

# L'OR DANS LA BOUE

*LEIBNIZ ET LES PHILOSOPHIES  
ANTIQUES ET MÉDIÉVALES*

Vincent Carraud (dir.)



PHILOSOPHIES

L'un des traits caractéristiques de Leibniz est son rapport positif, érudit et essentiel à toute la tradition philosophique. Son recours aux auteurs et aux thèses du passé est d'autant plus frappant que la plupart de ses contemporains, à commencer par Descartes, prétendent inaugurer leur propre pensée dans le refus de la tradition philosophique. Le rapport que Leibniz assume à celle-ci peut s'entendre par analogie avec les parties célèbres où les joueurs d'échecs apprennent leur art : un bon joueur, instruit de l'histoire des échecs, reconnaît aux premiers coups l'ouverture choisie par son adversaire, identifie aussitôt la stratégie qu'il va suivre et anticipe la fin de partie qu'il tentera de mettre en place ; il s'épargne ainsi supputations et hypothèses, parce qu'il reconnaît les situations exemplaires déjà affrontées par les grands maîtres.

On trouvera ici non seulement restitué ce que Leibniz a pensé des auteurs antiques et médiévaux, mais encore analysé son bon *usage* de l'histoire de la philosophie.

Grand prix de philosophie de l'Académie française, titulaire de la chaire d'histoire de la philosophie moderne en Sorbonne et directeur de l'équipe de recherche *Métaphysique : histoires, transformations, actualité*, Vincent Carraud réunit dans ce volume à la fois les contributions de spécialistes de Leibniz et celles d'historiens des philosophies antiques et médiévales qui éprouvent l'or trouvé par Leibniz dans la boue de ses lectures scolastiques : Roger Ariew et Marin Lucio Mare, Thomas Auffret, Claire Bayle, Frédéric de Buzon, Michaël Devaux, Stefano Di Bella, Agustín Echavarría, Thomas Leinkauf, Juan A. Nicolás, François Ottmann, Arnaud Pelletier, Jean-Louis Poirier, Marwan Rashed, Donald Rutherford, Kristell Trego, avec un avant-propos de Jean-Luc Marion.

HISTORY AND STATUS  
OF THE CRITICAL ACADEMIC-EDITION OF LEIBNIZ  
BY THE ACADEMIES OF BERLIN-BRANDENBURG

Thomas Leinkauf

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Vincent Carraud (dir.)

*avec la collaboration de Claire Bayle  
& Gabriel Meyer-Bisch*

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## ABRÉVIATIONS

- A *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, éd. Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaft et Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, séries I-VIII, Darmstadt/Leipzig/Berlin, 1923-...
- GM *Leibnizens Mathematische Schriften*, éd. C. Gerhardt, 7 vol., Berlin/Halle, 1849-1863, rééd. Hildesheim/New York, Olms, 1971.
- GP *Leibniz. Die philosophischen Schriften*, éd. C. Gerhardt, 7 vol., Berlin, 1875-1890, rééd. Hildesheim/New York, Olms, 1965.
- Dutens Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Opera omnia*, éd. Louis Dutens, Genève, 1768, rééd. Hildesheim/New York, Olms, 1990.
- Grua Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Textes inédits d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque provinciale de Hanovre*, publiés et annotés par Gaston Grua, 2 vol., Paris, PUF, 1948.
- AT *Œuvres de Descartes*, publiées par Charles Adam et Paul Tannery, nouvelle présentation par Bernad Rochot & Pierre Costabel, 11 vol., Paris, Vrin, 1964-1974.



# Annexes



HISTORY AND STATUS OF THE CRITICAL ACADEMIC-  
EDITION OF LEIBNIZ BY THE ACADEMIES OF BERLIN-  
BRANDENBURG AND GÖTTINGEN

*Thomas Leinkauf*  
*Münster Universität*

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L'ORDRE DANS LA BOUÛE • SUP • 2021

“Who knows me only through the published works, does not know me” – “*qui me non nisi editis novit, non novit*”, so the famous phrases in Leibniz’s letter to Vincent Placcius in February 1696<sup>1</sup>. Nearly three-hundred years later, Albert Heinekamp, in his article “L’état actuel de la recherche Leibnizienne<sup>2</sup>” (1989), came to the following conclusion: What one could actually know and read from the “*pelagus infinitum*” of Leibniz’s texts in the long period between Leibniz’s death in 1716 and the initial publications of the critical Leibniz-edition at the beginning of the last century, was only something like 15 % of that incomparable and “mostly astonishing” posthumous work of that genial and hyper-productive author<sup>3</sup>. Nobody would say, seen from our viewpoint of 2017, that there has not been made a really big progress, quantitatively and qualitatively,

1 See Dutens VI, 1, 65.

2 Albrecht Heinekamp, “L’état actuel de la recherche leibnizienne”, *Les Études philosophiques*, 1989/2, p. 139-160; p. 140.

3 Regarding the complex task of editing Leibniz’s texts see Stefan Lorenz, “Auferstehung eines Leibes, dessen Glieder wunderbahrlich herum verstreut sind: Leibniz-Renaissancen und ihre editorischen Reflexe”, in Annette Sell (ed.), *Editionen – Wandel und Wirkung*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007, p. 65-92; Hans Poser, “Die Frühphase der Leibniz-Edition”, in Wengchao Li (ed.), *Komma und Kathedrale. Tradition, Bedeutung und Herausforderung der Leibniz-Edition*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2012, p. 23-35; Nora Gädeke, “Au-delà de la philosophie. L’édition de la correspondance générale, politique et historique de Leibniz”, *Les Études philosophiques*, 2016-4, p. 577-595.

regarding accessibility to and, following, better understanding of Leibniz's texts. Be that through various new translations with or without commentaries<sup>4</sup>, be that by publishing *specimina* of dispersed and nearly "lost" fragments<sup>5</sup>, be that, finally, through the ongoing effort of the groups of editors of the Akademie-Ausgabe with its complex *apparatus criticus*. Looking, however, at the sheer mass of the until today not yet published texts – texts we have only because Leibniz himself was his own first collector and preserver of "omnia scripta"<sup>6</sup>, – and looking at the "quantum temporis" we will surely need to come to an end with the task of editing these texts, and taking, additionally, into account the classical axiom 'finitum ad infinitum nulla est proportio', one is inclined to say that the level of every seemingly but finite progress on one side is here, so to say, overtaken or outstripped by the increasing knowledge of the hitherto unknown mass of texts on the other side. But, fortunately, this is only "quoad nos" – "quoad rem" even Leibniz's *pelagus infinitum* is only apparently infinite and every little finite editorial step is something substantial in the whole wave of published texts. I am convinced, finally, that because of what has been realized up to now one has to say, inversely: "*qui me non novit editis*,

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- 4 For example The Yale Leibniz directed by Dan Garber and Robert Sleigh, the Bompiani-Leibniz published by Francesco Piro, the Spanish edition Obras filosóficas y científicas directed by Juan A. Nicolás, Quintín Racionero and others, and the many other editions of selected texts related to specific disciplines like logic, metaphysics, natural sciences, ethics and theology.
  - 5 For example fragments or treatises like *Sur la nature de la bonté et de la justice* [Hannover 1703], edited by Stefan Luckscheiter, in Wenchao Li (ed.), "*Das Recht kann nicht ungerecht sein...*". *Beiträge zu Leibniz's Philosophie der Gerechtigkeit*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, "Studia leibnitiana, Sonderheft", 2005, p. 143-163; or the fragment « Nostra mens phaenomenon facit, divina rem » (LH IV 8 Bl. 57v), ed. Louis Couturat, in C 524-529, now "revisited" by Stefan Jäschke, in "Nostra mens phaenomenon facit, divina rem. Bemerkungen zu einem bislang wenig beachteten Leibniztext (LH IV 8, Bl. 56-57)", in *Komma und Kathedrale, op. cit.*, p. 237-252.
  - 6 Leibniz's patrimony is mainly based on the Hannover archive. Leibniz collected nearly all of his writings, "[il] a conservé tout ce qui se trouvait être sur sa table de travail" (see N. Gädeke, "Au-delà de la philosophie", art. cit., p. 580), regarding his "*epistolarium*" he preserved most of the letters but introduced certain priorities and, most important for us, preserved primarily the letters of his correspondents, not his own!

*non novit*” – “who does not know me by the published texts, does not know me”. Who is interested more precisely in the plurality and diversity of Leibniz-editions in different countries and languages belonging to these countries could now have a look on the collection of well-informed essays by colleagues and editors like Michel Fichant, Daniel Garber, Juan Nicolás and others published in the volume *Komma und Kathedrale. Tradition, Bedeutung und Herausforderung der Leibniz-Edition* by Wenchao Li in Berlin 2012.

It cannot be my task here, to tell you something about the momentary state of the Akademie-Ausgabe as a whole project, with its diverse editions and specialisations (see the diagram), but what I want to do or try to do here, is to give you an idea of what is realized or is at least on our desks in our actual work in Münster regarding the philosophical writings and letters. However, before coming to that let me say in a few words something more general about the whole project and idea of that edition. As we all know, the project of a new edition of Leibniz’s text was started by the Association internationale des Académies in 1901 and was delegated to three national academies, two in France – l’Académie des sciences and l’Académie des sciences morales et politiques – and one in Germany – the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften. The idea, quite close to what Leibniz surely would himself have approved, was to have a historical and critical edition of all the texts, including especially also the huge amass of letter exchanges. It is “*ab origine*” part of that idea to make explicit *via* edited texts even the infinitesimal progresses of thoughts and changes of intentions or to make explicit, analogously to the “*petits perceptions*”, the “*petits progressions*” of the development of ideas, arguments and positions. The edition started as a close collaboration between France and Germany up to the First World War, but only one volume was in press when the war put an end to that collaboration. The basic order of the Akademie edition, defended firstly by Louis Couturat<sup>7</sup>, is the chronological order, all other “formal” subdivisions in the various series (*Reihen*) according to

7 Michel Fichant, “Leibniz en France: éditer, traduire, interpréter”, art. cit., p. 147-176; p. 154 sq.

different subjects, are subordinated to that dominant order<sup>8</sup>. The decision to separate writings and letters took place in 1907, the present formal organization, instead, is the product of the reappraisal of the editorial work after the war in 1919 by the Prussian Academy of Science. The problems of organizing such an edition are immense, specifically regarding the chronological or topical and subject-related order and relation of texts to publish in diverse series. As we all know, the basic formal division is between writings and letters<sup>9</sup> but there are nonetheless up to the present time problems where to put for example the so called “*memoranda*” – first they have been associated to the letters, now to the writings – or to decide if certain letters that are in fact smaller or bigger treatises (in the tradition of the humanists ostensive letters) must be joint to the writings, and so forth. However, at the moment nearly 60 volumes are published. To give you an idea of the proportions of velocity<sup>10</sup>: in 1954 only 6 volumes have been published, in 1984, shortly before the integration of the Leibniz-edition in the furtherance of the “Akademien-Programm” with new financial dimensions, only other 19 volumes: little more than a quarter of a volume for each year since the first volume in 1910. From 1985 up to the present moment we have 41 more volumes – an impressive increase of productivity and efficiency due to the generous financial support of the Akademien-Programm that provides independent and long-term finances for the several Forschungsstellen at Berlin, Hannover, Münster and Potsdam. Herbert Breger has calculated that it would take for the next approximately 50 volumes another timespan of 30 or more years. I’m convinced that things will go on with even bigger efficiency in the next years, but I’m also convinced that we should push the Academies to hold on, because every series has its specific problems and that counts, above all, for the relatively “new” series number VII and VIII, the last one which took over from series VII the manuscripts regarding natural science, medicine and technical subjects, only started, after a complex preparatory

8 Albrecht Heinekamp, “L’état actuel”, art. cit., p. 142; Nora Gädeke, “Au-delà de la philosophie”, art. cit., p. 578.

9 See A I, 1, XXI.

10 Following Herbert Breger, “Die Leibniz-Edition im Akademieprogramm”, in *Komma und Kathedrale*, op. cit., p. 73-79.

process, with the first volume in 2009. There will be, additionally, a lot of work to be done in establishing an editorial calculus for series V with its very promising texts on one of the most important topics that accompanied Leibniz during a longer period of his life that is the problem of language, its origins, its functions, its developments and formal structures. So on the “inner” side of the Akademie-Ausgabe we can find a big tension between the singular series, the series I is at the moment coming to an end, its last volumes are surpassed by the next volume of series II and III – all treating letters from the first decade of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century –, additionally, the series V has not yet started at all, and the series VIII is, so to say, nearly at the beginning. Then the considerable difference regarding the sheer quantity to be published: here the series number I, the General, political and historical correspondence, is mostly stricken, nearly 20 000 pieces have to be edited<sup>11</sup>. Not to talk about problems between the several series such as for example: where to adopt a text which is addressed to a politician or a politically interested colleague and starts with political topics but then shows a substantial reflection on philosophical problems – in series I where we find the political letters or in series II with the philosophical letters<sup>12</sup>? Or where to incorporate “*adnotationes*”, “*memoranda*” and other *genera scribendi* that are not so easily to be subsumed under one or another heading. This challenge, however, is not a specific one of the Akademie-Ausgabe, but every substantial, philologically well-done edition has to cope with them. Important for all editorial projects

11 Nora Gädeke, “L’état actuel”, art. cit., p. 579-580; *Ead.*, Leibniz “Korrespondenz im letzten Lebensjahr. Gerber reconsidered”, in Michael Kempe (ed), *1716 – Leibniz’ letztes Lebensjahr*, Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, 2016, p. 83-109. See also Georg Gerber, “Leibniz und seine Korrespondenz”, in Wilhelm Totok, Carl Haase (eds.), *Leibniz. Sein Leben – Sein Wirken – Seine Welt*, Hannover, Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschehen, 1966, p. 141-171.

12 This regards the complex relation between series I and series II (and also III), George H. R. Parkinson has observed in his critical remarks such overlappings of philosophical subjects between the series, see *Studia leibnitiana*, vol. 20, 1988, p. 115-117; vol. 22, 1990, p. 217-220; vol. 26, 1994, p. 210-213; vol.30, 1998, p. 222-226; vol. 32, 2000, p. 237-241; vol. 33, 2001, p. 230-233; vol. 37, 2005, p. 112-121 (quoted V. Gädeke, “L’état actuel”, art. cit., p. 583, n. 31).

regarding Leibniz, not only for the Akademie-Ausgabe, is our series I, specifically the so called “general” part treating the mass of disciplinary un-specific but chronologically and historically highly illuminating letters – *via* that edition the most important details of Leibniz’s life and of the chronological order that is basing and founding the sequence of all texts of all other series came and come to light<sup>13</sup>. This important framework is now nearly completed and the series II, the philosophical letters, and III, the correspondence regarding mathematics, natural science and technical problems, are so to say ‘fusing’ with series I by arriving at the same chronological level.

So let us now come to what is going on in Münster at the moment. Since the time immediately after the Second world war Münster has been the editorial centre of series II and VI of the Akademie-Ausgabe, that is of the philosophical correspondence and philosophical texts. You know quite well all just published volumes until the last volumes we have published, that is for series II the volume II 3 in 2013 (the correspondence from 1695-1700) and for series VI the big volume VI 4 in 1999 (writings 1677-june 1690), are also accessible in the electronic form as ‘open access’ pdf-texts in the internet. All series of the Akademie-Ausgabe will naturally continue with this *modus operandi* that allows the scientific community to have the newest texts accessible before the printed versions. Regarding the realm of our competence and responsibility in Münster for example the electronic versions of the volumes currently at work started for volume II 4 in 2014 and for volume VI 5 just in 2012. The main strategy of our Münster-edition at the moment, confirmed and supported by the committee of the Academies, is to conclude first of all the edition of the correspondence up to the year 1707, all in volume II 4, to be able then afterwards to fully concentrate on the possibly most expected and desired volume, namely VI 5, which will contain so many basic and important

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13 See N. Gädeke, “L’état actuel”, art. cit., p. 581-587. This regards for example the precise data of travel activities, the dissimulations (camouflages) of residences or travels and so forth and puts corrections on former biographical repertories like Kurt Müller, Gisela Krönert (eds.), *Leben und Werk von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Eine Chronik*, Frankfurt/M, Vottorio Klostermann, 1969.

philosophical texts. So even if we are at the moment working on both volumes synchronically, on II 4 and on VI 5, the correspondence-volume stands at the foreground and will be the next to be finished. What you can expect is to have all the texts of II 4 within the year 2019 in the net, that means the full text on a perfect philological and editorial level, and that you will have then the printed version in 2021 with the registers and indexes.

Let us first concentrate for a moment on series II because this is the series that at the moment is primarily at work: Volume II 4 which contains the philosophical letter-exchange from 1701 to 1706, will present many interesting letters, but, as our group sees it, the most important part will be the De Volder-correspondence. But also the correspondences and letters from authors and thinkers like Basnage de Bauval, George Cheyne, Ernst Salomon Cyprian, Claude Nicaise or Lady Masham are part of that volume. Since the no less important correspondence with Christian Wolff, which one could have expected also for our volume II 4 because it started 21.12.1704, is factual divided regarding its topics and subjects between the earlier part up to the year 1708 treating almost exclusively mathematical problems and a second part that covers the specific philosophical arguments, Wolff will not be present in II4, but only in the following volume II 5 with his letters from 1708 onwards. The first part of the Wolff-correspondence is therefore published in series III in volume III 9 of probably 2021. This is unusual because normally we it is one of the classical rules of the Akademie-Ausgabe not to divide an entire and complete body of letter exchanges, but in that case the thematic-break, so to say, between the letters before 1708 and after 1708 is demanding such a splitting (series II will start with october 1708). Two more and last volumes are to be published later on in series II (there will be one more volume of series II), both after having finished volume VI 5, probably – as calculation gives it based on what we just have done and looking to the material to be worked on – volume II 5 in 2026, covering the letters from 1707 up to 1711, and, lastly, II 6 with the last period from 1712 to 1716 in 2029.

As you all know from our electronical versions of several pieces since 2012 the volume VI 5 is since many years in hand and at our working

desks. This volume has the editorial task to bridge the gap between VI 4 with its writings up to June 1690 and the volume VI 6 with the just 1962 edited *Nouveaux essais* from 1703 by André Robinet, a considerable time-span from nearly 13 years, from 1690 to 1703. Unavoidably this volume will be, as its forerunner VI 4, a bigger one, which will comprehend six subdivisions in three singular volumes containing (1) *Scientia generalis, Ars characteristicæ*, (2) *Metaphysica*, (3) *Philosophia naturalis*, (4) *Theologia*, (5) *Moralia* and (6) *Scientia iuris naturalis*. These singular volumes will be published, that is the idea at the moment, as separate volumes with individual indexes and registers. This marks an explicit difference to VI 4 that appeared as one volume with its internal subdivisions, but, as you can remember, one has had to wait a very long time until final publication – all of us have been nourished and fed in the meantime by the ingenious idea of Heinrich Schepers with his *Vorausedition* (but this was a quite limited edition and not always at the level of the then printed version). So, with VI 5 it will be different, even if this change of the mode of publication provokes its own problems, specifically regarding the attribution of texts to the subdivisions we are proposing. If then the first volume will be out with its decisions of distribution and coordination of texts and you think later on that it would be better to put text A not to *philosophia naturalis* but to metaphysics and text B not to *Scientia generalis* but to the *moralia* you will be bound by your own decisions, there will be no space of interventions. The most important advantage instead will be that we could print the volumes earlier. It is out of question that the volume VI 5 will be one of most important volumes in our edition of the philosophical texts if not for the whole editorial project. In this very volume, we will have the decisive texts for the “change” or for the manifestation of the so-called “late” philosophy of Leibniz. Important texts like the *Système nouveau, De ipsa natura* and, that is an important result of newest discussions between the different series, the *Specimen dynamicum* and the *Essay de dynamique* of 1693, which, following the original plans, would be published in a different series, namely series VII (the *Specimen dynamicum* will be part of VI 5). The next texts on our net-*Vorausedition* will be the *Système nouveau*, the *De rerum originatione radicali*, the *Von der wahren mystischen Theologie*, the *De ipsa natura* and the *Animadversiones in partem generalem*

*Principiorum Cartesianorum* – all of them fundamental texts on the borderline of metaphysics, physic and theology. Our time schedule for the publication of VI 5 will be the following: volume VI 5 A should be printed in 2023 (but first only in digitalized version), volume VI 5 B in 2022 and, finally, volume VI 5 C in 2025 (only digitalized). Naturally this is a schedule exposed to eventualities that are not always calculable, but we think that it is, seen all our experience with that edition, a quite fair prognostication. The calculus regarding series VI after publication of VI 5 hopefully in 2024 sees as a future panorama three volumes to come: VI 7 with the texts from 1704 to 1710 in 2030, VI 8, 1711 to 1716 in 2034 and, lastly, VI 9 with the “*supplementa juridical*”, concluding the whole series in 2040, in nearly twenty years so to say. For series II the schedule, at the moment, will be the following: II 4 (1701-1707) finished probably in 2021, II 5 (1708-1710) in 2032, II 6 (1711-1713) in 2034 and, finally, concluding the whole series II, II 7 (1714-1716) in 2038.

What should be mentioned here also is that our Forschungs-Stelle is in closest contact with the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft one of the most important German institutes for researches in the fields of digitalization of complex structures (for example the Fraunhofer-Gesellschaft developed the world wide used programs for digitalization via scan in personal documents). In that collaboration strategies of deep level digitalization of Leibniz-texts, specifically of fragments, have been developed that concede a new analytical lecture and interpretation of the texts regarding also the quality and the chronological ordering of the used paper-material. Here is a big progress at work with quite promising results.

## SERIES

- I *Allgemeiner, politischer und historischer Briefwechsel* (Hannover), published I 1-24 + Supplement (1991), lastly volume I 24 (2016), I 25 (in process), I 26 (in process)
- II *Philosophischer Briefwechsel* (Münster), published II 1-3, II 4 (in process) 1701-1706/7, not yet done II 5-6 (probably finished 2029)
- III *Mathematischer, naturwissenschaftlicher und technischer Briefwechsel* (Hannover), published III 1-8, III 9 (in process)
- IV *Politische Schriften* (Potsdam), published IV 1-8, IV 9 (in process)
- V *Historische und sprachwissenschaftliche Schriften*, not yet begun
- VI *Philosophische Schriften* (Münster), published VI 1-4 and VI 6, VI 5 (in process) 1690-1703, 3 separate volumes, VI 5 A: *characteristica universalis, metaphysica*, B: *philosophia/scientia naturalis*, C: *moralia, juridica*, not yet done VI 7-9 (probably finished 2035)
- VII *Mathematische Schriften* (first Münster, since 1985 Hannover), published VII 1-6, VII 7 (in process)
- VIII *Naturwissenschaftliche, medizinische und technische Schriften* (Berlin, BBAW), published VIII 1-2, VIII 3 (in process).

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