XI will be utilized in order to investigate whether or not one can speak of a "Ramist" and/or a "Non-Ramist" position with regard to a third point of doctrine: the concept of definition. Definition was an important concept that was regularly discussed within writings on logic during the 16th and 17th centuries (56).

Table V provides a synopsis of how Wilhelm Roding discusses the concept of definition within his 1574 edition of the logic of Petrus Ramus; Roding republished this edition in 1576, i.e. while a teacher in the Paedagogium in Heidelberg". At the top of Table V, the manner in which definition - together with conjugate, *notatio* and *distributio* - is subsumed within the subject-matter of logic is evident. *Notatio* is the category Ramus uses to refer to nominal definition. For Ramus, definition is synonymous with what many other authors referred to as "real definition" (*definitio rei*). Ramus's distinction between perfect and imperfect definition (the latter considered as synonymous with "description") appears to have been adopted by the vast majority of authors who discuss the concept of definition during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.(58) Roding's own commentary pertaining to Ramus's "that which is defined" (definition) is presented in full at the bottom of Table V; this commentary includes a positive comment concerning Aristotle (see Table V: C.) Tables VI and VII contain dichotomous charts - which outline sub-categories of definition given by Petrus Ramus and Philipp Melanchthon - within a text on logic published in Lemgo by Rupertus Erythropilus in the year 1588. (59) On the basis of these two sub-categories of definition, the following three points can be made. First, Ramus's categories of definition are much simpler than Melanchthon's.

Melanchthon's categorization includes a list of laws and conditions as well as a list of rules, all of which serve to regulate the making of good definitions; Ramus's categorization, on the other hand, presents some examples of definitions but no regulations that govern them.

Second, Melanchthon divides definition into *definitio nominis* and *definitio rei*; for Ramus, *definitio* is equivalent to *definitio rei*. And third, both Ramus and Melanchthon distinguish between perfect definition and imperfect definition. Yet Ramus equates imperfect definition with description while Melanchthon does not." (pp.106-107, some notes omitted)

(56) Refer to the discussion of definition (and the related concept of classification) in the following article: Joseph S. Freedman, *The Study of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth Century Writings on Academic Philosophy: Some Methodological Considerations*, in: IDEM, *Philosophy and the Arts*, I: 1-40, 2-7. 24-28.

12. ———. 2007. "Christian Wolff's Two-Volume Philosophical Treatise on the Family (*Oeconomica*) in Context." In *Christian Wolff und die europäische Aufklärung*, edited by Stolzenberg, Jürgen and Rudolph, Oliver-Pierre, 217-231. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Akten des 1. Internationalen Christian-Wolff-Kongresses, Halle (Saale), 4.-8. April 2004.
- Teil 3: Sektion 5: Kosmologie; Sektion 6: Theologie; Sektion 7: Praktische Philosophie.
- "The past decades have witnessed a steadily increasing interest in the career and philosophy of Christian Wolff.(1) The focus of the current study is a work which Christian Wolff began to publish shortly before his death: his two-volume philosophical treatise on family life (*oeconomica*). (2) This treatise has not been accorded attention within scholarship pertaining to Wolff nor within the very sparse existing literature pertaining to philosophical writings on the family.(3) Yet this same treatise not only provides discussion and insights concerning a number of points of doctrine extending beyond the subject matter of *oeconomica*, but also presents some hereto neglected biographical information concerning Christian Wolff himself.
- Table 1 (p. 229 f. below) presents a section and chapter synopsis of Christian Wolff's two-volume philosophical treatise on family life and also gives full bibliographical references for each volume of this treatise. The treatise as a whole is divided into

four sections. Section 1 (consisting of three chapters) and the first two chapters of section 2 were published in 1754 within the first volume of this treatise; chapters 3 through 5 of section 2, section 3 (chapters 1 through 3), and section 4 (chapters 1 through 3) were published in 1755 within the second volume.

Originally published in 1754 and 1755, respectively, these two volumes appear not to have been republished or reissued until 1972 (as part of the scholarly Olms edition of Christian Wolff's writings). The entire text of the treatise consists of a total of 900 axioms, which correspond to the treatise's short introduction (*Prolegomena*) together with the content of sections 1 through 4." (p. 217)

(...)

"Before proceeding to discussion of Wolff's philosophical treatise on family life, brief attention should be given to the first volume - originally published in the year 1728 - of Wolff's three-volume treatise on logic. (4) This first volume actually is devoted to the subject-matter of philosophy considered generally. (5) In this work, Wolff divides that subject-matter into the following general parts: logic, metaphysics, practical philosophy, physics, and what he refers to as "philosophy of the arts" (*philosophia artium*). (6) Metaphysics consists of ontology, general cosmology, empirical psychology, rational psychology, and natural theology; included within philosophy of the arts are grammar, rhetoric, and poetics. (7) Wolff places *oeconomica* - along with universal practical philosophy, natural law (*jus naturae*), ethics, politics, and the "law of nations" (*jus gentium*) - within the category of practical philosophy.

In the introduction to the first volume of his *Oeconomica* Wolff notes the dependence of this same discipline on psychology and ethics; he also notes that ethics itself presupposes ontology, psychology, natural theology, universal practical philosophy, and cosmology.⁸ Wolff states that *Oeconomica* discusses the actual practice of that subject-matter which is demonstrated in theory within his own treatise on natural law. Missing from this list is politics, and Wolff considers *oeconomica* as a separate academic discipline therefrom." (pp. 218-219)

(...)

"Wolff's philosophical treatise on the family contains very frequent citations, however, from some of his other philosophical writings. In the introduction to his *Oeconomica* Wolff names the philosophical disciplines which serve as the foundation for family life. Yet conversely, Wolff's *Oeconomica* provides valuable discussion concerning a number of other philosophical topics; these topics include (1) the concept of scientific method and (2) two ontologically basic categories - *habilitas physica* and (natural) virtue - which rest at the foundation of human generation and subsequent growth, and (3) a number of concepts which fall within the general realm of epistemology. His *Oeconomica* is worthy of examination not only because it presents a detailed, philosophical, systematic treatment of the family as well as education within a domestic framework, but also - and perhaps more importantly for historians of philosophy - because it provides interesting and valuable discussion of some points of doctrine the significance of which extend beyond the domains of family and domestic life." (pp. 226-227)

(1) 1305 titles are listed within Biller's bibliography on Christian Wolff; title numbers 1050 through 1305 were published between 1998 and 2004 while title numbers 495 through 1049 were published between 1980 and 1997; see Biller, [*Wolff nach Kant. Eine Bibliographie*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms,] 2004.

(2) See Table 1, p. 229 f. below.

(3) Some professional literature on natural law within Wolff's writings touches tangentially on selected topics which also are discussed within Wolff's *Oeconomica*, see Biller, 2004, p. 81 (448), 114 (681-682), 194 (1229), 198 (1250); also refer to footnote 16 below.

(4) *Logica*, 1.

(5) The full title of this general treatise on the subject-matter of philosophy is given within footnote 14 below.

(6) *Logica*, 1, §§ 55-75; in § 39 in this same work Wolff seems to argue that philosophy of law and philosophy of medicine might also be included within the

realm of philosophy.

(7) *Logica*, 1, §§ 40, 71. Also included here within philosophy of the arts is a subject-matter referred by Wolff as *Technica*; here (§ 71) Wolff appears to indicate that these subject-matters often are excluded from philosophy.

(8) *Oeconomica*, 1, § 4.

(Some notes omitted)

13. ———. 2007. "The 'Melanchthonian Encyclopedia' (1597) (*) of Gregor Richter (1560-1624)." In *Fragmenta Melanchthoniana. Band 3: Melanchthons Wirkung in der europäischen Bildungsgeschichte*, edited by Frank, Günther and Lalla, Sebastian, 105-141. Ubstadt, Heidelberg, and Basel: Verlag Regionalkultur. (*) *Judicia florentis scholae Melanchthonis* (1592); *Criseis Melanchthonianae* (1597).
14. ———. 2008. "An Extraordinary Broadsheet on Natural Philosophy: The *Theatrum universitatis rerum* (1557) by Christophorus Mylaeus." In *Sol et homo. Mensch und Natur in der Renaissance. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag für Eckhard Kessler*, edited by Ebbersmeyer, Sabrina, Pirner-Pareschi, Helga and Ricklin, Thomas, 241-315. München: Wilhelm Fink.
Humanistische Bibliothek: Texte und Abhandlungen. Reihe I: Abhandlungen. Band 59.
"The present study is devoted to a broadsheet consisting mainly of an extensive series of such dichotomous charts pertaining principally to the subject-matter of natural philosophy. This broadsheet -- bearing the title "Theatre of the Universe of Things" (*Theatrum universitatis rerum*) -- was published in the year 1557 by Christophorus Mylaeus [Christophe Milieu] d. 1570). Only one published copy thereof is known to have survived."(*) (p. 242)
"The very top of the broadsheet presents the title of the work -- *Theatrum universitatis rerum* as well as the division of its subject-matter (*universitas rerum*) into *Natura ipsa* and *Natura altera*. The bulk of the broadsheet consists of dichotomous charts that also include longer and shorter text segments. These dichotomous charts and accompanying texts focus mainly on natural philosophy and include discussion -- contained pages A through O -- of incorporeal things, celestial heavens, stars, the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth), inanimate 'corporeal things (e.g., stones, metals), plants (e.g., roots, herbage, fruits, trees), beasts (e.g., fish, birds, mammals), the human being considered with respect to his/her component parts, and the human being considered as a whole. Captions placed above selected segments of these dichotomous tables briefly summarize the content of those segments; this content is also supplemented by texts that are placed below - - and linked to -- other segments of these same dichotomous tables.
(...)
Table C (I.-VI.) summarizes the content of the dichotomous tables that together serve to constitute the bulk of his own *Theatrum universitatis rerum*. Its principal subject-matter is *universitas rerum*, which Mylaeus describes as 1. that variety of all things to be found in nature and 2. the unity, harmony, and consensus brought to this diversity and discord (through God). In the *Theatrum universitatis rerum*, Mylaeus notes (I. of Table C) that "the universe of things" (*universitas rerum*) consists of five components without clearly listing what they are. These five components, however, clearly correspond to the titles to the five "Books" (*libri*) contained within the 1551 edition of Mylaeus's treatise on historiography (Table B): 1. *De natura*, 2. *De prudentia*, 3. *De principatu (principatus)*, 4. *De sapientia*, and 5. *De literatura*.
In the *Theatrum universitatis rerum*, these five components are paired with two distinct categories of nature. The first (*natura ipsa*) corresponds directly to *natura*; the second (*natura altera*) comprises *prudentia*, *principatus*, *sapientia*, and *literatura*. The terms "nature" (*natura*) and "natural" (*naturalis*) were used in a multitude of ways within philosophical writings during the sixteenth century; the prominence which Mylaeus gives to these two uses of the term nature in this broadsheet was probably less common. He describes both *natura ipsa* and *natura*

altera at some length, and states that the latter is the "imitator, assistant, and vicar" (*imitatrix, adiunatrix, & vicaria*) of the former.' On the basis of Mylaeus's description of *natura altera*, it could be understood as equivalent to -- or: roughly equivalent to -- human nature. Humans are made -- by virtue of the goodness of "that same superior, providing, and ingenious nature" (i.e., God) -- with a body that empowers us to act and a mind that empowers us to contemplate." (pp. 244-245, notes omitted)

(*) Christophorus Mylaeus, *Theatrum universitatis rerum*. Basileae: Ex officina Johannis Oporini, 1557 mense Martio. The only known extant copy is owned by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munchen and has the call number 20 Enc. 19m / Res [a digital copy is now available at the Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum (MDZ)].

15. ———. 2008. "Die Debatte um Frauen und *Gender* in der Schulphilosophie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Der Fall Clemens Timpler (1563/4-1624)." In *Heißer Streit und kalte Ordnung. Epochen der "Querelles des femmes" zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart*, edited by Hassauer, Friederike, 206-217. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag. [The Debate on Women and Gender in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Academic Philosophy: The Case of Clemens Timpler (1563/4-1624)].
- "Philosophie wurde im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert an Schulen und Universitäten in ganz Europa gelehrt. In den einzelnen akademischen Institutionen verstand man darunter das Studium einiger oder aller der folgenden wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen: Metaphysik, Physik, Mathematik, Ethik, Familienleben (*oeconomica*), Politik, Logik, Rhetorik, Grammatik, Poetik und Geschichte. (1) Im Rahmen jeder dieser Disziplinen wurde ein breites Spektrum an verschiedenen Themen mehr oder minder eingehend erörtert. Die meisten philosophischen Texte, die in diesen zwei Jahrhunderten – sowohl druckschriftlich wie manuskriptschriftlich – zirkulierten, entstanden in Verbindung mit der genannten akademischen Lehre. Zwei eng miteinander verknüpfte Themen werden in diesem Artikel von besonderem Interesse sein: Frauen und Gender. Sie werden in den veröffentlichten Schriften eines in dieser Epoche tätigen Philosophielehrers erörtert: Clemens Timpler (1563/4-1624). (2)" (p. 205)
- (...)
- "Es wurde erwähnt, daß einige von Timplers Ansichten über Frauen auch von anderen akademischen Philosophen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts vertreten wurden. (53) Timpler scheint zu einer großen Gruppe jener Philosophen gehört zu haben, deren Ansichten über Frauen vielleicht am genauesten als Mittelgröße zwischen zwei Extremen beschrieben werden können. Timpler hätte sich sicherlich nicht der Meinung angeschlossen, daß Frauen keine Menschen seien (54) – eine Auffassung, die im Zeitraum zwischen 1500-1700 einige Anhänger zu haben schien. Timpler hätte ebensowenig die Meinung akzeptiert, daß Frauen keine moralischen Tugenden hätten. (55) Gleichwohl wäre er wohl kaum so weit gegangen, in seinen Schriften den Frauen ausführliches Lob zu spenden.⁵⁶ Eine eingehendere Untersuchung des Konzepts von ›Frauen und Gender‹ innerhalb einer großen Anzahl philosophischer Werke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts werden vonnöten sein, sollen Timplers Ansichten zu diesem Thema präziser in einen größeren Zusammenhang gestellt werden." (p. 216)
- (1) Der folgende Aufsatz erörtert Fachgebiete der Philosophie als Gegenstände des Philosophieunterrichts in Zentraleuropa: Freedman, Joseph S.: »Philosophy Instruction within the Institutional Framework of Central European Schools and Universities during the Reformation Era«, in: *History of Universities*, 5, 1985, S. 117-166 (Nachdruck in: Freedman, Joseph S.: *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500-1700. Teaching and Texts in Schools and Universities*, Aldershot u.a. 1999, II (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 626)).
- (2) Vgl. Freedman, Joseph, S.: *European Academic Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. The Life, Significance, and Philosophy of Clemens Timpler (1563/4-1624)*, 2 Bde., Hildesheim u.a. 1988 (Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, Bd. 27). Im folgenden Buch ist Clemens Timpler kurz erwähnt: Maclean, Ian: *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, Cambridge u.a. 1983.

Einige Titel aus der inzwischen zahlreichen Literatur zu Frauen und Gender in der Frühen Neuzeit (in umgekehrter chronologischer Reihenfolge): Richards, Penny u. Munns, Jessica: *Gender, Power, and Privilege in Early Modern Europe, Women and men in history*, Harlow 2003; Jansen, Sharon: *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe*, New York 2002; Wunder, Heide: *He is the Sun, She is the Moon: Women in Early Modern Germany*. Übers. v. Thomas Dunlap, Cambridge, MA 1998; Hull, Suzanne W.: *Women according to Men: the World of Tudor-Stuart Women*, Walnut Creek, CA 1996); Weisner, Merry E.: *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge u.a. 1993; Schiebinger, Londa: *The Mind has no Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science*, Cambridge, MA 1989. Vgl. auch die Titel in Anm. 56.

(53) Vgl. nochmals die in den Anm. 11, 23, 27, 31, 46, 48, 51 und 52 erwähnten Schriften.

(54) Vgl. Fleischer, Manfred S.: »Are Women Human?« The Debate of 1595 between Valens Acidalius and Simon Gediccus«, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12, no. 2, Summer 1981, S. 107-121. Es wurde darauf hingewiesen, daß Timpler – ähnlich wie viele andere Philosophen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts – die Vorstellung von Frau als Sklavin des Mannes ablehnte; vgl. Anm. 31.