

Lectures

Abstract: Immanuel Kant's forty-one years of academic lectures have come down to us primarily in the form of a great quantity of student notes. They span eleven different academic subjects and over thirty years of Kant's teaching career, from the Herder notes of 1762-64 to the Vigilantius notes of the mid-1790s. These notes have value to the extent they reflect what Kant actually said in his lectures. If this is granted then their value lies in several directions: they clarify and develop points made in his published writings, they consider topics not discussed in any of the published writings, they provide much of the philosophical context against which these writings were to be understood, they offer new perspectives into Kant's intellectual development, and they round out our understanding of Kant's life and personality.

This essay briefly reviews the reliability of the Academy edition transcriptions of Kant's notes, the relationship to what Kant might have actually said in the classroom, the question of whether Kant's lectures reflected his actual beliefs, the dating of the notes to actual semesters, the nature of university lectures of that day, and offers a brief typology of the roughly 100 sets of notes available to us and an overview of those notes available in each of the subjects over which Kant lectured.

Immanuel Kant's forty-one years of academic lectures have come down to us primarily in the form of a great quantity of student notes. They span eleven different academic subjects and over thirty years of Kant's teaching career, from the Herder notes of 1762-64 to the Vigilantius notes of the mid-1790s. These notes have value to the extent they reflect what Kant actually said in his lectures. If this is granted then their value lies in several directions: they clarify and develop points made in his published writings, they consider topics not discussed in any of the published writings, they provide much of the philosophical context against which these writings were to be understood, they offer new perspectives into Kant's intellectual development, and they round out our understanding of Kant's life and personality.

Before we can properly use these notes, however, we need to consider a set of three nested questions: (1) How reliable are the Academy edition transcriptions of the various sets of notes? (2) Assuming reliable transcriptions, how reliable are these notes in conveying what Kant said in the lectures? (3) Assuming reliable notes, when did Kant say these things? That is, for any given set of notes (or with compiled notes: for any given passage in a set of notes) when was the source-lecture?

If we cannot trust the Academy edition transcription of the notes, for instance, or if we are not sure how accurately these notes reflect what Kant said in the classroom or in what semester he said them, then we are hard pressed to make much use of the notes at all. Addressing these three questions, therefore, will be a principal task of this essay.

Before turning to this, however, we should first consider a possible alternative source of information on Kant's lectures, namely, Kant's own notes. These would certainly be more reliable than the written records of students and, as it happens, we have something like this in the form of some of Kant's "reflections" collected in AA 14-19. Many of these were written in the particular textbook over which Kant was lecturing, and occasionally they make an appearance in the student notes as well. Similarly, Kant's *Anthropology* (1798) can be viewed as a re-worked set of his notes for those lectures,¹ and the *Holstein-Beck* notes on physical geography are actually an early copy of Kant's own notes upon which his lectures were based (this is a unique situation among the student lecture notes). These two popular disciplines – enjoy a strong grounding in these two texts that stem directly from Kant, but each gain from the supplementary material from the notes.² The *Diktattext*, of which Holstein-Beck is a copy supervised by Kant, was composed quite early in Kant's career, and the later notes on physical geography provide us with new material, while the many anthropology notes, all of which pre-date the published version, offer additional material as well as insight into Kant's intellectual development. As for the other frequently taught subjects – metaphysics, logic, and moral philosophy – there is simply no comparison between the continuity of discussion found in the notes and the fragmentary nature of the various reflections in the *Nachlass*. The textbooks themselves with Kant's many marginalia served as points of reference for the lectures, but the student notes themselves provide our best window into those lectures.

Kant's lectures

Kant taught at the university in Königsberg – the *Academia Albertina* – for fifteen years as an unsalaried instructor (*Privatdozent*) followed by twenty-six years as the salaried full professor of Logic and Metaphysics, to which he was appointed in the summer of 1770.

Kant was a popular lecturer although his courses were considered difficult. He was free to offer private lectures on whatever he chose (within the context of the philosophy faculty), but his promotion to full professor required that he offer one public course each semester: metaphysics in winter and logic in summer. He continued teaching his usual assortment of private lectures, offering anthropology in the winter, physical geography in the summer, and for a number of years lecturing on philosophical encyclopedia, natural law, moral philosophy, and physics on a two year rotation.

Kant's teaching load was normal for the university of his day, and it dropped steadily over the years from an average of five courses per semester during the 50s down to three in the 80s and two in the 90s. Nearly all courses met four hours each week on the usual teaching days of Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. The few courses taught on a Wednesday-Saturday schedule met for two hours each day, except for the mandated pedagogy course, which appears to have met just two hours per week.

While the records are incomplete, the information we have shows that Kant taught logic most often (56 times), followed by metaphysics (53) and physical geography (49). He taught these three courses nearly every semester until he became a full professor, after which he taught each of them once a year. His first course on anthropology was given in 1772/73, and every winter semester thereafter (for a total of 24 semesters). These four courses formed the core of his teaching as a full professor, with metaphysics and anthropology offered each winter, and logic and physical geography each summer. Kant also offered private lectures in mathematics nearly every semester at the beginning of his career, abruptly stopping after 1763/64 (15 semesters total). Theoretical physics (21) and moral philosophy (28) were alternated during much of his career, along with natural law (12), which he first taught SS 1767, and philosophical encyclopedia (10), which he first taught in 1767/68. Occasional courses were given on natural theology (4) and pedagogy (4).

The textbooks

The government in Berlin took an interest in the textbooks used at the university. Professors were required to base their lectures on a published text and were chastised by the cultural minister if they did not; students were similarly expected to own the textbooks used in the courses they attended.³ Occasionally certain texts were discouraged (such as those by Crusius),⁴ but for the most part instructors appeared to have had a free hand.

It is advisable to consult the relevant textbook when using the student notes. Of the three potential sources of content in the notes – Kant, the student taking the notes, and the textbook – the last is at times ubiquitous, especially in the early Herder notes, providing the outline of the lectures and serving as a direct source of much of the content. It is sometimes quoted but more often paraphrased, sometimes with Kant's agreement but more often with a silent emendation or correction.

We have evidence of eighteen different textbooks that Kant used, and six of Kant's personal copies have been located. Three of these were destroyed or lost during World War II (Achenwall on natural law, Eberhard on

natural theology, and Baumgarten's introduction to practical philosophy), although fortunately Kant's annotations had already been transcribed and printed in the Academy edition (vols. 18-19). The three textbooks still remaining are Baumgarten on metaphysics (the 3rd and 4th editions, although only the 4th edition was used in the lectures) and Meier on logic. Some of these books were interleaved to provide extra room for writing notes.

Publication of the notes

Some of the notes were published in Kant's day, beginning with his own *Anthropology* (1798) which, while not student notes, were indicative of the content of the lectures, as were Jäsche's *Logic* (1800) and Rink's *Physical Geography* (1802) and *Pedagogy* (1803). Even before these, various fragments had appeared in print in Hippel (1778-81; various subjects), Coing (1788; natural theology), Forberg (1796; anthropology), Mellin (1797-1804; anthropology), and then Vollmer's four-volume physical geography (1801-5) that elicited a public censure from Kant (AA 12:372). A handful of publications appeared a few decades later: Pölitz's volumes on natural religion (1817) and metaphysics (1821); Bergk's (under the pseudonyms 'Heinichen' and 'Starke') volumes on anthropology (1831a, 1831b); Mrongovius's translations into Polish of his own notes on moral philosophy and natural theology (1854) – and that was it, until scholars began publishing selections alongside their analysis: Erdmann (1880, 1883, 1884), Arnoldt (1890a, 1890b, 1892) and Heinze (1894) in the late eighteenth century; and Schlapp (1901), Adickes (1911, 1913), Menzer (1911, 1924), Kowalewski (1924), Krauß (1926), Horn (1936), and Beyer (1937) in the early decades of the 20th century.

After various delays, the Academy began publishing the lecture notes in 1966 under the editorship of Gerhard Lehmann, with his last volume appearing in 1983. The final two volumes to complete the initial plan, and under new editors, are the notes on anthropology (AA 25; 1997) and physical geography (AA 26; pt. 1: 2009, pt. 2: forthcoming). So far 100 of the notes (some complete, but many as fragments) have been published, and the last twenty years have seen a greater availability of these notes in English, with thirty translated so far. All of this has resulted in much more scholarly attention and integration of the notes into Kant studies, and with that a heightened need to understand their status and to address our initial set of three questions.

How reliable is the Academy transcription in conveying the notes?

The Academy edition and translations based on it are generally one's only access to these notes – although some have been published elsewhere and others not at all.⁵ Reliability of the transcriptions varies widely between those prepared by the late editor Gerhard Lehmann (vols. 24, 27, 28, and 29) and the more recent work by Reinhard Brandt and Werner Stark (vol. 25: Anthropology) and Stark (vol. 26: Physical Geography). The Lehmann volumes suffer from many transcriptional errors and problematic editing, and considerable caution is required when using them.⁶

How reliable are the notes in conveying the lectures?

Anyone using these lecture notes should pause to reflect on who wrote them. Even Kant questioned their reliability:

Those of my students who are most capable of grasping everything are just the ones who bother least to take explicit and verbatim notes; rather, they write down only the main points, which they can think over afterwards. Those who are most thorough in note-taking are seldom capable of distinguishing the important from the unimportant. They pile a mass of misunderstood stuff under what they may possibly have grasped correctly. (Letter to Herz, 20 October 1778, AA 10:242)

Similarly, we hear from Borowski that Kant “was not keen on students taking notes. It bothered him when he noticed that more important material was overlooked, while the less important was noted down” (1804: 187).

Nearly all of the note takers were teenagers, and some quite young (sixteen was the average age at matriculation). They arrived in Kant's classroom with such widely varying levels of intelligence and academic preparedness that it is quite right to question their ability to provide reliable guidance – What could such efforts possibly add to Kant's own writings? It would seem they were just as likely to misunderstand Kant as not, whose lectures were known to be quite challenging. A former student of Kant's wrote that:

Whoever did not understand this way of his [viz., where he would present a deficient position, followed by criticisms and progressively improved positions] would take his first explanation as the correct and fully exhaustive one, and so would not follow him very closely after that, thus collecting mere half-truths – just as several sets of student notes have convinced me. (Jachmann 1804: 29-30).

As Kant aged, the difficulty of the lectures, and thus of taking good notes, was a result not just of the subject matter but also of his delivery – something to consider when using the notes from the 1790s:

When I came to the university at Michaelmas 1793, Kant was already in his 70th year, his voice was weak, and he would get himself tangled up in his lectures and become unclear. [...] To a young man of 15-16 years under those circumstances, not much of his philosophical lectures could be put into a context that made them understandable; what I grasped was an occasional illuminating point or spark in the soul. I don't believe that it went any better at that time with the older students. (Reusch 1848: 6)

This is why Rosenkranz and Schubert chose to omit the student lecture notes from their 1838-42 edition of Kant's writings (1838: vol. 1, pp. x-xi).

On top of this worry is the fact that many of the notes were the product of a “flourishing branch of industry in Königsberg” (Adickes 1913: 8), with “professional” copyists – professional only in the sense that they worked for money – churning out notes for sale to students, almost certainly without ever having stepped foot into Kant's lecture hall and otherwise untutored in the subject-matter of what they were copying, thus opening their work to the most egregious errors.

And yet despite Kant's reservations about the value of these notes, he took considerable pains procuring them for his acquaintances: metaphysics, philosophical encyclopedia, anthropology, and possibly logic, for his former student Marcus Herz (AA 10:235-36, 244-45, 245-46, 247), and physical geography for the Minister of Culture Karl von Zedlitz (AA 10:222-23, 224-25), both in Berlin. This surely counts as an endorsement of their worth.

Wilhelm Dilthey broke rank with past editors of Kant's writings (Hartenstein 1838-39, 1867-68; Rosenkrantz and Schubert 1838-42), arguing to include the lectures as the fourth part of the newly conceived critical edition of Kant's writings undertaken by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences (i.e., the Academy edition). Dilthey viewed the lecture notes as an important part of Kant's “intellectual legacy.” While recognizing the uncertainty of their transmission, he found they provided context for the published writings, enhanced our understanding of Kant's intellectual development, and offered us a picture of Kant's teaching activity and his influence on his students (1902; AA 1:v). The discussion since then has favored Dilthey. The notes are always secondary to Kant's published writings and should be used only alongside those publications and Kant's reflections and correspondence, but there is otherwise much that they have to offer us that can be found nowhere else.⁷

How reliable are the lectures in conveying Kant's thought?

A question preliminary to the third question (of dating) has also been raised in the past: Even if the notes accurately reflect Kant's spoken words, did Kant actually believe what he said?

Rosenkranz suggested that Kant lived a "double life," expressing traditional beliefs in the classroom and censoring certain actual beliefs that eventually made their way into his writings (1838: vol. 3, vii-viii). This worry received attention near the end of the nineteenth century,⁸ but Rudolf Malter has more recently argued that the notes themselves speak clearly against such "intellectual schizophrenia" on Kant's part (1974: 217-18), and since then the steady growth in their use to chart Kant's intellectual development should put this worry entirely to rest.⁹ Kant himself offers testimony against any "double life" in his 1797 public notice regarding Hippel's authorship:

[These verbatim passages from the *Critique of Pure Reason*] gradually flowed as fragments into the notebooks of my students, from my side with respect to a system that I was carrying around in my head, but only in the period from 1770 to 1780 could be brought about.¹⁰ (AA 12:361)

Kant elaborates on this relationship between his teaching and his published writings in an earlier draft of that notice:

For the university teacher has that advantage over the unaffiliated scholar in his scientific work: that – since with every new course on a subject he must prepare for each lesson (as, to be fair, must always be done) – new views and perspectives always open up to him, partly while preparing, partly – which happens even more often – while in the middle of the presentation, which helps him to correct and expand his sketch from time to time. (AA 13:539)

When were the source lectures for the notes?

We must be able to date the source lecture of the notes within a fairly narrow approximation, without which the notes are of little use, but doing this is rarely straightforward. For instance, a student might buy a set of notes and then add the date he attended the lectures; here the date corresponds to any marginalia, but not to the body of the notes (cf. the *Euchel* anthropology notes). Sometimes the student will borrow a set of notes and copy them out himself, adding the current date (which is now in the same hand as the notes), as we find with the *Puttlich*

anthropology notes. Or a student might copy text from an earlier set of notes into his own notes, such as the *Dohna-Wundlacken* anthropology notes, which mingle notes from 1772/73 with his own from 1791/92.

Equally misleading, a former student might purchase notes after finishing the course (or even after leaving the university) as a record of what he learned or might have learned. Hermann Blomberg, for example, attended the university in the early 1760s, left his name (but not a date) on what are now the *Blomberg* logic notes – good circumstantial evidence that the source lecture of the notes was in the early 60s, although other evidence indicates the source lecture was a decade later.

These possibilities – and there are many more like them – should inspire caution when assigning a source lecture to a set of notes.¹¹

What is the provenance of the notes?

It is helpful to distinguish different types of manuscripts.¹² Let a *Nachschrift* be any manuscript where the writer of the text is not the source of the text and the *original* source is the spoken word (e.g., Kant's actual lecture). Three sorts of *Nachschriften* concern us: a *Mitschrift* (notes written down in the classroom), a *Reinschrift* (a clean copy of these notes prepared back home),¹³ and an *Abschrift* (copies made from a second set of notes, sometimes assembled from multiple sets). Most of the student notes are *Abschriften*, followed by *Reinschriften* and a very few *Mitschriften* (most of the 8° Herder notes and perhaps the last two pages of the *Vienna* logic notes).

Single Source vs. Multiple Source. A set of notes might have a single source prepared by a single student attending a single course of lectures (which in turn might be copied various times). Or there might be multiple sources from different semesters — either a student acquiring a set of notes from a previous semester and adding text to those notes, or else someone compiling a set of notes from various sets.

We know too little of about one-fifth of the notes to sort them into any of these types, but of the remainder, about 60% are single source and 40% composite in some way. What matters in the end is knowing the (approximate) date of the source-lecture for any particular passage in the notes, but this is more straight-forward when the notes have a single source.

About half of the single source notes were written by a single known author attending the lectures from which the notes arose, which is how most readers initially think of the notes. Examples include the notes by Herder

(logic, mathematics, metaphysics, moral philosophy, physics), Philippi (anthropology, physical geography, logic), Mrongovius (logic, metaphysics, physics, natural theology, anthropology), Volckmann (physical geography, logic, metaphysics, natural theology), Dohna-Wundlacken (physical geography, logic, metaphysics, anthropology), and Vigilantius (logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy).

Other single source notes are copies from an ancestral set of notes, which itself appears to have stemmed from a single semester, for instance, the *Korff*, *Pölitz 1*, and *Rosenhagen* metaphysics notes, all of which appear to stem from a common (and now lost) ancestor, as do the thirteen sets belonging to the *Kaehler* group of moral philosophy notes.

Multiple source notes are of two kinds. The first are bought or copied notes that then have text added from a later semester (e.g., the *Collins* moral philosophy, the *Matuszewski* anthropology), or parts of which are incorporated into a newly written set of notes (e.g., the *Mrongovius* moral philosophy). About 5% of the notes are of this kind.

The second kind of multiple source notes were compiled from multiple textual-sources (about one-fourth are like this). Here we have text from (normally) different source-lectures, but now the composition is a result of someone (most likely a professional copyist who never attended the lectures) compiling a new set of notes from two or more other sets. Here the *Pillau* physical geography takes the prize for compositional diversity, having made use of nine different sets, according to Adickes (1911: 279-80).

Overview of the available notes

From Kant's early years as a lecturer we have only the Herder notes, with the supply increasing dramatically once Kant became a full professor in 1770. We currently know of 166 sets of student notes, with 126 of these available in some form — although once duplicates are eliminated the count drops to 50 available. In terms of distinct sets of notes, the most are on physical geography (10),¹⁴ followed by anthropology (9), logic (9), metaphysics (9), moral philosophy (5), physics (3), and a single set each from natural theology, philosophical encyclopedia, natural law, mathematics, and pedagogy, although these last two are problematic: the mathematics notes clearly come from a mathematics course but possibly not Kant's, while the pedagogy text is clearly Kant's but may have little to do with his lectures on pedagogy. I will close with summary remarks on each group of notes.

Metaphysics. Kant used the Baumeister (1736) textbook for a few semesters early in his career before settling on Baumgarten (1757). Both follow a general four-part outline of Wolffian metaphysics: ontology, cosmology, psychology (empirical and rational), and natural theology. His lectures appear to have extended over all four parts, although less systematically over natural theology, and he may have been rushed at the end, as the notes are not as full here. Kant also used Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* as the textbook for his lectures on anthropology (the empirical psychology section) and on natural theology (the fourth part), and there is a considerable overlap of content worth exploring.

We know of seventeen sets of notes with thirteen available at least in part. Of these thirteen, three (*Pölitz 1*, *Korff*, *Rosenhagen*) appear to be copies of a common set of notes, *von Schön 3* (unpublished) is a near-verbatim fragment of *von Schön 2*, and *Willudovius* (unpublished) exists only as forty scattered lines of text copied out by Adickes in the early 20th century, thus bringing the effective number of distinct sets of notes down to nine. Of the nine, three have been preserved almost in their entirety (*Herder*, *Mrongovius*, *Dohna-Wundlacken*) and the other six as large fragments. The notes, with their likely date of source-lecture, are *Herder* (1762-64; AA 28:5-55, 137-38, 143-60, 843-946), the *Pölitz 1* group (c.1777-80; AA 28:185-350), *Mrongovius* (1782/83; AA 29:747-940), *Volckmann* (1784/85; AA 28:355-459), *von Schön* (c.1789-91; AA 28:463-524), *Pölitz 3.2* (1790/91?; AA 28:531-610), *Königsberg* (c.1791/92; AA 28:709-816), *Dohna-Wundlacken* (1792/93; AA 28:615-702), and *Vigilantius* (1794/95; AA 28:821-38, 29:945-1040).

Logic. Kant lectured on logic more than on any other subject, with notes spanning from the fragmentary *Herder* (1762-64) to *Bauch* (1794). There is some superficial overlap with the introductory sections of the metaphysics notes, where we find summary histories of the disciplines and a discussion on the nature of concepts and judgments. In the metaphysics notes this is normally followed by equally brief accounts on the use of philosophy, and of metaphysics in particular. This similarity between the notes offers some explanation for why a section from the *Pölitz 3.1* logic notes was published with the metaphysics notes (in *Pölitz 1821*; cf. AA 28:531-40).

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

Volckmann, having been recovered only in 2000, remains unpublished, as do a few fragments from *Herder*.

Jäsche had claimed to base his 1800 *Logic* solely on the reflections that Kant wrote in his copy of Meier's *Auszüge* (1752), but it soon became clear (Erdmann 1880; Heinze 1894; Schlapp 1901) that one or more sets of student notes also entered into the text: these 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), 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; Hinske 1991: 150).

Physical Geography. Kant lectured on physical geography nearly every semester during his years as a lecturer, and then every summer semester thereafter, lecturing from his own notes since there was no standard textbook available. These notes – prepared between 1757 and early 1759 and dubbed the *Diktattext* by Adickes (1911: 10) – have been lost, but were preserved in a copy, the *Holstein-Beck* notes, which has corrections and additions (amounting to some 1100 words) in Kant's own hand. The presence of this *Diktattext* makes the lecture notes on physical geography unlike those from any of the other lectures, since copies of the *Diktattext* circulated and found their way into thirteen of the sets of notes currently available to us (and as Adickes discovered, not by way of an oral lecture, but through copying written texts).

We know of thirty-six sets of notes with thirty-two available at least in part. Stark (2015) divides these notes into ten groups representing the temporal span of the lectures – from *Holstein-Beck* (1757-59; AA 26:7-320) and *Herder* (1763-64) to *Vigilantius* (1793). 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 the latter two. Several of the compilations are predominantly grounded in one semester, with discernible additions from another.

Anthropology. Kant began lecturing on anthropology with WS 1772/73 and continued every winter semester up to his retirement in 1796. Roughly the first half of this course was based on the empirical psychology section

(§§504-739) of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* (1757). Rather surprisingly, Kant continued to lecture on empirical psychology in his metaphysics lectures. He claimed in an October 1778 letter to Markus Herz that he shortened this discussion (Br, 10:242/CEC:170), and a content comparison of the extant metaphysics notes bears this out somewhat: empirical psychology comprises a large percentage of *Herder* (1762-64), less so of *Pölitiz I* (late 70s), and considerably less of notes from the 1780's, but then increases in two of the sets from the 1790s (*Königsberg* and *Vigilantius*). Yet it is odd that Kant did not drop empirical psychology from the metaphysics lectures altogether, given his many comments that it does not belong there — “empirical psychology must thus be entirely banned from metaphysics” (A848/B876; see also V-Anth/Collins, 25:8; V-Met/L1 28:175; V-Met/Volckmann, 28:358, 366-67; V-Met/Schön, 28:470; V-Met/L2, 28:541; V-Met/Dohna, 28:670; V-Met/Mrongovius, 29:757). And yet in the last set of metaphysics notes from 1794/95, about 18% of the original notes still concern empirical psychology.

Kant also migrated material from the physical geography lectures (viz., the ethnographical remarks on Europeans in Part III of the physical geography) into the “anthropological characteristic” section of the anthropology lectures, and an essential feature of geography notes stemming from after 1772/73 is the absence of this discussion (Stark 2011: 79; cf. Wilson 2006: 8-20). There is also a detailed exposition of the relationship of these two courses in the opening pages of both the *Kaehler* and the *Messina* physical geography notes.

We know of forty-seven sets of notes with thirty-six available at least in part. One of these (*Naumburg*) was located only in 1999 and has not been published. Many of the notes are copies, some are compilations, and they fall into nine distinct groups, with two of these (A and B) stemming from 1772/73, the first semester the course was offered. The most reliable set of notes serves as the representative of each group: the *Collins* group (1772/73; AA 25:7-238), the *Parow* group (1772/73; AA 25:243-463), the *Friedländer* group (1775/76; AA 25:469-728), *Pillau* (1777/78; AA 25:733-847), the *Starke* group (1781/82?; AA 25:853-1203), the *Mrongovius* group (1784/85), the *Busolt* group (1788/89?), *Dohna-Wundlacken* (1791/92; Kowalewski 1924: 71-373), and *Reichel* (1793/94; AA 25:1553-57). The *Dohna-Wundlacken* notes were written down during the semester he attended the lectures (1791/92), but also include passages copied from a set of notes originating in 1772/73. Similarly, the *Mrongovius* notes from 1784/85 include marginalia copied from a 1772/73 set of notes.

Moral Philosophy. Kant lectured on moral philosophy twenty-eight times throughout his career, from his third semester up until 1793/94, normally making use of two textbooks by Baumgarten: the *Initia philosophia* (1760) and the *Ethica philosophica* (1763). The former concerns the general principles of ethics, and the latter discusses substantive questions of ethics: a section on religion followed by discussions of our general and special duties. The lecture notes have two parts that mirror this structure. Of particular interest are the *Mrongovius* notes of 1784/85 that foreshadow themes in the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), and the *Vigilantius* notes of 1793/94 that anticipate aspects of the *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797), and which Kant lectured on instead of his normal course of metaphysics that winter.

We know of twenty-three sets of notes with fourteen available at least in part. Thirteen of the twenty-three (eight of the fourteen available) have been found to share a common ancestor stemming from 1774-77, in effect leaving us with five sets of notes spanning most of Kant's lecturing career (setting aside the *Bering* and *Hippel* fragments): *Herder* (1763/64; AA 27:3-89), the *Kaehler* group (1774-77; Stark 2004), *Powalski* (1782/83, possibly a compilation; AA 27:93-235), *Mrongovius* (1784/85; AA 27:597-642) and *Vigilantius* (1793/94; AA 27:479-732) — this last is a copy prepared in the late 1800s, the original having since been lost.

Brauer and *Collins* are the most widely used of the notes on moral philosophy; the former was published in Menzer (1924) and translated into English by Infield (1930), the latter was published by Lehmann (V-Mo/Collins, 27: 243-471) and translated into English by Heath (1997). Both sets belong to the *Kaehler* group, and Stark (2004) argues that *Kaehler* itself, discovered only in 1997, is closest to the source notes and lecture. Krauß (1926, 66) thought *Brauer* the least reliable of the notes in this group.

Natural Law. Kant lectured on natural law twelve times (between 1767 and 1788), and appears to have always used the two-volume Achenwall (1763). Kant lectured on both volumes, but only his copy of the second volume has been found, with the marginalia transcribed by Adickes and Berger (Refl 19:325-613) before it too was lost during World War II.

Of the two known sets of notes only the *Feyerabend* (AA 27:1319-94) is available. The source lecture is dated to 1784 and the notes consist of an introduction (about 20% of the notes) that discusses the relationship between the philosophy of right and moral philosophy and which bears strong affinities with the *Groundwork* (1785). The middle section (about 60% of the notes) concerns the first Achenwall volume, and the remainder is a

rather rushed discussion of the second volume. A translation of these notes and related materials was recently published (Rauscher 2016).

Natural Theology. Kant lectured on natural theology only four times: once in 1774 and the rest in the mid-80s. Kant never announced this course in the catalog and it appears to have been a fall back course for when another course failed to attract enough students (e.g., moral philosophy in 1783/84, encyclopedia in 1787). Jachmann wrote that Kant was quite interested in the course when theology students were enrolled, however, as he saw it as a means to further enlighten the Prussian pulpits (1804, 31-32).

Five sets of notes are available, but all appear to stem from Kant's lectures of WS 1783/84, save for a brief additional set of notes (eight manuscript pages) appended to *Mrongovius*, which comes from a later semester. Kreimendahl (1988, 326-28) is persuaded that *Coing* and *Mrongovius* are both copies of a common set of notes (originating in the 1783/84 lectures), and agrees with Beyer that *Pölitiz 2* and *Volckmann* stem from a different set of notes, although from the same lectures. Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* is listed as a textbook for this course as well; part four concerns *theologia naturalis* (§§800-1000), and Wood finds that, as a whole, the notes read as a running commentary on §§815-982 (CERRT:337).

Kant presumably also lectured on natural theology in all of his metaphysics lectures, although it is understandable that he might often have run out of time at the end of the semester. There is some discussion of natural theology in *Herder* (1762-64; AA 28:137-38, 150-51, 907-23), *Volckmann* (1784/85; AA 28:450-59), *Pölitiz 3.2* (c.1790-91; AA 28:595-609), *Dohna* (1792/93; AA 28:690-702), and *Vigilantius* (1794/95; AA 29:1040) with relatively extensive notes in *Pölitiz 1* (c.1777-80; AA 28:301-50) and *Königsberg* (c.1791/92; AA 28:775-812). These notes discuss transcendental theology, physico-theology, moral-theology, God's attributes, and the divine actions.

Physics. Kant lectured on physics twenty-one times, beginning with the very first semester and every semester the first three years, then about once every two years, the last in 1787/88. It 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.

We know of three sets of notes, of which one is complete (*Mrongovius*, dated 1785; AA 29:97-169), one is a large fragment (*Friedländer*, dated 1776; AA 28:75-91), and one a small fragment (*Herder*, dated 1763; AA 28:160-66, 29:69-71). The *Herder* fragment might stem from someone else's lectures.

Mathematics. Kant appears to have lectured on mathematics at least fifteen of his first seventeen semesters at the university. He may have taught this course normally as a two-semester sequence with arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry (the first three parts of Wolff's *Auszug* 1717) normally taught during the winter semester, and mechanics, hydrostatics, aerometry, and hydraulics (the next four parts of Wolff's textbook) normally taught during the summer semester. 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.

The only candidates for student notes from these lectures are two four-sheet manuscripts from Herder (1762-63; AA 29:49-66). The evidence that they come from Kant's lectures is only circumstantial: Kant was lecturing on mathematics at the time and Herder was attending his courses free of charge (Herder 1846: 133-34), but we are also told that Herder attended the mathematics lectures of F. J. Buck "with great diligence" (Böttiger 1998: 125). A recent discussion of these notes is found in Moretto (2015).

Encyclopedia. Kant lectured on philosophical encyclopedia ten semesters, from 1767/68 to 1781/82. The textbook (Feder 1767) consists of three parts: an introduction to the history of philosophy, a sketch of the central areas of philosophy (logic, metaphysics, physics, practical philosophy), and a bibliography of important books in the different areas of philosophy. Much of this content overlaps with introductory parts of the logic and metaphysics lectures.

We know of three sets of notes, of which only one is available, the *Friedländer* (AA 29:5-45) and dates from either 1777/78, 1779/80, or 1781/82.

Pedagogy. Kant lectured on pedagogy just four semesters (from 1776/77 to 1786/87). This was a course mandated by government decree (June 13, 1774) with the hope of improving the level of teaching in the Prussian public schools. It was to be offered publicly (free of charge) each semester by the philosophy faculty, which they did on a rotating basis.

Apart from some brief published remarks on pedagogy — *Announcement* (AA 2:305-13), *Philanthropinum* (AA 2:447-52) — there is an extended discussion at the end of the *Friedländer* anthropology notes (V-Anth/Fried, 25:722-28) dated to 1775/76, a year prior to Kant's first course of lectures on pedagogy. Remarks on education are scattered throughout the anthropology notes, but nowhere else in a stand-alone section like in *Friedländer*, nor does this material appear in the pedagogy lectures as edited by Rink.

We know nothing of the manuscript(s) that Rink used in preparing his publication (Rink 1803; AA 9:439-99) of the notes, and it is entirely possible that this text does not stem, in any direct sense, from Kant's pedagogy lectures at all. Weisskopf (1970) is the most thorough study of this work, but see also Stark (2000 and 2012).

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- ¹ The other books published during the last years of Kant's life and that are outwardly similar to the *Anthropology* do not at all share its status, since the *Logic* (published by Jäsche in 1800) and the *Physical Geography* and *On Pedagogy* (published by Rink in 1802 and 1803) were prepared independently of Kant, whose only participation was to give the editors his blessing.
 - ² The two-volume *Physical Geography* published by Rink in 1802 – with Kant's permission but no input – should not be thought of as similar to Kant's *Anthropology* published in 1798. The Rink volumes are a blend of the *Diktattext* (Kant's notes composed in 1757-59 from which he lectured) and a now-lost set of notes from 1774), and its failings were well documented over a century ago (Adickes 1911, 1913).
 - ³ As decreed on March 31, 1781 (quoted in Bornhak 1900: 132).
 - ⁴ An edict from Minister von Zedlitz (dated 25 Dec 1775) forbade Weymann and Wlochatius from teaching Crusius' philosophy, "the lack of value of which has been long agreed upon by the more enlightened scholars" (quoted in Arnoldt 1908-9: v.248).
 - ⁵ Pinder (1998; three sets of logic notes), Stark (2004; one set of notes on moral philosophy) – and the various volumes edited by Hinske's working group in Trier that offer improved texts of the published notes on logic (1986, 1989-90, 1995, 1999) and natural law (Delfosse, *et al.*, 2010, 2014). For those still unpublished, see Naragon (2006), "Unpublished Notes."

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- ⁶ For assessments of AA 24 (logic), see Hinske (1989-90: xxx-xxxvii) and Oberhausen (2000); of AA 27 (moral philosophy), see Schwaiger (2000); of AA 28-29 (metaphysics), see Naragon (2000); of AA 29.1, see Stark (1984, 1985).
- ⁷ For a useful history of how these notes were understood and their inclusion in the academy edition, see Sala (1982).
- ⁸ Cf. Arnoldt (1892: 402f.), Heinze (1894: 658), and Vaihinger (1895: 428-29). Stark also discusses this (1987: 139-40).
- ⁹ Consider Ameriks (1982) on the paralogsms, Klemme (1996) on the Kantian subject and, most recently, Dyck on Kant's rational psychology (2014).
- ¹⁰ This receives support from Ludwig Borowski, a former student and later dinner guest and friend of Kant's, who in his 1804 biography of Kant considered the puzzle of how he managed to write and publish so much, given his lecturing duties, his long afternoons of socializing and walks, and his many visitors. His answer was that "in part much that he presented to the public in his writings was first worked out in his lectures" (Borowski 1804: 174).
- ¹¹ Adickes was one of the first to call attention to these difficulties (1911: 2-3).
- ¹² In this I am following Stark (1991).
- ¹³ We have one instance of multiple drafts – a *Mitschrift* and the later *Reinschrift* – among the *Herder* metaphysics notes. A four-page manuscript in pencil (AA 28:843-49) is clearly a *Mitschrift* that was the basis of about six pages of a *Reinschrift* written in ink (AA 28:22-30).
- ¹⁴ With the physical geography notes, this refers to *types* as opposed to distinct sets.