

Register and Repertorium: Schopenhauer's access to his manuscripts

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1. Schopenhauer's indices to the Handschriftlicher Nachlaß

Schopenhauer's *Handschriftlicher Nachlaß* is conserved at the National Library of Berlin, as part of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), and a xerographic copy is present at the Schopenhauer-Archiv of Frankfurt am Main. Even if Schopenhauer's manuscript legacy suffered important losses, as is detailed in Arthur Hübscher's introduction to his edition of the manuscripts,¹ a considerable amount of it is still available: about eleven thousand pages collected in twenty-nine volumes or bundles. The majority of these manuscripts are now published, notwithstanding some lacunae and the notable absence of the six volumes recording Schopenhauer's transcripts of lectures as a student at Göttingen and Berlin (1809–1813).²

Such a profusion of materials is a challenge for scholars. It is not easy to move through thousands of pages that are not organised by chapters or arguments. Subject and name indices are as invaluable as necessary, but those present in the different editions of the manuscripts are related to each single edition, not to the entire corpus of the manuscripts remains. And, even more important, indices are established by the editors: the consequence is that scholars are guided through the manuscripts by the editors' views and choices.

1 Schopenhauer, Arthur: *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß in fünf Bänden*. Hrsg. von Arthur Hübscher. München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1985, vol. I, p. VII–XII.

2 Some individual notebooks of these transcripts are published. Klaproth's lectures on chemistry in Berlin (winter 1811–12) are edited in *Chemie nach der Abschrift von Arthur Schopenhauer nebst dessen Randbemerkungen*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Brita Engel, Berlin, Verlag für Wissenschafts- und Regionalgeschichte Dr. Michael Engel, 1993. There are two editions of Schulze's lectures: D'Alfonso, M. V.: *Schopenhauers Kollegnachschriften der Metaphysik- und Psychologievorlesungen von G. E. Schulze (Göttingen 1810–11)*, Würzburg, Ergon 2008; Schulze, G. E.: *Vorlesung über Metaphysik nach der Nachschrift von A. Schopenhauer. Corso di Metafisica secondo il manoscritto di A. Schopenhauer (1810–11)*, a cura di N. De Cian, Trento, Quaderni di Verifiche, 2009. Blumenbach's classes are edited in: "...die Kunst zu sehn". *Arthur Schopenhauers Mitschriften der Vorlesungen Johann Friedrich Blumenbachs (1809–1811), mit einer Einführung von Marco Segala*, hrsg. von J. Stollberg u. W. Böker, Göttingen, Universitätsverlag Göttingen 2013.

Fortunately, there is a viable and even more interesting alternative, or more precisely two alternatives: the two general indices to the manuscripts compiled by Schopenhauer himself. One, volume XVI of the *handschriftlicher Nachlaß* and entitled *Register zu meinen Manuskripten, deren Bogen mit Buchstaben und and Zahlen bezeichnet sind*, indices the pages written in the 1810s – the years culminating in the publication of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The other, named *Repertorium zu meinen M.S.-Büchern*, constitutes the volume XV of the *Handschriftlicher Nachlaß* and refers to the corpus of manuscripts of the period 1820–1860 – collecting materials and thoughts that guided Schopenhauer in the long and uninterrupted process of refinement and development of the ideas of his main work until his death.

Register and *Repertorium* have now been transcribed³ and are available from the website of the Schopenhauer-Archiv at the Frankfurt University Library: <<http://www.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/archive/schopenhauer.html>>.

Register is a notebook of less than one hundred pages that Schopenhauer prepared as his personal directory listing more than 300 names, notions, and disciplines mentioned in the manuscripts of the 1810s. Schopenhauer marked out the right pages of the notebook with capitalized alphabet letters in alphabetical order (but *B* is lacking and *X* and *Y* follow *Z*) and gathered together the entries by their initial, even if they were not alphabetically ordered within each collection by initial. Next to each entry he specified where it is mentioned in the pages that now constitute the volumes XIX and XX of the *Handschriftlicher Nachlaß*. He later made also a few references to the manuscripts composed after the publication of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, like *Reisebuch* and *Foliant* (volumes XVII and XII of the *Handschriftlicher Nachlaß*).

Repertorium is a directory notebook where the index is organised in the same way as in the *Register*. It contains more than 850 entries in nearly one hundred and fifty pages. Each entry is followed by references to the pages that Schopenhauer annotated in the manuscripts volumes XVII (*Reisebuch*, 1818–1822), XII (*Foliant*, 1822–1828), XVIII (*Brieftasche*, 1822–1824), XIII (*Quartant*, 1824–1826), VII (*Adversaria*, 1828–1830), VIII (*Cogitata*, 1830–1833), XIV (*Cholera-buch*, 1831–1832), IX (*Pandectae*, 1832–1837), X (*Spicilegia*, 1837–1852), XI (*Senilia*, 1852–1860).

The lack of a simple frequency rule testifies to the fact that Schopenhauer's approaches, views and interests when he composed *Register* were different from when he composed *Repertorium*. What Schopenhauer did not compose, and is still lacking, is the indexation of: the six volumes (I–VI) of lectures at Göttingen

3 *Schopenhauers handschriftlicher Nachlaß*, Bd. XVI, *Register*. Hrsg. von Jochen Stollberg, 2015 (<http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/37181>).
Schopenhauers handschriftlicher Nachlaß, Bd. XV, *Repertorium*. Hrsg. von Marco Segala, 2015 (<http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/37180>).

and Berlin (1809–1813); the four volumes (XXIV–XXVII) of lectures prepared by Schopenhauer for his classes in Berlin in the 1820s; the four volumes (XXI, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX) containing excerpts from works on Eastern philosophy and remarks on writings by ancient and modern philosophers; the volume (XXIII) with the translation of Gracián’s *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*. In this way, he conceded that there was a definite difference between the indexed manuscripts and the rest of the corpus: on one side, there were his original thoughts and arguments; on the other, there were materials deriving from either his original thinking (like the Berlin lectures of the 1820s) or his reflections on other authors. Even if the latter group of materials were largely employed while preparing his publication, he nonetheless considered them as something apart.

Due to their nature as indices, *Register* and *Repertorium* do not have a precise date of composition. Their content analysis suggests that Schopenhauer included and updated entries while putting in writing his thoughts. The late entries in the *Register*, referring to the notebook *Reisebuch* (1818–1822) and to the first pages of the notebook *Foliant* (1821–1822), are few and are in the *Repertorium*, too. That indicates that at first Schopenhauer planned to continue the *Register* even after the publication of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, but later changed his mind. Around 1822 he started the new index in *Repertorium*.

2. An overview of *Register* and *Repertorium* contents

The quantitative difference between *Register* and *Repertorium* is striking. The first supposition is that it reflects the quantitative difference between the two groups of indexed manuscripts: the annotations of the 1810s constitute almost one thousand pages, while the thoughts committed to paper in the years 1820–1860 amount to almost three thousand pages.

Some entries exemplify this simple intuition: “Die Alten, als Philosophen” refers to 6 passages in the *Register* and 28 in the *Repertorium*; “Ding an sich” is listed 22 times in the *Register* and 70 in the *Repertorium*; and “Ethik” points out 50 readings in the *Register* and 110 in the *Repertorium*. Yet a better scrutiny of the two manuscripts shows that in fact there is not such a rule at work here. Other entries present something different: “Reines Subjekt des Erkennens” shows a 46 to 57 ratio; “Maja” is listed 3 times in the *Register* and twice in the *Repertorium*; “Dogmatismus” refers to 4 passages in the *Register* and 3 in the *Repertorium*.

This absence of a simple frequency rule testifies that the different times of composition of *Register* and *Repertorium* determined, with Schopenhauer, different approaches, views, and interests. The same subject could become more or less important, or even disappear. This is the case – rather unexpectedly – with “Aesthetik”, “das Tragische”, and “Reflexion”, which appear in the *Register* and

are not listed in the *Repertorium*. Other interesting disappearances in the passage from the *Register* to the *Repertorium* are “Philosophie als Kunst” and “Seele”. Among the entries concerning the history of philosophy, “Parmenides” and “Sophistik” are present only in the *Register* and not in the *Repertorium*.

An overview of the *Register* shows its close connection with the first edition of the *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, as can be expected. Some notions about the will – like “Aufgeben des Willens”, “Widerstreit des Willens mit sich”, and “Wille zum Leben” – refer to passages in the manuscripts that were later elaborated in the printed work. The discussion of moral philosophy in the fourth book of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* can be traced back to many passages in the manuscripts that are recorded under the entries “Ethik”, “Moralität”, “Schlechtigkeit, intellektuelle und moralische”. The central concept of Schopenhauer’s metaphysics of nature – “Objektivierung des Willens” – records 130 passages in the manuscripts. Another essential notion of Schopenhauer’s 1819 work – the principle of sufficient reason – is listed in the *Register* as “Grund, Satz vom” and “Erkenntniß nach dem Satz vom Grunde” together with 50 references to the manuscripts. Similar quantitative occurrence (64 references) can be found for the concept at the base of Schopenhauer’s aesthetics: “Idee, Platonische”.

Yet it would be a misunderstanding to reduce the contents of the *Register* to the exigencies of compilation of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. It is true that Schopenhauer’s 1819 work assembled information collected from the manuscripts of the 1810s, but the *Register* was more than an index to retrieve items and thoughts to be used in composing his publications.

Consider, for example, the very central notion of Schopenhauer’s philosophy of nature, the “Objektivierung des Willens”, which also became the title of the second book of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The term “Objektivierung” does not occur in the *Register*; nor does the other related word employed by Schopenhauer in 1819 – “Objektivität”. In the *Register* we can find only “Objektivierung”, connected with the verb “objektivieren” – the verb that is used by Schopenhauer in 1819. The entry “Objektivierung” in the *Register* refers to more than ten dozen passages in the manuscripts where Schopenhauer used mainly “Objekt” and “Objektivität”, but also “Objektivierung” and “Objektivierung”; meaning that the entry “Objektivierung” does not refer to a term but instead indicates a notion. Moreover, the semantic variety in the manuscripts will be later reduced in the published work and the term “Objektivierung”, as it is used in the *Register*, will be abandoned.

From this example it appears that the relationship between the *Register* and the manuscripts of the 1810s is more complex than that of an index to its text. But additional analyses are required in order to explain why *Register* is not merely an index and source for the composition of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. We can observe that some names and notions listed in the *Register* did not enter

in the published work: “Anatomie des Gehirns”, “Erhabenheit des Charakters”, “Magnetismus, animalischer”, “Metempsychosis”, “Sensibilität und Irritabilität”, “das Tragische” are recorded in the *Register* but absent from *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*.

Conversely, some central concepts that abundantly recur in both the 1810s manuscripts and the published work are poorly represented in or even absent from the *Register*. The former case is represented by “Vernunft” and “Verstand”: they are extensively discussed in the manuscripts and are persistent subjects in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, but the *Register* mentions less than two dozen passages. The absence cases can be exemplified by the names of Fichte and Goethe and the notion of *Mitleid*. The *Register* records “Idealismus”, “Schelling”, and “Schellingianer” but does not list Fichte, who was Schopenhauer’s professor of philosophy at Berlin and is present in both the 1810s manuscripts and the published work. Even more unexpected and striking is the absence of both Goethe and the *Farbenlehre*, which are abundantly present in the manuscripts and are mentioned in the 1819 work.⁴ Last but not least, equally astonishing is the absence of “Mitleid”, notwithstanding its central role in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*: in the *Register* Schopenhauer listed “Liebe (caritas)”, “Lohn der Tugend”, “Gerechtigkeit”, and some other notions related to his discussion of ethics in the fourth part of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, but there is no mention of “Mitleid”.

As regards *Repertorium*, an overview of its contents shows an expansion of listed names and notions that is representative of Schopenhauer’s multiplication of interests and themes during the years that followed the publication of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. Schopenhauer’s publications of the 1830s in the domains of ethics and natural sciences, the second volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* in 1844, and *Parerga and Paralipomena* in 1851 largely relied on the annotations made in the manuscripts. New subjects and views came to enrich Schopenhauer’s perspective on both his own system and philosophy in general, but it took him more than fifteen years to publish a new book – *Ueber den Willen in der Natur* (1836). His regular writing on a daily basis had become something different from what it had been after the 1813 dissertation – when he had decided to compose a major philosophical work. For many years there was not a specific goal, but the necessity to reflect and discuss on paper. When he finally conceived new publications he had already annotated almost two thousand pages, and it was at this moment that he began to rely on his *Repertorium*.

It had become much more a name and subject index than the *Register* had been, and it must have provided easy access to the manuscripts to compile new

⁴ It is also important to remember that a verse of Goethe’s occasional poem *Zur Feyer des 26. September 1816* dedicated to *Herrn Staatsminister von Voigt* was the motto chosen by Schopenhauer for the title page of the first edition of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*.

publications. In fact it is easy to establish connections between the contents of *Repertorium* and Schopenhauer's publications after 1820: many items are clearly related to printed works.

This is the case with the entries "Hellsehn", "Magnetismus, animalischer", "Magie", "Somnambulismus", "Second sight", and "Sympathie": the many passages in the manuscripts were used to write the chapter *Animalischer Magnetismus und Magie* of *Ueber den Willen in der Natur*; and together with the passages listed under "Gehirn", "Gangliensystem", "Nervensystem", "Wille als Lenker des vegetativen Lebes" they also contributed to compile the *Versuch über das Geistersehn* in the first volume of *Parerga und Paralipomena*. Another effective example of the role of *Repertorium* in connecting manuscripts to publications is given by "Primat des Willens über den Intellekt", whose more than one hundred passages were carefully listed to help Schopenhauer in retrieving material for the composition of chapter 19 (*Vom Primat des Willens im Selbstbewußtsein*) of the second volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The entries "Freiheit", "Motiv, Motivation", "Nothwendigkeit des Wollens" contributed to the compilation of the essay *Über die Freiheit des Willens*. And to conclude this list of examples, it should be noted that *Repertorium* was essential in transferring manuscript materials into the essay *Über die Universitäts-Philosophie* (in the first volume of *Parerga und Paralipomena*) via the entries "Hegel und seine Rotte", "Philosophaster", "Professoren der Philosophie" – the three together listing almost two hundred passages in the manuscripts.

Unlike the *Register*, it is rare to find relevant notions of Schopenhauer's thought which are present in the *Repertorium* and not mentioned in one the works of the period 1836–1859 – or vice versa, discussed in the works but absent in the *Repertorium*. Let's consider some entries already presented in the previous analysis of the *Register*. "Metempsychosis" and "Sensibilität und Irritabilität" are still listed in the *Repertorium*, but while they were absent from *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, they are present respectively in *Parerga und Paralipomena* and in the second volume of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. To make things coherent, Schopenhauer expunged from the *Repertorium* terms like "Erhabenheit des Charakters" and "das Tragische" that were in the *Register* but never entered (as terms) the published works – in 1819 or later⁵. And even more coherently – and comprehensibly – the *Repertorium* lists "Fichte", "Göthe", "Farbenlehre", and "Mitleid".

Of course there are entries in the *Repertorium* that do not appear in the works ("Aseitas", "Infinitesimal Rechnung", "Proci Penelopae"), but they are often names – recorded by Schopenhauer to index the manuscripts while not knowing yet whether he would use them later.

5 On the contrary, notions related to "Erhabenheit des Charakters" and "das Tragische" are present in the published works.

3. Register, Repertorium, and Schopenhauer's corpus

An analysis of the contents of the two indices suggests the following view: whereas *Repertorium* was actually an index to the manuscripts to be used during the composition of new works or the preparation of new editions of already published works, *Register* was more than that and even something different. It was evidently related to the manuscripts, and in the second half of the 1810s Schopenhauer surely made use of it while he was writing *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*; but it was a manuscript *per se*, too, where the author made choices and proposed interpretations that reflected his thought and had an impact on the genesis and development of his system.

Compiling the entries of the *Register* meant more than recording notions and names: Schopenhauer used this nonetheless useful labour to discuss, connect, underline, or minimize notions; to emphasize or de-emphasize other philosophers; to reflect once again on the thought he was developing in the manuscripts. *Register* was more than an index: it was another – different in kind – manuscript recording Schopenhauer's speculation in the seminal period of the genesis of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The omission of Fichte and Goethe or the recording of only a dozen passages mentioning Kant (although Kant, Fichte, and Goethe were quoted several dozens of times in the manuscripts) indicates that Schopenhauer considered the *Register* less an index than a work in progress: a manuscript parallel to the other manuscripts where he wrote down entries that needed attention, revision, or supplementary inquiry. The *Register* testifies to the genesis of the system and the presence of concepts in flux.

This is not the case with *Repertorium*. Preparing publications from 1836 to 1851 required viable access to the massive quantity of manuscripts composed after *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* – and the *Repertorium* fulfilled this need. This is the reason why the entries in the *Repertorium* are numerous and connected by many cross-references. *Repertorium* was mainly a management tool for an enormous quantity of thoughts, annotations, and information collected through several decades. It had to be precise and reliable, and the system of cross-references substantially contributed to meeting this need. While in the *Register* there is only one cross-reference (“Seltenheit des Trefflichen” is related to “Ruhm”), in the *Repertorium* there are more than fifty “vergl.” (compare with) – a complex system of interrelationships among important notions. Here are some examples: “Begründung und Bestätigung meiner Lehre” is related to “Welt als Wille und Vorstellung”; “Ding an sich” is associated with “Wille als Ding an sich”; “Generations-Trieb und Akt” is coupled with “Zeugung”. The case of “Tatoumes” is quite interesting: it is at the centre of an interconnection among moral notions (“Ethik”, “Mitleid”, “Wiedererkennen seiner selbst”) listing dozens of passages in the manuscripts that provided the sources of Schopenhauer's pub-

lications on moral philosophy. *Tatoumes* is the Persian word from the *Upanishads* meaning “That thou art”: Schopenhauer used it in the manuscripts until 1826, when in the notebook *Foliant* (p. 193) he replaced it by the correspondent Sanskrit term *tat tvam asi*.⁶ Nevertheless, in the *Repertorium* he did not change the term and did not introduce a *tat tvam asi* entry.

The importance of *Register* and *Repertorium* in Schopenhauer’s writings and in the process of compilation of his published works should not be underestimated. Scholars interested in Schopenhauer’s manuscripts and in the formation process of his works should consider *Register* and *Repertorium* as tools for their research and, at least in the case of *Register*, even more than that: *Register* can be a key to the manuscripts of the 1810s and to the genesis of the system in the very first version of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. Rather differently, *Repertorium* has not this quality, but it certainly can help to browse through the great quantity of texts written after 1819 following Schopenhauer’s own views about them.

Last but not least, the division line that Schopenhauer drew between the indexed and non-indexed parts of the manuscript remains should be a matter of reflection when arguing about the relationships that Schopenhauer established among his writings.

6 See Ruffing, Margit: The Overcoming of the individual in Schopenhauer’s Ethics of Compassion, illustrated by the Sanskrit Formula of the ‘tat tvam asi’. In: *Understanding Schopenhauer through the prism of Indian culture. Philosophy, religion and Sanskrit literature*. Ed. by Arati Barua, Michael Gerhard, Matthias Kofler. Berlin, de Gruyter 2013, p. 98.