

MODELS OF THE HISTORY
OF PHILOSOPHY

MODELS OF THE HISTORY
OF PHILOSOPHY

I

edited by
Giovanni Santinello

for the English edition:

C. W. T. Blackwell (*General Editor*)
Philip Weller (*Associate Editor*)

PLAN OF THE WORK, IN FIVE VOLUMES:

- 1 *From Its Origins in the Renaissance to the 'Historia Philosophica'*
(the late fifteenth to the later seventeenth century)
- 2 *From the Cartesian Age to Brucker*
(the mid seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century)
- 3 *The Enlightenment and the Kantian Age*
(the later eighteenth century)
- 4 *The Age of Hegel*
(the first half of the nineteenth century)
- 5 *The Later Nineteenth Century*

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Models of the History
of Philosophy:
From Its Origins in the Renaissance
to the 'Historia Philosophica'

by
Francesco Bottin, Luciano Malusa, Giuseppe Micheli,
Giovanni Santinello, Ilario Tolomio

C. W. T. Blackwell (*General Editor*)
Philip Weller (*Associate Editor*)
for the English edition



SPRINGER-SCIENCE+BUSINESS MEDIA, B.V.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Storia delle storie generali della filosofia. English.

Models of the history of philosophy / edited by Giovanni Santinello ; edited for the English edition by Constance Blackwell, general editor & Philip Weller, associate editor.

p. cm. -- (Archives internationales d'histoire des idées = International archives for the history of ideas ; v. 135)

Contents: v. 1. The fifteenth to the later seventeenth century--from its origins in the Renaissance to the "historia philosophica"

I. Philosophy. Modern--Historiography. I. Santinello, Giovanni. II. Title. III. Series. Archives internationales d'histoire des idées : 135.

B794.S9313 1993

190--dc20

93-16502

ISBN 978-90-481-4254-5

ISBN 978-94-015-8181-3 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-94-015-8181-3

Original title: *Storia delle storie generali della filosofia*, Vol. I
"Dalle origini rinascimentali alla Historia Philosophica"

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Edited by Constance W. T. Blackwell and Philip Weller

Printed on acid-free paper

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Originally published by Kluwer Academic Publishers in 1993

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3. Jakob Thomasius (1622–1684): <i>Schediasma historicum</i> (<i>Giovanni Santinello</i>)	409
4. Johann Michael Schwimmer (d. 1704): <i>Academia prisca Graeciae</i>	442
5. Henning Witte (1634–1696): <i>Memoriae philosophorum</i>	445
6. Johann Jacob von Ryssel (d. 1732): <i>Continuatio in Vossii librum de philosophorum sectis</i>	451
7. Ehregott Daniel Colberg (1659–1698): <i>Sapientia veterum Hebraeorum</i>	460
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A) PERIODICALS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES, AND REFERENCE WORKS (SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

- Adam M. Adam, *Dignorum laude virorum . . . immortalitas, se Vitae theologorum, jureconsultorum, et politicorum, medicorum, atque philosophorum maximam partem Germanorum, nonnullam quoque exterorum*, 3rd edn, 1 vol. in 4 pts. (Pt. 1 divided into 2 sections, each separately paginated) (Frankfurt am Main, 1705):
Pt. 1: *Vitae Germanorum theologorum; Vitae theologorum exterorum principum*;
Pt. 2: *Vitae Germanorum jureconsultorum et politicorum*;
Pt. 3: *Vitae Germanorum medicorum*;
Pt. 4: *Vitae Germanorum philosophorum*.
- AE *Acta eruditorum*, 50 vols. (Leipzig, 1682-1731).
- AE Suppl. *Acta eruditorum quae Lipsiae publicantur supplementa*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1692-1734).
- BA *Bibliothèque angloise; ou Histoire littéraire de la Grande-Bretagne*, ed. M. de la Roche and A. de La Chapelle, 17 vols. (Amsterdam, 1717-28).
- Bayle P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 5th edn, rev., corr., and augmented, with the author's Life, by Mr Des Maizeaux, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1740).
- BCh *Bibliothèque choisie*, ed. J. Le Clerc, 28 vols. (Amsterdam, 1703-13).
- Brucker J. Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, 4 vols. in 5 (Leipzig, 1742-4); *Appendix* (Leipzig, 1767; facs. repr. of the whole, Hildesheim and New York, 1975).
- BUH *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, ed. J. Le Clerc, 26 vols. (Amsterdam, 1686-1702).
- Buonafede, *Della istoria* Agatopisto Cromaziano [Appiano Buonafede], *Della istoria e della indole di ogni filosofia*, 6 vols. (Venice, 1782-3).
- Buonafede, *Della restaurazione* Agatopisto Cromaziano [Appiano Buonafede], *Della restaurazione di ogni filosofia ne' secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1792).
- Fabricius J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, 4th edn, ed. G. C. Harles, 10 vols. (Hamburg, 1790-1807).
- Freher P. Freher, *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg, 1688).

- Fülleborn *Beyträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. G. G. Fülleborn, 12 fascs. in 3 vols. (Jena, 1791-9).
- Heumann *Acta philosophorum; das ist, gründliche Nachrichten aus der Historia philosophica*, ed. C. A. Heumann, 18 fascs. in 3 vols. (Halle, 1715-27).
- HOS *Histoire des ouvrages des sçavans*, ed. H. Basnage, 25 vols. (Rotterdam, 1687-1709).
- Imperiali G. Imperiali, *Musaeum historicum*, 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Venice, 1640).
- Jöcher C. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1750-51; facs. repr. Hildesheim, 1960-61).
- Jöcher (Erg.) J. C. Adelung and H. W. Rotermund, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinen Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, Delmenhorst, and Bremen, 1784-1897; facs. repr. Hildesheim, 1960-61).
- Jonsius J. Jonsius, *De scriptoribus historiae philosophicae libri IV*, 2nd edn, rev. and enl., ed. J. C. Dornius, with a Preface by B. G. Struve, 2 vols. (Jena, 1716; facs. repr. Düsseldorf, 1968).
- JS *Journal des sçavans*, founded by Denis de Sallo, 170 vols. to 1753 (Amsterdam, 1665-).
- Morhof, *Polyhistor literarius* D. G. Morhof, *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus, et practicus*, 4th edn, with additions by J. Frick and J. Möller and a Preface by J. Fabricius, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Lübeck, 1747), Vol. 1, pt. 1.
- Morhof, *Polyhistor philosophicus* D. G. Morhof, *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus, et practicus*, Vol. II, pt. 2.
- Morhof, *Polyhistor practicus* D. G. Morhof, *Polyhistor, literarius, philosophicus, et practicus*, Vol. II, pt. 3.
- MT *Mémoires de Trévoux (Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts)*, 878 pts. in 265 vols. (Trévoux, Lyons, and Paris, 1701-67).
- NB *Neue Bibliothec oder Nachricht und Urtheile von neuen Büchern*, ed. N. J. Gundling, 11 vols. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1709-21).
- Nicéron J.-P. Nicéron et al., *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des Lettres*, 43 vols. (Paris, 1729-45).
- NL *Nouvelles littéraires*, ed. H. du Sauzet et al., 12 vols. (The Hague, 1715-20).
- NRL *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, ed. P. Bayle until Feb. 1687, 56 vols. (Amsterdam, 1684-1718).
- Ortloff J. A. Ortloff, *Handbuch der Literatur der Geschichte der Philosophie* (Erlangen, 1798; facs. repr. Düsseldorf, 1967).
- PhT *Philosophical Transactions*, 70 vols. to 1780 (London, 1665- ; facs. repr. New York, 1963).
- Saxe C. Saxe, *Onomasticon literarium, sive nomenclator historico-criticus*, 8 pts. (Trier, 1775-1803), pt. 4 (1782).
- Stolle G. Stolle, *Introductio in historiam litterariam in gratiam cultorum elegantiorum litterarum et philosophiae conscripta*, 1 vol. in 3 pts. (Jena, 1728).
- Struve B. G. Struve, *Bibliothecae philosophicae Struvianaee emendatae, continuatae atque ultra dimidiam partem auctae a L. M. Kablio*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1740; facs. repr. Düsseldorf, 1970).

B) MODERN SCHOLARLY LITERATURE :
 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS, BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES,
 PERIODICALS, CRITICAL STUDIES
 (NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES)

- ADB *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Leipzig and Munich, 1875-1912).
 AGPh *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin, 1888-).
 Balsamo L. Balsamo, *Introduzione all bibliografia* (Parma, 1978).
 Banfi A. Banfi, 'Concetto e sviluppo della storiografia filosofica', in id., *La ricerca della realtà*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1959), Vol. 1, pp. 101-67; previously published in *Civiltà moderna*, v (1933), pp. 392-427, 552-66.
 Bernardini-Righi A. Bernardini and G. Righi, *Il concetto di filologia e di cultura classica nel pensiero moderno* (Bari, 1947).
 Braun L. Braun, *Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1973).
 BUAM *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. Michaud, 2nd edn, 45 vols. (Paris, 1843-[65]).
 Buhle J. G. Buhle, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie und einer kritischen Literatur derselben*, 8 vols. in 9 (Göttingen, 1796-1804).
 DBI *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 40 vols. to date (Rome, 1960-).
 Degérando J. M. Degérando, *Histoire comparée des systèmes de philosophie, relativement aux principes des connaissances humaines*, 2nd edn, rev., corr., and augmented, 8 vols. (Paris, 1822), Vol. 1.
 Del Torre M. A. Del Torre, *Le origini moderne della storiografia filosofica* (Florence, 1976).
 de Rémusat C. de Rémusat, *Histoire de la philosophie en Angleterre, depuis Bacon jusqu'à Locke*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1875).
 DHI *Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas*, ed. P. P. Wiener, 5 vols. (New York, 1968-73).
 Dibon P. Dibon, *La philosophie néerlandaise au siècle d'or*, Vol. 1: *L'enseignement philosophique dans les universités à l'époque précartésienne (1575-1650)* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1954).
 DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols. (London, 1908-9).
 DSB *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. C. C. Gillespie, 14 vols. (New York, 1970-76).
 DThC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1909-72).
 EC *Enciclopedia cattolica*, 12 vols. (Vatican City, 1948-54).
 EF *Enciclopedia filosofica*, 2nd edn, 6 vols. (Florence, 1967).
 EI *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 36 vols. (Rome, 1949-52).
 Franck *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques*, dir. A. Franck, 2nd edn (Paris, 1875).
 Freyer J. Freyer, *Geschichte der Philosophie im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1912).
 Fueter E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, 3rd edn (Munich and Berlin 1936; facs. repr. New York and London, 1968).
 GAF *Grande antologia filosofica*, 31 vols. (Milan, 1954-78).
 Garin E. Garin, *Storia della filosofia italiana*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1966).
 GCFI *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* (Rome and Florence, 1920-).

- Hirsch *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker*, ed. A. Hirsch, 5 vols. (Berlin and Vienna, 1929-34).
- Hurter H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius theologiae catholicae*, 3rd edn, 5 vols. (Vol. v divided into 2 pts.) (Innsbruck, 1903-13).
- Jasenas M. Jasenas, *A History of the Bibliography of Philosophy* (Hildesheim and New York, 1973).
- JHI *Journal of the History of Ideas* (Lancaster, Pa., and New York, 1940-).
- Kunitz-Haycraft S. J. Kunitz and H. Haycraft, *British Authors before 1800: A Biographical Dictionary*, 4th edn (New York, 1965).
- Malclès L. N. Malclès, *La bibliographie*, *Que sais-je?*, no. 708, 4th edn (Paris, 1977).
- Malusa, 'Interpretazione' L. Malusa, 'Sul ruolo del concetto di interpretazione nella storiografia filosofica tra il Seicento ed il Settecento', in *Storiografia ed ermeneutica: Atti del XIX Convegno di assistenti universitari di filosofia, Padova 1974* (Padua, 1975), pp. 117-34.
- Malusa, 'Origini' L. Malusa, 'Le origini moderne della storia della filosofia: Osservazioni sulla "storia critica della filosofia" tra Seicento e Settecento', in *Storiografia e filosofia del linguaggio*, ed. C. Giacon (Padua, 1975), pp. 3-41.
- NDB *Neue deutsche Biographie*, 29 vols. to date (Berlin, 1953-).
- Petersen P. Petersen, *Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie im protestantischen Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1921; facs. repr. Stuttgart and Bad Cannstatt, 1964).
- Pfeiffer R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976).
- Rak M. Rak, *La parte storica: Storia della filosofia e libertinismo erudito* (Naples, 1971).
- RCSF *Rivista [critica] di storia della filosofia* (Milan, 1946-).
- Saitta G. Saitta, *Il pensiero italiano nell'Umanesimo e nel Rinascimento*, Vol. 1: *L'Umanesimo*, Vols. II-III: *Il Rinascimento* (Florence, 1961).
- Sandys J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1906-8).
- Schmitt, 'Perennial Philosophy' C. B. Schmitt, 'Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, xxvii (1966), pp. 505-32; repr. in id. *Studies in Renaissance Philosophy and Science* (London, 1981), no. 1.
- Schmitt, 'Prisca Theologia' C. B. Schmitt, "'Prisca Theologia" e "Philosophia Perennis": Due temi del Rinascimento italiano e la loro fortuna', in *Il pensiero italiano del Rinascimento e il tempo nostro: Atti del V Convegno internazionale del Centro di studi umanistici, Montepulciano, Palazzo Tarugi, 8-13 agosto 1968*, ed. G. Tarugi (Florence, 1970), pp. 211-36; repr. in Schmitt, *Studies in Renaissance Philosophy and Science* (London, 1981), no. 2.
- Sommervogel *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, new edn by C. Sommervogel, Pt. 1, Vols. 1-x (Brussels and Paris, 1890-1909); Pt. II, Vol. xi (Paris, 1932); Suppl., Vol. xii (Toulouse, 1911-30; facs. repr. of the whole, Louvain, 1960).
- Sortais G. Sortais, *La philosophie moderne depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibniz*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1920-22).

- SSGF *Storia delle storie generali della filosofia*, ed. G. Santinello, Vol. 11: *Dall'età cartesiana a Brucker*, by F. Bottin, M. Longo, and G. Piaia (Brescia, 1979).
- Tennemann W. G. Tennemann, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1798–1819).
- Van Der Aa *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, by A. J. Van Der Aa, 21 vols. (Haarlem, 1852–78).
- Wilamowitz U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship*, trans. of *Geschichte der Philologie* by A. Harris, ed. with Intro. and notes by H. Lloyd-Jones (London, 1982).
- Willey B. Willey, *The Seventeenth-Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Age* (London, 1934; repr. 1986).
- Wundt M. Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1939).
- Yates F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964).

FOREWORD TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Interest in the history of the history of philosophy is not new. As early as the seventeenth century, when the field began to be clearly defined as an historical genre, historians of philosophy listed and commented on their predecessors: Jonsius wrote the first work on the topic and after him surveys appeared in Morhof, Brucker, Tennemann, and Cousin. For these four the topic was an important preliminary survey for a more intensive study of the history of philosophy itself — thus the history of the discipline was not the major focus. Jonsius' study was unique as the first and only study of ancient and Renaissance sources for the history of philosophy in the seventeenth century. After the early nineteenth century the subject seems to have dropped from view, but recently a change has occurred. Between 1973 and 1984, three histories of the history of philosophy were begun: Lucien Braun's *Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie* (1973), Giovanni Santinello's *Storia delle storie generali della filosofia* (1979–), and last Marcel Gueroult's *Dianoématique: Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie* (3 vols.; 1984–88). Gueroult's work had the longest gestation: volumes I and II began as lectures on the history of the history of philosophy at the Collège de France between 1933 and 1938. Santinello's *Storia delle storie generali della filosofia*, here translated into English under the title of *Models of the History of Philosophy*, is the most ambitious and complete effort, describing the field from the Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century. When completed it will comprise five volumes in all, of which three volumes have been published to date in the Italian.

It is no accident that the history of the history of philosophy has been studied with renewed vigour in the last forty years. As Bréhier says in his seminal introductory survey of the field of the history of philosophy which introduced his *Histoire de la philosophie* (1926), a new methodological approach that rejected Comtian and Hegelian constructs was necessary if a clear and philosophically useful study of the history of philosophy was to

be made (Bréhier, p. 10). Almost fifty years later, in 1974, Braun set out a similar point of view in his introduction to his *Histoire de l'histoire de la philosophie*, stating that he would not impose an 'idea' on the historical text, as post-Kantian philosophers had done, but would examine the texts themselves (Braun, p. 4). The general editor and originator of the Italian project, Giovanni Santinello, was motivated by the same anti-idealist impulse. In the later 1950s, as he explains in his 'Autopresentazione', Santinello found that through the practice of the historiography of philosophy, which was at that time a branch of philology, "it was possible to bring about a severe critique of the categories that had been typical of the idealist modes of thought in Italy, and substitute for them a positive methodology which could be integrated within the historical sciences" ('Autopresentazione', pp. 260-67). *Models of the History of Philosophy* is organized as a critical, historical study of philosophical texts and sets out the work of each historian of a general history of philosophy for further scrutiny and study.

While Bréhier, Braun, Gueroult, and Santinello are united in their rejection of *a priori* theories, they take approaches that are complementary in many ways. Bréhier introduces the topic for serious consideration; Braun studies with great sensitivity how the various philosophical texts were read by historians of philosophy between the Renaissance and the mid nineteenth century; and Gueroult examines how the major philosophers evaluated and used the past of their discipline in their philosophy. Where they differ is in their assessment of the discussions on the history of philosophy by humanists and philosophers between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. As a result, each has a very different description of the contribution of early modern philosophy to the history of philosophy and a distinct view as to how Western philosophy developed the way it did. By and large the three French works define real philosophy to be only the work of those who developed complete and original philosophical systems such as that of Descartes and do not find the earlier writings, which they classify as 'literary', 'philological', or 'humanistic' in character, to be conducive either to philosophy or to the history of philosophy. The Italian work, basing itself on Italian, English, and American scholarship on the Renaissance by Garin, Kristeller, Walker, and Schmitt, has a radically different approach — Renaissance texts are read thematically, and as a result sources for later developments in the history of philosophy are found in texts which might seem in other ways incomplete. Thus, in this volume, Malusa finds much in Renaissance texts that makes substantial contributions to the history of philosophy.

This disagreement among the historiographers of philosophy raises one of the key questions in the study of the history of a discipline — When can the discipline be said to have started? Jonsius, Morhof, and Brucker all include literature from the Renaissance in their surveys, and it is only with Tenenmann that the category of general history of philosophy is imposed on the

literature and Renaissance texts are excluded. How to assess this earlier literature troubles all three French historians. Although they each begin their discussions of the early modern period with the Renaissance, for Bréhier and Braun the period from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century is not a fertile one. Bréhier made two basic objections to the earlier historians of philosophy: either they were too philological or they adhered to the allegiances of one of the Greek philosophical sects. Study of the history of individual sects by its partisans resulted in a fragmentation of thought which eventually drove philosophers to adopt a philosophical Scepticism. For Bréhier, the recovery of Sextus Empiricus merely reinforced this tendency. The fact that the information about ancient philosophy could have been an important source for the history of philosophy and for philosophy itself was disregarded. Rather the interest in Scepticism is seen as a symptom of the poor state of sixteenth-century philosophical scholarship. One product of this sceptical reaction was Guy de Brûés's *Les dialogues contre les nouveaux academiciens* (Paris, 1557) (Bréhier, Vol. 1, pp. 11-15).

Braun gives a much more detailed consideration of the problem placing Renaissance history of philosophy within the writing in the field since the Greeks. He classifies the history of philosophy into six periods, 'histoire naïve' (antiquity), 'histoire érudite' (the fifteenth to the mid seventeenth century) 'histoire pragmatique' (the late seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century), 'histoire de la philosophie comme progrès' (the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century), 'histoire de la philosophie à l'heure du criticisme' (the early nineteenth century), and 'la vision Romantique de l'histoire de la philosophie' (the mid nineteenth century). In this classification, ancient and Renaissance history of philosophy are grouped together under the title of 'histoire pratique', and the later history of philosophy subsumed under the general title, 'discipline': it is only in these later periods that the history of philosophy is thought to have come into being. According to Braun, the ancients practised a history of philosophy which was 'naïve' (without proper procedures) — they collected sentences, proverbs, maxims, and opinions of philosophers and entirely lacked a historical or philosophical genre for the history of philosophy, while the Renaissance did have a technique — that of the philologist not of the philosopher, which was equally unsatisfactory. Braun has a very rigorous definition of how a philologist proceeded in the 'histoire érudite'. He "seeks to reconstitute the ancient text and study it for itself", and "tired by interminable and vain glosses, he finds that the vigorous study of literature not only fixes his attention on a stable subject, but renders the texts in a new and authentic way". This is the way Bruni is seen to have read Aristotle's *Ethics*; Ficino, Plato; and Henri Estienne, Sextus Empiricus. Braun concludes with the comment that the history of philosophy of this period is a "prisoner of the ancients". He cites Giovanni Battista Buoninsegni's *Epistola de nobilioribus philosophorum sectis*

et eorum inter se differentia as a typical example of this type of narrow reading of texts (which he notes, somewhat scornfully, remained published until 1888, when L. Stein edited it in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*). Braun believes the sixteenth century to be no more developed than the fifteenth for two reasons: first, the wars of religion introduced a religious component into philosophy — an influence Braun sees as negative — and second, the recovery of Greek philosophical sects is seen to be the work of philologists. Justus Lipsius is thus reduced to an unphilosophical figure (Braun, pp. 49–57).

Guerout, on the other hand, finds that the Renaissance history of philosophy did have important consequences for philosophy itself. For example, he describes how the rise of the knowledge of the authentic Aristotle caused the overthrow of Scholasticism, led to a resurrection of all the ancient philosophical sects, and in turn liberated philosophy. “The liberation of philosophy was made by the liberation of its own history, by an insurrection against the constraints of previous centuries and by an effort to return to the original text”. Even though Guerout does not think of this effort as mere philology, it also was not really beneficial, resulting in the flowering of the “false Plato”, the “false Aristotle”, the “false Epicurus”. This distortion of ancient philosophers was caused also by a literary impulse, coming not from philologists this time, but from the humanists who were interested in “neither theology, logic, nor science, but aesthetic pleasure and refinement of taste” (Guerout, Vol. 1, pp. 133–8).

But Guerout does not claim that the humanistic movement was the only one in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There was another — the encyclopaedic impulse, which drove Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Campanella, and da Vinci — caused by passionate curiosity. This resulted in a lack of philosophic order, a multiplicity of sects, and a fragmentation of thought that ended with a sceptical reaction. It first produced Gianfrancesco Pico de la Mirandola, then the edition of Sextus Empiricus by Estienne and the translation by Hervet, Montaigne, and the fideism of Pierre Bayle. Importantly, this Scepticism had a very real impact, dividing into two different types of Sceptics, that of Montaigne and Descartes, who rejected tradition for human reason, and that of Huet, who denied Cartesian reason and accepted faith because of the weakness of human reason. This Scepticism also helped to release philosophy from its history (*ibid.*, pp. 140–46), which Guerout believed to be necessary for the development of modern philosophy.

The reduction of the reading of ancient philosophical texts during the Renaissance to the work of mere philology or a humanist aesthetic has ominous echoes in the literature of the history of philosophy. One is reminded immediately of Hegel’s famous characterization of Renaissance philosophy, a period he placed in the same category as medieval philosophy:

But the revival of the arts and sciences, and especially of the study of

ancient literature bearing on Philosophy, was at first in some measure a simple revival of the old philosophy in its earlier and original form, without anything new being added; this working up of old philosophies, to which a great number of writings were devoted, was thus the restoration of something forgotten only. . . . Thus it was partly the old Platonic philosophy that was sought out, and partly the Neoplatonic, as also the Aristotelian and Stoic, the Epicurean — as far as it regarded physics — and the popular philosophy of Cicero in its first form; these were brought forward as authorities against Scholasticism, being in direct contradiction to it. Such endeavours are, however, connected rather with the history of literature and culture, and with the advancement of the same; we do not find originality in this philosophic work, nor can we recognize therein any forward step (Hegel, *Lectures on The History of Philosophy*, trans. E. S. Haldane and F. H. Simpson (London, 1896), Vol. III, pp. 109–10).

In his Introduction to the *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1–2, Charles Schmitt remarked that Renaissance philosophy had disappeared from the history of philosophy after Jacob Brucker's 800-page volume on the topic in his *Historia critica philosophiae*, published in 1744. My own research over the last five years has revealed that Brucker himself contributed to this by defining the successful philosopher as one who had written a complete and original system of philosophy. Brucker called him an 'eclectic' — and thus by implication disqualified the bulk of Renaissance philosophy. Brucker, moreover, discriminated against the philosophers of the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, whom he described as following former philosophical sects, placing them in a single volume, and criticizing them for following the philosophical systems of others and not thinking independently. He then grouped others — Cardano, Campanella, Bruno, Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, and Leibniz, in another volume, and praised them for their originality. After that, future historians of philosophy like Tennemann, who were interested in tracing the progress of philosophy in their histories, simply passed over the period without examining it in detail. (See C. W. T. Blackwell, 'The Creation of the Myth of the Renaissance Eccentric Genius: The Case of Cardano'; ead., 'The Jesuits and the Historiography of Renaissance Aristotelianism'.) The French historians of the history of philosophy, Bréhier, Braun, and Gueroult, are in various ways heirs to the definition of successful philosophizing as the ability to create an original and complete philosophical system, an approach that has advantages and disadvantages. In this case, while it points toward the major changes in philosophy of the seventeenth century, it tends to overlook trends in less monumental texts.

The rescue of Renaissance philosophy from Brucker's disqualification, of which Hegel's was but a faithful echo, with its reduction of two hundred

years of philosophic effort to 'mere' literature has taken over a hundred years. As Schmitt has pointed out, it began in the nineteenth century in France and Italy with the work of Renan, Mabilleau, Fiorentino, Tocco, and Amabile. (It should be noted that all of the Renaissance philosophers were selected because they represented an anti-clerical or libertine religious or philosophical position.) Their research was added to in the first years of this century by Gentile, who wrote on Bruno and Telesio. But, for Schmitt, it was Ernst Cassirer, "whose massive *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit* tried for the first time to trace the rise of modern philosophical concerns to the period of the Renaissance", who made people read the texts in a different way. (Schmitt, *Cambridge History*, p. 2.). The recovery of Renaissance philosophy continued with the scholarship of Garin and Kristeller, both of whom firmly established Renaissance philosophy as an intellectually sophisticated and important field of study and led to the first complete overview of Renaissance philosophy as a philosophical system in the collection of articles in *The Cambridge History* edited by Schmitt, Skinner, and Kessler.

In the last twenty years, work done on those authors who between 1400 and 1700 recovered, commented on, and wrote philosophy in relation to ancient philosophical texts has opened up our understanding of the philosopher of that period. As Eckhard Kessler has pointed out, the problem of philology versus philosophy began early with Petrarch, who was fond of the quotation from Seneca: "The study of wisdom has become the study of words (*quae philosophia fuit facta philologia est*)" (Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 108. 23-4; Kessler, 'Petrarcas Philologie', pp. 110-11). The work of Schmitt on the history of Renaissance Aristotelianism, *Aristotle in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1983), and the recovery of ancient Scepticism has demonstrated the profound impact such a reading had on the redirection of Renaissance philosophy for Renaissance Aristotelianism and Scepticism, while the work of Anthony Grafton has pointed out the transforming power of philology for the matter of natural science.

The systematic study of Renaissance texts as evidence for the history of philosophy began in Italy in the 1970s with the research for *Models of the History of Philosophy*. Malusa carefully and sensitively read the writings of fifteenth-century Italian humanists and philosophers and painstakingly reconstructed their thought, while Tolomio did the same for the seventeenth-century Dutch philologists. Although, like the French historians of philosophy, they find Thomas Stanley's *History of Philosophy* a landmark in the field, and they end the second volume of their work with a consideration of Brucker's *Historia critica philosophiae* (1742-4), the Italian historians of philosophy raise two different and new historical questions.

First: What were the various discussions about the origins and development of philosophy, what caused the philosophical canon to develop, and

how and why did it change? This is a question of importance for historians of culture, religion, and science as well. One aspect of this question — Did philosophy arise in the East and then move to Greece? — is still under debate by leading historians of science, as four articles in *Isis* (1992) illustrate. The evidence that has been found is clearly set out here in *Models*. Renaissance scholars examining the origins of the history of philosophy transformed the field by the questions they asked. Nowhere is this more evident than in Malusa's research on the earlier history of how Diogenes Laertius was read and on the Renaissance variations on the theme of the 'prisca theologia', which builds on earlier research by D. P. Walker and Charles Schmitt. Malusa, Micheli, Tolomio, and Santinello do not ask when real philosophical thinking began, but how its origins developed and how the history of philosophy was told.

Second: What was the influence of religious belief on historians of philosophy? The question of the role of religion is a difficult and a very embarrassing topic for many historians of philosophy. On the whole, historians of philosophy either have been trying to create a religion out of their field (like Hegel and Croce), or have been apologists for religion (like Gilson), or have omitted the subject altogether. Recent scholarship proves that, when properly studied, religious concerns can elucidate philosophical problems. In the United States during the last thirty years the question of the religious motivations of philosophers has been incorporated fruitfully into the study of the history of Scepticism and seventeenth-century philosophy by the groundbreaking scholarship of Richard Popkin. Malusa underlines the importance of religion for the recovery of Scepticism in the sixteenth century. Interestingly, he finds that the Scepticism developed by Gianfrancesco Pico did not cause a rejection of the history of philosophy but aided in its development. "Sextus Empiricus became a precious source because it was he who suggested a way of analyzing the philosophy of the past" (see below, p. 48). Religion also is seen to influence philosophy in the seventeenth century. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the article in this volume on Jakob Thomasiaus by Giovanni Santinello. By examining Thomasiaus' attacks on the atheism of Greek philosophy, Santinello brings to the fore the philosophical concerns of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers and raises questions for Leibniz scholars, while Micheli's articles on lesser figures describe the type of history of philosophy taught in the universities at the time. These articles prove how important it is to know what questions were asked by the historians of philosophy of the philosophers they were studying and teaching to their students.

By focusing on the origins of the history of philosophy and the periodization of the discipline, as well as by compiling a detailed bibliography of each figure, the scholars of Padua have opened the whole field for further study. The history of philosophy is seen to have grown out of a constant reworking

of the past instead of a rejection of it. Readers will find that minor, as well as major, figures are discussed, and before they skip over the minor figures they should stop to remember that these works may well have been more widely read than the writings of philosophers who are more famous today. Leibniz, along with hundreds of other German students of philosophy, studied what Jakob Thomasius wrote, and Brucker was read by Kant, Diderot, Hegel, Tennemann, Coleridge, Cousin, and Goethe. Yet who now knows about, let alone reads Thomasius, and what strong soul dips into Brucker's six volumes of a thousand pages each, or knows what he has to say about 'prisca theologia', Scepticism, the Renaissance, or Plato?

Protestant and Catholic texts are studied with equal care and each national tradition in the history of philosophy is set out — Italian, French, English, and German. Such a research project could only have been done by a team. Giovanni Santinello initiated the project in the middle of the 1970s together with I. F. Baldo, F. Bottin, M. Longo, L. Malusa, G. Micheli, G. Piaia, and I. Tolomio. In the early years they met every two weeks to share their research, and as a result, although this volume has been written by four scholars and Vol. II by three, both are integrated and co-ordinated efforts. The success of the project is due above all to the intellectual imagination as well as the sharpness of mind and unusually balanced historical vision of one man: Giovanni Santinello. As he has said:

I am convinced — and have attempted to demonstrate — that this aspect of the history of the history of philosophy re-examines and puts into great relief the 'historicity' — the historical character — of every act of interpretation, without thereby dissolving the reality of the texts themselves and beyond these texts, the reality of the mentalities, or personalities of the individual philosophers with our interpretative activity . . . This is not a pretext for simply listening to ourselves, but rather it should incite us to confront the diversity and otherness of things different from ourselves — and finally to question ourselves in order to understand ourselves better. It is in this that historical consciousness consists — a consciousness we find from the time of the humanists onwards ('Autopresentazione', p. 272).

This vast project has been going on for almost twenty years. The University of Padua has a long, proud and independent tradition in the study of philosophy. It is only right that such a major effort that looks at Catholic as well as Protestant works in the clear, objective, yet sympathetic light of history should have come out of such a University. It is hoped that this English translation will encourage English speakers — be they historians of culture, religion, or philosophy — to share and join in this scholarship.

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London, May 1993