

Herder's Notes from Kant's Lectures

Introduction

Immanuel Kant lectured on philosophy at the university at Königsberg for forty-one years, from the winter semester of 1755-56 until the middle of the summer semester of 1796.¹ He eventually assumed the professorship of logic and metaphysics – the academic senate officially installed him on 2 May 1770, near the beginning of the summer semester – but for the previous fifteen years he had served as an unsalaried *Privatdozent* or lecturer,² and in the summer of 1762 he was midway through this first career when an almost eighteen-year-old Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) arrived in Königsberg, studying there for two years before leaving on 22 November 1764 to assume a teaching post at the cathedral school in Riga.

Kant invited Herder to attend his lectures for free, which Herder did – all of them and sometimes more than once – and he took extensive notes over the course of two years. The largest set of notes came from the metaphysics lectures, followed by physical geography and moral philosophy, with just a few pages of notes on logic, and slightly longer sets on physics and mathematics (although with these there is some question as to whether they came from Kant's lectures).³ These are the earliest notes we have from Kant's lectures and the *only* notes before 1770.

Previous transcriptions of some of these notes were published by Adickes (1911a; fragments from the physical geography notes), Menzer (1911; fragments from the physical geography and metaphysics notes), Irmscher (1964; all that was available to him⁴ at the time on logic, mathematics, physics, metaphysics, and moral philosophy), and by Lehmann in various volumes of the Academy edition of *Kant's gesammelte Schriften*: 24 (1966; logic), 27 (1974; moral philosophy), 28 (1968, 1970; metaphysics), and 29 (1980; mathematics, physics).

¹ [1796] Kant's first lecture was on 13 October 1755 (the first day of winter semester) and his last was on 23 July 1796 (on logic), having already given his last lecture on physical geography on 13 July (Warda 1901, 88).

² [*Privatdozent* or lecturer] Three levels of instructors taught at the university: the *Privatdozent* (lecturer), the *ausserordentliche Professor* (what might be called an associate professor), and the *ordentliche Professor* (or full professor). **Lecturers** received no salary and were supported by the fees paid directly to them by students attending their lectures (in Königsberg, this was four Reichsthaler per course, with the opportunity to repeat the course once *gratis*). **Full professors** were salaried and obliged to offer certain prescribed lectures for free to the students (usually one course of these so-called “public” lectures per semester), although they usually also offered “private” lectures for which students paid the usual fee. Professors and lecturers could also give “very private” (*privatissima*) lectures that were open only to the original subscribers and these generally paid quite well. **Associate professors** typically were usually required to offer the equivalent of one set of public lectures per year – but the salary was either quite small or nonexistent, so they had to live off student fees collected in their private lectures and on the bare promise of receiving the next available full professorship. It was not uncommon for *Privatdozenten* and others to hold side-jobs to help make ends meet; Kant, for instance, worked from February 1766 to April 1772 as the assistant librarian of the Royal Library in the castle, working every Wednesday and Saturday from 1 to 4 p.m. (for which he received 62 rthl./year, plus a certain allotment of firewood). Kant's tenure as full professor of logic and metaphysics began with summer 1770, which required him to lecture publicly on logic every summer and on metaphysics every winter.

³ [Kant's lectures] On the companion website [<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>] these are listed under “Varia” to indicate their unsettled status.

⁴ [available to him] Irmscher had access to manuscripts deposited in Tübingen and Marburg. He may have suspected there were additional manuscripts at the *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek* (Stabi-Ost) in East Berlin, but lacked access to this collection or any catalog of such a collection.

Because of Herder's importance in the history of ideas, and because these are the only notes we have from Kant's lectures as a *Privatdozent*, we have collected all of Herder's notes from Kant's lectures into a single volume, thus departing from the practice of the other volumes of *Abtheilung IV*, where the lecture notes are ordered by discipline.

The present volume provides an improved transcription⁵ of Herder's notes on metaphysics, moral philosophy, logic, physics, and mathematics, and the first transcription of his notes from Kant's physical geography lectures.

Herder's Studies

Herder was born (25 August 1744) and spent his childhood and early education in Mohrungen (*now*: Morąg, Poland), a large town of about 1800 inhabitants lying inland and equidistant from the port cities of Danzig (*now*: Gdańsk, Poland) to the northwest and Königsberg (*now*: Kaliningrad, Russia) to the northeast, roughly 120 kilometers distant. Königsberg was one of the larger German-speaking cities, with about fifty-thousand inhabitants when Herder arrived in the summer of 1762.⁶

Kant had been teaching as a *Privatdozent* for seven years, offering lectures possibly every semester on logic, metaphysics, and mathematics, and often on theoretical physics, physical geography, and moral philosophy. Herder's stay in Königsberg overlapped with six semesters at the university, arriving in the middle of the summer semester 1762 and leaving near the middle of the winter semester 1764-65.⁷ His very first lecture notes are dated from that first partial semester: 21 August 1762.⁸

	MP	PG	MO	MA	LO	PH
1762	x			(?)	x	
62-63	x			x	x	
1763				x	x	x
63-64	x	x	x	priv.	x	
1764	10-12	10-11			9-10	
64-65	11-12		10-11		9-10	8-9

Table 1: Kant's Schedule of Lectures

⁵ [improved transcription] Apart from some organizational difficulties and the inclusion of extraneous text, one also finds, on average, two to three errors per page of the Lehmann transcription; see Naragon (2016, 252-54) on the metaphysics notes. Perhaps most misleading is the inconsistent reporting of features of the text in Lehmann's textual notes. Lists of transcriptional errors are available on the companion website (see note above).

⁶ [Herder ... 1762] For background on Herder, see especially the two-volume biography by Haym (1877, 1880, 1885), as well as Sembritzki (1904) and Dobbek (1944, 1961). Herder arrived in Königsberg just as the Russian troops began their withdrawal from the city on 6 August 1762 at the end of the Seven Years' War.

⁷ [1764-65] Herder was in Königsberg for the last four weeks of the 1762 semester, and the first four or five weeks of the 1764-65 semester. We know that he attended Kant's lectures on metaphysics during the first partial semester, but we have no evidence that he attended any classes during the last partial semester.

The academic calendar of the Protestant universities was arranged by semester (winter and summer), with Michaelmas (September 29) and Easter serving as the endpoints. In this introduction, a semester indicated by two years (e.g., 1764-65) is always the winter semester beginning in the fall of the former year and ending in the spring of the latter year; otherwise, the summer semester is intended. At Königsberg there was normally a recess of about two weeks at Michaelmas and three weeks at Easter, as well as one-month recesses near the middle of each semester (Dog Days in summer, Christmas in winter). The semester-end recesses are inferred from data (available after 1770) of the first and last days of Kant's classes (Arnoldt 1908-9). See also the discussion at Stark (1995, 60-61) and Naragon (2006, "Professors/Academic Schedule").

⁸ [21 August 1762] These are two closely written pages of notes from Kant's metaphysics lectures (NL-Herder XXVI.5, pp. 32-33), entered into Herder's 4^o *Brown Notebook*. Herder wrote at the top of p. 32: "bey Kant. 1sten mal. d. 21

Herder claims to have attended all of Kant's courses offered⁹ and we appear to have notes from each of these: physical geography, logic, mathematics, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and physics (see Table 1)¹⁰ – but the records of Kant's teaching schedule during Herder's student years are not entirely firm. In the table, an 'x' indicates that the course likely took place, and with the last two semesters we also have information on the time and day.¹¹

Herder's Early Education in Mohrungen

Apart from his parents, young Herder was shaped primarily by three men: Rector Grimm, Pastor Willamovius, and Deacon Trescho. The local Latin school, tucked against the city wall behind the church, was run by Rector **Grimm**, an ill-tempered man who whipped pupils at the least provocation, but who also gave Herder a solid foundation in Latin grammar. Christian Reinhold **Willamovius** (1701-1763) provided Herder with his early religious education, inspiring him from the pulpit as well as through personal interactions. And in January 1761, at the age of sixteen and while still attending the Latin school, Herder began work as an amanuensis to Sebastian Friedrich **Trescho** (1733-1804), a deacon and theologian who needed help copying manuscripts for publication. Herder lodged with Trescho, sleeping in his library with free access to all the books, entering for the first time into this larger literary world, and Trescho soon discovered in the quiet and backwards Herder a boy of considerable talents. Trescho's letter of 3 March 1762 to Ludwig Ernst Borowski¹² shows him seeking to help Herder begin his university studies:

I have another small commission for you, which I can only expect from a good and willing heart. [...] Since the time that I have been here, I have had a young man in my house who has poor parents, but to everyone's amazement has received such great talents from God that he can now go to the Academy by Easter. He has been effectively taught all the humanities by the local Rector Grimm, has also made good progress in music and in French, and is generally a genius, formed by nature for everything. [...] His only flaw is his poverty. But the bare necessities for matriculation will be provided for him. The entrance fee from Easter onwards and whatever else belongs to the weekly fees shall be properly paid by me until, with time, he finds charitable hearts from whom he might receive a few free meals. Please let me know how you plan to arrange everything, whereby I wish to remind you that the young man is not a relative

Aug". This is repeated at the top of p. 123: "den 21. Aug. bei Kant das Collegium angefangen", although here it was followed with a list of textbooks and their prices, rather than any notes.

⁹ [courses offered] See the preface to his *Kalligone* (1800), where Herder recalls his own education: "Vor mehr als dreißig Jahren habe ich einen Jüngling gekannt, der den Urheber der kritischen Philosophie selbst und zwar in seinen blühenden männlichen Jahren, alle seine Vorlesungen hindurch, mehrere wiederholt, hörte" (*FHA* 8: 651-52).

¹⁰ [Table 1] It appears that Kant lectured on metaphysics every semester except 1763, physical geography was offered 1763-64 and 1764, moral philosophy during 1763-64 and 1764-65, mathematics during 1762-63 and 1763 (with a *privatissimum* in 1763-64, but Herder would not likely have belonged to such a group), logic during every semester, and physics during 1763 and 1764-65 (Arnoldt 1909, 5: 331-40). On the mathematics *privatissima*, see Hamann's letter to Lindner of 1 February 1764 (Hamann 1955-79, 2: 234) and Hagen (1848, 14-15).

¹¹ [time and day] Records indicate that Kant's metaphysics lectures for 1764 were held every Wednesday and Saturday from 10 to noon. The default lecture days were Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, but a *Privatdozent* might lecture whenever it best suited him and his auditors.

¹² [Borowski] Trescho had presumably made Borowski's acquaintance while both were students at the university. At the time of this letter Borowski was finishing up a tutoring stint in the home of General Knobloch, a position Kant had secured for him (Gause 1996, 2: 257).

of mine, but just a local child from town and my only interest is to accommodate him out of love for the glory of God, because such talents are very rare these days. (Dobbek 1944, page 3, column 3)

These university plans were clearly stalled, since Herder did not arrive in Königsberg until the end of July, well into the middle of the summer semester, and he was also travelling with an army surgeon on his way to St Petersburg in the aftermath of the Seven Years War. The surgeon was an acquaintance of both Trescho and Herder's parents and had agreed to take Herder to Königsberg to treat an eye disorder, and then to St Petersburg to begin his medical training, in return for which Herder was to translate a medical treatise into Latin for him. Herder finished the translation while still in Königsberg, but his medical career was derailed by his inability to attend autopsies without fainting. It was just at this time that he chanced upon an old school friend, Johann Christian Emmerich, who had matriculated at the university several years earlier, and Emmerich immediately took Herder under his wing and helped him enroll as a theology student.¹³

Entering the University

A new student arriving at the university would sit for an entrance exam administered by the dean of the philosophy faculty, as well as register with the dean of one of the higher faculties (theology, law, or medicine). With papers in hand showing he had passed the exam and was properly registered with a higher faculty, the student would then present himself to the rector of the university to be matriculated as an "academic citizen" of the university itself. Johann Christoph **Bohl**, the second full professor of medicine, was serving as rector¹⁴ when Herder arrived and so he would have registered the new student, writing down his name and place of origin, whether he had studied elsewhere or had previously matriculated at Königsberg, his religious affiliation if not Lutheran, and occasionally mentioning the intended area of study, the gymnasium attended, membership in the nobility, or whether all or part of the matriculation fee was waived (the level of detail varied considerably from rector to rector).

So Herder first registered with the dean of the theology faculty, Friedrich Samuel **Bock**,¹⁵ on August 7 (Saturday), passed the entrance exam on Monday with the dean of the philosophy faculty,

¹³ [Königsberg] This brief account comes principally from Dobbek (1944). See also Döring (1829, 5-42), Haym (1877, 1: 6-21, Warda (1903), Sembritzki (1904), and Dobbek (1961). Emmerich began his studies in the summer of 1759, matriculating on 2 April 1759 (Erlar 1911-12, 2: 471).

¹⁴ [rector] The office of rector at the university rotated each semester through the four faculties among the senior professors belonging to the Academic Senate. Bohl served as rector the previous semester (1761-62) and so, as customary, served the following semester as assistant to the new rector, Johann Georg Bock (professor of poetry and older brother to the theology professor Friedrich Samuel Bock). But Bock died on July 7, requiring Bohl to finish out the term. The office of dean of each faculty also rotated on a semester basis among the full professors of that faculty. In this fashion, Kant served as university rector twice and dean of the philosophy faculty six times. Kant had formed a special relationship with Bohl during his own student days, and dedicated his first book (on *Living Forces*) to him.

¹⁵ [Bock] Friedrich Samuel Bock was a professor of theology and the professor of Greek (both since 1753) and the head librarian at the castle library (1751-78).

Christoph **Langhansen**,¹⁶ and matriculated into the university with Rector Bohl on Tuesday, 10 August 1762.¹⁷ His was the only entry for that day: “Herder Joh. Godfr., Mohrunge-Boruss.” (‘Borussia’ is the Latin name for Prussia).

Herder recounted this adventure in a letter of 22 September 1770 to Caroline Flachsland, the woman he would marry three years later:

“Due to a thousand prejudices, my parents did not want me to pursue an education. This difficulty was infinitely increased by a hypocrite¹⁸ who made hypocrites the worst of all people for me ever since, greatly interfered in the affairs of my family. Dazed, ignorant, I had to follow blindly: I went to Königsberg with a Russian chief surgeon, a friend of my parents, to have my eye cured. Fortunately, he was quickly summoned to Petersburg, made me the most tempting offers, and I – [229] took off and matriculated. Ignorant, naive, and unknown as I was, without my parents’ permission and against the will of the one to whom I was entrusted; indeed, with neither money nor even the prospect of three weeks, I entered the academy. And I have not regretted it to this day.” (*Herder Briefe*, 1: 228-29)

Teaching at the *Collegium Fridericianum*

Financially impoverished yet capable students such as Herder, especially those with the proper theological orientation, could often find employment at the *Collegium Fridericianum*, the pietist gymnasium on the Berg-Platz in the Löbenicht district. Either through Johann Georg **Hamann**¹⁹ or the bookseller and publisher Johann Jakob **Kanter**²⁰ – both of whom he met not long after arriving in Königsberg – Herder secured a position at the *Fridericianum*, which in Herder’s day served as a model Latin school for all of Prussia, having been started sixty years earlier as a private home school and then receiving a royal privilege. Kant had studied there from ages 8 to 16 as a day student, but there were also quarters to lodge between forty and fifty boys – and these boys needed

¹⁶ [Langhansen] Christoph Langhansen was the professor of mathematics (since 1719) and a professor of theology (associate since 1718, full since 1725) and was serving as dean of the philosophy faculty during the summer of 1762. His father (Christian Langhansen) was also a mathematician and theologian, but while the father was a declared enemy of Pietism, the son was a proponent. It was the younger Langhansen’s death in 1770 that vacated a professorship in mathematics which, through a bit of shuffling, allowed Kant to assume the professorship of logic and metaphysics.

¹⁷ [10 August 1762] Two official documents (stored in the *SBPK* and published in Herder 1846, 1.1: 138-39) mark Herder’s transition into the university. The first (Herder-Nachlaß XXXVI.14) is a 20.5 x 35.5 cm sheet indicating his registration with the theology faculty. It is a mechanically printed document with spaces for entering the date (August 7), the name and origin of the student (Joannem Godofredum Herder, Mohrunge-Pruss. e schola Mohrunge.), and the dean’s signature (Friedrich Samuel Bock). The second (Herder-Nachlaß XXXVI.15) shows that he passed the entrance exam with the philosophy faculty. This mechanically printed document is a single sheet, 35 x 42 cm, with the date (August 9) and Herder’s name entered in pen. The mark from the wax seal is still visible. Coelestin Kowalewski (the senior professor of law) is listed as the chancellor of the university, Bohl as the rector, and Christoph Langhansen as dean of the philosophy faculty. Langhansen was also the philosophy dean when Kant entered as a student in 1740.

¹⁸ [hypocrite] S. F. Trescho. Herder’s relationship with Trescho was complicated; see Dobbek (1961, 35-44).

¹⁹ [Hamann] Hamann (1730-1788) mentored Herder alongside Kant but maintained a much closer and longer-lasting relationship with him over the years: their correspondence is much more intimate in quality, and in quantity vastly greater, than that between Herder and Kant. It was Hamann who helped Herder secure a teaching position in Riga and later accompanied him to the Roßgarten gate when Herder left for Riga on the morning of 22 November 1764 (*Herder Briefe*, 1: 36; Döring 1829, 37-39; Haym 1877, 1: 66-68).

²⁰ [Kanter] Kanter’s bookshop was still at the old address of Langgasse 23 (the corner of Langgasse and Schmiedegasse and across the street from the back of the Altstadt Rathaus). This shop was owned by Philip Christoph Kanter (died 1764), but his son, Johann Jakob, was running the establishment when Herder arrived in Königsberg. Kant later rented rooms from Kanter (1768-77), but this was after the shop had moved into the newly re-built Löbenicht Rathaus. During Herder’s student years, Kant still lived on Magistergasse, the street running along the southern edge of Kneiphof Island.

supervisors, called *Inspicienten*. This was Herder's first position at the school, bringing with it free room and board, the room being shared with two boys whose studies, prayers, and general demeanor he supervised.

The success of this school (and the other four Latin schools in Königsberg) was predicated on the cheap labor of theology students at the university who formed much of the teaching staff. Although initially hired as an *Inspicient*, Herder was teaching the very next semester (1762-63): first arithmetic (*Rechenunterricht*) to elementary students in the German school, and then he was promoted to teaching Greek, French, Hebrew, and mathematics to students in the third class (1763), and in 1763-64 Latin to the second class students, and history and philosophy to the first class.²¹ So while Herder was attending classes and taking notes at the university he was also preparing and writing notes as a teacher at this local high school.

In the end, Herder grew dissatisfied with teaching at the *Fridericianum*, secured a teaching position at the Cathedral School in Riga, and left Königsberg on 22 November 1764, after some delays caused by the great fire of November 11.

Coursework at the University

In 1762 there were six full professors in the theology faculty (two of whom also held chairs in philosophy) and one associate professor; the law faculty consisted of four full professors and four associate professors; and medicine had five full professors.²² Student enrollment at that time was about 325.²³

Each full professor was required to offer a specific set of public lectures each semester, so the students knew well in advance when those lectures would be offered. The private lectures offered by the professors were announced just a week or two before the beginning of the semester, along with their public lectures, in the official lecture catalog²⁴ made available for distribution and also posted on the bulletin board outside the main university building. The catalog format changed over the years, but in the 1760s they were arranged by faculty (theology, law, medicine, philosophy) and then by the professors in each faculty – except that the rector for that semester would always lead the list followed by the academic chancellor (a post continuously held by the senior law professor, Coelestin

²¹ [to the first class] Zippel (1898, 121-22) and Haym (1877, 1: 23-24).

²² [professors] The following is a complete list of the philosophy and theology instructors at Königsberg during Herder's years:

Philosophy: Friedrich Johann **Buck** (1722-1786; Metaphysics/Logic), Karl Andreas **Christiani** (1701-1780; Practical Philosophy), Christoph **Langhansen** (1691-1770; Mathematics:), Johann Gottfried **Teske** (1704-1772; Physics), Johann Gotthelf **Lindner** (1729-1776; Poetry, beginning summer semester 1765), Jakob Friedrich **Werner** (1732-1782; full, Rhetoric/History); Johann Bernhard **Hahn, Jr.** (1725-1794; associate, Rhetoric/History), Friedrich Samuel **Bock** (1716-1785; Greek), Georg David **Kypke** (1724-1779; Oriental Languages).

Privatdozenten: Daniel **Weymann** (1732-1795), Immanuel **Kant** (1724-1804), Carl Daniel **Reusch** (1735-1806), Johann Gotthelf **Lindner** (1729-1776) (through winter semester 1764-65).

Theology: Johann Jakob **Quandt** (1686-1772) (1st-1733), Christoph **Langhansen** (1691-1770) (2nd-1732), Daniel Heinrich **Arnoldt** (1706-1775) (3rd-1763/2nd-1765), Theodor Christoph **Lilienthal** (1717-1781) (7th-1751/4th-1763/3rd-1765), Friedrich Samuel **Bock** (1716-1785) (6th-1759/5th-1765), Johann Heinrich Daniel **Moldenhauer** (1709-1790) (6th-1764).

²³ [325] Eulenburg (1904, 164-65).

²⁴ [catalog] The catalogs from 1720 to 1804 are collected in Oberhausen/Pozzo (1999).

Kowalewski). Each entry gave the professor's name, title, the various courses offered and whether they were public or private, usually with an hour indicated and sometimes with an author or title of the textbook used, although textbook information was often missing from the entries during these years. The (always private) lectures of the *Privatdozenten* (and thus, of Kant) were not included in the official catalogs until the winter semester 1770-71, but the lecturers could also announce their offerings on the same university bulletin board.

We have a good idea of the textbooks that Kant used (from his own testimony and that of others as well as the clues in the lecture notes themselves); we know less about the other professors, although the lecture catalogs offer some guidance. The relevant courses here are metaphysics, logic, moral philosophy, physics, and mathematics. Buck was the professor of metaphysics and logic and for these lectures he used Crusius (1745) and Knutzen (1747), respectively; Kant used Baumgarten (1757) and Meier (1752); and Christiani used Baumeister (1738 and 1735).²⁵ Christiani, the professor of practical philosophy, used Thümmig (1736) for his lectures on moral philosophy; Kant used two textbooks by Baumgarten (1751, 1760); and Buck used Crusius (1744).²⁶ Teske, the professor of physics, gave lectures on theoretical physics using Wolff (1746), as did Buck; Kant was alone in lecturing from Eberhard (1753) during Herder's student years.²⁷ In mathematics, everyone appears to have used Wolff (1749), including Langhansen, the professor of mathematics; Herder's mathematics notes also show evidence of Kästner (1758).

Apart from hearing all of Kant's lectures, Herder is claimed to have heard dogmatics with T. C. **Lilienthal**, church history with D. H. **Arnoldt**, philology with G. D. **Kypke**, physics with J. G. **Teske**,²⁸ mathematics and physics with F. J. **Buck**, and possibly also New Testament with C. **Langhansen** and F. S. **Bock**.²⁹

Some of this information comes from Herder himself, although here he might be the least reliable of our sources. In a letter from early 1768, Herder offered a brief account of his university coursework: "philosophy according to its parts with Magister Kant, philology with Professor Kypke, theology in its various fields with

²⁵ [1735] Buck's use of the Crusius logic is first noted in 1762 and his use of Knutzen's metaphysics in 1766 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 267, 281). Kant may have begun lecturing on metaphysics from Baumeister in 1755 – and he announced his intention to use Baumeister in 1757 and 1758 (AA 2: 10, 25) – but he used Baumgarten in 1756 and exclusively by the end of the 1750's. His use of Meier's logic textbook is widely attested by contemporary accounts, his early lecture announcements, and entries in the lecture catalogs. The first mention of Christiani's use of Baumeister's metaphysics and logic textbooks is 1766-67 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 284).

²⁶ [1744] On Christiani: Thümmig is first mentioned for 1766 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 280). Kant's use of Baumgarten is indicated in his lecture announcement for 1759 (AA 2: 35) and is also plain from Herder's notes. Buck's use of Crusius is mentioned first in 1767-68 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 290).

²⁷ [student years] Teske's textbooks are first noted for 1766: Wolff for theoretical physics, and Wolff and Nollet for experimental physics; he switched to Eberhard for theoretical physics in 1768 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 279, 293). Buck's textbooks are noted for 1766 and 1766-67 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 281, 284).

²⁸ [Teske] In a discussion of K. G. Bock, Ludwig Seligo wrote: "Apart from Kant's lectures, Bock also attended Prof. Teske's physics lectures with Herder" (Herder 1846, 1.1: 127). Teske had been professor of physics since 1728, and there is good reason to think that Kant had attended his classes as well. He taught both experimental and theoretical physics and was the first in Königsberg to study electricity.

²⁹ [Lilienthal ... Bock] From Caroline Herder's biography of her husband (1830, 56), who adds: "**Lilienthal** und **Kant** den ersten Rang bei ihm hatten."

Doctor Lilienthal and Arnold [*sic*],”³⁰ but he prefaced his brief report with a warning of his forgetfulness and at least one of his claims is demonstrably wrong, viz., that he began at the university in 1760. About thirty-five years later, Herder spoke of his student days with Karl August Böttiger, who then recounted it in his journal entry of 2 December 1798:

“In Königsberg there was at that time such a deplorable dryness and barbarity among the teachers. Langhansen,³¹ the *Oberhofprediger*, was the most boring wind-bag and polemicist, and wholly unpalatable to Herder. A certain Bock³² was Professor of ancient languages, a pitiful fellow, who analyzed the New Testament and at which Herder could last only an hour. Otherwise, this Bock is a known author in several fields. Kypke³³ was also a professor of theology then, but lived far out in the suburbs where he sold [125] and onions from his garden and gave quite unpalatable lectures on Genesis. A certain Buck³⁴ lectured on mathematics, but always only according to Wolff's *Anfangsgründen*, and never more than that, although Herder nevertheless attended with great diligence, likewise with his physics, that he delivered quite clumsily. In part the professors had to give such school-level lectures because the students were wholly unprepared. The *Albertinum* was there for the Poles, where the most deplorable hazing reigned, with the young fellows waiting on the older ones. And from this was the university populated. Kant shone from the lectern, a god to all. The Livland and Courland students attended only his lectures, since they pursued only fashionable studies. But he spoke a lot of confusing things as well. Herder could make use of his lectures only by noting the main points in the classroom, and then setting out and re-working what he had heard in his own way once back home.” (Böttiger 1998, 124-25)

Around the time this reminiscence was recorded, Herder wrote the following encomium to Kant:

“I had the good fortune to know a philosopher who was also my teacher. He was in his best years, and possessed the cheerful vivacity of youth which, I believe, has accompanied him even into old age. His open, thoughtful brow was the seat of undisturbed cheerfulness and joy; language rich in thought flowed from his lips; jokes, wit, and good humor were at his command; and his instructive lectures were the most entertaining conversation. In the same spirit with which he investigated *Leibniz*, *Wolf*, *Baumgarten*, *Crusius*, and *Hume*, and traced the laws of *Kepler*, *Newton*, and the *physicists* generally, he also examined the writings of Rousseau then appearing, namely his *Emile* and his *Heloise*. He appreciated every physical discovery that came to his notice and always returned to an impartial *knowledge of nature* and *the moral worth of people*. The well-spring of his lectures was the history of people, of nations, and of nature, as well as natural science, mathematics, and his own experience. To nothing worth knowing was he indifferent. No cabal, no sect, no prejudice, no ambition for fame, had the least influence over him compared with the development and clarification of the truth. He encouraged and pleasantly compelled his hearers to *think for themselves*; despotism was foreign to his mind. This man, whom I [425] mention with the greatest thankfulness and esteem, is *Immanuel Kant*; his picture stands pleasantly before me.” (*Letters on the Advancement of Humanity*, #79;³⁵ Suphan 1877-1913, 17: 404; *FHA* 7: 424-25)

We also find recollections in Herder's travel journal from 1769, along with plans for a school modeled after Rousseau: Herder's future school would involve not mere speculation, but rather “the result of all the empirical sciences, without which it would admittedly be just idle speculation.” It would include psychology (“a rich physics of the soul”), cosmology (“the crown of Newtonian physics”), theology (“the crown of cosmology”), and finally ontology (“the most cultivated science of them all”):

“I readily admit that we do not yet have a philosophy following this method, such that would really teach students, nor especially ontology – that most excellent teacher of great prospects has become a mere web of jargon! Oh, what

³⁰ [Arnold] Letter to Immanuel Justus von Essen (Jan-Feb 1768; *Herder Briefe*, 1: 95).

³¹ [Langhansen] Christoph Langhansen was the professor of mathematics as well as of theology.

³² [Bock] Friedrich Samuel Bock was the full professor of Greek as well as of theology.

³³ [Kypke] Georg David Kypke was the full professor of oriental languages. While he lectured on the Old Testament, he never held a professorship in theology. He did, however, sell vegetables from his garden.

³⁴ [Buck] Friedrich Johann Buck was the professor of logic and metaphysics when Herder was a student.

³⁵ [#79] An earlier draft of this text is available at Suphan (1877-1913, 18: 324-27).

might be accomplished with a metaphysics in this spirit, to expand its prospects from one concept to another in the spirit of Bacon, what would that be for a work! And a lively instruction in the spirit of Kant, what for heavenly hours!" (*Journal of my Travels in the Year 1769* [FHA, 9.2: 49])

Anecdotes from two of Herder's classmates – Karl Gottlieb Bock and Jakob Friedrich Wilpert – are also available. Bock (1746-1829) matriculated at Königsberg a month after Herder (27 September 1762) and forty-three years later offered these memories of their student days together:

"Kant offered to let him hear, free of charge, all his lectures on logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, mathematics, and physical geography. It was here, in the years 1763 and 1764, that I made his acquaintance. We heard Kant's lectures together which he wrote to me about in a letter of August 11, 1788, on his way to Italy from Nuremberg: 'I still see you, real as life, sitting at the table at which I also sat. Where has the time gone?'

With strained attentiveness he took in every idea, every word of the great philosopher, and at home ordered his thoughts and expression. He often shared these notes with me, and we would discuss them in an isolated summer house in a seldom-visited public garden by the Alt-Roßgarten church." (Herder 1846, 1.1: 133-34; Herder's letter to Bock is printed in *Herder Briefe*, 6: 20-22)

Bock goes on to recall an especially lively lecture where Kant was quoting "from his favorite poets, Pope and Haller"³⁶ to illuminate certain points on the nature of time and eternity. Herder was so moved by this that he returned to his room, set Kant's lecture to verse, and handed it to Kant the following morning before the lecture began. Kant was so impressed by Herder's poem that he read it aloud to the class "with fiery praise." The poem is lost, but if Bock is correct that it "sprang out of Kant's lecture on time and space like Minerva from Jupiter's head,"³⁷ then Herder presumably found poetic inspiration sitting in Kant's metaphysics lectures – which is at odds with an observation made by Herder's widow, Caroline:

"He most preferred hearing Kant talk about astronomy, physical geography, and in general about the great laws of nature: here his presentation was splendid. For his metaphysics lectures he had much less taste – even though he felt he understood these better than his later ideas, and even though Kant at that time presented his material in all his youthful rhetoric and in [69] a much clearer language than the later scholastic jargon. After many of these metaphysical lectures he would hurry outside with some poet or Rousseau, or some such author, so as to free himself of the impressions that agreed so little with his mind."³⁸

Jakob Friedrich Wilpert (1741-1812), later a mayor of Riga, recalled attending with Herder ...

³⁶ [Pope and Haller] See Stark (2014, 13-17).

³⁷ [like Minerva from Jupiter's head] The phrase is from Bock's letter to Herder, dated 9 April 1788, and now lost; the relevant passage is quoted in Herder (1846, 136n). See also Emil Herder's gloss on Bock's story (1846, 135-36) and Herder's letter to Scheffner of 31 October 1767 (*Herder Briefe*, 1: 94) indicating that Herder no longer has the poem, and that he regards it as "a belch from a stomach overloaded with Rousseau's writings." See also Dobbek (1961, 220n166) and Haym (1877, 1: 33).

³⁸ [impressions ... with his mind] Caroline Herder (1830, 68-69). The passage continues:

"Herder gave oral and written testimony of the greatest respect for Kant himself, where he really did instruct, lift, and satisfy his soul; but he never hid his own way of thinking and feeling; he never wanted to nor could he be his blind pupil and imitator. Kant's fortunate gift of graceful yet perceptive speech never fully satisfied Herder and a *sympathy* between these two minds never happened. Much more intimate and of a wholly different sort was Herder's relation with his friend Johann Georg Hamann."

Caroline Herder's remarks may well refer more to conversations with Kant than to his lectures. For instance, astronomy and "the great laws of nature" are topics not in his lectures so much as in his writings – the *Theory of the Heavens* (1755) and a section of *The Only Possible Argument* (1763) in which he sketches out the general argument of the 1755 book.

“... Kant's lectures on metaphysics, moral philosophy, and physical geography. We sat at a table; at that time he was shy and quiet, his gait was stooped and quick, his eyes often sick-looking; from his appearances, one could see that he was poor; but his spirit was rich, even then – and when he discussed the lectures of his teachers, it was so thorough and firm, that he commanded respect and affection from his colleagues. We all heard dogmatics together from Dr. Lilienthal;³⁹ otherwise I did not have any closer relations with him.” (Herder 1846, 1.1: 137)

Near the end of his life, in the latter years of a bitter falling out with Kant, Herder offers one last glimpse of his student days in the preface to his *Kalligone* (1800):

“For more than thirty years I have known a youth [viz., Herder himself] who heard all of the lectures, [652] some more than once, of the *founder of the critical philosophy* himself – and indeed in his early, flourishing years. The youth marveled over the teacher's dialectical wit, his political as well as scientific acumen, his eloquence, his intelligent memory; he was never at a loss for words; his lectures were meaningful conversations with himself. But the youth soon noticed that, when he set aside the gracefulness of the presentation, he would become wrapped in one of its dialectical webs of words within which he himself was no longer able to think. He therefore set himself the strict task, after each hour of careful listening, of changing it all into his own words, making no use of pet words or phrases of his teacher, and even diligently avoiding this.” (FHA, 8: 651-52)

Provenance of the Notes

A list of the manuscripts transcribed in this volume – 336 pages spread across some 30 manuscripts, depending on how they are collected – is provided as an appendix to this introduction. Their journey from Herder's hand to us is convoluted and with many pages lost along the way.

Herder's widow Caroline, born **Maria Caroline Flachsland** (1750-1809), died just six years after her husband, and many of those six years were spent putting his papers in order. She had always been intimately engaged with her husband's writings and now she wrote his biography and carried out the first collecting and arranging of the *Nachlaß* (two volumes, published posthumously in 1820) along with a first edition of a “collected works” with the Müller brothers – **Johannes von Müller** (1752-1809) and **Johann Georg Müller** (1759-1819) – culminating in a 45-volume edition (Tübingen 1805-20) followed by a 60-volume edition (Stuttgart 1827-30). Some of Herder's student notes were likely sorted through at this time. Herder's sixth child, **Emil Ernst Gottfried Herder** (1783-1855), also worked with the *Nachlaß* in editing the six volume *Lebensbild* (1846) and apparently tore pages from Herder's notebooks while working through this material (Irmscher 1960, 1-2).

Bernard Suphan (1845-1911) undertook a new 33-volume edition of Herder's *Sämmtliche Werke* (Berlin 1877-1913), and while his focus was on the published writings, he also clearly worked through the *Nachlaß*.⁴⁰ The notes were all collected into fascicles or folders with Arabic numerals and the fascicles were then grouped into

³⁹ [Lilienthal] Theodor Christoph Lilienthal was a professor of theology (since 1751), the head librarian of the city library (since 1750), and pastor at the Neuroßgarten church (since 1746). His father Michael Lilienthal had married Kant's parents in 1715. Herder elsewhere notes that he studied “theology in its various fields with Doctor Lilienthal and Arnold” (*Herder Briefe*, 1: 95). Lilienthal lectured on Christian history every semester that Herder was a student except for 1764-65, when he lectured instead on hermeneutics; he also lectured on dogmatics in 1763.

⁴⁰ [the *Nachlaß*] Suphan nonetheless appears to have been unaware of, or uninterested in, Herder's notes from Kant's lectures. His early essay on “Herder as Kant's Student” (1873) would have been an obvious forum for discussing these notes, but instead he only superficially mentions Herder attending Kant's lectures at all and provides no first-hand account of these notes or their content. In Haym's Herder biography (1877, 1880, 1885) we find a first and only mention of a set of notes from the physical geography lectures (1877, 1: 33). Only beginning with Paul Lehmann (1888) and then Menzer (1911) – see below – is there any direct inquiry into and use of the notes.

boxes (*Kapseln*) with Roman numerals – there are 45 boxes altogether in the *Nachlaß Herder* at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz* [SBPK]. Suphan was likely responsible for this initial ordering (catalogued by Irmischer and Adler in 1979) and was certainly instrumental in arranging the previous purchase of a large part of the Herder *Nachlaß* in 1870 (Irmischer 1960, 2). All the loose sheets included in the present transcription (see the list appended to this introduction) are found in *Nachlaß Herder* XXV, folders 37-46 (manuscripts with an ‘a’ appended to the catalog number were discovered later in the Stabi-Ost (SBPK – *Unter den Linden*) and added to the catalog: 37a, 41a, 44a, 46a), along with a few notes found in notebooks (viz., XX.188 and XXVI.5) and notes from the *Nachlaß Kant* and a set of copies in the *Nachlaß Adickes*, both in the *Akademie-Archiv* (Berlin).

Rudolph Haym (1821-1901), in preparing his two-volume biography of Herder (published 1877 [first half of vol. 1], 1880, and 1885), learned of Herder's lecture notes in the *Nachlaß* and understood them to come from Kant's lectures; Haym mentions Herder attending Teske's physics lectures and Buck's mathematics lectures and how these paled in comparison to Kant's lectures (1877, 1: 30).⁴¹ Haym – like Suphan earlier (1873, 228) – was also aware that Herder first attended Kant's lectures on 21 August 1762 – so he must have been familiar with the *Brown Notebook* (Herder-NL XXVI.5) where Herder notes this, reporting that this notebook includes notes from that day's lecture (1877, 1: 30). Haym also mentions seeing a *Heft* of Herder's notes from Kant's physical geography lectures, and that Herder clearly had these lectures in mind while reminiscing in one of his Weimar “school addresses”⁴² about being drawn beyond the borders of his place of birth out into God's wide world “in which our earth floats” (1877, 1: 33).

F. W. Paul Lehmann (1850-1930), a geographer and professor at a Berlin Gymnasium, provided a closer description of the physical geography notes:

⁴¹ [Kant's lectures] Haym cited Böttiger as well as additional testimonials from Herder of Kant's importance – his letter to Eichhorn, poetic references, and so on (1877, 1: 31-32).

⁴² [Weimar school addresses] Haym claimed that he “could find only one complete notebook from Herder's student days, neatly written and preserved among his papers – a notebook from Kant's physical geography lectures.” The Herder quote in Haym comes from his 1784 address “Von der Annehmlichkeit, Nützlichkeit und Nothwendigkeit der Geographie” (Suphan 1889, 30: 96-103). Herder alludes in this address to attending geography lectures at the university (with Kant) and now offering the same to his pupils:

“This science is none other than geography: a study which, to my mind, is as dry as if I were to call the Ilm or the great ocean dry, since I know few sciences so rich in useful and pleasant knowledge [...] Allow me, then, to sketch a small picture of the subject and the method by which I learned it myself, in the best years of my life with the utmost pleasure, and have taught it to others with just as much pleasure. I speak from experience and the matter will speak for itself.” (Suphan 1889, 30: 97)

We thank Orlik Santozki for bringing this passage to our attention.

“Among Herder’s papers are lecture notes on physical geography that Prof. Suphan, the well-known editor of Herder’s works, allowed me to see. Written in pencil and ink, this is a sketch of many individual lectures – not always easy to read and sometimes difficult to interpret due to the many symbols used for the most frequently recurring words, but which often corresponds verbatim and in arrangement with some sections of Rink’s second volume. Herder worked out the first part quite carefully, which contains the actual physical geography. It was not difficult to organize the notes, written on quarto sheets and which faithfully follow the outline found in other notes that we also have of these lectures.” (1886, 129)

Paul Menzer (1873-1960) discovered three large groups of Herder’s manuscripts around 1900 while still a *Privatdozent* in Berlin working with Dilthey and identified them as notes from Kant’s lectures on metaphysics, moral philosophy, and physical geography (see Dilthey’s 1900 report on the *Kant-Ausgabe* to the Berlin Academy of Sciences) and with the help of two others prepared a handwritten ink copy of most (but not all) of the notes on metaphysics and physical geography, as well as a single page of logic notes – 231 sheets in all. This copy was prepared, in part, as source material for Menzer’s book, *Kants Lehre von der Entwicklung in Natur und Geschichte* (1911), in which he included passages from the metaphysics and physical geography notes. In the short preface to that book he mentioned that many of these manuscripts had been unknown until then:

“For the reconstruction of Kant’s developmental teachings and worldview during the pre-critical period, I was able to make use of Herder’s manuscripts from the years 1762 to 1764, some of which were already known, but most were first discovered by me.” (Menzer 1911, preface)

Menzer’s copy of the notes would be irrelevant if we still possessed all the original manuscripts, but many of the original 4° physical geography notes were lost during their removal and storage in the last months of World War II. All of Menzer’s copy is extant (deposited as *Nachlaß-Adickes* #4 in the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*

archive) as well as the originals for the copied notes on metaphysics, logic,⁴³ and the octavo (8°) physical geography notes – so none of these pages of Menzer’s copy have been transcribed here. There are 72 pages of the copy from the 4° physical geography notes, however, that include text for which we lack the

Intro	157rv, 158r* (3 pp.)	–	–
Oceans	158r*-166r (17 pp.)	–	XXV.44a-1 (3 pp.)
Land	167r-178v (24 pp.)	–	–
Earth-quakes	185r*-186r (3 pp.)	NL-Kant #15a (4 pp.); 179r-185r*	–
Springs	186v-191v (11 pp.)	XXV.44a-2 (4 pp.); 191v*-197v*	–
Rivers	199r-202r*, 202r*-203v (11 pp.)	XXV.44a-2 (1 p.); NL-Kant #15a (2 pp.); 197v*-199r*, 203v*-205v	–
Winds	206r-207v* (4 pp.)	NL-Kant #15a (4 pp.); XXV.44a-3 (3 pp.); 207v*-217r	–
		Menzer copy available	
		Original available	

Table 2: Physical Geography (4° notes)

⁴³ [metaphysics and logic] Stark (1993, 138n4). The sheets are numbered in pencil (and so we refer to the pages as ‘1r’, ‘1v’, ‘2r’, and so on), and have occasional corrections or brief additions by Erich Adickes. Many of the copied metaphysics notes have a wide left margin that is occasionally filled with relevant passages in red pencil copied from Baumgarten’s *Metaphysica*. The metaphysics notes are copied on 1r-154r (154v is blank), with a single sheet of logic notes tucked into the middle (125rv). The actual manuscripts copied by Menzer on **logic** is NL-Herder XXV.37 (this is a four-page signature; Menzer copied only the first page), and on **metaphysics** are NL-Kant #19, NL-Herder XXV.41, XXV.41a, XXV.46a (2-11, 13 – so everything except signatures 1, 12, and 14).

original.⁴⁴ As a consequence, the 4° notes on physical geography are a patchwork of original and copy, as can be seen in Table 2.

Lengthy excerpts from the metaphysics and physical geography notes were published in Menzer (1911) – see Table 3 – and with these passages Menzer clearly returned to the original manuscripts to improve the transcription (the initial copy is much rougher than the published selections). This and a review of Menzer's copy against extant originals indicate that the sections of the physical geography transcribing the Menzer copy are more likely to include deviations from the original text.

It was around this time that Menzer also assumed the general editorship of the fourth division of the Academy edition of *Kant's gesammelte Schriften*, which is devoted to student notes from Kant's lectures. This was in 1909 following the death of the previous general editor, Max Heinze, and not long after this Menzer prepared a list of all the known student notes. Herder's notes on physical geography, metaphysics, and moral philosophy appear on the list, but not those on logic, physics, or mathematics.

Erich Adickes (1866-1928), a philosophy professor at the university in Tübingen since 1904 and editor of Kant's *Nachlaß* for the Academy edition (vols. 14-19, this last volume finished by his assistant, Friedrich Berger), was soon making use of these notes in his *Untersuchungen zu Kant's physischer Geographie* (1911) and *Kants Ansichten über Geschichte und Bau der Erde* (1911), as well as in his two-volume *Kant als Naturforscher* (1924-25), and he and Menzer (in Halle) were routinely mailing back and forth sheets of both original and copied notes.⁴⁵

Hans Dietrich Irmscher (1929-2009), a Germanist at Cologne working with the Bonn philosophy professor **Gottfried Martin** (1901-1972), published a transcription of all of Herder's lecture notes available to him in *Immanuel Kant. Aus den Vorlesungen der Jahre 1762 bis 1764* (1964); this included all the notes deposited in Tübingen in the aftermath of World War II, save for six sheets on physical geography that Irmscher claimed were not worth publishing given the availability of the *Holstein-Beck* text that stemmed from about the same time and that was closer to Kant (1964, 12). None of the original notes or copies that Menzer had used in his 1911

Menzer 1911	Irmscher 1964	Lehmann 1970	Manuscript
75-76	--	--	History(8°)-9-10
79	--	--	Introduction(4°)-1
101-2	78	28: 899 ₃₁ -900 ₁₅	RP/NT 763 (A15-A16)
107-8	74	28: 891 ₂₆₋₃₉	RP/NT 763 (A7)
109-10	--	--	Humans(8°)-3
110-11	79	28: 900 ₂₀ -901 ₁₃	RP/NT 763 (A16-B1)
125-28	--	--	Humans(8°)-7
128	--	--	Humans(8°)-8
129-33	74-77	28: 891 ₃₈ -895 ₂₃	RP/NT 763 (A7-A11)
138-39	67-68	28: 884 ₃₁ -885 ₂₈	EP 682 (B3-B4)
149	51	28: 911 ₁₋₄	RP/NT 763 (C5b)
320-23	--	28: 907 ₁ -911 ₁	RP/NT 763 (C6-C8/C5b)

Table 3: Menzer (1911) Fragments

⁴⁴ [original] The copy of all the **physical geography** notes is found on 157r-231r (with 210v-217r written in a nearly calligraphic script using purple ink). Menzer copied many of the 8° notes and *all* the 4° notes that are still extant, except for NL-Herder XXV.44a (1) – an 8 pp. signature that includes 3 pp. of physical geography notes, although these might stem from Herder's own lectures in Riga (they are transcribed here as Oceans(4°), pp. 18-20).

⁴⁵ [copied notes] This began quite early, as seen in Adickes' letter to Menzer of 20 March 1902 (transcribed at AA 24: 1101).

publication were available to Irmischer, who assumed they had perished (1964, 9-10), and he re-printed all but one of the passages from the metaphysics notes that Menzer published.⁴⁶ Irmischer (1960, 12) also provided a summary list of all of Herder's notes from Kant's lectures that he could find: logic (2 sheets), metaphysics (2, 1, and 1 sheet), moral philosophy (4, 15, and 14 sheets), physical geography (6 sheets), and mathematics (8 sheets).

Most recently, **Gerhard Lehmann** (1900-1987), as editor of the fourth division volumes of the Academy edition following Menzer's death, published all the extant Herder lecture notes known to him on **Logic** (1966; AA 24: 3-6, 1099-1102), **Moral Philosophy** (1974; AA 27: 3-89), and **Metaphysics** (1968; AA 28: 5-166). A substantial portion of the metaphysics notes was drawn from the Menzer copy,⁴⁷ since the original manuscripts were missing, but when those manuscripts were later found Lehmann published a new transcription (1970; AA 28: 843-931), followed by notes on **Mathematics** (1980; AA 29: 49-66) and **Physics** (1980; 69-71). This resulted in a sizeable set of the metaphysics notes being transcribed twice in the Academy edition, once by Menzer (in the 1968 partial volume) and once by Lehmann (in the 1970 partial volume). Lehmann retired before publishing the notes on **Physical Geography**, although he had prepared a transcription.⁴⁸

Material Aspects of the Notes

Kant lectured for 82 semesters and from those semesters about 150 sets of student lecture notes have been cataloged, with over 100 of these still extant, although many only as fragments. Many of the extant notes (all handwritten, of course) were nicely bound by their original owners, often with calligraphically written title pages. The **Mrongovius** set of notes on metaphysics, for instance, has a title page that reads: "Metaphysic / vorgetragen / vom / Prof. Imanuel Kant. / nachgeschrieben / von / C. C. Mrongovius. / 1783 d. 4. Febr."

⁴⁶ [Menzer published] The one passage in Menzer from the metaphysics notes that Irmischer did not include was the long passage on Natural Theology printed at Menzer (1911, 320-23) from the **RP/NT 763** (C6-C8/C5b) manuscript. The passage printed in Lehmann 1968 (AA 28: 122-26) is a transcription from Menzer's handwritten copy and not Menzer (1911); the same passage printed in Lehmann 1970 (AA 28: 907-11) is a transcription from the original. (Another brief passage in Menzer (1911, 149) is reprinted in Irmischer's introductory material (1964, 51) – this is the brief outline of metaphysics as (1) anthropology, (2) physics, (3) ontology, and (4) theology found at **RP/NT 763** (C5b).

⁴⁷ [Menzer copy] The Menzer copy of Herder's notes consisted of 231 sheets (as described above), of which 151 sheets are copies of the notes on metaphysics: **Ont/Cos** (sheets 1r-62r), **EP 531** (63r-98v), **EP 593** (99r-101r), **RP/NT 763** (103r-121v [C-E signatures], 140r-154r [A signature]), **NT 844** (121v-124v), and **EP 682** (126r-138r).

Lehmann published transcriptions of Menzer's copy in the 1968 partial volume, except for **Ont/Cos** and the A-signature of **NT 844**, for which he already had the original manuscripts. The Menzer text is reprinted in the Academy edition as follows: **EP 531** (28: 59₁-85₃₅), **EP 593** (28: 86₃-88₃₁), **EP 682** (28: 88₃₄-101₂), **RP/NT 763** (28: 101₃₁-137₂₉), and **NT 844**, signature B (28: 138₃₀-140₂₁).

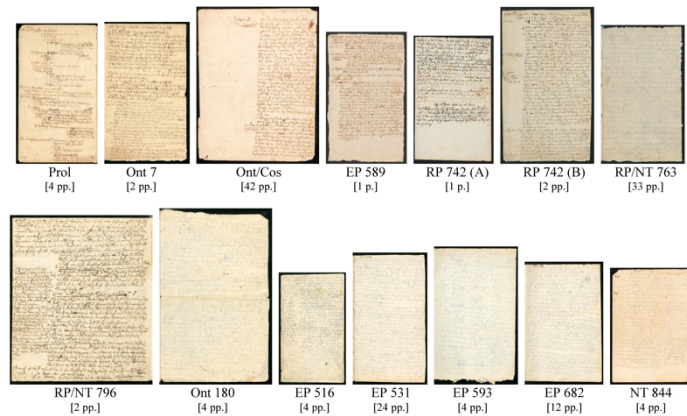
Menzer's copy of the **Ont/Cos** notes are written on the right-hand side of the page, with the left side blank for additions or corrections, or the corresponding paragraphs from Baumgarten. Menzer fills out abbreviations and adds punctuation to the Herder notes and does not preserve all the underlining. There are occasional corrections to the copy, but it is difficult to say if these were made during the copying process or were the result of a second reading.

We have compared this copy with the current transcription and have occasionally noted Menzer's readings or made use of them in those cases where the original notes are difficult to decipher and Menzer's suggestions were helpful. The Menzer copy is not entirely reliable, however, as he occasionally drops a line or omits or misreads a word or ending.

⁴⁸ [transcription] A fuller discussion of the history of these Herder manuscripts is available in Stark (2010).

None of the Herder notes look like this.⁴⁹ They are not nicely bound together with Kant's name on a title page, nor do they bear any dates as to their time of composition or when the lectures were heard. Instead they come to us as loose signatures or single sheets, in varying formats, mostly in ink, many in pencil, and some nearly illegible from physical wear or hurried writing – and almost none with a note at the top of the page stating that they come from Kant's lectures.

The one exception to this shadowy provenance comes from Herder's very first day attending Kant's lectures, where Herder wrote in his notebook: "bey Kant. 1sten mal. d. 21 Aug" followed by two pages of notes from Kant's metaphysics lectures concerning Baumgarten, §§796-808. All the other notes involve some degree of conjecture, and the provenance of a few of the notes – specifically, the physics and the mathematics notes – are



The first page of each of the fourteen signatures of metaphysics notes

rightly questioned: We are certain they are Herder's, but less certain they come from Kant's lectures.⁵⁰ It is important to keep in mind that other professors at Königsberg were also lecturing on these same subjects.

Herder's notes are the earliest⁵¹ student notes that we possess from Kant's lectures. We have no evidence of previous notes and no indication in the Herder notes that he was drawing from someone else's notes. So unlike many of the other sets of notes from Kant's lectures, we are not troubled by the possibility of multiple sources (and thus, multiple source lectures) for the notes.

Herder is thought to have attended all of Kant's lectures, but Kant was not lecturing on everything he ever taught during those two years when Herder was a student. Kant did not begin offering his popular lectures on anthropology until winter 1772-73, and he first lectured on natural law during summer 1767, philosophical encyclopedia the semester after that (winter 1767-68), and natural theology and pedagogy (each of which Kant taught only four times in the 70's and 80's) were first given during summer 1774 and winter 1776-77,

⁴⁹ [None ... look like this] The question of provenance becomes more important with Herder's notes than with those from other students, although the latter often bring their own questions, the most basic being: Who is the actual author or authors? and When was the actual source lecture? With Herder's notes, both of these issues are well-established (the author identity is straight-forward and the source lectures, if nothing else, are firmly pegged to a range of six semesters during the early 1760s).

⁵⁰ [Kant's lectures] Irmischer makes a similar observation about the uncertain nature of Herder's papers – "Whether these manuscripts actually are notes from Kant's lectures is assured by Herder only in his first hour attending Kant's class" – but Irmischer also believes that most of the fragments are "at least probably" from Kant's lectures, given the agreement of the content with Kant's published views and the manuscripts' lecture-note character, singling out only the mathematics notes as possibly stemming instead from Buck's lectures (1964, 12).

⁵¹ [earliest] The *Holstein-Beck* text on physical geography stems from 1757-59, and so is earlier than the *Herder* notes, but it is a text prepared by Kant himself and given to Holstein-Beck, rather than notes taken down in the classroom by a student.

respectively. The notes we do have from Herder come from Kant's lectures on metaphysics, moral philosophy, physical geography, and logic, and *probably* notes on mathematics and theoretical physics. These sets of notes are discussed more fully in their own sections, below.

Of these texts, the metaphysics notes are the longest, and the 4° notes on physical geography are the most polished. The logic notes are scant (about ten pages) with the notes on physics and mathematics a bit longer (each with about fifteen pages).

The tabular summary of the manuscript page counts provided here includes a column labeled "copy" – these are the pages of hand-copied notes prepared of Herder's physical geography notes around 1900 and for which the originals are missing. The copied notes are written in a much larger hand, resulting in about three pages of copy for every page of original. The copies are *not* included in the total manuscript page count; including them, assuming they represent about 24 manuscript pages, would result in a new total of 360 manuscript pages.

	Total	4°	8°	(copy)
MP	138	48	90	-
MO	63	27	36	-
PG	98	21	77	(72)
LO	9	1	8	-
PH	14	-	14	-
MA	14	14	-	-
Totals	336	111	225	(72)

Table 4: Manuscript Page Count

Order and Format of the Notes

Numbering. All the manuscripts have been numbered by an archivist in pencil, either by page or by sheet, and these numbers usually but not always follow the proper ordering of the content. When *sheets* are numbered, we follow the convention of designating the pages 'r' (= *recto*/front) and 'v' (= *verso*/back), with the archivist's number appearing on the *recto* side. Usually a manuscript catalog number is also written in pencil on the first page of each manuscript, and we have sub-divided some of these longer manuscripts (based on content or paper format) into groups of one or more signatures. On the website transcription, this catalog number of the manuscript, along with any additional group number or letter assigned by the editors, and the archivist-assigned page or sheet number, is given with each transcribed manuscript page, along with a digital image of the page transcribed.

Signatures. A signature (German: *Lage*) is the basic manuscript unit as discussed here and on the website. A signature may consist of a single unfolded sheet of paper (thus with two pages available for text); or a sheet that has been folded once, resulting in two sheets or four pages of text; or any number of folded sheets that have been nested together and arranged so as to be read as a booklet. A few of the signatures in the Herder *Nachlaß* were sewn together (remains of the threads can still be seen with some of them and the holes in the fold are visible in other multi-sheet signatures).

Paper and Format. These notes are written on both quarto (4°) and octavo (8°) format sheets. A quarto (4°) sheet is where the original printer's sheet (as it comes from the paper mill) is folded twice, resulting in four sheets (or eight pages of text). The size of printer's sheets varied from mill to mill, but in this collection are

approximately 31 x 42 centimeters, resulting in quarto (4°) sheets of 15.5 x 21 centimeters. Octavo (8°) sheets are folded a third time, resulting in eight sheets (or sixteen pages) of 10.5 x 15.5 centimeters.

Of the 336 manuscript pages transcribed here, 225 are on 8° sheets and 111 are on 4° sheets. In addition to these, 72 pages are copies prepared by later scholars, where the original manuscript has since been lost.

Because the 4° pages are roughly twice as large as the 8°, one might think that they would contain roughly twice as much text, but because of the wide margin found with most of the 4° notes and the less frequent use of abbreviations, the amount of text per page is roughly comparable to that of the 8° pages (about 350-400 words per page).

Writing the Notes

Ink vs Pencil. All but four of the 111 quarto pages are in ink. Of the 225 octavo pages, 155 are in ink and 70 in pencil. A few signatures are mixed, written with both pencil and ink: RP/NT 763 of the metaphysics notes and the Asia(8°) notes from physical geography.

One might expect notes written in pencil to stem directly from the classroom, with notes in ink to have been written at home as clean copies, and this is certainly true of Ont 180-239 (pencil) and Ont/Cos 1-450 (ink); the latter also has wide margins, fewer abbreviations, and ornate headings – all marks of notes prepared at home from an earlier draft. But there are many 8° notes written in ink that are otherwise just like those written in pencil: hastily written, heavily abbreviated, and without margins.

Handwriting. Herder's notes typically involve a great many abbreviations. The 8° notes have very few sentences free of at least some abbreviations, while many of the sentences in the 4° notes are fully written out. Herder also employs two separate forms of handwriting: a Latin script used for Latin words (and often for proper names), and the default German *Kurrentschrift*. It is not uncommon to find these handwritings combined in a single word, for instance, with a Latin-stem written in Latin script and the German-ending written in *Kurrent*. Similarly, it is not uncommon to find the same word written in either script. We have attempted to retain this distinction, displaying the Latin script in a sans-serif font (both in print and on the website).

Abbreviations and Symbols. Herder used many standard abbreviations – for instance, omitting an ‘-er’ at the end of a word or syllable (normally marked by a short horizontal stroke through the upper- or lower-flag of a preceding consonant, such as the ‘b’ in ‘aber’, the ‘g’ in ‘weniger’, or the ‘z’ in ‘unzergliederlich’), ‘-ie-’, ‘-en’, the ‘-eit’ of ‘-heit’ and ‘-keit’, the ‘-ich’ of ‘-lich’ and all of ‘-ung’. A horizontal stroke over an ‘m’ or ‘n’ indicates a doubling of the letter. The mark for ‘und’ is a ‘u’ (usually followed with a period) with a sweeping upward loop for the circle that is usually placed over a ‘u’ to distinguish it from an ‘n’ (they are otherwise identical). These abbreviations often result in words that are surprisingly reduced, such as ‘Übnstimg’ (*Übereinstimmung*) or ‘fmks’ (*Aufmerksamkeit*).

Most abbreviations are used quite consistently, but sometimes there is considerable variation, with a word either written out in full or abbreviated in one of several ways, e.g., ‘denken’ might be fully spelled out, or written as ‘denk’ or ‘dk’.

A handful of symbols are also commonly used, for instance, the Greek theta for 'Gott' or alchemical symbols for various substances: a circle with a horizontal line drawn through the middle for 'Salz' – which, incidentally, is usually written exactly as a theta – or a circle with a dot in the center (meaning either 'Kreis' or 'Sonne' or 'Gold'), or an equilateral triangle (meaning either 'Dreieck' or 'Feuer').

A list of these symbols and Herder's abbreviations is available on the website – these are the words that, in this transcription, have been expanded without comment in the print edition, but are preceded in the web edition with a tiny sign, distinguishing here between German and Latin terms, for instance, an 'f.' is expanded to '°auf' (web) or 'auf' (print), 'Zt' becomes '°Zeit' (web) or 'Zeit' (print); examples of Latin terms are 'st', which becomes '°sunt' (web) or 'sunt' (print) and 'v.v.' which becomes '°vice versa' (web) or 'vice versa' (print). A general glossary found on the website provides a list of writing samples from the notes and collects together samples of Herder's punctuation signs and the various abbreviations and symbols that he employs.

Revisions. First, some terms.⁵² Let *Nachschrift* be the generic term for any handwritten material in which the writer of the text is not the source of the text (i.e., the written text stems directly from either someone's spoken address or another written text) but the original source is the spoken word. Different sorts of *Nachschriften* related to classroom lectures are possible:

- (a) **Mitschrift** (the original notes): a *Nachschrift* written down in the lecture hall. These typically include an abundance of abbreviations, and they are often written in pencil.
- (b) **Reinschrift** (a fair copy; *häuslichen Ausarbeitungen*): a re-written and revised version of a *Mitschrift*. These normally are more neatly written, with fewer abbreviations and truncated words, and with fewer spelling and grammatical errors. The student (or *Hofmeister*, with wealthier students) would typically prepare this once back at home after the lecture.
- (c) **Abschrift** (copy): a copy of another written text, often for the purpose of selling it to other students. With such copies, errors noticed by the copyists might be corrected in the text, but the intention here is simply to copy a set of notes, not to clean-up or amplify them (as typifies a *Reinschrift*) and new errors typical of copies (e.g., doubled words and skipped lines) will be introduced.

Most or all of the 8° Herder notes appear to be *Mitschriften* and most of the 4° notes are *Reinschriften*. It is always a possibility that Herder copied out some sections of notes into his *Reinschriften* from the notes of another student (for instance, if he missed a lecture), but we have not identified any such passages. In the other student notes that we have from Kant's lectures, a large majority involve *Abschriften* at some level.

One occasionally finds in the literature the words *Urschrift* or *unmittelbare Niederschrift* (original or immediate notes): these refer to the *Mitschrift*; and occasionally *Nachschrift* is used in the narrower sense of *Mitschrift*, but we use it more broadly as indicated above.

Two kinds of revision are found in Herder's notes. The first are corrections of miswrites (by crossing out a word or inserting a word above the line or in the margin, and so on) that are likely contemporaneous with writing the original notes, but it is usually impossible to distinguish between contemporaneous revisions and those occurring at some later date, except when Herder uses a different ink with the revision, in particular when he

⁵² [some terms] This draws from Stark (1991a).

moves between a carbon based ink (which remains black over time) and an iron based ink (which turns a reddish-brown over time). A good example of this is found in the physical geography History(8°) notes, p. 3.

A second kind of revision is where an entirely new draft is written out. Most of Herder's first drafts to his *Reinschriften* disappeared long ago, probably not surviving Herder, but we still have a few clear examples of draft revisions. Various passages in the 8° physical geography notes can be located in the second draft 4° notes, for example, and in the metaphysics notes, Ont-180 (1-4) is clearly a first draft of Ont-Cos (B6-C6).

Sources and Influences in the Notes

The explanatory notes offer detailed information on Kant's literary sources and influences, but a few deserve mention here. Other than with the lectures on physical geography, Kant's lectures were scaffolded on published textbooks, as required by the Prussian cultural ministry. Those texts warrant our close attention and will be described below with the corresponding sets of notes. Kant brought other material into his lectures as well, of course, especially with physical geography, where we can safely assume that anything he said about orangutans or the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, for instance, came not from direct experience or quiet reflection but from some book or article he read. He makes explicit reference to some sources, while identifying others only by the author's name or some other clue. We note all identified sources and normally provide brief quotations of the relevant passage for the reader's convenience, although foregoing this when the texts are more readily available (the companion website collects together hundreds of excerpts).

In identifying these sources we assume that Kant's working languages were German and Latin. Kant had studied Latin closely in school and he published several writings in Latin (as prescribed for academic disputations). He had also studied Greek (twelve semesters) and French (six semesters) in school. The occasional Greek word or phrase appears in the notes, as they do in his publications, but it is unlikely that he was reading Greek sources. With French, there is good reason to believe that he understood the language, since it was the spoken language in the Andersch home where he served as a *Hofmeister* for about three years and it would also have been used occasionally in polite society in Königsberg, such as at the Keyserling's⁵³ – but it appears that Kant read German translations of French as well as English texts,⁵⁴ and he routinely draws on a vast body of work originally published in these two languages. Various close friends of Kant's were native speakers of French or English, or at least competent translators, and so were also possible sources for these two bodies of literature, but our goal has been to provide the German (or occasionally the Latin) edition that Kant would most likely have consulted.

⁵³ [at the Keyserling's] Jachmann notes in his 1804 biography that “of the modern languages he understood French, but did not speak it” (1804, 41).

⁵⁴ [English texts] Erdmann (1888, 63-65) considers Kant's English proficiency as background to his use of Hume's texts.

Newton, Wolff and Crusius, Hume and Rousseau

Of the many literary influences on the young Kant, five are especially in evidence in the Herder notes: Newton, Wolff, Crusius, Hume, and Rousseau. One might say, as a first approximation, that Kant's exposure to Newton and Wolff in the early 1740s, as a student in Knutzen's lectures, fundamentally shaped his understanding of the physical universe (Newton)⁵⁵ and of the nature of philosophical reasoning (Wolff). Crusius published a successful series of philosophy textbooks between 1744 and 1749 during his early years teaching at Leipzig (one each on ethics, metaphysics, logic, and physics), although Kant may not have read them until the mid-1750s after he returned to Königsberg,⁵⁶ and here Kant encountered formative criticisms of Wolffian rationalism. Kant's exposure to Hume and Rousseau also began at this time, eventually transforming central features of Kant's philosophical outlook: Rousseau brought Kant to reconceive his relationship with other human beings and Hume caused him to reconceive the nature of human cognition. Kant shared their ideas with his students, as suggested by Herder's letter of 23 September 1766 to Scheffner:

“You can do me no greater favor than to send me little anecdotes about Hume and Rousseau. Having been initiated into the ideas of Rousseau and Hume by Kant, I now read both daily, but otherwise hear nothing of them except what little appears in the newspapers.” (Scheffner 1916-38, 1: 258)

Hume's importance to Kant during these early years, however, lay in the realm of practical philosophy rather than epistemology and metaphysics.⁵⁷ Kant had access to Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, which he owned in German translation as part of a four-volume translation of Hume's writings, but at the time he was more engaged with his writings on history, political economy, and moral philosophy. Ludwig Borowski, one of Kant's early biographers who as a student attended Kant's first lectures, reports that:

“The first of his literary products [*Living Forces*] show how much he had already read by his [170] twentieth year. In the years when I was his student, **Hutcheson** and **Hume** were exceptionally valuable to him, the former in moral philosophy and the latter in his deep philosophical investigations. Hume in particular gave his power of thought a whole new impetus. He recommended these two writers to us for our most careful study. Besides these Kant was always interested in good travel literature. – He knew all of **J. J. Rousseau**'s works and his *Émile* kept him from the usual walks for a few days when it first appeared. What should I expand on here? Kant left nothing by good writers untouched and untested if it contributed to the scope of human knowledge. He did not collect a library, as already mentioned, but was sufficiently supplied with reading material by his friends, [171] and especially by his publishers.” (1804, 169-71)

Contrary to Borowski's account, however, which was likely colored by later events,⁵⁸ we find in the *Herder* notes an interest only in Hume's practical philosophy: he appears three times in the metaphysics notes, but these are to his *Natural History of Religion* (twice) and his *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* – but Hume or

⁵⁵ [Newton ... universe] As best exemplified in Kant's *Universal Natural History* (1755) (AA 1: 217-368). During Herder's student years, Kant wrote in the introduction to his *Prize Essay*: “In natural science, Newton's method transformed the chaos of physical hypotheses into a secure procedure based on experience and geometry” (AA 2: 275).

⁵⁶ [Königsberg] Kant owned the first edition text on natural philosophy (1749) and the second edition texts on ethics (1751) and metaphysics (1753); see Warda (1922, 47).

⁵⁷ [Hume ... metaphysics] This is also reflected in Kant's publications of that period. The only reference to Hume is in the 1764 *Beautiful and Sublime* and these concern ethnography and moral philosophy (AA 2: 253, 311). Kant's interest in Hume is helpfully explored in Gawlick/Kreimendahl (1987, 174-97).

⁵⁸ [later events] Erdmann also makes this point (1888, 67-68).

his writings are referenced eight times in the moral philosophy notes and three in the physical geography notes. Rousseau or his writings appear in the notes on metaphysics (twice), physical geography (once), and moral philosophy (sixteen times).⁵⁹

Kant's library included Sulzer's German translation of Hume's *Vermischte Schriften*, 4 vols. (1754-56) and Schreier's translation of Hume's *Dialogues on Natural Religion* (1779; German: 1781). Rousseau's works were being translated quickly into German – *First Discourse* (1750; German: 1752), *Second Discourse* (1755; German: 1756), *Julie or the New Heloise* (1761), *Emile* (1762), *Social Contract* (1762; German: 1763) – so Rousseau's *Émile* arrived in Königsberg about the same time as Herder. Yet for all of his interest in Rousseau, Kant's library held just one of his books.⁶⁰ As Borowski mentioned above, Kant read most of his books on loan from friends or unbound from his publisher/bookseller (first Kanter, then Hartknoch, finally Nicolovius).

Kant's friend Joseph Green seems also to have been a source of information and ideas for Kant regarding both Hume and Rousseau, as can be gathered from local correspondence, e.g., from Scheffner to Herder (16 August 1766):

“Kant, who was at my place last evening, returns your greetings, as does Hartknoch. The Magister is now constantly in England, because Rousseau and Hume are there,⁶¹ of whom his friend Mr. Green [256] sometimes writes him something.” (Scheffner 1916-38, 1: 255-56)

From Lindner to Scheffner (20 June 1767):

“I have come upon a very fine and wonderfully written English text – *Remarks upon Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau*. [...] The little work has much that is original and deserves a worthy translation. Mr. Green told our Magister Kant, otherwise it would probably not have reached me. Perhaps Herr Hamann will give me an excerpt in Kanter's newspaper.” (Scheffner 1916-38, 2: 326)

And from Hamann to Herder (17 December 1781):

“I was so strengthened by this *deum ex machina* that I accompanied him [Georg Berens] to Green's, where we also met Prof. Kant, who gave me the good news that he had received Hume's *Dialogues* and promised to send it to me tomorrow.” (Hamann 1955-79, 4: 358)

Hume's most notorious influence on Kant was awakening him “from his dogmatic slumbers” (AA 4: 260) – here the slumbering Kant would have been reading Hume's *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (the second volume of the *Vermischte Schriften*) and the conclusion to the first book of Hume's *Treatise of Human*

⁵⁹ [sixteen times] Francis Hutcheson, also mentioned by Borowski, appears once in the metaphysics notes and four times in the moral philosophy notes. See Henrich (1958).

⁶⁰ [Rousseau ... books] Rousseau, *Patriotische Vorstellungen, gegen die Einführung einer Schaubühne für die Comödie, in der Republik Genf. Aus seinem Schreiben an Herrn d'Alembert gezogen* (Zürich 1761); see Warda (1922, 23).

⁶¹ [Rousseau and Hume are there] One of the more infamous events in 18th century letters – the falling out between Hume and Rousseau – was unfolding at this time. Rousseau's neighbors had been causing him trouble and so Hume, who was in Paris at the time, offered to take Rousseau under wing and back to England with him. They met in Paris in mid-December 1765, arrived together in London on January 13, and by March 19 Rousseau had moved into a house in Wooten that Hume found for him; but after a year-long epistolary quarrel that eventually became public – the paranoid Rousseau was convinced Hume was behind an international conspiracy to ruin his name – Rousseau returned to France under the assumed name of 'Renou' and fearing for his life (Rasmussen 2017, ch. 7). On the correspondence between Hume and Rousseau, see Schulz (2012).

*Nature*⁶² – but Kant did not wake until nearly five years after Herder had left Königsberg. In the notes we find references to passages from Hume's *Essays: Moral and Political* (1741), *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), *Political Discourses* (1752), *Essays and Treatises* (1753) – all available in the four-volume set of translations, as well as passages from *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) and *The History of Great Britain* (1754-62).

As for Rousseau, his importance for Kant⁶³ is suggested in Kant's own copy of the *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764):

“I feel a complete thirst for knowledge and an eager unrest to go further [...]. There was a time when I believed that this alone could constitute the honor of mankind, and I had contempt for the rabble who know nothing. Rousseau brought me around. This blinding superiority disappeared, I learned to honor human beings.” (Ak 20: 43–44)

He viewed Rousseau even as a kind of second Newton:

“Newton saw for the first time order and regularity combined with great simplicity, where before was found disorder and badly paired multiplicity; and since then comets run in geometrical courses.”⁶⁴

Rousseau was the first to discover beneath the multiplicity of forms assumed by human beings their deeply buried nature and the hidden law by which providence is justified through his [59] observations. ... After Newton and Rousseau, God is justified and Pope's proposition is true.” (AA 20: 58–59)

While Hume, Rousseau, and Hutcheson were important early influences for Kant's practical philosophy and are well represented in the moral philosophy notes, Wolff and Crusius stand out as important influences in Kant's theoretical philosophy:

“Among the newer philosophical systems, those of Crusius and Wolff are especially notable. Wolff assumes the principles of pure reason and also attempts to prove them but does not investigate their source. He works mathematically and dogmatically, but not critically. He is thus more of an artist of human reason than an examiner – Crusius, on the other hand, tends toward the mystical, and goes so far as fanaticism. The mystical of Plato consists in the so-called divine intuition, as opposed to his in the intuition of other spirits. Nevertheless he ventures to set-up investigations into the sources of human cognition and so assumed *ideas connatas* [innate ideas], e.g., everything that becomes and was not previously has a cause, every thing is somewhere and somewhen – are principles that we must assume.” (AA 28: 467)

Von Schön wrote this down in Kant's metaphysics lectures from the late 1780's, but Kant placed the same emphasis on these two philosophers twenty years earlier in the lectures Herder attended. Both appear in Herder's notes about a dozen times, primarily the metaphysics notes, and often together. Crusius was a Pietist and a leading critic of Wolffian rationalism and his texts were often used at Königsberg as an alternative to Wolff until they were banned in a 1775 censure from Berlin. Kant's student years in Königsberg saw an interesting blend of Wolff

⁶² [*Treatise of Human Nature*] On Kant's early familiarity with Hume's writing, see also Erdmann (1888) and Gawlick/Kreimendahl (1987, 174-98). Hamann's German translation of Hume's conclusion to Book One (*Treatise*, I.4.7) was published serially in three issues of the *Königsbergsche gelehrte und politische Zeitung* (5-12 June 1771) under the title “Nachtgedanken eines Skeptikers,” although almost certainly shared earlier with Kant and others (Gawlick/Kreimendahl 1987, 42, 190-98).

⁶³ [importance for Kant] It is also worth noting that the only art hanging on the walls of Kant's home was an engraving of Rousseau over his writing desk, a gift from his friend Ruffmann. See Puttlich's diary (Warda 1905, 280), Jachmann (1804, 181), and Borowski (1804, 176).

⁶⁴ [Newton ... courses] Elsewhere in these annotations, Kant wrote: “The correct cognition of the construction of the world according to Newton is perhaps the most beautiful product of our shrewd human reason” (AA 20: 120).

and Pietism introduced by Kant's early mentor Franz Albrecht Schultz, and through him Martin Knutzen,⁶⁵ but Crusius's pietism was much more critical of Wolff and he offered objections to Wolff that Kant later adopted, if not always Crusius's solutions. We see Kant working through this in the *Herder* notes as well as in significant discussions in his published writings of the time, especially his habilitation thesis (*New Elucidation of the First Principles of Metaphysical Cognition*, 1755) and the "Third Reflection: On the Nature of Metaphysical Certainty" in his *Prize Essay* (published in 1764 but written near the end of 1762, not long after Herder's arrival at the university), but relevant discussions of Crusius are also found in *False Subtlety* (1762), *Negative Magnitudes* (1763), and *Only Possible Argument* (1763).

Christian Wolff was the most pervasive philosophical influence on Kant, either directly or through Wolff's various followers whose textbooks Kant used in his lectures (Baumeister and Baumgarten in metaphysics, Baumgarten in moral philosophy, G. F. Meier in logic, Achenwall in natural law, J. A. Eberhard in natural theology, and Wolff himself in mathematics) and Johann Gottsched,⁶⁶ as well as Kant's Wolffian correspondents such as Moses Mendelssohn and Johann Heinrich Lambert. Kant clearly admired Wolff – and he made use of Baumgarten's textbooks for the entirety of his teaching career – but Kant was no follower, and he put Wolff's claims to the test just as much as he did Crusius's.

Overview of Herder's Notes

Metaphysics

Herder's notes on metaphysics consist of 138 manuscript pages (48 4° and 90 8°) and is the largest set. Their order of presentation closely follows the structure of the textbook Kant used – Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* (1757)⁶⁷ – and it is most convenient to group the manuscript pages according to this structure. Kant lectured on metaphysics every semester during Herder's student years except for 1763; Herder himself dates some of the notes to his very first semester at the university (1762), and the remainder are most likely from 1763-64 and/or 1764 (see the discussion of dating, below).

Kant's Lectures on Metaphysics

Kant lectured on metaphysics a total of fifty-three times over the course of his teaching career, beginning with his first semester (1755-56) and ending with his last full semester (1795-96). Kant used a textbook by Baumeister for a few semesters early in his career before settling on Baumgarten. Both follow a general four-part

⁶⁵ [Schultz ... Knutzen] Franz Albrecht Schultz had studied under both Francke and Wolff in Halle, and he managed to reconcile these seemingly antagonistic positions. Wolff maintained that "if anyone has ever understood him, it is Schultz in Königsberg" (Reicke 1860, 6; a nearly verbatim quote appears in Hippel 1835, 12: 95). On Schultz, see also Trescho (1764).

⁶⁶ Gottsched's popular philosophy text – *Erste Gründe der gesamten Weltweisheit* (Leipzig 1733) – was in Kant's library (he owned the 1748 5th edition), although he is not listed as ever lecturing on it; see Warda (1922, 49).

⁶⁷ [Metaphysica (1757)] According to Adickes' dating scheme, Kant's notes in his copy of Baumgarten began when Herder was attending his lectures, in 1762-63 (the delta-phase); cf. AA 14: xxxvii.

outline of Wolffian metaphysics – ontology, cosmology, psychology (empirical and rational), and natural theology⁶⁸ – and Kant's lectures appear to have extended over all four parts, although less systematically over natural theology (where he may also have been rushed, as the notes are not as full here). Kant lectured on metaphysics nearly every semester until he was given the professorship of logic and metaphysics, after which he gave a set of public lectures at the required time (7 a.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday) every winter semester.

We have nine distinct sets of notes from those many semesters, with *Herder* being the earliest, the *Pölitiz I* group coming next (dated c.1777-80), followed by *Mrongovius* (1782-83), *Volckmann* (1784-85), *von Schön* (c. 1789-91), *Pölitiz 3.2* (c.1790-91), *Königsberg* (c. 1791-92), *Dohna-Wundlacken* (1792-93), and *Vigilantius* (1794-95).

Description of the Manuscripts

The Herder metaphysics notes are drawn from a collection of loose sheets of papers, sets of folded sheets forming signatures of varying length (some of which had been sewn together at one time), and passages from two bound notebooks (Brown, 4°; Blue, 8°) that also include poems, drafts of essays, literary excerpts, and other miscellanea. These notes are grouped into fourteen sets, based on similarity of format and content, and range in length from 1 to 42 pages.

Format: Of the 138 pages, 48 are quarto (4°) and 90 octavo (8°). Most of the 4° notes belong to the Ont/Cos 1-450 (42 pp.) consisting of four signatures (8, 6, 12, and 16 pp.) that show evidence of having once been sewn together. These notes are all written in the same light-brown ink with a half-page left-margin – clearly a clean copy prepared at home. While these notes use a great many abbreviations (far more than the 4° notes on physical geography) they are considerably less frequent than with the 8° notes on metaphysics. The only other 4° notes are from a notebook of that format (RP/NT 796-808) and a four-page signature of penciled notes (Ont 180-239) that were clearly written in the classroom and that served as the first draft of a portion of the notes found in Ont/Cos 1-450.

The 8° notes consist of three large sets of notes from the psychology/natural theology sections (EP 531-649, EP 682-732, and RP/NT 763-844) and a scattered collection of shorter sets.

Ink vs Pencil: All but four of the 48 4° pages are in ink. Of the 90 8° pages, 42 are in ink and 48 in pencil. One set of notes is mixed: RP/NT 763-844 is predominantly in ink, but A1 and the top one-third of E1 are written in pencil.

Missing Text: We have good reason to believe that some of the metaphysics notes have gone missing: (1) we lack discussion of sections at the end of the Cosmology (viz., §§451-500) and the beginning of the Empirical Psychology (§§501-530, although part of this is available in the difficult to read EP 516-48), (2) some material

⁶⁸ [ontology ... theology] The relevant manuscripts for these metaphysics notes are given abbreviated names that follow the major parts in Baumgarten's textbook: Ont (ontology), Cos (cosmology), EP (empirical psychology), RP (rational psychology), and NT (natural theology).

near the end of the Empirical Psychology is missing (§§650-681). The EP 682-732 begins with a sentence fragment that clearly belongs to a discussion of Baumgarten, §681, so presumably at least one signature has gone missing here, and (3) notes from the Natural Theology are possibly missing, although it is less clear what Kant might have lectured on here.

Apart from these gaps located between the various collections of notes, there are also three gaps *within* collections: (1) at least one signature (commenting on Baumgarten, §§36-69) is missing from Ont/Cos 1-450 between the A- and B-signatures, (2) at least one sheet (commenting on Baumgarten, §§595-640) is missing from the middle of EP 593-644, and (3) at least one sheet or folded sheet is missing from RP/NT 763 between pages D2 and D3 (the text continues to the very bottom-right corner of D2 and ends mid-sentence yet is not continued on D3, which begins with a new sentence).

Finally, we have a four-page signature of notes in pencil that appears to have been written in the classroom (a *Mitschrift*), and that served as the basis for six pages of *Reinschrift* written in ink (see the section below on “Overlapping Text”); presumably there were similar *Mitschriften* for the other thirty-six pages of this *Reinschrift* but they have long ago gone missing.

Overlapping Text: There are eight instances where two different passages of notes discuss the same material in Baumgarten. This duplication of text could have any of four causes: (1) The passages come from separate semesters; or, both passages came from the same semester but (2) one passage served as an earlier draft of the other (e.g., a *Mitschrift* and a *Reinschrift*), or (3) one passage comes from the end of one hour and the other passage comes from the beginning of the next day, involving a brief repetition of the previous hour; or similar to the previous explanation, (4) one passage comes from the last day before a vacation and the other passage involves a repetition of the previous material when classes resumed after the vacation (this would account for a more involved overlap).⁶⁹

On the website, a large ‘¶’ symbol is inserted into those passages of text for which a parallel passage also exists; clicking on this symbol loads the parallel text into a new window for easy comparison.

- (1) Baumgarten, §§180-239: Ont 180 (ms 1-4) and Ont/Cos (B6-C6). The latter is clearly a re-working of the former.
- (2) Baumgarten, §§7, 21-22, 34: Ont 7 (ms 1-2) and Ont/Cos (A7f.). The overlap appears to be inconsequential; the former is an outline of Kant's 1755 essay *New Elucidation*, with occasional references to Baumgarten.
- (3) Baumgarten, §§531-48: EP 516 (ms 2-4) and EP 531 (A1-A4). These passages share a few examples, but are textually unrelated, suggesting they stem from different semesters.
- (4) Baumgarten, §§589-91: EP 531 (A10) and EP 589. Both passages mention Robinson Crusoe and Don Quixote, although the latter is only alluded to in EP 531, and other than sharing a few examples there appears to be nothing in common between these texts, making it unlikely that one is derived from the other. EP 589 is a single sheet, and its treatment of the material is different than the parallel passages in EP 531. For instance, it makes a point of dividing fictions into intellectual (e.g., abstracting concepts of soul, God, Leibniz's subtle souls) and sensual (e.g., dreams, castles in the air, Robinson's island) – a distinction not found in Baumgarten. It also claims that separation is much harder than combination; EP 531 is silent on this, as is Baumgarten. And

⁶⁹ [overlap] Kant describes such a repetition in his 20 August 1777 letter to Marcus Herz that recounts Mendelssohn's visit to his lectures (AA 10: 211).

yet while EP 589 gives no §§-numbers from Baumgarten, it makes use of a term straight out of Baumgarten ('*praescindendo*') while EP 531 instead uses a synonym ('*sejungendo*').

- (5) Baumgarten, §§593-644: EP 531 (A10-B8) and EP 593 (ms 1-4). No similar sentences or examples.
- (6) Baumgarten, §§742-45: RP 742 (A1) and RP 742 (B1-B2). No verbatim overlap.
- (7) Baumgarten, §§796-808: RP/NT 796 (ms 32-33) and RP/NT 763 (C1-D1). The former comes from the notebook where Herder remarks on attending Kant's classroom for the first time, so the latter passage clearly comes from a later semester (it includes material that would have been discussed earlier in the semester than what is in the notebook). The notebook passage covers in 3.5 pages what the other covers in 9 pages. The two passages make use of quite different examples, although both mention Semler, the water test (for witches), Faust, and the preacher in Wetterau. Herder appears to have written the notebook notes (RP/NT 796) in the classroom; although there is a wide margin, this margin is filled with notes, and four different passages have been re-ordered with insertion signs.
- (8) Baumgarten, §844: RP/NT 763 (E4) and NT 844 (A1). No clear connection between these passages.

Dating the Notes

Kant lectured on metaphysics every semester during Herder's residency except for summer 1763, and Herder clearly attended at least two of these semesters. He may well have also attended metaphysics lectures from other instructors, but the notes we have are clearly from Kant's lectures, at least those making routine reference to the Baumgarten text. Other opportunities to hear metaphysics would have been with F. J. Buck, the professor of logic and metaphysics during Herder's years, who offered public lectures on metaphysics each winter, as well as private lectures. Textbooks are not usually listed in the lecture catalog, but Buck favored texts by Knutzen and Crusius.

All of Herder's notes are securely dated to the period 1762-64, although some finer-grained dating is possible with the notes on metaphysics. Two of the manuscripts certainly come from two different semesters: **RP/NT 796-808** from 1762 and **RP/NT 763-844** probably from either 1763-64 or 1764. The others are from 1762-63 or later. Observations relevant to dating include:

- At the top of p. 32 of one of Herder's notebooks (**RP/NT 796-808**) we find the words: "with Kant the first time, the 21st August,⁷⁰ on pneumatology." This is referring to the section on rational psychology (§§740-99") from Kant's course of lectures on metaphysics and there would have been about three weeks left in the semester. Given the order of presentation, the only other notes that might have stemmed from this semester is the fragment on natural theology: **NT 844-46**.
- **RP/NT 763-844** (C2) mentions a book by Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Argens (1704-1771) that was first published in German translation in 1763: *Betrachtungen des Ocellus von Lukanien, über die Welt*. This provides a *terminus a quo* for that group of notes. This is the same group that includes a page from a signature of notes on physical geography, which would date the notes to either winter 1763-64 or summer 1764 (the two semesters when Kant offered lectures on physical geography as well as metaphysics). These semesters are consistent with two brief discussions of Emanuel Swedenborg at A13-14 and C5, some of which goes beyond the popular stories circulating about him at the time and thus suggesting that Kant had already read his *Arcana Coelesta* [Heavenly Mysteries] – which dates the lecture to sometime after Kant's 10 August 1763 letter to Charlotte von Knobloch (AA 10: 43) in which he notes that he has not yet read Swedenborg's books.⁷¹
- Meta-markings on **EP 531-649** and **EP 682-732** suggest that they were grouped together by Herder, which in turn gives some reason to believe that they stemmed from the same semester – although it is also possible,

⁷⁰ [21st August] This date is puzzling since it fell on a Saturday that year and at that time Kant was reported as lecturing on metaphysics on the normal lecture days (Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday), with the one exception of 1764, when he lectured on Wednesday and Saturday (Arnoldt 1909, 5: 332-33).

⁷¹ [Swedenborg's books] Gregory Johnson (1996) makes this point about dating the Herder notes.

perhaps even more likely – that these meta-markings stem from an early editor of the notes, such as Caroline Herder or the Müllers. “VN. C. VIII.” is written at the top of **EP 531 (A1)**, “IX. N.C.” at the top of **EP 531 (B1)**, and “N.C. XII.” at the top of **EP 682 (A1)**. **NT 844-46** also appears to belong to this group of notes; although it bears no corresponding meta-markings, it shares the same paper, format, and handwriting as the other two groups.

- The *Reinschrift* of **Ont/Cos 1-450** leaves gaps in the notes, possibly to be filled-in during a later semester.⁷²

Ordering the Notes

The backbone of these notes consists of three longer groups of manuscripts (for a total of 115 manuscript pages), with strong evidence that the text in each of these groups was prepared during the same semester (based on the paper, format, and handwriting): **Ont/Cos 1-450** (42 pp., ink), **EP 531-649 / EP 682-732 / NT 844-46** (40 pp., pencil), and **RP/NT 763-844** (33 pp., ink). The remaining 23 manuscript pages could be attached to this backbone as follows (we also indicate here the location in Lehmann's previous transcription in AA 28):

Prolog: 4 pp. (AA 28: 155-58) – The text on these four pages from the *Blue Notebook* is like what is often found at the beginning of Kant's metaphysics lectures, although it is also consistent with introductory material in logic notes (and later with the encyclopedia notes). There is no similar history in the Baumgarten text, the “prolegomena” of which consists of three brief sections.

A. **Ont/Cos 1-450:** 42 pp. (AA 28: 5-53)

Ont 7-22. 2 pp. (AA 28: 53-55) – outline of Kant's 1755 *New Elucidation*; more likely Herder's reading notes than notes from a lecture.

Ont 180-239. 4 pp. (AA 28: 843-49) – 1st draft material for a portion of **Ont/Cos (B6-C6)**.

B. **EP 531-649 / EP 682-732 / NT 844-46.** 40 pp. (AA 28: 850-75, 875-86, 137-38, 922-23) – of these penciled notes, the B-signature of EP 531 shares the same paper format and watermark as the latter two groups, and both signatures of EP 531 as well as the A-signature of EP 682 share the same meta-markings (see above).

EP 516-48: 4 pp. (AA 28: 924-28)

EP 589-91 / RP 742-48 (sig. B): 3 pp. (AA 28: 143-44, 145-48)

EP 593-644: 3 pp. (AA 28: 928-31)

C. **RP/NT 763-844:** 33 pp. (AA 28: 886-922) – lectures from winter 1763-64 or summer 1764.

RP 742-48 (sign. A): 1 p. (AA 28: 144-45)

RP/NT 796-808: 2 pp. (AA 28: 148-51) – 1st lectures (summer 1762).

There has been speculation that, during Herder's years in Königsberg, Kant was already following the sequence of topics described in Kant's *Announcement for the Winter Semester 1765-66*:

“After a brief introduction, I shall begin with *empirical psychology*, which is really the metaphysical science of *man* based on experience. [...] The second part of the course will discuss *corporal nature* in general. This part is drawn from the chapters of the *Cosmology*, which treat of matter and which I shall supplement with a number of written additions. [...] I shall then proceed to ontology, the science, namely, which is concerned with the more general properties of all things. The conclusion of this enquiry will contain the distinction between mental and material beings, as also the connection or separation of the two, and therefore *rational psychology*. [...] At the end

⁷² [later semester] Finally, two of the manuscript fragments (EP 516-48 and EP 593-644), which have all the appearance of having been written in the lecture hall, also contain logic notes with them, indicating that Herder was attending Kant's logic lectures the same semester; but since Kant is listed as teaching logic every semester during Herder's stay, this does not help narrow the date of the notes.

there will be a reflection on the cause of all things, in other words the science which is concerned with God and the World.” (AA 2: 208-9)

We find this same sequencing mentioned near the beginning of the section on Natural Theology in **RP/NT 763** (C5b) where Herder wrote (and presumably Kant said):

“[Natural theology] belongs to metaphysics, since this contains (1) anthropology, (2) physics, (3) ontology (of all things; but more than now), (4) origin of all things: God and the world, therefore theology – the last real ground, and is the highest metaphysics, since it considers the *real grounds*.”

And in what appear to be “Prolegomena” notes from metaphysics lectures in the *Blue Notebook* (XX.188, ms p. 122) we find mention of a “new plan”:

“New plan. (1) Metaphysical foundations of the theory of nature [cosmology]; (2) metaphysical foundations of the theory of mind [rational psychology]; (3) metaphysical foundations of all things in general [ontology]: here from the origin of things; metaphysics in general.”

Both Irmischer (1964, 51) and Lehmann (1965, 552; 1967, 150; 1972, AA 28: 1350-1) consider the possibility that Kant might have been following this new plan as presented in Herder's *Blue Notebook* and later in Kant's *Announcement*, but this is unlikely. First, it is not clear that the text from the notebook even stems from Kant's lectures – it is just as likely Herder's own preparatory notes for his own future teaching. Second, none of Herder's notes require that they be read according to this new ordering and some of the notes clearly follow Baumgarten's ordering – for instance, **Ont/Cos 1-450** (D2-D3) moves from ontology to cosmology, and **RP/NT 763** (C5-C6) moves from rational psychology to natural theology.

Concordance of the Manuscripts with the Transcriptions in Irmischer (1964) and in the Academy Edition (1968, 1970)

These notes have been previously transcribed and published, with varying degrees of care and completeness, in Menzer (1911), Irmischer (1964), and Lehmann (1968, 1970) – as discussed above in “Provenance of the Notes.” In the concordance (Table 5), the bracketed page-numbers in the “Irmischer 1964” column correspond to the reprinted text originally published in Menzer (1911), while the bracketed page-numbers in the “Lehmann 1968” column correspond to Lehmann’s transcription of Menzer’s rough-draft copy of the notes. It appears that Lehmann published all of Menzer’s handwritten copy of the metaphysics notes except for those of XXV.41a/NL-Kant 19 (Ont/Cos 1-450), which Lehmann transcribed from the original manuscripts.

Irmischer 1964	Lehmann 1968	Lehmann 1970	Manuscript	Baumgarten §§	Length
--	28: 5-53	--	XXV.41a / NL-Kant 19	Ont/Cos 1-450	42 pp.
--	53-55	--	XXV.46a/14	Ont 7-22	2 pp.
65-66	143-44	--	XXV.38	EP 589-91	1 p.
69-70	144-45	--	XXV.39	RP 742-48 (A)	1 p.
71-73	145-48	--	XXV.40	RP 742-48 (B)	2 pp.
85-86	137-38	--	XXV.41	NT 844-46 (A)	1 p.
80-84	148-51	--	XXVI.5	RP/NT 796-808	2 pp.
51-56	155-58	--	XX.188	Prolegomena	4 pp.
56-64	158-66	--	XX.188	XX.188 ⁷³	[5 pp.]
--	--	28: 935-46	XX.188	XX.188	[14 pp.]
--	--	843-49	XXV.46a/1	Ont 180-239	4 pp.
--	{59-85}	850-875	XXV.46a/2-3	EP 531-649	24 pp.
{67-68}	{88-101}	875-86	XXV.46a/4-5	EP 682-732	12 pp.
{74-79}	{101-37}	886-922	XXV.46a/6-10	RP/NT 763-844	33 pp.
--	{138-40}	922-23	XXV.46a/11	NT 844-46 (B)	3 pp.
--	--	924-28	XXV.46a/12	EP 516-48	4 pp.
--	{86-88}	928-31	XXV.46a/13	EP 593-644	4 pp.

Table 5: Concordance

Baumgarten’s *Metaphysica*

Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten⁷⁴ was born 17 July 1714 in Berlin, where his father was a pastor in the local garrison. He died 26 May 1762 in Frankfurt/Oder,⁷⁵ where he had been lecturing as a professor of philosophy since the summer semester of 1740, before which he had taught at Halle. He was the fifth of seven sons; an older brother was Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten (1706-1757) under whom Alexander studied Latin and Wolffian

⁷³ [XX.188] This text (and in the line below) comes from Herder’s *Blue Notebook* and has no direct correspondence with Baumgarten’s *Metaphysica* (‘XX.188’ refers to the manuscript itself). These pages are thematically related to Herder’s notes on metaphysics, and possibly are materially related as well, which is presumably why Lehmann included them in the Academy edition. We list them here only to help make sense of the material published in AA 28; the first passage (corresponding to AA 28: 158-66) is transcribed with the Physics notes in this volume. The second passage (corresponding to AA 28: 935-46) is transcribed with the other *Varia* on the website. They are not included in the total page counts for the metaphysics lecture notes.

⁷⁴ [Baumgarten] Biographical information on Baumgarten is drawn from Hertling (1875), Hanslmeier (1953), Niggli (1999), and Stark (2014). Baumgarten’s student and translator, Georg Friedrich Meier, published a short biography of Baumgarten that also includes brief discussions of his various writings (Meier 1763). A fuller discussion of Baumgarten’s life and thought is available in Kobau (2010).

⁷⁵ [Frankfurt/Oder] Located about 85 kilometers east of Berlin, this was the first university founded in the eastern reaches, receiving its charter from Emperor Maximilian I (1500) and Pope Julius II (1506), and in the 18th century was one of four Prussian universities, alongside those at Königsberg, Halle, and Duisburg. It was closed in 1811 in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and merged with the university in Breslau. The current university at Frankfurt/Oder – the *Viadrina* – was opened in 1991.

philosophy at Halle. He married twice, the second time to Justina Elisabeth Albinus in 1748. He contracted tuberculosis in August 1751, from which he eventually died eleven years later.

Baumgarten attended Francke's Latin School at Halle before matriculating at the university there in 1730 as a theology student. He received his Magister in 1735 and began a highly successful lecturing career at Halle, receiving an appointment as an associate professor in 1737 and full professor in 1740. The King, Friedrich Wilhelm I, had initially requested that Baumgarten assume the professorship for Logic and Metaphysics at Frankfurt at the end of the 1739 calendar year, but his students petitioned that he be allowed to remain at Halle altogether and, if not that, then at least until the end of the winter semester. And so it was after Easter 1740 that Baumgarten left for Frankfurt/Oder, thus missing later that year in December Christian Wolff's return to Halle at the request of the new king, Friedrich II.

Kant's assessment of Baumgarten. Kant used Baumgarten's metaphysics textbook for the entirety of his teaching career, save for a few years early on, and he consistently held Baumgarten in high esteem. In the *New Elucidation* (1755) Kant characterized "the penetrating Baumgarten" (AA 1: 397) as the "chief of the metaphysicians" (AA 1: 408). The following year he called Baumgarten's textbook the "most useful and thorough of all textbooks of its kind" (AA 1: 503) and nine years after that (1765) praised it for "the richness of its contents and the precision of its method" (AA 2: 308). In the *an-Pölitz 3.1* logic notes (dated c.1780), Kant noted that "Wolff's logic was distilled by Baumgarten, a man who has contributed much here" (AA 24: 509); and in the *Menschenkunde* anthropology notes (dated 1781-82) he characterized Baumgarten as "a man quite rich in material and succinct in its execution" (AA 25: 859). One also hears an occasional note of criticism, such as in Kant's discussion of ontology in the *Mrongovius* notes (1782-83):

"The author's ontology is a hodgepodge, gathered up knowledge which is not a system, but instead rhapsodic – although otherwise he was one of the most acute philosophers. The cause is that one still knew nothing of critique." (AA 29: 785)

But in the *Mrongovius* anthropology notes (1784-85) we find a more positive assessment of the empirical psychology:

"Baumgarten's empirical psychology is, because of its order, the best guide, and even the order of the materials and chapters will be retained in this anthropology, although many other considerations will enter in, since his book concerns only what is scholastic." (AA 25: 1214)

Kant's use of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica*. Professors at Prussian universities were required to lecture from textbooks and Kant chose Baumgarten's successful and widely-used Latin textbook *Metaphysica* (1739), using the 1757 4th edition during most of his career. Several other popular metaphysics texts were available to Kant – he made use of the text by Baumeister mentioned above for a few semesters during his early years and several other professors at Königsberg favored a textbook by Crusius⁷⁶ – but Kant strongly preferred Baumgarten and by 1759 used that exclusively and for the remainder of his forty-one-year teaching career. More than any of the later

⁷⁶ [Crusius] Christian August Crusius, *Entwurf der nothwendigen Vernunft-Wahrheiten, wiefern sie den zufälligen entgegen gesetzt werden* (Leipzig 1745).

notes from Kant's metaphysics lectures, *Herder* constantly cites, quotes, and paraphrases Baumgarten (the web edition of the notes includes a copy of Baumgarten with links to the relevant sections).

Nor did Kant use Baumgarten's textbook only for his metaphysics lectures. Beginning with 1772-73, he began lecturing on anthropology every winter semester, part of which was based on the empirical psychology section of the *Metaphysica*. Similarly, he used the last part of Baumgarten ("*Theologia naturalis*," §§800-1000) in his lectures on natural theology that he presented four times during the 70's and 80's. Kant also used two other textbooks by Baumgarten in his moral philosophy lectures: *Initia philosophiae practicae primae acroamaticae* (Halle 1760) and *Ethica philosophica* (Halle 1740). More on this below.

Editions of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica*. Seven editions were published in the 18th century, all from Carl Hermann Hemmerde in Halle – ¹1739 (292 p.), ²1743 (363 p.), ³1750 (387 p.), ⁴1757 (432 p.), ⁵1763 (432 p.), ⁶1768 (432 p.), ⁷1779 (432 p.) – and with separate prefaces for the first three editions, all three of which were reprinted in the 4th edition, where Baumgarten also introduced German equivalents to key Latin terms. This was the last edition prepared by Baumgarten and is reprinted in *Kant's Gesammelte Schriften*, 15: 5-54 (§§504-699) and 17: 5-226 (the prefaces to the first three editions, the synopsis, and §§1-503, 700-1000).

Kant owned copies of the 3rd and 4th editions; both of these were interleaved with blank pages and both are extant: the 3rd edition copy was located only recently in 2000 and is housed in the University Library at Gdańsk.⁷⁷ Kant's 4th edition copy, housed in the University Library at Tartu, has long been available. Kant had given it to Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche, an associate of Kant's and the editor of the 1802 *Logic*, who brought it with him to Dorpat (*now*: Tartu) in 1802 when he assumed a full professorship there, and the book was eventually acquired by the university library, traveling to Berlin – where Kant's marginalia were transcribed – and then Göttingen before returning to Tartu in 1995.⁷⁸ Kant's marginalia to his copy of Baumgarten and other *Nachlaß* relevant to metaphysics are published in vols. 15, 17-18 of the Academy edition.

Georg Friedrich Meier (1718-1777), a former student of Baumgarten's, translated the *Metaphysica* into German (Baumgarten 1766), a task that Baumgarten's early death prevented him from doing himself. Meier abridged and re-arranged some of the material, disrupting any one-to-one correspondence between the Latin and German paragraph-numbers. More recently, a Latin/German edition of the 4th edition of the *Metaphysica* was prepared by Gawlick and Kreimendahl (Baumgarten 2011), followed by an English translation by Fugate and Hymers (Baumgarten 2013).

List of Manuscripts

At the *Akademie-Archiv*/Berlin, *Nachlaß Kant*:

#19 (4°). [Ont/Cos, B-D]. Previous transcriptions listed separately.

⁷⁷ [3rd edition ... Gdańsk] Kant's annotations are transcribed in Gawlick/Kreimendahl/Stark (2019). Erdmann (1882, 5-7) provides a detailed account of the many missing pages in Kant's copy of the 4th edition.

⁷⁸ [Tartu in 1995] On the Kantiana in Tartu, see Stark (1993, 206-11) and Stolovich (2011); on Baumgarten in particular, see Stark (2014a).

The long set of 4° notes on ontology and cosmology [Ont/Cos] consists of four signatures (A-D); the latter three are deposited at the *Akademie-Archiv*; signature A is part of the *Nachlaß Herder* in the *SBPK*, XXV.41a (see below).

These four signatures (A-D) belong together for reasons of format and content. With each, the paper is ribbed with a clearly visible watermark (a rising sun) with text written in brown ink. The sheets are all 4° (15.5 x 20.5 cm) with a vertical crease down the middle to mark a wide left margin on each page; otherwise the text extends to the edge. Paragraph numbers referring to Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* are written to the left, slightly in the margin, and ornate headings for the sections are normally centered on a line of their own.

There is sufficient gap between the end of A and the beginning of B – a jump in the discussion of Baumgarten paragraphs from §36 to §69 – that we can reasonably assume at least one signature in this group has gone missing. Each signature has holes in the fold where they presumably had been sewn together (C and D still have thread fragments). Signatures B-D include various blank spaces, presumably for text to be added later, while other pages have the left-margin completely filled with additions. While signature B consists of just three sheets, they are all physically attached (the third sheet is partially torn loose and appears to have been glued to the first two sheets, which appear to be the two halves of a folded sheet). The section on Cosmology begins on D3 with a discussion of Baumgarten §354; the top third of the page has been left blank.

One last minor point on the material aspect: although D would seem to be a normal signature consisting of four larger sheets folded and sewn together (creating 8 sheets = 16 pages), the first sheet appears to be glued onto the rest of the sewn signature, and a sheet between D4 and D5 – what would have been the other half of the sheet consisting of D13/D14 – is cut away. None of this involved any loss of content, however, and instead must reflect an error when Herder was preparing the copy.

The penciled pagination entered by an archivist differs between A and B-D, no doubt due to their different institutional histories resulting from the post-World War II political configuration. Signature A is paginated at the top of each page with circled numbers, 1-8, while B-D counts sheets (1-17) continuously across all three signatures.

(B) 6 pp. Ink. [Ont/Cos, B1-B6]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 15-23.

Concerns Baumgarten, §§69-184 (Ontology).

(C) 12 pp. Ink. [Ont/Cos, C1-C12]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 23-36.

Concerns Baumgarten, §§184-311 (Ontology).

(D) 16 pp. Ink. [Ont/Cos, D1-D12]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 36-53.

Concerns Baumgarten, §§311-450 (Ontology/Cosmology).

At the *SBPK*, *Nachlaß Herder*:

XX.188 (8° notebook): 4 pp. Ink. [Prol]. Previous transcriptions: Irmischer (1964, 51-56) and AA 28: 155-58.

This is the *Blue Notebook*, an octavo volume, 230 pp. (10 x 17 cm.), with ribbed paper and a pale blue cover. See the complete list of manuscripts (in the appendix, below) for more information on this notebook.

Only four pages (123, 122, 121, 120) have text plausibly stemming from the metaphysics lectures, but other text is concerned with related issues in metaphysics, and some concerns physics (probably from Kant's lectures) and thus is of interest; the transcription from these additional pages can be found at Physics (D1-D6) and on the website as *Varia* (XX.188) (notebook pages 2-10, 24-25, 46-47, 179, 187).

The text on pp. 123-120 is all written in an upside-down orientation and appears to belong together as a single unit. If it comes from Kant's metaphysics lectures, then it is likely not a *Mitschrift*, although there is considerable revision occurring on the pages. Perhaps it is a re-organization of his lecture notes, given its highly ordered structure.

The text does not concern material found in Baumgarten and so the lack of references to Baumgarten is not surprising, but this is precisely the sort of material that one finds at the beginning of the other sets of notes that we have from Kant's lectures on metaphysics, all of which tend to involve some brief overview of cognition in general followed by a discussion of the history and use of metaphysics – see the *Pölitiz 1* notes of the late 1770s (AA 28: 171-77), the Mrongovius notes of 1782-83 (AA 29: 747-84; but see the proper ordering of the notes, as found in Ameriks/Naragon 1997, 109-39), the Volckmann notes of 1784-85 (AA 28: 355-90), the von Schön notes of the mid-1780s (AA 28: 463-69), the brief discussion in the *Pölitiz 3.2* notes of 1790-91 (AA 28: 540-

42), the Dohna notes of 1792-93 (AA 28: 615-21), the *Königsberg* notes of the early 1790s (AA 28: 709), the Vigilantius notes of 1794-95 (AA 29: 945-59).

We find a similar introductory discussion at the beginning of the long Ont/Cos manuscript (A1-A3), and one open question is how these two texts are related. The Ont/Cos manuscript is clearly a *Reinschrift*, but A1-A3 bear no appearance of being a later draft of Prol (1-4); thus they likely stem from different semesters (if these current notes are indeed from Kant's metaphysics lectures). The comparison of Wolff and Crusius at Prol-2 differs from that at Ont/Cos-A1/A2: both Wolff and Crusius are criticized in the latter, but only Wolff in the former. On this same page of the notebook we find a four-part "new plan" being announced for the upcoming course of lectures, but its interpretation is unclear. It appears to suggest that the order of topics will be: (1) nature (cosmology), (2) the soul (psychology), (3) things in general (ontology), and finally (4) metaphysics in general. It is not clear where natural theology would fit into this scheme but, in any event, the notes as we have them from Herder do not fit this ordering and it is entirely possible that this "new plan" is simply intended for Herder's own eventual lectures.

XXV.38 (8°): 1 p. Ink. [EP 589]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 65-6) and AA 28: 143-44.

One sheet (10 x 17.5 cm), ribbed paper with a partial watermark (eagle with a sword in the right talon), and a horizontal fold-crease in the middle. The writing, ink and paper is a fairly close match to the slightly larger format 2 pp. RP 742 (sig. B). It appears to be the identical paper and format to the *Blue Notebook*, although the corners are not rounded (as they are in the notebook). Text only on one side, with a 2.5 cm margin at the bottom, in light brown ink. Concerns Baumgarten, §§589-91 (empirical psychology).

XXV.39 (8°): 1 p. Ink. [RP 742 (A1)]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 69-70) and AA 28: 144-45.

One sheet (10.25 x 15.5 cm), ribbed paper without discernible watermark, text only on one side, with bottom 1/4 blank; both light and dark brown inks. Concerns Baumgarten, §§742-48 (rational psychology). The text overlaps partially with XXV.40 (below).

This and the following fragment (XXV.40) are two signatures (A and B) offering separate treatments of the same material in Baumgarten; they run parallel with each other but with no clear overlap, and so likely stem from different semesters. Signature A bears a slight material resemblance to the pages in RP/NT 763, but is still of a different paper and hand, so does not appear to belong with that group; signature B, on the other hand, is a fairly close match to EP 589 in writing, ink, and paper, although the latter is cut to a slightly smaller dimension.

XXV.40 (8°): 2 pp. Ink. [RP 742 (B1-B2)]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 71-3) and AA 28: 145-48.

One sheet (11.5 x 19.5 cm), ribbed paper with a partial watermark. Text on both sides in brown ink, the second page is blank on the bottom four-fifths. A margin on the left has sentences copied from the main text (as if to highlight the text). Concerns Baumgarten, §§742-45 (rational psychology). The text overlaps partially with XXV.39 (above).

XXV.41 (8°): 1 p. Pencil. [NT 844 (A)]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 85-6) and AA 28: 137₃₀-138₂₉.

(A) 1 p. (with space for an additional three lines at the bottom), in pencil. The references to Baumgarten (§§844, 846) are re-written in ink.

This one-page signature belongs with XXV.46a/11 (see below); both have the same format (10 x 15.5 cm) and handwriting on the same ribbed paper; they were likely prepared during the same semester, although at some point were separated and ended up in different collections. The paper and format are the same as EP 531 (signature B: 8 pp.) and EP 682 (A/B: 12 pp. total).

Irmscher (1964, 85) noted that NT 844 (A) – he was unfamiliar with the B-signature – appeared to have been torn from the same notebook as a page containing notes from a logic lecture (viz. XXV.37a – this is the text printed at AA 24: 1099-1100). Menzer copied this single page at the beginning of the century (pp. 121v-122v of his copy), writing at the top: "Anderer Zettel!" – suggesting that it was already removed from the notebook.

XXV.41a (4°). Ink. [Ont/Cos (A1-A8)]. Previous transcriptions: AA 28: 5-14.

(A) 8 pp. (two larger sheets, folded in half, with one nested in the other, forming 4 sheets or 8 pages). Concerns Baumgarten, §§1-36 (Ontology).

This belongs with a larger group of manuscripts housed in the *Akademie-Archiv* (*Nachlaß Kant*, #19); see the relevant entry, above.

XXV.46a (4°/8°): Fourteen signatures in eight groups. Pages of text: 4 pp. (4°) + 81 pp. (8°).

- (1) 4 pp. (4°). Pencil. [Ont 180]. Previous transcription: AA 28:843₁-849₇.

One 4 pp. 4° signature (14 x 22.25 cm), numbered 1-4 by an archivist. Paper has a crown watermark. Each page is fully covered with notes in pencil (two words are rewritten in dark brown ink), most of which are clear, although the bottom half of ms 2 is badly smudged. A fold in the middle of the signature further obscures a line of text on the first page. Very likely written in the classroom. Concerns Baumgarten, §§180-239 (ontology).

This is almost certainly the basis of a set of notes re-written and amplified at home, in ink, of which *Nachlaß Herder* #19 is a part; the corresponding text is printed at AA 28: 22-30 (Ont/Cos-B6-C6). As such, this provides a good example of the extent to which Herder altered the notes written down in the classroom.

- (2) 16 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 531 (A1-A16)]. Previous transcription: AA 28:850₁-867₁₅.

One 16 pp. signature (9.5 x 17 cm), pages numbered 1-16 by an archivist. Text is legible, neatly written, without margins, and covers all pages. Holes in the fold suggest that it was bound at one time. At the very top of A1, written in dark brown ink: "VN. C. VIII.". Concerns Baumgarten §§531-620 (empirical psychology). The discussion in this text begins in the middle of Ch. 1 ("Empirical Psychology"), section 2 ("On the Lower Faculty of Cognition").

- (3) 8 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 531 (B1-B8)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 867₁₆-875₇.

One 8 pp. signature (10 x 15.5 cm), numbered 1-8 by an archivist. The paper is identical in format and watermark with EP 682 (A/B: 12 pp.) and NT 844 (A/B: 4 pp.). Text is legible and covers all pages. This appears to be a direct continuation of the previous signature (46a/2), although the paper is different. At the very top of B1, written in dark brown ink: "IX. N.C.". Concerns Baumgarten §§621-49 (empirical psychology). The discussion in this text begins in the middle of Ch. 1 ("Empirical Psychology"), Section 11 ("On the Faculty of Characterization"), apparently in direct continuation of a discussion of §620 that was broken off at the end of XXV.46a/2.

- (4) 8 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 682 (A1-A8)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 875₈-882₃₃.

This and the following signature are of identical format (10 x 15.5 cm), numbered consecutively 1-12 by an archivist. The text is legible and covers all pages. These two signatures are also identical in format (and with the same watermark) as EP 531(B).

Page one of the first signature begins mid-sentence, and the notes immediately preceding these are not available; at the very top of this page, in dark brown ink: "N.C. XII.". Concerns Baumgarten, §§682-718 (empirical psychology).

- (5) 4 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 682 (B1-B4)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 882₃₃-886₇. One passage from pages B3-B4 was also transcribed and printed in Menzer (1911, 138-39) and re-printed in Irmscher (1964, 67-68).

This signature belongs with the previous. It concerns Baumgarten, §§722-32 (empirical psychology).

- (6) 16 pp. (8°). Ink. [RP/NT 763 (A1-A16)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 886-901. Several passages were also transcribed and printed in Menzer (1911) and re-printed in Irmscher (1964): a passage from A7-A11 (Menzer 1911, 107-8, 129-33; Irmscher 1964, 74-77), a passage from A15-A16 (Menzer 1911, 101-2; Irmscher 1964, 78), and a passage from A16-B1 (Menzer 1911, 110-11; Irmscher 1964, 79).

(A) 16 pp. (10.5 x 16.5 cm), numbered 1-16 by an archivist. Text is legible on most pages and covers all pages, with a few exceptions. A few ink blotches. A1, written in pencil, is rubbed considerably. The remainder of the notes are written in ink. A photograph of A1 (and the edges of the sheets nested inside signature A) is inserted after AA 28: 886. Concerns Baumgarten, §§763-92 (rational psychology).

This and the following four signatures (7-10) belong together, based on similarity of format and content. Four peculiarities are worth noting:

First, B1 is a single page that appears as p. 15 of a 16 pp. signature of notes that otherwise stem from Kant's physical geography lectures – specifically, History(8°) and Humans(8°) – and that presumably was inadvertently written into the wrong signature. Because of this connection with Herder's physical geography notes, this group of metaphysics notes likely stem from either 1763-64 or 1764 (the two semesters during which Herder would have attended Kant's physical geography lectures). Paul Menzer was aware of this stray sheet of notes and put it in its proper place when quoting from these notes (1911, 110-11).

Second, some of the text is in pencil (A1 is written entirely in pencil, as is the top-third of D1).

Third, text from the bottom-third of C5 is marked to follow the text on C8; Roman numerals (III, IV, V) – written on C8, C5, and D1 respectively – indicate the ordering.

And fourth, the C-signature is a long horizontal row of four sheets, folded twice. Herder filled these pages in such a way that, if you cut the row in half to make two four-page signatures, the text would then flow properly from page to page. The archivist paginating this signature (from 17-24) did not follow that sequencing, so the penciled numbers now appear out of order. The current line-up is as follows: C1 (17), C2 (21), C3 (22), C4 (23), C5 (24), C6 (19), C7 (20), C8 (18). Once this is straightened out we can see what Herder was doing on C5, where a line is drawn across the page about 2/3 down, and beneath which is found text (written in a smaller hand) that belongs immediately after that found on C8. Herder finished his notes on rational psychology on the top half of C5 and turned the sheet over (to C6) to begin his notes on Natural Theology on a clean page, and after filling this and the remaining two pages, he still needed to write some notes, so he finished them at the bottom half of the first page, where there was still room.

The remaining four signatures (B-E) of RP/NT 763 are the following:

- (7) 1 p. (8°). Ink. [RP/NT 763 (B1)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 901₃₋₃₀. A passage from B1 is printed in Menzer (1911); see the note to signature A, above.

(B) 1 p. (11 x 17.5 cm), numbered 15 by an archivist. This is the next to the last page of a 16 pp. signature of physical geography notes. Herder appears to have inadvertently copied the page of metaphysics notes here, suggesting that he was preparing both sets of notes at the same time. Concerns Baumgarten, §792 (rational psychology).

- (8) 8 pp. (8°). Ink. [RP/NT 763 (C1-C8)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 901₃₁₋₉₁₁₁₂.

(C) 8 pp. (10.5 x 16.5 cm), numbered 17-24 by an archivist. The four sheets form a horizontal row, folded twice. When unfolded, the pages are (from left to right, with the reverse-side indicated in square-brackets): 23 [22], 17 [21], 18 [20], 24 [19]. Concerns Baumgarten, §§792-802 (rational psychology and natural theology).

- (9) 4 pp. (8°). Ink. [RP/NT 763 (D1-D4)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 911₁₃₋₉₁₇₇.

(D) 4 pp. (10.5 x 16.5 cm), numbered 25-28 by an archivist. Top-third of the first page is in pencil. Concerns Baumgarten, §§812ff. (natural theology).

- (10) 4 pp. (8°). Ink. [RP/NT 763 (E1-E4)]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 917₇₋₉₂₂₉.

(E) 4 pp. (10.5 x 16.5 cm), numbered 29-32 by an archivist. Concerns Baumgarten, §§820-44 (natural theology).

- (11) 3 pp. (8°). Pencil. [NT 844 (B1-B3)]. Previous transcription: 28: 922₁₀₋₉₂₃₃₇.

(B) 3 pp., numbered 1-4 by an archivist. Ms 1-2 are filled; ms 3 has two lines of text at the top. Last page is blank. Concerns Baumgarten, §§862, 945-49 (natural theology). This belongs with XXV.41 (see above).

- (12) 4 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 516]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 924₁₋₉₂₈₂₂.

This 4 pp. (8.25 x 14 cm) signature consists of a badly worn folded sheet of extremely heavy paper, a kind of cardboard with a hard smooth surface (three small tears in the fold suggest that it may have once served as the cover of a small notebook). The notes (in pencil) are written hastily, most probably in the classroom; there are no margins. All four pages are filled with notes on metaphysics concerning Baumgarten §§516-48 (empirical psychology).

On the last page (ms 4), only the top half belongs to metaphysics; a line appears to be drawn here, and the text below appears to be logic notes concerning Meier, *Auszug*, §207 – transcription at LO (XXV.46a). It is not much of a stretch to suppose that Herder had grabbed whatever piece of paper was available for notetaking and wrote up an hour's worth of notes on metaphysics, then began taking notes on logic when he attended that class later in the day. While it is possible that notes from earlier in the hour were begun on some other (missing) sheet, the fact that this sheet begins with a new Baumgarten paragraph supports the claim that the hour began with this paragraph. If this supposition is correct, then this manuscript offers us a glimpse of how much material Kant lectured on in any given hour, or at least how many notes Herder wrote down (here, about 1500 words).

- (13) 3 pp. (8°). Pencil. [EP 593]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 928₂₄₋₉₃₁₇.

This 4 pp. signature (10.5 x 16 cm, ribbed) is numbered 1-4 by an archivist, although the content indicates that the sheet was folded backwards when paginated, so that the correct ordering of the pages is: 3, 4, 1, 2 (3 and 2 also show the most wear, suggesting that they were originally the front and back pages). In the following, I

ignore the archivist pagination and present the pages in their proper ordering. (NB: Only the first three pages are metaphysics notes; p. 4 consists of logic notes concerning §§255-58 of Meier, *Auszug*). Notes completely fill all sides, without margins, and all are legible; they appear to have been written in the classroom. The notes on metaphysics, found on the first three pages, concern Baumgarten §§593-95, 640-44 (empirical psychology).

Considerable material is missing between the second and third pages, making it likely that a nested sheet (either 2 or 4 pp) has gone missing, and that the unfinished sentence at the bottom of the second page is not continued at the top of the third page.

(14) 2 pp. (8°). Ink. [Ont 7-22]. Previous transcription: AA 28: 53-55.

This is an unpaginated 4 pp. signature (10.5 x 17.5 cm) – a single folded sheet resulting in four pages – without margins; the paper is ribbed with part of a watermark showing (an eagle?). The page format is slightly larger than the *Blue Notebook* (NL-Herder XX.188). Text is only on p. 1 and the top 1/3 of p. 2; pp. 3-4 are blank. An acquisition stamp in red ink – “Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin” – is at the bottom of p. 2. The notes refer to Baumgarten, §§7, 14, 20-22, 34-35 (ontology). This text is most likely not from Kant's metaphysics lectures, but rather consists of Herder's reading notes of the first few pages of Kant's *New Elucidation* (propositions 1-6), along with remarks on related paragraphs from Baumgarten's *Metaphysics* that Herder marks with §. The *New Elucidation* (AA 1: 387-416) – commonly referred to by the Latin *Nova Dilucidatio* – is Kant's Latin dissertation presented to the philosophy faculty as one of the requirements for receiving permission to lecture at the university. He defended this essay on 27 September 1755 as his *disputatio pro receptio*.

XXVI.5 (4° notebook, pp. 32-33): 2 pp. Ink. [RP/NT 796]. Previous transcription: Irmischer (1964, 80-84) and AA 28: 148-51.

This is the *Brown Notebook*, a bound quarto volume with a brown cover, 70 sheets (17.5 x 20 cm). See the complete list of manuscripts (in the appendix, below) for more information on this notebook.

Two entries are of particular interest:

(1) On p. 32: “bey Kant. 1sten mal. d. 21 Aug” followed by two pages of notes from Kant's metaphysics lectures concerning Baumgarten, §§796-808 (rational psychology and natural theology).

(2) On p. 123: “den 21. Aug. bei Kant das Collegium angefangen”.

The text on p. 32 is complicated by the presence of several long notes in the left-margin, and several insertion-signs throughout the main text that are often ambiguous. Details are provided in the textual notes.

Moral Philosophy

Herder's notes on moral philosophy consist of 63 manuscript pages (27 4° and 36 8°), making it the third largest set of his notes from Kant's lectures. They come from two separate manuscript folders (XXV.42 and XXV.43) but fall naturally into four groups (A through D). Kant is listed as lecturing on moral philosophy during two winter semesters when Herder was a student: **1763-64** and **1764-65**. Because Herder left during the middle of the latter semester, it is most likely that the notes stem from the former.⁷⁹

Kant's Lectures on Moral Philosophy

Kant lectured on moral philosophy a total of twenty-eight times during his eighty-two semesters of teaching, beginning with his third semester (1756-57: listed as “Ethik” in the university records), offering the course every two or three years, with the last semester being 1793-94 (listed as: “Metaphysik der Sitten oder Allgemeine

⁷⁹ [the former] Previous transcriptions of these notes can be found in Irmischer (1964, 89-178) and Lehmann (1974, AA 27: 3-78). More information is available regarding these transcriptions on the companion website [<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>].

praktische Philosophie samt Ethik nach Baumgarten”), when he lectured on this *in place of* his required set of lectures on metaphysics (the only semester he deviated from his required courses).

We have five distinct sets of notes on moral philosophy, with the *Herder* notes being the earliest, followed by the *Kaehler* group of notes (1774-77), then *Powalski* (1782-83), *Mrongovius* (1784-85), and *Vigilantius* (1793-94). The *Kaehler* group – of which the *Kaehler* set of notes appears to stand closest to the actual lectures – also includes the more widely-published sets of notes ascribed to *Brauer* (Menzer 1924, which has enjoyed many translations) and *Collins* (the Academy edition).

K. A. **Christiani** was the professor of practical philosophy during Herder's student years and would have been offering free (public) lectures on moral philosophy (summer) and natural law (winter). Other professors under whom Herder studied were, like Kant, offering private lectures on moral philosophy – most notably F. J. **Buck**, the professor of logic and metaphysics, who lectured on moral philosophy in 1762, 1762-63, and 1763. We have no reason to believe, however, that Herder's notes do not stem from Kant's lectures, and the content of the notes are clearly based on the two Baumgarten textbooks used by Kant and which he first used in combination in the early 1760's: Baumgarten's *Initia philosophiae practicae prima acroamatice* (1760) and *Ethica philosophica* (1740; 2nd ed: 1751, 3rd ed: 1763). A typical formulation published in the lecture catalog for his course: “Allgemeine praktische Philosophie und Ethik nach Baumgarten.”

Herder's notes regularly refer to Baumgarten's textbooks, either directly (by section or paragraph number) or indirectly (by explicit mention of a topic), and at these points we either quote or summarize the relevant text in an explanatory note. Baumgarten also often refers in his two moral philosophy textbooks to his metaphysics textbook, using an upper-case ‘M’ followed by the paragraph number (e.g., ‘M. §185’); this is Baumgarten's *Metaphysica*, which Kant used in his metaphysics lectures, and that full text is available online in the section with Herder's notes on metaphysics.

The Moral Philosophy Textbooks

Kant used two textbooks by A. G. Baumgarten in his lectures on moral philosophy: *Initia philosophiae practicae* and *Ethica philosophica*.

The *Initia philosophiae practicae* consists of 205 numbered paragraphs and is reprinted alongside Kant's “Erläuterungen” at AA 19: 5-91. The *Ethica philosophica* consists of 500 numbered paragraphs and is reprinted at AA 27: 737-869 (the 1751 2nd edition) and 27: 873-1028 (the 1763 3rd edition).

The university records for this course of lectures are a bit awkward. 1763-64 is the first semester in which Kant appears to be using both texts, but the entry reads: “Ethik und Moral nach Baumeister.” This reference to Friedrich Christian Baumeister (1709-1785) is certainly an error – it is not even clear what text or texts could be intended, as Baumeister never published a stand-alone textbook on moral philosophy.⁸⁰ The records following

⁸⁰ [moral philosophy] The closest is a reworking of Baumeister's *Institutiones metaphysicae* (the popular metaphysics text that Kant used once or twice in his earliest years of teaching) that includes material on practical philosophy: *Elementa philosophiae recentioris* (1747). The possibility of a miswrite in the records is much more likely than Kant choosing this text, nor does this text fit the description in the lecture catalog.

that semester all list Baumgarten as the author, if an author is given at all (so for 1764-65: “Allgemeine praktische Philosophie und Ethik nach Baumgarten”). Prior to this, Kant appears to have alternated between Baumgarten's two texts, judging from how the records are worded: 1759-60 reads “Ethik über Baumgarten” [= *Ethica philosophica*], the next winter reads “Praktische Philosophie” [= *Initia*]. The outlines are as follows:

Baumgarten, *Initia philosophiae practicae, primae acroamatice* (Halle 1760).

Kant's own copy of the *Initia philosophiae* [Introduction to Practical First Philosophy] was available to scholars and was housed in the university library in Königsberg, but was lost and possibly destroyed in 1944. Fortunately, Adickes had already transcribed Kant's annotations, which are printed at AA 19: 7-269, 282-309. The book was not interleaved (unlike Kant's copy of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica*); the notes Kant wrote on the unnumbered pages of the preface and synopsis are indicated with Roman numerals. On Baumgarten's two textbooks on moral philosophy, see also Stark (2014a, 108-9).

Prolegomena (§§1-9).

Chapter One: Obligation (*obligatio*)

1. Obligation in general (*obligatio in genere*) (§§10-49).
2. Moral constraint (*coactio moralis*) (§§50-59).

Chapter Two: What Obligates (*obligantia*)

1. Law (*lex*) (§§60-75).
2. Skill in law (*iuris peritia*) (§§76-86).
3. Principles of law (*principia iuris*) (§§87-99).
4. Legislator (*legislator*) (§§100-5).
5. Rewards (*praemia*) (§§106-14).

6. Punishments (*poenae*) (§§115-24).

7. Imputation of action (*imputatio facti*) (§§125-48).

8. The author (*auctor*) (§§149-58).

9. Degrees of imputability (*gradus imputabilitatis*) (§§159-70).

10. Imputation under law (*imputatio legis*) (§§171-79).

11. Forum (*forum*) (§§180-85).

12. External forum (*forum externum*) (§§186-99).

13. Conscience (*conscientia*) (§§200-5).

Baumgarten, *Ethica philosophica scripsit acroamatice* (Halle: 1740 (1st edition), 1751 (2nd), 1763 (3rd)).

We have no trace of Kant's copy of the *Ethica philosophica* [Philosophical Ethics], nor do we know which edition(s) he may have used. They have identical section-numbering. We do know, however, that Herder had access to a copy of the 1740 1st edition – and this could also have been the edition used by Kant. The evidence of Herder's 1st edition copy comes from XXV.43(D)-22, where we find the following reference to Baumgarten's textbook: “Sectio 11. p. 236.” Whether we interpret this as “Section 2” or “Section 11”, this fits with neither the 1751 nor the 1763 editions, but in the 1740 edition we find on p. 236: “Section 2” (*Officia virtvosi et vitiosi*), beginning with §426.

Prolegomena (§§1-10)

I. General

A. Religion (*religio*)

1. Internal (*interna*): knowledge of God, inner worship and prayer, pious habits (§§11-109).
2. External (*externa*): confession, studying to promote religion, pious examples, and ceremonies, etc. (§§110-49).

B. Duties toward oneself (*officia erga te ipsum*)

1. General (*generatim*): knowledge and judgment of oneself, duties towards conscience, and self-love (§§150-200).

2. Special (*speciatim*): duties towards the soul (intellect and appetites), the body, one's reputation (§§201-300).

C. Duties toward others (*officia erga alia*)

1. General (§§301-3).
2. Special, both human (*erga alios homines*) (§§304-90) and non-human (*erga alia, quae non sunt homines*) (§§391-99).

II. Special

D. Special duties regarding the soul (*animae officia*): learned/unlearned (*eruditorum et ineruditorum*) (§§400-25), virtuous/vicious (*virtuosi et vitiosi*) (§§426-50).

E. Special duties regarding the body (*corporis officia*): different ages (*aetatum*) (§§451-60), healthy/sick (*sanorum et aegrotorum*) (§§461-70).

F. Special duties regarding one's external standing (*status externi officia*) (§§471-500).

List of Manuscripts

The manuscripts are in two collections of Herder's *Nachlaß* housed in the *SBPK*: XXV.42 (one 8° signature) and XXV.43 (eight 4° and five 8° signatures). The manuscripts fall naturally into four groups (A-D) based on their format and content. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 89-178) and AA 27: 3-89.

A: XXV.42 (8°): 8 pp. Ink. [42A 1-8]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 89-98) and AA 27: 3₁-12₂.

One 8 pp. signature (10 x 16.5 cm). Ribbed paper with an indiscernible watermark. Text in light to dark brown ink covers all eight pages (no margins). Sheets are numbered (1-4) in pencil by an archivist. At the very top of p. 1, in Herder's hand: "IV. Prakt. Phil.". Also at the top in pencil: "XXV.42." and a penciled "1" in the top-right corner.

This 8° signature discusses Baumgarten's *Initia philosophiae practicae*, consisting of 205 numbered sections; these notes contain explicit references to §§50-71.

The remaining notes below (groups B, C, and D) consist of thirteen signatures from XXV.43. Thirty sheets in total, varying in size from 9.5 x 16.5 cm to 19 x 23.5 cm. The eight 4° signatures account for 27 pp. of text, while the five 8° signatures account for 28 pp. The type of paper also varies; most watermarks are not identifiable. The sheets are numbered continuously. The notes refer to Baumgarten's *Ethica philosophica*, consisting of 500 numbered sections; these notes contain references to §1-126, 164-339, 344-453.

B: XXV.43/1-4 (4°): 17 pp. These four 4° signatures are all written with a wide margin (typical of a re-worked draft of notes), and they have the most concentrated number of references to specific paragraphs in Baumgarten's *Ethica philosophica*, ranging from §1 to §126 (this matches the actual range of sections being discussed). Numbered by sheet (1-9), with one blank page (1v).

(1) 1 p. (4°: 17 x 21.5 cm). Ink. [43B 1]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 99-100) and AA 27:12₃-36.

Margin is one-fourth the page width. Bottom half of front, and all of the back, is blank. At the top of the first page: "Einleit. in d. Prakt. Philos."

(2) 4 pp. (4°: 17 x 21.5 cm). Ink. [43B 2-5]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 100-7) and AA 27: 13₁-19₈.

Two sheet signature; margin is one-fourth the page width.

(3) 8 pp. (4°: 17 x 21.5 cm). Ink. [43B 6-13]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 107-20) and AA 27: 19₈-32₄.

Four sheet signature; margin is one-fourth the page width. This signature is a single printer's sheet folded twice to make four sheets.

(4) 4 pp. (4°: 16.25 x 21 cm). Ink. [43B 14-17]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 120-27) and AA 27: 32₄-39₉.

Two sheet signature; margin one-fifth the page width.

C: XXV.43/5-8 (4°): 10 pp. These four 4° signatures are all written without margins and on a thinner paper. Their discussion of Baumgarten follows the **B**-signatures in the proper order, referring specifically to §§170-268 (although with only six references compared to the forty-three references in **B**). The range of sections under discussion is §164-339, with the first page beginning mid-sentence – the last page of 43(B) also ends mid-sentence – indicating that one or more sheets (between B and C) are missing. Signature 7, a folded sheet with four pages of text, shows a clear discontinuity between the second and third pages (i.e., C6 and C7) – suggesting that another sheet (or folded sheet) had been nested here and is now missing. Numbered by sheet (10-15), with two blank pages (15r, 15v).

(5) 2 pp. (4°: 17 x 22 cm). Ink. [43C 1-2]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 127-32) and AA 27: 39₁₀-43₂₀.

One sheet, no margin.

(6) 2 pp. (4°: 19 x 23 cm). Ink. [43C 3-4]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 132-37) and AA 27: 43₂₁-48₁₉.

One sheet, no margin. The abrupt changes in ink strongly suggest that these notes were written in the classroom.

(7) 4 pp. (4°: 16.5 x 21 cm). Ink. [43C 5-8]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 137-45) and AA 27: 48₂₀-56₁₈.

Two sheets, no margin. The abrupt changes in ink strongly suggest that these notes were written in the classroom.

(8) 2 pp. (4°: 16.5 x 21 cm). Ink. [43C 9-10]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 145-48) and AA 27: 56₁₈-59₂₅.

Two sheets (from a folded single sheet), no margin. The second sheet is blank on both sides (not indicated in the AA 27 transcription).

D: XXV.43/9-13 (8°): 28 pp. Ink. These four 8° signatures, along with a single 8° sheet, are all written without margins and refer specifically to §§348-378 (sixteen references). The range of sections under discussion is §344 to §453. Numbered by sheet (16-30), with two blank pages (21v, 30v).

(9) 8 pp. (8°: 10.5 x 16 cm). Ink. [43D 1-8]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 148-56) and AA 27: 59₂₆-67₂₅.

This signature is one-half a printer's sheet (16 x 42 cm) folded twice to make four sheets. No margins.

(10) 3 pp. (8°: 10 x 17.25 cm). Ink. [43D 9-11]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 156-60) and AA 27: 67₂₅-71₃.

Two sheets, no margin. The bottom one-fourth of the front of the second sheet, and all of its back side, is blank. NB: This break (one and one-fourth blank pages) in the text is not noted in the AA 27 transcription.

(11) 8 pp. (8°: 10 x 17.25 cm). Ink. [43D 12-19]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 160-68) and AA 27: 71₄-79₃₃.

A single printer's sheet folded twice to make four sheets. No margins except for the third page of text.

(12) 8 pp. (8°: 10 x 17.25 cm). Ink. [43D 20-27]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 168-78) and AA 27: 79₃₃-89₁.

A single printer's sheet folded twice to make four sheets. No margins.

(13) 1 p. (8°: 10 x 16.5 cm). Ink. [43D 28]. Previous transcription: Irmscher (1964, 178) and AA 27: 89₁₋₂₇.

One sheet, no margins. Text on only top half of the front side. The sheet appears to be the endpaper from a book owned by a student named Haberkant, for at the bottom-right corner of the first side of this sheet, in a hand other than Herder's, we find the inscription "Hunc Librorum possidet / Jure mentoris / C. Haberkant. / const. 1 fl. 6 gr."⁸¹ The sheet is edged in red, which also suggests it came from a bound book. Irmscher speculates that Herder ran out of paper mid-lecture and borrowed a sheet from a neighbor. Despite the random format of the paper, the content does flow smoothly from signature 12, above.

⁸¹ [Haberkant ... 1 fl. 6 gr.] One might think this was Herder's friend mentioned in his letters from 1765 and who matriculated at the Albertina on 3 May 1762 with the entry: "Haberkant Joh. Jac. Gilgenburg. Boruss., e gymnasio Thorunensi dimissus" (Erlor 1911, 2: 483; cf. Irmscher 1964, 99). This Haberkant – the only one matriculating about the same time as Herder – came from Gilgenburg (*now*: Dąbrówno, Poland), roughly 180 km south of Königsberg and 120 km east of Thorn (*now*: Torun, Poland), where he attended the Gymnasium. The more likely candidate for the "Jure mentoris C. Haberkant" inscribed on the loaned page, however, would be Christoph Reinhold Haberkant, also from Gilgenburg, who matriculated as a law student seven years earlier on either March 29 or April 13, 1755, having previously attended the *Collegium Fridericianum* in Königsberg.

Physical Geography

Herder's notes on physical geography notes are second only to the metaphysics notes in terms of length, consisting of 98 manuscript pages (21 4° and 77 8°) with an additional 72 pages of a handwritten copy of which the original pages have since been lost. The 4° pages are the most polished of all Herder's lecture notes, although many of the original sheets (both 4° and 8°) have been lost, apart from the text still available in the form of the handwritten copy. We have arranged these notes by format and then by the order of topics followed in Kant's lectures.

Kant's Lectures on Physical Geography⁸²

Kant lectured on physical geography nearly every semester during his years as a lecturer, and then every summer semester after he was a full professor, lecturing from his own notes since there was no standard textbook available.⁸³ These notes – prepared between 1757 and early 1759 and dubbed the *Diktattext*⁸⁴ by Adickes – have been lost but were preserved in the copy known as *Holstein-Beck* (mentioned above). The presence of this *Diktattext* makes the notes on physical geography unlike those from any of Kant's other lectures, since copies of the text were being passed around and found their way into thirteen of the sets of notes currently available to us (and as Adickes has determined, not by way of Kant's oral lectures, but through copying out the written text).

We know of thirty-four sets of notes with thirty-two available at least in part (AA 26.1: lv-lxiii). They fall into ten groups representing the temporal span of the lectures – from *Holstein-Beck* (1757-59; AA 26.1: 7-320) and *Herder* (1763-64) to *Vigilantius* (1793; selection at AA 26.2: 1145-54). Many of the notes are compilations from more than one source, although five clearly are single source: *Herder* (1763-64), *Hesse* (1770), *Dönhoff* (1781), *Reicke* (1787), and *Vigilantius* (1793) – although we have only scattered fragments of these last two. Several of the compilations are predominantly grounded in one semester, with discernible additions from another.

Kant explained his basic approach to the course and its structure in the pamphlet announcing his courses for summer semester 1757 (*West Winds*, 1757):

“The reports that serve this purpose [viz., for presenting a physical geography] are scattered throughout numerous and weighty tomes and there is no available textbook by means of which this science could be made more apt for academic use. For this reason, at the beginning of my academic lectures, I decided to present this science in special lectures in a summary outline. This I have done for one semester to the satisfaction of my audience. Since that time, I have broadened my plan considerably. I have drawn from all sources, sought out all information, and besides the

⁸² [Physical Geography Lectures] See the online materials (<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/PhysGeo/>) of other sets of notes from Kant's lectures on physical geography, including a page facilitating comparison of Herder's notes with the *Holstein-Beck* text.

⁸³ [textbook available] The situation is more complicated than this, as books were available (viz., by Varens, Buffon, and Lulofs) that Kant could have used as a textbook and of which he made constant use in his own notes. See *History and Natural Description of Earthquakes* (AA 1: 444), “West Winds” (AA 2: 4), and the summary table at AA 26.1: ix.

⁸⁴ [*Diktattext*] One or more copies of the *Diktattext* were made during Kant's lifetime, including the extant *Holstein-Beck* (AA 26.1: 7-320), presented by Kant as a gift to Friedrich Karl Ludwig von Holstein-Beck (1757-1816) on the occasion of a set of *privatissima* lectures on physical geography that Kant delivered in his home during 1772-73. Erich Adickes (1911a, 10) borrowed the term from official notices of the course, nearly half of which say that the lectures will take place “nach eigenen dictatis” or “über dictata” or “secundum dictata sua” or “ad propria dictata” and so on. It is clear from the many contemporary accounts of Kant's lecturing, however, that he did not read to his auditors.

information contained in the works of Varenius, Buffon, and Lulofs⁸⁵ concerning the general foundations of physical geography, I have gone through the most thorough descriptions of various lands by the best travelers, the *Allgemeine Historie aller Reisen*, the *Göttingische Sammlung neuer Reisen*, the *Hamburgische Magazin*, and the *Leipziger Magazin*,⁸⁶ the writings of the Academies of Science of Paris and Stockholm, and other materials. From all of that which pertains to this purpose I have made a system. I offer here a short outline of this material. One should be able to decide whether it is possible to be ignorant of such things without doing injury to the title of *scholar*." (AA 2: 4)

The usual order of topics in the notes consists of a brief introduction to mathematical geography, followed by three major parts: (1) a physical geography (properly so-called), i.e., an account of the land, the rivers, oceans, and so on, (2) natural histories organized by kingdom (animal, plant, mineral), and (3) ethnographies grouped by geographic sections (Asia, Africa, Europe, America).

Description of the Manuscripts

The 8° sheets (most in ink, but some in pencil) appear to have been written in the lecture hall, while the 4° sheets are fair copies prepared at home and with very few abbreviations. One finds in the 4° pages passages from Kant's *Diktattext* that are missing from the 8° pages – as though Herder, while re-working his notes, had access either to Kant's text or to the sources quoted by him.

Herder's revised notes (the 4° sheets) cover only the first six sections of the first part of the course of lectures (see the outline below), closely following the structure and section titles found in *Holstein-Beck*. The 8° notes cover the nine sections of part one with varying levels of completeness; in part two, the first section on human beings is discussed well, some animals are briefly presented, but notes on the plant and mineral kingdoms are missing entirely; in part three, we find only eight pages on Asia, and nothing on the other three "parts of the world."

Herder lectured on physical geography in Riga at the Cathedral School, after leaving Königsberg,⁸⁷ suggesting the possibility that some or all of the re-worked 4° notes were prepared at that time (and possibly incorporating additional material other than what was presented by Kant). Three pages of 4° notes from XXV.44a (signature 1) appear to come from a separate set of lectures; the content is on oceans, with brief discussions of springs and rivers. These might also have stemmed from Herder's own teaching activity.

⁸⁵ [Varenius, Buffon, and Lulofs] Bernhard **Varenius** (1622-1650), *Geographia Generalis* (1650); Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de **Buffon** (1707-1788) published his *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, 36 vols. (1749–1788), the German translation initiated and in part completed by Abraham Gotthelf Kästner as *Allgemeine Historie der Natur nach allen ihren besondern Theilen abgehandelt*, 11 parts (1750-82), of which Kant drew from the first two volumes in the Herder notes; and Johann **Lulofs** (1711-1768), whose *Inleiding tot eene natuur en wiskundige beschouwinge des aardkloots tot dienst der landgenooten* (1750) was translated from the Dutch by Kästner as *Einleitung zu der mathematischen und physikalischen Kenntniß der Erdkugel* (1755).

⁸⁶ [*Leipziger Magazin*] These works are: *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*, 21 vols. (Amsterdam 1747-74); *Sammlung neuer und merkwürdiger Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande*, 11 parts (Göttingen 1750-57); *Das Hamburgische Magazin oder gesammelte Schriften zum Unterricht und Vergnügen aus der Naturforschung und den angenehmen Wissenschaften überhaupt*, 26 vols. (Hamburg 1747-63); *Allgemeines Magazin der Natur, Kunst und Wissenschaften*, 12 vols. (Leipzig 1753-67).

⁸⁷ [after leaving Königsberg] Herder mentions these lectures in an address given at the Riga school (Suphan 1889, 30: 99), as quoted in a previous note.

A comparison of Herder's notes with *Holstein-Beck* makes it clear that Kant was not reading his text to the class, but was instead guided by the text's structure, adding new material as he came across it in his extensive readings.⁸⁸ This manner of presentation is in keeping with what has been reported about his lectures in general.

Dating the Notes

The notes appear to stem from two separate semesters (some of the 8° notes cover the same material), and the only semesters that Kant is recorded as lecturing on physical geography during Herder's studies were 1763-64 and 1764.

The *Holstein-Beck* text has the following structure⁸⁹ (with the corresponding sections from *Herder* in brackets):

I. General

- §1: History of the oceans. [Oceans(8°)(4°)]
- §2: History of lands and islands. [Land(8°)(4°)]
- §3: Earthquakes and volcanoes. [Earthquakes(8°)(4°)]
- §4: History of springs and wells. [Springs(8°)(4°)]
- §5: History of rivers. [Rivers(8°)(4°)]
- §6: History of wind-currents. [Winds(8°)(4°)]
- §7: On the relationship between the weather and the seasons.⁹⁰
- §8: History of the great changes that the earth has suffered and is still suffering. [History(8°)]
- §9: On seafaring.⁹¹

II. The Three Kingdoms

- §1: On human beings (differences in culture and skin coloration). [Humans(8°)]
- §2: The animal kingdom. [Animals(8°)]
- §3: The plant kingdom.
- §4: The mineral kingdom.

III. The Four Parts of the World: Asia, Africa, Europe, America. [Asia(8°)]

This outline is identical to that given in Kant's 1757 lecture announcement pamphlet (*West Winds*, 1757), except that items I§3 and III are omitted:

⁸⁸ [readings] At the same time, there are passages in Herder's notes that are nearly *verbatim* with *Holstein-Beck*, suggesting that Kant was occasionally quoting his text in his lectures or else Herder had occasional access to it.

⁸⁹ [structure] See the supplemental materials available online: <https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/PhysGeo/>.

⁹⁰ [§7 ... seasons] This is a relatively small selection in *Holstein-Beck* (AA 26.1: 64-66) and there is no clearly marked section in the Herder notes. Winds(8°)-8-10 appear to be most relevant, and perhaps the roughly corresponding discussion of "periodical winds" (e.g., monsoons) at Winds(4°)-12.

⁹¹ [§9: On seafaring] There is just half a page on this section in the Herder notes, found at the very end of the 8° notes at History(8°)-10.

“Physical geography considers only the natural constitution of the globe and what is on it: the seas, the solid land, the mountains, the rivers, the wind-currents, human beings, animals, plants, and minerals. But all this not with that completeness and philosophical accuracy in its details that is the business of physics and natural science, but with the reasonable curiosity of a traveler, who seeks out everywhere the strange, the unusual, and the beautiful, comparing his gathered observations and reflects on their organization.” (AA 2: 3)

These three parts are given roughly equal space in *Holstein-Beck*, but this ended in the early 1770s after Kant began lecturing on anthropology every winter semester. In the *Kaehler* physical geography notes of 1774, for instance, we find a relatively long introductory section (9% of the content), a much expanded first part (58%), and much smaller second (23%) and third (10%) parts, and this last is now limited to discussions of non-European peoples.

Kant's Sources

About four-fifths of the *Diktattext* (as understood through the *Holstein-Beck* copy) consists of excerpts from books and journal articles, including those listed in Kant's 1757 lecture announcement quoted above. Familiarity with these sources is of considerable help in understanding what we are reading when we are reading Herder's notes. The more frequently used sources are discussed at AA 26.1: xii-xvii and include:

Part 1: Varenius 1650, Buffon 1750, Lulofs 1755

Part 2/Animals: Pontoppidan 1753-54, Halle 1757

Part 2/Minerals: Justi 1757

Part 3/Asia: Salmon 1732, Gmelin 1751

Part 3/Africa: Ludolf 1681-94, Colb 1745, Salmon 1748, *AHR* 1748-1751 (vols. 2-5)

Part 3/Europe: Keyßler 1751, Büsching 1754

Part 3/America/Polar Sea: *AHR* 1751-59 (vols. 9, 12, 13, 16, 17), Müller 1758

Other:⁹² *SnmR*, *BrMag*, *HMag*, *LMag*, *ParAb*, *SchwedAb*, etc.

All of the notes stemming from Kant's physical geography lectures consist primarily of paraphrases of these source materials,⁹³ and the Herder notes often include only brief phrases. Nearly every sentence could be adorned with one or more explanatory notes regarding its source – had the current editors and their readers enjoyed endless leisure and patience. Instead, we have noted all that we could locate, which should be understood more as illustrative than as a complete account of Kant's source material.

List of Manuscripts

The manuscripts are found in two Berlin locations – the *Akademie-Archiv* (*Nachlaß Kant*, #15a; *Nachlaß Adickes*, #4) and the *SBPK* (*Nachlaß Herder*: XXV.44, 44a, 46a) – and are of three formats: (1) 77 8° pages

⁹² [Other] German translations of reports to the various Academies of Science were published in **ParAb** (Paris) and **SchwedAb** (Stockholm), and **BrMag**, **HMag**, and **LMag** often translated essays from both the London and Paris Academies.

⁹³ [source materials] Appearance of these sources vary in the notes, some of which reflect Kant's access to and use of these materials, rather than the vagaries of student notetaking. For instance, Cartheuser (1758), Guignes (1761), and Gruner (1760) appear in *Herder* but not in *Holstein-Beck*.

(about 10 x 17 cm) that appear to be notes taken down in the classroom, (2) 21 4° pages (about 17 x 20 cm) with wide margins and neater handwriting, and which are re-worked notes, and (3) a set of 231 sheets with text copied by Paul Menzer (and two associates) around 1900, of which 72 pages have text for which the originals (all on physical geography) are now missing. There have been no previously published transcriptions, save for the following passages included in Menzer (1911): 75-76 (8°-History 9-10), 79 (4°-Introduction 1), 109-10 (8°-Humans 3), 125-28 (8°-Humans 7-11).

The manuscript pages are often given a different ordering in the transcript than how they were archivally numbered – typically in pencil at the bottom of each page, otherwise by sheet. To make the transcriptional presentation clearer, the location of the text in the transcription (placed in square-brackets) is accompanied by the manuscript sheet or page numbers in round-brackets, and where an asterisk (*) indicates that only part of that manuscript page belongs with that section of the transcription.

(1) Notes taken in the classroom, octavo format (8°)

At the *Akademie-Archiv/Berlin, Nachlaß Kant*:

#15a (8°): 5 pp. Two signatures, with sheets numbered continuously.

(1) 4 pp. (8°: 10 x 17.5 cm). Ink. [Humans, 6 (6r)], [Animals, 3-5 (6v, 7r, 7v)].

Text on all pages. A folded sheet, making two sheets/four pages.

(2) 1 p. (8°: 10 x 17.5 cm). Ink. [Animals, 6 (8r)].

Sheet folded into thirds, making six pages. Text only on one side (four-fifths full). Two lines of Latin text are at the top of a later page.

At the *SBPK, Nachlaß Herder*:

XXV.44 (8°): 15 pp. Four signatures, with sheets numbered continuously.

(1) 8 pp. (8°: 10.25 x 16.25 cm). [Humans, 7-13 (1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r*)], [Animals, 1-2 (4r*, 4v)].

A single large printer's sheet folded twice. Text on all pages.

(2) 2 pp. (8°: 13 x 20.5 cm). Ink. [Asia, 1-2 (5r, 5v)].

Text on both pages.

(3) 3 pp. (8°: 11 x 17.5 cm). Ink. [Asia, 3-5 (6r, 6v, 7r)].

Four-page signature, last page is blank.

(4) 2 pp. (8°: 13 x 20.5 cm). Ink and pencil. [Asia, 6-7 (8r, 8v)].

The top two-thirds of the first page is in ink, the bottom one-third in pencil. The top one-fourth of the second page is in pencil, the rest is blank.

XXV.46a (8°): 57 pp. Seven signatures in three groups.

Apart from notes on metaphysics, physics, and logic, this collection includes seven signatures on physical geography.

(1) 14 pp. (8°: 10 x 15.5 cm). Pencil. [Intro, 1-2 (5, 6)], [Oceans, 1-12 (1, 2, 7, 8, 3, 4, 13, 14, 9, 10, 11, 12*)], [Land, 1 (12*)].

Group 1 is a 20 pp. signature with text on the first 18 pp. and paginated at the bottom of each page with text: pp. 1-14 are on physical geography (as indicated above), pp. 15-18 are notes on physics (B1-B4).

(2) 15 pp. (8°: 11 x 17.5 cm). Ink. [History, 1-10 (16, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)], [Humans, 1-5 (10, 11, 13, 14, 12)].

Group 2 is a 16 pp. signature with text on the first 15 pp. of text paginated at the bottom of each page; page 15 contains notes from a metaphysics lecture (RP/NT 763-B1).

Apart from discussing section 8 ("history of the great changes the earth has suffered"), the pages below also include small fragments of the sections preceding and succeeding this one: the first page discusses material in section 7 ("on the relationship between the weather and the seasons") and the last page (p. 10) contains eight lines devoted to section 9 ("on seafaring").

- (3) 28 pp. (8°: 10-10.5 x 16.5-17 cm). Ink. [Land, 2-6 (7, 8, 13, 14, 9)], [Earthquakes, 1-6 (9, 10, 3, 4, 5, 6*)], [Springs, 1-7 (6*, 15, 16, 11, 12, 1, 2)], [Rivers, 1-3 (17, 18, 19*)], [Winds, 1-10 (19*, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 23, 24)].

Group 3 consists of five signatures of 8, 8, 4, 4, and 4 pp., no margins (although some indentation with lists). Paginated continuously 1-28, although this pagination differs from the order of presentation here, and presumably from that followed in Kant's lectures.

(2) Re-worked notes, quarto format (4°)

At the *Akademie-Archiv*/Berlin, *Nachlaß Kant*:

#15a (4°): 10 pp. Three signatures, with sheets numbered continuously.

- (1) 4 pp. (4°: 16 x 20.5 cm). Ink. [Earthquakes, 1-4 (4r, 4v, 5r, 5v)].

Text on all pages.

- (2) 2 pp. (4°: 17 x 21.5 cm). Ink. [Rivers, 9-10 (3v, 3r)].

Text on all pages.

- (3) 4 pp. (4°: 17 x 20 cm). Ink. [Winds, 5-8 (1r, 1v, 2r, 2v)].

Text on all pages.

At the *SBPK*, *Nachlaß Herder*:

XXV.44a (4°): 11 pp. Three signatures, with sheets numbered continuously.

- (1) 3 pp. (4°: 16.5 x 20.5 cm). Ink. [Oceans, 18-20 (1r, 1v, 2r)]. 8 pp. signature. Pages 1-3 on physical geography; p. 4 consists of only four lines of text at the top on logic (possibly from one of Kant's logic lectures, or else notes for Herder's own lectures on logic given at Riga); pp. 5-7 are blank; p. 8 consists of a list of names and amounts of money written next to each (perhaps Herder's students at the *Collegium Fridericianum*). These pages appear to belong to a separate set of notes, and discuss topics on the oceans, but also springs and rivers.

- (2) 4 pp. (4°: 16 x 20.5 cm). Ink. [Springs, 12-15 (3r, 3v, 4r, 4v)], [Rivers, 1 (4v)].

- (3) 4 pp. (4°: 16 x 20.5 cm). Ink. [Winds, 9-12 (5r, 5v, 6r, 6v)].

(3) The Menzer copy

At the *Akademie-Archiv*/Berlin, *Nachlaß Adickes*:

- #4 (4°): 72 pp. [Intro, 1-3 (157r-158r*)], [Oceans, 1-17 (158r*-166r)], [Land, 1-24 (167r-178v)], [Earthquakes, 5-7 (185r*-186r)], [Springs, 1-11 (186v-191v*)], [Rivers, 11-14 (199v-202r, 206r, 202v-203v)], [Winds, 1-4 (206r-207v*)].

Of the copied physical geography notes, 119 pages are of original quarto (4°) notes and 25 pages of original octavo (8°) notes – viz., all of the 4° notes and most of the 8° notes that were available to him – and about one-half of the 4° sheets that he copied are now missing (equaling 72 pages of the copy).

Passages from the physical geography published in Menzer (1911) are listed in Table 2, above.

Menzer's copy is transcribed here only when the original is no longer available. A comparison of Menzer's transcription against the original notes that still exist shows that the Menzer copy: (1) indicates neither page-breaks nor line-breaks of the manuscript, (2) reproduces much but not all of the underlining and also introduces some underlining, (3) replicates some of the abbreviations, but not in any reliable way, and tends to fill them in, (4) only sporadically retains the distinction in script (Sütterlin vs Latin), (5) does not indicate deletions or corrections in the original manuscript (any deletions or corrections in the copy are simply

the copyists own corrections to the copy), (6) tends to retain the general outline format of the notes, (7) retains dashes that (normally) indicate words in the line above to be inserted in the text, and approximately in the correct location (for determining the textual insertion), and (8) leaves spaces in the text where a word is illegible, and adding a '(?)' to any questionable readings.

Ordering of Manuscript Pages in the Transcription

The numbers in parentheses refer to penciled archivist numbers on the manuscripts, either by page or by sheet. An asterisk (*) means that only part of the page belongs with that section.

Octavo (8°)

Intro: **46a1** (5, 6)

Oceans: **46a1** (1, 2, 7, 8, 3, 4, 13, 14, 9, 10, 11, 12*)

Land: **46a1** (12*), **46a3** (7, 8, 13, 14)

Earthquakes: **46a3** (9, 10, 3, 4, 5, 6*)

Springs: **46a3** (6*, 15, 16, 11, 12, 1, 2)

Rivers: **46a3** (17, 18, 19*)

Wind: **46a3** (19*, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 23, 24)

History: **46a2** (16, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9)

Humans: **46a2** (10, 11, 13, 14, 12); **15a1** (6r); **44.1** (1r, 1v, 2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r*)

Animals: **44.1** (4r*, 4v); **15a1** (6v, 7r, 7v); **15a2** (8r)

Asia: **44.2** (5r, 5v); **44.3** (6r, 6v, 7r); **44.4** (8r, 8v)

Quarto (4°)

Intro: **Menzer** (157rv, 158r*)

Oceans: **Menzer** (158r*v, 159rv, 160rv, 161rv, 162rv, 163rv, 164rv, 165rv, 166r); **44a1** (1r, 1v, 2r)

Land: **Menzer** (167rv, 168rv, 169rv, 170rv, 171rv, 172rv, 173rv, 174rv, 175rv, 176rv, 177rv, 178rv)

Earthquakes: **15a1** (4r, 4v, 4r, 5v); **Menzer** (185r*v, 186r)

Springs: **Menzer** (186v, 187rv, 188rv, 189rv, 190rv, 191rv*); **44a2** (3r, 3v, 4r, 4v)

Rivers: **44a2** (4v); **Menzer** (199rv, 200rv, 201rv, 202r*); **15a2** (3v, 3r); **Menzer** (202r*v, 203rv)

Winds: **Menzer** (206rv, 207rv*); **15a3** (1r, 1v, 2r, 2v); **44a3** (5r, 5v, 6r, 6v)

Logic

Herder's notes on logic consist of a little over eight 8° pages of text, spread over four different manuscripts.⁹⁴ Kant lectured on logic every semester during Herder's years at the university and the notes cannot be more closely dated than 1762-1764.

Kant's Lectures on Logic

Kant lectured on logic a total of fifty-six times – more than on any other subject, and nearly every semester that he was a *Privatdozent*, reduced to every summer semester after his promotion to professor of logic and metaphysics. The extant student notes from these lectures span from the fragmentary *Herder* (1762-64) to *Bauch* (1794).

We know of twenty-six sets of notes with nineteen available at least in part. Nine of the manuscripts appear to be complete, and a tenth (*Volckmann*) is a very large fragment. Three sets (*Warsaw*, *Bauch*, *Hechsel*) are published in Pinder (1998), a five-page fragment (*Grünheide*) is published in Kowalewski (2000), and

⁹⁴ [manuscripts] Previous transcriptions of these notes can be found in Irmscher (1964, 43-7) and Lehmann (1966, AA 24: 3-6, 1099-1100). More information is available regarding these transcriptions on the companion website [<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>].

Volckmann, having been recovered in 2000,⁹⁵ remains unpublished. Jäsche claimed that his 1800 *Logic* was based solely on Kant's annotations in his copy of Meier's *Auszüge* (1752), but it was soon clear to scholars (Erdmann 1880; Heinze 1894; Schlapp 1901) that one or more sets of student notes also entered into the text: these now lost notes we designate as *Jäsche*.

Five (or six) sets of notes (*Hechsel, Pölitz, Warsaw, Vienna, Hoffmann, Jäsche?*) are related in a complicated and yet to be fully explicated fashion, with at least one source lecture from 1780-82. Four other sets of notes (*Blomberg, Bauch, Grünheide, Philippi*) are closely related with their source lecture in the early 1770s.

This leaves us with the following nine available sets of notes: *Herder* (1762-64; AA 24: 3-6, 1099-1100, and a few previously unpublished fragments), the *Blomberg* group (early 1770s; AA 24: 9-301), *Hintz* (1775; AA 24: 943-44), the *Hechsel* group (1780-82; Pinder 1998: 271-499), *Volckmann* (early 1780s), *Mrongovius* (1784?; AA 24: 1043-47), *Busolt* (1789; AA 24: 605-86), *Dohna-Wundlacken* (1792; AA 24: 689-784), and a fragment from *Vigilantius* (1793; Arnoldt 1908-9, 5: 15-17; Hinske 1991, 150).

While Herder's logic notes are scant, their provenance is unambiguous. The only other logic lectures that Herder might have attended would have been those offered by F. J. **Buck**, the professor of logic and metaphysics at the time who offered free (public) lectures on logic every summer, but Buck taught from Crusius's logic textbook⁹⁶ and the Herder notes are clearly based on Meier's text. No one other than Kant was lecturing on Meier's logic.

The Logic Textbook

Georg Friedrich **Meier** (1718-1777), a professor of philosophy at Halle, published two logic texts in 1752: his *Vernunftlehre*, consisting of 630 sections, and his shorter *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre*, consisting of 563 sections. Kant's interleaved copy of the *Auszug* is extant⁹⁷ and appears to be the same textbook described by Wenzel von Purgstall, a visiting auditor in 1795, as being...

“... so old and soiled, I believe that he has brought it daily to class with him for forty years. All the blank leaves are covered with writing in a small hand, and besides, many of the printed pages have leaves pasted on them, and lines are frequently crossed out, so that, as you might imagine, scarcely anything of Meyer's Logic is left.” (Hugelmann 1879, 610)

If Kant began with the longer textbook, he quickly changed to the shorter and less expensive *Auszug*, which he specifies as using in his lecture announcement for summer 1757 (included with the essay on “West Winds”): “Logic will be read following Meier's short introduction” (AA 2: 4).

⁹⁵ [recovered in 2000] Knobloch (2002).

⁹⁶ [textbook by Crusius] Crusius, *Weg zur Gewißheit und Zuverlässigkeit der menschlichen Erkenntniß* [Path to Certainty and Reliability of Human Knowledge] (Leipzig 1747). The lecture catalog for 1761 and 1762 lists Buck teaching logic using Crusius (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 251, 257).

⁹⁷ [is extant] Kant's copy is housed at the University Library at Tartu (previously: Dorpat) and is available online, although it was badly damaged during a restoration attempt in Leipzig in 1974. See Stark (1993, 210n1) for a brief physical description.

Georg Friedrich Meier, *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre* (Halle 1752).⁹⁸

Introduction to the doctrine of reason (§§1-9)	(7) Of practical cognition (§§216-48).
I. Of Cognition [<i>gelehrten Erkenntnis</i>] (§§10-413)	(8) Of learned concepts (§§249-91).
(1) Of cognition in general (§§10-40).	(9) Of learned judgments (§§292-352).
(2) Of the extensiveness of cognition (§§41-65).	(10) Of learned inferences of reason (§§353-413).
(3) Of the quantity of cognition (§§66-91).	II. Of the Method of Cognition (§§414-38)
(4) Of the truth of cognition (§§92-114).	III. Of Learned Exposition (§§439-26)
(5) Of the clarity of cognition (§§115-54).	IV. Of the Character of a Learned Man (§§527-63)
(6) Of the certainty of cognition (§§155-215).	

List of Manuscripts

There are five fragments from four different groups of manuscripts from Herder's *Nachlaß*, all housed in the *SBPK*:

XXV.37 (8°): 4 pp. Pencil. [37, 1-4]. Previous transcriptions: Irmischer (1964, 43-7) and AA 24: 3-6.

A single folded sheet, 4 pp. (10.25 x 15.5 cm), ribbed paper with indiscernible watermark. Covered completely in text. Concerns Meier, §§1-3, the history of logic, and then Meier §§6, 30, 32, 36-38, 41-45. The two outer sides are badly worn. Sheets numbered. Menzer's group copied out most of the Herder notes on metaphysics and physical geography that were available to them but included in this was a single sheet (125r and 125v) of notes on logic, consisting of the text on XXV.37 (p. 1 – except for the very last line of text).

XXV.37a (8°): 2 pp. Pencil. [37a, 1-2]. Previous transcription: AA 24: 1099-1100.

A single sheet (10.25 x 15.5 cm), ribbed paper with part of a watermark (yet a lighter weight than XXV.37). Covered completely in text front and back, nearly rubbed away on the front side, with the numbers referring to the Meier textbook written again in brown ink. This sheet was found in a letter from Adickes to Menzer (March 20, 1902). The text concerns Meier, §§177, 179, 258-9, 262-6.

XXV.44a (8°): 1 p. Ink. [44a, 1]. No previous transcription.

1 p. (16.5 x 20.5 cm), stemming from an 8 pp. signature. The first three pages are filled with notes on physical geography (Oceans); the fourth page has four lines on logic; pp. 5-7 are blank; p. 8 consists of a list of names and amounts of money written next to each (perhaps Herder's students at the *Collegium Fridericianum*). The physical geography notes are a fragment, separate from Herder's longer sets of notes on physical geography.

XXV.46a. 2 (8°): 2 pp. Pencil. [46a, 1-2]. No previous transcription.

Two 4 pp. octavo signatures with notes on metaphysics, save for a partial page each on logic.

(1) 1 p. (8.25 x 14 cm), from a 4 pp. signature consisting of a single folded sheet. Badly worn; the paper is extremely heavy, a kind of cardboard with a hard smooth surface (three small tears in the fold suggest that it may have once served as the cover of a small notebook). The notes are written hastily, most probably in the classroom; there are no margins. All four pages are filled with metaphysics notes on Baumgarten §§516-48 [EP 516]. The bottom-half of the last page (ms 4) contains logic notes on Meier, §207.

(2) 1 p. (10.5 x 16 cm, ribbed), from a 4 pp. signature consisting of a single folded sheet, the pages numbered 1-4 by an archivist, although the content indicates that the sheet was folded backwards when paginated, so that the correct ordering of the pages is: ms 3, ms 4, ms 1, ms 2 (ms 3 and 2 are the most worn, suggesting that they were originally the front and back pages. Notes completely fill all sides, without margins, and all are legible; they appear to have been written in the classroom. The metaphysics notes, found on the first three pages,

⁹⁸ Meier's *Auszug* is reprinted in AA 16 along with Kant's annotations and a table (printed at AA 16: xv-xvi) correlating the 563 sections of Meier's *Auszug* and the marginalia of volume 16.

concern Baumgarten §§593-644 [EP 593]. The fourth page of the ms (ms 2) concerns Meier §§255-58. "Log." is written in brown ink at the top of this page.

Physics

Herder's notes on physics consist of 15 8° pages of text from three different groups of loose sheets as well as from his *Blue Notebook*. During Herder's student years Kant offered physics in **1763** and **1764-65**.⁹⁹

Kant's Lectures on Physics

Kant lectured on theoretical physics twenty-one times, beginning with his very first semester as a *Privatdocent* (1755-56) and every semester the first three years, then about once every two years, the last in 1787-88. This course occasionally failed for lack of students – for instance, Kant taught his anthropology course for the first time in 1772-73 to replace a failed physics offering.

Kant made use of several different physics textbooks over his teaching career. In the 50's and 60's he lectured from Johann Peter Eberhard's *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre* (Erfurt / Leipzig 1753), as suggested by his lecture announcements, e.g., for 1756 (included with his essay on the "Theory of Winds"):¹⁰⁰

"The space which I have determined for these brief observations limits their further development. I will conclude them by informing those gentlemen who have shown me the honor of placing some trust in my small essay that I propose to explain natural science with Dr. Eberhard's *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre*. My intention is to omit nothing that is expected of a foundational insight into the important ancient and recent discoveries, and especially to prove in clear and complete examples the infinite advantage that the latter have received by way of the fortunate application of geometry." (AA 1: 502-3)

Three sets of notes from Kant's physics lectures are extant: the nearly complete *Mrongovius* (dated 1785; AA 29: 97-169), the large *Friedländer* fragment (dated 1776; AA 28: 75-91), and the much briefer *Herder* fragments published in Irmscher (1964, 56-64) and AA 28: 158-66 (published with Herder's notes on metaphysics – here: D1-D6), as well as AA 29: 69-71 (published as notes on physics – here: A1-A2), as well as a few untranscribed notes from XXV.46a (A3, B1-B4, C1). These notes came from either 1763 or the first half of 1764-65, if they are from Kant's lectures at all, for which there is no direct evidence, and it remains a possibility that they stem from someone else's lectures (although – except for the fragmentary C1 – they definitely read like Herder's other lecture notes, so presumably they stem from *some* course of lectures, as opposed to being reading notes).

⁹⁹ [1764-65] In the winter semester it was taught from 8-9 MTThF (Arnoldt 1908-9, 5: 195, 200, 338). A previous transcription of these notes can be found in Lehmann (1961, 95-110) and Lehmann (1980, AA 29: 75-91). More information is available regarding these transcriptions on the companion website [<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>].

¹⁰⁰ [Theory of Winds] See also his announcement for summer 1757 included with the essay on the "West Winds":

"I will also explain, in special lectures, the natural sciences following the guidance of Dr. Eberhard's textbook." (AA 2: 9-10)

and for summer 1758, included with the essay on "Motion and Rest":

"If some gentlemen would like a course on natural science using Eberhard's text, then I will try to comply." (AA 2: 25)

This textbook was not in Kant's auctioned library, although we do find another work by Eberhard: *Beiträge zur Mathesi Applicata hauptsächlich zum Mühlenbau zu denen Bergwerksmaschinen zur Optik und Gnomik* (Halle 1757).

Description of the Manuscripts

The physics notes, all octavo in format, come from four distinct sources: a four-page signature, six pages from Herder's *Blue Notebook*, a twenty-page signature, and a single loose sheet. The first of these consists of two full pages of notes on physics (A1-A2) discussing chs. 2-3 (on extension and impenetrability) of Part One of the Eberhard physics textbook. They include a few passages with section-numbers that appear to match the content of the corresponding sections in Eberhard. These are followed by a blank page and then a page with just six lines of text, and while this text is separated from the first two pages, it appears nonetheless to be related to them as one finds here examples of claims made in the earlier text.

The second source is six pages (B1-B6) from Herder's *Blue Notebook*, where B1 corresponds with a discussion at the end of Eberhard's introduction (§§9-11), B2-B5 correspond with Part One, Ch. 3 ("on motion"), and B6 corresponds with Part One, chapter four ("on attractive force").

The third source is a mixed signature of twenty pages: 1-14 are from the beginning of a course on physical geography (Introduction, pp. 1-2, Oceans, pp. 1-12, Land, p. 1), followed by four pages of notes on physics (C1-C4), and ending with two blank pages. The physics notes all correspond with material in Part Two, Chs. 7 ("on electric matter," §§454-503) and 8 ("on magnetic matter," §§504-37) of Eberhard's textbook. Despite the two blank pages, the very bottom-right corner of the fourth page of the physics notes (C4) ends with a broken word ('Hor-'), strongly suggesting that the notes continued on some additional but now lost signature.

The final source is a single sheet (D1), the top half of which includes a few notes and diagrams on astronomy and lacks the usual appearance of lecture notes.

Connecting Herder's Notes to Kant's Lectures

Lacking direct evidence, what circumstantial evidence do we have for pinning these notes to Kant's lectures? There are four testimonials to consider, as well as the textbook Kant was using and how well the content of the notes fit with that textbook. First the testimonials:

- (1) J. G. Herder (*Kalligone*, *FHA* 8: 651-52): Herder "heard all of the lectures, some more than once." [*alle seine Vorlesungen hindurch, mehrere wiederholt, hörte*]
- (2) J. G. Herder (*Letters on the Advancement of Humanity*, *FHA* 7: 424-25): "The wellspring of [Kant's] lectures was the history of men, of nations, and of nature, as well as natural science, mathematics, and his own experience." [*Menschen- Völker- Naturgeschichte, Naturlehre, Mathematik und Erfahrung, waren die Quellen, aus denen er seinen Vortrag und Umgänge belebte*]
- (3) Caroline Herder (1830, 68): "He most preferred hearing Kant talk about astronomy, physical geography, and in general about the great laws of nature." [*Er habe Kant am liebsten reden gehört über Astronomie, physische Geographie, überhaupt über die großen Gesetze der Natur*]
- (4) Kant (AA 17: 257, lines 35-36): "Show Mr. Herder the interleaved Introduction to Natural Science from my course." [*Dem Herrn Herder die durchschossene Anfangsgr der Naturwissenschaft aus meinen Colleg's zeigen.*] – from *Loses Blatt* L18 (as reported by Adickes).¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ [Kant ... Adickes] See Stark (2013, 90-91).

The first comment, if taken at its word, is definitive; the other three are merely suggestive. Caroline Herder's comment is ambiguous – she could be referring to private conversations between Herder and Kant – but astronomy is discussed in both the physics (Eberhard) and the mathematics (Wolff) textbooks. Kant's physical geography lectures certainly count as “natural science,” although “the great laws of nature” receive little to no attention there. Complicating matters is testimony of Herder attending the physics lectures of Teske (Herder 1846, 1.1: 127) and Buck, the latter “with great diligence” (Böttiger 1998, 125), so these notes cannot be ascribed to Kant's lectures simply by default.

Certain of the physics notes – specifically: A1-A3, B1-B6, and C1-C4 – make clear reference to Eberhard's *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre* – which favors ascribing the notes to Kant's lectures to the extent that we can determine that Kant used Eberhard's text and no one else did – and our best (although circumstantial) evidence suggests that this was precisely the case. Kant was likely using Eberhard's text for his 1763 lectures since he used it in the late 1750's (as indicated in his course announcements for 1756, 1757, and 1758) and other records show him using it for 1764-65, 1766-67, 1768, and 1769-70, after which he changed to the Erxleben text for 1772-73. Similar to the other lecture notes, Kant follows Eberhard and sometimes quotes but usually paraphrases or amends. Also of interest is the Latin in the notes, little or none of which comes from Eberhard.

Was anyone else using Eberhard's text during Herder's student years? The relevant professors are J. G. **Teske**, professor of physics from 1729 to 1772, and F. J. **Buck**, professor of logic and metaphysics from 1759 to 1769, who also regularly offered private lectures on physics.¹⁰² Unfortunately, the official lecture catalogs often failed to list the textbook used, and we find none listed for Buck's courses on theoretical or experimental physics until 1766, when texts by Wolff and Knutzen are listed.¹⁰³ Teske routinely offered courses on physics, both public and private, but the first mention of his textbooks is also in 1766 and here he is teaching theoretical physics from Wolff and experimental physics from Wolff and Nollet, with similar records until 1768 when we find him using Eberhard's text, which he continues to use for the remainder of his career.

So the available evidence suggests that neither Buck nor Teske used Eberhard in their lectures during Herder's student years. That leaves Kant and, given the many references in Herder's notes to Eberhard's text, this is a good indication that the notes do indeed stem from Kant's lectures – although there is one last wrinkle to consider: four pages of these notes (B1-B4) are included in an 8° signature that otherwise consists of notes from Kant's lectures on physical geography (specifically: a 20-page signature with pp. 1-14 consisting of the first part of physical geography and pp. 15-18 consisting of physics notes, with pp. 19-20 blank). As far as we know, Kant did not lecture on physical geography and physics during the same semester during this period, whereas both

¹⁰² [lectures on physics] K. A. Christiani, professor of practical philosophy from 1749 to 1780, also offered private lectures on physics during 1762, 1762-63, and 1764-65 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 257, 260, 272), but there is no evidence of Herder ever attending any of his lectures.

¹⁰³ [are listed] Buck's physics offerings were as follows: 1762 (experimental physics), 1762-63 (experimental physics), 1763 (both theoretical and experimental physics), 1763-64 (experimental physics), 1764 (experimental physics), 1764-65 (both theoretical and experimental physics), and a course on optics during 1762 and 1763 (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 257, 260, 263, 269, 272).

Teske and Buck did offer physics lectures during the two semesters when Kant was lecturing on physical geography.¹⁰⁴ These four pages of notes *could* still stem from Kant's physics offering (in the first few months of winter 1764-65, before Herder left for Riga) – but speaking against that hypothesis is that these notes come from chapters 7 and 8 of Eberhard (on electricity and magnetism), which would more likely fall near the second half of the semester.

The Physics Textbook

Johann Peter Eberhard, *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre*. Halle: Renger, 1753. (2nd edition: 1759; 3rd expanded: 1769.)

Theil 1: die allgemeine Eigenschaften der Körper

Cap. 1: die Ausdehnung (§§2-23)

Cap. 2: die Undurchdringlichkeit (§§24-38)

Cap. 3: die Bewegung (§§39-85)

Cap. 4: die anziehende Kraft (§§86-121)

Theil 2: die besondere Eigenschaften der Körper

Cap. 1: die flüssige Körper überhaupt (§§123-55)

Cap. 2: die Schwere derer flüßigen Körper (§§156-214)

Cap. 3: die Luft (§§215-304)

Cap. 4: Feuer und Licht (§§305-63)

Cap. 5: die Eigenschaften der Lichtstrahlen (§§364-412)

Cap. 6: die Kälte (§§413-23)

Cap. 7: die elektrische Materie (§§424-60)

Cap. 8: die magnetische Materie (§§461-97)

Cap. 9: das Wasser (§§498-505)

Cap. 10: die festen, elastischen und spröden Körpern (§§506-19)

Cap. 11: die Auflösung und Niederschlagung (§§520-36)

Cap. 12: die Begebenheiten in der Luft (§§537-62)

Cap. 13: die Erde (§§563-87)

Cap. 14: das Weltgebäude (§§588-99)

List of Manuscripts

At the *SBPK*, *Nachlaß Herder*:

XXV.46a (8°): 3 pp. Pencil. [A1-A3]. Previous transcription: AA 29: 69-71.

Group 1 comes from a 4 pp. 8° signature (10 x 15.5 cm). Pp. 1 and 2 are filled with notes; p. 3 is blank; p. 4 has just six lines written at the top (about 1/5 of the sheet). Only the first two pages are printed at AA 29: 69-71. An archivist added in pencil the numbers 1, 2, 3 at the bottom of the pages with text. No margins, but written in an uncramped manner. At the top of p. 1: "Phys. II". To the left of this: "Autor: P. H."

XX.188 (8°):¹⁰⁵ 6 pp. Ink. [B1-B6]. Previous transcriptions: Irmischer (1964, 56-64) and AA 28: 158-66.

Group 2 consists of six pages from Herder's *Blue Notebook*, an octavo volume, 230 pp. (10 x 17 cm.), with ribbed paper and a pale blue cover. Penciled pagination in the upper-outer corners was added later. The physics notes were written in an upside-down orientation, and therefore proceed "backwards" through the notebook, from p. 119 to p. 110. See the complete list of manuscripts (in the appendix, below) for more information on this notebook

XXV.46a (8°): 4 pp. Pencil. [C1-C4]. No previous transcription.

¹⁰⁴ [physical geography] Buck was lecturing only on experimental physics, but Eberhard is also occasionally listed for use in experimental physics courses.

¹⁰⁵ [XX.188(8°)] Other transcribed text from this notebook can be found in the metaphysics notes: Prolegomena (notebook pages 120-23).

Group 3 comes from a 20 pp. 8° signature (10 x 15.5 cm), four of which contain notes on physics.

XXV.46a (8°): 1 p. Ink. [D1]. No previous transcription.

Group 4 consists of a single 8° laid sheet, with notes on the top-half of one page, the rest is blank.

Mathematics

Herder's notes on mathematics consist of seventeen 4° pages of text – fourteen pages from two signatures and three pages from Herder's *Brown Notebook* (although these latter three pages may well be Herder's notes for his own teaching efforts). If Herder's notes come from Kant's lectures, they would stem from either 1762-63 or 1763. They would also be the only notes we have from Kant's mathematics lectures – 1763-64 was the last time he lectured on this subject.¹⁰⁶

Kant's Lectures on Mathematics

Kant lectured on mathematics at least fifteen of his first seventeen semesters at the university and he appears to have always lectured from one of Christian Wolff's two widely used mathematics textbooks: *Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften*, 4 parts (Frankfurt / Leipzig 1710) or its summary version: *Auszug aus den Anfangsgründe aller mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Halle 1717). Both texts enjoyed many editions.¹⁰⁷

It is remarkable that Kant taught a course on mathematics nearly every semester for the first eight years of his teaching career, and then (as far as we know) never so much as announced another course, much less taught one. His last recorded offering on mathematics was a *privatissima* during winter 1763-64.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ [mathematics lectures] Arnoldt (1908-9, 5: 195-96, 339). Previous transcriptions of these notes can be found in Irmscher (1964, 17-39) and Lehmann (1980, AA 29: 49-66). More information is available regarding these transcriptions on the companion website [<https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>].

¹⁰⁷ [many editions] Wolff's *Auszug* was used at the *Collegium Fridericianum* when Kant was a student and he likely studied it while at the university as well. Ludwig Borowski attended Kant's very first lectures in 1755 and reported that the mathematics lectures were based on Wolff (Borowski 1804, 33), and Kant specifically mentions Wolff's *Auszug* in his lecture announcement for summer 1758. It is likely that Kant would have always used the shorter *Auszug*, since few students could have afforded the four-volume *Anfangsgründe*. The contents of the four parts of the 1750 edition of Wolff's *Anfangsgründe* are as follows:

Erster Theil, Welcher Einen Unterricht von der Mathematischen Lehr-Art die Rechenkunst, Geometrie, Trigonometrie und Bau-Kunst in sich enthält. Zu mehrerem Aufnehmen der Mathematick so wohl auf hohen als niedrigen Schulen aufgesetzt worden.

Anderer Theil, Welcher die Artillerie Fortification, Mechanick, Hydrostatick, Aerometrie und Hydraulick in sich enthält, Und zu mehrerem Aufnehmen der Mathematick so wohl auf hohen, als niedrigen Schulen aufgesetzt worden.

Dritter Theil, Welcher die Optick, Catoptrick und Dioptrick, die Perspectiv, die sphärische Trigonometrie, Astronomie, Chronologie, Geographie und Gnomonick in sich enthält, Und zu mehrerem Aufnehmen der Mathematick so wohl auf hohen, als niedrigen Schulen aufgesetzt worden.

Letzter Theil, Welcher so wohl die gemeine Algebra, als die Differential- und Integral-Rechnung, und einen Anhang von den vornehmsten Mathematischen Schriften in sich begreiffet Und zu mehrerem Aufnehmen der Mathematick so wohl auf hohen, als niedrigen Schulen aufgesetzt worden.

¹⁰⁸ [1763-64] Herder was still a student this term, but he would not have attended this particular offering, which was given to a group of military officers in the home of General Meyer (Hamann 1955-79, 2: 234; Hagen 1848, 14-15). These so-called *privatissima* were specially commissioned lecture courses – more like a set of private tutorials – requested by one or more auditors who possessed the financial resources for such.

Description of the Manuscripts

The two signatures, A (XXV.45) and B (XXV.46), clearly come from the very beginning of the semester. There is enough overlap to suggest they came from separate semesters and too many differences to be considered as separate drafts of the same set of notes. Nor should either signature be viewed as anything more than a fragment; they are both far too short and incomplete to be representative of an entire semester of lectures. Finally, it is quite possible – given how the A-signature tracks the Kästner and Wolff textbooks (by content and often with the appropriate section numbers), while the B-signature relates to these texts only insofar as it is similar to A1 and A2 – that the B-signature is a separate set of preparatory notes for Herder's own lectures, in which case the C-signature should also be viewed as such.

The text at A1-A2 almost certainly is based on A. G. Kästner's 20 pp. "Vorerinnerung" that begins his *Anfangsgründe der Arithmetik* (1758).¹⁰⁹ The text at A3-A7 is based on Christian Wolff's *Auszug aus den Anfangsgründen aller mathematischen Wissenschaften* (1749), and the demonstrations for the theorems on A4-A5 come from the "Principia Arithmetica" in the first volume of Wolff's *Elementa matheseos universae* (1713). Kant's various remarks on the history of mathematics appear to be drawn from Wolff's *Vollständiges Mathematisches Lexicon* (1734) and his *Kurzer Unterricht von der vornehmsten Mathematischen Schriften* (1737).¹¹⁰

A1 and B1 (based on Kästner) are roughly the same, as are parts of A3 and B2, which follow Wolff's *Auszug*, paragraphs 1-12 of the "Rechen-Kunst" section (up through subtraction), although the B-signature does not list Wolff's paragraph numbers. While A then proceeds with the various axioms presented in Wolff, B discusses fractions (bottom of B2-B3), square and cube numbers (bottom B3-B4), proportions of magnitudes (B5), followed by preliminary remarks on geometry (B6-B7).

Connecting Herder's Notes to Kant's Lectures

Irmscher (1964) was the first to transcribe and discuss these notes, dating them to either 1762-63 or 1763 (the only semesters available during Herder's studies), also suggesting that these notes might instead come from Buck's lectures and that several passages from the XXV.46 manuscript appear to be later additions – perhaps Herder's preparatory notes for his own mathematics lectures. So three possible sources of these notes need to be considered: (1) Herder (developing them on his own from various texts, e.g., Wolff and Kästner), (2) Kant, or (3) someone else (presumably Buck).

With all of Herder's *Nachlaß* that reads plausibly as lecture notes, the default assumption is that they stem from Kant, who was by all accounts the professor whom Herder valued most. We know that Kant lectured on mathematics during Herder's student years and that Herder attended Kant's courses free of charge – presumably

¹⁰⁹ [Kästner ... 1758] We thank Moretto (2015) for this suggestion. Kant's library included the Kästner textbook, as well as his *Anfangsgründe der angewandten Mathematik* (Göttingen 1759-61).

¹¹⁰ [Wolff ... 1717] Kant's library included the 1749 edition of the *Auszug* as well as a copy of the unabridged version (*Der Anfangs-Gründe aller Mathematischen Wissenschaften*, Halle 1750) and Wolff's *Elementa matheseos universae*, 2 vols. (Halle 1713-15).

all of them – and some of the testimony is especially supportive of Herder having attended Kant's mathematics lectures. Of the four relevant testimonials, the first three were already mentioned above in the discussion of the physics lectures (see above); the last is:

- (4) In recounting Kant's lectures that Herder attended, Karl Gottlieb Bock lists "logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, mathematics, physical geography" (Herder 1846, 1.1: 133-3).

Herder studied with other professors, including possibly **Langhansen** but certainly **Buck** and specifically Buck's mathematics lectures¹¹¹ which he attended "with great diligence," according to Böttiger, who also noted that Buck lectured "only according to Wolff's *Anfangsgründe* and never more than that" (1998, 125) – which is inconsistent with the clear reference to Kästner in Herder's notes. Herder would also have had the opportunity to attend without cost the public mathematics lectures of Christoph Langhansen who, apart from being a professor of theology since 1725, was also the professor of mathematics (1719-65) and was serving as Rector when Herder matriculated at the university in August 1762. Langhansen's public lectures alternated each semester between arithmetic/geometry and trigonometry/astronomy.

The two 7 pp. group of notes make clear references to Wolff and Kästner.¹¹² The lecture catalog does not show anyone using Kästner's text at this time,¹¹³ although we know that Kant was using Wolff in his lectures and that he was engaged with Kästner's work (see, for instance, his praise of Kästner in his 1763 essay on "Negative Magnitudes").¹¹⁴

Martin (1967) has argued that Kant taught this course as a two-semester sequence with arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry (the first three parts of Wolff's *Auszug* 1717) during the winter, and mechanics, hydrostatics, aerometry, and hydraulics (the next four parts of Wolff's textbook) during the summer. If this is true, however,

¹¹¹ [Buck's lectures] Contradicting this claim that Herder attended Buck's lectures is a comment by Crüger, an old school acquaintance of Herder's, who noted to Herder's widow that, even though he was just one year ahead of Herder at the university, he had little contact with him because Herder attended Kant's lectures while Crüger attended Buck's (Herder 1846, 1.1: 110).

Buck's mathematics offerings listed in the lecture catalog were: 1762 (geometry, trigonometry; optics, catoptrics, dioptrics), 1762-63 (arithmetic, geometry), 1763 (geometry, trigonometry, mechanics; optics, catoptrics, dioptrics), 1763-64 (arithmetic, geometry; astronomy, historical geography), 1764 (applied mathematics; pure mathematics; trigonometry, mechanics), 1764-65 (applied mathematics, pure mathematics) (Oberhausen/Pozzo 1999, 257, 260, 263, 269, 272).

¹¹² [Wolff and Kästner] These references are carefully described in Moretto (2015).

¹¹³ [Kästner's text at the time] Kästner's textbook makes its first appearance in summer 1780 with Kant's colleague Johann Schultz (who had been lecturing since 1775 and became the professor of mathematics in 1787), and then again with Christian Jacob Kraus in 1792-93 (Kraus was a former student and close friend of Kant's, and the professor of practical philosophy since 1781), and then in 1795-96 with Johann Friedrich Gensichen (a former student and close friend of Schultz and Kant who had been lecturing at the university since 1790).

¹¹⁴ [Negative Magnitudes] Kant wrote in *Negative Magnitudes*:

"No one, perhaps, has indicated with greater distinctness and precision what is to be understood by negative magnitudes than the celebrated Kästner in whose hands everything becomes exact, intelligible, and agreeable" (AA 2: 170).

Kant refers in this passage to Kästner's *Anfangsgründe der Arithmetik*, pp. 59-62 – a section titled "Von den entgegengesetzten Grössen," Kästner's term for magnitudes "of a kind such that, considered under certain conditions, reduce the magnitude of another," offering the examples of assets and debts, and moving forward and backward.

and the notes come from Kant, then they were written during winter 1762-63, with no possibility of Herder repeating the course (which he appears to have done, given the repetitions in the notes).

The Mathematics Textbooks

Christian Wolff, *Auszug aus den Anfangsgründen aller mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Halle 1749):

Arithmetic (pp. 11-64), **geometry** (pp. 65-168), **trigonometry** (pp. 169-86), **mechanics** (pp. 187-237), **hydrostatics** (pp. 238-59), **aerometry** (pp. 260-77), **hydraulics** (pp. 278-95), **optics** (pp. 296-317), **catoptrics** (pp. 318-30), **dioptrics** (pp. 331-52), **perspective** (pp. 353-66), **astronomy** (pp. 367-482), **geography** (pp. 483-503), **chronology** (pp. 504-31), **gnomonics** (pp. 532-47), **artillery** (pp. 548-64), **fortification** (pp. 565-611), **architecture** (pp. 612-91), **algebra** (pp. 692-734).

Abraham Gotthelf Kästner, *Anfangsgründe der Arithmetik, Geometrie, ebenen und sphärische Trigonometrie und Perspectiv* (Göttingen 1758): **Vorerinnerungen von der Mathematic** (pp. 1-20), **Rechenkunst** (pp. 21-156), **Geometrie** (pp. 157-423).

List of Manuscripts

At the *SBPK, Nachlaß Herder*:

XXV.45 (4°): 7 pp. Ink. [A1-A7]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 17-28) and AA 29: 49-58.

Four 4° sheets (17.5 x 20.5 cm), seven pages of text total, from a large printer's sheet, folded twice. Paper is ribbed, with a watermark (Irmscher identifies it as a crowned eagle). The wide left-hand margin is marked with a crease down the middle of each page and contains occasional marginalia. Sheets are numbered in pencil. The last page (4v) is blank. A1-A2 follow Kästner (1758), A4-A7 follow Wolff (1749) and Wolff (1737).

The longer marginalia written in the wide left-hand margin of this A-signature appear to be later additions and these are bracketed as <insertions>. Text written in the margin but not bracketed – normally just a word marking a theme – appears to have been written at the same time as the main body of notes. The B-signature (below) has no margin, but the outline form of the text leaves considerable empty space, and Herder added four insertions on B7.

XXV.46 (4°): 7 pp. Ink. [B1-B7]. Previous transcriptions: Irmscher (1964, 29-39) and AA 29: 59-66.

Same size and format as the previous, but without a margin. Sheets are numbered in pencil. 3v is blank, save for three words in ink at the top: “@Anwendung auf die@”.

Irmscher (1964, 29) suggests that the text on 3r [B7] is a later insertion, and the text here is certainly out of place: 2v [B4] discusses arithmetic, 3r [B7] geometry (but without transition or introduction), 3v is blank, then 4r [B5] introduces geometry, which 4v [B6] continues. It seems more reasonable to view 3r (which discusses stereometry) as a continuation of the discussion of longimetry and planimetry on 4v – this fits the outline provided on B5 (“4. Plan”) and also makes the blank 3v less surprising, as it would then be the last page of the signature. We have arranged the text following this interpretation.

XXVI.5 (4° notebook):¹¹⁵ 3 p. Ink. [C1-C7]. No previous transcription.

XXVI.5. This is a bound, brown 4° notebook (17.5 x 20 cm), 70 sheets, paginated (apparently by Herder) as I-IV (with I as the titlepage) and then 1-137 (the inside back cover is p. 137). The text is all in ink (dark brown or black, on one page red), with penciled markings by a later user. On the titlepage (p. I): “Beiträge fürs Gedächtniß. 1761. 1762ff.” Included here are pp. 9-10 (“Theoremata der Longimetrie”) and 21 (“Lehrsätze der Planimetrie”). The transcribed text comes from pp. 9-10, 21 of the notebook.

¹¹⁵ [4° notebook] Other transcribed text from this notebook can be found in the metaphysics notes (RP/NT 796) (notebook pages 32-33).

Editorial Conventions

Section Headings

Because Herder's notes closely follow the order of presentation in the textbooks being used,¹¹⁶ the titles of book parts or chapters have been inserted with square brackets whenever Herder did not insert them himself. The physical geography notes follow the order of the *Holstein-Beck* text, with section headings set on a separate line to orient the reader (and added in brackets when missing). The placement of these titles is not noted, but the image of each manuscript page is available on the corresponding webpage, where interested readers can easily check the actual placement.

Differences between the web and print editions of the Herder Notes.

This volume is accompanied by a complementary website at: <https://kant-digital.bbaw.de/Herder/>. In the **web edition**, the transcript of each manuscript page is presented separately, with an expandable thumbnail image of the manuscript. The transcription is line-true; words broken at the end of a line, but without a hyphen, are marked with an inserted tilde (‘~’); symbols and standard abbreviations are filled-out but indicated as such in the text; truncated words are filled-out, but all added letters appear in a different color; the form of handwriting (Latin vs *Kurrent*) is distinguished by font. An “Abbreviation Glossary” collects all the symbols and abbreviations that are so marked in the transcript.

The web edition also collects the many excerpts from Kant's various sources that are referenced in the notes – a large majority of these concern the notes on physical geography, as those lectures are predominantly a collage of such materials. These excerpts, often expanded from what is included in the explanatory notes, are collected on a single page of the website (but consist of what would otherwise be several hundred pages of printed text). The web edition also offers, for those so inclined, the convenience of hyperlinked texts (for instance, the name index and the literary sources listed in the bibliography are linked to the appropriate passages of text).

The **print edition** can be presented in a more readable form, since the web edition provides the relevant information as to how the text appears in the manuscript. The print edition preserves paragraph-breaks of the original manuscript (but neither line-breaks nor broken words at the end of lines), symbols and abbreviated words are completed without note (although ambiguous interpretations will be noted). Otherwise the two editions are identical in presentation, with the same textual and explanatory notes, and introductory materials.

Explanatory Notes

The explanatory notes (identical content in both web and print editions) aim to elucidate the following in the *Herder* notes: (1) historical references, titles of works, and individuals mentioned; (2) relevant passages in a

¹¹⁶ [textbooks ... used] Baumgarten's *Metaphysica*, *Initia philosophiae practicae*, and *Ethica philosophica*; Meier's *Auszug aus der Vernunftlehre*; Eberhard's *Erste Gründe der Naturlehre*; Wolff's *Auszug aus den Anfangsgründen aller mathematischen Wissenschaften*, and the text of the *Holstein-Beck* manuscript.

textbook (Baumgarten, Meier, Eberhard, Wolff) or other source-material; and (3) cross-references to related passages in the *Herder* and other lecture notes, Kant's Reflections, and his published writings.

Textual Notes and Editorial Intrusions

Clarifications regarding the text itself – how it is written or placed on the manuscript page – are provided in textual notes. When this information is critical for a basic understanding of the main text, a bracketed comment is inserted into the text itself.

All **proper names** are standardized (appearing as such in the Name Index); changes to any spelling in the text is noted. We also correct (with a note) apparent miswrites and grammatical errors (such as lack of gender agreement). In his hurriedly written notes, Herder will often begin nouns with a lower-case letter, and this we leave as Herder wrote it, along with occasional variant spellings (e.g., 'wil' instead of 'will') and words at variance with modern practice (e.g., 'waz' instead of 'was', 'That' instead of 'Tat') – trusting with all of this that readers will find their way. Only when a variant spelling might lead to a misreading or where it appears that Herder miswrote a word, will we alter the text (and include a note to that effect).

Herder's use of abbreviations and symbols is discussed above ("Writing the Notes"). Other editorial conventions include the following:

Herder often indicates that a word or phrase appearing directly above (in a previous line of the manuscript) is to be repeated in the current line, by leaving a dash or series of dashes (or occasionally, and more ambiguously, a blank space). We mark these textual insertions with quilled square-brackets. The occasional editorial insertions to facilitate reading is always placed in normal square-brackets. Text written above a line (or occasionally below the line or in the margin) is set into wedges. Text without a clear insertion point is accompanied by a textual note.

We also note any added or altered punctuation. Most truncated words are followed by a period or colon that are noted in the web edition but silently removed in the print edition, although when it is reasonably clear that these were intended to punctuate the sentence, they are retained as such. This apparent punctuation is also often a distinguishing mark for some abbreviations, for instance, 'd' always indicates 'der' while 'd.' indicates 'die' (with 'ds' indicating 'das'). These are all silently expanded in the print edition (while marked as abbreviations, in the web edition).

Text that is either difficult to read or clearly equivocal (e.g., 'Grde' might expand to either 'Gründe' or 'Grade') is bracketed with '@' (on the website) and underlined with dots (in the print edition). Words that Herder deleted or wrote over are indicated in a textual note. A few manuscript pages have passages that are so worn or smudged as to become illegible, and these are indicated with strings of ellipses. Text lost to a tear or ink-smudge is indicated with a bracketed ellipsis.

Finally, words underlined in the manuscript are underlined here; the occasional word with multiple underlinings appears here with a double-underline.

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