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**Izdavači:**

Hrvatsko filozofsko društvo  
Filozofski fakultet  
I. Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb  
Tel.: +385-(0)1-6111-808  
Fax: +385-(0)1-6117-012  
e-mail: hrfd@hrfd.hr

**Izdavački savjet:**

Sulejman Bosto, Marita Brčić Kuljiš,  
Thomas Sören Hoffmann, Željko Kaluđerović,  
Valentina Kaneva, Tomislav Krznar,  
Borut Ošljaj, Iva Rinčić, Marija Todorovska

**Glavni i odg. urednik:**

Ante Čović

**Zamjenik gl. i odg. urednika:**

Hrvoje Jurić

**Izvršni urednik:**

Luka Perušić

**Mladi izvršni urednik:**

Krešimir Babel

**Za izdavača:**

Zdravko Radman

**Recenzenti:**

Hrvoje Jurić, Ljudevit Fran Ježić

**Redaktura i korektura:**

Marko Kos, Nino Čengić

**Administracija:**

Mira Matijević

**Design:**

Zoran Pavlović

**Kompjutorski slog i prijelom:**

Stjepan Ocvirk

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# IZAZOV SKEP- TICIZMA

UTJECAJ HUMEOVE  
METAFIZIKE I MORALNE  
FILOZOFIJE U EUROPI  
18. STOLJEĆA

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# SADRŽAJ

11 Predgovor

13 Uvod

## I. DIO: HUMEOVA METAFIZIKA I MORALNA FILOZOFIJA U NJIHOVU POVIJESNOM KONTEKSTU

27 1. Iz empirizma u sentimentalizam

37 2. Skeptičko ograničenje metafizike

39 2.1. Osnove uma: impresije i ideje

45 2.2. O apstraktnim idejama prostora i vremena

54 2.3. Tri zakona asocijacije

65 2.4. Prirodno vjerovanje

71 2.5. Vjerojatnost

72 2.6. Između skepticizma i metafizičkog realizma

78 2.7. Osobni identitet

80 2.8. Skeptički idealizam zasnovan na empirizmu – sredstvo protiv racionalizma

85 3. Moralna filozofija

94 3.1. Moralna psihologija

107 3.2. Sloboda volje

115 3.3. Teorija motivacije

122 3.4. Moralna razlikovanja

132 3.5. Umjetne vrline

143 3.6. Humeova teorija moralnog osjećaja

159 Dodatak: Hume o religiji

## II. DIO: UTJECAJ HUMEOVE METAFIZIKE I MORALNE FILOZOFIJE U EUROPI 18. STOLJEĆA

171 1. Kontekst recepcije Humeovih djela: prosvjetiteljstvo

174 1.1. *The Republic of Letters*

176 1.2. Rana recepcija *Treatise* i kasnija Humeova filozofska djela

187 2. Hume u francuskom prosvjetiteljstvu

187 2.1. Izostanak filozofskog odgovora

195 2.2. Najveća afera u životu: Rousseau

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| 215 | <b>3. <i>Nemo propheta in patria</i>: škotsko prosvjetiteljstvo</b>                          |
| 217 | 3.1. Thomas Reid i škotska škola zdravog razuma  |
| 229 | 3.2. Drugi odgovori u škotskom i engleskom prosvjetiteljstvu                                 |
| 235 | <b>4. Humeov utjecaj u njemačkom prosvjetiteljstvu do pojave Kantove kritičke filozofije</b> |
| 239 | 4.1. U početku bijahu komentari Johanna Georga Sulzera                                       |
| 244 | 4.2. Moses Mendelssohn protiv Humeova skepticizma  |
| 252 | 4.3. Od prosvjetiteljske negacije do humeovske rehabilitacije religije: Johann Georg Hamann  |
| 279 | 4.4. Prema transcendentalnoj filozofiji: Johann Nicolaus Tetens                              |
| 291 | <b>5. Hume i Kant</b>  |
| 293 | 5.1. Humeov utjecaj u Kantovu predkritičkom periodu  |
| 294 | 5.1.1. Preokret u Kantovoj filozofiji  |
| 296 | 5.1.2. Humeove teorije u Kantovim djelima  |
| 307 | 5.1.3. Utjecaj sentimentalizma   |
| 316 | 5.1.4. Oduševljenje Rousseauom   |
| 322 | 5.1.5. Vrhunac skeptičkih razmišljanja   |
| 324 | 5.1.6. Bliskost empirizmu  |
| 326 | 5.2. Buđenje iz dogmatičkog drijemeža  |
| 346 | 5.3. Postanak transcendentalnog idealizma  |
| 356 | 5.4. Prva <i>Kritik</i> protiv Humeova skepticizma   |
| 369 | 5.5. Kantova moralna filozofija  |
| 383 | <b>6. »Humeova osveta« Kantu</b>   |
| 384 | 6.1. Napad racionalista i empirista  |
| 385 | 6.1.1. Göttingenska recenzija prve <i>Kritik</i>   |
| 388 | 6.1.2. <i>Prolegomena</i>  |
| 393 | 6.1.3. Prvi zagovornici Kantove filozofije   |
| 396 | 6.1.4. Rasprave dobivaju zamah   |
| 401 | 6.1.5. <i>Grundlegung</i> i njeni kritičari  |
| 405 | 6.2. Filozofi »vjere i osjećaja«   |
| 407 | 6.2.1. Hamannova metakritika Kantova kriticizma  |
| 412 | 6.2.2. Spor oko panteizma  |
| 418 | 6.2.3. Jacobijev <i>David Hume</i> protiv Kanta  |
| 423 | 6.3. Kant odgovara protivnicima  |
| 426 | 6.4. Nastavak napada empirista i racionalista  |
| 427 | 6.4.1. Vrhunac empirističke kritike  |
| 429 | 6.4.2. Propast racionalizma  |
| 435 | <b>Epilog: Kraj prosvjetiteljstva</b>  |
| 439 | <b>Zaključak</b>   |
| 443 | <b>Bibliografija</b>   |
| 467 | <b>Summary</b>   |
| 471 | <b>Kazalo imena</b>  |



*Mojoj obitelji*





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## Napomena o prijevodu

Kada citiram određeno djelo, pokraj stranice izvornika često donosim stranice hrvatskog prijevoda u zagradama (primjerice, Kant, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 32 [66]). O kojim se točno prijevodima radi može se vidjeti u bibliografiji na kraju knjige. Pri svakom citatu prijevoda posebno napominjem ukoliko sam određene dijelove ili termine sam preinačio. U slučaju kada ne citiram hrvatski prijevod, ja sam prevoditelj citata koji se javljaju u tekstu.

## Popis ilustracija

Hume, jedan od najvećih istraživača ljudske prirode, njena glavna načela zasniva na prijenosu živosti koji provode vjervanje i drugi osjećaji. Svrha je ilustracija upravo unijeti živost u često suhoparne metafizičke i etičke rasprave, te potaknuti rad mašte i pružiti dodatne informacije o sadržaju. Izvori slika i njihovih opisa mogu se naći u posebnom odjeljku unutar bibliografije na kraju djela.

1. *David Hume* 83
2. Naslovnica *Encyclopédie* 172
3. *The Savage Man* 210
4. *Kant und seine Tischgenossen* 322



Ova je knjiga nastala kao znatno prošireno i dopunjeno izdanje moga diplomskog rada *Utjecaj Humeove metafizike i moralne filozofije u Europi 18. stoljeća*, koji je obranjen 29. rujna 2014. na Odsjeku za filozofiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Zahvaljujem mentoru, profesoru Anti Čoviću koji mi je ponudio da objavim rad u Biblioteci »Filozofska istraživanja«. Dužan sam zahvaliti recenzentima i svima koji su na razne načine doprinijeli objavljivanju ove knjige, a time i podupirali u ogromnom poslu njena pisanja i dovršavanja, koji sam ipak s velikim užitkom radio. Od velike mi je pomoći u tome poslu bila izdašna stipendija Grada Zagreba za izvrsnost u studiju. Posebnu zahvalnost dugujem Ljudevitu Franu Ježiću i Josipu Brlekoviću koji su pročitali ranije verzije rukopisa i dali mi brojne savjete. Za moguće sam pogreške, dakako, sam odgovoran.

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U ljeto 1776. godine, u lijepoj je novoizgrađenoj kući na Trgu sv. Andrije u novome dijelu Edinburgha svoje posljednje dane provodio jedan stariji čovjek. Većinu vremena sjedio bi nakrivljeno u stolici u salonu za primanje, čitajući knjige, pišući pisma, primajući posjetitelje i korigirajući svoja djela, tada poznata među većinom učenih ljudi u Europi, za novo izdanje.<sup>1</sup> Bio je to škotski filozof David Hume, ali mnogi njegovi prijatelji i poznanici još bi povezivali slavno ime s debeljuškastom osobom koja je većinu života svojim šalama i dobrim raspoloženjem znala razveseliti svako društvo. Sada je pred njima stajao sablasno blijed čovjek koji je naglo mršavio, jasno odajući znakove napredujuće bolesti koju ni šale ni lije-po sivo odijelo i perika na glavi nisu mogle prikriti.<sup>2</sup> »Starost nije ništa doli jad«, tužio se on u pismu prijatelju.<sup>3</sup> Učeni svijet u njegovoj zemlji kao da mu nije htio olakšati teško stanje u posljednjim godinama i mjesecima života. Profesor u Aberdeenu James Beattie izgradio je svoju reputaciju neargumentirano blateći Humea, predstavljajući ga kao smiješnog skeptika koji je proturječio najjasnijim načelima zdravoga razuma. Njegovo je djelo *Essay on Truth* postalo iznimno popularno, donoseći mu 1773. godišnju novčanu potporu od britanskog vladara i doktorat Sveučilišta u Oxfordu. Niti škotskome knji-

<sup>1</sup> John Young Thomson Greig, ed., *The Letters of David Hume*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 235; Ernest Campbell Mossner, *The Life of David Hume*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 561–563, 589.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.; James Boswell, »An Account of my Last Interview with David Hume, Esq.«, in: James Fieser, ed., *Early Responses to Hume*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. IX: *Early Responses to Hume's Life and Reputation* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2005), 288.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Klibansky, Ernest Campbell Mossner, ed., *The New Letters of David Hume* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 288.

ževniku Jamesu Boswellu Hume nije bio po volji. Strašno ga je mučila misao o ništavilu nakon smrti, a još i više činjenica da jedan tako oštrouman filozof i krepostan čovjek poput Humea zagovara »ateizam«. <sup>4</sup>

Ipak, ostarjeli se mislilac do kraja života borio protiv krivih interpretacija svoje filozofije, iako je davno odlučio da neće ulaziti u javne polemike. <sup>5</sup> Krajem listopada 1775. svome je izdavaču poslao proglas protiv Reida i Beattieja, poručujući im da u svojoj zadrtoj gorljivosti nisu shvatili pravu bit njegove filozofije jer su se koncentrirali na mladenačko djelo nazvano *A Treatise of Human Nature*. <sup>6</sup> Proglas je bio tiskan na početku popularnijih ali površnijih prerada *Treatise*, koje je usprkos onemoćalom tijelu revno prepravljao, i dalje se nadajući da će čitateljska publika kroz njih napokon shvatiti njegovu filozofiju.

U kolovozu 1776., osjećajući da mu se bliži kraj, Hume je napisao oprostajna pisma. Jedno od njih bilo je poslano u Francusku, grofici Boufflers koja ga je desetak godina prije spojila s proslavljenim piscem Jean-Jacquesom Rousseauom. <sup>7</sup> Iako je Humeov odnos s potonjim završio najvećim mogućim skandalom, ipak je taj događaj dublje pronio njegovo ime po čitavoj Europi. Većina francuskih prosvjetitelja u tom je skandalu bezrezervno podržavala Humea, ali niti oni nisu imali razumijevanja za njegovu filozofiju, ako ona nije bila u skladu s njihovim idealima, iako su ga tijekom njegova boravka u Francuskoj tretirali poput božanstva. Činilo se da je Humeova misao u učenome svijetu Europe mogla pobuditi samo otpor i nerazumijevanje, ako već nije bila prešućivana.

<sup>4</sup> Boswell, »An Account of my Last Interview with Hume«, 286–291; Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 577–579, 587–588, 597–598.

<sup>5</sup> David Hume, *My Own Life*, in: Greig, *Letters of David Hume* II, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 301; David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding: A Critical Edition*, edited, and with a work »A History of the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*« by Tom L. Beauchamp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), Advertisement.

<sup>7</sup> Greig, *Letters of David Hume* II, 335. Puno ime i naslov grofice je Marie-Charlotte Hippolyte de Campet de Saujeon, grofica Boufflers-Rouverel.

Unatoč tomu, Humeov dobar prijatelj Adam Smith u jednome je pismu opisivao filozofove napore da pred smrt svojim veselim raspoloženjem uvjeri prijatelje kako se čvrsto drži skepticizma u pogledu zagrobnog života, povlačeći paralele s Lukijanom, jednim od brojnih autora koje je čitao posljednjih mjeseci. Hume je u šali priznao Smithu da među svim opravdanjima koje su Haronu davali oni koji su oklijevali ući u njegov brod nije mogao naći nijedno koje bi njemu odgovaralo. On bi odgađanje prelaska na drugu stranu rijeke opravdavao potrebom da dodatno usavrši svoja djela, nadajući se da će otvoriti oči javnosti i svjedočiti padu prevladavajućih »sustava praznovjerja«. <sup>8</sup> Međutim, to mu nije ispunjeno. Humea je groznica čvrsto prikovala za krevet nekoliko dana nakon pisma grofici Boufflers. Svome nećaku izdiktirao je posljednje pismo, upravljeno Smithu, napisano ponajprije zbog brige oko posthumnog objavljivanja djela *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, koje je trebalo biti njegova posljednja riječ u svim stvarima koje su prelazile granice iskustva. <sup>9</sup> Uvečer 24. kolovoza 1776. izgubio je moć govora, a sljedećeg je dana u četiri sata popodne prešao Aheront i ostavio ovaj svijet. Unatoč snažnoj kiši, povodom pogreba održanog 29. kolovoza okupila se gomila ljudi, gledajući kako se iz kuće u Ulici sv. Davida iznosi lijes s tijelom položenim na vječni počinak u grob koji je arhitekt Robert Adam kasnije oblikovao kao klasicistički mauzolej. Mišljenja okupljenih i dalje su bila podijeljena, pri čemu su neki rezignirano šaptom komentirali pokojnikov »ateizam«. <sup>10</sup>

Jedine dvije zemlje od kojih je »sv. David« očekivao priznanje bile su Francuska i Velika Britanija. U ovoj posljednjoj nade je polagao poglavito u Škotsku jer je posljednja generacija Engleza posve utonula u »barbarstvo« te stoga od njih nije očekivao gotovo ništa. <sup>11</sup> Međutim, u svojim posljednjima danima Hume nije ni slutio da upravo među Nijemcima ili »Go-

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 450–452.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 335–336.

<sup>10</sup> Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 591, 603.

<sup>11</sup> Greig, *Letters of David Hume* II, 310.

tima«, kako ih nazivao, njegova filozofija počinje igrati veliku ulogu.<sup>12</sup> U dalekom je Königsbergu Johann Georg Hamann, duhovni otac pokreta *Sturm und Drang*, već desetljećima bio inspiriran Humeom te je brzo po izdavanju *Dialogues* (1779.) čitao to djelo, prevodio ga i hvalio njegovu ljepotu svojim prijateljima i poznanicima. Za Hamanna je Hume bio suprotno od ateista, prorok koji je u svojim ironičnim obratima i šalama nevoljko propovijedao istinu, a ta je istina bila potreba čistog vjerovanja. I tada tek izdano ogromno djelo sveučilišnog profesora iz Kiela, Johanna Nicolausa Tetensa, *Philosophische Versuche über die menschliche Natur und ihre Entwicklung* (1777.), dobrim se dijelom bavilo Humeovom filozofijom. Ono se zajedno s Hamannovim nedovršenim prijevodom *Dialogues* uskoro našlo na radnome stolu profesora sa Sveučilišta u Königsbergu, Immanuela Kanta.<sup>13</sup> Iako mu je na zidu u sobi visjela Rousseauova slika, u Kantovoj se glavi stalno vrtjela misao o tome kako obraniti svoja uvjerenja od Humeove filozofije koja ga je zaintrigirala prije puno godina, pišući skice za djelo koje će 1781. objaviti pod naslovom *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.<sup>14</sup>

Desetak godina kasnije, duhovna epoha 18. stoljeća, koju je obilježavalo prosvjetiteljstvo, dolazila je do svoga klimaksa u Francuskoj revoluciji. Izgledalo je da su prosvjetiteljski ideali koje su desetljećima zagovarali francuski *philosophes* napokon ispunjeni. Za njih je svako ljudsko biće po svome razumu sposobno za usavršavanje i na takvoj racionalističkoj osnovici odvija se vječno napredujuće kretanje povijesti.<sup>15</sup> Kant, koji

<sup>12</sup> Mossner, *Life of David Hume*, 594.

<sup>13</sup> Johann Georg Hamann, *Briefwechsel*, herausgegeben von Walther Ziesemer und Arthur Henkel, Bd. III (Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1957), 376; Dieter-Jürgen Löwisch, »Kants *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* und Humes *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*«, *Kant-Studien* 56 (1965), 171.

<sup>14</sup> Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann, *Immanuel Kant geschildert in Briefen an einen Freund*, in: Alfons Hoffmann, Hg., *Immanuel Kant. Ein Lebensbild nach Darstellungen der Zeitgenossen Jachmann, Borowski, Wasianski* (Halle a. S.: Hugo Peter, 1902), 122; Karl Vorländer, *Immanuel Kant: Der Mann und das Werk*, Bd. I (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1924), 248–262.

<sup>15</sup> Ulrich Im Hof, *Das Europa der Aufklärung*, 2. Auflage (München: C. H. Beck, 1995), 12–14, 145.



je postao najznačajniji njemački filozof toga doba, svojom je filozofijom zahvaljujući poticajima oštroumnog Škota Humea izvršio temeljitu kritiku razuma i jasno odredio njegove granice. Sva racionalna bića mogu matematičkom egzaktnošću spoznati prirodne zakone u svijetu iskustva, a u praktičkom rasuđivanju nadaje im se moralni zakon koji je razlog spoznavanja njihove autonomije od prirode, ali i postojanja Boga i besmrtnosti duše.

Ali Kant nije sudbinu svoje filozofije čvrsto vezao samo uz razum i prosvjetiteljstvo, nego i uz Humea,<sup>16</sup> a brojni su njemački mislioci sa sve većom uvjerljivošću dokazivali da pruski filozof nije zadovoljavajuće nastavio putom kojim je isprva pošao škotski skeptik. Dok su Kantovi sljedbenici isticali da je Hume samo otvorio skeptičke dvojbe koje nije riješio, njemački filozofi koji su bili skloni empirizmu ili racionalizmu bili su nezadovoljni Kantovim rješenjem, a nastavljači Hamannove mistične filozofije tvrdili su da je Hume rješenje tih dvojbi vidio u odbacivanju čitavog racionalnog znanja i u priklanjanju čistom vjerovanju. Učeni svijet kasnoga njemačkog prosvjetiteljstva žestokim je raspravama sve više nalikovao košnici prepunoj bijesnih pčela. Glavni problem koji je dominirao tim raspravama ticao se moći razuma, stare prijeorne točke između racionalista i empirista, ali sada u novijem i radikalnijem obliku, dobrim dijelom zbog izazova koji je Hume postavio tadašnjim misliocima. Dvojbe da na razumu počiva opravdanje moralnosti i religije te da on može sam sebe kritizirati i postavljati granice ljudskog razumijevanja svijeta postajale su sve jače.<sup>17</sup> Ti su problemi po sebi nužno povlačili pitanje metafizike i mogućnosti odgovora na pitanja koja je ona postavljala, ali i moralne filozofije koja je obuhvaćala pro-

<sup>16</sup> O prijevodu termina poput razuma (*Vernunft*) s njemačkog jezika vidi poglavlje II.5.1.2. Immanuel Kant, *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik, die als Wissenschaft wird auftreten können*, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, herausgegeben von der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Bd. IV, (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911), 257, 260 [9, 11].

<sup>17</sup> Frederick Charles Beiser, *The Fate of Reason: German Philosophy from Kant to Fichte* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 1.

blem autonomije od svijeta nužnosti i uloge razuma i osjećaja u praktičkom rasuđivanju. U pozadini svega toga ključno je bilo pitanje sudbine prosvjetiteljstva jer je upravo ono počivalo na legitimitetu razuma.

Naizgled je paradoksalno da je Humeov skepticizam bio korišten od najrazličitijih strana u tim intelektualnim sukobima, a razlog tome je višestranost njegove filozofije. Za jedne je ona bila negativna rušilačka snaga, za druge korisno sredstvo u katarzi od racionalističkog dogmatizma, a za treće sigurna osnova za izgradnju novoga svjetonazora obilježenog vjerom i osjećajem. Hume, iako je fizički bio na vječnome počinku u Edinburghu, duhom je bio živ i duboko upleten u sve te rasprave koje su odlučivale budućnost filozofije. Jasno je da vraćanje tim temama u drugu polovicu 18. stoljeća nije čisto historijskog značenja, već znači zadiranje u korijen i srce problema koji su krucijalno važni za suvremenu filozofiju, a obuhvaćeni su u temama poput početaka egzistencijalizma i postmodernizma, odnosa epistemologije i etike, znanosti i filozofije, razuma i vjere.

Spomenuti su problemi otvoreni punih pola stoljeća prije početka Francuske revolucije. Na kraju prve knjige *Treatise*, tog »mladenačkog« i »nezrelog« djela, Hume ih je sazeo u pesimističnoj tvrdnji da se sve što se može sa sigurnošću znati svodi na impresije, ili slijed osjetilnih utisaka i osjećaja koji se u umu smjenjuju jedni za drugima.<sup>18</sup> Time je on simbolički srušio prosvjetiteljski optimizam i stvorio izazov na koji će brojni mislioci toga doba pokušati odgovoriti, vjerojatno niti ne sluteći koliku će krizu kasnije prouzrokovati. Njegova je filozofija izložena u *Treatise* bila početna točka prave revolucije u povijesti filozofije, koja pamti malo takvih radikalnih promjena koje potpuno mijenjaju smjer filozofskoga mišljenja. Da bi se shvatio tijek te revolucije, potrebno je odgovoriti na dva velika pitanja. Prvo se tiče razjašnjavanja temelja Humeove teorijske i praktičke filozofije koje su svojim dobro argumentiranim idejama zahtijevale dubinsku promjenu u eu-

<sup>18</sup> David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature: A Critical Edition*, ed. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 1.4.7.3; Beiser, *Fate of Reason*, 3.

ropskoj misli, a drugo različitog utjecaja tih ideja na mnogobrojne europske mislioce 18. stoljeća, koji su svoju filozofiju oblikovali kao odgovor Humeu, i čija se djela ne mogu dubinski razumjeti bez shvaćanja njegove filozofije.

Stoga je prvi cilj ovoga djela dati izlaganje Humeove moralne filozofije i metafizike, ili bolje rečeno, ograničenja metafizike, na čijim temeljima stoji njegov cjelokupni sistem. Kako bi se izbjegla svaka dvojba oko termina i unijela jasnoća u sadržaj i opseg rada, potrebno je najprije kratko definirati što Hume misli pod terminima metafizike i moralne filozofije, te objasniti vezu između ta dva područja u njegovoj misli. U definiranju svog stava prema metafizici škotski filozof nužno zadire u epistemologiju i filozofiju uma, ne radi njih samih, već upravo radi rješavanja metafizičkih problema. Krajnji ishod, a to je Humeov antimetafizički stav kojim proglašava svaku metafiziku nemogućom, ipak ostaje fundamentalno važan i unutar granica opće metafizike ili ontologije jer odgovara na pitanje bića, tj. daje odgovor na pitanje što uopće jest, što postoji? Uostalom, treba se imati na umu da kolikogod Hume odbacuje tradicionalnu metafiziku, područje istraživanja koje ga je dovelo do tog rezultata i dalje zove upravo tim starim filozofskim terminom.<sup>19</sup> I izrazi *morals* i *moral philosophy* u engleskom jeziku 18. stoljeća zahtijevaju objašnjenje jer oni obuhvaćaju šire područje nego današnja etika, pa u Humeovoj terminologiji čak označavaju sve što se tiče uma ili duha.<sup>20</sup> Ova će se knjiga ponajprije koncentrirati na moralnu filozofiju u njenu suvremenom značenju, dakle na etiku i moralnu psihologiju kao njen neizostavni dio, jer problematizira teme fundamentalno značajne za striktno etičku problematiku, poput slobode volje. Konačno, kakva je poveznica metafizike i moralne filozofije u Humeovu djelu, ali i drugim djelima koja su nastala pod njegovim utjecajem? Ona čini dva lica iste stvari, izložene u dvije različite knjige. Skeptičko ograničenje ljud-

<sup>19</sup> Metafizika se upravo pod takvim »ontološkim« značenjem upotrebljavala u ranomodernom engleskom jeziku, kao spekulacija o prvim načelima stvari, o biću i bitku. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s. v. »metaphysics«.

<sup>20</sup> Hume, *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, 1.1 [57]. Vidi komentar urednika uz citirano mjesto.

skih kognitivnih moći za Humea je apsolutni i nužni preduvjet kako bi se uklonile vjekovne zablude i sa sigurnošću izgradila praktička filozofija.<sup>21</sup> I drugi će slijediti tim stopama, poput Kanta, koji je tek ograničenjem čistog spekulativnog razuma napravio prostor za izgradnju svoje praktičke filozofije. Tek nakon toga, ograničenjem tradicionalne metafizike i uklanjanjem paničnog straha od skepse koji proganja novovjekovnu filozofiju od Descartesa, na sigurnim temeljima izgrađena praktička filozofija može dobiti svoju punu snagu.

Želja da se prije razlaganja Humeova utjecaja u Europi 18. stoljeća prvo temeljito razjasni njegova filozofija leži u činjenici da su čak i najznačajniji radovi o toj temi na hrvatskome jeziku vrlo siromašni i parcijalni. Iako je u hrvatskoj akademskoj filozofiji škotski filozof prisutan najkasnije od početaka predavanja na prvom hrvatskom modernom sveučilištu (osnovanom 1874. godine u Zagrebu), o njemu je ipak pisano neobično malo. Štoviše, Humeovo je djelo bilo isključivo prepoznato kao iskra koja je pokrenula Kanta svojim skepticizmom i empirijskim istraživanjem na području metafizike i epistemologije. To je zapravo bio rezultat tadašnjeg istraživanja u Njemačkoj, pokrenut ponajprije novokantovskim interesima s kojima su hrvatski filozofi bili dobro upoznati. »Plodonosna supstanca« Humeove misli, po njemačkim novokantovcima, »leži jedino i samo u njegovoj skepsi« koja pobuđuje ostale na odgovor, a u svemu ostalom ta bi skepsa, ukoliko bi se dosljedno slijedila, doslovno vodila ravno u katastrofu.<sup>22</sup> Jasno je da

<sup>21</sup> Vidi Humeovo pismo Francisu Hutchesonu u kojem uspoređuje metafizičara s anatomom (moglo bi se slobodno reći anatomom ljudskoga uma) što daje savjet slikaru, koji predstavlja etičara: »An anatomist, however, can give very good advice to a painter or statuary. And, in a like manner, I am persuaded that a metaphysician may be very helpful to a moralist, though I cannot easily conceive these two characters in the same work.« Greig, *Letters of David Hume* I, 33.

<sup>22</sup> Ernst Cassirer, *Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit*, Bd. II (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1922), 359; Erich Adickes, »Die bewegenden Kräfte in Kants philosophischer Entwicklung und die beiden Pole seines Systems«, *Kant-Studien* 1 (1897), 19. Dakako, bilo je filozofa iz njemačkog govornog područja koji su u Humeu našli inspiraciju, poput Edmunda Husserla, Franza Brentana i Alexiusa Meinonga.

su oni znali malo ili ništa o vrijednosti Humeova naturalizma i moralnog osjećaja koji čini pozitivan dio njegove filozofije i kojom se on svrstava među najveće mislioce. Hrvatski su filozofi toga vremena dakle prenijeli rezultate takva manjkavog istraživanja u svoja djela, preko kojih se izvorni Hume gledao kroz vrlo uskogrudnu perspektivu, koju i danas često zauzima u sažetim pregledima filozofije, a to je kao skeptik koji je uzdrmao koncept kauzalnosti.<sup>23</sup> Takvo je mišljenje bilo uzrok dugo prevladavajuće pogrešne interpretacije njegove filozofije, koju kao da je predvidio prije svoje smrti. Naime, Hume je zamišljao da bi mu Haron na njegove molbe za produženjem života dok ne vidi uspjeh svoje filozofije bezobzirno odgovorio kako se to neće dogoditi još stotinama godina.<sup>24</sup>

Otrprilike od polovice 20. stoljeća u svijetu je došlo do prave renesanse radova (ponajprije na engleskom jeziku) o Humeu, koja su maknula isključivu skeptičku stigmu s njegova imena i ponudila drugačije interpretacije njegove filozofije čime je on prepoznat kao inspiracija za brojne teme suvremene filozofije, poput epistemologije, etike ili filozofije religije. Ipak je i tada u nas o tome pisano vrlo malo pa se niti slika o njemu kao o pobijenom skeptiku nije promijenila. Međutim, u onovremenim se djelima na hrvatskom jeziku ispravno skrenula pozornost na druga važna područja Humeova djelovanja, s metafizike i epistemologije na etiku, estetiku i filozofiju religije, dok se upozorilo na važne pomake od pozicije njemačke filozofije krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, u istraživanju škotskoga filozofa u novijim radovima. Te studije ipak nisu slijedile put interpretacije Humeove filozofije iz njegovih izvornih djela, sagledane u okviru cjelovitosti njegove misli. Zbog toga se često dolazi-

<sup>23</sup> Naravno da je i prije 1874. Hume bio čitan u Hrvatskoj, ponajprije u višim društvenim slojevima. Tako knjižnica HAZU čuva francuski prijevod Humeovih *Essays* (izabrao i uredio Jean Auguste Jullien de Boulmiers ili Desboulmiers) iz 1767. godine, primjerak koji je bio u vlasništvu ilirca Dragojla (Dragutina) Kušlana. Što se tiče ocjena o Humeu u akademskim krugovima poslije 1874., vidi Franjo Marković, *Razvoj i sustav obćenite estetike* (Zagreb: Nakladom Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade, 1903), 160–161 i Albert Bazala, *Povjest filozofije*, sv. II (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1909), 277–285.

<sup>24</sup> Greig, *Letters of David Hume* II, 451.

lo do manjkavih zaključaka poput nedosljednosti ili čak proturječnosti između njegova skepticizma i naturalizma.<sup>25</sup>

Upravo u vidu upozorenja na takve manjkave zaključke može se konačno upozoriti na točku koja je krucijalna za ovo istraživanje, a to je imperativ da se Humeov filozofski sustav proučava u jedinstvu njegove misli. Jer otkidanje dijelova njegove filozofije, poput nekog slavnog problema (primjerice, indukcije ili kauzalnosti) i njihovo odvojeno proučavanje siguran je put u pogrešnu interpretaciju, budući da je Humeov sustav spojen vrsnoćom filozofske argumentacije koja nerazdvojivo spaja najrazličitije aspekte toga sustava, poput negativiteta njegova skepticizma (koji se i danas prečesto jedino uzima u obzir) i pozitivnosti osjećaja i prirodnih impulsa u čovjeku.

<sup>25</sup> Možda i najbolji rad napisan o Humeu do sada na hrvatskome jeziku potječe od Gaje Petrovića, »Problem spoznaje u filozofiji D. Humea«, u: David Hume, *Istraživanje o ljudskom razumu*, preveo Ivo Vidan, 2. izdanje (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1988), 9–54. Petrović je upozorio na tada aktualnu stranu literaturu, oslanjajući se ponajprije na rad Normana Kemp Smitha, i na osnovi toga pružio je važne informacije o naturalističkom načinu interpretiranja Humeove filozofije. Ali on se nije osvrnuo, štoviše, odbacio je Humeovu pozitivnu filozofiju koja počiva na vjerovanju i osjećaju, te u nekim dijelovima, gdje sam pokušava dati doprinos, i gdje se odvaja od Kemp Smitha, nudi informacije koje lako mogu odvesti čitatelje na krivi trag. Tako naveliho raspravlja o tobožnjoj antropološkoj orijentaciji Humeove »znanosti o ljudskoj prirodi«, dok je ona zapravo vrlo slabo povezana s današnjom filozofskom antropologijom. Hume pod tim nazivom misli ponajprije na filozofiju uma i epistemologiju, te govori o konstantnosti moći ljudskog razumijevanja svijeta, što se lako vidi iz prvih par stranica »velike *Rasprave*«. Iako je Kemp Smithova knjiga i danas nezaobilazna studija o Humeu, u proteklo je vrijeme došlo do puno novih spoznaja o njegovoj filozofiji. Tako su revidirane brojne Kemp Smithove teze (primjerice, o vanjskom svijetu i principima ljudske prirode), a njegov se zaključak, da je Humeova filozofija opterećena proturječnostima, pokazuje pogrešnim. Noviji su interpretatori pokazali koliko je teško vidljivog, sofisticiranog zaključivanja Hume upotrijebio, te učinio svoj sustav konzistentnim, što je bilo izvan dohvata Kemp Smithova, a time i Petrovićeva, vremena. Humeova je filozofija religije, iz sasvim očiglednog razloga, zaintrigirala Branka Bošnjaka u njegovu pregledu *Povijest filozofije*, sv. III (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1993), 284–297, no on se koncentrirao samo na taj aspekt njegove filozofije (pregled bi ipak trebao težiti cjelini filozofove misli), a i pogriješio je u onim elementima koji interpretiraju osnovne postavke njegova sustava.

Glavni je cilj ovoga rada izložiti Humeov utjecaj na određene europske mislioce 18. stoljeća, u doba zreloga i kasnoga prosvjetiteljstva do njegova simboličnog kraja 1789. godine, tj. početka Francuske revolucije, pri čemu glavni fokus ostaje na problemima koji se tiču metafizike i moralne filozofije. U razlaganju te teme ova knjiga slijedi suvremenu metodologiju proučavanja razvoja filozofskih teorija kroz njihov povijesni kontekst, a koja je u Njemačkoj nazvana istraživanjem konstelacija (*Konstellationsforschung*).<sup>26</sup> Jedno je od ključnih postignuća takva pristupa uviđanje da su objavljena filozofska djela tek fragmenti jedne veće slike, koji se teško mogu ispravno protumačiti bez poznavanja cjeline, a ona se može detaljnije rekonstruirati uz pomoć otkrivanja skrivenih ili otvorenih utjecaja jednih mislilaca na druge, njihove korespondencije, recenzija i drugih izvora. Isto kao što se iz stalno mijenjajućih konstelacija tj. položaja nebeskih tijela iščitava drugi horoskop, tako i međusobni odnos određenih filozofa proizvodi različite poticaje u »prostoru mišljenja« (*Denkraum*), tj. u onim temama koje su tada bile diskutirane. Upravo je uviđanje da je filozofski prostor rasprave dinamičan, a ne statičan, da su objavljena djela rasprave s drugim misliocima, a ne od historijskog konteksta izolirani monolozi, i da ona predstavljaju tek jedan fragment u stalno mijenjajućoj diskusiji još jedno ključno postignuće ovakva pristupa. Utoliko je zadatak ovoga rada još teži jer proučava dugotrajniji utjecaj mislioca iz jedne filozofske tradicije na mislioce iz drugih tradicija, sa svim jezičnim i terminološkim problemima koje takva tema nosi.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Posebna je inspiracija u takvu pristupu bio Beiserov klasik *The Fate of Reason*. Termin *Konstellationsforschung* uveo je Dieter Henrich. Vidi njegov članak »Konstellationsforschung zur klassischen deutschen Philosophie. Motiv – Ergebnis – Probleme – Perspektiven – Begriffsbildung«, in: *Konstellationsforschung*, Hg. Martin Mulsow, Marcelo Stamm (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005), 15–30.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 28; Marcelo R. Stamm, »Konstellationsforschung – Ein Methodenprofil: Motive und Perspektiven«, in: *Konstellationsforschung*, 36–39. Ovaj rad nadilazi tipično istraživanja konstelacija jer se ne zadržava u okvirima nacionalnih filozofskih tradicija, ali i ne smatra da konstelacije nužno obilježava vremenski rapidan razvoj filozofskih teorija. Vidi Henrich, »Konstellationsforschung«, 22–23.

U ovakvim metodološkim okvirima postavljaju se pitanja recepcije Humeovih djela i njegove filozofije u Europi 18. stoljeća, načina na koji su različiti mislioci posredovali njegove ideje među sobom i utjecaja koje su one imale u daljnjem razvoju filozofije. O svemu tome u radovima na hrvatskome jeziku nije se gotovo uopće pisalo. To nije iznenađujuće jer sinteza o tome do sada nije napisana ni na drugim jezicima, ali je svijest o problemu Humeova utjecaja itekako prisutna i fragmentarno obrađena u brojnim radovima. No taj je problem od krucijalnog značenja za problematiziranje te ispravnije i dublje shvaćanje razvoja zapadne filozofije u dugome trajanju, od 18. stoljeća do danas.



## I. Izvori

### 1.1. Hume

Najsuvremenije i jedino kritičko izdanje Humeovih filozofskih djela, s opširnim uredničkim komentarima, iz Oxfordove je edicije *The Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume*. Nažalost, u trenutku pisanja ovog rada ta serija nije dovršena jer zasada je izdano pet od osam planiranih svezaka. Prva dva sveska obuhvaćaju *Treatise* i manje spise povezane s tim djelom, treći svezak sadrži *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, četvrti *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, a peti dvije rasprave, *A Dissertation on the Passions* i *The Natural History of Religion*. Zadnja tri sveska su u pripremi. Šesti i sedmi obuhvatiti će *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, a zadnji, osmi, posthumno objavljeno djelo *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. Isti izdavač priprema Humeovu korespondenciju, koju bi trebao urediti David Raynor. Do tada se kao zamjena za ta neobjavljena djela koriste druga standardna izdanja Humeovih filozofskih radova i korespondencije.

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## 1.2. Kant

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## Summary

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This book is concerned with the influence of Hume's metaphysics and moral philosophy in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe and it is divided into two main parts. The first part is focused on the exposition of Hume's metaphysics and moral philosophy in their historical context, because this topic is still mostly unknown in Croatia. The second part deals with the influence of Hume's metaphysics and moral philosophy on selected European thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment until the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. The book's methodology is strongly influenced by historical approach of American philosopher Frederick Charles Beiser and German philosopher Dieter Henrich. Unlike them, however, this author isn't confined to one (German) philosophical tradition, but investigates the influence of one thinker from British philosophical tradition on thinkers from other European philosophical traditions, mainly German and French, as well as Scottish. Since the most important European thinkers of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were influenced by Hume's thought, only in this way is it possible to properly understand the development of Western philosophy. It is also argued in the book that it is possible to translate and determine crucial philosophical terms in Croatian language only by careful analysis of historical context, comparative interpretation of various philosophical texts, and comparison of various terms in other European languages.

The first part of the work begins by elucidating historical context in which Hume's philosophy was developing, namely, interconnectedness of empiricism, sensibility, and sentimentalism, medicine and philosophy. Afterwards, the book is explaining Hume's metaphysics: his theory of perceptions, space and time, association, natural belief, probability, personal identity,

and his skeptical idealism. The most important achievement of this part is recognition that causal inference relies chiefly on belief which is actually a feeling, and therefore, the whole philosophy and reasoning concerning matters of fact for Hume relies on sentiment. It is also recognized that Hume had to rely on pure belief, unaided by custom or experience, in explaining the existence of the external world which would be important for the further development of Western philosophy.

Hume's moral philosophy is explained by investigating his moral psychology, theory of moral freedom, theory of motivation, moral distinctions, artificial virtues, and the relation of his sentimentalism towards utilitarianism and virtue ethics. The most important achievement in this investigation is the conclusion, contrary to most Anglophone scholars, that *belief* or feeling is the *only* motivational force for Hume. It is also argued that Hume resolves his doubts concerning personal identity with his theory of the passions, and that he is a determinist whose sentimentalism is non-consequentialist. Supplement to the first part of the book contains brief discussion of Hume's philosophy of religion.

Second part of the book begins by explaining historical context in which Hume's philosophy was received in the "Republic of Letters". It is argued that Hume's radical doubt in the powers of reason even in the field of practical philosophy and experience was unsuitable for the general public of the "Age of Reason". However, Hume never abandoned his philosophy laid out in *A Treatise of Human Nature*; he only rewrote it in the more popular essayistic style in *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* and *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*.

Hume's metaphysics and moral philosophy were not well received in the French Enlightenment which was dominated by *philosophes* and *salonnières*. His fame rested chiefly on his historical writings. The most distinctive moment when his philosophy showed its true face was in his correspondence with Turgot in 1768 and in a debate between d'Holbach, N. S. Bergier, and G. J. Holland concerning d'Holbach's book *Système de la Nature* during the early 1770s. The chapter on the French Enlightenment concludes with comparison of Rous-

seau's thought and Hume's philosophy, as well as the history of their famed quarrel which spread Hume's fame even more throughout Europe.

Third chapter of the second part of this book deals with the reaction of Thomas Reid and Scottish School of Common Sense to Hume's philosophy. It is argued that their naive realism and dogmatic appeal to common sense didn't offer a strong argument against Hume's scepticism, which was also a powerful tool for vindication of sentimentalism in philosophy, a fact that they didn't mention. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of relationship between Hume and other British thinkers like Kames, A. Smith, R. Price and J. Priestley.

Largest part of the book focuses on the influence of Hume's metaphysics and moral philosophy in the German Enlightenment. It argues that the most important philosophers who took effort to respond to Hume before Kant, like J. G. Sulzer, M. Mendelssohn, and J. N. Tetens, mostly didn't take into account Hume's moral philosophy, and that they didn't offer a convincing response to Hume's scepticism. The only exception was J. G. Hamann who embraced Hume's theory of belief and his arguments against rationalism. Main achievement of this part of the book is recognition that Hamann didn't distort Hume's theory of belief by translating it with the word *Glaube*, because Hume himself didn't make difference between faith and belief, as well as the fact that Hume influenced the beginnings of the German *Sturm und Drang* through Hamann's *Socrates in Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten*, who was guided by Humean belief or feeling.

The exposition of Hume's influence on Kant begins by recounting Hamann's role in mediating knowledge of Hume's skepticism to young Kant in 1759. This book tries to prove that Hamann already at this time had knowledge of the *Treatise* and that Kant awoke from his dogmatic slumbers (with Hamann's help) in the early 1760s, which is explained in detail by careful analysis of Kant's writings of that period. It is also argued that Hume's radical skepticism concerning the possibility of metaphysics was crucial for Kant's recognition of the antinomies of pure reason, and that Hume formulated purest antinomy of freedom (in strict Kantian sense of the word) already in

the first *Enquiry*. Kant's refutation of Hume's skepticism concerning the power of reason in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is explained in the context of his transcendental deduction of the categories. Kant showed that Hume begged the question in explanation of space and time, personal identity, and could therefore easily prove the necessary connection between cause and effect in the pure concept of the understanding.

The last part of the book deals with "Hume's revenge" to Kant by explaining Humean critiques of Kant through thinkers like C. Garve, J. G. H. Feder, H. A. Pistorius, Hamann, and F. H. Jacobi. It was particularly through the sharp critiques of those thinkers, who accused Kant of inconsistencies, that even Kant's adherents began to try to reform his philosophy. The book concludes in year 1789 with a short epilogue and a conclusion. It brings much more new findings and insights that cannot be mentioned here due to the character of this short summary.

- Adam, Robert (1728–1792.), 15, 216  
Adickes, Erich (1866–1928.), 20, 265,  
292, 310, 324–326  
Alanen, Lili, 95, 98–99, 101, 103  
Alembert, Jean le Rond d' (1717–  
1783.), 174–175, 194, 208–209  
Allison, Henry E., 186, 357, 363,  
431, 434  
Andre, Shane, 159, 163–165  
Anselmo Canterburyjski (1033–  
1109.), 72  
Aristotel (384–322. pr. Kr.), 31, 34,  
49, 91, 218–219, 285, 291–292,  
338, 340, 352, 373, 410  
Arnoldt, Emil (1828–1905.), 388–  
389, 392  
Aschenbrenner, Karl (1911–1988.),  
63  
Augustin, Aurelije (354–430.), 242
- Bacon**, Francis (1561–1626.), 38,  
92, 94, 235  
Balfour, James (1705–1795.), 184,  
233  
Basedow, Johann Bernhard (1724–  
1790.), 238, 335  
Bauch, Bruno (1877–1942.), 350  
Baumgarten, Alexander Gottlieb  
(1714–1762.), 264, 296, 301,  
306, 309–310, 431–432,  
Baxter, Donald L. M., 45, 49, 51–  
52, 72–76  
Bayer, Oswald, 253, 409  
Bayle, Pierre (1647–1706.), 36, 52–  
53, 77, 177, 203, 237, 245–246,  
264, 341–342
- Bazala, Albert (1877–1947.), 21,  
438  
Beattie, James (1735–1803.), 13–14,  
64, 185, 228–229, 233, 251, 281,  
350, 353–354, 388–389, 392  
Beauchamp, Tom L., 14, 91, 95,  
156–157, 184, 186, 231, 233, 240  
Beck, Lewis White (1913–1997.),  
16, 188, 202, 235–237, 240,  
251, 253, 278, 280, 283–284,  
287, 289, 291, 295, 304, 328,  
331–332, 335, 337, 341, 346,  
348, 351–353, 358, 362, 367  
Behler, Ernst (1928–1997.), 436  
Beiser, Frederick Charles, 17–18,  
23, 81, 168, 240, 254–255, 259,  
263–264, 267–271, 274–276,  
278–279, 292–294, 303, 340,  
348, 362, 368, 381, 384–385,  
387, 390, 392, 397–399, 402–  
404, 406, 408, 412, 414–418,  
421–425, 427, 429–431, 434,  
436–437  
Bell, Martin, 59, 62  
Berens, Christine, 255  
Berens, Johann Christoph (1729–  
1792.), 253–256, 268–271, 276,  
433  
Bergier, Nicolas-Sylvestre (1715–  
1790.), 192  
Bering, Johann (1748–1825.), 396  
Berkeley, George (1685–1753.),  
35–36, 40, 42, 45, 47–48, 58,  
81, 85, 155, 171, 179, 181, 189,  
218–220, 222, 280–281, 293,

- 329, 331–333, 343, 386–387,  
390, 392, 395, 409, 429, 432
- Berlin, Isaiah (1909–1997.), 278
- Bernoulli, Johann III (1744–1807.),  
356,
- Bertram, Georg W., 275–276, 407
- Betz, John R., 253–256, 260, 268–  
269, 270, 272, 277, 408, 410–  
412
- Biro, John, 38
- Blair, Hugh (1718–1800.), 166, 206,  
229
- Blomberg, Heinrich Ulrich (1745–  
1813.), 355
- Bongie, Laurence L., 188, 190–195,  
213
- Born, Friedrich Gottlob (1743–  
1807.), 396
- Borowski, Ludwig Ernst (1740–  
1831.), 258, 267, 312, 320, 322
- Boswell, James (1740–1795.), 13–  
14, 152, 164–165, 167, 204, 210,  
216
- Bošnjak, Branko (1923–1996.), 22
- Boufflers-Rouverel, Marie-Charlot-  
te Hippolyte de Campet de Sau-  
jeon (1724–1800.), 14–15, 193,  
200–202, 206, 208–209, 211
- Boulmiers, Jean Auguste Jullien  
(1731–1771.), 21
- Bourbon, Louis-François (1717–  
1776.), 200–201
- Brandt, Reinhard, 390–392, 429
- Brentano, Franz (1838–1917.), 75
- Bricke, John, 108–110, 112–114
- Brissot de Warville, Jacques-Pierre  
(1754–1793.), 213
- Brleković, Josip, 11
- Broadie, Alexander, 122, 216, 221
- Buck, Friedrich Johann (1722–  
1786.), 347
- Bücking, Jürgen, 173, 175, 215
- Buffon, Jean-Louis Leclerc (1707–  
1788.), 194
- Buras, Todd J., 222–223, 227
- Burke, Edmund (1729–1797.), 244,  
249–250, 391
- Burton, John Hill (1809–1881.),  
191, 213, 236
- Butler, Joseph (1692–1752.), 38,  
89–92, 106, 142, 149–150, 159,  
181, 197, 265, 331, 375
- Campbell, George (1719–1796.),  
228
- Capaldi, Nicholas, 82, 94, 96, 98–  
100, 102–103, 105, 123, 125,  
127–130, 132, 135, 141, 144, 156
- Cassirer, Ernst (1874–1945.), 20,  
39–41, 43, 45, 47, 51–52, 54,  
58–59, 63, 65, 67–68, 72, 74,  
75, 78–79, 165, 188, 198, 215,  
228, 239, 301, 307, 319–320,  
342, 361
- Celzo (2. st.), 272
- Chance, Brian A., 247, 289
- Ciceron (106–43. pr. Kr.), 35, 85,  
401
- Clarke, Samuel (1675–1729.), 36,  
78, 88–89, 92, 110, 123, 125,  
128, 129, 135, 140, 178, 181,  
233, 249, 301, 362, 399
- Clermont, Helena Elisabeth (Betty)  
(1743–1784.), 413
- Cohon, Rachel, 94, 109, 117–118,  
120–121, 125–126, 129, 130,  
131, 133, 135, 136–141, 143,  
153, 156
- Copleston, Frederick (1907–1994.),  
29, 32, 87, 90
- Crusius, Christian August (1715–  
1775.), 174, 263, 289, 293, 296,  
298, 301, 303–306, 313, 315–  
316, 319, 323–324, 329, 331–  
333, 340–342, 362, 370, 403

- Cudwort, Ralph (1617–1618.), 36
- Čović, Ante 11
- Dancy, Jonathan, 41
- Des Maizeaux, Pierre (1666/1673–1745.), 53, 177–178
- Descartes, René (1596–1650.), 20, 27–28, 30, 34–36, 39, 63, 80–81, 85, 94, 121, 127, 162, 196, 217–221, 223–224, 235, 253, 285, 293, 300, 308, 340, 390, 419, 423
- Diderot, Denis (1713–1784.), 33, 173, 175, 189, 194, 196, 275
- Dubos, Jean-Baptiste (1670–1742.), 36
- Ebbinghaus, Julius (1885–1981.), 377
- Eberhard, Johann August (1739–1809.), 328, 427, 430–434, 441
- Emerson, Roger, 216
- Engel, Eva J., 277, 351, 431
- Erdmann, Benno (1851–1921.), 245, 258–260, 297, 300–301, 303–304, 309, 312, 323, 328–329, 335, 339, 340, 349–350, 353, 383, 385, 388–392, 394, 401, 403, 407, 429–430, 438
- Euler, Leonhard (1707–1783.), 245, 362
- Ewald, Schack Hermann (1745–1822.), 393
- Falkenstein, Lorne, 353–354, 368
- Feder, Johann Georg Heinrich (1740–1821.), 386, 390–394, 401–402, 405, 424, 427–429, 441
- Fénelon, François (1651–1715.), 36
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762–1814.), 17, 292, 347, 390, 399, 417, 437
- Fieser, James, 13, 97, 99, 179–180, 184, 212, 229, 231
- Fischer, Klaus P., 279
- Fischer, Kuno (1824–1907.), 323, 325–326, 328, 353
- Flatt, Johann Friedrich (1759–1821.), 402, 430
- Flew, Antony (1923–2010.), 133–134, 136–137
- Fontenelle, Bernard le Bovier (1657–1757.), 269
- Forster, Georg (1754–1794.), 413
- Forster, Michael N., 335, 337, 341, 343–344, 368, 390
- Friedrich II Veliki (1712–1786.), 187–189, 202–203, 210, 228, 237–239, 277, 396, 435
- Garrett, Aaron, 122
- Garrett, Don, 39–40, 48, 50–51, 57, 58, 62–63, 74, 76, 81, 109, 112, 114–115, 168
- Garve, Christian (1742–1798.), 336–337, 344, 354, 386, 391–394, 401, 424, 441
- Gaskin, J. C. A., 65, 161, 164, 166
- Gaukroger, Stephen, 27, 31–33
- Gawlick, Günter, 180, 184, 238, 240, 245, 259, 261, 306, 312, 321, 336, 344, 349–350, 353–354, 369, 398–399
- Gawlina, Manfred, 431, 434
- Gay, Peter (1923–2015.), 33, 175–176, 178, 196
- Geulincx, Arnold (1624–1669.), 335
- Gill, Michael B., 151, 154, 346
- Glossop, Ronald J., 144, 153
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang (1749–1832.), 275–276, 347, 406–407, 413, 420
- Goodman, Dena, 204, 207, 209, 211–212

- Gotterbarn, Donald, 44, 358  
 Graubner, Hans, 259–260, 268, 274, 362  
 Grave, Selwyn Alfred (1916–2002.), 218–219, 225–226  
 Green, Joseph (1727–1786.), 320–321, 350  
 Green, Thomas Hill (1836–1882.), 129  
 Greene, Edward Burnaby (1735–1788), 212  
 Grimm, Friedrich Melchior (1723–1807.), 189, 202  
 Groos, Karl (1861–1946.), 301, 335, 350  
 Grunert, Franz, 239  
 Guyer, Paul, 293, 348, 365, 376, 380, 384  
  
**Hagedorn, Friedrich (1708–1754.),** 238  
 Hagen, Karl Gottfried (1749–1829.), 322  
 Hakkarainen, Jani, 62, 72, 74, 76, 78  
 Hamann, Johann Georg (1730–1788.), 16–17, 252–279, 289, 293, 297–298, 300–301, 303, 306, 312, 317, 321–323, 325, 327, 335–336, 348–350, 353–354, 359, 362, 368–369, 385, 388, 392, 400, 406–413, 417–421, 423, 435–436, 441  
 Hamilton, William (1788–1856.), 217–218, 221, 225  
 Hardin, Russell, 144, 146, 152–153  
 Harris, James A., 107–108, 111–112  
 Hartknoch, Johann Friedrich (1740–1789.), 407  
 Hartley, David (1705–1757.), 234  
 Haym, Rudolf (1821–1901.), 275, 296, 317, 320, 406, 413  
  
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770–1831.), 276, 292, 337, 402, 412, 421, 436–439  
 Heimsoeth, Heinz (1886–1975.), 337–340, 342–346  
 Heine, Henrich (1797–1856.), 320, 416  
 Helvétius, Claude-Adrien (1715–1771.), 194, 245  
 Henrich, Dieter, 23, 307, 310, 312–314, 316, 318, 372, 378, 402  
 Hepfer, Karl, 39, 57, 62, 68  
 Herder, Johann Gottfried (1744–1803.), 171, 275–276, 289, 296–297, 299, 306, 309, 316–317, 320–321, 323–325, 327, 345, 347, 354, 385, 393, 405–406, 408, 412–413, 417, 420, 435  
 Herz, Markus (1747–1803.), 351–352, 356, 385, 388, 394, 415  
 Heymans, Gerard (1857–1930.), 325–326  
 Hinske, Norbert, 338–339, 341, 345  
 Hippel, Theodor Gottlieb (1741–1796.), 320, 322  
 Hobbes, Thomas (1588–1679.), 27–29, 32, 36, 38, 63, 81, 101, 107–108, 110, 112, 114, 137, 141, 155, 179, 181, 192, 228, 235, 293, 304, 307, 317, 340  
 Höffding, Harald (1843–1931.), 319–320  
 Hoffman, Alfons, 16, 258  
 Holbach, Paul Henri Thiry d' (1723–1789.), 189, 192–194, 203, 212, 436  
 Holland, Georg Jonathan (1742–1784.), 192–193  
 Home, John (1722–1808.), 166  
 Huet, Pierre-Daniel (1630–1721.), 36  
 Hufeland, Gottlieb (1760–1817.), 396



- Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746.), 20, 31–34, 36, 38, 41, 51, 86–93, 104–106, 123, 129, 131–132, 135–136, 138, 141–142, 149, 178, 181, 216, 230, 232, 244, 250, 258, 293, 307–309, 311–316, 319, 372–373, 376, 403
- Im Hof, Ulrich (1917–2001.), 16, 171, 174–176, 178, 188–189, 237, 321, 435–436
- Isus Krist, 66, 149, 254, 267, 269, 271–272, 417
- Jachmann, Reinhold Bernhard (1767–1843.), 16, 317, 349
- Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich (1743–1819.), 264, 273–276, 278, 321–322, 412–423, 427–430, 434–435, 441–442
- Jacobi, Johann Conrad (1718–1774.), 245, 321–322
- Jakob, Ludwig Heinrich (1759–1827.), 396, 433
- Jardine, John (1715–1766.), 166
- Jenisch, Daniel (1762–1804?), 405
- Ježić, Ljudevit Fran, 11, 292, 336, 388, 390, 393, 417
- Johnson, Samuel (1709–1784.), 152, 164–165, 167
- Jørgensen, Sven, 270, 274
- Josip II (1741–1790.), 435
- Kail, Peter J. E., 34, 80, 161, 167
- Kames, Henry Home (1696–1782.), 79, 93, 132, 216, 228, 230, 232, 250, 281, 391
- Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804.), 16–17, 20, 173–174, 186, 213, 218, 226, 235, 238, 241, 244–245, 249, 252–253, 255–271, 274–281, 283–284, 289–438, 441
- Kanter, Johann Jakob (1738–1786.), 321, 347
- Kanzian, Christian, 306
- Keith, George (1692?–1778.), 202, 236
- Kemp Smith, Norman (1872–1958.), 22, 39–40–44, 48–53, 55–57, 60, 62–74, 76–78, 82, 85–87, 92, 94, 96–98, 102–103, 109, 118, 129, 146, 180, 182–183, 185, 342, 356, 363
- Kenny, Anthony, 28, 228
- Kierkegaard, Søren (1813–1855.), 276
- King, William (1650–1729.), 36, 264
- Kinkel, Walter, 245, 250, 324
- Klemme, Heiner, 218, 240, 354
- Klibansky, Raymond (1905–2005.), 13, 79, 93, 150, 159, 178, 209, 264
- Klinger, Friedrich Maximilian (1752–1831.), 407
- Knobloch, Charlotte Amalie (1740–1804.), 322
- Koriako, Darius, 362
- Kreimendahl, Lothar, 52, 180, 184, 238, 240, 245, 259, 261, 264, 306, 312, 321, 336, 344, 349–350, 353–354, 369, 398–399
- Kuehn, Manfred, 179, 184, 237–238, 241, 244–245, 247, 249–253, 255, 258–260, 263–264, 274, 284, 286, 288–289, 293–295, 297, 309, 319–321, 323, 325–326, 329, 344, 346–351, 353–354, 356, 372, 384, 386, 388, 391–394, 401, 431, 436–437
- Kvintilijan (36–100.), 338
- La Mettrie, Julien Offray (1709–1751.), 121

- Lambert, Johann Heinrich (1728–1777.), 245, 290, 350–352, 361–362, 385
- Laursen, John Christian, 188
- Le Vasseur, Marie-Thérèse (1721–1801.), 204
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646–1716.), 225, 235–237, 239, 241–242, 244, 246–247, 263–266, 268, 279–280, 282–285, 293–294, 296, 299, 302, 304, 306–307, 313, 324, 327–329, 331, 336, 338, 340–341, 346–347, 351, 353, 356, 362, 396, 398, 401, 415, 423–424, 428–434, 439, 441
- Lenz, Jakob Michael Reinhold (1751–1792.), 407
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729–1781.), 175, 245, 263, 277, 312, 413–414, 430
- Locke, John (1632–1704.), 29–31, 33–36, 38–39, 41, 43, 45, 63, 78, 81–82, 86, 123, 171, 174, 178, 180–181, 190, 192, 218, 220–222, 244, 249–250, 279, 282–284, 293, 304, 325, 327, 329, 331–333, 336, 340–341, 346, 387, 390, 392, 429, 432, 439, 441
- Lovejoy, Arthur Oncken (1873–1962.), 328, 368, 432
- Löwisch, Dieter-Jürgen, 16, 343–344, 354, 359, 369, 370
- Luj XIV (1638–1715.), 171, 194
- Luj XVI (1754–1793.), 194, 436
- Luj XVIII (1755–1824.), 194
- Lütgert, Wilhelm (1867–1938.), 253, 277–278
- Luther, Martin (1483–1546.), 268, 270, 278
- Luxembourg, Madeleine Angélique Neufville de Villeroy (1707–1787.), 208
- Maass, Johann Gebhard Ehrenreich (1766–1823.), 430
- Mably, Gabriel Bonnot (1709–1785), 213
- Mackenzie, Henry (1745–1831.), 175
- Mackie, John Leslie (1917–1981.), 29, 89, 91, 118, 121, 125, 127, 135, 137–139
- Maimon, Salomon (1753–1800.), 292, 437
- Majetschak, Stefan, 410–412
- Malebranche, Nicolas (1638–1715.), 36, 38, 299
- Malherbe, Michel, 187–188, 190, 195–196, 228, 250
- Mandeville, Bernard (1670–1733.), 29, 38, 137, 141
- Marija Terezija (1717–1780.), 236
- Marion, sluškinja, 211
- Marković, Franjo (1845–1914.), 21
- Martin, Gottfried (1901–1972.), 293
- Martin, Marie M., 231
- Maupertius, Pierre-Louis (1698–1759.), 188–189, 239, 279, 331–332, 335
- McCosh, James (1811–1894.), 217–219, 222, 224, 226–227
- McIntyre, Jane L., 78–79, 92
- Meiners, Christoph (1747–1810.), 427
- Meinong, Alexius (1853–1920.), 20, 47
- Mendelssohn, Felix (1809–1847.), 244
- Mendelssohn, Moses (1729–1786.), 237, 244–252, 258, 263, 272, 277, 294, 324–325, 330, 335, 347, 351, 359, 370, 385, 388, 393–394, 397, 413–417, 431, 441
- Menzer, Paul (1873–1960.), 296, 303, 307, 314, 318

- Mérian, Jean-Bernard (1723–1807.), 188–189, 252
- Miller, Eugene F. (1935–2010.), 115, 182–183
- Milz, Bernhard, 338
- Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel Riqueti (1749–1791.), 213
- Mirkin, Isaak, 292
- Monboddo, James Burnett (1714–1799.), 233
- Montaigne, Michel (1533–1592.), 203, 235, 297
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat (1689–1755.), 36, 187, 312
- Morris, William Edward, 66, 69–70
- Mossner, Ernest Campbell (1907–1986.), 13–16, 34–36, 53–54, 79, 93, 150, 157–159, 163, 165–166, 177–180, 184, 188–189, 192–195, 201–204, 206, 208–209, 211, 216, 228–229, 236, 264, 321
- Motherby, Robert (1736–1801.), 321–322
- Nadler, Josef (1884–1963.), 252–254, 256, 270, 349–350, 407, 413
- Newman, Rosemary, 54
- Newton, Isaac (1642–1727.), 34, 38–39, 41, 54–55, 94, 174, 220–221, 268, 270, 279, 293–296, 303, 331–333, 340, 362, 371
- Nicolai, Friedrich (1733–1811.), 245, 277, 391, 397, 418, 430
- Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900.), 198
- Novalis, Georg Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772–1801.), 435
- Oswald, James (1703–1793.), 228, 233, 251, 281, 389
- Owen, David, 39, 44, 55, 76
- Pakaluk, Michael (1904–1980.), 227
- Parmenid (6/5. st. pr. Kr.), 302
- Penelhum, Terence, 94, 103, 106, 121, 142, 149–150, 159
- Periklo (495–429. pr. Kr.), 190
- Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich (1746–1827.), 175
- Petrović, Gajo (1927–1993.), 22
- Philippi, Wilhelm Albert Ferdinand (1752–1828.), 355
- Pietsch, Lutz-Henning, 292, 384, 388, 393–394, 396, 399, 401–402, 405, 408, 417, 420, 427, 437
- Pistorius, Hermann Andreas (1730–1798.), 240, 374, 395–396, 403–405, 424–429, 441
- Platner, Ernst (1744–1818.), 399–401, 430, 441
- Platon (428/427. ili 424/423–348/347. pr. Kr.), 30, 34, 36, 110, 219, 340, 346, 348, 353, 373, 410
- Ploucquet, Gottfried (1716–1790.), 325
- Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson (1721–1764.), 194
- Pompej (106–48. pr. Kr.), 272
- Pope, Alexander (1688–1744.), 171, 175, 177, 263, 265
- Popkin, Richard Henry (1923–2005.), 76, 174, 188, 190, 233–234
- Powalski, Gottlieb Bernhard (1759–1829.), 372
- Price, Richard (1723–1791.), 232–233
- Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804.), 225, 233–234, 389

- Radcliffe, Elisabeth, 105, 108, 117
- Ramsay, Allan (1713–1784.), 35, 83, 211, 216
- Ramsay, Michael, 35–36, 53
- Ramsay, Michael Andrew (1686–1743.), 35
- Rapin, René (1621–1687.), 253
- Rappolt, Carl Heinrich (1702–1753.), 259
- Rauschenberger, Walter, 337
- Reid, Thomas (1710–1796.), 14, 185, 216–230, 233, 242, 245, 250–251, 281, 375, 389, 392, 420
- Reimarus, Elise (1735–1805.), 413
- Reinhold, Karl Leonhard (1757–1823.), 399, 417, 433, 437
- Richardson, Samuel (1689–1761.), 175, 297
- Riehl, Alois (1844–1924.), 323, 333, 353
- Robertson, William (1721–1793.), 166
- Rose, William (1719–1786.), 212
- Röttgers, Kurt, 392
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1712–1778.), 14, 16, 34, 101, 175, 192, 195–213, 228, 263, 267, 269, 272, 275–276, 296, 303, 307, 309, 311, 316–321, 370, 393, 400, 407, 413, 435–436
- Rysiew, Patrick, 224
- Sassen, Brigitte, 384, 390
- Savigny, Eike, 41, 75
- Scheffner, Johann Georg (1736–1820.), 321–322
- Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph (1775–1854.), 276, 292, 412, 437
- Schlegel, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich (1772–1829.), 276
- Schmid, Carl Christian Erhard (1761–1812.), 396
- Schmid, Friedrich Albert, 413
- Schnepf, Robert, 303, 305–306, 331
- Schultz, Franz Albert (1692–1763.), 262–263
- Schultz, Johann (1739–1805.), 351, 394–395
- Schulze, Gottlob Ernst (1761–1833.), 437
- Schütz, Christian Gottfried (1747–1832.), 396, 401
- Scott, William Robert (1868–1940.), 87–88, 91, 93
- Selle, Christian Gottlieb (1748–1800.), 396–399, 427
- Seneka (4. pr. Kr. – 65. po. Kr.), 35, 85
- Serjeantson, Richard W., 80
- Sertorijs Kvint (123–72. pr. Kr.), 272
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671–1713.), 31–35, 38, 68, 86–89, 93, 104, 106, 122, 131, 136, 141, 155, 196, 219, 228, 242, 244, 250, 253, 270–271, 293, 309, 311, 313–314, 319, 370
- Shaw, Daniel, 117, 121
- Siger iz Brabanta (1240–1280.), 340
- Simpson Ross, Ian (1930–2015.), 93
- Smith, Adam (1723–1790.), 15, 132, 163, 216, 230–232, 244, 250, 263, 391
- Sonnenfeld, Viktor (1902–1969.), 328, 426
- Spinoza, Benedikt (1632–1677.), 36, 77–78, 115, 156–157, 171, 299, 302, 308, 340, 414–417, 421, 423, 437

- Stahl, Georg Ernst (1660–1734.), 27  
 Stamm, Marcelo R., 23  
 Steiner, James, 358  
 Stephen, Leslie (1832–1904.), 29, 31–32, 68, 87–89, 91, 94, 229  
 Sterne, Laurence (1713–1768.), 216, 317  
 Stewart, John (?–1759.), 181  
 Stewart, M. A., 34–36, 185  
 Stiening, Gideon, 239, 280, 283, 288  
 Streminger, Gerhard, 57  
 Strozzi, Filippo (1489–1538.), 157  
 Sulzer, Johann Georg (1720–1779.), 238–247, 252, 258–260, 335, 359, 385, 395, 441  
 Sutherland, Steward R., 120, 123, 132  
 Swain, Charles W., 259–262, 274, 350  
 Swedenborg, Emanuel (1688–1772.), 322–323  
  
 Tetens, Holm, 288, 290  
 Tetens, Johann Nicolaus (1736–1807.), 16, 279–290, 312, 359, 385, 393–394, 398, 429, 441  
 Thomasius, Christian (1655–1728.), 235, 237, 279, 340  
 Tiedemann, Dieterich (1748–1803.), 398–399  
 Tillotson, John (1630–1694.), 36  
 Tittel, Gottlob August (1739–1816.), 402–403, 405, 425, 427–428  
 Toma Akvinski (1225–1274.), 156–157, 285, 340  
 Tonelli, Giorgio (1928–1978.), 174, 215, 236, 330–335, 338, 346–348, 353  
 Tsugawa, Albert (1927–2010.), 79  
  
 Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques (1727–1781.), 171, 190–191, 212–213  
 Turnbull, George (1698–1748.), 219  
  
 Uebele, Wilhelm, 279–280, 290, 312  
 Ulrich, Johann August Heinrich (1751–1798.), 396, 430  
 Unzer, Johann August (1727–1799.), 238  
  
 Vaihinger, Hans (1852–1933.), 325–326, 328, 353, 356, 384, 403, 438  
 Van Cleve, James, 223  
 Verdelin, Marie-Madeleine de Brémond d’Ars (1728–1810.), 202  
 Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet (1694–1778.), 189, 204, 210, 212, 228, 237, 263, 436  
 Vorländer, Karl (1860–1928.), 16, 241, 245, 252, 255–256, 263–264, 268–269, 278, 290, 294–295, 297, 300, 302, 306, 316–321, 323–325, 347, 349, 355, 370, 383, 384, 392, 396, 399, 412, 414–417, 429–430, 436  
  
 Wagner, Heinrich Leopold (1747–1779.), 407  
 Walpole, Horace (1717–1797.), 203–204, 206, 210  
 Wand, Bernard, 138, 149  
 Warburton, William (1698–1779.), 180  
 Warda, Arthur (1871–1929.), 258, 312, 369  
 Watt, James (1736–1819.), 216  
 Weber, Heinrich, 253–256, 260, 263, 267–269, 276, 388, 407–409  
 Weidemann, Hermann, 373

- Weishaupt, Adam (1748–1830.), 427
- Weymann, Daniel (1732–1795.), 266
- Winter, Hans-Gerd, 235–236, 238, 407
- Wizenmann, Thomas (1759–1787.), 418
- Wolff, Christian (1679–1754.), 235–237, 239, 241, 244, 247, 250, 262, 264, 268, 279, 283, 293–294, 296, 298–299, 301, 304, 306, 308–309, 313–316, 319, 323–324, 328–329, 331, 340, 346, 362, 370, 384, 396, 398, 403, 408, 415, 429–432, 434, 441
- Wollaston, William (1659–1724.), 36
- Womerseley, David, 152, 165
- Wood, Paul B., 229
- Wright, Ernest Hunter (1892–1960.), 196, 198–199
- Wundt, Max (1879–1963.), 235, 237, 314–315, 340
- Young, Edward (1683–1765.), 348
- Zagorac, Ivana, 33
- Zart, Gustav, 239, 242, 244, 247–250, 257, 274, 280, 283, 286–289, 391, 399
- Zedler, Johann Heinrich (1706–1751.), 175, 338
- Zinkin, Melissa, 378
- Žmegač, Viktor, 173, 196, 235, 244, 276