

THE IMPRINT OF THE SCHOLAR:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRINTED BOOKS OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY'S
RAYMOND KLIBANSKY COLLECTION

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ABSTRACT

The library of Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005), historian of philosophy, was acquired by McGill University's Rare Books and Special Collections in 2005. This first study of the Raymond Klibansky Collection (RKC) provides an introduction to the approximately 7000-title collection in its main characteristics and research strengths; offers an aid to further research on the collection; and builds on what is known about Klibansky and his life with books.

The approach to the study was developed from a review of methods proposed in current discussion of book and library history research, and from structures and themes observed in practice in related studies. It has also been influenced by the availability of item-specific cataloguing in McGill Library's online public access catalogue (OPAC). The study builds, therefore, on the work of librarians, to produce a profile of the collection. Analysis has been guided by quantitative assessments of catalogue data, Klibansky's autobiographical and scholarly publications, selective book examination, and secondary publications. It is organized around a core set of themes: collection contents; provenance; and book organization. The book-life of Klibansky is a theme that permeates the whole.

Results show a close link between Klibansky's collection and his research themes, underline his engagement with social and political issues of the mid-twentieth century and point to enduring personal interests. The collection supports his self-stated approach to learning, offering a rich laboratory for humanities studies, while the context of his intellectual biography brings coherence to a vast and varied group of texts. Provenance evidence provides a special view of his professional and personal networks beginning in his youth, adding to what can be gleaned from autobiographical publications, and constitutes a source for the broader task of mapping out twentieth-century intellectual networks. An instance of unusually heavy annotation offers new information about unpublished work.

The RKC promises to support further research in several areas, and this first assessment aims to be a basis for, as well as stimulation to, continued exploration. The study also contributes to the discussion of the value of physical books in research collections and contributes an example, through its methodology, of how library-generated data in OPACs can increasingly be mined for research on collections.

RÉSUMÉ

En 2005, la bibliothèque des livres rares et collections spécialisées de l'Université McGill a acquis la bibliothèque de Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005), historien de la philosophie. Cette première étude de la Raymond Klibansky Collection (RKC) offre une introduction aux quelques 7 000 ouvrages de la collection, illustrant ses principales caractéristiques et son intérêt pour la recherche. L'étude sert également de point de départ pour d'autres études sur la collection en se fondant sur ce qui est connu de Klibansky et de sa vie avec les livres.

L'approche de l'étude se fonde sur une revue des méthodes proposées dans la recherche actuelle sur le livre et l'histoire des bibliothèques et a été élaborée à partir de structures et de thèmes observés dans la pratique, dans des études similaires. La disponibilité de données de catalogage des ouvrages dans le catalogue interrogeable en ligne (OPAC) de l'Université McGill a également influencé l'approche. Ce profil de la collection se base ainsi sur la description des livres par les bibliothécaires. L'analyse a été guidée par une évaluation quantitative des données de catalogage, l'autobiographie et les publications savantes de Klibansky, ainsi qu'un examen de livres particuliers et de publications secondaires. Elle s'organise autour de thèmes centraux : le contenu de la collection, la provenance et l'organisation des livres. La vie « livresque » de Klibansky est un thème récurrent dans l'ensemble.

Les résultats démontrent qu'il existe un lien étroit entre la collection de Klibansky et les thèmes de recherches qu'il affectionnait, soulignent son engagement pour les enjeux sociaux et politiques du milieu du XX^e siècle et laissent présager des intérêts personnels persistants. La collection appuie l'approche à l'apprentissage qu'il a lui-même énoncée, offrant un riche laboratoire pour les études en arts et sciences humaines. Par ailleurs, le contexte de sa biographie intellectuelle rend cohérent un vaste et varié ensemble de textes. Les traces de provenance offrent un aperçu spécial de ses réseaux professionnels et personnels qui remontent jusqu'à sa jeunesse, s'ajoutant aux informations de ses publications autobiographiques, et constituant une source pour la tâche plus grande de cartographier les réseaux intellectuels du XX^e siècle. Un cas d'annotations plutôt volumineux donne de l'information nouvelle sur des œuvres non-publiées.

La RKC offre des avenues intéressantes pour d'autres études à partir de la collection et ce, dans divers domaines. Cette première évaluation tente également de servir de base aux autres études et d'en stimuler l'exploration continue. L'étude contribue à la discussion sur la valeur des livres physiques dans les collections de recherche et offre un exemple, de par sa méthodologie, sur la manière d'utiliser les données générées en bibliothèque sous forme d'OPAC afin d'enrichir la recherche sur les collections.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CERL	<i>Consortium of European Research Libraries</i>
IIP	<i>Institut International de Philosophie</i>
KBW	<i>Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg</i> (Hamburg location)
LC	Library of Congress
OPAC	Online public access catalogue
PWE	Political Warfare Executive (British Foreign Office)
RBMS	Rare Books and Manuscript Division (RBMS) of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL)
RBSC	Rare Books and Special Collections (McGill University Library)
RKC	Raymond Klibansky Collection
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue
Warburg Library	The Warburg Institute Library, University of London
WIA	Warburg Institute Archives, University of London

Note to reader:

References are made in the thesis to the “RKC Data Sheet”, which includes the data used for analysis, as well as to various lists (LIST I - IV) described in Appendix VI. They are part of an **electronic supplement to this thesis** (a Microsoft Excel .xlsx file).

If you wish to view or use the file, and if this is not possible from the location at which you are viewing the thesis, please contact the author at jillian.tomm@mail.mcgill.ca for a copy of the supplement.

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND GOALS OF THE STUDY

The library of Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005), historian of philosophy, was acquired by McGill University Library's Rare Books and Special Collections (RBSC) in 2005. This library, now the Raymond Klibansky Collection (hereafter *Klibansky Collection* or RKC), represents the fruit of over eighty years of acquisition of books, offprints and periodicals by a man described as one of Canada's "greatest intellectuals of our time."¹ It counts over seven thousand titles, covers more than five centuries of printing, and includes substantial content in English, German, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek.

In addition to being a valuable scholarly collection in the humanities, the RKC constitutes a concrete reflection of Klibansky's interests and research themes. It provides a particular view of its creator that is all the more pertinent as Klibansky was a lover of books and libraries, and was deeply dedicated to the preservation and dissemination of the Western intellectual and cultural heritage. It is also a rich source of information regarding his professional and personal networks, adding to what is known about him, and preserves the traces of earlier owners and readers. Furthermore, as little of what has been published about Klibansky is in English, this study of his books in the context of his intellectual biography hopes to raise

¹ From the site of the Governor General of Canada in relation to Klibansky's award of the Order of Canada, 2000, <http://www.gg.ca/honour.aspx?id=6818&t=12&ln=Klibansky> (last accessed Jun 12, 2012). Among Klibansky's most important awards and honours are the Lessing Prize (Hamburg, Germany 1994), the Grand Cross of Order of Merit (Germany 1994), the Nonino Prize for "a personality of our time" (Italy 1995), the title of Grand Officier de l'Ordre National du Québec (1999), and Companion of the Order of Canada (2000). Honours from universities include honorary doctoral degrees from Ottawa, Marburg and Bologna, Emeritus status from McGill and Heidelberg (1975-2005), designation as Honorary Fellow from Oriel (1979-2005) and Wolfson Colleges (1995-2005) in Oxford, and the Reconnaissance de mérite scientifique prize from UQAM (1991). He was the recipient of three *Festschriften*: Helmut Kohlenberger, *Reason, Action, and Experience: Essays in Honour of Raymond Klibansky* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1979); Ethel Groffier and Michel Paradis, eds. *The Notion of Tolerance and Human Rights: Essays in Honour of Raymond Klibansky* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991); and Bjarne Melkevik et Jean-Marc Narbonne, eds., *Une philosophie dans l'histoire. Hommages à Raymond Klibansky* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000); and several articles of homage (see Appendix I for a summary literature about Klibansky).

awareness of the collection's research value within the community where it now resides.²

The Klibansky Collection maintains its integrity as a collection both physically within McGill Library's RBSC, but also virtually through the online public access catalogue (OPAC). This study builds on the work of McGill Library cataloguers who have described RKC holdings at the copy-specific level.

The specific goals of this study are to a) provide an introduction to the collection in its major characteristics; b) signal areas of the collection that will support further research; c) produce a concrete aid to further research on the collection; and d) add to what is known about Klibansky's life with books. Through these goals, the study presents an opportunity to further develop expertise in the area of personal library studies, add to the growing body of knowledge about scholar's libraries, encourage the ongoing development of such studies, and contribute to the active discussion within libraries and the research community about the research value of physical books beyond their texts.

The dissertation is presented in two parts. The first part consists of four chapters: this introduction constitutes Chapter 1; an overview of Klibansky's life and work in Chapter 2; a review in Chapter 3 of relevant methods and approaches drawn from discussion about research in book and library history and gleaned from published practice; and a presentation of the methodology of the study in Chapter 4. The second part contains the analysis of the RKC. Chapter 5 provides a short presentation of the collection. Analyses of its overall content characteristics constitute Chapters 6 and 7; Chapter 8 summarizes the main kinds of evidence from previous owners and readers in the collection; and Chapter 9 focuses on the larger evidence clusters of ownership and gifts. An exploration of Klibansky's personal organizational system in a subgroup of books is described in Chapter 10. Conclusions are presented in Chapter 11.

² Quotations in English from non-English works are, unless otherwise specified, my own translations.

1.1 Background to the research

1.1.1 Basic assumptions, viewpoints, and circumstances.

Some basic assumptions, viewpoints and circumstances underpin this study. They are inter-related but distinct, and include

- a. the assumption that personal libraries do in fact reflect something about their owners;
- b. the perception that recent personal libraries can contribute to twentieth-century intellectual history
- c. increasing recognition of the evidential historical value contained within physical books

a) Basic assumption: personal libraries do reflect something about their owners

The idea that a personal library does in fact reflect something of its creator is a belief that underlies much of the relevance of this research. It is an assumption that, while disputable, is shared by many historians, bibliographers and other scholars, and is not surprisingly a recurring theme in book and library history.

The determination of what is reflected is, however, not obvious. As Robert Darnton has said, for example, “documents rarely show readers at work, fashioning meaning from texts.”³ The study of a private library cannot be considered equivalent to a study of reading or intellectual influences, as ownership alone (i.e. an unmarked book) does not necessarily imply reading, let alone what might have been made of a text. Furthermore, librarian and leading book historian David Pearson points out that people acquire and keep books for a great variety of reasons, be they intellectual, aesthetic, affective or something more accidental, and that these may be combined to various degrees for any individual item.⁴

³ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: Norton, 1990), 157.

⁴ See Pearson’s “Private libraries and the collecting instinct,” in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 3; 1850-2000*, ed. Alistair Black and Peter Hoare (Cambridge University Press, 2006. [Cambridge Histories Online, 2008]), 182. For an orientation to the range of motivations discussed in theoretical research on collecting generally, see also Susan M. Pearce’s volume *On Collecting: an Investigation into Collecting in The European Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1995), especially p. 209. See also Rowan Watson, “Some Non-textual Uses of Books,” in *A Companion to the History of*

Nevertheless, many believe that a personal library, taken as a whole, has something to say. In the forward to John Harrison's *Library of Isaac Newton* Newton scholar D.T. Whiteside writes that:

“But for whatever complexity of reasons and circumstances one forms a collection of books of one’s own, the quality and range of content in a man’s personal library must broadly reflect the depth and extent and variety of his intellectual interests and pleasures, and individual works within it may by their rarity, annotation, or known context cast their unique light upon facets of his thought and character.”⁵

Literature professor T. A. Birrell considers that:

“A private library is part of its owner’s biography: the known facts of his life may help in the understanding of his choice of books. But the converse may also be true: his choice of books may add to the understanding of the known facts of his life, and for this purpose a purely statistical analysis of the contents of his library is inadequate.”⁶

Pearson also finds that collections are “in aggregate, greater than the sum of their parts,” and former Harvard librarian and library history author Matthew Battles has said more simply of books in collections that “together they tell us stories that they could not tell alone.”⁷ This standpoint is at the root of this study, which aims to discover what story is told by the Klibansky Collection, and how.

b) The perception that recent personal libraries can contribute to 20th century intellectual history.

A link between personal libraries and intellectual history reaches back at least to Aristotle, whose library is thought to have become part of the Alexandrian library. Personal collections have by definition a narrowly-demarcated context within which they can provide information about what texts existed when and where. If something

the Book, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007)480-492. The phrase “books as history” is from Pearson’s book of the same title (see n. 7).

⁵ D.T. Whiteside, forward to *The Library of Isaac Newton* by John Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), ix.

⁶ T.A. Birrell, “Reading as Pastime: the Place of Light Literature in Some Gentleman’s Libraries of the 17th Century,” in *Property of a Gentleman: the Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620-1920*. ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, Eng.: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1991), 116,118.

⁷ Pearson, *Books as History: The importance of books beyond their texts* (London: British Library, 2008), 163; Matthew Battles, *Library: An Unquiet History* (New York: Norton 2003), 16.

is known about the owner, their choice and use can take on additional meaning, and looking at the contents of personal libraries is a way, though imperfect, to learn about the diffusion of ideas. No one was more aware of it than Klibansky himself, whose work frequently drew from information about book ownership.⁸

Since the 19th century, as books have become easier to own and have circulated more broadly, and as institutional libraries have become more numerous and increasingly open to larger user groups, the link between personal libraries and intellectual history has seemed less obvious. Regarding American research, Donald G. Davis and John Mark Tucker maintained in 1989 that:

“Michael H. Harris and Donald G. Davis, Jr., writing in the first edition of this bibliography [1978], stated that ‘there is a strange tendency among historians to consider the nature of private book ownership a significant aspect of American intellectual history prior to the Civil War, while ignoring this subject when it comes to exploring the social or intellectual history of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.’ With few exceptions, this situation still prevails.”⁹

More recently, David Pearson commented in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*:

“the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have seen the rise of municipal and institutional libraries, making private provision seem much less important than it was in earlier times; it is arguable that the balance is closer than we may think, and closer than the proportions of this book imply.”¹⁰

⁸ See for example Klibansky's tracing of Platonic text ownership in “The Latin Manuscripts and Their History” in *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages: Outlines of a Corpus Platonium mediæ ævi*, (London, The Warburg Institute, 1939), 29-31; his determination of a link between the thought of Meister Eckhart and Nicholas of Cusa based on Cusa's own manuscript copy of an Eckhart text, described in Klibansky, *Le Philosophe et la mémoire du siècle: entretiens avec Georges Leroux*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998) 83-84; 94-95; and his several comments on Locke's readings with reference to John Harrison and Peter Laslett's *Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), in the preface to Locke's, *Epistola de Tolerantia – A Letter on Toleration*, Latin text edited with a Preface by Klibansky, English translation with an introduction and notes by J.W. Gough (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), esp. xxx-xxxiii.

⁹ Donald G. Davis and John Mark Tucker. *American Library History: a Comprehensive Guide to the Literature* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1989), Ch.3, p.1.

¹⁰ Pearson, “Private Libraries,” 202.

With respect to Canadian research on personal libraries, Peter F. McNally found in 1996 that, recent or not, the topic of private libraries “has been largely overlooked”¹¹ by anglophones and that once-strong francophone work in the area had seen a decline in the two previous decades.¹² He also underlines the value of personal libraries to intellectual biography and to the broader aims of cultural and intellectual history: “First, their study can provide insight into the intellectual development of specific individuals; second, they can help to indicate the cultural-intellectual influences upon a group of people; third, they serve as an index of cultural diffusion within a society[...]”¹³

With respect to the libraries of authors, new avenues appear to be opening. In the introduction to a collection of essays from the French *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) on writers’ libraries – including twentieth-century writers such as James Joyce (1882-1941) and Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) in addition to earlier figures such as Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) – for example, researcher Daniel Ferrer underlines the interest in building a larger corpus of studies to support cumulative and comparative work.¹⁴ He points to, among other things, the potential of tracing shifts in reading (of Latin, for instance), or networks and chains of reading among authors through generations and centuries; noting the benefits of developing technologies to data and document access and sharing, he finds that “the genetic work on the libraries of writers have good days ahead.”¹⁵

A recently initiated project in Italy, whose English title is the Research Group on Private Modern Philosophy Collections, describes the study of modern and

¹¹ McNally, “Canadian Library History in English and French to 1964: A Survey and Evaluation,” in *Readings in Canadian Library History* 2, ed. Peter F. McNally (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1996), 15.

¹² “Canadian Library History in English and French 1985-1991: A Survey and Evaluation,” in McNally, *Readings* 2, 32.

¹³ “Canadian Library History in French 1964-1984: A Survey and Evaluation,” in *Readings in Canadian Library History* [1], ed. Peter F. McNally (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1986), 34-35.

¹⁴ Daniel Ferrer, “Introduction: “Un imperceptible trait de gomme de tragacante...”, in *Bibliothèques d'écrivains*, ed. Paolo D'Iorio and Daniel Ferrer (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2001), 7-27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

contemporary philosophers' libraries as one "which has long been overlooked, but is now of ever-increasing interest."¹⁶ The group's activities involve publishing online relevant materials such as digitized versions of published catalogues, personal lists, and links to institutional holdings of philosopher's libraries which can be used "to look at the cultural profile of individual authors or of entire periods of intellectual history."¹⁷

The choice of the RKC as a subject is connected with its ability to contribute something to this corpus. Klibansky and his library are part of the Montreal intellectual landscape, and Klibansky is also one of the refugee scholars of World War II that changed the intellectual life of North America. Titles such as *The Modern Mind: An Intellectual History of the 20th Century* and *Palgrave Advances in Intellectual History* include numerous references to this group as a significant element in twentieth-century intellectual history as a whole.¹⁸ It is a common position in the *Advances* that "the intellectual diaspora that followed the rise of Fascism and Nazism contributed in no small way to a new degree of intensity and richness in British and North American scholarship," and Oxford historian Brian Young is among those who consider that "we still have much to learn from this heroic generation of scholar refugees."¹⁹ Significant attention in both the *Modern Mind* and the *Advances* is likewise given to key figures and groups of the German Weimar Republic with whom Klibansky was intimate, and which are represented in Klibansky's collection as authors, inscribers, and previous owners. Identifying and bringing these aspects to light is a first step toward the exploitation of the Klibansky Collection for research in intellectual history.

¹⁶ See their site "Philosophical Libraries; Private modern and contemporary philosophical libraries" Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, <http://picus.sns.it/index.php?page=Progetto&lang=en> (last modified Jan. 29, 2009).

¹⁷ Ibid. Some of the collections listed on the site are particularly relevant to Klibansky (Such as Jeanne Hersch or Paul Oskar Kristeller). While there is not currently readily usable data for comparison, this process has just begun and is evolving.

¹⁸ Peter Watson, *The Modern Mind: An Intellectual History of the 20th Century* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001); Richard Whatmore and Brian Young, eds., *Palgrave Advances in Intellectual History* (Basingstoke, Eng.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

¹⁹ Brian Young, introduction to Whatmore and Young, *Palgrave Advances*, 4-5.

c) The increasing recognition of the historical evidential value contained within physical books

The analysis of the RKC is couched within the view articulated by David Pearson that “libraries, and the books within them, may have historical and research value beyond their textual content, and that recognising those values will become increasingly important as the purely textual value is seen to decline.”²⁰

Especially since Robert Darnton posed the question “What is the History of Books?” in the 1980s, the expanded interest in book history is visible in the increase internationally of centres of study and research, in the establishment and flourishing of a major international society in the area, the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading and Publishing (SHARP), and a wealth of print and online resources.²¹ This growth has occurred in Canada as well, some of the largest signs of which are a new graduate program in book history and print culture at the University of Toronto, Canada’s largest university, and the History of the Book in Canada (HBiC) project, which includes a three-volume printed history and a set of databases hosted at Library and Archives Canada.²² Canadian societies have also multiplied: the traditionally named Bibliographical Society of Canada (BSC, founded in 1946) now shares terrain with the Canadian Association for the Study of Book Culture (CASBC), founded in 2004, as well as the *Groupe de recherches et d’études sur le livre au*

²⁰ David Pearson, “Libraries as history: the importance of libraries beyond their texts” (an edited version of the first Charles Holden Memorial Lecture, sponsored by the Friends of Senate House Library, London, October 2007):11.

http://eprints.rclis.org/bitstream/10760/10700/1/pearson_07_libraries_as_history.pdf (last accessed Jan. 17, 2011).

²¹ Robert Darnton, “What is the History of Books?” *Daedalus* 111, No. 3, (Summer 1982): 65-83. SHARP maintains an excellent portal to all of these aspects of the field (<http://www.sharpweb.org/>). Some of the key printed titles will be discussed in Chapter 3.

²²See “History of the Book in Canada: Introduction,” Library and Archives Canada. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/hbic/index-e.html> (last accessed Jun. 7, 2011). There are several databases contained within the HBiC umbrella: Bibliography of the History of the Book in Canada; Canadian Book Catalogues; Canadian Book Trade and Library Index; Canadian Imprints; Canadian Textbooks. They offer targeted searching and contain a vast amount of information, aiming to provide “comprehensive bibliographic, geographic, and biographic data about Canada's print culture from its beginnings in the sixteenth century to the twenty-first century. There remain areas for development – for example the infrastructure is prepared for data about book collectors (in the Canadian Book Trade and Library Index) but there is as of the time of writing no data yet in the field.

Québec (GRELQ), which began in 1982 and *l'Association québécoise pour l'étude de l'imprimé* (AQÉI), founded in 1987.

Within this research community, all aspects of books and texts are investigated. Among them – and most relevant here – the traces left in books (or other reading material) by owners, readers and other users. The Klibansky Collection contains much of this kind of evidence, and this has greatly influenced the focus of this study.

1.1.2 Note on the use of terminology

The Raymond Klibansky Collection.

Klibansky's personal library has become, through its donation to McGill University's Rare Books and Special Collections, the Raymond Klibansky Collection (RKC). This name will be used when referring to the collection in its current state as catalogued, and references to Klibansky's library/private library will be used only when referring to his books prior to their transfer to McGill.

Private libraries = personal libraries = personal collection.

Despite now being a part of an institutional library, the RKC is being studied here exactly on account of having been a personal library. As a collection intact and distinct, it maintains its historical identity as what has been most often referred to in the literature as a “private library.”²³ *Harrods Librarians' Glossary and Reference Book* defines the private library as “one which is owned by a private individual. Also a library owned by a society, club or other organization, to which members of the public have no right of access.”²⁴ This study is concerned with the first of these definitions, but with the modification that puts it in the past: “which [was] owned by a private individual”. The term “personal library” is preferred here, but where

²³ A general overview of the history of private libraries in the west, now dated but still considered authoritative, is Lawrence S. Thompson's 65-page entry for “Private Libraries” in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* (New York: M. Dekker, 1978), 24: 125-192. The absence of a single entry on the topic in the 2nd and 3rd editions of the same title (by Dekker, 2003, and Taylor & Francis, 2009, respectively), reflects changes in libraries and also in the research landscape, with the growth of institutional collections on the one hand and the recognition of different types of personal libraries and a plethora of contexts and occasions of reading, on the other. The private library in the sense of a scholar library or a bibliophilic book collection is now a special rather than a mainstream library type.

²⁴ *Harrods Librarians' Glossary and Reference Book* [...], 10th ed. (Aldershot, Eng.: Gower, 2005), s.v. “Private library.”

“private library” is used without further qualification it is considered equivalent. As Daniel Traister has noted, “the history of the private library is almost the exact equivalent of the history of book collecting.”²⁵ The term “collecting” is sometimes used, however, to infer an association with aesthetic preoccupations, rarity, or even simply a need for possession. The terms “collecting” and “collection” will not here imply anything about the rareness, physical qualities, or monetary value of acquired or owned volumes.

Provenance

The very essence of a personal library is its provenance. Provenance has been defined as “the pedigree of a book’s previous ownership”²⁶ or more simply as “a book’s ownership history.”²⁷ The material and manuscript evidence from which that ownership can be gleaned is called “provenance evidence”.²⁸ Strictly speaking, provenance evidence has only to do with book ownership, but the term is often used more loosely to cover the kinds of marks left by those who may not have even owned the books. In the authoritative thesaurus from the Rare Books and Manuscript Division (RBMS) of the Association of College and Research Libraries (ACRL), “ ‘Provenance’ is[...] interpreted in its broadest sense to refer not only to former owners in the legal sense, but also to any who may have had temporary custody of the material (such as auction houses or library borrowers) and have left their mark in some way on it.”²⁹ The RBMS interpretation is adopted here.

²⁵ Traister, “Private Libraries,” in *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, ed. David H. Stam (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 1:140.

²⁶ John Carter and Nicholas Barker *ABC for Book Collectors* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2004), 179. Also available online: http://www.ilab.org/eng/documentation/29-abc_for_book_collectors.html (last accessed Jun. 13, 2012).

²⁷ David Pearson’s entry on “provenance,” in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; e-reference edition).

²⁸ The most thorough research guide to provenance evidence is David Pearson’s *Provenance Research in Book History* (London: British Library, 1998; first edition from 1994). This volume includes a nearly hundred-page directory (pp. 182-273) of “Provenance Indexes,” or information sources about provenance produced by institutions and individual researchers, primarily in Great Britain and Ireland but also from the United States and Canada. See also Pearson’s updates in “Provenance Indexes Available in UK Libraries: a Selective Update” *Rare Books Newsletter* [of the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals (CILIP)], 76 (2005):44-57.

²⁹ “Provenance Evidence: A Thesaurus for Use in Rare Book and Special Collections Cataloguing: Introduction,” RBMS.

1.2 Research framework

1.2.1 Questions of the study

The questions this study addresses are:

- a. What is the RKC, in terms of its overall content and characteristics?
More specifically:
 - What are the main subjects of the collection?
 - What are the dominant authors, languages, or periods of publication?
 - What are the main kinds of provenance evidence in the collection?
 - What other themes emerge?
- b. In what aspects is the RKC reflective of Klibansky, his work or biography?

1.2.2 Disciplinary framework for responding to the questions

The disciplinary framework within which this study aims to answer the research questions is the intersection of book and library history, where an interest in individual books (as texts but also as objects) is brought together with the concept of the library as a discrete and unique entity able to communicate something about its primary user. The dual importance of each aspect – a view of the whole and a view of the individual item – makes personal libraries something of a bridge between the two fields.

A resonance with this view of personal collections is found in the dominant conceptual framework of book history. In 1982 Robert Darnton developed – in response to his own question “What is the history of books?” – a framework for the study of books called the “communication circuit.”³⁰ The first such model and still the standard one, the cycle consists of a route: Author – Publisher – Printers and Suppliers – Shippers – Booksellers – Readers (which explicitly includes libraries) and Binders, and back to Authors. Within the cycle are the overlapping spheres of Intellectual, Economic, Social, Political and Legal influence. The model deals with

http://www.rbms.info/committees/bibliographic_standards/controlled_vocabularies/introductions/ProvenanceIntro.htm (last accessed Jun. 7, 2011).

³⁰ Darnton, “What is the History of Books?”

book culture at large and is not intended as a framework for individual library studies, but it situates personal libraries as links between published work and new creation.³¹ There, libraries are not isolated group of books but collections that a) feed and reflect the development and tastes of the owner, b) connect with the contemporary book culture and industry, and c) are influenced by more general social, intellectual and other environments.

This study accepts the positioning of libraries within Darnton's communication cycle, asserts that collections have a communicative ability beyond their individual volumes, and begins to tell the story of McGill University's RKC.

In addition to the conceptual orientations offered by book and library history, the two disciplines provide concrete methodological support for investigating a personal library.³² A review of literature from both areas in Chapter 3 provides an outline of key sources, approaches, and lines of inquiry that informed the methodology of this work, taking into account its dual book-level vs. collection-level interest.

1.2.3 Environmental setting: McGill Library's cataloguing of the RKC

McGill Library's provision of OPAC access to the Klibansky Collection has played a central role in the study, particularly given the size of the collection at over 7000

³¹ A more recent model from Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society; the Clark lectures 1986-1987*, ed. Nicholas Barker (London: British Library, 1993), 5-43, reframes the cycle, placing the book, rather than the people and institutions associated with books, in focus. These processes are Publication – Manufacture – Distribution – Reception – Survival, and back to Publication. The Intellectual, Political/Religious/Legal, Commercial and Social factors influence the cycle from outside, rather than from within as in Darnton's scheme. Reception and survival are essential concepts in the study of a private library, but I am less concerned here with processes involved in the cycle of a text than with the relationship between a unique collection of books with a particular user and creator, a relationship more adapted to Darnton's circuit, and that includes within it the notions of reception and survival.

³² That there are other possible approaches to studies of private libraries is illustrated by Jenna Hartel's winning paper for the 2006 Dialog/ALISE Methodology Paper Competition: "Pictures worth a thousand words: A visual approach to libraries in the home." This paper, based on Hartel's doctoral research and kindly provided by the author, describes the use of "visual anthropology" through a "photographic inventory" to investigate contemporary and multi-format (including electronic) modern home libraries. She uses photography to look at libraries' characteristics, their "situation" in the home, the types of information resources they include, their structures, and how these elements affect their use. The subject of the investigation is a phenomenon rather than any individual library, and the approach will not answer our research questions, but it illustrates that different disciplinary approaches are valid in studying private libraries, and must be chosen according to research goals.

titles. The online availability of catalogue data facilitated the large-scale overviews presented in this study, but it has relevance beyond purely technical questions. The arrival of the RKC at McGill coincided with a recent renaissance of attention to special collections in research libraries, as well as technological changes that facilitate the use of online catalogue data, and the cataloguing treatment given to the Klibansky Collection provides one opportunity to show the increased value of providing copy-specific information.

The value of McGill's cataloguing of the RKC has to do with both information and access. Cataloguers have supplied detailed copy-specific notes relating to the physical books, including the kinds of information outlined above that are of so much interest to book historians, to facilitate precise searching. But in addition, the creation of an RKC sub-catalogue provides access at the collection level, supporting discovery by browsing or searching within the RKC only.³³ And finally, the library system permits catalogue data export in a format readable by bibliographical software, where data can be collected and manipulated for further analysis.

The broader context of online catalogue data in the research library environment is a topic that extends beyond the boundaries of this study, but some aspects in particular influenced the study's development and a brief articulation of them will be useful to understanding the methodology of this work. An overview is presented at the end of the literature review on methodology in Chapter 3. The particular use made of McGill's OPAC records for the study is detailed in Chapter 4.

³³ To search the collection in McGill's online catalogue, select the Classic Catalogue (for local holdings only; <http://catalogue.mcgill.ca/F/>). Items can be searched individually but can also be browsed in searches limited to the Klibansky Collection. The location code "WCL=klib" can be used to limit searches in the Expert mode of Advanced Searching, or users can search within a special sub-catalogue: 1) on the main search page of the Classic Catalogue choose the tab Sub-Catalogues; 2) select the link Libraries and Collections; 3) from the list of libraries, select Rare Books and Special Collections; 4) Click the tab Advanced, and 5) select Raymond Klibansky Collection from the Locations drop-down menu. The collection is too large for a full list to be returned, but any search limit (e.g., by language, or publication period) that reduces results to less than 3000 records will return all relevant items.

1.2.4 What this study is not.

It should be clearly stated that the goal of this study is not to catalogue the contents of the RKC. That work has been undertaken by McGill Library. This study aims to address questions not quickly answered by consulting the catalogue; it builds on McGill catalogue data to understand the nature of the library as a whole and highlight its primary characteristics.

It should also be clear that this is not a critique of Klibansky's academic work, and there will be no attempt to examine his philosophical writings in terms of possible latent influences or to argue for or against his published conclusions or interpretations.

1.3 Existing work on the collection.

The existence, relevance, and research value of the Raymond Klibansky Collection remains unknown to many potential users, but an accumulation of initiatives is aiming to improve this.

Two initial brief summaries and statements of the RKC's arrival at McGill were made, one in 2005 by Georges Leroux, one-time student, long-time friend and colleague of Klibansky and co-author of Klibansky's major autobiographical work;³⁴ and another in 2006 by McGill RBSC's Ann Marie Holland.³⁵ Leroux notes that "Comme pour tous les grands savants, sa biographie se reflète autant dans ses livres que dans ses oeuvres ou sa correspondance," (As for all great scholars, [Klibansky's] biography is reflected as much in his books as in his works or his correspondence). He signals the importance of early influences on Klibansky's own library practice, and writes of the "chain of *savants*" through the collection's many ex-libri. Holland points to the collection's strength in philosophy, but also underlines its subject breadth and its interest for book historians, noting examples of rare and early

³⁴ Citations here are to Klibansky, *Le Philosophe et la mémoire du siècle: entretiens avec Georges Leroux*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998); see bibliography for subsequent printings and translations.

³⁵ Georges Leroux, "Un héritage pour Montréal," *Le Devoir*, Oct. 15, 2005; "The Raymond Klibansky Library," [Interview with Ann Marie Holland], *In Focus* [a McGill Library publication] (Summer 2006): 6.

editions. Leroux and Holland, representing on the one hand the philosophical community and on the other the rare book community, agree that the collection offers a rare and valuable addition to the Montreal local research libraries.

A larger project conceived and led by Leroux is being carried out in conjunction with Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ) and McGill's RBSC to present the RKC to a broader public.³⁶ The exhibition will present over 300 individual items grouped by themes associated primarily with Klibansky's intellectual biography but also highlighting the wealth of old and rare books. A printed catalogue will provide a permanent record of the selection, accompanied by several essays on Klibansky and on his relationship with books.

The opportunity to participate in and witness that project in development profoundly underlined the value of the collection as a research source about Klibansky, and much was learned. Contributions to item selection for the exhibition were offered based on this exploration and study of the RKC, but results were in every case guided and refined by Leroux, and benefited from the bibliographical expertise of McGill RBSC staff, especially that of Ann Marie Holland.

³⁶ [Exhibition title =] "Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005) - La bibliothèque d'un philosophe," presented at BAnQ, under the direction of Georges Leroux (opening November 2012). My particular thanks "to Georges Leroux and Ethel Groffier for sharing early drafts of their essays for the printed catalogue (forthcoming).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW I: WHO IS KLIBANSKY?

Literature about Klibansky includes autobiography, biography, bibliography, and overviews of his work, providing a range of primary source and supportive material for the study of the RKC. The main elements of Klibansky's biography are found in several sources, the most complete being Klibansky's published interviews with Georges Leroux.³⁷ A summary of the main sources of information about Klibansky is provided as Appendix I.³⁸

2.1 Biographical sketch, with an emphasis on Klibansky's formative years

Raymond Klibansky was born in 1905 to a practising Jewish family of German-Lithuanian origin in Paris, where his father was a wine exporter. He was named after conservative French politician Raymond Poincaré (1860-1934), with whom his family had mutual friends. At the outbreak of World War I Klibansky's family returned to Germany, settling in Frankfurt, the home of his paternal family. He remained in Germany until shortly after the Nazis took power in 1933, his developmental years therefore coinciding with the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), a time of political violence and economic difficulty but also famous for its rich intellectual and artistic climate. The literary atmosphere was very much in accordance with his natural interests, and from his early teens Klibansky was plying his father for money to buy books.³⁹ The deep impact of the Weimar years on the outlook and work of Klibansky's entire life is clear from his memoirs, and some knowledge of his activities and influences of that time are important to understanding his library.

The Weimar Republic was declared on November 9th, 1918, when Klibansky was thirteen years old. Born out of a popular revolution that saw the end of the Empire

³⁷ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*.

³⁸ The bibliography included here of Klibansky's work is selective. For a full bibliography to 2002 see Martin Thurner "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist keeping his finger on the pulse of the century." *American Cusanus Newsletter* 21, no. 2 (Dec 2004): 17-32; See also recent additions listed by Ethel Groffier on the site: "The Raymond Klibansky Web Page: Selected Bibliography," <http://www.raymondklibanskywebpage.org/bibliography> (last accessed June 7, 2012).

³⁹ Ethel Groffier, personal communication. On Klibansky's relationship with books see Groffier, "L'amour des livres et des bibliothèques" in *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)*, [exhibition catalogue] dir. by Georges Leroux (forthcoming).

of Wilhelm II, the new leaders had at first the support of many of Germany's creative elites, like architect Walter Gropius, writer Berthold Brecht and poet Rainer Maria Rilke.⁴⁰ In the words of Peter Gay:

“there were really two Germanies: the Germany of military swagger, abject submission to authority, aggressive foreign adventure, and obsessive preoccupation with form, and the Germany of lyrical poetry, Humanist philosophy, and pacific cosmopolitanism. Germany had tried the way of Bismarck and Schlieffen; now it was ready to try the way of Goethe and Humboldt.”⁴¹

But the subsequent lackluster performance, the in-fighting among parties and unbreachable divisions among the majority socialists ended in schism. An intense atmosphere of failure, shame, and resentment followed the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, which had put the entire responsibility of the war on Germany and demanded economic reparations. This led to a loss of support for the government from many quarters initially in favour of it, including intellectuals and artists. Many Germans considered the signing of Versailles an act of betrayal, mainly by “Jews and Communists” and disenchantment was widespread.⁴²

Despite his Jewish origins, when Klibansky first arrived in Germany in 1914 he did not encounter a severely hostile environment. He was not the only Jewish student in his class in Frankfurt, and though he was perhaps the most orthodox (not writing on the Sabbath, for example), he remembered feeling no disapprobation from his peers.⁴³ While his family was traditional, he was less so. Against his father's preferences, at fifteen he left the well-respected and traditional *Goethe-Gymnasium* for the new and controversial *Odenwaldschule*, referred to by some detractors as a “communist Jew school,” that privileged the idea of self-development over

⁴⁰ Some key works in English on the intellectual culture in Weimar Germany include Peter Gay's *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); a special volume of *Social Research* – journal of the New School for Social Research and home since 1933 of many of Hitler's refugees – titled *Germany 1919-1932: The Weimar Culture* (1972); and Walter Laqueur's *Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974).

⁴¹ Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 1

⁴² *Ibid.*, 19

⁴³ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 7.

evaluation.⁴⁴ The school was popular with several leading intellectuals of the day such as writer Thomas Mann (1875-1955), philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945) and sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), who enrolled their children (or nephews, in Weber's case). Klibansky recalled with approval its dual emphasis on the individual and community as well as its teaching methods, which he found well-suited to himself, citing particularly the intensive reading and democratic approach to daily functioning.⁴⁵ The approach to reading, which he later adopted in his own teaching, involved three stages of analysis: 1) summarizing, 2) identifying ambiguities and questions, and finally 3) elaborating a critique. Able to guide his studies by his own interests, Klibansky became well acquainted with both philosophical and literary approaches to human thought and expression, and his seriousness as a student is attested to by the fact that, finding the teaching of ancient languages weak at the *Odenwaldschule*, he developed his own study group with lifelong friend Walter Solmitz (1905-1962) to work through Homer and Plato.⁴⁶

In 1923 Klibansky began his university studies at Germany's oldest university in Heidelberg, city beloved by the poet Hölderlin (1770-1843), where both Hegel (1770-1831) and Weber had taught, and which also had the distinction of having been uniquely open in its invitation "of the heretic Spinoza" in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ A centre of much literary and philosophical activity, Heidelberg was one of the important intellectual centres of the Weimar Republic.

At Heidelberg Klibansky was soon in close contact with Karl Jaspers (1883-1969) and Heinrich Rickert (1874-1945), the two major figures in Heidelberg's philosophy

⁴⁴ Dennis Shirley, *The Politics of Progressive Education: The Odenwaldschule in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 1.

⁴⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 10-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 16. On Klibansky's experience in Heidelberg see esp. Chptrs 1-4 of *Le Philosophe*; Klibansky's "L'université allemande dans les années trente. Notes autobiographiques", *Philosophiques*, 18, no.2 (1991): 139-157; and a later version, "Aus dem Heidelberger Geistesleben" in *Heidelberg Geschichte und Gestalt* (Heidelberg: University Press, 1996), 270-283; see also "Raymond Klibansky. 15.Mai 1994" in *Erlebte Geschichte erzählt*, vol. 1, 1994-1997, *Michael Buselmeier im Gespräch mit Raymond Klibansky* ...[et al], (Heidelberg: Wunderhorn, 2000-), 8-29; and Anne-Marie Tougas, dir., *Raymond Klibansky: De la philosophie à la vie = From Philosophy to Life* [Documentary film], DVD, written by A.-M. Tougas and Marcel Beaulieu, prod. by Yves Bisailon (National Film Board of Canada, 2002). French with English subtitles.

department at the time. Heinrich Rickert was a leading name in the neo-Kantian movement that had dominated the German philosophical landscape since the late nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Karl Jaspers was both literally and symbolically on the other side of Heidelberg's Neckar river, and though influenced by Kant he was more independent of the main neo-Kantian schools. With a background in psychology, Jaspers was also influenced by the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), and is considered one of the first major existentialist thinkers. Klibansky became closer to Jaspers than to Rickert, but never became a Jaspers disciple.⁴⁹

Beyond the world of philosophy Klibansky also had the opportunity to meet local Heidelberg and visiting intellectuals at regular “*jours*” in the homes of archaeologist Ludwig Curtius (1874-1954), with whom Klibansky studied and, especially, sociologist Marianne Weber (1870-1954, widow of Max Weber). Klibansky lived in the Weber family home for a time, and he and Marianne Weber became close friends, such that he staged a performance about her for her 60th birthday.⁵⁰ Though

⁴⁸ The neo-Kantian movement had started as a reaction against the contrasting extremes reached by idealist metaphysics and materialism, and while it was not homogeneous, it contained two major “schools”: the Marburg School of Hermann Cohen (1842-1918) and Paul Natorp (1854-1924) and the Southwest School – or Baden School – developed by Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915). Each school had a different main focus and “while the Marburg school emphasized inquiry into the logical foundations of the natural sciences, the School of Baden emphasized the philosophy of values and reflection on the cultural sciences.” Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1993-1994 [reprint; originally published 1946-1975]), 7: 361;364. Rickert had been a student of Windelband, of the Baden School, and was the Chair of Philosophy in Heidelberg. In addition to the neo-Kantian school, another line of thinking was emerging with Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), considered the founder of phenomenology. His star pupil was Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), who had first studied with Rickert, and Hans-Georg Gadamer was in turn a pupil of Heidegger. Klibansky does not indicate any desire to have followed that philosophical path.

⁴⁹ Klibansky describes his eventual *Habilitation* (or post-doctoral thesis) defense of 1931 as arguing somehow against Jaspers in his “concept of liberty and history.” See Klibansky’s *Le Philosophe*, 19. A fundamental difference, from Klibansky’s point of view, between his approach and that of both Jaspers and Rickert, is clear in his statement that they both “neglected history.” (See “Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien. Entretien avec Yves Hersant et Alain de Libera,” *Préfaces* 13 (May-Jun 1989): 137.) Yet in some things they were not so distant, and Ethel Groffier suggests, that “while Klibansky does not follow Jaspers in emphasizing the transcendental dimension, Jaspers’ description of what is objective is fairly consistent with Klibansky’s views and actions [that is] ‘as something we think of, objectivity is general validity – the correctness of a cognition that applies to existence as well as the rightness of an outright that commands and thus determines the subject’s action.’” (from Groffier’s “Raymond Klibansky and the Search for Objectivity.” [Unpublished] Opening speech at *Attitudes et l’action dans le discours: Colloque international en hommage à Raymond Klibansky*, Congrès de L’ACFAS, Trois-Rivières, 8-11 May, 2007.

⁵⁰ Klibansky, “Raymond Klibansky. 15 Mai 1994,” 22.

Klibansky never actually met Max Weber, he too became something of a mentor. Weber's ideas were very much present in debates at the Weber house between those who held that values should be eliminated from scientific discussion, and others – like Klibansky – who held that value judgements are impossible to eliminate.⁵¹ Klibansky appreciated Weber's sense of the responsibility of the professor to strive continually toward objectivity, seeing Weber's ideal as the professor "serving truth... A truth that he sees in his way, it is true, but that must help him to do all in his power to eliminate value judgements and the sentimental irrationalism that is attached to them."⁵² These ideas resonated deeply with the young Klibansky. The vigilance against subjectivity in scientific inquiry is, as Ethel Groffier has pointed out, now a common and mainstream idea, but it was a different era, and it was not long after this that the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) stated that university teaching must conform to the greater truth of the ruling party and Hitler rejected the theory of relativity and nuclear science on account of its association with Jewish scientists.⁵³

Singled out as Klibansky's greatest friend from his Weimar days is Friedrich Gundolf (1880-1931). Klibansky's senior by 25 years, Gundolf was one of the most influential literary scholars of the period. He coined the motto inscribed on one of Heidelberg University's buildings "To the living spirit", changed by the Nazi regime to "To the German spirit".⁵⁴ Klibansky met Gundolf in 1928, and they had a short but intense friendship, sharing a love of books and touring together the bookstores of Heidelberg and beyond. Before Klibansky knew him, Gundolf had been very close to the lyric poet and cult figure Stefan George, about whom Peter Gay says that "his only living rival was Rilke."⁵⁵ George was an odd figure, surrounded by a group of disciples more than friends, but was admired by several thinkers outside the direct

⁵¹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 24.

⁵² Ibid., 25.

⁵³ Groffier, "Raymond Klibansky and the Search for Objectivity"; Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 92-93; 130.

⁵⁴ See the web page of Heidelberg University "History of Heidelberg University" at <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/university/history/history.html>. (last revised Jan. 26, 2012). See also Russell A. Berman, "The Subjects of Community: Aspiration, Memory, Resistance 1918-1945," in *Philosophy and German Literature, 1700-1990*, ed. Nicholas Saul, [e-book] (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 208.

⁵⁵ Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 52.

sphere of literature, including Max Weber, and his poetry, ideas and followers were very present in Klibansky's Heidelberg.⁵⁶ Both George and Gundolf had been much interested in the "great man in history," a more modest echo of which is found in Klibansky's own views about the important role of individual personalities in historical events, which will be touched on again.

Klibansky's younger Heidelberg friends included Golo Mann (1909-1994), son of author Thomas Mann, Heinrich Cassirer (1903-1979), son of philosopher Ernst Cassirer, and Lotte (Carlotta) Labowsky (1905-1991), who studied philology and philosophy and later worked with Klibansky in England on his *Corpus Platonicum* before she made her name with her work on the library of the fifteenth-century Cardinal Bessarion.

University studies twice took Klibansky out of Heidelberg. Amidst the hyperinflation in 1923-1924, Karl Jaspers selected Klibansky from among the students at Heidelberg for a scholarship program in the northern city of Kiel aimed at developing a new *Führerschicht* (class of leaders) for Germany.⁵⁷ Klibansky stayed only a few months but during that time worked with sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936), a founding figure in German sociology and acquaintance of Friedrich Engels (Klibansky enjoyed joking with students of their "four handshake" proximity to Marx).

After Klibansky's return to Heidelberg, he made the decision to focus on the history of philosophy, despite his interest in Weber's ideas and his experience with Tönnies. When asked about the decision, Klibansky mentioned that an important part of his admiration for both Weber and Tönnies was their knowledge of and attention to history, and that he disliked the new tendency in sociology to view history through or

⁵⁶ Ernst Osterkamp, "Art History and Humanist Tradition in the George Circle," *Comparative Criticism* 23 (2001): 211. See also Robert Norton, *Secret Germany: Stefan George and his circle* (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002); and the chapter of the same name ("Secret Germany") in Gay's *Weimar Culture*.

⁵⁷ The exchange rate of the German mark had gone from 60 marks to the US dollar in May 1921 to 18,000 marks to the dollar in January 1923, but then the rise was astronomical: 4,600,000 marks/US\$ in August 1923 and 42 billion marks/US\$ on October 23, 1923 (from Serge Bernstein and Pierre Milza, *L'Allemagne 1870-1991*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Masson, 1992), 88).

according to certain concepts.⁵⁸ His historical focus also distanced him from both Rickert and Jaspers.

In 1926 Klibansky left Heidelberg a second time, accepting an invitation to study for a year in Hamburg with Ernst Cassirer, one of the most eminent Neo-Kantian thinkers of Weimar and the first Jew to hold a university rectorship in Germany.⁵⁹ The time spent in Hamburg was very important for Klibansky. Having been introduced to the philosopher by Klibansky's school friend and Cassirer's son, Heinz, Klibansky lived for several weeks with the family. It is through Ernst Cassirer that Klibansky achieved his first publication, a Latin edition of a text by French thinker Carolus Bovillus (1479-1567).⁶⁰ The inclusion of this text as an appendix to Cassirer's book on the Renaissance had to do with Cassirer's notion that Bovillus' text "is perhaps the most curious and in some respects the most characteristic creation of Renaissance philosophy. In no other work can we find such an intimate union of old and new ideas, of sterile and fertile ideas."⁶¹ Furthermore, Cassirer sees that Bovillus anticipates Hegel.⁶² No modern edition of the text existed, and Klibansky's critical edition was the first to be issued since the sixteenth century.⁶³ Klibansky does not speak at length about this work in his autobiographical material, but it is significant in that it demonstrates his great skill in Latin, providing a first step in the area of critical edition, soon continued with work on Nicholas of Cusa and Meister Eckhart, and also as a sign of Cassirer's confidence in Klibansky as a young scholar. Cassirer's name carried much weight and this explicit statement of support would have given Klibansky a certain stature among his peers and

⁵⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 30-31.

⁵⁹ Cassirer was rector of Hamburg University from 1929-30.

⁶⁰ Klibansky edited Carolus Bovillus' *Liber de sapiente* (Book of the wise man), as an appendix to Cassirer's *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1927).

⁶¹ Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, trans. and introd. by Mario Domandi (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 88.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁶³ This work of Klibansky's early twenties appears to be used in some way by all three available modern editions and translations of Bovillus' *Liber de sapiente* (Eugenio Garin in Italian (Einaudi, 1943), Pierre Quillet in French (Editions de Minuit, 1983), and Pierre Magnard, also in French (Vrin, 1982)).

professors. Klibansky remained close with the family and later co-edited a *estschrift* in Cassirer's honour.⁶⁴

In Hamburg Klibansky also began his long affiliation with the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (KBW), the once-private collection of Aby Warburg that became a world-renowned research institute in cultural and intellectual history, and which is now a part of the University of London.⁶⁵ The KBW and its activities are considered an example of the intellectual excellence of Weimar Germany, and as having “an enormous impact in the field of intellectual history” in England and beyond.⁶⁶ The library that Warburg created, initially centred on Renaissance art history, aimed at the “study of the survival of pagan antiquity in European religion, literature, art, the meaning of symbols and processes of social memory.”⁶⁷ Klibansky singles out the introduction to Aby Warburg and the KBW as particularly important to his development.⁶⁸ He worked there as a student and began an association with the research life of the institute that continued for decades.⁶⁹ Several of Klibansky's

⁶⁴ Klibansky and H.J. Paton, eds., *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936). On memories of Cassirer see Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 32-43 as well as the interviews “Erinnerungen an Ernst Cassirer: Raymond Klibansky im Gespräch mit Thomas Göller” *Internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 2 (1999):275-288; and “Die Grenzen des akademischen Lebens sprengen: Ein Gespräch über Ernst Cassirer und die Bibliothek Warburg,” interview with Patrick Conley, *Merkur* 50, no. 3 (March 1996): 274-277.

⁶⁵ On the Warburg Institute in its early period see Fritz Saxl, “The History of Warburg's Library, 1886-1944” in appendix to *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, 2nd ed., by Ernst H. Gombrich (London: The Warburg Institute, 1986), 325—338). See also the recent “The Warburg Library and its Readers,” ed. by Anthony Grafton and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, a special issue of *Common Knowledge* 18, no.1 (Winter 2012).

⁶⁶ Whatmore and Young, *Advances in Intellectual History*, 30; See also Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 30; and Watson *The Modern Mind*, 223.

⁶⁷ Dorothea McEwan, “Mapping the Traderoutes of the Mind: The Warburg Institute,” in *Intellectual Migration and Cultural Transformation. Refugees from National Socialism in the English-Speaking World*, ed. Edward Timms and Jon Hughes (Vienna: Springer,2003) p.37; see also Saxl, “History of Warburg's Library”.

⁶⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 32-34.

⁶⁹ Outside of Klibansky's own descriptions, the relationship is documented in Aby Warburg's *Tagebuch der kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*; with entries by Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, eds. Karen Michels and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001) and also in correspondence between Klibansky and Warburg staff. See, for example, holdings of the Warburg Institute Archive in London: WIA, GC [General Correspondence], 1933-1936, R. Klibansky to/from F. Saxl and G. Bing. These form a vivid impression of the intensity and enthusiasm of the working atmosphere. See also Regina Weber, “Aktivitäten der Warburg-Bibliothek, gespiegelt im Marbacher Nachlass Raymond Klibansky,” in *Bibliotheken und Sammlungen im Exil [=Exilforschung]*, 29], ed. by Claus-Dieter Krohn and Lutz Winckler (München: Edition text + kritik, 2011), 100–14 (unfortunately not yet viewed by this author at the time of writing). On Klibansky's meeting with Aby Warburg and his involvement with

publications are connected with the KBW or its English incarnation as the Warburg Institute, including the famous *Saturn and Melancholy*, co-authored with Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl.⁷⁰

Panofsky and Saxl had published in 1923 a study on Albrecht Dürer's (1471-1528) engraving *Melencolia I*⁷¹ and a subsequent collaboration with Klibansky resulted in *Saturn and Melancholy*, completed in German in the 1930s, but first published in English in 1964 after the initial plates were confiscated for war metal. The book traces the evolving perceptions of, and relationship between, the concept of melancholy and the figure of Saturn from antiquity through the Renaissance, considering both texts and images. Klibansky describes his contributions as relating primarily to ancient Greek and Latin philosophy, literature and medicine as well as medieval thought up to the fifteenth-century thinker Marsilio Ficino.⁷² Initially received with somewhat tepid reviews,⁷³ the book has become a classic in the history of ideas and art history, and has been called "the most Warburgian book ever written".⁷⁴

the Warburg see especially *Le Philosophe*, 33-39, as well as the interview articles "Die Grenzen des akademischen Lebens sprengen"; and "Conversazione con Raymond Klibansky, a cura di Francesco Barocelli," in *Filosofia, scienza e astrologia nel Trecento europeo*, ed. Graziella Federici Vescovini (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 1992), 7-18. Articles about the Warburg Library in Hamburg and its early years in England that mention Klibansky include Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library" and Nicholas Mann, "Two-Way Traffic: the Warburg Institute as a Microcosm of Cultural Exchange between Britain and Europe," in *The British Contribution to the Europe of the Twenty-First Century: The British Academy Centenary Lecture*, ed. Basil Markesinis (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2002), 93-104. Both Saxl and Mann were directors of the Warburg Institute.

⁷⁰ *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson; New York: Basic Books, 1964). Subsequently published in several translations (see bibliography).

⁷¹ "Dürer's *Melencolia I*: Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung [=Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 2] (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1923).

⁷² Klibansky, "Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien," 132.

⁷³ See reviews of *Saturn and Melancholy* by E.D Phillips in *The Classical Review* 16 no. 2 (June, 1966): 239-40.; W.J. Verdenius in *Mnemosyne* Fourth Series 23 no.1 (1970): 100; and Lynn White in *Isis* 56 no. 4 (1965): 458-59.

⁷⁴ Jean Philippe Uzel, "Raymond Klibansky et l'histoire de l'art du XXe siècle," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 27 no.1-2 (2000; published in 2003): 140. In addition to Chptr. 6 of *Le Philosophe*, see also Klibansky's discussion of *Saturn and Melancholy* in his "Le aventure della malinconia," *Dianoia* 1 (1996): 11-27; "Conversazione con Raymond Klibansky"; "Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien"; "... Verzweifeln an der Welt. Und Raymond Klibansky kannte sie alle. Ein Plädoyer für die Melancholie"; interview with Raymond Klibansky by André Behr and Lars Reichardt, *Süddeutsche Zeitung Magazin* (accompanying *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 114, 18 May, 2001): 18-23; and Georges Leroux, "De Nicolas de Cues aux enfants de Saturne: présentation de l'oeuvre de

The late 1920s and early 1930s were very productive years for Klibansky, and he presented several works during the period that definitively established his career. While still a student, Klibansky was appointed to the *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* as one of a small group of researchers to produce a modern Latin edition of Nicholas of Cusa's complete works.⁷⁵ The project was led by Ernst Hoffmann (1810-1952), a specialist in Plato and ancient philosophy, who also supervised Klibansky's doctoral thesis and sponsored his *Habilitation*, a post-doctoral award necessary to become a professor.⁷⁶ Klibansky's work was central to the Cusa project. After first identifying the location of relevant sources for the edition, he developed the model for the entire project that included a scholarly apparatus, highly praised, addressing manuscript variants as well as Cusa's sources (*fontes*) and writers subsequently influenced by Cusa (*testimonia*).⁷⁷ The immense multi-volume undertaking was only completed in 2006 (with 20 volumes in over 40 parts). After publication of the first two volumes, Klibansky's participation was interrupted by political events, but he later contributed again to the project, from the 1950s into the 1980s. Through the early exploration for sources Klibansky consulted a great many

Raymond Klibansky par Georges Leroux," in *Hommage à Raymond Klibansky*, by the department of philosophy of l'UQAM (Montréal: Gallimard, 1991), 4-9.

⁷⁵ For background to the Heidelberg Cusa edition see especially Morimichi Watanabe's "The Origins of modern Cusanus Research in Germany and the Establishment of the Heidelberg 'Opera omnia'," in *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom*, ed. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 17-42.

⁷⁶ There is some disagreement on the subjects and dates of Klibansky's doctoral and post-doctoral work, and Klibansky is not explicit on this in his own autobiographical writings. Most sources (including Klibansky's own "l'Université Allemande," 146; and the *Canadian Who's Who*) cite 1928 for the doctorate without providing the title, but the topic is identified as the School of Chartres in Thurner, "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist ...," 23; and in Jill Kraye's [Obituary] "Professor Raymond Klibansky," *The Independent* (London, Nov. 3, 2005; accessed online version provided through proquest Central). Hans Gerhard Senger, on the other hand, puts the date at 1929 in "Raymond Klibansky; 1905-2005. Skizze einer philosophischen Biographie," *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 30 (2005): xii, and names Klibansky's PROKLOS-Fund as his doctoral thesis, citing the annual listing of German university writing (the *Jahresverzeichnis der an den deutschen universitäten und hochschulen erschienenen Schriften* 1929, 267). This has been verified and is as Senger says. Senger then identifies the School of Chartres as the topic of Klibansky's *Habilitationsschrift* (p. xvii), citing documents of the Heidelberg University Archives, whereas Thurner (p. 23) and Kraye identify the topic of his *Habilitationsschrift* as Philosophy and History. There is no listing for Klibansky's *Habilitationsschrift* in any volume of the *Jahresverzeichnis* from 1928-1933, and the award may have been granted for a body of work rather than one specific title.

⁷⁷ Watanabe, "The Origins of modern Cusanus Research," 38.

manuscripts outside of Germany and through the process became familiar with several of Europe's important research libraries.

While studying manuscripts in the library of Nicholas of Cusa, Klibansky made an important discovery regarding the history of Platonic texts, the description of which became his doctoral work. What he uncovered was a manuscript segment of a medieval Latin translation of Proclus' commentary on Plato's dialogue, the *Parmenides*. Klibansky considers that the *Parmenides* contains "the essence of [Plato's] theology"⁷⁸ and Proclus specialist Carlos Steel considers this commentary to be "the most important document on the interpretation of Plato's dialogue from Antiquity and [that] it has had a determinative impact on all subsequent interpretations."⁷⁹ The significance of Klibansky's discovery is multi-fold. The translation contained several more pages of Proclus' commentary than had survived in Greek manuscripts and so not only was a translation rediscovered but a part of the commentary itself; furthermore, it is considered to have been translated from a more reliable Greek copy than currently exists, making it an important or even the best source for modern translations.⁸⁰ Predating other known Latin translations, it also proved that, from the late thirteenth century, more of both the commentary and of Plato's *Parmenides* (parts of which are embedded in the commentary), were known than was generally thought.⁸¹

Following on this discovery Klibansky wrote on Platonism in the medieval School of Chartres, a work only partly published decades later.⁸² He believed the School to be an important link in the transmission of Platonic ideas to Renaissance thinkers, thereby also building a case for greater continuity in Platonic thought through the

⁷⁸ Klibansky, "Plato's *Parmenides* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: A Chapter in the History of Platonic Studies," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1943): 283.

⁷⁹ Proclus, *Procli in Platonis Parmenidem commentaria*, ed. Carlos Steel, 3 vols. to date (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007-), 1: vii. The translation of the commentary was made by William of Moerbeke (ca. 1215-1286).

⁸⁰ G.R. Morrow and J.M. Dillon, eds., *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), xliii-xliv; Proclus, *Procli in Platonis Parmenidem*, ix-x.

⁸¹ Proclus, *Commentaire sur le Parménide de Platon: traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. Carlos Steel, (Leuven, Belgium: Presses universitaires de Louvain, 1982-1985)1: vii.

⁸² See Klibansky, "The School of Chartres" in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. Marshall Claggett, Gaines Post and Robert L Reynolds (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 3-14.

Middle Ages.⁸³ The dissertation received high praise from leading French medievalist Étienne Gilson (1884-1978), who wrote in the early 1930s, “I daresay that this publication will profoundly change the opinion that is commonly held of this period.”⁸⁴ Some of Klibansky’s conclusions regarding the extent of the Platonic influence in the Middle Ages and the role of Chartres in that influence are debated,⁸⁵ but Klibansky is widely regarded as one of the key pioneers in this area of research, having “stimulated everywhere research on ‘medieval Platonism’. No serious scholar will again consider that medieval thought is entirely dominated by Aristotle and that there exists a ‘complete break between the Platonic speculation of later Antiquity and its revival in the Renaissance’.”⁸⁶

The combination of these achievements meant that at a young age Klibansky had, in the language of Pierre Bourdieu, successfully penetrated not only some of the most exclusive “literary fields” of Heidelberg and Hamburg but also had extended his influence beyond the German borders. By the age of 26 he was teaching as a *Privatdozent* (a non-tenured lecturer) at Heidelberg University, where he spent just a couple of years before both this work and his position with the Heidelberg Academy were terminated in 1933.

⁸³ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁴ Quoted by Klibansky in *Le Philosophe*, 102. Étienne Gilson long played an important role in Toronto’s Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies.

⁸⁵ See for example the comments of Paul Edward Dutton in Bernard of Chartres’, *The Glosae super Platonem of Bernard of Chartres*, intro. and ed. P. E. Dutton (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1991), 31 (Canadian Electronic Library); and those of Carlos Steel in “Plato Latinus (1939-1989),” in *Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale: traductions et traducteurs de l’Antiquité tardive au XIV^e siècle*, ed. J. Hamesse and M. Fattori (Louvain-la-Neuve: Publication de l’Institut d’études médiévales, 1990), 304. A few years after Klibansky’s “School of Chartres” came out, R.W. Southern questioned the idea of a School of Chartres in a lecture published as “Humanism and the School of Chartres,” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 61-86, and in later writings. The idea has since been defended; for a recent summary of the issue see Édouard Jeuneau, “The School of Chartres: Myth or Reality?” in *Rethinking the School of Chartres*; trans. Claude Paul Desmarais (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). For an account that mentions Klibansky, see also Tina Stiefel “Twelfth-Century Matter for Metaphor: The Material View of Plato’s ‘Timaeus’,” *British Journal for the History of Science* Vol. 17, No. 2, Jul., 1984): 169-185.

⁸⁶ Steel “Plato Latinus (1939-1989),” p.309. On Klibansky’s place in this scholarship history, see, in addition to Steel, Stephen Gersh’s *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: The Latin Tradition*, vol. 1 (1986), 1-49 (1-26 for mentions of Klibansky); and Jan A. Aertsen in “Platonism,” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* ed. Robert Pasnau (Cambridge University Press, 2010 [e-book]), 1:esp.76-85.

Immediately after the Nazi rise to power in 1933, Klibansky began to have trouble with the authorities. His mockery of a racial questionnaire sent to Heidelberg University staff, compounded by his refusal to relinquish his planned Latin edition of the medieval thinker Meister Eckhart (1260-1328), resulted first in obstacles to his work and finally danger for himself.⁸⁷ That a study of a medieval mystic can become a political issue may appear unlikely, but Eckhart had been co-opted by Nazi ideologues – especially Alfred Rosenberg, in his *Myth of the Twentieth Century* – as a father of the new Aryan spirit. The link was based on Eckhart's German, more mystical writings, and Klibansky wished to emphasize, by editing Eckhart's less-read Latin works (written more in a scholastic tradition with references), Eckhart's indebtedness also to Jewish and Arab thinkers.⁸⁸ In 1933, on account of the political environment, Klibansky relinquished his mandate for the project with Heidelberg University, but continued the work with support from the Dominican order (of which Eckhart had been a member). In the meantime a group composed partly of Klibansky's original team, and with the approbation of the Nazi government, began a parallel edition project, which is now the standard critical German and Latin edition of Eckhart.⁸⁹ Klibansky's expulsion from his office, the seizure of his papers, and

⁸⁷ Klibansky responds to a question of his racial heritage saying that considering only two generations is not adequate to determine race and that for as far back as he is aware of his heritage is Jewish. See a digitized image and transcription of Klibansky's response on the Heidelberg University website (<http://www.tphys.uni-heidelberg.de/Ausstellung/show.cgi?de&D&24&171>). On the circumstances of Klibansky's departure from Germany and the Eckhart edition see esp. Chptr. 4 of his *Le Philosophe*; "L'Université allemande"; "Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien"; "Raymond Klibansky. 15.Mai 1994"; "Erinnerungen an Ernst Cassirer"; as well as Le Doeuff "Raymond Klibansky – Périple d'un philosophe illustre," *Préfaces: Les idées et les sciences dans la bibliographie de la France* 13 (1989): 125-131 [see bibliography for reprinted versions, including in English, in 2003]; and the first work to draw from Klibansky's archival *fonds* on this topic by Regina Weber, "Raymond Klibansky, 1905-2005" in *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*, 3. USA, Supplement 1, ed. John M. Spalek, Konrad Feilchenfeldt and Sandra H. Hawrylchak (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 93-124. See also Dorothee Mussnug's book on the fired Heidelberg professors of 1933, *Die vertriebenen Heidelberger Dozenten. Zur Geschichte der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität nach 1933* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1988), which includes several mentions of Klibansky.

⁸⁸ See Bernard McGinn "Eckhart's Sources" in *The Mystical Thought of Meister Eckhart: The Man from whom God Hid Nothing* (NY: Crossroads Publishing, 2001), 162-182. Klibansky does not claim to be the first to note Eckhart's sources – Joseph Koch had already published on this in "Meister Eckhart und die jüdische Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters," *Jahresberichte der Schlesischen Gesellschaft, Phil.-psych. Sektion* 101 (1928):134-48 – but Klibansky proposed the first complete modern edition of the Latin works.

⁸⁹ Eckhart, *Die deutschen und lateinischen Werke*, various editors of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Stuttgart: Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 1936-).

threats to his publisher resulted in the eventual abandonment of the edition, and Klibansky made no secret of his belief that his papers were used in the competing publication.⁹⁰

By the time the project definitively ended, Klibansky was out of Germany. Having been warned of an imminent arrest, Klibansky had been able to cross the border in July 1933 with a diplomatic passport acquired for his books.⁹¹ He attempted to persuade other scholars to seek refuge outside of Germany and he is credited in part with initiating the KBW's successful transfer to England.⁹²

Klibansky's very good academic reputation was valuable currency during this period and he was welcomed in England and helped by Britain's Academic Assistance Council (AAC), formed in 1933 precisely in response to the racially- and politically-based dismissals of academics in Germany.⁹³ Letters in support of his acceptance by the AAC are glowing, such as that from Étienne Gilson which names the young Klibansky as "one of the four or five top scholars in the field of medieval philosophy."⁹⁴ A British evaluation described him as "probably something of a genius."⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Klibansky, "Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien" 140. A copy of a typescript document held at the Warburg Institute Archive details several specific complaints about the edition out of Stuttgart; see WIA, GC, 1934-1936, Klibansky. Eckhart edition. "Remarques sur la méthode employée par l'édition des oeuvres de Maître Eckhart sous le patronage de la 'Forschungsgemeinschaft'." The text is signed "les auteurs de l'édition de Sainte Sabine" and appears to have been written in or near 1936. Regina Weber has informed me that copies of the document can also be found in Klibansky's fonds at the *Deutsche Literaturarchiv Marbach*.

⁹¹ Klibansky, "l'Université allemande" p.156 ; see also Klibansky's *Le Philosophe*, p. 104. It is unclear how many books Klibansky travelled with or what portion of his library that represented, but dozens of early acquisitions remain in the collection (see List II).

⁹² Saxl, "History of Warburg's Library," 336. Not all accounts agree on Klibansky's role in the move of the Warburg Library. See for example R.M.Cooper, ed. *Refugee Scholars: Conversations with Tess Simpson* (Leeds: Moorland Books, 1992), 67. Simpson, who worked at the AAC from its beginnings and was close with Fritz Saxl and Gertrude Bing, does not mention Klibansky and credits Saxl with the transfer of the Warburg Library to England.

⁹³ In 1936 the council became the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), which still exists.

⁹⁴ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 101.

⁹⁵ Barbara Falk, *'Caught in a Snare': Hitler's Refugee Academics 1933-1949* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, History Dept., 1998), 99-100.

Once in England, Klibansky improved his English by immersing himself in the writings of Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776), and continued his research and teaching in medieval philosophy as well as pursuing an investigation of the Platonic tradition from antiquity to the Renaissance. He remained active with the (now-called) Warburg Institute, and obtained temporary teaching posts at:⁹⁶

- King's College, University of London (1934-1936)
- Oriel College Oxford (1936-1948)
- University of Liverpool (1938-39)

Despite the new surroundings, Klibansky's environment was not entirely unfamiliar to him. Besides the many Warburg staff members who moved with the institute, Ernst Cassirer also spent some years at Oxford and several other friends were there for various lengths of time. In addition, the community of refugee scholars living and passing through England put Klibansky in contact with new German acquaintances. He met, under these circumstances, some of the great German scientific names of the time, including physicists Leo Szilard (1898-1964) and Albert Einstein (1879-1955). Einstein and Klibansky collaborated briefly on a proposal for an institute for exiled scholars in Jerusalem.⁹⁷

He managed to publish during this time, as England was entering the war, a slim but very dense volume on the *Continuity of the Platonic Tradition* that is recognized as a fundamental contribution to the field and still much quoted.⁹⁸ It formed the basis of

⁹⁶ Dates of short-term appointments, association memberships, honours, etc. are drawn from the *Canadian Who's Who 2005* and a CV from the 1950s, kindly provided by Goldie Sigal, previous secretary to Klibansky (and author of *A Garment Worker's Legacy: The Joe Fishstein Collection of Yiddish Poetry; The Catalogue*. (Montréal: McGill University Libraries, 1998). Information here is selective. See also *Contemporary Authors Online* 2006. s.v. "Raymond Klibansky: 1905-2005," and the Raymond Klibansky Page developed by E. Groffier (<http://www.raymondklibanskywebpage.org/biography>).

⁹⁷ Cooper's, *Refugee Scholars* provides a useful contextual background and includes several mentions of Szilard and Einstein in England.

⁹⁸ The work was described decades later, for example, as still the single most important source on the topic by renowned Renaissance scholar P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1979 p.266 n.7), and is the starting point for Jan Aertsen's 2010 piece, "Platonism."

the *Corpus Platonicum* project, begun though not completed, that brings together surviving medieval texts connected with the Platonic tradition.⁹⁹

Beyond his academic pursuits, Klibansky contributed directly to the British World War II effort. He became a British citizen in 1938 and at the beginning of the war joined the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) of the Foreign Office (1941-1946). Concentrating first on analysing intelligence and propaganda from Germany, he also oversaw from late 1942 the intelligence unit of the PWE for Italy.¹⁰⁰ The intelligence work involved mainly analysis but also included questioning German prisoners of war. During the same period he became co-editor, with Richard Hunt, of the Warburg journal *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, of which six volumes were published between 1941 and 1968. Klibansky and Hunt also worked together at the PWE, where Hunt worked on intelligence as an archivist.

The war as a whole and Klibansky's intelligence work in particular had an impact on the subsequent direction of his academic work. While he remained active in his areas of previous interest, he also turned more of his attention to the notions of tolerance and liberty, convinced that a lack of education in these ideals played a role in the behaviour of German soldiers. He saw a need to more effectively disseminate texts related to tolerance and liberty, and this remained thereafter an important aspect of his work.¹⁰¹ The events of the war also reinforced Klibansky's view of the importance of individuals in history, as opposed to an idea of history as the story of social or economic forces, and his edition of Mussolini's journal is a product of this.¹⁰² In 1945 Klibansky was sent to Germany to evaluate the response to the end of the regime and witness some of the war crime trials. He soon afterward ended his

⁹⁹ See the original outline in Klibansky, *The Continuity*, 51-54.

¹⁰⁰ Klibansky is circumspect about his work during the war. The most elaborated discussion is found in Chptr. 5 of *Le Philosophe*.

¹⁰¹ On Klibansky's reflections on tolerance and liberty, and his related projects, see especially Chptrs. 9 and 12 of *Le Philosophe*, as well as Chptr. 5 of his *Idées sans frontières: Histoire et structures de l'Institut international de philosophie*, with Ethel Groffier (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2005).

¹⁰² Benito Mussolini, *Memoirs 1942-1943, with documents relating to the period*, trans. Frances Lobb, ed. Raymond Klibansky (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1949). See also *Le Philosophe*, 144-148.

service, frustrated with the Allied acceptance of Nazi collaborators in positions of power.¹⁰³

In 1946 Klibansky joined McGill University's Department of Philosophy as a visiting professor, becoming Frothingham Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in 1948. He also briefly served as the Director of Studies at the Warburg Institute during this same period.¹⁰⁴ The dual appointment was possible because of an agreement with McGill that allowed him to share his time temporarily between Canada and England, after which he settled in Montreal in 1948. At the time of Klibansky's arrival, McGill's philosophy department consisted of only one other professor (R.D. MacLennan) and a lecturer (C. Currie). Klibansky taught courses mainly in Medieval Philosophy, Political Philosophy, and Logic, Epistemology and Metaphysics, both at the undergraduate and the graduate level, until his retirement in 1975.¹⁰⁵ He is singled out in Stanley Frost's history of *McGill University* for his "erudition and his sensitivity to modern currents of thought" during the 1950s and 60s, years in which questions of philosophy were being themselves much questioned.¹⁰⁶

In addition to his responsibilities at McGill, Klibansky taught in Montreal's francophone milieu as Visiting Professor at the *Institut des Études Médiévales de l'Université de Montréal* from 1947 to 1968, and describes efforts to increase communication between the two schools and cultures.¹⁰⁷ Among his courses listed

¹⁰³ Le Doeuff "Raymond Klibansky: an illustrious philosopher's journey." *Angelaki* 8, no.1 (April 2003): 167. On Klibansky's return to Germany after World War II see esp. pp. 167-176 of *Le Philosophe*. Before leaving Germany Klibansky visited Kues, where the library of Nicholas of Cusa was kept and where Klibansky had done much of his early research. During the war he had repeatedly pleaded with the military for its safety as it was situated next to a strategically located bridge, and upon his return he discovered that he had been credited with its preservation.

¹⁰⁴ The dates of Klibansky's position at the Warburg are given as 1947-1948 in the 2005 *Canadian Who's Who*, matching Klibansky's 1950's CV, but differing from the obituary written by Jill Kraye of the Warburg Institute, where the date is put at 1946.

¹⁰⁵ "Seminars in fundamental problems of European philosophy", given from 1971/2 through 1974/75. For more complete information on courses taught by Klibansky see the McGill University *Calendar*, (Montreal: McGill University) for 1946-47 through 1974-75.

¹⁰⁶ Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning*, vol.2, 1895-1971 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 277.

¹⁰⁷ Klibansky says little about Montreal's community of scholars in *Le Philosophe* (see Chptr 7). On Quebec thinkers see his introduction to Klibansky and Josiane Boulad-Ayoub, eds., *La pensée philosophique d'expression française au Canada: le rayonnement du Québec* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de

in the McGill *Calendar* are some – unique in the department – titled in French. Outside of the classroom, Klibansky was a frequent user of the McGill Library. He was instrumental in the development of the David Hume Collection in McGill's Rare Books and Special Collections, for example (and the published reconstruction of Hume's library is dedicated to him).¹⁰⁸ He published on several items held in the collection generally, including letters of Hume.¹⁰⁹ During his tenure at McGill Klibansky pursued the *Corpus Platonicum* work as well as editorial work on Cusa, became general editor of a Nelson series on, mainly, modern philosophy, and entered into the world of contemporary philosophy. His work spanned then, during this period, the entire sweep of Western philosophy.

A leader in many professional associations, Klibansky founded and presided over the Canadian Society for the History and Philosophy of Science 1959-1972 (President Emeritus 1972-2005), and was named honorary president of the UNESCO Chair for the Study of the Philosophical Foundations of Justice and Democratic Society at *l'Université du Québec à Montréal* (UQAM) in 1999. He was also a member of several international associations and committees, and President of the *Société Internationale pour l'étude de la Philosophie Médiévale* 1968-72 (Hon. Pres. 1972-2005).

The association that dominated his schedule and productivity was, however, the *Institut International de Philosophie* (IIP), based in Paris.¹¹⁰ The IIP is an association of limited membership by invitation, and includes names such as Bertrand Russell (1872-1970), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) and Jean Piaget (1896-1980), as well as

l'Université Laval, 1998), 11-39; and also his "Rencontres avec Benoît Lacroix," in *Dits et gestes de Benoît Lacroix: Prophète de l'amour et de l'esprit*, ed. Giselle Huot (Saint-Hippolyte: Éditions du Noroît, 1995), 143-145. On the international stage during this period Klibansky was equally active. His teaching and research often took him abroad, and he was a Visiting Professor or Fellow at universities in North America, Europe, Asia and the Middle East (Louvain 1956; Indiana 1949/50; Rome 1961; Genoa 1964; Paris 1967 and 1972; Tokyo 1971; Tehran 1974; Oxford 1976-78; and Venice 1996).

¹⁰⁸ David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in association with the National Library of Scotland, 1996). See McGill's RBSC web page on the history of the David Hume Collection, <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/hume/history.htm> (last accessed June 10, 2012).

¹⁰⁹ Klibansky, "Hidden Treasures at McGill," *Fontanus* 2 (1989): 79-82; *New Letters of David Hume*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954).

¹¹⁰ See the main projects listed in Section 2.2. The most complete discussion on Klibansky's activities with the IIP is his *Idées sans frontières*; see also *Le Philosophe*, Chptr. 10.

McGill philosophers Mario Bunge (1919-) and Charles Taylor (1931-). It holds international conferences of philosophers from around the world and publishes bibliographical surveys and themed book series.¹¹¹ Klibansky is credited with playing an important role in opening the doors of the IIP to Asian philosophy.¹¹²

As president of the IIP during the Cold War (1966-1969; Hon. Pres. 1969-2005), Klibansky oversaw initiatives to increase the bibliographic control and dissemination of contemporary philosophical writings, and to produce inexpensive translations of key texts on toleration and liberty to be distributed in regions where they had not been readily available.¹¹³ This series on toleration, called “Philosophy and World Community,” was launched with a German-English edition of Locke’s *Ein Brief über Toleranz* (Letter on Toleration, 1957), aimed at the German population.

While he believed that increased communication in philosophical circles could have a real impact beyond those circles and stimulate greater liberty in society at large, Klibansky also accompanied these efforts with more direct action. Often under the auspices of the IIP, Klibansky participated in attempts to help intellectuals persecuted by repressive regimes in Europe and in South America, both through public statements of support or denouncement, and through invitations to present outside of their countries. One example is a letter of support signed by several IIP members for the release of French intellectual Régis Debray in Bolivia in his connection with Che Guevara in 1967; another is Klibansky’s assistance to Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski (1927-2009), through an invitation to McGill, in 1969.¹¹⁴ A case of particular importance to Klibansky was that of his friend, the

¹¹¹ For a complete list of members to 2004 see Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 196-204.

¹¹² Tomonobu Imamichi, introduction to “À la mémoire de Raymond Klibansky,” a special section in *Aesthetics in Contemporary Philosophy: Proceedings of the International Institute of Philosophy; Tokyo* edited by Tomonobu Imamichi and Hans Lenk, 233. Vienna: LIT Verlag, 2009.

¹¹³ A summary of IIP publications of the IIP are provided in the Annexes of Klibansky’s *Idées sans frontières*. See in particular Annex 8 pp. 228-231 for the titles on tolerance and liberty published in the series “Philosophie et communauté mondiale/Philosophy and World Community.”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 92; 76. On Kolakowski see also Regina Weber, “Der Philosophiehistoriker Raymond Klibansky und die ‘Internationalisierung’ der Philosophie: das Nachleben der Antike in der ‘Philosophie des Dialogs’,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 76, no.1, (October, 2010): 96-97.

Czech philosopher Jan Patočka (1907-1977), who eventually died while in police custody.¹¹⁵

Klibansky retired from McGill in 1975, and Montreal remained Klibansky's primary residence. Several months of each year were spent abroad, however, and he remained a frequent visitor to Europe's major libraries to support research that continued until his last years. He married for the first time in 1995 to Ethel Groffier, a professor of law, who became a collaborator in some of his later work. Groffier attests to his unflagging interest in visiting libraries on their travels, and the warm welcome he received in each.¹¹⁶ She also speaks of his patience and philological, codicological and paleographical abilities – the kinds of skills that led to so many discoveries, including his recognition, in a Vatican manuscript, of a lost text on Plato's works that he named the *Summarium librorum Platonis*, and that he was preparing for publication even in his last years.¹¹⁷ A great user of libraries himself, Klibansky created his own large and special collection out of his interests, knowledge and experience, as well as his love of books, and he has donated it so that it might be explored by others.¹¹⁸

Klibansky's path began with war, social and economic upheaval, and racial persecution, and ended with a confidence in the power of dialogue to effectively improve understanding and tolerance as well as a sense of responsibility to actively pursue that goal. His own trajectory is an eloquent demonstration of his belief in the individual as a force in history, his desire to link academic life with current social

¹¹⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, Chptr. 11.

¹¹⁶ Groffier, "L'amour des livres et des bibliothèques" (forthcoming).

¹¹⁷ Klibansky's discovery of the manuscript, which was previously owned by Christina of Sweden, was made shortly after the war, and the manuscript was to be published, but the task was not completed. In addition to the articles by Groffier and by Halfwassen and Leroux in the forthcoming exhibition catalogue edited by Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)*, see Klibansky, "La découverte d'un texte platonicien inconnu de l'antiquité classique," in *Témoignages: Reflections on the Humanities* (Ottawa, Canadian Federation for the Humanities, 1993), 41-51. James Hankins in *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1990)1:4, provides an alternate name for the manuscript (*De Platonis pluribus libris compendiosa exposition*) and references literature on this manuscript in Élisabeth Pellegrin's *Fonds Paletta et fonds de la Reine*, vol. 2 pt. 1 of *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 294-96.

¹¹⁸ On Klibansky's appreciation of the legacy of personal libraries through the centuries, see the interview of Georges Leroux with Raymond Klibansky, "Des bibliothèques privées aux institutions publiques: Un parcours dans l'histoire des bibliothèques," with the collaboration of Steve Maskaleut, *L'Action Nationale*, 89 no. 7 (1999): 57-74.

realities, and the importance of texts and libraries in the transmission of ideas and as a means of change.

2.2 Summary of main research and publication areas

Klibansky's bibliography includes topics from ancient thought to contemporary philosophy, from historical-critical editions to essays on the philosophy of history. His early work is largely characterized by an interest in medieval thinkers and the Platonic tradition, whereas much of his later work is more oriented toward the present – to opening up discussion among philosophers of different schools of thought, promoting ideas of tolerance and liberty, and documenting and disseminating contemporary philosophical writing. Beneath this apparent change in focus over time lies an underlying interest in the variety of human experience and expression as well as a unifying belief that the past is relevant to the present, that to understand contemporary thought one must learn about the traditions behind it.¹¹⁹

At least four major themes of focus can be identified in Klibansky's work:¹²⁰

1. *Latin editions of Medieval and Renaissance thinkers.* This represents much of Klibansky's early work, including his first publication on Bovillus' *Liber de sapiente* (1927) and most notably his contributions to volumes in the *Opera Omnia* of Nicholas of Cusa (several from 1932-1983) and the Latin works of Meister Eckhart (1934; 1936). While the Eckhart project had to be aborted for the political reasons mentioned

¹¹⁹ A concise summary of some of the essential elements of Klibansky's linking of medieval platonic threads and modern thought is presented in Jens Halfwassen and Georges Leroux, "Raymond Klibansky et la tradition platonicienne" in Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)* [exhibition catalogue; forthcoming].

¹²⁰ For summaries of Klibansky's work as a whole see especially Le Doeuff "Raymond Klibansky: an illustrious philosopher's journey" or the original French "Raymond Klibansky – Périple d'un philosophe illustre"; Henry Duméry, "Une philosophe des humanités," in *Reason, Action, and Experience: Essays in Honour of Raymond Klibansky*, ed. Helmut Kohlenberger (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1979), 3-11; Leroux's "De Nicolas de Cues aux enfants de Saturne" and his introduction to Klibansky's, *Le Philosophe*; and Thurner "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist...."

earlier, the Heidelberg Cusa *Opera Omnia* has become the standard Latin edition used in modern scholarship.¹²¹

2. *Tracing the influence and evolution of ideas and intellectual traditions through time.* This aspect of Klibansky's work is the focus of some of his most influential titles.

It especially includes work on:

- The Platonic tradition.¹²² Main publications in this group include Klibansky's early discovery of a medieval manuscript translation of a lost segment of commentary on Plato (*PROKLOS-Fund* 1929); his enduring work on *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition During the Middle Ages* (first published 1939), that outlines the major transmitters of the tradition relating directly and indirectly to Plato's thought; and the subsequent (unfinished) edition project of the *Corpus Platonium Medii Aevi* (1940-1962).¹²³ Klibansky's essay, "The School of Chartres" (1966) is equally a part of this theme, as is his work on the manuscripts of the second century writer Apuleius, and the *Summarium* manuscript that he found in a volume of Apuleius' works. The manuscript was

¹²¹ See esp. Chptr. 3 of *Le Philosophe* for Klibansky's discussion of these projects. See also comments on both the Eckhart and Cusa editions in the collected essays in celebration of publisher Richard Meiner's 65th birthday, Manfred Meiner, ed, *Ceterum censeo ...Bemerkungen zu Aufgabe und Tätigkeit eines philosophischen Verlegers: Richard Meiner zum 8. April 1983* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1983), esp. 23-34. For a listing of contemporary reviews of the Eckhart project, including criticism by the German editors of the competing edition and support for Klibansky's edition by English reviewers, see the bibliography of Niklaus Largier, *Bibliografie zu Meister Eckhart* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1989) [originally accessed online but no longer available]. See also the history of the Cusa project by Watanabe, "The Origins of modern Cusanus Research," and the contemporary progress reports in the *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, periodically from 1927-1936, by various authors, as identified in Thurner's "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist..." 30.

¹²² For discussion of Klibansky's work on the Platonic tradition see especially Chptr.7 of his *Le Philosophe* and Leroux's commentary in the documentary film by Anne-Marie Tougas, *Raymond Klibansky: De la philosophie à la vie = From Philosophy to Life*. About Proclus' commentary, in addition to the *PROKLOS-Fund*, see also Klibansky's "Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," first published in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1943): 281-330 (see bibliography for subsequent publication information).

¹²³ The projected *Corpus Platonium* project evolved through the years, and changes can be traced in progress reports to the bodies supporting it. See the annual reports on the progress of the *Corpus Platonium* identified in Thurner, "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist...": *Union Académique Internationale, Compte rendu de la session annuelle*, (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1953, 1958-1959, 1961-1964, 1969-1981); in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, (London, 1938-1939, 1941-1957, 1960, 1963-1967); and in *University of London: The Warburg Institute; Annual Report* (London, 1940/41, 1944/45-1957/58).

to be published in Klibansky's *Corpus Platonicum*, and efforts towards its publication continue.¹²⁴ He co-edited part of Plato's *Parmenides* with Lotte Labowsky for the *Corpus Platonicum* (1953), and for Nelson Philosophical Texts he co-edited A.E. Taylor's translations of *Philebus and Epinomis* (1956, with Guido Calogero) and the *Sophist and Statesman* (1961, with Elisabeth Anscombe).

- *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (with art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) and Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) director of the Warburg from 1929-1948). After its initial release in English in 1964 it was augmented again by Klibansky for French and German editions in 1989 and 1990, respectively, and has subsequently been translated several times.¹²⁵

3. *Promotion of the notions of tolerance and liberty.* This is most clearly manifested in Klibansky's creation and direction of the IIP series "Philosophy and World Community." After the first German-English version of Locke's *Letter on Toleration* came out in 1957, the format was changed to provide the Latin text set against translated texts, and Klibansky contributed the new Latin edition for this series as well as prefatory material dealing with the history of Locke's publication.¹²⁶ Several translations of Klibansky's edition of Locke's *Letter* were subsequently issued, including in French (1964; 2nd ed. 1967) and English (1968). Other authors

¹²⁴ Georges Leroux, from personal communication.

¹²⁵ There is no documentation of the specific changes, but the bibliography of the German edition appears to be the most complete, and E. Groffier has confirmed that the German edition represents the fullest version. See the bibliography for other translations.

¹²⁶ Sharp criticism for these editions of Locke's *Letter* came from Mario Montuori who had published a bilingual English-Latin translation of the *Letter* in 1963. Much of the dispute concerns Klibansky's decision to provide a new English translation (for the 1968 English-Latin edition) while Montuori chose to edit (in 1963) a translation published during Locke's lifetime, but Montuori also attacks other aspects of Klibansky's work. See Montuori's *John Locke: On Toleration and the Unity of God* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1983), esp. in chapters "On Klibansky and Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia*", 171-174; "The Socinianism of Locke and the English Edition of the *Letter Concerning Locke*", 119-146 and "Locke's *Epistola on Toleration* from the Translation of Popple to that of Gough", 147-170. Klibansky's project and the choice to use a new translation were, however, well received by others (see for example John Dunn's review of Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia, a Letter on Toleration* ed. R. Klibansky and trans. by J.W. Gough in *The English Historical Review* 84 no.333 (Oct. 1969): 852-853; and the more recent comments of Jean S. Yolton in *John Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1998), 26-27.) Many thanks to Mireille Masson-Cassista for drawing my attention to Montuori's commentary.

represented in the series include Asoka, a Buddhist ruler of the third century BC, the French humanist and theologian Sébastien Castellion (1515-1563), Dutch Jewish philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677), and English philosopher and deist Anthony Collins (1676-1729).¹²⁷

4. *The “philosophy of dialogue”*.¹²⁸ Linked to but distinct from explicit attention to tolerance, Klibansky’s efforts toward dialogue across philosophical schools and cultures are evident particularly in several publications directed by him under the IIP mandate. In addition to the *Entretiens*, the published proceedings of international meetings, results in this direction include a number of surveys of contemporary philosophical writing: *Philosophy in the Mid-Century* (4 vol. 1958-59); *Contemporary Philosophy* (4 vol. 1968-71); *Contemporary Philosophy: A new Survey - Vol. 6: Philosophy and Science in the Middle Ages* (with G. Floistad, 1990); and *Philosophie en Europe* (with David Pears 1993). Also a part of this work is the re-establishment and direction of the IIP’s *Bibliography of Philosophy* (New series; 1954-), which changed under Klibansky from a simple listing to an abstracting bibliography eventually gathered from fifty-seven countries.¹²⁹

This manner of characterizing Klibansky’s production highlights important aspects of his work as emphasized by himself and by others. While Georges Leroux highlights especially the Platonic aspect of Klibansky’s work and his dedication to toleration and liberty, Michèle Le Doeuff and Martin Thurner emphasize his work in the Middle Ages, and Henry Duméry concentrates on Klibansky the humanist, all agree that Klibansky’s œuvre is vast and varied, and find continuity in Klibansky’s engagement with events of his time and his relating of history to the present.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ See Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 228-231 for a complete list of works in the series under Klibansky’s editorship.

¹²⁸ This expression is borrowed from Klibansky’s friend Guido Calogero; see Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 62.

¹²⁹ The structure of the “New Series” of the *Bibliography* established by Klibansky is described in M. Jasenas, *History of the Bibliography of Philosophy* (New York: Georg Olms, 1973), 117-119. (The Jasenas title is a general history of bibliography in philosophy, not a history of the publication of the IIP by that name.)

¹³⁰ Leroux “De Nicolas de Cues aux enfants de Saturne” and his introduction to Klibansky’s, *Le Philosophie*; Le Doeuff “Raymond Klibansky: an illustrious philosopher’s journey” or the original

Individual descriptions of Klibansky's work vary, but there is a general consensus around his main contributions, and the four-theme structure above (medieval Latin editions, the tracing of ideas through history, the promotion of tolerance and dedication to a "philosophy of discourse") also offers something of a chronological overview. They do not entirely succeed each other in Klibansky's work, but their order as presented corresponds roughly to the order in which they first appear as a focus in Klibansky's bibliography.

This general description is nonetheless inevitably imperfect. It is not comprehensive and there is much overlap between the categories. The work on Cusa and Eckhart is very much a part of the thread of Platonic continuity, for instance. The Eckhart edition is also an example of Klibansky's linking of his academic work to current events in his society, and Cusa's writing are infused with ideas of religious tolerance and liberty. The interwoven threads are many.

In addition, at least two sub-themes could also be mentioned. One is editorial work on epistolary and other personal writings, including letters of Abelard (1961), Hume (1954) and Leibniz (1941) as well as part of the wartime journal of Mussolini (1949). These publications fit within the larger umbrella of Klibansky's interest in the past, and the desire to build a reliable record of it. A second sub-theme is a penchant for discovery of forgotten texts. The most important for his career was the early discovery of the Proclus fragment (1927), but there were others, including the discovery of the *Summarium* as well as the letters just mentioned. These apparently serendipitous discoveries reflect Klibansky's careful combing of holdings in research libraries around the world, and cannot but have contributed to his sense of libraries as precious repositories of the past. His article "Hidden Treasures at McGill" (1989) is yet another result of these consistent explorations.

French "Raymond Klibansky – Périple d'un philosophe illustre"; Thurner "Raymond Klibansky. A medievalist..."; and Duméry, "Une philosophe des humanités."

And finally, expanding again his subject coverage, Klibansky was general editor of eight volumes of the Nelson Philosophical Texts series including volumes in ancient, medieval and modern philosophy.¹³¹

- Hume: *Theory of Knowledge* (1951)
- Hume: *Theory of Politics* (1951)
- Berkeley: *Philosophical Writings* (1952)
- Rousseau: *Political Writings* (1953)
- Plato: *Socratic Dialogues* (1953)
- Descartes: *Philosophical Writings*. (1954).

*Klibansky also provided the bibliography for the original Nelson Descartes edition, and a revised bibliography for the 1970 reprint.

- Ockham: *Philosophical Writings* (1957)
- Duns Scotus: *Philosophical Writings* (1962)

The RKC remains as a testament to the great range of Klibansky's interests, and is a formidable research tool for new users. The current study of the Klibansky Collection highlights many of its strengths and characteristics, and in so doing follows also Klibansky's own efforts to raise the visibility of the research value of McGill collections.

¹³¹ See bibliography for full title and statement of responsibility information.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW II: METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES

3.1 Variety in approaches to private libraries

The relationship between a personal library and the individual mind that created it is a complex one, and there are no established rules as to how to go about studying it. Alan Gribben noted in the 1980s the great diversity of approaches and methods in work on personal libraries,¹³² and T.A. Birrell said, in 1991, that “there is an extensive literature on how to describe a book, but there is no literature whatever on how to describe a library or a library catalogue.”¹³³

The lack of a single approach to studies of personal libraries reflects differences in individual libraries, variability in surviving sources, and also the several aspects of potential research interest. Furthermore, personal library studies are not contained within a single discipline.¹³⁴ Given that authors of such studies come not uncommonly from the subject area of the library owner, there may be relatively little communication among those who study private libraries, or little motivation for ensuring that discrete studies can be used cumulatively.¹³⁵ When undertaken by researchers interested in different aspects of cultural, social and intellectual history, studies can be expected to reflect different goals and perspectives.

A core of articles on personal libraries was found in specialized journals in book or library history, such as *Book History*, *Libraries and the Cultural Record* (now *Information*

¹³² Alan Gribben, “Private Libraries of American Authors: Dispersal, Custody, and Description,” *Journal of Library History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 305.

¹³³ T.A. Birrell, “Reading as Pastime,” 116.

¹³⁴ In a 2003 review of library history articles published outside of library history journals after 1990, Jonathan Rose discovered studies of private libraries in titles as varied as the *Journal of Musicology*, *William and Mary Quarterly*, and *Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, among others. A brief review of the database *Historical Abstracts* (EBSCO), from 2002-2012, found a similar situation, with several articles on private libraries in nationally oriented history journals but also in titles like *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *Medicina nei Secoli: Arte e Scienza*, *Methodist History*, *Histoire, Économie et Société*, or *Zwingliana*.

¹³⁵ Recent initiatives such as those coming from France and Italy (see Section 1.1), may contribute to changing this. An important aspect of compatibility is subject classification, and this question led, for example, to historian Yvan Lamonde’s proposal for a common subject classification system to be used for 19th century collections in “A Universal Classification for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Libraries and Booksellers,” *Libraries and Culture* 2 (1989):158-197.

and Culture: *A Journal of History*), *Library and Information History*, *Private Library*, as well as the organs of the major anglophone bibliographical societies (namely of the UK, the US, Canada, and Australia-New Zealand) and the precisely named *Book Collector*.¹³⁶ Within even this group there is much variety. A range in topics and aspects of primary focus, is visible, for example, in several articles from 2007, a particularly flush year on the topic. An article from Karen Attar, author of several studies of personal collections now held at the University of London or King's College, Cambridge, describes the details of the transfer of British lawyer and MP Edwin Durning-Lawrence's library (developed to support his theory that Francis Bacon was the real Shakespeare), to the University of London in 1929.¹³⁷ Felicity Stimpson concentrates on historian G. O. Trevelyan's reader response though his marginalia.¹³⁸ Donald Kerr looks at collecting habits of a twentieth century New Zealand scholar and library benefactor.¹³⁹ A study of Sir William Osler's history of medicine library by Peter F. McNally, Glenn Brown and Nicolas Savard and focuses on the history and composition of the catalogue and also provides a level of quantitative analysis of the collection (for example, by language, place and date of publication, document type) that is unusual in an article-length work.¹⁴⁰ Inna Gorbatov's look at Voltaire's library is essentially historical and addresses its purchase by Catherine of Russia, but nearly a quarter of the article is also dedicated to describing overall contents and marginalia.¹⁴¹ And a short note by Richard W. Oram, considers the bibliophilic aspect of Evelyn Waugh's collecting, with interest focused on bookplates and bindings.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ From a review of databases of Library and information studies (LIS) literature such as *Library Literature FT* (Wilson), *LISA* (CSA), and *Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts* (EBSCO).

¹³⁷ Attar, "From Private to Public: the Durning-Lawrence Library," *Private Library* 5th ser. 10, no. 3 (2007): 137-156.

¹³⁸ Stimpson, "I have spent my morning reading Greek!: the marginalia of Sir George Otto Trevelyan," *Library History* 23, no. 3 (2007): 239-50.

¹³⁹ Kerr, "Esmond de Beer – Portrait of a Bibliophile XXXIX," *Book collector* 56, no.3, (2007): 329-51.

¹⁴⁰ McNally, Brown and Savard, "Sir William Osler, the Bibliotheca Osleriana and the creation of a history of medicine collection," *Library History* 23, no. 2 (2007): 97-114.

¹⁴¹ Gorbatov, "From Paris to St. Petersburg: Voltaire's library in Russia," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 42, no.3 (2007): 308-24.

¹⁴² Oram, "Cultural record keepers: The Evelyn Waugh Library, Harry Ransom

Focus and methods depend, then, on the research questions asked as well as on available source material. The enormous range of potential sources is effectively expressed in Judith Overmier's entry on "Private Libraries" in the *Encyclopedia of Library History*, and a similar set of sources is articulated by Bertrum MacDonald with respect to the reconstruction of lost libraries, contributions that appear to be unique in their specific attention to the topic.¹⁴³ Overmier's concise summary concludes:

"Evidence for the history of private libraries is ample and varied. It includes references to other writings of a period, inventories, wills, household account books, diaries, and the collectors' personal papers. It is also available in book dealer and auction house catalogs of collections and their business archives, printed catalogs of collections, manuscript catalogs of collections, the collections themselves, provenance evidence such as bookplates, signatures, and inscriptions, marginalia, book stamps (ink or embossed), library acquisitions records and correspondence, and existing secondary sources."¹⁴⁴

The source pool is inspiring yet also somewhat overwhelming. Additional help in orienting selection of sources and methods, and in simply organizing a general study, was gained from a look at two groups of literature: 1) general discussion about research in book history (which I here take to include bibliography) and library history; and 2) published monograph-length studies of individual libraries. From this, a multifaceted yet coherent body of recognized approaches and sources emerged from which researchers can draw to investigate the complex phenomenon of a private library.

3.2 Book history

Book history is, as touched on in Chapter 1, a relatively new area that has seen great and rapid development in the past decades. A clear and consensual definition of book history is difficult on account of its inter- and multi-disciplinarity, but its

Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 42, no.3 (2007): 325-28.

¹⁴³ In Wayne A. Wiegand and Donald G. Davis, eds. *Encyclopedia of Library History* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 517; Bertrum H. MacDonald, "A Search for Gold: Reconstructing a Private Library – The Case of Dr. Robert Bell," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 12, no.2 (1995): esp.389-402.

¹⁴⁴ Overmier, "Private Libraries," 517; MacDonald also underlines the value of personal sources.

general boundaries and focus can be drawn from a description of its major international society, SHARP:

“Research addresses the composition, mediation, reception, survival, and transformation of written communication in material forms including marks on stone, script on parchment, printed books and periodicals, and new media. Perspectives range from the individual reader to the transnational communications network.”¹⁴⁵

3.2.1 Key recent general works about research in book history

As a developing field starting to cohere, the area of book history has benefitted from some key works attempting to settle its boundaries, aims and approaches. Important general works include Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose’s *Companion to the History of the Book*, as well as David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery’s *Book History Reader*, and separate *Introduction to Book History*, Leslie Howsam’s *Old Books and New Histories*, and the encyclopaedic *Oxford Companion to the Book* from Michael Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen.¹⁴⁶ Personal libraries are not themselves a great focus in these works, yet they are present in more general discussion on such topics as reading and print consumers.

Howsam’s *Old Books* is a single-authored monograph presenting one coherent approach. She concentrates on mapping out the discipline of book history as it relates to history, bibliography and literature, and identifies distinct methodological elements that each of these fields offer. Roughly summed up, Howsam considers that bibliography provides the essential basis for studying the book as an object, history provides the attention to events and contexts around the various stages of a book’s creation and survival, and literature addresses more specifically the texts themselves, whether published literature, diaries or marginalia. She notes, though,

¹⁴⁵ SHARP home page, <http://www.sharpweb.org/> (last accessed Jun. 11, 2012). A symptom of the developing field is the fact that the orienting description on the site has changed at least twice during this study.

¹⁴⁶ Eliot and Rose, *Companion* ([as previously noted] Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007).; Finkelstein and McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), and *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Suarez and Woudhuysen, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; e-reference edition).

that while these are the primary disciplines, there can be crossover with innumerable other areas, and that book history “is of interest both to rigorous empiricists and to abstract theorists” and that “few assumptions are shared.”¹⁴⁷

With respect to sources, several of her observations are relevant for empirically rather than theoretically-based studies of private libraries, such as that envisaged here. Within the crossover of history with literature, for example, Howsam identifies the value of autobiographical writings to learn about readers and their relationship with books. Where literature meets bibliography she identifies especially marginalia, in addition to diaries and commonplace books, as a good source for studies of reading. And where history crosses bibliography she underlines the joint use of archival and bibliographical evidence to “situate” individual works. The methods touched on here include, then, the direct examination of books and the use of archival and other sources to put books (or a collection) into context.

Finkelstein and McCleery’s idea of book history, as expressed in their monograph *Introduction to Book History*, is invested with the “move to understand textual production as part of human social communication structures.”¹⁴⁸ They give nonetheless a good deal of attention to the idea of the individual reader and consider that “the twin perspectives of reading as a social phenomenon and as an individual experience can be brought together in book history.”¹⁴⁹ They focus more on the experience of reading than on what the traces of reading can say about the reader as an individual, but many of the sources mentioned could be used for either: personal or published documents and writings about books and reading, and also institutional archives and books themselves. There is, in addition, mention of interviews as a method used by historians such as Janice Radway. While the book as a whole is not oriented to the individual or the unique, it shows consistency in the methods currently used in book history, several of which support inquiry into personal libraries.

¹⁴⁷ Howsam, *Old Books*, 72.

¹⁴⁸ Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

The other volumes are collective works. The two large surveys, Eliot and Rose's *Companion* and Finkelstein and McCleery's *Reader*, provide examples of work done in book history as well as different kinds of orientations to the field. The *Reader* is more heavily weighted toward theory and includes, for example, a selection of key theoretical essays from the last few decades from authors such as Robert Darnton, Pierre Bourdieu, Walter Ong, Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Wolfgang Iser and Stanley Fish. The dominant focus of the Eliot and Rose *Companion*, on the other hand, is not theory but history described.¹⁵⁰ It presents, mainly, original articles in book history, most of which address a region or ethnic group, a period of time, or a specific format, but includes also chapters on a few higher-level issues like literacy and censorship.

Both surveys include an orienting section to research in the field, and here too the one is more conceptual, the other more empirical in emphasis. Finkelstein and McCleery present a set of theoretical views in their first section "What is book history?" (which includes the models of Darnton as well as Adams and Barker; see Section 1.2). The Eliot and Rose *Companion* offers a more concrete orientation in their "Methods and Approaches" section, which makes it the main source for an explicit orientation to current methods in book history relevant to the study of an individual library that is not theory-based. The opening section of the volume, Methods and Approaches, explores 1. Why Bibliography Matters (T.H. Howard-Hill); 2. What is Textual Scholarship? (David Greetham) 3. The Uses of Quantification (Alexis Weedon) and 4. Readers: Books and Biography (Stephen Colclough). The first, third and last of these offer, in particular, something to consider methodologically in response to the research questions of this study, and have been used to guide articulation of book history approaches considered most useful to the study of a personal library.

¹⁵⁰ This characterization reflects overall tendencies in these titles, but the coverage is not without overlap. An example is the fact that Rose, an editor of the *Companion*, is a contributor to the *Reader*, and Finkelstein, an editor of the *Reader*, has a chapter in the *Companion*.

3.2.2 Specific methods and approaches (following the structure of the Eliot and Rose *Companion*)

Bibliography.

The practice of bibliography, in the most general terms, is the study of the physical book. It comprises, at the same time, more specialized facets, as detailed by T.H. Howard-Hill in the *Companion*, namely enumerative bibliography; analytical bibliography; descriptive bibliography; textual bibliography; and historical bibliography.¹⁵¹ They are each relevant to varying degrees (with the possible exception of textual bibliography, which belongs more squarely to literary studies)¹⁵² in the study of an individual library, depending on the questions of the researcher.

Enumerative bibliography consists in listing items and is essential to any study of a book collection. It provides basic data from which to respond to the question “what is this collection?”¹⁵³ In the context of a catalogued collection like the RKC, enumerative bibliography becomes a key source for analysis rather than a main method, though it can also be used in this sense to highlight subgroups.

Analytical bibliography considers the details of the book as a created object and descriptive bibliography is the precise description of that analysis. They are methodologically relevant for the purpose of linking a collection with its owner in that they involve examining and describing individual books, including evidence of provenance. The central aim of analytical bibliography – understanding the physical composition of the book – can, however, be quite secondary to research focused primarily on post-publication evidence of ownership and use. Given that disparity of

¹⁵¹ Eliot and Rose, *Companion*, 9-20.

¹⁵² Textual bibliography evaluates the relation of a book's text to the author's original intention. It is not the equivalent of Howsam's literature-bibliography axis. While Howsam's axis covers readership studies, for example, textual bibliography would not, being more concerned with the editorial and production decisions that produce a given text.

¹⁵³ Perhaps the largest recent project devoted to private libraries is the seven-volume *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: a Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-lists*, ed. R.J. Fehrenbach and E.S. Leedham-Green (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992-). This ambitious project of library lists builds on work previously done on English libraries, such as A.N.L. Munby's *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, B. Quaritch's *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, W.Y. Fletcher's *English Book-Collectors*, and Seymour de Ricci's *English Collectors of Books and MSS 1520-1930, 1520-1930, and Their Marks of Ownership*.

focus, the examination of books in this study will be simply described as such and not as analytical bibliography.

How historical bibliography is or is not relevant as a method is less easy to discern as there is a lack of agreement even in terms of its subject, and a short excursion into the discussion serves to account for the decision not to label this study as a work of historical bibliography. For Howard-Hill the central focus of historical bibliography is the “physical processes that contribute to the production of books,” and the main subjects of biographical interest in that context are individuals involved in those processes.¹⁵⁴ This view is linked to the tradition of New Bibliographers like R. McKerrow, W.W. Greg, and Fredson Bowers, who in the first half of the twentieth century drew the attention of bibliographers and literary critics to the “materiality of original text production.”¹⁵⁵ Howard-Hill adds, however, that “the history of libraries and book-collecting, both personal and institutional, is also an interest shared by book historians and historical bibliographers” and refers to D. F. McKenzie’s extension of bibliography in general to the “history of the book in society,” which more clearly includes readers and their libraries.¹⁵⁶ McKenzie would, in fact, likely have considered the study of a private library to fall wholly within historical bibliography, as he asserts in an essay selected for Finkelstein and McCleery’s *Reader* that “bibliographers are no longer fully served by description or even by editing, but by the historical study of the making and the use of books and other documents.”¹⁵⁷

There are differences in the use of the vocabulary, two other examples being, on the one hand, D.W. Krummel’s interchangeable use of the terms *historical bibliography* and *book history* and, on the other hand, the adoption by the Bibliographical Society of America, for their website, of Terry Belanger’s more conservative, production-focused description of historical bibliography.¹⁵⁸ The very recent *Oxford Companion*

¹⁵⁴ T.H. Howard-Hill “Why Bibliography Matters,” in Eliot and Rose, *Companion*, 15.

¹⁵⁵ Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 8.

¹⁵⁶ Howard-Hill, “Why Bibliography Matters,” 15; 18.

¹⁵⁷ McKenzie, “The Book as an Expressive Form,” in Finkelstein and McCleery, *Reader*, 36.

¹⁵⁸ Krummel, “Historical Bibliography and Library History,” in *Library History Research in America*, ed. Andrew B. Wertheimer and Donald G. Davis Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Center for the Book, 2000), 155-60. See Belanger’s definition on the Bibliographical Society of America website,

leans more in the direction of Krummel, and considers that the term “*Historical bibliography* ... has been displaced by ‘history of the book’ or *histoire du livre*.”¹⁵⁹

Because of the particular link between historical bibliography and book production, the term is not used to describe the overall methodology employed in this study. Nevertheless, bibliographical methods connected with the examination of books, together with historical methods that use personal and institutional documents outside of the collection, are clearly useful to understanding the significance of personal libraries.

Quantitative Approaches.

The use of quantitative methods in book history is often associated with the French *Annales* school, “whose practitioners since the late 1950s had been applying quantitative social history methods to the study of textual production and reception.”¹⁶⁰ Names closely associated with the early school and touched on by Finkelstein and McCleery are Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, authors of *l’Apparition du Livre* (The Coming of the Book), published in 1958, and later with D.F. McKenzie, as well as historians Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier, pioneers of *histoire du livre*. The emphasis is on large-scale, sociological approaches to book history.

In Weedon’s discussion on “the quantitative history of the book, or *bibliometrics*,” (italics hers) the accent is also on general histories, but studies on individual collections are identified as important sources, among others, from which these general histories can be built.¹⁶¹ Weedon points in particular to book-lists and

<http://www.bibsocamer.org/> under the heading “Bibliography Defined” (last accessed Jun. 10, 2012; originally from Jean Peters, ed., *BookCollecting: A Modern Guide* (New York and London: R. R. Bowker, 1977), 97-101.

¹⁵⁹ Stephen Karian’s entry on “bibliography (1)” in Suarez and Woudhuysen, *Oxford Companion* (e-reference edition).

¹⁶⁰ Finkelstein and McCleery, *Introduction to Book History*, 11.

¹⁶¹ Alexis Weedon, “The Uses of Quantification,” in Eliot and Rose, *Companion*, 33. This use of the term “bibliometrics” is very broad. The term is more commonly used to refer to the analysis of periodical publications and citations in order to map out the influence of an author, an institution, or region in a given field, but in as much as it refers to the application of statistics to publication, the method can be seen as the basis of quantitative approaches to the study of libraries.

individual library studies as the “the backbone for the quantitative statistics presented in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*” and again for *The History of the Book in Canada*.¹⁶²

In terms of specific quantitative methods, Weedon considers that those most used in the history of the book are those of the historian in general, mainly “measures of central tendency and dispersion, trends, fluctuations, and correlations,” the most common being frequency distributions.¹⁶³ For our purposes – trying to discover the general characteristics of a collection – of particular relevance would be the use of frequency distributions of books by aspects such as subject, period/place of publication, or language, as well as an exploration for trends or fluctuations in time. Beyond the scope of this study but of much interest to the future of provenance research is the increasing use of geographical analysis in book history, which could be used to trace the dispersal and interactions of libraries over time.¹⁶⁴

Weedon also underlines the importance of developing meaningful and useful categories in these various forms of data presentation, and the issue of different subject classifications is tagged as a particular challenge in comparative studies.¹⁶⁵ Montreal historian Yvan Lamonde has taken up this problem specifically in regard to studies of nineteenth-century private libraries.¹⁶⁶ Lamonde proposed the 1876 Dewey decimal classification as the most appropriate for analysis of nineteenth-century collection, arguing that it represents well a contemporary approach to knowledge classification and that it would facilitate comparison. For the twentieth century, a similarly simple structure has been developed by the Online Computer Library

¹⁶² Ibid., 35.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 37.

¹⁶⁴ Canadian researchers have been at forefront of geographical approaches to book history, and Weedon cites in particular the *History of the book in Canada*, project as well as one of the pioneering papers on GIS in book history: Fiona Black, Bertrum MacDonald and J. Malcolm Black, “Geographic Information Systems: A New Research Method for Book History,” *Book History* 1, no. 1 (1998):11-31. Fiona Black in particular has now published much on the topic, including on aspects of visualization: “Construing the Spaces of Print Culture: Book Historians’ Visualization Preferences,” in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. M. Ogborn and C. Withers (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Press, 2010), 79-108.

¹⁶⁵ Weedon, “The Uses of Quantification,” 39-40.

¹⁶⁶ Yvan Lamonde, “A Universal Classification for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Libraries and Booksellers.”

Center (OCLC) that is both flexible and convenient in that it corresponds to both Dewey and Library of Congress (LC) call number ranges.¹⁶⁷

Readers and reading

In Stephen Colclough's methodological contribution to the Eliot and Rose *Companion*, titled "Readers: Books and Biography," he first addresses the history of reading from the large-scale perspective of tracking book production and distribution and then moves to reading practices and reading response. He underlines the relative newness of the topic, and while he talks about efforts to understand "the reader" in a generic sense, he suggests caution in generalizing about this. More explicitly, he says:

"In order to test theories, such as the 'reading revolution' hypothesis, we need to compile as many case studies as possible...The broad, epochal sweep that is favored by those historians who contrast manuscript with print, or intensive with extensive, is important, but such models may, of necessity, neglect or ignore those individuals or groups who appear to be 'atypical.' These individual or local practices are important because they help us to recognize that many different forms of reading were taking place at a given historical moment."¹⁶⁸

Colclough does not at all reject the final aim of building a social history of reading, or the development of theories about particular groups or audiences, but he underlines the importance of building it from individual cases that are understood on their own terms.

The particular forms of evidence that are suggested by Colclough as useful to the investigation of reading resemble those mentioned in Howsam's *Old Books* and Finkelstein and McCleery's *Introduction to Book History*. Identified among the strongest sources are autobiographical evidence in the form of marginalia, diaries, letters, compiled lists, commonplace books and other note-taking. As in Finkelstein and McCleery's *Introduction to Book History*, Colclough's sources focus on the experience of reading more than questions of provenance or the general book habits of an owner.

¹⁶⁷ Dewey is common in public libraries, while LC is used in many academic libraries, and the OCLC Conspectus, adopted here, facilitates translation, comparison and aggregation of data from either system. (See Section 4.3 for further details).

¹⁶⁸ Colclough, "Readers: Books and Biography," in Eliot and Rose, *Companion*, 59.

The traces that readers leave behind are less explicitly discussed in Finkelstein and McCleery's *Reader*, but the same kinds of sources appear: the book practices of Samuel Pepys and John Locke are discovered by Roger Chartier, for example, through evidence in books as well through references in other documents; autobiographical and other personal writings are cited as important sources in essays by Jonathan Rose and Kate Flint.¹⁶⁹ The *Oxford Companion* underscores the continued use of this wide variety of sources and emphasises especially the recent movement to address readers from a broader range of backgrounds.¹⁷⁰

A good complement to these general works is the section on "Readers" in the *Handbook for the Study of Book History in the United States* by Ronald and Mary Zboray.¹⁷¹ The authors identify relevant sources for studies related to individual readers, including a broader range of evidence found within books (not only marginalia but also inscriptions, bookplates and labels), and archival documents like account books, which may provide little insight into the reading experience *per se* but which can provide valuable information about the book habits of a reader.¹⁷² These sources echo those listed by Judith Overmier with respect to private libraries (see Section 3.1).

In general, it appears that primary evidence of all types, either from within books or generated by readers and owners pertaining to books and reading, is being used to build up descriptions of readers and reading. What is used depends on the availability and credibility of sources more than on a prescribed set of sources.

¹⁶⁹ From Finkelstein and McCleery's *Reader*: Chartier, "The Practical Impact of Writing," 157-181; Rose, "Rereading the English Common Reader," 424-439; and Flint, "Reading Practices," 416-423.

¹⁷⁰ See especially the entries on "history of the book" by Marcus Walsh, "provenance" by David Pearson and "reading and reception" by Leah Price.

¹⁷¹ Washington DC: Library of Congress, 2000.

¹⁷² See also Rosalind Crone and Shafquat Towheed, eds., *The History of Reading, Volume 3: Methods, Strategies, Tactics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011[e-book]), which addresses strategies to get at contemporary readers, including surveys, interviews or group discussion data in addition to the vast range of recorded sources, and in which the play or tension between theorizing and a focus on evidence is again visible.

Publications on specific evidence types.

Outside of the discussion of book history as a whole, several publications provide extensive and useful information about specific kinds of evidence found in books (as opposed to evidence from any source *about* books and reading). A vast range of evidence or “traces of wear” that books can provide (relating to provenance and use as well as book production), are outlined and illustrated, for example, in Roger Stoddard’s *Marks in Books*.¹⁷³ David Pearson’s *Provenance Research in Book History*, already mentioned, is a staple in this kind of research, overviewing several types of provenance evidence, providing descriptions and examples as well as extensive references to sources of information about each evidence type. Other works focus even more specifically on individual kinds of evidence, such as readers’ marks. A collective volume *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading*,¹⁷⁴ part of the very valuable Pathways series on the history of print, provides for instance a selected survey of recent work in the area, and at least two of its contributors, William Sherman and Heather Jackson, have each published monographs in a single evidence type.¹⁷⁵ Sherman has written especially on the history of the manicule (☞) and Jackson, in her much cited work *Marginalia*, argued effectively that this kind of evidence is a goldmine for biography as well as literature studies, providing proof of reading, indications of how a work was received, sometimes why it was read, putting dates to readings, etc.

3.3 Library history

Unlike book history, which as a field is still in the process of defining what it means to do this kind of research, library history has long been an established research area. There has been variation in the way its focus has been articulated, however, and amidst the new emphasis on the history of information, on the one hand, and the

¹⁷³ Stoddard, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library, 1985).

¹⁷⁴ Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (London: British Library, 2005).

¹⁷⁵ Sherman *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Jackson *Romantic Readers: The Evidence of Marginalia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) and *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

history of the book on the other, it continues to evolve.¹⁷⁶ The theoretical-empirical spectrum mentioned by Howsam and seen in the large book history readers has also been picked up in discussion of library history and, as we will see, leaders in the current field are considering situations in which one or the other approach might seem most appropriate.

Just as private libraries are a part of book history without being an explicitly central concern, so they are not the main focus of modern library history, which pays greater attention to the development of the field of librarianship, to its public institutions and social role. Library history was until recently defined, for example, in the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, as “that branch of history that investigates the actions of people, the activities of agencies, or the effects of social movements within or contributing to the development of librarianship for the sake of professional awareness.”¹⁷⁷ This definition now sounds somewhat restrictive, however, in both its focus on librarianship and its goal of awareness by librarians (important as this is). A different description was earlier offered by Raymond Irwin:

“In the history of libraries we are concerned particularly with their purpose and their content, and with the special background which produced them; in consequence we become involved in the history not only of scholarship in its narrower sense, but of human civilization and culture and literacy”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ The framing of library history in the context of contemporary LIS research and departments is a matter of some debate. For a sense of the issues at stake see for example the discussion and responses among Alistair Black’s, “Information and Modernity: the History of Information and the Eclipse of Library History”, *Library History*, xiv (May 1998):39-45; Donald G. Davis Jr. and Jon Arvid Aho’s, “Whither Library History? A Critical Essay on Black’s Model for the Future of Library History with some Additional Options,” *Library History*, 17 (March 2001): 21-37; Black’s “A Response to ‘Whither Library History?’” *Library History*, 17 (March 2001): 37-39; and Jonathan Rose’s, “Alternative Futures for Library History,” *Libraries and Culture* 38 (Winter 2003): 50-60.

¹⁷⁷ Richard Krzys, “Library Historiography,” *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, 2nd ed., edited by Miriam Drake (New York: Marcel Dekker, 2003), 1621. Viewed online Aug. 18, 2009; this entry is no longer available in the online version; originally published in the first edition, 1975 [vol 15]). The 3rd edition no longer carries an entry on the topic.

¹⁷⁸ Cited by Carol McCombs and Charles H. Busha, “Historical Research and Oral History in Librarianship,” in Charles H. Busha, ed., *A Library Science Research Reader and Bibliographic Guide* (Littleton, CO.: Libraries Unlimited, 1981), 72. While Irwin’s definition is suitable to this study, it may be less so in the study of many modern libraries as the notion of a library’s content becomes less clear with the shifting nature of electronic resources.

This broader definition is more consistent with the views expressed in Section 1.1 about the value of studying private libraries, and it describes library history as it is used to frame this study.¹⁷⁹

There is a slight tension around the place of private libraries, particularly recent ones, in library history. What distinguishes the private library is precisely its *privateness*, and this sets it somewhat apart from the broader social concerns of much recent library history. Daniel Traister notes, in the *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, that “since the public good is the main ideological buttress on which the value of any library normally rests, the idea of a private library thus occupies contested ground,” and he considers with a certain humour the “purifying” of private libraries in the “transformation from conspicuous signifiers of individual economic, political, or cultural capital into culture-preserving, research-supporting public collections.”¹⁸⁰ Questions of altruistic integrity apart, the transfer of private libraries to public institutions, as in the case of the RKC, does bring them more solidly within the realm of relevance to library history, as they take on a role for new groups of users and custodians.

3.3.1 Discussion of sources and methods in general works

Notwithstanding the uncertain place of private or personal libraries within an ideological scope of library history, the relevant methods and sources of library history are many, and they share much with those of book history. What is more particular to library history is its focus on groups of books and their use, management and preservation as such.

There is no equivalent to the Eliot and Rose *Companion* for library history, which provides a substantial general overview of the methodologies of the field of book

¹⁷⁹ Out of the discussion about disciplinary territory has come the suggestion from Jonathan Rose, that “librarians and library historians should work together with historians, literary scholars, publishing educators, book artists, sociologists, anthropologists, and communications instructors to create a new academic discipline: book studies.” Rose, “Alternative Futures for Library History,” 57. This suggestion seems very reasonable to me, but as the two areas continue to have, all the same, distinct societies and literatures, for present purposes I have considered them separately.

¹⁸⁰ Traister, “Private Libraries,” 140.

history. There are, however, relatively recent regionally-focused collective works in library history that survey work from a given period or that attempt to cover the entire library history of a region, and some of these also discuss the doing of research. Titles that provide explicit discussion about research methods relating to modern libraries include Peter F. McNally's *Readings in Canadian Library History*, Andrew B. Wertheimer and Donald G. Davis, Jr.'s *Library History Research in America*, the *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Vol. 3; 1850-2000*, edited by Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, and the *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: Tome 4; Les Bibliothèques au XXe siècle (1914-1990)*, edited by Martine Poulain, which is outside of the present focus on English-language material but which is included because of its particular attention to the libraries of writers.¹⁸¹

Library history sources are explicitly addressed in McNally's *Readings*, by Betty Carnie. Her piece on "Board Minutes as a source of Library History" is more useful than its title suggests, as she provides in an appendix a much more complete general list of primary sources for library history. The list is extensive and is divided into sources produced within the library (e.g. catalogues, records related to acquisition or procedures, and personal writings whether published or not); and records from institutions or individuals outside of but related to the library (including users). This division is oriented both by the concept of the collection as a distinct entity and also by the idea of the institutional library. Because library history includes the buildings or "place" of a library, there is more explicit inclusion of sources of all media types, including art, photographs and videos, sources that could be very useful in capturing the "feel" of a private library as well.¹⁸² In contemporary environments, interviews or personal testimony also become a central source.

In *Library History Research in America*, Wayne Wiegand notes that there has sometimes been, in the writing of library histories, an over-reliance on published rather than

¹⁸¹ McNally (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1986); Wertheimer and Davis (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Center for the Book, originally published as a special issue of *Libraries and Culture*, 35 (Winter 2000)); Black and Hoare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Poulain (Paris: Promodis-Editions du Cercle du librairie, 1992).

¹⁸² This relates to the visual approach used by Jenna Hartel, "Pictures worth a thousand words."

archival sources, as well as a tendency to glorify rather than analyse. With respect to private libraries in particular, he most appreciates those that do or can contribute to social, intellectual or cultural history, and notes that the rise of interest in print culture has also generated increased interest in the personal library collections of famous authors. Methodologically, the message is to use primary sources and provide a balanced account of evidence. Elsewhere in the volume John Mark Tucker identifies some general source types for library history, identifying documentary materials (personal and official, including oral), catalogues and secondary reference sources as among “those tools most useful in the library historian’s workshop.”¹⁸³

The third volume of the *Cambridge History of Libraries* includes a short but dense introductory chapter on “Sources and methods for the history of libraries and the modern era” that echoes Carnie’s division of sources from either within or without the library. It considers that sources for modern library history are either “library-centered administrative sources” (including acquisition or circulation records, mission statements, meeting minutes, etc., as well as the personal diaries, letters or other writings of library staff or professional members) or those “generated outside the library profession or the administrative domain of the library by those who have had something to say about them, whether as users or non-users.”¹⁸⁴ With respect to the second kind of source – that generated by users – Black and Hoare mention much that is familiar from book history research on individual readers, including autobiography and diaries, along with others less-suited to most personal libraries, such as fictional narratives, newspapers and other media narratives. Both archival research and interviews are also noted as relevant methodologies.

While sources useful to studies of traditional personal libraries are present in these characterizations, they are clearly not the central focus.¹⁸⁵ They involve, first of all, a

¹⁸³ Tucker, “Clio’s workshop: Resources for Historical Studies in American Librarianship,” in Wertheimer and Davis, *Library History Research*, 193.

¹⁸⁴ Alistair Black and Peter Hoare, “Introduction: Sources and Methodologies for the History of Libraries in the Modern Era” in Black and Hoare, *Cambridge History 1850-2000*, 1.

¹⁸⁵ It is in this volume that David Pearson comments that the importance of modern private libraries may be more important “than the proportions of this book imply.” Pearson, “Private libraries and the collecting instinct,” 202.

somewhat artificial designation of internal/external sources for a personal library. But more importantly they minimize the use of books themselves as source material, and this in particular has made it useful to draw from the discussion of sources and methods in book history, with its smaller unit of analysis.

Theory in library history

Wiegand's essay in *Library History Research in America* is about theory. In it, he expresses concern about a general lack of theory in American library history, which, he believes, "explains why it has been of marginal value to the profession and of limited value to historians working in other sectors of American history."¹⁸⁶ Following up on Wiegand, in 2010, Edward A. Goedecken overviewed production from the early 1990s and found that explicit references to major theorists like Foucault, Gramsci, Habermas, Bourdieu, and others has not enormously increased, but that the field generally shows greater awareness of postmodernist thought, now "too established to ignore."¹⁸⁷

Black and Hoare agree with Wiegand that library history has been weakened by its slowness to integrate with other areas of history, and that it could benefit from greater attention to theory, but point out that the appropriate balance between fact and theory in library history depends on the subject of study. In particular, they find that:

"In considering the relationship between fact and theory in library history, it is possible to construct a taxonomy of institutions that warrant varying mixes of factual and theoretical approaches. Theory-rich approaches have been relatively common in public library history and in the history of the profession of librarianship....[and] the emphasis is now more on the development of theoretical interpretations rather than on disclosure of fresh primary sources. Finally, situated at the far end of the spectrum are libraries that we might include in a category labelled 'hidden': libraries of a marginal and often ephemeral nature. Here, the general priority has

¹⁸⁶ Wiegand, "American Library History Literature, 1947-1997: Theoretical Perspectives?" in Wertheimer and Davis, *Library History Research*, 6. Jonathan Rose points out, on the other hand, that calls for more theory in library history may no longer represent current directions in research, citing several sources that find students and other researchers "abandoning theory for history" with more attention to actual circumstances. Rose, "Alternative Futures," 54-56.

¹⁸⁷ Edward A. Goedecken, "Our Historiographical Enterprise: Shifting Emphases and Directions," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 45, no.3 (2010): 352.

been – and will continue to be – the gathering of raw evidence, although exciting theoretical perspectives and opportunities inevitably present themselves and should be encouraged.”¹⁸⁸

The “hidden” libraries that are farthest from the theoretical end of the methodological treatment spectrum are further elaborated in the following chapter, and include personal libraries, or libraries “in the home,” along with railway libraries and other less mainstream types.¹⁸⁹ Black and Hoare also seem to agree with Rose and Colclough, then, that theoretical work at the level of the reader is possible but must be based on a solid collection of more descriptive individual studies.¹⁹⁰

Aspects particular to the writer's library

The French *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises* moves yet closer to the main focus of this study through a chapter by Philippe Arbaizar, “La bibliothèque de l'écrivain.”¹⁹¹ Arbaizar identifies aspects of particular interest in the libraries of writers, including the library's relationship with the owner's own writing and other interests (i.e. use); the owner's book habits (e.g. acquisition, treatment, organization) and tastes; and the library as a reflection of relationships. It also includes the discovery of key works – a personal “canon”.¹⁹²

These topics together represent aspects of the investigation of a personal library that distinguish it from other kinds of studies in library history: the focus on the priorities of one person and the relation of a group of books as a whole to one primary user.

¹⁸⁸ Black and Hoare, “Introduction: Sources and Methodologies,” 5.

¹⁸⁹ Black and Hoare, “Libraries and the modern world,” in Black and Hoare, *Cambridge History 1850-2000*, 10.

¹⁹⁰ This issue is also a part of the library history debate in Italy. The site of the Research Group on Private Modern Philosophy Collections states that “the exploration of private library collections is a fundamental aspect of the methodological debate around the history of libraries... divided between either a historical-institutional approach or a more bibliographic one” and cites specific Italian articles; see the site “Philosophical Libraries; Private modern and contemporary philosophical libraries: the bibliography” from the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa <http://picus.sns.it/index.php?page=Bibliografia&lang=en> (last modified 2009-01-29).

¹⁹¹ Philippe Arbaizar “La bibliothèque de l'écrivain,” in *Les Bibliothèques au XXe siècle (1914-1990)*, ed. Martine Poulain, vol. 4 of Vernet, *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 11-30.

¹⁹² An explicit example of this in McGill Library is Sir William Osler's division of his catalogue into *prima* and *secunda* parts. See Osler's *Bibliotheca Osleriana* and the recent analysis of the library parts in Peter F. McNally, Glenn Brown and Nicolas Savard “Osler and Francis: Creating the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*” in *Sir William Osler: The man and his books*, ed. William Feindel, Elizabeth Maloney and Pamela Millar (Montreal: Osler Library of the History of Medicine, McGill University, 2011), 25-52.

Arbaizar concludes that the personal libraries of writers are of interest precisely as unique entities, and he warns explicitly against their use as examples of the general surrounding culture, finding that they have too particular a use.¹⁹³

3.4 Summary of useful approaches and sources from book and library history

The very vastness of the range of possible sources to study a library leads to the question of how to prioritize among possible sources and what to do with them. Out of the general discussion in book and library history, a few basic articulations of methodological approaches can be made to help organize, limit, and orient the use of potential sources for studies of personal libraries.

In particular, approaches useful for studying the library of a writer or scholar appear to include:

- A use of quantitative analyses (more emphasized in current book history discussion), applied at the collection level (concept from library history);
- The examination of individual volumes (from book history); and
- Contextualisation and illumination of significance of both individual volumes and collection features using personal/institutional documents and secondary sources (from both book and library history)

The main source types can, as seen in library history discussion, be summarized as those internal or external to the collection, but with the division now drawn along different lines, with evidence internal to the collection understood to mean internal to the physical collection itself, and external evidence referring to the range of sources outside the collection, regardless of the creator. Specifically, relevant evidence types within the collection would then include:

- Volumes as produced, in their
 - Printed contents
 - Physical aspects of volumes (e.g., original illustrations, paper, bindings, type, size),
- Intentional physical amendments to the volumes, including

¹⁹³Too particular for the general culture perhaps, but projects like *Bibliothèques d'écrivains* from France's CNRS and the Italian Research Group on Private Modern Philosophy Collections (see Section 1.1) make a good case for building a corpus of studies through which to study the writer's library as a phenomenon unto itself.

- Manuscript evidence (e.g., signatures, inscriptions, marginalia, dates)
- Stamps, labels and bookplates
- Insertions, including added leaves or ephemeral items found in volumes (receipts, clippings, etc.)
- Other alterations to original physical aspects (rebinding, cutting, etc),
- The general physical state of preservation or use.

Evidence external to the collection would resemble the general range of library history sources, encompassing both those generated by the owner and those about the owner or the library, with the obvious shift from an institutional to a personal owner. Main groups would include:

- Catalogues or lists (these may be archival or published, but are a key category in themselves), including personal lists of the owner, published lists from sales, auctions or previous studies, or datasets in online environments produced either by the owner, or another party.
- Published writing of, or interviews with, the owner (autobiographical as well as scholarly or literary)
- Archival material, personal or institutional, of any media type (Consistently identified among the strongest sources are diaries, letters, wills, commonplace books, and account books).
- Secondary sources (textual, visual or audio) relating to the owner, the library, specific books and broader contexts.

The set represents source types acknowledged by current and authoritative authors from both fields.

Additional assistance as to how to organize an overall assessment of a personal working library was found in the existing published tradition.

3.5 Methods used in practice: monograph studies of individual libraries

A review of methods and sources used in individual monograph-length studies confirms the use, in practice, of methodological approaches currently proposed in the fields of book and library history. Literature was reviewed over approximately the

last 50 years, identified primarily through the McGill OPAC, *WorldCat*, ALA's *Library History Round Table Bibliographies*,¹⁹⁴ and the LIS periodical literature, and six works were selected as models with respect to both methodological approaches and presentation format.¹⁹⁵

3.5.1 Selection of published books for review

Monographs selected were those found most pertinent to developing a study of a working library of interest both for its content and on account of its owner. For ease of analysis, questions of availability, and to limit the selection, works in English were preferred. The criteria for relevance included the:

- Nature of the subject (i.e. a working library belonging to a scholar or author)
- Inclusion of essay material relating the owner and the collection
- Presence of collection analyses
- Other aspects of particular usefulness for comparison.

The criteria helped to target models useful for treating both general characteristics of whole collections, and particular elements that shed light on the owner or their work. A study of John Locke's library by John Harrison and Peter Laslett, for example, was chosen as a study of a philosopher's library that includes substantial essays and collection analysis.¹⁹⁶ It is, as in most cases, a joint effort of a subject specialist

¹⁹⁴ The LHRT Bibliographies are published semi-annually in the *LHRT Newsletter*, but most are also available online at: <http://www.ala.org/ala/mgrps/rts/lhrt/popularresources/libhistorybib/libraryhistory.cfm> (last accessed June 11, 2012).

¹⁹⁵ Dissertations were also reviewed from the past 20 years, primarily through *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. Those that focus on the readings or library of an individual also come from a variety of disciplines and reflect different goals and methods. They share fewer characteristics than do the published monographs and none offer an appropriate overall model for this overview of the Klibansky Collection, but they also show that the methods identified from the discussion in book and library history are being used in dissertations on topics related to private libraries. Examples include Jon Arvid Aho, "Using References in the Work of Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260—339) to Understand the Collection of the Library of Caesarea" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2002 [Library and Information Studies]); William Cibbarelli, "Libraries of the Mind: A Study of the Reading Histories of Mercy Warren, Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray (1728-1820)" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2000 [History]); Kevin Jon Hayes, "William Byrd's library" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1991 [English]); Donald Kerr, "Building Monuments More Enduring than Brass: Governor Sir George Grey, a Study of His Book Collecting and the Formation of His Libraries," 3 vol. (PhD diss., University of Auckland, 2001 [English]).

¹⁹⁶ Harrison and Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

(Laslett) and a librarian (Harrison). The study of Isaac Newton's library provides another look at a scholar's working library conducted by a librarian alone who is also one of the Locke authors.¹⁹⁷ Studies from literature professor William Baker on Wilkie Collins and the George Eliot–Henry Lewes library were chosen to assess continuity or differences, and a work signalled by Baker as a model in the more recent of his studies was also chosen: the study of Henry Fielding's library, by Fielding scholar Frederick Ribble and Anne Ribble of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia.¹⁹⁸ And finally a study of Sigmund Freud's Library by librarian J. Keith Davies and Gerhard Fichtner, professor in the history of medicine, was selected for both its particularly thorough use of quantitative analyses and its diversion from the traditional format of an (extended) essay followed by a catalogue, by including an electronic catalogue on CD-ROM to accompany a printed monograph introduction.¹⁹⁹

Studies overviewed here are only a sample of those available, but were deemed particularly pertinent because of their balance of narrative assessment and supportive use of quantitative analyses.²⁰⁰ Their use here has been formal – they helped to determine key themes of focus and the particular methods used to treat each. At the same time, the fact that most were undertaken either by or with a scholar from the relevant subject field was noted and taken into account as decisions with respect to both focus and methodology were made for this study, which remains rooted in librarianship (see for example the choice of themes described in Section 4.1.3.).

¹⁹⁷ John Harrison, *The Library of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

¹⁹⁸ William Baker, *The George Eliot–Henry Lewes Library: An Annotated Catalogue of Their Books at Dr. Williams's Library*, (London. New York: Garland, 1977); and *Wilkie Collins's Library: A Reconstruction*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002); Frederick Ribble and Anne Ribble, *Fielding's Library: An Annotated Catalogue*, (Charlottesville, VA: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1996).

¹⁹⁹ Keith J. Davies and Gerhard Fichtner, *Freud's Library: A Comprehensive Catalogue*, 1 vol. + CD-ROM (London: Freud Museum, 2006).

²⁰⁰ See Section C of the bibliography for other titles consulted but not discussed here.

3.5.2 Common themes and sources

The six studies have much in common in terms of their basic components. Table 1 outlines main themes addressed in the studies, and provides an overview of their use of quantitative analyses. Recurring themes include:

- General book habits of the owner (including but not limited to book treatment, organization, acquisition modes)
- Library composition (both general and highlights)
- The development and/or dispersal of the library
- Questions of provenance (especially in relation to the networks of the owner)
- The library as working laboratory (intellectual aspects of book use)

Within the broad themes the concentration remains on what, of most interest, can be gleaned from the given personal library, as opposed to aiming at a comprehensive study of, for example, reading, intellectual influences, or marginalia *per se*. In each case different types of evidence are brought together to build meaningful profiles of both the library and the owner, through essays, tables, graphs, images, annotated lists or special indexes.

Sources in these studies consistently include the main types identified in book and library history:

- Evidence within the books themselves
- Catalogues and book lists
- Use of personal documents such as letters, journals and other archival documents.
- Published writings of the owner
- Secondary material relating to the owner and the context of the library

Some examples as to how these source types are linked with the themes show variety in treatment along with consistency in the core theme group.

Table 1. Main themes and quantitative analyses in monographic studies

Library studied (Authors)	Main themes of essay	Quantitative analyses
John Locke (Harrison & Laslett) ~3200 Titles	Distinct chapters: Locke the Book Collector Development of the Library Composition of the Final Collection [Includes brief comparison of the library to that of his near contemporary Newton.] Locke's Library Practice Editing Locke's Master Catalogue Descent of Locke's Books [dispersal].	Tables show distributions (# and %) for: Subject Language Place of publication (country, subdivided by city for number of titles.) Shelf marks (one for books, another for pamphlets; total # only.) Numerical summary of items believed to have been owned by Locke, by source (Locke catalogue or other).
Isaac Newton (Harrison) ~1750 Titles	Distinct chapters: Isaac Newton: user of books Dispersal of Newton's library after his death. The composition of Newton's library [A few comparative mentions of the library of Locke.]	Tables show distributions (# and %) for: Subject Language Place of publication. A bar graph provides a visual summary of titles by publication period (by 5-year period from 1521-1725).
George Eliot and Henry Lewes (Baker) ~2400	A single essay covers collection content, book treatment and use, as well as individuals associated with the books of Eliot and Lewes. Lists (separate from the general catalogue): Presentation copies to Eliot or Lewes, with brief descriptions (one or two sentences) of the presenter Collection items cited in Eliot's work Periodical titles.	Tables show distributions (# and %) for: Subject Language Place of publication – country, subdivided by city for number of titles.

Wilkie Collins (Baker) ~800 Titles	<p>Distinct chapters: Wilkie Collins and his books The 1890 dispersal of W.C.'s library The composition of W.C.'s library</p> <p>Lists (separate from the general catalogue): Presentation copies, with the name of inscriber and brief information where available about the inscriber and the relation to Collins.</p>	<p>Tables show distributions (# and %) for: Subject Language Place of publication.</p>
Henry Fielding (Ribble & Ribble) ~700 Titles	<p>Distinct chapters: Description of the 1755 Auction Catalogue Editions missing from the Auction Catalogue The Composition of Fielding's Library Formation and Dispersal of the Library Include information on Fielding's references to books</p> <p>Index of booksellers.</p>	<p>Table shows distributions (# and %) for Language</p> <p>Graph plots number of titles by 10-year period (from 1491-1754) in two series: British Continental.</p>
Sigmund Freud (Davies & Fichtner) 3750 Titles	<p>Distinct chapters: Parts of Freud's library Ownership signatures Beginnings of the library Freud's feeling for books Owning and reading books Markings in Freud's books Dedications in Freud's books.</p> <p>Electronic catalogue: multiple pdf indexes are cross-referenced and hyperlinked.</p>	<p>Tables show distributions (# and %) for: Subject areas Languages Markings (Underlinings; Annotations; Corrections; No markings) Dedications (dedications by source: Authors, editors, donors, translators, authors of prefaces, without dedication.)</p> <p>Frequency graph shows number of dedication copies per year for a given period (1910-1939).</p>

Book habits

The general book habits of the owner are most often treated by looking at physical traces left in books, such as ways of signing, marking, the general state of the books, etc. Different types of markings are sometimes distinguished, as in the study of Freud's library, which differentiates between markings and underlinings, annotations or corrections. Sometimes the meaning of a mark is clear and sometimes not, and Harrison and Laslett ponder over a mysterious symbol ("paraph") used by Locke.²⁰¹ Other kinds of signs are more physical, for example Newton's frequent dog-earing. Evidence such as bookseller stamps, noted in the books of Eliot and Lewes, for example, can also indicate acquisition habits. From outside of the collection, what Fichtner calls an owner's "feeling for books" often emerges, as in the case of Freud, from letters or journals, published or not.²⁰² For the libraries of Collins and Fielding, which are reconstructed primarily from auction catalogues, notes in the catalogues play an important role. Information about acquisition habits is also found outside of the library in sources such as personal account books and letters, information which is collected, in the case of Fielding's library, into a separate index.

Library composition

A summary of general library characteristics forms the most basic aspect of an overall profile of an owner's interests and tastes. There is particular consistency among the selected studies in addressing subjects, language, place and/or period of publication, and all are supported by quantitative analyses. Essays too are often delineated along these lines, and while catalogues are normally presented alphabetically, these topics (esp. subject) also sometimes form the basis of special indexes.

Such an overall analysis more or less requires a well-organized catalogue. All of the examples include catalogues of library items. In the one case in which an electronic catalogue exists (created as part of the Freud study) it is not available online but is included on a disk. The presence of a complete catalogue becomes less necessary

²⁰¹ Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*, 41.

²⁰² Davies and Fichtner, *Freud's Library*, 20.

where electronic access to the catalogue is available (though as we will see online access does not always mean unrestricted access to the collection as a whole), and the focus can remain on analytic and interpretive aspects, the monographic part of the Freud study being an example.

The analysis of catalogue data with respect to various facets is obviously much facilitated by direct access to the data. In the studies considered here, the authors were also responsible for producing the catalogue. Now, however, thanks to the cataloguing work of librarians (at McGill and elsewhere), as well as metadata structures that permit virtual recreations of personal collections within institutional libraries online, it is increasingly possible for researchers not connected with catalogue production to access and extract such data for subsequent study and analysis. This study of the RKC is an example of that, and this new environment of data access is further elaborated in Section 3.6

Catalogues are established where possible from previously-existing catalogues and lists made by or for the owner (as for example existed for both Locke and Newton) and wills or sale/auction catalogues (for example in the case of Freud, Fielding, Collins, Eliot and Lewes, and again Newton). Lists are supplemented with additional volumes when ownership can be established through signatures, other recognizable features, or by their documented acquisition (as is the case, especially, for the libraries of Eliot and Lewes, Freud, Locke, and Newton). Also used are personal or published documents and other archival information, with individual mentions drawn from letters, notebooks, account books, receipts, commercial sale records, and again published references. In the works looked at here, the stature of the collectors has meant that published correspondence is frequently available.

Library development

Evidence types both within and outside of the collection contribute to tracing the development of a collection. Clues to dates or periods of acquisition are found, for example in manuscript dates (a main source used to date Newton's books), receipts in books, bookseller labels, or sometimes gleaned from signature style (which often changes with age, as in the case of Freud). External sources include letters,

notebooks, personal account books, commercial sales records, and again published references. Some owners, like Locke, had reasons to have personal catalogues compiled at different periods, particularly handy for tracing evolution. As always, discussion related to this theme becomes meaningful as it is put into context with respect to publications or major life events at either a personal or community level. At the other end of the life of a library, dispersion is very often determined through sale catalogues and wills.

Provenance

The provenance of books is also addressed by examining books (for inscriptions, signatures or ex-libris plates or labels), or through archival material such as letters or sale catalogues. Provenance information often becomes a separate list or index, as in the studies of Collins, Freud, and Eliot and Lewes (see Table 1). The topic is less central in the studies of the much earlier collections of Locke and Newton, and in the study of Fielding's library in which there are few indications. The kind of provenance that is most attended to is that related more or less directly to the owner, providing a view (if partial) of the owner's book-related networks. When observed over time, and quantitatively as in the study of inscriptions in Freud's library, changes in personal and professional relationships can be seen, as well as evolution in professional influence. Davies and Fichtner perform a particularly detailed analysis of this aspect in Freud's library, with 10 different categories of inscribers indicated in a separate index of names as well as graphs and tables showing distributions of key groups.²⁰³

Library as laboratory

Two main approaches are used to address the library as a working laboratory. One involves signaling or describing marginalia and marks in books, which requires an existing library; the other involves examining the owner's references to books, either in published works or in personal documents like letters, notes and journals. For any overall study of a library, the transcription of marginalia is usually selective, though

²⁰³ Davies and Fichtner, *Freud's Library*, 39,50.

this depends on numbers. Davies and Fichtner take a comprehensive approach in Freud's library to verbal annotation (as opposed to markings), but the number of books with annotation number only fifty-seven. Other authors indicate more simply which books contain marginalia and other annotation and describe to some extent what is typical or of special interest. Harrison and Laslett treat Locke's library in this way, also signaling interleaved books. Most of these studies also remind against assuming too easily that annotations belong to any given owner. With respect to linking references to books owned, Baker draws from secondary literature while the Ribbles trace references in Fielding's publications. Published correspondence is a common source for most studies. Fichtner refers, in his essay on Freud's reading, to the existence of other studies and further possibilities relating to Freud's references in letters and other personal documents, but does not attempt to cover the topic.

In these examples, questions concerning the library's significance to the thought and writing of library owners have had, with the exception of Harrison's study of Newton's library, the benefit of input from scholars in the relevant subject fields. Harrison treats this aspect with care, relying much on empirical support. His profile of Newton's library is prefaced by a word of approbation from Newton scholar D.T. Whiteside, who praises highly the linking of the collection to Newton and his contexts, finds that much is learned from the quantitative assessments alone, and appreciates the mindfulness that prevents over-simplistic conclusions from purely numerical assessments.²⁰⁴ Harrison's results show that much basic groundwork can effectively be laid through careful reading linked with evidence from the library. Nevertheless, this aspect clearly lends itself particularly well to treatment by or collaboration with scholars in the relevant field.

Quantification

As expressed by D.T. Whiteside in relation to Harrison's study of Newton's library, quantitative assessments can, if considered with prudence, communicate very efficiently about how various library elements are distributed and how they change

²⁰⁴ See Whiteside's forward to Harrison, *Library of Isaac Newton*, ix-xi.

over time. They also facilitate comparison and cumulative studies, provided that categories are meaningful and compatible. This condition is not always easily satisfied, but was possible in the case of the Locke and Newton studies, aided by their common authorship, and the brief comparison contributed interesting observations.²⁰⁵ The availability of electronic data opens possibilities for general overviews or comparisons now of active interest²⁰⁶ that were previously either extremely laborious or simply not feasible, and argues for the great value of consistent forms of description as well as effective access to complete metadata, an issue touched on in Section 3.6.

Quantitative explorations are also increasingly varied and refined in the more recent studies. Davies and Fichtner's work on Freud's library provides the most elaborate example from the group, quantifying various types of provenance evidence.²⁰⁷ The numerical and graphical presentations give a sense of what is most typical in Freud's book habits, and show changes over time.

In terms of presentation and type, quantitative descriptions are usually shown both in raw numbers and as percentages, either in tables, or as bar graphs. They reflect the main kinds of quantitative treatments used by book historians in general, as described by Alexis Weedon (see Section.3.2), and in the group of studies considered here as models, it is indeed frequency distributions and fluctuations in time that dominate.²⁰⁸

3.6 A note on library analysis in the online environment.

As we have seen, catalogues are a standard source for studies of reading and libraries, and researchers now benefit from the growth of information available online. Karen Attar, based on her dual expertise as a researcher of special collections and cataloguer

²⁰⁵ Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*, 12-13. Questions of size, subjects and overlap in authors and titles are touched on. The author with the largest number of duplicate titles between the collections is Robert Boyle, for example, and there is a strikingly consistent overlap in travel literature.

²⁰⁶As signaled, for example, by Ferrer in "Un imperceptible trait de gomme de tragacathe..." and by the Italian Research Group on Private Modern Philosophy Collections (see Section 1.1).

²⁰⁷ Davies and Fichtner, *Freud's Library*, 32;39.

²⁰⁸ Weedon, "The Uses of Quantification," 37.

of them, has underlined also the value of online catalogue records as surrogates for volumes, and “the developing function of a catalogue record as a research tool in itself, instead of a mere finding aid.”²⁰⁹

Libraries have paid attention to the shift signalled by Pearson and others (see Section 1.1) about what is most valued about historical printed book collections in libraries (i.e. the physical traces of their histories as opposed to their texts which are increasingly available in electronic form). It has consequences for the way that libraries provide access to books and collections that contain evidence of their history, and efforts have been directed to confront the challenge. It is a complex issue that ranges far beyond the scope of this work, but there are some key threads that stand to be briefly articulated as they influenced the progression of the study and the mental framework within which it was done.

3.6.1 Brief background on the situation of special collections and OPACs

Research libraries as a whole have long provided some kind of access to information about provenance or other material evidence of interest to bibliographers and historians. Description is not always available in individual catalogue records, however, nor is it always available online. There has not, furthermore, been the same level of standardization in description as for more basic bibliographical elements, and

²⁰⁹ Attar, “Cataloguing Early Children’s Books: Demand, Supply and a Seminar,” *Catalogue and Index* 151 (2004): 11. Karen Attar is Rare Books Librarian at Senate House at the University of London. Her comments are relevant beyond the sphere of children’s books and have been used to support work by, for example, M. Winslow Lundy, in “Provenance Evidence in Bibliographic Records: Demonstrating the Value of Best Practices in Special Collection Cataloguing,” *Library Resources and Technical Services (LRTS)* 52, no. 3 (July 2008): 164-172. See also Attar, “Durning-Lawrence Online: Benefits of a Retrospective Catalogue Conversion Project,” *Libri* 53 (2003): 142-148 (esp. 145-147). In her review of a recent volume on personal collections within the British Library, Attar noted that the first reaction of some readers was surprise that this was only now being done. Several authors in the volume supplied at least one reason – the great advantage of online access to catalogues and provenance evidence – as well as the potential for much more to be done in this direction. See Giles Mandelbrote, and Barry Taylor, eds., *Libraries within the Library: The Origins of the British Library’s Printed Collections*, (London: The British Library, 2009); Attar’s review is in *The Library* 11, no. 3 (Sept. 2010): 358-359.

there is in addition a current broadening about what constitutes evidence worth recording.²¹⁰

An important landmark in North America, but which reflects the broader environment in the increase of attention to special collections and a books-as-history orientation, was the formation in 2001 of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) Task Force on Special Collections. The Task Force was particularly concerned with the issue of “hidden collections” – that is collections that are underused and not adequately visible to users.²¹¹ In trying to bring these collections to light, issues were raised about if and how best to include copy-specific information.²¹² Because provenance and other material evidence in books constitute a complex set of evidence types that can be variously treated and that is resource-intensive to describe – that is, taking human time and attention – it remains a difficult issue that defies simple solutions and, often, consensus. In 2009 a report from the ARL Working Group on Special Collections noted that “contemporary research libraries face limited resources, existing backlogs of under-described material, complicated legal issues, and a swiftly evolving technological landscape. All this challenges their ability to collect, preserve, and provide access to rare and historical resources in a way that offers the appropriate service to library customers.”²¹³ This is not simply an issue of

²¹⁰ See for example the detailed discussion in Lundy, “Provenance Evidence in Bibliographic Records.”

²¹¹ See the Task Force statement, “Research Libraries and the Commitment to Special Collections,” adopted by the ARL Board of Directors in February 2003, online at <http://www.arl.org/rtl/speccoll/speccollprinciples.shtml> (last accessed Jun.12, 2012); and Barbara Jones, “Hidden Collections, Scholarly Barriers: Creating Access to Unprocessed Special Collections Materials in America’s Research Libraries,” prepared for the ARL Special Collections Task Force, in “Exposing Hidden Collections,” a special issue of *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2004):88-105.

²¹² A useful summary of discussion since the ARL Task Force statement and the special RBM issue (see previous note) is found in Melissa A. Hubbard and Ann K.D. Myers, “Bringing Rare Books to light: The state of the Profession,” *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts and Cultural Heritage* 11, no.2 (Fall 2010): 134-151; see also, in the same issue, Joseph R. Nicholson, “Making Personal Libraries More Public: A Study of the Technical Processing of Personal Libraries in ARL Institutions,”: 91-105. Much discussion on the European front is found in the CERL Papers from the Consortium of European Research Libraries, a list of which is available online at http://www.cerl.org/web/en/publications/cerl_papers/main (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

²¹³ “Special Collections in ARL Libraries: A Discussion Report,” prepared by the ARL Working Group on Special Collections (March 2009) available at: <http://www.arl.org/rtl/speccoll/> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

outdated policy or a problem for smaller insitutions. It touches even the largest institutions with the most longstanding traditions as heritage preservers and research support.²¹⁴

All the same, more and more libraries are now including copy-specific information like provenance evidence in cataloguing, and this is aided by increasing standardization in vocabulary provided by thesauri like that of the RBMS.²¹⁵ The value of this information will only increase if the new and widely-embraced cataloguing standard – Resource Description and Access (RDA) – fulfills its potential to “position the library community to take advantage of the networked online community, and to make library data widely visible, discoverable, and usable,” further releasing data from the silo of the library catalogue.²¹⁶

A number of catalogue initiatives have been stimulated specifically by the growing interest in the history of print. Among the largest is the Heritage of the Printed Book Database (HPB) developed in the 1990s by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL), of which the “primary objective is to record all books printed in Europe during the hand-press period, c.1450-c.1830, in a machine-readable catalogue.”²¹⁷ The HPB brings together holdings from research libraries, primarily European but also North American. Within the last decade focus has turned to provenance information, and book owner names have now been added to the thesaurus used with the HPB to search across the aggregate database and retrieve sets based on provenance.²¹⁸ Even more sophisticated attention has been given to provenance in manuscript databases like the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (SDBM) at the University of Pennsylvania Library’s Schoenberg Centre for

²¹⁴See for example David Pearson’s observation that newly acquired antiquarian items at the British Library do not receive copy-specific cataloguing in his introduction to Mandelbrote and Taylor, *Libraries within the Library*, 4.

²¹⁵ See the “RBMS Controlled Vocabularies,” http://www.rbms.info/committees/bibliographic_standards/controlled_vocabularies/index.shtml, (last updated Jan. 11, 2010).

²¹⁶ Chris Oliver, *Introducing RDA: A Guide to the Basics* (Chicago: ALA, 2010), 4.

²¹⁷ CERL “Heritage of the Printed Book Database (HPB),” <http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/hpb/main>, (last modified Nov.13, 2008),

²¹⁸ A description of CERL thesaurus features is at: http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/cerl_thesaurus/main (last modified Jan. 23, 2012).

Electronic Text and Images (SCETI),²¹⁹ built largely from auction catalogues; and the Material Evidence in Incunabula (MEI) database, hosted by CERL and linked with the British Library's international Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC).²²⁰ Both provide advanced searching capabilities on a wide variety of fields, as well as the ability to link records across fields.²²¹ Their development is reflective of the extent to which researchers want detailed information about physical volumes.

3.6.2 Using data from online catalogues to analyze groups of books

With their joint focus on instances of material evidence in individual book records, and the linking of provenance evidence across records, databases like those just mentioned bring together a view on the histories of individual books and a view of collections, something at the core of investigations of personal libraries. This dual approach is part of the discussion about how individual libraries are providing access to collections, and McGill Libraries is among those singled out as having developed a strategy for this, using the creation of sub-collection codes to retrieve and browse special named collections virtually.²²²

The potential value of providing copy-specific information at the record level as well as supplying links to virtually reunite like material is vastly increased when combined with the ability to export and use this data in other systems. Much is now possible in this sense.

The CERL database permits record exports to "file providers" (i.e. contributing libraries), for example, although it does not explicitly offer raw data to individual

²¹⁹ See the SDBM website: <http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/index.html>; Individual fields included in the database are listed at <http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/schoenberg/ancillary.html?id=collections/schoenberg/about> (both last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

²²⁰ The MEI project is led by Christina Dondi. See a general description of this project at: <http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/mei/main> (last modified May 3, 2012). Material evidence is described on the MEI search page as including "copy specific, post-production evidence and provenance information," <http://incunabula.cerl.org/cgi-bin/search.pl> (last accessed Jun.12, 2012).

²²¹ In the MEI database this includes evidence types relating to ownership such as gender, profession, and method of acquisition.

²²² Sarah A. Buchanan, "Special Collections and Archives Code (SPAC): Preserving Provenance in a Bibliographic Catalog," *Cataloging and Classification Quarterly* 49, no. 5 (June 2011):354.

researchers.²²³ The Getty Institute database for Collecting and Provenance Research (for art, not books), is much more geared to individual researchers, explicitly announcing that a “download feature allows users to export information for use with programs such as Excel, Access, and Filemaker to generate charts and graphs.”²²⁴

Without expressing it as such, most libraries do this also, though indirectly. The use of bibliographic software (also often referred to as *reference management software* or *citation management software*) is now commonplace and many libraries export records in a variety of formats for use with such software. EndNote, RefWorks, and Zotero are popular examples.²²⁵

Discussion of such software does not usually address its use for analysis. Its role for most users revolves around gathering and organizing bibliographic records for subsequent export as bibliographies or to insert citations in written work. In a 2011 review of LIS literature on citation tools, Dawn Childress notes a paucity of discussion about the broader relevance of these tools for libraries and researchers.²²⁶ She is not specifically referring to their capacities for tools in analysis – she is concerned about the learning and research process around proper item identification and the appreciation of different source types – but it holds for this as well. Several articles and websites assess or compare citation managers, but they generally do not address the potential of using the software either as a basis for analysis in itself or as an intermediary to other programs.²²⁷ Such uses are starting to be visible, however, in various subject literatures, presented as research methods for analytical studies.²²⁸

²²³ CERL, “Exporting from the HPB,”

<http://www.cerl.org/web/en/resources/hpb/technical/output> (last modified Mar. 7, 2010).

²²⁴ Getty Research Institute, “Using the Databases,” Paul Getty Trust.

<http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/faq.html> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

²²⁵ See a comparison from UW-Madison Citation Management Working Group, “RefWorks/EndNote/Zotero Features Comparison,” University of Wisconsin–Madison Libraries. <http://library.wisc.edu/citation-managers/comparison.html> (last modified Sep. 22, 2011).

²²⁶ D. Childress, “Citation Tools in Academic Libraries: Best Practices for Reference and Instruction,” *Reference and User Services Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2011): 143-152.

²²⁷ See for example Amy Butros and Sally Taylor, “Managing Information: Evaluating and Selecting Citation Management Software, a Look at EndNote, RefWorks, Mendeley and Zotero,” in *Netting Knowledge: Two Hemispheres/One World: Proceedings of the 36th IASLIC Annual Conference* (Fort Pierce, Fla.: IASLIC, 2010), 53-66.; Nicole A. Cooke, “Internet Resources,” *Public Services Quarterly* 6, no. 4

As catalogues, cataloguing standards, and technology outside the library continue to evolve, the ways that catalogue data can be accessed and used by researchers will continue to shift. But a barrier has been broken and catalogue data has already become useful beyond the “silo” of the library. This study makes use of this fact, within the framework of approaches proposed in the literature of book and library history and observed in published practise, to explore the Klibansky Collection, as described in Chapter 4.

(Nov. 2010): 360-72; Ron Gilmour and Laura Cobus-Kuo, “Reference Management Software: a Comparative Analysis of Four Products,” *Issues in Science and Technology Librarianship* (Summer 2011), <http://www.isrl.org/11-summer/refereed2.html>; Merinda Kaye Hensley “Citation Management Software: Features and Futures,” *Reference and User Services Quarterly* 50, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 204-8. For comparisons of a larger group, see also Wikipedia’s article “Comparison of Reference Management Software,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comparison_of_reference_management_software (last modified Jan. 24, 2012). Several individual libraries post comparative charts as well, such as that at UW-Madison (see n. 240).

²²⁸ Robin King, Barbara Hooper and Wendy Wood “Using Bibliographic Software to Appraise and Code Data in Educational Systematic Review Research” *Medical Teacher* 33, no. 9 (2011):719-723; Fei Xu, “A Standard Procedure for Bradford Analysis and its Application to the Periodical Literature in Systems Librarianship,” *Library Hi Tech* 29, no.4 (2011): 751-763; see also: Bjarne Rerup Schlichter and Pernille Kraemmergaard, “A Comprehensive Literature Review of the ERP Research Field over a Decade,” *Journal of Enterprise Information Management* 23, no.4 (2010): 486-520; W.L. Gardner, “Scholarly Leadership of the Study of Leadership: A Review of The Leadership Quarterly's Second Decade, 2000-2009,” *Leadership Quarterly* 21, no.6 (2010): 922-958; Mei-Po Kwan, “A Century of Method-oriented Scholarship in the Annals,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100, no. 5 (2010): 1060-1075.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Methodological overview.

This analysis of the Klibansky Collection is both descriptive and interpretive. In terms of establishing overall characteristics, their changes over time, and identifying clusters of specific provenance elements, it is descriptive. In terms of assessing the character of the collection, how its particular features relate to Klibansky, or what they have to say about him, it is interpretive. It uses quantification to aid description and identification of features, but is humanistic in its approach, couching the exploration in reading and reflection. It draws methodologically from book and library history but its primary aim is not a history of the collection *per se* but an analysis that aims to increase knowledge about a new resource as it exists and to better understand its significance.

The literature review of methods discussed and used in book and library history provided a basis for articulating the overall structure and themes of inquiry of the study, while the literature review on Klibansky formed the substantive basis of interpretive aspects. The particular techniques of the catalogue data collection and analysis were developed within and for the study.

4.1.1 Overall approach

The overall methodology of the study consists of three main approaches, namely bibliography (the study of the physical book as well as selective enumeration); quantitative analyses; and a focus on the primary owner/user of a collection. The analysis is based on several but not all of the sources used by book and library historians; specific sources were determined by the particularities of the Klibansky Collection and Klibansky himself, as well as feasibility. Methods and sources used can be summarized as:

- Physical examination of RKC volumes (unstructured exploration; selective verification)
- Restructuring and organization of data from the McGill catalogue for enhanced exploration, analysis, and specialized list production.

- Quantitative analyses of bibliographic data and main types of provenance evidence:
 - extracted from RKC catalogue records (e.g. language, place of publication, authors)
 - derived from RKC catalogue records (e.g. subject groups, classes of provenance evidence)
- Assessment and contextualisation of general analyses and observations of particular subgroups and items of interest, drawing from Klibansky's publications (professional and autobiographical) and a range of secondary material.

Results are presented in a textual summary of findings and in the RKC Data Sheet, provided electronically in supplement. The Data Sheet permits more targeted sorting and analysis than can currently be done through McGill's OPAC, and formed the basis of quantitative assessments (see Section 4.2.4). Appended to the Data Sheet is, in addition, an abbreviated complete list of titles (LIST I) indicating the presence of any of the main types of recorded provenance evidence; and a small number of specialized sub-lists (see Appendix VI for a summary and samples).

4.1.2 Sequence and general process

Each element of the overall approach informed the others and the process was iterative throughout. Initial learning about Klibansky through published sources preceded the study and was a determining factor in the choice of subject. Contact with a subgroup of the collection early in the study – items not yet then catalogued and remaining in Klibansky's last office – provided an overall impression of the collection in terms of contents and Klibansky's treatment of books, and suggested likely areas of strength and interest for further investigation. Early searches of the catalogue established some of the broad strokes of the collection.

Volume examination and contextual readings continued alongside the development and process of final data collection and analysis. Explorations of the catalogue led to additional readings and to selective verification of evidence noted in records. Types of evidence and specific names observed in physical volumes informed the developing profile and led to new explorations in the catalogue and new readings.

New readings led to additional explorations of both individual volumes and the catalogue data.

4.1.3 Main themes around which the writing is organized

The main themes investigated are informed by what constitutes a core of observed topics in published models (see Section 3.5), but again final decisions were determined by what emerged from readings, direct books examination, and catalogue analysis. Themes of the study include:

- a. Klibansky's general habits of book treatment
- b. Library composition
- c. Questions of provenance, considering
 - Klibansky's ownership inscriptions
 - Gifts to Klibansky
 - Other provenance clusters
- d. A subgroup containing Klibansky's own shelf marks , considered as to:
 - Klibansky's organization of his books, and
 - Their possible relationship to his work.

Klibansky's annotation of books (outside of ownership and gift inscriptions) is not a main focus here. This aspect as an overall component of the RKC could not be adequately captured by the sources and methods chosen or within the scope of the study.²²⁹ The process of determining Klibansky's hand or the significance of his markings in specific texts appears best accomplished by more targeted and specialised study. Annotation is mentioned in a small number of cases in which the attribution is clear and particularly relevant, and a unique example that bears significantly on both his work and biography is signalled and briefly discussed (Section 7.3).

²²⁹ Klibansky wrote mainly in separate sheets and notepads while reading, as described by E. Groffier in "L'Amour des livres et des bibliothèques" (forthcoming). Some sheets are among the great number of insertions in books, which have been excluded as a source group for the current study (see Section 4.1.2).

Klibansky's general habits of book treatment

A brief assessment of Klibansky's general book treatment is based on all of the source types and methods. It draws from general observation of the physical collection, particular instances of evidence, as well as tendencies that emerged from the quantitative analyses and from the literature.

Library composition

An overview of RKC contents forms a major part of the work. It is a narrative collection description, guided by quantitative overviews of data from (and derived from) catalogue records using the RKC Data Sheet, and considered with respect to Klibansky's work and life. Focus is on subject classes, publication period, language, place of production, and authors of particular strength, in line with publication tradition on the topic, and several illustrative examples are mentioned. The classification system applied for subject analysis is the OCLC Conspectus (see Section 4.3), developed as part of the WorldCat Collection Analysis Service.²³⁰

Provenance

Investigation of provenance evidence was oriented by initial explorations of the physical collection, which helped to determine main areas of interest. Informal and sample checks (see Section 4.4) confirmed the consistent signalling in catalogue notes of ownership and gift evidence written, stamped or stuck to books, and catalogue data was adopted as the source for the overall assessment of provenance evidence. Subsequent investigation was then guided by quantitative assessments of evidence types from catalogue notes, on the one hand, and readings by and about Klibansky on the other, supplemented by continued general exploration. Larger provenance subgroups or themes that emerged from the analysis are signalled and several specific provenance groups are briefly considered in light of Klibansky's work and life.

Analysing provenance evidence involved extracting and organizing information from unstructured text notes in McGill catalogue records into separate fields for

²³⁰ "Introduction to the WorldCat Collection Analysis Service," OCLC, ©. 2012, <http://www.oclc.org/support/documentation/collectionanalysis/using/introduction/introduction.htm> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

analysis. Using the Data Sheet it is possible to sort, for example, by name in the signature field, or by name from bookplates and stamps. It is also possible to isolate a type of data and analyse its distribution with respect to subject, language, period of publication, etc. The general consistency of descriptive vocabulary used by McGill cataloguers greatly facilitated this process, as did the search options within EndNote and the data presentation features of both EndNote and Excel. See Section 4.2 for further elaboration on the basic steps.

Terminology draws largely from the way evidence is described in the McGill catalogue. In some instances, however, alternate terms or phrases were used, and where the terminology differs from its use in the RBMS thesaurus for provenance evidence terms, it is noted.²³¹ Elaboration on specific terms is integral to discussion of the findings themselves, and included within the relevant chapter sections. A descriptive list of all fields used or created for sorting and analysis is provided in Appendix II.

Klibansky's system of library organization

A subgroup of books contains Klibansky's marks indicating their shelf order. The approach to their study involved the extraction of these marks and the recreation of Klibansky's order. An attempt is made to understand the rationale behind the organization. Several groupings are detected around subject-based themes, and these are considered as to their possible relationship with Klibansky's own orientation to knowledge and also in relation to his publishing and teaching. Some hypotheses are proposed for these and other, less structured groups, and the reasoning is couched within the literature about him.

²³¹ See especially the hierarchical list for *physical amendments* in the "RBMS: Controlled Vocabularies: Provenance Evidence Terms," © 2010, http://www.rbms.info/committees/bibliographic_standards/controlled_vocabularies/provenance/th103.htm (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

4.1.4 The use of McGill catalogue data

The quantitative assessments of this study are based on data either from or derived from catalogue records rather than from individual book examination. There are a few reasons for this.

One is simply feasibility. The RKC, at over 7000 titles, is, for example, nearly double the size of the largest of the libraries studies discussed in the previous section (Freud).

More importantly, the attention paid by McGill librarians to cataloguing the collection, as well as the functionality of the McGill Library catalogue itself, opened the prospect of building on work already done to provide a higher-level understanding of the RKC as a whole. Specifically, this is made possible by the combination of: detailed item-level cataloguing; the capacity of virtually isolating the RKC through metadata (the Raymond Klibansky Collection sub-catalogue); and the fact that the library system (Aleph) permits the export of records in a format readable by bibliographical software.

In addition, the RKC is a new collection still not well known in the research community, and it was felt that a full overview of the existing RKC catalogue would be of greater use than an increase in precision that might possibly be gained by repeating item examination. Also, without an existing overview, it was uncertain which areas most merited attention or how much of the collection might contain certain elements of interest. As the study shows, there are several areas of the collection that will support further research on more targeted topics for which comprehensive item examination will be more feasible.

Efforts to ensure data quality have concentrated on my own data analysis against individual catalogue records rather than a verification of catalogue records against the collection. Nonetheless, a verification of a sample of volumes was made (see Section 4.4.3), which indicated that the great bulk of the provenance evidence types focused on here have effectively been recorded. A short summary of the types of evidence that appear most and least likely to have been recorded is provided in Section 4.4.3.

Beyond the systematic verification of the small subgroup, contact with the physical volumes in ongoing exploration led to numerous informal verifications of a larger number of books, which showed consistency with the more formal verification. In addition, when individual instances of verbal annotations recorded in notes are used for interpretation, they were in every case verified against the particular volumes.

4.2 Procedural aspects of the catalogue data analysis

The basic unit of analysis for the study is the catalogue record, which corresponds to the way RKC items are entered into and retrieved from the OPAC. When individual items are mentioned in the text they are referenced by the Library of Congress (LC) classification number (e.g. BV5080 W45 1618), except in specific discussion about shelf-marked books, in which case the shelf mark is used.²³²

Analyses of catalogue records did not proceed directly from the McGill OPAC. Bibliographic data for the Klibansky Collection was exported from the OPAC, gathered in a personal bibliographic database (EndNote) for exploration and manipulation, and then exported again for further manipulation and analysis in a spreadsheet (Excel). Standard desktop software was selected for simplicity and to keep the procedure accessible to a broad group of potential users.

The basic steps are:

1. Export bibliographic data from the catalogue (save .txt file)
2. Import text files of bibliographic data into EndNote
3. Manipulate data in EndNote
4. Export desired fields from EndNote in TAB Delimited format (save .txt file)
5. Open in Excel for additional manipulation and analysis

²³² LC classification numbers are often, but not always, equivalent to instances of individual records; if several separately published texts are bound together in a single volume, the texts will share a classification number but will nonetheless be represented in the OPAC by individual records for each distinctly published title. This increases access to texts in what are called *pamphlet volumes* (i.e. post-publication bound volumes containing multiple texts), ensuring that the last text of a volume is not buried from view on account of the first title or author. The “Library of Congress Classification Outline,” can be accessed at <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsolcco/> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

Manipulation in the EndNote database refers here to the reorganization of the structured data in the McGill catalogue records into separate fields (e.g., country of publication; author dates; presence of bookplates) or derived fields (e.g., subject groups) for sorting and exploration within targeted subgroups. Excel was used for further refinement of fields, the creation of additional fields, and the quantitative analyses and representations.

The following sections include several illustrated examples of the process, such as how exported catalogue data is restructured upon import into EndNote, and the basic procedure for the creation of new fields using captured data. Details of the specific mechanism used (the EndNote filter) used to import catalogue data into EndNote are provided in Appendix III.

4.2.1 Rationale for the procedure

There are two main reasons for going through this process before analysing the catalogue data, not including the basic attraction of efficiently performing quantitative analyses and creating tabular or graphical representations.

The most basic reason is simply to have access to the entire group of records at one time. Most OPACs limit the number of records that are returned from any given search. The McGill OPAC threshold is currently set at 3000, while the RKC has over 7000 titles. To browse or sort through any group of records that exceeds that limit, it is necessary to get the data out of the catalogue.²³³ A second reason is to have greater control of what fields can be sorted on and analysed. Many OPACs offer a good range of fields for sorting and limits, but it is not normally possible to sort, for example, by language, types of illustrations, or names from ownership inscriptions.

EndNote was chosen as the bibliographical software because of its flexibility with both Windows and Apple operating systems, because the database is preserved on a

²³³ This threshold also means that the records must be exported in sets of under 3000 records. This was first done by limiting results by publication period, and later also by language groups to catch records with incomplete date information. The final EndNote group was verified to contain the same number of records as returned in the OPAC for the RKC.

local hard drive yet can also be made accessible online, because data fields are customizable, and because it is also possible to customize the way that data is imported (as shown in 4.2.3).²³⁴ Earlier advantages such as its capacity to handle large numbers of records and its ability to export in a format readily usable in Excel appear now to be more standard. While EndNote is not normally presented as the easiest to use among the bibliographical software, it is the most flexible for this kind of work among the software types that are familiar to librarians and researchers alike. Excel was chosen because of its availability (and, again, its familiarity among a broad potential user group of the method), as well as the relative ease with which analyses can be performed and represented graphically.

Simply put, EndNote is very good for isolating groups of records to which a common field can be added, and Excel is very good for performing quantitative analyses of well-structured fields.

4.2.2 The use of MARC records

Information about books is entered into individual records in the McGill Library system (Aleph) in a structured format common to libraries called Machine-Readable Cataloguing (MARC).²³⁵ MARC tags are mostly numerical, with alphabetic subdivisions, and different numbers distinguish different types of data.²³⁶ Figure 1 shows a MARC record (saved as a plain text file) with its numerical tags on the left and the corresponding data, segmented within alphabetic subfields, on the right.

²³⁴ EndNote and other bibliographic software have evolved throughout the period of study, but EndNote appears to remain the most flexible tool among the most popular bibliographic software, for this purpose.

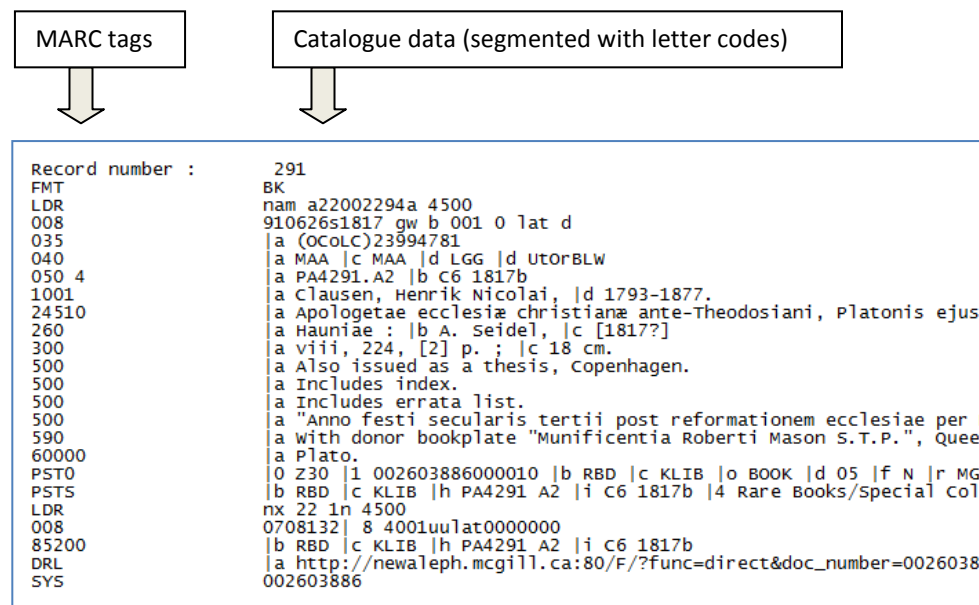
²³⁵ Changes are taking place in library cataloguing standards and the continuing use of MARC records is not ensured, but catalogue record data will maintain a structured format and the principles of use here will likely be adaptable to new standards and systems. For information about MARC as well as complete listings of MARC tags, see Library of Congress – Network Development and MARC standards Office, “MARC Standards,” Library of Congress. <http://www.loc.gov/marc/> (last updated Jan. 11 2012).

²³⁶ A list of the MARC tags used in McGill’s Aleph system can be found at Collection Services, “Aleph Indexes”, McGill Library, © 2012, <http://www.mcgill.ca/librarycollectionservices-staff/cat/indexes/> (last revised May 28, 2008).

The content data itself is called metadata, “a general term used to describe the structured data that can be created to describe a digital or non-digital object.”²³⁷ The number of MARC tags used in a given record depends on the individual item being catalogued, as well as the cataloguing library’s policies about what information is to be recorded.²³⁸

The MARC format can be selected for viewing in the McGill OPAC but is not the standard way of viewing records. The standard OPAC record view, as well as the standard record export formats, includes fewer fields than exist in the MARC record. The standard export format designed especially for export and use with bibliographic software – Research Information Systems (RIS) – is a simpler and more intuitive format, but has drawbacks. Figure 2 shows the same record as seen in Figure 1, but in RIS format.

Figure 1. Example of a MARC record



²³⁷ Collection Services, “Metadata”, McGill Library. © 2012

<http://www.mcgill.ca/librarycollectionservices/metadata/> (last updated Apr. 28, 2009).

²³⁸ For example if a book contains no copy-specific information of interest to McGill Library, the 590 tag will not appear. Similarly, this record does not contain the tags providing language information about translated or multilingual works (041), or a series statement (490), etc. As noted in Section 3.6, there is variety among library policies regarding the types of MARC fields used to record copy-specific evidence. The cataloguing of the RKC within a relatively short period and by a small group of cataloguers meant that the manner of inclusion of provenance information for this collection was highly consistent.

Figure 2. Example of an RIS record

```
Context:text/plain; charset="ISO-8859-1"
TY - BOOK
TP - BK
AU - Clausen, Henrik Nicolai,
TI - Apologetae ecclesiae christianae ante-Theodosiani, Platonis ejusque philosophia
CY - Hauniae :
PY - [1817?]
M1 - viii, 224, [2] p. ;
PB - A. Seidel,
N1 - Also issued as a thesis, Copenhagen.
N1 - Includes index.
N1 - Includes errata list.
N1 - "Anno festi secularis tertii post reformationem ecclesiae per Mart. Lutherum
N1 - with donor bookplate "Munificentia Roberti Mason S.T.P.", Queen's College, Ox
LN - PA4291 A2 C6 1817b Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collect
ER -
```

Because of the greater data richness of MARC records, and also because of its highly structured format, the MARC format was chosen over the RIS format for use in this study. Among the elements included in MARC records that are not included in RIS records are codes for language, country of publication, and author dates. The separation of subfields, for example of author names (|a) from author dates (|d), permits greater control of the data once imported into EndNote.

4.2.3 Restructuring exported catalogue data in EndNote

4.2.3.1 Importing the data

Not all data from the MARC record enters automatically into EndNote. The mechanism used by EndNote to import records is called an import filter. It specifies exactly which numerical MARC tags and alphabetical subfield codes will be brought into the database and how they will be identified within it. Each library system has a particular way of exporting MARC records and the filter must be adapted to the library system in question. (This aspect is one of the reasons for the more general use of the RIS format, for which one filter works for all RIS exports.)

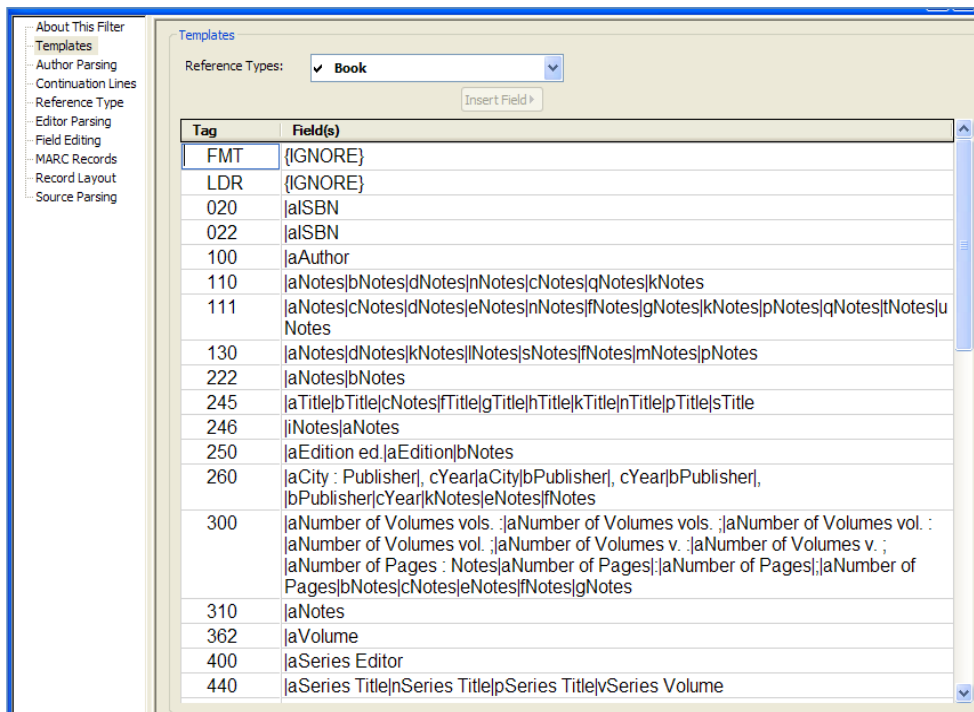
The base filter used here for McGill's library system (Aleph) is a MARC filter developed for its Aleph system by Harvard University Library.²³⁹ Once downloaded

²³⁹ Several libraries have produced individual MARC filters for their systems, and EndNote also offers to create specialized filters. Harvard Libraries offers their Aleph system MARC filter at "EndNote and HOLLIS" <http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=citationtools&pageid=icb.page138289> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012). I am indebted to Juanita Jara de Sumar for showing me the filter developed by Harvard Libraries and to Sharon Rankin for convincing me to pursue the possibility.

into the EndNote filter file, the filter can be opened for editing within the EndNote database and resembles very much the look of a MARC record, with tag numbers on the left and data on the right, as seen in Figure 3.

The filter was then modified to include additional fields, change the destination fields of others, and separate some subfields into distinct fields of their own.²⁴⁰ Figure 4 highlights two of the differences, showing excerpts from both the base filter and the modified MARC filter (saved in EndNote as a new filter called *JT MARC*). Full examples showing differences between what is imported from the same records using the RIS filter vs. the modified JT MARC filter can be seen in Appendix III.

Figure 3. Base MARC filter viewed in EndNote (detail)



Tag	Field(s)
FMT	{IGNORE}
LDR	{IGNORE}
020	aISBN
022	aISBN
100	aAuthor
110	aNotes bNotes dNotes nNotes cNotes qNotes kNotes
111	aNotes cNotes dNotes eNotes nNotes fNotes gNotes kNotes pNotes qNotes tNotes uNotes
130	aNotes dNotes kNotes lNotes sNotes fNotes mNotes pNotes
222	aNotes bNotes
245	aTitle bTitle cNotes fTitle gTitle hTitle kTitle nTitle pTitle sTitle
246	iNotes aNotes
250	aEdition ed. aEdition bNotes
260	aCity : Publisher , cYear aCity bPublisher , cYear bPublisher , bPublisher cYear kNotes eNotes fNotes
300	aNumber of Volumes vols. : aNumber of Volumes vols. : aNumber of Volumes vol. : aNumber of Volumes v. : aNumber of Volumes v. : aNumber of Pages : Notes aNumber of Pages : aNumber of Pages : aNumber of Pages bNotes cNotes eNotes fNotes gNotes
310	aNotes
362	aVolume
400	aSeries Editor
440	aSeries Title nSeries Title pSeries Title vSeries Volume

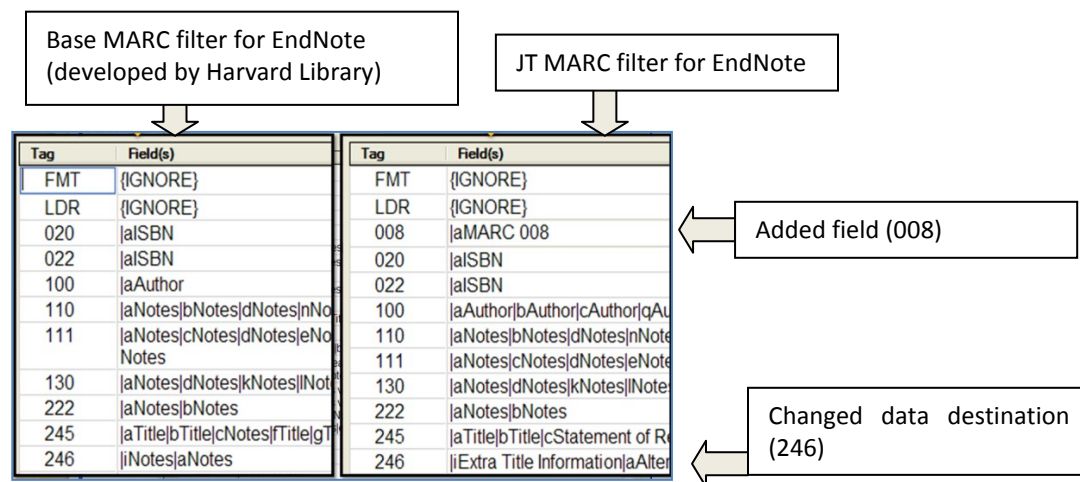
The left-hand column of the base filter shown in Figure 4 does not, for example, include the MARC field 008 that appears in all MARC records (see Figure 1), which means that the 008 field will not be imported into the EndNote database. The field

²⁴⁰ At the time of writing, the particularly powerful feature of adapting existing import filters remains apparently unique to EndNote, at least among the most commonly used bibliographic software. See the comparison of software features from UW-Madison, "RefWorks/EndNote/Zotero Features Comparison," <http://library.wisc.edu/citation-managers/comparison.html> (last edited Sep. 22, 2011).

number was added to the JT MARC filter (square on the right in Figure 4) and the label *MARC 008* was given to identify the incoming data within the EndNote database. The reason for its inclusion is further elaborated in section 4.2.3.2.

A second change to the filter is seen in the 246 field, present in both filters shown in Figure 4. This field contains extra title information (including additional titles given to specific volumes of a single-titled set, for example) or alternate titles for a given work. The base filter sends this information to the general notes field, where a great deal of different types of information can accumulate, whereas the JT MARC filter sends this information to a separate field (labelled *Extra Title Information...*), making it easier to find and reducing the amount of different kinds of information in the general notes field.

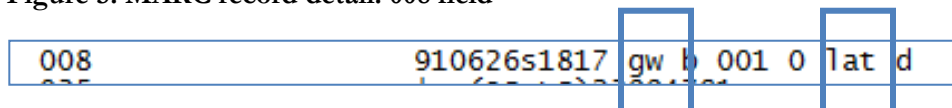
Figure 4. Example of MARC filter modifications



4.2.3.2 Creating new fields derived from catalogue data: country and language codes

The MARC 008 field illustrates well the basic process of creating simple fields from more complex ones. This MARC tag points to a data string containing several kinds of information, including country of publication and language, both fields that do not appear in the regular view of the OPAC record. The code “gw”, highlighted in Figure 5 (an enlarged detail from Figure 1), means that the book was produced in Germany; the code “lat” means that the book’s primary language is Latin.

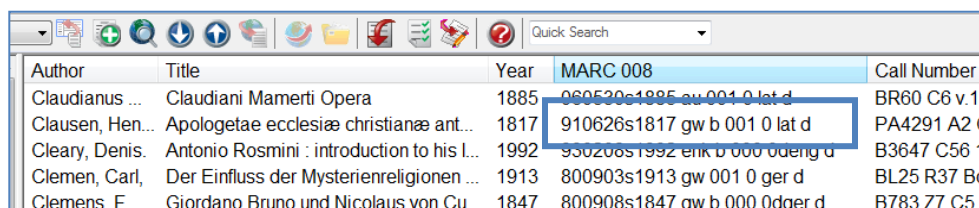
Figure 5. MARC record detail: 008 field



008	910626s1817	gw b 001 0 lat d
-----	-------------	------------------

Given the addition of this field to the import filter used by EndNote to gather data, it (and any other MARC field both present in the catalogue record and included in the import filter), becomes visible in the EndNote record. Figure 6 shows the newly created MARC 008 EndNote field in the display window.

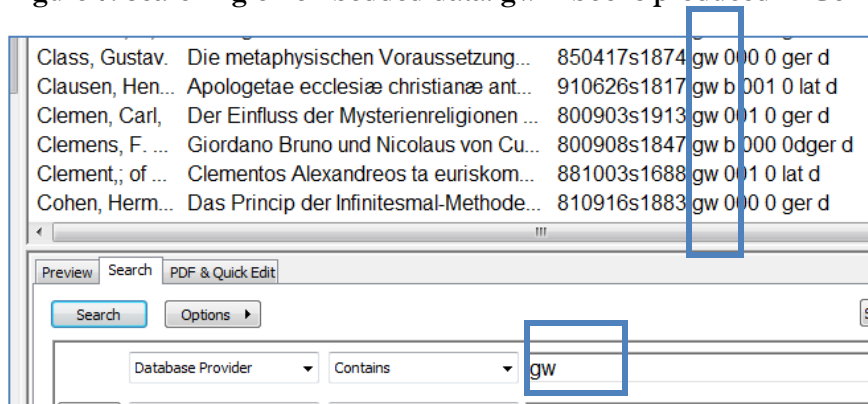
Figure 6. EndNote display window (detail)



Author	Title	Year	MARC 008	Call Number
Claudianus ...	Claudian Mamerti Opera	1885	960520s1885 gw 001 0 lat d	BR60 C6 v.11
Clausen, Hen...	Apologetae ecclesiae christianae ant...	1817	910626s1817 gw b 001 0 lat d	PA4291 A2 C
Cleary, Denis...	Antonio Rosmini : introduction to his l...	1992	930208s1992 enk b 000 0deng d	B3647 C56 1
Clemen, Carl,	Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen ...	1913	800903s1913 gw 001 0 ger d	BL25 R37 Bd
Clemens, F. ...	Giordano Bruno und Nicolaus von Cu...	1847	800908s1847 gw b 000 0dger d	B783 Z7 C5 1

Within the EndNote database, it is possible to then search the MARC 008 field across the entire library for the code “gw”, and isolate records with the code (see Figure 7).²⁴¹ For this to work – i.e. for data codes embedded in longer strings to be retrievable – the left and right dual truncation searching of EndNote is essential.

Figure 7. Searching on embedded data: gw = books produced in Germany



Author	Title	Year	MARC 008
Class, Gustav.	Die metaphysischen Voraussetzung...	850417s1874	gw 000 0 ger d
Clausen, Hen...	Apologetae ecclesiae christianae ant...	910626s1817	gw b 001 0 lat d
Clemen, Carl,	Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen ...	800903s1913	gw 001 0 ger d
Clemens, F. ...	Giordano Bruno und Nicolaus von Cu...	800908s1847	gw b 000 0dger d
Clement,; of ...	Clementos Alexandros ta euriskom...	881003s1688	gw 001 0 lat d
Cohen, Herm...	Das Princip der Infinitesimal-Methode...	810916s1883	gw 000 0 ger d

Search Criteria: Database Provider, Contains, gw

²⁴¹ Note that the search in Figure 7 is performed on a field called “Database Provider”. This field is an existing EndNote field that was renamed *MARC 008* in the import filter. The new field names do not automatically transfer to other parts of the system, such as the search fields. The corresponding field labels are identified within individual EndNote *Reference Types* and can be consulted as needed.

It is then a simple matter to add, to all of the records at once, an identifying code or information either to an existing field or to a newly created field. This can be repeated for the different language codes, with the eventual result seen in Figure 8, useful for sorting or isolating groups based on either field.²⁴²

Figure 8. EndNote screenshot: Country and Language codes

Author	Title	Year	Country	Lang...	Call Number
Claudianus ...	Claudiani Mamerti Opera	1885	au	Lat	BR60 C6 v.1
Clausen, Hen...	Apologetae ecclesiae christianae ant...	1817	gw	Lat	PA4291 A2 C
Cleary, Denis.	Antonio Rosmini : introduction to his l...	1992	enk	Eng	B3647 C56 1
Clemen, Carl,	Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen ...	1913	gw	Ger	BL25 R37 Bc
Clemens, F. ...	Giordano Bruno und Nicolaus von Cu...	1847	gw	Ger	B783 Z7 C5
Clement, I.; P...	Les Pères apostolique : Épitre aux C...	1909	fr	Fre ...	BR60 A6 H4
Clement,; of ...	Clementos Alexandros ta euriskom...	1688	gw	Lat ...	BR65 C6 168
Clement,; of ...	The writings of Clement of Alexandri...	1868	stk	Eng	BR60 A5 v.4
Clerval, A.; (...	Guide chartrain : Chartres, sa cathéd...	1927	fr	Fre	DC801 C48

A larger sample of types of fields that can be created and derived from the data is provided in Figure 9.

Figure 9. EndNote screen shot (detail): multiple field examples

Author	Title	Author dates	Country	Lan...	Label...	Shelf ...	McGill Notes
Claudian...	Claudiani Mamerti Opera	d. ca. 474.	au	Lat			Signature on front flylea
Clausen, ...	Apologetae ecclesiae chr...	1793-1877.	gw	Lat	BKPT...	D.b.16	With donor bookplate "
Cleary, D...	Antonio Rosmini : introdu...		enk	Eng			
Clemen, ...	Der Einfluss der Mysterie...	1865-1940.	gw	Ger	BKPT...	E.f.11	Pictorial bookplate of: f
Clemens...	Giordano Bruno und Nico...	1815-1862.	gw	Ger			
Clement...	Les Pères apostolique : ...		fr	Fre ...			
Clement...	Clementos Alexandros t...	ca. 150-ca. ...	gw	Lat ...			Copy in Klibansky Coll.
Clement...	The writings of Clement o...	ca. 150-ca. ...	stk	Eng			Donor: Raymond Klibai
Clerval, ...	Guide chartrain : Chartre...	1859-1918.	fr	Fre	STM...		Publisher's stamp on fr

Non-standard fields in Figure 9 include Author dates; Country of publication; Language; Label or Stamp; and Shelf mark. These do not constitute the complete set of fields that were created for, or used in, the study (see Appendixes II and III), but they illustrate well the ways in which bits of information from the catalogue record can be isolated in EndNote for sorting or grouping.

²⁴² Once group searches are performed for the few largest groups, the remaining records still lacking a code for language or country can be treated individually by looking at the 008 field. The 008 field is preserved and can be scanned next to the new language and country fields to verify that data has been correctly grouped and tagged.

The data fields of EndNote were then exported to Excel for further refinement and analysis. Despite this, the EndNote database continued to be useful. EndNote is more convenient than an Excel spreadsheet for collection browsing and for isolating records not defined by simple codes because of features including support of both left and right truncation in searching, the simple creation of record subsets, and flexibility and convenience in its multi-field display window so useful for considering several fields simultaneously. Data has been preserved in Excel format only, however. The rapidly evolving software environment makes the preservation of spreadsheet data more practical as it is well suited for use in new and multiple software applications. In addition, the number of fields in the final RKC Data Sheet exceeds that of the EndNote system at present.

4.2.4 Using Excel to further refine fields and perform analyses

Additional fields and refinements to existing fields were created once the data was exported from EndNote and imported into Excel. This data became the RKC Data Sheet, which remains a working spreadsheet to support continued analysis of the collection, and to which data can be added or improved.

Quantitative analyses were made using the pivot tables and charts within Excel, but the RKC Data Sheet also supported more qualitative exploration through sorting and grouping. The number of columns in the data sheet grew beyond what is feasible to show, but a complete list of fields with descriptions is provided in Appendix II.

The Data Sheet does not include all fields of the catalogue record. It includes those that supported the research and were thought most important for this first analysis. A few fields (columns) from the sheet are shown in Figure 10 to give a sense of how the data appears. The fields are described in Table 2, excerpted from the appendix.

Figure 10. Example of analysis fields of the RKC Data Sheet

CATEGORY (TI)	ILLUST	THJ28	*SIG	Signal	*INSC	KLIP FR	*MA	Shelfr	ACQ	*Klib r	*INSE	*BKPT	Labels an	L&S Prov	*PROV
Subject Bibliography							Y					OS	STMPI Bibl.	"Bibl. Coll.	Y
Practical Theology			KLIP	Klibansk	S						Y	OS	STMPI Heide	"Heidelberg	Y
Greek Literature			SIG	Speranz	S		Y'	? two different sets?				OB	2 scribe wor	?	Y
History, General												OB	2? BKPT	?	Y
Roman Catholic	illust.	ill ;										OB	BKLB - sma	?	Y
History - Italy							Y				Y	OB	BKPT - remn	?	Y
English Literature					INSCRI							OB	BKPTI Histor	?	Y
Greek Literature	illust.	port ;		-				E.c.16				OB	BKPTP unsig	?	Y
Graphic Arts, Drawing, De												OL'	LB - AUTHOR	?	Y
Astronomy	illust.	ill., ports., facsim.										OS'	STMP ?	?	?
Latin Literature											?	OS	STMP early	?	Y
Philosophy - Anc	illust.	ill ;										OS	STMP illeg	?	Y
Philosophy - Ancient, Med								D.c.45				OS	STMP unde	?	Y
Philosophy - Modern (145												OS	STMPI Bibli	?(Bibliogra	Y
Speculative Philosophy												OS	STMPI Bibli	?(Bibliogra	Y
Philosophy - Modern (145												OB	BKPTP ?Arch	?Archbisho	Y
History - Italy	illust.	ill. (some col.), port. ;			PROV							OB	BKPTP Thom	Adam	Y
Christianity												OB	BKPTP Agne	Agnew	Y
Christianity												OB	BKPTP Agne	Agnew	Y
Greek Language												BKLB	BKLB Prize	Allen / Ame	Y
Bible			SIG	Sleys (or	S		Y					OB	BKPTP Alme	Almeida, Ar	Y
English Literature	illust.	ill., port. ;	SIG	Young	S							OB	BKPTP (2) Ja	Ashbee / Yo	Y
Latin Language											Y	OS	STMPI Ashm	Ashmolean	Y
Mathematics, Ge	illust.	folded ill., port. ;						F.c.21				OB BKSEL	BKPTP F. Bur	Atkinson	Y
Christianity	illust.	port ;		-								OS	STMP Aylwin	Aylwin / Al	Y
History - Greece			SIG	Aylwin, ;	S							OS	STMP Aylwin	Aylwin / W	Y
History, General	illust.	ill ;	SIG	Aylwin	S							OS	STMP Aylwin	Aylwin / W	Y
History, General			SIG	Aylwin	S							OS	STMP Aylwin	Aylwin / W	Y
History, General			SIG	Aylwin	S							OS	STMP Aylwin	Aylwin / W	Y

There is often more than one column or field related to a single evidence type. For example, the data in Figure 10 are sorted on the field *Le&S Prov[enance]* (second from the right), which lists specific surnames and institution names on bookplates and stamps. The column to its left (*Labels...*) differentiates personal from institutional bookplates and stamps, etc., and the column to the left again (**BKPT...*) indicates the presence of bookplates as opposed to stamps, etc. Similarly, the second column from the left, *ILLUST*, signals the presence of some kind of illustration, while the column to its right specifies the illustration type.

Table 2. Description of Excel fields of Figure 10

RKC Data Sheet Col.	Column Name	Description
AY	CATEGORY	Derived field. Mid-level subject: application of the OCLC Conspectus Category-level subject headings to the corresponding range of Library of Congress (LC) call numbers in column <i>Call #</i> .
BA	ILLUST	Derived field. Indicates the presence in the record of some kind of illustration, based on column <i>Illustration type</i> .
BB	Illustration type	Extracted field. From MARC 300 b, indicates the specific kind(s) of illustrations present as recorded in the record. This information has been augmented in a handful of cases where illustration information has been noticed in the Notes field, on account of the imperfect adaptation of the EndNote JT MARC filter for all records. (Illustration information added from the column <i>Notes</i> is in blue.)
All subsequent fields are PROVENANCE FIELDS, DERIVED FROM McGill notes in MARC 561 and MARK 590 (reproduced in column <i>McGill NOTES</i>). FOR ALL PROVENANCE FIELDS, AN APOSTROPHE (') FOLLOWING A GROUP CODE INDICATES UNCERTAINTY.		
BE	*SIG	Indicates the presence of a signature (an <i>autograph</i> , as termed by the RBMS thesaurus) or other ownership inscription, whether Klibansky's (KLIB), not Klibansky's (SIG), initials (INIT), institutional (INST) or illegible (ILLEG). A plus sign (+) indicates more than one instance in a record (used for multiple non-Klibansky inscriptions and also for a Klibansky ownership inscription and one or more others). A question mark (?) indicates that it is unclear if the signature is Klibansky's, but that the type of evidence (ownership inscription) is not questioned.
BF	Signatures (now called Own. Inscri. Names)	Lists the surname(s) where possible from Non-K signatures and other ownership inscriptions. This is mainly useful where there is one name present. It does not, however, constitute a full alphabetical list of provenance. NOTE: The list is preliminary and has not been independently verified against volumes.
BI	*INSCRI	The most general level of indication for inscriptions. Includes inscriptions from all sources to Klibansky as identified in notes (KLIB); all other inscriptions, including those possibly to Klibansky but not yet recognized as such (INSCRI_Gen); provenance information that is not obviously a gift inscription (PROV); and the presence of an ownership inscription, where no other inscription is present (S).
BK	KLIB FROM	A preliminary organization of inscriber names to Klibansky, for non-author inscriptions and inscriptions classed as RESP or ASSOC, but not AUTHOR. Also provides additional detail to the codes used in <i>*INSCRI Anal</i> .
BM	*MARG or MARK	Indicates the presence of markings or marginalia (Y), where there is an indication of heavy annotation (MANY), annotation throughout (THRT) or interleaved books (INTER). When noticed the presence of manuscript illustration (DRAW) is also noted. See also columns <i>Marginalia</i> and <i>Markings</i> .
BR	Shelfmarks	Lists the shelf mark noted in record; Indicates those not thought to be Klibansky's ("NK" preceding shelf mark).
BT	ACQ Bio Period	Presumed period of Klibansky's book acquisition for books with dated inscriptions. Based on column <i>*Klib Acq Date</i> , but only for items tagged as "D" (i.e. not D prime:"D' ") in column <i>*K Man. Date</i> .
BX	*Klib man Placename	Placenames written in Klibansky's ownership inscriptions and gift inscriptions to him. Inscriptions with no identification of inscriber are included with the standard indicator of uncertainty (!).
BY	*INSERT	Indication (Y) of inserted items noted in McGill catalogue records.
CD	*BKPT STMP BKLB	Groups ownership bookplates (OB) as opposed to ownership stamps (OS), book-prize plates (BP), or other ownership-related labels (L). Where an ownership plate and ownership stamp are both present they are distinguished (BS) but when the stamp is not an ownership stamp only the bookplate is signalled (see also column <i>Labels and Stamps</i>). Cancelled copies (cc) are indicated when noticed, but this element was not searched specifically and is not consistently included. Other kinds of labels or stamps (other) are also noted, mainly complimentary copy stamps.
CE	Labels and Stamps	Groups institutional as opposed to personal labels and stamps (BKPTP vs BKPTI; STMP vs. STMPI); separating them from other, unspecified kinds of labels and stamps (BKPT; STMP; LB). Includes owner names from notes. Not clean enough for pivot-table analysis, but useful for sorting.
CF	L&S Prov	Lists the surname or institution name from labels and stamps noted in the record, for sorting by owner rather than by evidence type.
CG	*PROV	Indicates the presence of any of the types of ownership or gift provenance evidence analysed in the study (Y), as well as records that note only insertions or signs of the publishing trade such as complimentary copy stamps (I).

4.3 Subject analysis: the OCLC Conspectus

The decision about subject classification for the study was largely determined by the fact that cataloguing is already completed within the Library of Congress (LC) system

used by McGill Library. In addition, Klibansky maintained no catalogue of his own, and in keeping with Yvan Lamonde's argument that the system should be consistent with classification structures contemporary with and familiar to the library owner, the LC system is appropriate as a basis.²⁴³

At the same time, the LC system itself is not ideal for at least two reasons. One has to do with the level of subject specificity to be used for quantitative overviews. The LC categories sometimes lack consistency, and while the broadest level can be very general, for example grouping Religion and Philosophy in a single category (B), the first layer of subdivisions can become unnecessarily detailed. Partly for this reason it was decided to use the OCLC Conspectus subject groupings. The OCLC Conspectus provides headings that are related, but not identical, to LC subject classes and subclasses, and is more consistent in its broad and mid-level categories. It also has the advantage of being usable with both LC and Dewey Decimal systems, providing for more opportunities for future use in comparative or cumulative studies. In their words "the Conspectus provides a framework to systematically inventory and describe library collections, and can be used with Dewey® Decimal, Library of Congress and National Library of Medicine."²⁴⁴ There are three levels of specificity (definitions and example theirs):

Division: Divisions represent broad disciplines of knowledge. They are not tied to a specific classification scheme. *Example*: Music

Category: Categories represent topics within a specific division. These are correlated with LC, Dewey Decimal or NLM classification numbers. *Example*: Music – Instrumental Music

Subject: Subjects provide the most detailed identification within a specific category. *Example*: Music – Instrumental Music – Piano Music

The mapping of both LC and Dewey call numbers to the first two levels – Divisions and Categories – are freely available online and provide sufficient specificity for a

²⁴³ See Section 3.2.2

²⁴⁴ OCLC "The OCLC Conspectus" © 2012

http://www.oclc.org/support/documentation/collectionanalysis/using/introduction/introduction.htm#conspectus_WCA (last accessed Jun. 13, 2012).

subject overview.²⁴⁵ The Division level is used to give an overall sense of disciplinary strengths, and the Category level is used to look at mid-level subject areas. The excerpt from the Philosophy and Religion division of the Conspectus in Table 3 illustrates the relationship between Conspectus Categories, against LC subclasses and Dewey call number ranges.

Table 3. Relationship of OCLC Categories to LC and Dewey call number groups

CONSPECTUS DIVISION	CONSPECTUS CATEGORY	Corresponding LC class ranges	Corresponding DEWEY ranges
Philosophy & Religion	Philosophy - Periodicals, Societies, Congresses	B(0-68)	100-108
Philosophy & Religion	Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	B(69-789)	109
Philosophy & Religion	Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	B(790-9999)	116
Philosophy & Religion	Logic	BC0-9999	160-168
Philosophy & Religion	Speculative Philosophy	BD0-9999	110-111.84

The categories for Logic and Speculative Philosophy at the lower end of Table 3 correspond directly to the LC subclasses BC and BD, but the upper three categories are subdivisions of the single subclass B, showing the somewhat uneven levels of specificity among the broad level subject divisions in the LC system. The Conspectus system provides a more consistent level of subject specificity for analysis and comparison.

In addition to the possible transformation to Dewey categories, there is another potential advantage to using this system for purposes of comparison. The Conspectus forms an integrated part of the WorldCat Collection Analysis service available to research institutions globally and is used in WorldCat OPAC interfaces (including joint OPACs like the McGill WorldCat catalogue) for results analysis and

²⁴⁵ The process is not automatic and these headings must be attributed manually. They can, however, be batch-entered relatively easily into a call-number sorted EndNote database or Excel table. The complete file of Divisions and Categories, with corresponding LC and Dewey class numbers, is downloadable: <http://www.oclc.org/collectionanalysis/support/conspectus.xls> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

limiting through faceted metadata.²⁴⁶ This means that the system used here is compatible with that of a number of institutional systems.²⁴⁷

One change was made to the OCLC Conspectus. The range of LC classification numbers associated with Canadian literature PS(8001-8599) have been identified as such, rather than as English Literature as they would be in the Conspectus.

4.4 Delimitations and limitations of the study

4.4.1 General limitations

A private library cannot be understood as a full representation of the reading and interests of its owner any more than the signatures in it can be viewed as a complete map of his acquaintances. The continuities and discontinuities that emerge from evidence in the collection in relation to what has been published by and about Klibansky will form a particular rather than a complete image. The findings of this study will be a partial but special view of a man whose work and friendships were intimately connected with books, and whose biography and work demonstrates a great interest in books and in the preservation of history and culture.

No pretensions to generalizations directly from these findings to other readers or libraries will be made. Similarly no conclusions about the general psychology of book collecting will be drawn. It is hoped, nevertheless, that these findings will effectively contribute to a larger pool of information about individual library owners that will facilitate further research, and in particular to the eventual emergence of a picture of commonalities and variations in relation to private libraries in related twentieth-century intellectual circles.

²⁴⁶ See the documentation on the OCLC website © 2012
<http://www.oclc.org/support/documentation/collectionanalysis/default.htm> (last accessed Jun. 12, 2012).

²⁴⁷ A recently published article by Web Librarian at Toronto's York University, William Denton proposes much the same thing – applying OCLC Divisions and Categories to data from MARC records to represent institutional holdings visually. Denton, “On Dentographs, A New Method of Visualizing Library Collections,” *Code4Lib Journal* [online] 16, (Feb. 3, 2012)
<http://journal.code4lib.org/articles/6300#author>.

While the collection as a whole has been considered for its potential value to the study, only a small number of individual books or groups of books were the focus of further attention and investigation. The selection emerged through an iterative process involving a continual review of information about Klibansky, as well as the examination of the library itself, but the greatest focus was given to items that formed part of a pattern or cluster of items, as opposed to individual books of special interest.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, there was no attempt to focus the study on old or rare books *per se*.

4.4.2 Sources and methods considered but not used

The sources used here to penetrate the Klibansky Collection are key to understanding it but do not exhaust the possible range.

Personal and other archival documents are traditionally a much-used group from which understanding of readers is gleaned, but they are not a main source for this research. The decision was based not on a perceived lack of value of the sources but determined by the scope of the study. There is a great deal of archival material for Klibansky, primarily in his *fonds* at the *Deutsche Literaturarchiv*, but also in other repositories. A brief exploration of documents held at the Warburg Institute Archive and also the small number of documents associated with the Klibansky collection at McGill indicated that this material holds much potential for future work (see the summary of sources on Klibansky in Appendix I).

A second group of archival material comprises items inserted into books. Many of these are also signalled in notes (in over 400 records) and remain in the books, while others (possibly the majority) are not signalled in the records and are kept in separate files in RBSC and may be consulted there. When insertions are recorded in catalogue notes they are indicated in the Data Sheet, but beyond this, insertions have been left aside in this study. They represent a more complex array of evidence types than are treated here and their relationship to the book in which they are found requires

²⁴⁸ Several of the individual volumes that best reflect Klibansky are highlighted in the exhibition catalogue directed by Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)* [exhibition catalogue; forthcoming].

individual assessments that would often be inconclusive. What can be said generally of the insertions is that their variety is vast; they include a great deal of publishers' promotional material, blank bits of paper, concert programs, invitations, etc. but also there are folded sheets of notes, receipts, letters, scraps of newspaper, business cards, bits of envelopes. The bulk is not directly related to Klibansky's work or life, but there are enough counter-examples to warrant further description and study.

Interviews, a method linked to contemporary studies of reading, were considered. Several conversations with individuals acquainted with and often close to Klibansky provided valuable contextual information. As a primary data source, however, they were not used. Most of what was communicated did not directly address questions about the library or books, and where information from personal communication is used it will be indicated, and is considered among the other sources of secondary contextual material.

Use of published sources by and about Klibansky focused on those in French and English, with selective attention to material in German, especially, but also Italian. The range of material in German about Klibansky grew as the study progressed, and relevant contextual material surpassed the ability to absorb it. This study does not, on that account, deeply explore the full German intellectual history perspective, though it does show that such an exploration is warranted.

4.4.3 Efforts to ensure data quality

RKC Data Sheet

Efforts to ensure the quality of the data in the RKC Data Sheet with respect to the McGill source catalogue have been made in several ways. Grouping of records based on automatic retrieval in EndNote (for example by country codes) were in each case followed by a review of each entry of the group. This was simplified by the possibility of visually scanning relevant fields as parallel columns. For provenance evidence this process was longer but was much aided by the consistency of cataloguers in their use of vocabulary. Nonetheless, certain terms have multiple meanings (such as "signature" which is also used to describe gathering numbers) and variation exists in natural language notes. The set of initial search terms was

iteratively expanded as new terms appeared, and notes of each group were then reviewed.

Ambiguity is signalled in the RKC Data Sheet either by a symbol (e.g. an apostrophe (') following a code signals uncertainty) or by the creation of a group (e.g. PROV for uncertain evidence types). Uncertain instances are either identified as such or were eliminated from the tabular or graphical counts presented. More information about the treatment of individual groups is included in the relevant sections.

The greatest amount of error in groups formed by automatic retrieval was caused by evidence inscribed or stamped on insertions rather than on the book itself, or by notes about copies other than RKC copies. The latter can happen when there are multiple copies of a same edition in the McGill OPAC, as one record is used to record all, and notes for all copies are included in the McGill Notes field. A full review was made to catch information related to other copies and the bulk of other-copy information has been removed from the McGill Notes field in the Data Sheet to prevent new introductions of error. Evidence from insertions was also removed from the fields used for provenance analysis, and the presence of insertions is indicated separately.

In addition to reviewing each step as it was taken, notes were consistently verified with the ongoing exploration and occasionally entire sub-sets were re-reviewed to ensure consistency in the application of group codes or symbols of uncertainty. From the final RKC Data Sheet, a systematic sample of 350 records (every 10th record, sorted by LC classification number) was taken from the population of just over 3150 records that indicate in notes the presence of some kind of provenance evidence (codes Y or I in field *PROV). The sample size was adopted from the table published by Robert Krejcie and Daryle Morgan in 1970 and presented in the 2010 edition of Connaway and Powell's *Basic Research Methods for Librarians*, which uses a degree of accuracy of $p=0.5$ and assumes the given characteristic (i.e. one or more fields incorrectly recorded in the data sheet based on my own field definitions)

occurs 50 percent of the time.²⁴⁹ Given that the occurrence of error was expected to be (and was) substantially lower than 50 percent, the sample suggested (341 for $n=3000$ or 346 for $n=3500$) is conservative. From these records (in the form of RKC Data Sheet rows) verification of provenance data fields (columns BC-CG of the Data Sheet) was made against the McGill OPAC local notes; language assessment (**LangAnal*; column AJ) was verified against all fields used for language determination (MARC 008; MARC 546; MARC 041) as well as the title language.

The check found five errors:

- one instance of an ex libris not noted (PA4280 A5 F53 1551).
- one instance of the code for a donor bookplate (BKPTD) used instead of BKPTP (D) when both a personal and donor bookplate were present (CT95 B2813 1734).
- an instance of writing – “ms. inscription in pencil: gelesen Rom d. W.x.03 (?)” – that should have been classed as ambiguous provenance evidence (*PROV*) or other annotation (MARG) rather than as a gift inscription (*INSCRI_Gen*); (DG427 H48 1887).
- two instances of a wrong language analysis: use of Lat-Grc when the Latin component was a title page only. This mistake led to a full check of the Lat-Grc group and found no other instances of the error. The two volumes were part of a series containing many bilingual texts (PA3825 P8 1910; PA260 F56 1920b).

In addition, four descriptions of written provenance evidence (BX4905 V38 1853; QB15 F7 1909; B823 I6 1907; PA8506 1676) provided a reminder that the grouping of evidence as an ownership inscription v.s. gift inscription vs. other annotation (here classed with marginalia) is in some instances ambiguous, and while this is made clear in the text (Section 8.2) it is worth underlining.

No errors were found of inadvertently added data not present in McGill records.

McGill Catalogue

In terms of the relationship between the data used for analysis and RKC volumes, the RKC data sheet should be considered a solid beginning rather than the last word. Many verifications were made of recorded evidence against individual volumes in the

²⁴⁹Robert V. Krejcie and Daryle W. Morgan, “Determining Sample Size for Research Activities,” *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 30 (1970): 608; Lynn Silipigni Connaway and Ronald R. Powell, eds. *Basic Research Methods for Librarians*, 5th ed. (Santa Barbara, Calif: Libraries Unlimited, 2010), 130.

course of collection exploration, but as already noted (Section 4.2) not all records were verified and such informal verifications were not documented.

A group of 200 volumes were checked against catalogue records. The sample is not random and does not provide generalizable findings, but this was not the aim. The aim was to assess whether the analysis of evidence types focused on here can be expected to reasonably reflect the collection in its broad strokes. Volumes were checked in their shelf sequence from the beginning of the core subject area of the collection – Philosophy & Religion. This method of checking was chosen for convenience, and the starting place was chosen in an area containing books central to Klibansky's work so that tested volumes would be likely to have subject relevance for him. The sample size was chosen based on the formula used by Owen Massey in his master's thesis as an appropriate tool for determining sample sizes of library collections for cataloguing errors, adopted from Peter Hernon.²⁵⁰ Using a confidence level of 95 percent ($z=1.96$), a hypothetical error rate (i.e. one or more fields incorrectly or not recorded) of 5 percent ($p=0.05$),²⁵¹ and an acceptable margin of error in the result from the sample of 3 percent ($E=0.03$), the formula gives the following sample size:

$$n = \frac{p(1-p)z^2}{E^2} = \frac{.05(.95)1.96^2}{.03^2} = 203$$

The sample showed that signs of ownership or gifts were very consistently recorded. More than 65 instances of signatures, inscriptions, bookplates or stamps of ownership were recorded and only 2 unrecorded instances were noticed. The results

²⁵⁰ Massey "Auditing catalogue quality by random sampling," Section 4.2.: Choosing the Sample, M.A. diss., (Loughborough University, August 2000). Viewed online <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~bodl0842/dissertation/index.html> (last accessed Jun. 20, 2012). The formula provides a variation, based on different p values, to the standard sample sizes presented in tables such as that in Connaway and Powell, *Basic Research Methods*, 130, which use $p=.5$; Hernon, "Determination of sample size and selection of the sample: concepts, general sources, and software," *College and Research Libraries* 55, no.2 (1994): 175. See also Ann Chapman and Owen Massey, "A Catalogue Quality Audit Tool," *Library and Information Research News* 26, no. 82 (Spring 2002): 26-37.

²⁵¹ The $p=.05$ value was determined based on the verification of a first one hundred records.

do, then, support the analysis here as a sound overall assessment of the collection with respect to the kinds of provenance evidence that are the focus of the study.

The majority of shelf marks were also recorded, but the non-recording rate was higher; from the sample of 200 volumes 14 shelf marks were recorded and an additional 3 were noticed. The quantitative assessment in the analysis here is therefore an under-representation of the full group. As seen in Chapter 10, however, there are enough shelf marks noted in the catalogue to provide an informative if partial assessment of their use. Furthermore, the 14-3 ratio of recorded shelf marks in the sample is similar to that of volumes missing from the sequences reconstructed out of recorded shelf marks, and is an encouraging sign that several volumes missing from the ranges are still likely a part of the RKC. And finally, it appears that any subsequent search for unrecorded shelf marks will be aided by this initial analysis of existing ones by reason of subject focus, as borne out in one example.

Briefer instances of marginalia or markings, particularly in twentieth-century volumes, are less thoroughly recorded. There were, for example, 12 instances noted among the group of 200, but more than that number of additional instances noticed (most very minor). This contributed to the decision not to attempt an overview of annotation (i.e. marginalia or markings) using the current methodology, beyond the very brief summary in Section 8.4.

PART II: THE RAYMOND KLIBANSKY COLLECTION

CHAPTER 5: INTRODUCTION TO THE COLLECTION

5.1 Developing a special awareness of libraries

Little is revealed in autobiographical publications about the library of Klibansky's childhood home, but his school years at *Odenwaldschule* were certainly full of books, and through his university years he became familiar with some of the finest libraries in Europe. A few in particular played an important role in his formative period.

Cassirer and the Warburg

In his memoirs, Klibansky notes particularly the libraries he frequented in Hamburg, in 1926. He remembers Ernst Cassirer's "magnificent" library as part of the reigning atmosphere of peace and culture of Cassirer's home, as well as the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (KBW) with which he remained involved for so long. The two were very much connected in Klibansky's social circles at the age of 21.

Cassirer frequented the KBW for his research and provided the introduction to Aby Warburg. The meeting was a lucky one, as Warburg died in 1929. When Warburg's library project began, Hamburg had no university, and the development of the KBW to support research was possible thanks to an arrangement with Warburg's banking family. A university did open in Hamburg in 1919, but the KBW's connection with scholars remained strong and by Klibansky's arrival in 1926 the library as a research centre was well established, involved in seminars and publishing as well as normal library business.

Klibansky was invited to organize sections of the KBW (Philosophy, Classics and Encyclopedias).²⁵² Warburg's system of book organization was ever changing, and according to Fritz Saxl, the library's director after Warburg's death, (also Klibansky's friend and co-author, with Erwin Panofsky, of *Saturn and Melancholy*), "the

²⁵² Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 35.

arrangement of the books was equally baffling and [the researcher] may have found it most peculiar, perhaps, that Warburg never tired of shifting and re-shifting them. Every progress in his system of thought, every new idea about the inter-relation of facts made him re-group the corresponding books.”²⁵³ This was the principle of finding the “good neighbour” for a book. Klibansky does not seem to have replicated the Warburg organizing system in his own books (a topic touched on again in Chapter 10) but through the experience at the Warburg, and before developing a large library himself, he had already reflected on how individual items relate as library sections and as a whole, and perhaps on the ability of groups of books to respond to and even guide investigation. What is certain is that the atmosphere of Cassirer’s library and the vibrant complexity of the KBW imprinted themselves on Klibansky’s memory, that he had a strong and positive image of the scholar’s private library, and even in his last years spoke of them as an inspiration.

Heidelberg University Library

The role of texts in history, regarding which Reformation texts provide such a strong example, and the role of history on texts, evident through library development but also confiscations and other catastrophes, was not foreign to a young Klibansky. It is part of the history of Heidelberg University Library, with its heritage that stretches back to the establishment of the university in the fourteenth century. The library receives special attention in the documentary film about Klibansky.²⁵⁴ The abundant evidence of the vulnerability of books to ideological attack, long before the Nazi book burnings, may be a root of his dedication to the preservation of texts and ideas, evident in so much of his work but also physically through his own library.

The early library of Heidelberg University grew primarily through donations from members of the university and private collectors, and its collections included the famous *Bibliotheca Palatina* developed under the Protestant Electors Otto Heinrich (1502-1559) and Friedrich III (1515-1576).²⁵⁵ The *Palatina* included parts of the

²⁵³ Saxl, “History of Warburg’s Library,” 326.

²⁵⁴ Tougas, *Raymond Klibansky: De la philosophie à la vie = From Philosophy to Life*.

²⁵⁵ Elmer D. Johnson, *A History of Libraries in the Western World* (New York: Scarecrow, 1965), 126.

Lorsch monastery library founded in the late eighth century, a centre of Carolingian learning and one of the most important scriptoria in medieval Europe, and was also enriched by the bequest of Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg (1526-1584) whose library has been described as “the mother of all the libraries in Germany,” in its time, partly on account of its size and its strength in Reformation material.²⁵⁶ When Heidelberg fell to Catholic forces during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), the *Bibliotheca Palatina* was confiscated and given to Pope Gregory XV.²⁵⁷ Many of the manuscripts were subsequently removed to France during the French Revolutionary wars, and one result of the Paris treaties of 1813-1815 was the repatriation of over 800 German manuscripts, and 38 Greek and Latin codices to the Heidelberg University Library.²⁵⁸ The majority of the collection remains at the Vatican, however, and is kept as one of its oldest separate collections.²⁵⁹ That the Hebrew manuscripts remained at the Vatican appears in retrospect less of a loss than what might have happened had they been in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s.

The library of Friedrich Gundolf.

Friedrich Gundolf, Klibansky's great book friend, had a large personal library with many early printed books and an important collection on Julius Caesar (1st c. BC), one of Gundolf's main research topics. Klibansky does not dwell on Gundolf's library in his autobiographical publications, but a recent monograph on Gundolf's library emphasizes Klibansky's role in helping to catalogue the library after Gundolf's death in 1931, and in aiding its transfer out of the country with the crates destined for the Warburg Institute in 1933.²⁶⁰ Klibansky's catalogue of Gundolf's books does

²⁵⁶ Ladislaus Buzás, *German Library History, 800-1945*, trans. William D. Boyd. Jefferson (NC: McFarland, 1986), 24; 164.

²⁵⁷ There seems to be general agreement on the approximate number of manuscripts taken, but while Buzás, estimates 5,000 printed works, Armin Schlechter estimates 12,000, and the University of Heidelberg website puts the number at 13,000. Buzás, *German Library History*, 165; Schlechter, “University Library of Heidelberg,” in *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, ed. by David H. Stam (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001) 2: 772; University of Heidelberg web page, <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/Englisch/allg/profil/geschichte.html> (last updated Jul. 11, 2011).

²⁵⁸ Buzás, *German Library History*, 165.; also Margaret Burton, *Famous Libraries of the World: Their History, Collections and Administrations* (London: Grafton, 1937), 286.

²⁵⁹ Burton, *Famous Libraries of the World*, 290-91.

²⁶⁰ Michael Thimann, *Caesars Schatten: Die Bibliothek von Friedrich Gundolf; Rekonstruktion und Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Manutius, 2003). Thimann's work includes a partial reconstruction

not seem to have survived, and Gundolf's library is now dispersed after a number of sales, but Thimann's partial reconstruction of about 2000 volumes shows several characteristics that resonate with Klibansky's own work and interest in books.²⁶¹ The Caesar collection shows, especially, the extent to which Klibansky's environment beyond the Warburg was infused with the concept of tracing ideas from the ancient world through various literatures, the essential feature of *Saturn and Melancholy*, but also a basic aspect of tracing the Platonic tradition. Furthermore, simply the great range of reading and the crossover of disciplines that was central to the Warburg and also so strong in the work of Cassirer, appears again here, and emerges as a consistent characteristic of Klibansky's mentors. In Gundolf's case more than elsewhere, there is also an emphasis on the book as an object, the attraction to books with special provenance as to a relic (in the terms used by Thimann), to the extent that Gundolf kept a separate list of prominent previous owners of his books.²⁶² Klibansky's own strong sense of the associative value of books with their previous owners finds a clear resonance here, and while inscriptions in the RKC dated prior to their meeting show that appreciation of provenance preceded the friendship of Gundolf and Klibansky (see Section 9.1), the interest would certainly not have been discouraged by it, and Gundolf's library would have been an example for Klibansky, who was still in his twenties, of a great and varied link with the past.

Klibansky continued his close association with libraries throughout his life, as detailed by E. Groffier,²⁶³ but the two libraries to which he contributed the most as a young man – the KBW and Gundolf's library – continue to have a link with the

and study of the library and of Gundolf as a collector. On Klibansky see esp. 33-39; Klibansky is also mentioned in this regard in Ernst Osterkamp's "Art History and Humanist Tradition in the George Circle," 211.

²⁶¹The largest groups of Gundolf's books survive at the Institute for Germanic and Romance Studies at the University of London, and at Duke University in North Carolina. See C.V. Bock, "First Report on the Gundolf Papers at the Institute of Germanic Languages and Literatures in the University of London" *German Life and Letters: A Quarterly Review* 15 (Oct. 1961): 16-20; and Thimann, *Caesars Schatten* esp. 37-42; 105-106; 161. Thimann's reconstruction is divided into several sections on (my paraphrasing): Caesar, including the literary treatment of the person and image of Caesar through the centuries; early printed books and humanistic literature; the Baroque; 18th and 19th century literature, philosophy and history; and Georgica [Stefan George]. For the reconstructed list see 199-265.

²⁶² Thimann, *Caesars Schatten*, esp. 53-58; 69-70.

²⁶³See Groffier, "L'Amour des livres et des bibliothèques" (forthcoming).

RKC much more concrete than inspiration alone. Volumes from both libraries are now part of the RKC (elaborated in Section 9.2), and their heritage continues with it.

5.2 Klibansky's general treatment of his books

Ethel Groffier remembers Klibansky's near reverence for a book previously owned by Scottish philosopher David Hume; she recounts his special affection for the book, stroking its spine as a special and beloved treasure.²⁶⁴ Traces of previous owners and readers in the Klibansky Collection are all the better preserved because Klibansky did not systematically have books "fixed" through rebinding, washing or other methods of renewal. In some cases, it can be admitted, a binding would not have been amiss, as broken books and a small pile of orphan book fragments suggest a preference of purchase over preservation (a preference also confirmed by Groffier).

The lack of urgency over the physical integrity of books did not translate into a general habit of outright mutilation. There is an extraordinary instance of Klibansky's "pen trials," his repeated, heavy and enormous scrawling signature smothering the entire cover and title page of *Aristotelis Metaphysica* (PA3893 M5 1900), but this appears to be unique.²⁶⁵ The specific ways that Klibansky did mark his books is treated in Chapters 8 and 9, and the types of evidence discussed there highlight more personal and social aspects of the collection.

Overall, Klibansky's books, often with bits of ripped paper sticking out, some in a slightly rough state, with their careless mixture of the beautiful and rare with the plain and mainstream, give the same comfortable impression as does the big soft faded green armchair and the image of the professor in his sweater bending over a book: a library as a place of relaxed but perpetual study, and of books *qua* friends.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ The delight and amusement occasioned by these pen trials to McGill librarian Nevenka Koscevic who found them and kindly brought them to my attention is a good example of the great difference of experience between data and real objects. As Concordia University Librarian Gerald Beasley has said, the first thing most people do when they encounter an item associated with a great writer or artist "is to recover from our emotions." Beasley, "Curatorial Crossover: Building Library, Archives, and Museum Collections," *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage* 8, no. 1 (March 2007):28. The power of this element of physical books, called by Beasley its "emphatic aspect," and often described by McGill RBSC Head Richard Virr to his students as the transition from book to relic, is one of the reasons for making provenance evidence more easily discoverable.

5.3 The RKC in context

Personal philosophy collections in Canadian research libraries

The RKC joins a growing group of significant twentieth-century named philosophy collections acquired in the last decades by Canadian institutional libraries. Some have a particular focus on an author, for example McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections' (RBSC) Gregor Malantschuk Søren Kierkegaard Collection, or the Bertrand Russell Collection of John Slater at the University of Toronto's Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library.²⁶⁶ The Klibansky Collection does include very significant numbers of publications about some authors in particular, as we shall see, but it has no such single focus. The RKC has a closer relationship to the collection of British and American philosophy formed by and named after, again, John G. Slater at the Fisher Library, or the very valuable and broad philosophy collection given also to the Fisher by bibliophile F. Michael Walsh, with its dual textual and bibliophilic interest.²⁶⁷ Klibansky's collection shares with both of these the inclusion of contemporary authors, and like the Walsh collection also has much early and rare material. But there is still a difference here in the aim of Klibansky's collecting. Whereas Slater and Walsh appear to have set out to create coherent collections,²⁶⁸ Klibansky is thought to have purchased books more simply for his own use and pleasure, and these have been augmented by books sent or given to him.²⁶⁹ In this, the RKC seems more similar in its general aims and make-up to the gift of philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) to McMaster University of his own books (a rough estimate of 5000 titles), many of which have been integrated into

²⁶⁶See McGill Library, "Gregor Malantschuk Søren Kierkegaard Collection," McGill University <http://www.mcgill.ca/library/library-using/branches/rarebooks/special-collections/malantschuk/> (last accessed Jun. 13, 2012) ;see also Bernd Frohmann, John G. Slater and W.G. Stratton, comp., *Catalogue of the John G. Slater Collection of monographs by Bertrand Russell*, (Toronto:[s.n.], 1985).

²⁶⁷ See John G. Slater and F. Michael Walsh, *A Hundred Years of Philosophy: From the Slater and Walsh Collections* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 2008); Walsh, *Philosophy and Bibliophily: An exhibition introducing the Walsh Philosophy Collection*, (Toronto: Thomas Fisher RBL, University of Toronto, 2004).

²⁶⁸ Suggested by Richard Landon's preface to Slater and Walsh, *A Hundred Years of Philosophy*: 7-8.

²⁶⁹ Based on communications with E. Groffier, and on the absence of any published mention of strategic collecting by Klibansky.

McMaster Library's regular collections,²⁷⁰ or to the better-known and physically separate collection of Russell's library (1872-1970; ~2500 titles) at McMaster University's Archives and Research Collections, and which includes part of Ludwig Wittgenstein's (1889-1951) library.²⁷¹ With these collections, as well as those like the smaller collection of George Santayana's (1863-1952) books at the University of Waterloo and the (still to be completely identified) library of Ernst Hoffmann acquired by l'Université de Montréal (with Klibansky's help), the Klibansky Collection is contributing to a Canadian corpus of libraries owned and used by figures at the centre of twentieth-century philosophy and part of the European-North American links in intellectual history more generally.²⁷²

Within McGill Library

The Klibansky Collection joins more than twenty other special collections within McGill Library formed by individuals, on topics across the disciplinary spectrum. The cumulative growth is especially valuable, but it is also interesting to note what some of the collections held in common. The RKC expands McGill's special philosophy collections, for example, joining the Malantschuk Kierkegaard collection already mentioned. This last includes volumes listed in Kierkegaard's (1813-1855) library, and a handful of editions from the Klibansky Collection overlap with those owned by Kierkegaard. Most shared items are nineteenth-century imprints of ancient authors, but they both also apparently owned the same edition of Hobbes' (1588-1679) *Leviathan* (JC153 H657 1670b), published during Hobbes' lifetime, originally

²⁷⁰ See *Hans Gadamer personal library: books at McMaster University Library* [Photocopies of library cards, on 413 leaves, compiled by David Farr], (Hamilton, Ont.: s.n., 2006). Many thanks to Carl Spadoni for permitting me to have a copy of this and for his generous reception at the McMaster's Archives and Special Collections.

²⁷¹ Carl Spadoni and David Harley, "Bertrand Russell's Library," *Journal of Library History* 20 (1985): 25-45; and Øystein Hide, "Wittgenstein's Books at the Bertrand Russell Archives and the Influence of Scientific Literature on Wittgenstein's Early Philosophy," *Philosophical Investigations* 27 (2004): 68-91.

²⁷² On Santayana's library see University of Waterloo Library, *A catalogue of the library of George Santayana in the University of Waterloo Library*, comp. Susan Bellingham; intro. A. Kerr-Lawson (Waterloo, Ont.: University of Waterloo Library, 1980). For mention of the Hoffmann library acquisition by the Université de Montréal, see Leroux, "Un héritage pour Montréal," *Le Devoir*, Oct. 15, 2005; see also his "le désir de lire dans tous ces états: De la bibliothèque privée à la bibliothèque publique, un itinéraire de lecture," in *Tous ces livres sont à toi!: de l'œuvre des bons livres à la Grande Bibliothèque (1844-2005)*, [exhibition catalogue] la Grande Bibliothèque de la Bibliothèque nationale du Québec (n.p., Canada: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005).

written in English during England's Civil War (1642-1651). Kierkegaard and Klibansky owned the Latin version of the text that most of Hobbes' contemporaries on the continent – like Spinoza and Leibniz – would have read, and its presence in both collections underlines its particular relevance to continental philosophy.²⁷³

The Klibansky Collection builds also on the European-North American link made through the Jewish and intellectual Nazi refugees who established themselves in Montreal. A half-dozen volumes overlap between the Klibansky Collection and the books of German art collector and dealer Max Stern (1904-1987), all of them German. One is a history of Jews and Jewish art in the Rhineland by rabbi and historian Adolf Kober (DS135 G4 R478 1931), himself a Nazi refugee. Another, written by Moritz Thausing (1838-1884), a founding member of the Viennese school of art (N6888 D8 T44 1884 Bd.1-2), is an illustrated biography of Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), artist of the engraving that formed the basis of *Saturn and Melancholy*, highlighting a certain amount of prestige or at least interest in the book among aficionados of Klibansky's generation.

The greatest amount of overlap with one of McGill's personal collections is found with the library of Sir William Osler. Osler's library, approximately the size of the Klibansky Collection and very rich in early books, was built around the history of medicine from ancient times and, as such, is intertwined with the history of thought more generally.²⁷⁴ As determined at the time of writing, 22 books in the Klibansky Collection overlap with Osler's personal library. Figure 11 shows the list of identical editions. They are sorted by their mid-level subject (Conspectus Categories) in the far right column, then by author. The *Bibliotheca Osleriana* number for each is in the column *BibReference*, second from the left. Country codes (third column from the right) are standard MARC codes for books produced in England (enk), Switzerland

²⁷³ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1994), lxxiv.

²⁷⁴ The Osler Library of the History of Medicine has grown to around 100,000 volumes, but the kernel of the collection was Osler's own library of 7700 books given in 1929. The bibliography of the original gift is Osler's *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929; Reprinted, with new prologue, addenda, and corrigenda, by McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969, 1987). The most recent analysis of the collection is McNally, Brown and Savard "Osler and Francis: Creating the *Bibliotheca Osleriana*."

(sz), Germany (gw), Scotland (stk), the Netherlands (ne), France (fr) and undetermined (xx).

Figure 11. RKC editions also listed in the *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (EndNote database screen shot)

Author	Title	Year	Co...	BibReferenc...	Subject (Mid-level)
Bayle, Pierre,	The dictionary historical and critical of Mr. Peter Ba...	1734	enk	Osler 6883	Biography
Burton, Robert,	The anatomy of melancholy : what it is, with all the ki...	1827	enk	Osler 7680.	English Literature
Brodrick, George C.; (G...	A history of the University of Oxford	1886	enk	Osler 6283	Individual Institutions - Eur...
Poole, Reginald Lane,	A lecture on the history of the university archives	1912	enk	Osler 7275	Individual Institutions - Eur...
Greswell, W. Parr; (Willi...	Memoirs of Angelus Politianus, Joannes Picus of M...	1805	enk	Osler 4825.	Italian Literature
Allen, P. S.; (Percy Staff...	Erasmus : a lecture delivered for the Genootschap ...	1922	(xx)	Osler 4794	Latin Literature
Kloss, Georg Franz Bur...	Catalogue of the library of Dr. Kloss of Franckfort a....	1835	enk	Osler 7150.	Libraries - Library Science
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhel...	Virorum celeberr. Got. Gul. Leibnitii et Johan. Bern...	1745	sz	Osler 3200	Mathematics, General
Marx, J.; (Jakob),	Geschichte des Armen-Hospitals zum h. Nikolaus z...	1907	gw	Osler 3500.	Medical Centers, Hospita...
Cholmeley, Henry Patrick,	John of Gaddesden and the Rosa medicinae	1912	enk	Osler 6689.	Medicine, General
Roscher, Wilhelm Heinri...	Die Hebdomadenlehren der griechischen Philosoph...	1906	gw	Osler 6412.	Medicine, General
Bridges, John Henry,	The life and work of Roger Bacon : an introduction t...	1914	enk	Osler 505.	Philosophy - Ancient, Me...
Grote, George,	Plato, and the other companions of Sokrates	1865	enk	Osler 223.	Philosophy - Ancient, Me...
Sauter, Constantin,	Avicennas Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Metaph...	1912	gw	Osler 492.	Philosophy - Ancient, Me...
Fraser, Alexander Cam...	Locke	1890	stk	Osler 1058.	Philosophy - Modern (145...
Knox, Howard Vicenté.	The philosophy of William James	1914	enk	Osler 3077.	Philosophy - Modern (145...
Locke, John,	Lettres inédites de John Locke à ses amis Nicolas ...	1912	ne (...)	Osler 1051.	Philosophy - Modern (145...
Payne, Joseph Frank,	Harvey and Galen : the Harveian oration delivered ...	1897	enk	Osler 767.	Physiology
Langlois, Charles Victor,	La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moy...	1911	fr	Osler 6031	Science, General
Waters, W. G.; (William ...	Jerome Cardan : a biographical study	1898	enk	Osler 2245.	Science, General
De Morgan, Augustus,	Arithmetical books from the invention of printing to t...	1847	enk	Osler 7003.	Subject Bibliography
Marx, J.; (Jakob),	Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hos...	1905	gw	Osler 3499.	Subject Bibliography

The subjects and titles show some overlapping interests. Two titles listed in Figure 11 are related to Cusa, for example, one identified (right-hand column) as a subject bibliography, (see Osler 3499, in the *BibReference* column) and another on the medical centre or hospice where Cusa's library is held and where Klibansky took refuge before fleeing Germany (Osler 3500).²⁷⁵ Also on the list as English literature is Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Osler 7680), about which both had done research.²⁷⁶ Osler's library contains many early editions of Burton and other authors relevant to Klibansky's tracing of the notion of melancholy from ancient times, as well as rare and early printed editions of Cusa, Locke, and other authors of central

²⁷⁵ See esp. Chptrs. 3-4 of *Le Philosophe* on Klibansky's work on Cusa and his flight from Germany.

²⁷⁶ Klibansky's interest in Burton through his study of *Saturn and Melancholy*, and Osler, through his lectures on *Burton's Anatomy of melancholy* and on Burton's library, published together in F. Madan, ed., "Robert Burton and the Anatomy of melancholy: papers by Sir William Osler, Professor Edward Bensly, and others," special section of *Oxford Proceedings and papers* [of the Oxford Bibliographical Society] 1, pt.3 (1926): [159]-246.

interest to Klibansky, and much used by him. Klibansky was also rumoured to have been editing Osler's papers on Burton.²⁷⁷

5.4 The RKC collection as studied here

The beginnings of McGill's Raymond Klibansky Collection

Klibansky's library came to McGill University Library's RBSC as a gift in two parts. The bulk of the library – about 5000 volumes as well as serials and cabinets of off-prints – was already housed within McLennan Library in an office granted exceptionally to Klibansky in 2001, and these were transferred to McGill Library ownership in 2005.²⁷⁸ Approximately 2000 additional books were given by Ethel Groffier in 2006, including volumes that Klibansky kept at home, as well as others brought from his rooms at Wolfson College, Oxford.²⁷⁹ The volumes have been integrated in McGill's RKC as one collection, as deemed most consistent with Klibansky's own thinking and use of his books.²⁸⁰

As with the twentieth-century collections of Gadamer and Russell, the RKC might be described as Klibansky's formal library.²⁸¹ It does not include the bulk of paperback novels or other purely leisure reading that was in the Klibansky-Groffier home. Ethel Groffier has noted that much of this was kept for guests (and apart, in the guestroom), and also that it is difficult to know who brought them into the house or if Klibansky read them. A few novels are, nonetheless, among the RKC literature, including items inscribed to him or kept in his office library, and a short list of frequent authors noted in the home leisure-reading material is provided in Appendix IV.²⁸² The RKC is a still image of a working library that was dynamic, a library that changed over time and was mildly porous with respect to those of his friends and family. Books were lent and borrowed, and when Klibansky and Ethel Groffier married, their libraries were used by both and began to merge. They shared interest

²⁷⁷ Georges Leroux, personal communication.

²⁷⁸ See Figure 34 for a diagram of this last office.

²⁷⁹ Ethel Groffier, personal communication.

²⁸⁰ Based on communications with Ethel Groffier, Georges Leroux and Désirée Park.

²⁸¹ Russell in particular is known to have been a voracious reader of detective novels, but this is not what makes up the Russell Collection.

²⁸² Many thanks to E. Groffier for permitting an overview this material.

in, for example, Bertrand Russell, Leszek Kolakowski, Jan Patočka, and Paul Ricoeur, and some books that Klibansky owned are not in the RKC on that account. The collection as it exists now for use and study is a very large and rich – yet always imperfect – view, of what Klibansky acquired and chose to keep.

The Klibansky Collection as currently catalogued

The portion of the Klibansky Collection visible in the McGill OPAC is the printed books collection. Cataloguing of RKC printed books, begun in 2006, is essentially complete, and this group forms the material of this study. Table 4 summarizes the types of material catalogued in the Klibansky Collection as of May 19, 2011, when data was extracted for analysis. The category *Books* is largely determined by the way items were catalogued, and includes published books, theses (41), a subgroup of offprints (numbering in the hundreds)²⁸³ as well as serials published with individual volume titles, such as conference proceedings from the International Congress of Philosophy. These 6987 volumes make up the group for general analysis.

Table 4. Document types

Document records in the Raymond Klibansky Collection	No. # records	Per. % collection
Books (including theses, offprints, and individually titled publications from series)	6987	> 99
Periodicals (including annual almanacs, handbooks)	46	< 1
Other (Maps, Atlases, Audiovisual)	3	< 1
Total	7036	100

Exclusions from the catalogue and from the analysis

Periodicals, maps and audiovisual material, are, as apparent from Table 4, present in small numbers in the RKC. These items are not included in analyses here, but they are readily visible in the OPAC.

Also a part of the Klibansky Collection but not in the OPAC, are 14 manuscripts. These also do not form part of the overall analyses. An in-house list of the manuscripts with initial descriptions was created by Richard Virr, Chief Curator of

²⁸³A low-end estimate of around 425 offprints can be given based on the number of volumes with less than 50 pages, but McGill Library staff believe the number to be higher.

RBSC, and Adam Gacek, formerly head librarian of McGill's Islamic Studies Library.²⁸⁴

A set of separately stored offprints are, also, not in the group for analysis. Two criteria were used by McGill Library to select offprints for early cataloguing. One was the presence of adequate publication information (including a title and source for the specific text), either on a cover or title page. The other criterion relates to where Klibansky kept the offprint. Many of Klibansky's offprints were intershelved with his books, and those that satisfied the title information criterion are included in the RKC catalogue. These, as indicated above, are part of the analysis. Those kept separately in filing cabinets, and for which Klibansky kept a complete index of filing cards, were excluded from the initial phase of cataloguing and are not part of the analysis.²⁸⁵ The preservation of their arrangement and contents facilitates further studies of this distinct part of his office library. And finally, some decisions remain, for RBSC, as to the cataloguing treatment of some periodicals and difficult material such as fragments or very damaged material, and they too are excluded from this analysis.

As a still-new addition to the McGill Library, the Klibansky Collection remains, itself, something of a work in progress. As a printed book collection it is, however, essentially established, and this study addresses the RKC as such. Looking at the various issues at play in the determination of this named collection offers a good reminder that any particular instance of a library is just that – an instance of something arrested amid continual change, and always partial. This particular view is a profile of printed books in the Klibansky Collection as of May, 2011.

²⁸⁴ All but one of the manuscripts date from the print era (the exception being a medieval Koran), and range from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. Most have one or more texts in philosophy, but the twentieth century manuscript is poetry, and has not yet been positively attributed. A second typescript book of poetry, also not yet identified, is included in the manuscript group.

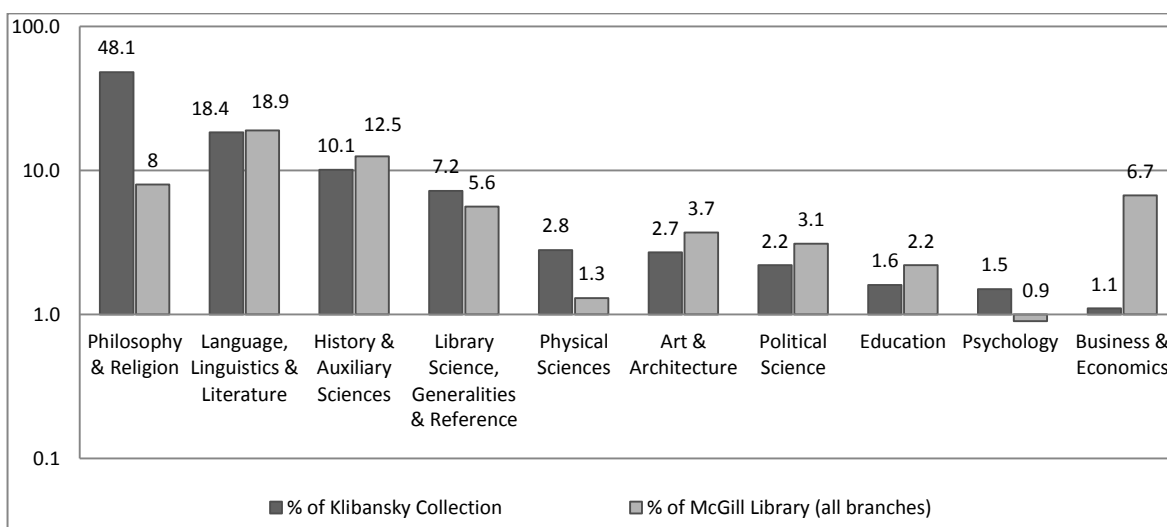
²⁸⁵ A random verification undertaken with Richard Virr found perfect correspondence of the index cards and file contents.

CHAPTER 6: CONTENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KLIBANSKY COLLECTION

6.1 Broad subject coverage

The RKC can be summarized as a primarily scholarly collection rooted in but not exclusive to the humanities. Figure 12 shows the relationship between the ten most important RKC broad subject areas (OCLC Conspectus Division level) as a percentage of the collection, alongside the same areas in McGill Library (all branches combined).²⁸⁶ The figure is in logarithmic scale, emphasizing differences as percentages decrease.

Figure 12. Top 10 RKC Broad Subject Areas as a percentage of the collection (logarithmic scale)



Three things are particularly striking about Figure 12. The first is that Philosophy & Religion encompasses nearly half of the RKC. What has surprised some of Klibansky's former colleagues, however, is that this area does not more

²⁸⁶ In addition to McGill's own OPAC, users have the option of searching McGill holdings through WorldCat, which uses the OCLC Conspectus and provides various faceted analyses in the results window. For the numbers used in Figure 12 the search was limited to books and theses, and to non-juvenile material. The McGill numbers as viewed through the WorldCat catalogue is not entirely transparent – they change more than expected, for example, if formats like Braille are deselected, but the variation is minor in relation to the overall numbers and sufficiently stable for this general overview. See Section 4.3 on the choice of the OCLC Conspectus as a subject classification for this study.

overwhelmingly dominate the collection.²⁸⁷ Some reasons for this will be touched on shortly. The second point is the remarkable extent to which, apart from this first group, the overall distributions of these areas are similar for the RKC as for McGill Library as a whole, and this speaks to Klibansky's general culture and its fairly consistent reflection of the relative size and place of the disciplinary monograph literatures within the university at large. The third distinctive element is the area of Business & Economics where, again, there is a major divergence with the relative portion of McGill holdings. At first glance what seems remarkable about this is not the difference with McGill holdings but the presence of the area at all in the RKC top subject areas, coming ahead, for example, of Sociology.

The Business & Economics group provides a good first example of how quantitative analyses have guided inquiry in this study into areas that appear to break with what is expected – to understand what underlies a given cluster, change, pattern, etc. In this case the reason for what seems an unexpected emphasis has to do with how particular topics are classed, and draws attention to an aspect of Klibansky's library that reflects a basic and important aspect of his character.

Much of the reason for the strength of Business & Economics in the RKC is that it includes within it the subjects of communism and socialism, topics important to twentieth-century society in general, but also to Klibansky's particular engagement with these issues, especially during the Cold War, through his involvement in the IIP. The particular books that make up the group also highlight what Klibansky's experience brings to the research collections of McGill; all but 10 of the 77 RKC items are new to McGill Library, and a few examples make the point. Apparently unique to Canadian libraries is a 1922 edition of *Das kommunistische Manifest* (HX39.5 A52 1922) by Marx and Engels with a forward by Karl Kautsky, (1854-1938), the leading Marxist theorist of the early twentieth century.²⁸⁸ Here too is one of the

²⁸⁷ Based on feedback from professors of philosophy at a presentation given at McGill Library, Sept. 29, 2011.

²⁸⁸ Based on holdings of OCLC WorldCat and AMICUS, the national database of Canadian libraries. A 1918 edition of the same book is held in the Library of Congress Third Reich Collection, (a microform of the RKC 1922 edition is also held at the LC).

earliest translations into German of Lenin's *Staat und Revolution* (HX314 L355 1918). A rare work with a Canadian connection is by German economist Edgar Salin (1892-1974), also a member of the circle around poet Stefan George (HC107 A45 S3 1914). The book, *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Alaska (und Yukon territory)*, written when Salin was only about 22 years old and positively reviewed in the American press, is about economic development and syndicalism in Alaska, with enough mention of the Yukon Territory to be included in a bibliography on Canadian mining in 1931.²⁸⁹

Table 5. Broad Subject Analysis in the Klibansky Collection

Broad Subject Areas (OCLC Conspectus Divisions)	No. #	Per. %
Philosophy & Religion	3359	48.1
Language, Linguistics & Literature	1283	18.4
History & Auxiliary Sciences	707	10.1
Library Science, Generalities & Reference	501	7.2
Physical Sciences	194	2.8
Art & Architecture	188	2.7
Political Science	151	2.2
Education	113	1.6
Psychology	103	1.5
Business & Economics	77	1.1
Sociology	64	0.9
Law	47	0.7
Medicine	41	0.6
Mathematics	40	0.6
Engineering & Technology	26	0.4
Music	22	0.3
Geography & Earth Sciences	19	0.3
Biological Sciences	16	0.2
Anthropology	15	0.2
Performing Arts	6	0.1
Not classified (in process)	4	0.1
Chemistry	3	0.0
Physical Education & Recreation	3	0.0
Incunable	2	0.0
Agriculture	2	0.0
Computer Science	1	0.0
Grand Total	6987	100.0

The distributions in Figure 12 and Table 5 highlight mainly, however, the extent of the RKC's concentration in the top few groups. Together, the top three groups – Philosophy & Religion; Language, Linguistics & Literature; and History & Auxiliary Sciences – account for more than 75 percent of the collection and the top 10 groups

²⁸⁹ "A Bibliography of Publications on Canadian Economics," *Contributions to Canadian Economics* 3 (1931): 80. Salin's book was reviewed in *American Economic Review* 5, no.1 (March 1915): 64-66; and in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 22 no, 6 (June 1914): 597-599.

account for 95 percent. The remaining five percent is distributed among the remaining subject areas, from Sociology down, in Table 5.

The concentration in the largest groups, coupled with general collection breadth, is entirely in keeping with Klibansky's approach to understanding texts and ideas. From his teenage years at the *Odenwaldschule* Klibansky, steeped in literature, philosophy and the history of ideas, found his intellectual motivation in the question "what is man?" and sought to answer it through the humanities.²⁹⁰ The strength of literature and history, particularly, supports Klibansky's self-described approach to understanding philosophical texts, already at that time (emphasis his):

"To understand the problem of man [...] it was necessary to know philosophy, starting with the Greeks. But to access Greek philosophy – and this was my firm conviction – it didn't suffice to read the works of philosophers, it was necessary to really know *la langue* [=language or tongue] of the philosopher, the Greek *langue*. It was necessary also to study Greek Poetry. [...] I therefore studied Classical Philology – Greek and Latin –, to begin with, and then philosophy. I thought furthermore that it is incomplete to want to approach philosophy and civilization in general simply by what is written, one must also know art."²⁹¹

About history, Klibansky says:

"... all philosophy is rooted in a historic moment. It is conditioned by history, the history of the thinker. The questions posed are not absolute. They are explained by the situation in which they are posed. In order, then, to understand the questions and the way that they are answered, it is necessary to understand the genesis of these thoughts."²⁹²

This approach becomes manifest in much of his published work and in his biography, but the tools and processes that led to those results are partly in his library, one reason why the collection as a whole has a value beyond its individual volumes. This aspect of Klibansky's collection – the way that Klibansky's books

²⁹⁰ See especially Chptr. 1 of Klibansky, *Le Philosophe* and also "Raymond Klibansky. 15 Mai 1994" (2000).

²⁹¹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 16.

²⁹² Ibid., 72.

worked together – raises the question of how Klibansky ordered his books, and this is considered further in Chapter 10.

If one item were selected among Klibansky's books as an emblem of his intellectual spirit, a likely choice would be his copy of the first complete printing of Nicholas of Cusa's three-volume *Works*, printed in Paris in 1514 (BX890 N485 1514). These books (bound in 2 volumes) encapsulate well Klibansky's interrelated interest in philosophy, religion, literature and the arts, the history of German thought, and the history of books.²⁹³ When asked what about Cusa most attracted him, Klibansky refers to Cusa's breadth of thought, the influence he had on other thinkers, but also speaks about the notion of liberty and Cusa's sense of the human character.²⁹⁴ Klibansky describes Cusa's *De ludo globi*, for example, as a "eulogy on the creative power of the human spirit, which has proved its intellectual liberty by creating the arts;"²⁹⁵ he often quoted Cusa's maxim "*una veritas in variis signis varie resplendet*" (one truth, in diverse signs, shines diversely),²⁹⁶ and sees "the kernel of the doctrine of liberty" in Cusa's dialogue *De visione Dei*, in which Cusa asks God how he receives God's grace, and God responds " '*sis tu tuus et ego ero tuus*' (possess yourself and you will possess me)."²⁹⁷ It is a liberty that implies responsibility. What Klibansky underlines about Cusa's thought reflects very much Klibansky's humanist approach to self-development as well as the variety and richness of the library.²⁹⁸ His

²⁹³ On Klibansky's focus on German thought, see Ch.3 of *Le Philosophe*, esp 71-74.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.. 78.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 83.

²⁹⁶ Translation is from Le Doeuff, "Raymond Klibansky: an illustrious philosopher's journey," 167. As Le Doeuff notes, the phrase appears in the preface of Klibansky and Paton, *Philosophy and History* (*Festschrift* for Cassirer).

²⁹⁷ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 80.

²⁹⁸ And finally, continuity in diversity is visible even at the bottom end of the subject spectrum. The three volumes in the unlikely area of Physical Education are, for example, each linked coherently with aspects of Klibansky's work and biography: a popular book on chess by Jewish Polish chess master Savielly Tartakover (GV1445 T27 1925), who joined de Gaulle's forces in WWII, and bearing the signature of David Thomson, McGill's Vice-Principal from 1955-1962; a book about the Montreal Olympics (GV721.5 K47 1976 with the author's business card inside); and a small tourism book for winter sports in France (GV854.8 F7 F73 1957), the seat of the IIP which Klibansky had recently joined. A work classed as Agriculture is a book of cowboy photography with text by (and the signature of) anti-communist and New Deal opponent J. Evetts Haley, who also published a virulent attack on Lyndon Johnson during his presidency: Hayley, *A Texan Looks at Lyndon: A Study in Illegitimate Power* (Canyon, Tex.: Palo Duro Press [1964]).

ownership of this early imprint brings him, furthermore, into indirect but physical contact with centuries of its readers, an aspect of books he was sensitive to. Even the fact that the book bindings on the two volumes do not match is characteristic of Klibansky's preference to preserve when possible the state of his books as they came to him.

6.2 Particularities of the classification system that affect subject distribution

Before discussing the collection further with respect to its subject groups, there are two elements of classification that are useful to describe, as they impact the relative weight of the top groups. One has to do with the LC classification numbers, the other with the OCLC Conspectus grouping of them.

For LC classification, the text of a language can affect its subject classification such that works by ancient authors, when published in classical languages, are classified in the LC system as literature rather than by the subject of the text. This classification decision is translated directly to the OCLC Conspectus subject groups used here, and boosts the number of books classed as literature as opposed to philosophy (or any other subject group). An example using Plato's *Parmenides* makes this clearer.

Figure 13 shows a screen shot of McGill's OPAC with Plato's *Parmenides* in modern and ancient language versions. The German and German-Greek editions are classed as philosophy, whereas those in Greek and bilingual Latin-Greek, are classed as literature.

This principle of classification is awkward but it is not arbitrary and has a logic relevant in Klibansky's case: many modern readers of Greek and Latin texts have philological aims as opposed to or in addition to a desire to read a given text, and as Klibansky was, himself, a student of philology and editor of Latin texts, he would often have concentrated on these aspects when reading in classical languages.

The total number of RKC works in Latin or Greek literature number around 425, many of which are in fact literature as most would understand the term (poetry, epistles, etc.). Based on a brief scan of authors, titles and keywords, it was estimated that at most half of the group would be, if in a modern language, reclassified in the

Philosophy & Religion group. This would boost the dominance of the largest group overall but would not dislodge the Language, Linguistics & Literature group from the second spot.

Figure 13. Classification of Plato's Parmenides in ancient vs. modern languages

Plato.	[Parmenides. German] Platons Dialog Parmenides /	1919	B378 A7 A6 1919 [By Consultation] Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor) 
Plato.	[Parmenides] Platōnos Parmenidēs = The Parmenides of Plato /	1882	PA4279 P2 1882 [By Consultation] Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor) 
Plato.	[Parmenides. German & Greek] Platons Parmenides : Griechisch und Deutsch mit kritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen.	1854	B360 E5 1841 T.16 [By Consultation] Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor) 
Plato.	[Parmenides. Latin & Greek] Parmenides ē peri ideōn = Parmenides sive de ideis et uno rerum omnium principio Platonis dialogus /	1728	PA4279 P2 T6 1728 [By Consultation] Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor)

As for the second point, the OCLC Conspectus division-level group of Library Science, Generalities & Reference also has particularities that may not be expected.

One is that the Conspectus Division of Library Science, Generalities & Reference groups together two LC classes: A (General Works)²⁹⁹ and Z (Bibliography; Library science; Information resources [general]).³⁰⁰ The combination corresponds more to the Dewey Decimal organization of similar material (most areas of Dewey 000-099).

The combination is reasonable given the need of the Conspectus to balance the Dewey and LC systems. Also, there is increasing overlap between the A and Z classes within LC as information source types merge in online environments. But it means that a wider variety of types of material is included in this Conspectus division

²⁹⁹ Except class AM (Museums. Collectors and collecting), which is in Art & Architecture.

³⁰⁰ Except class Z102.5-115 (Cryptography. Manuscripts. Paleography) which is in Language, Linguistics & Literature; Z116-277.9 (Printing), which is in Engineering & Technology; and Z40-102.4999 (Writing), which is in Business & Economics.

than might be expected by LC users. Most important in this regard is that classed here together are individually-titled volumes published as part of a series from “Academies & Learned Societies.”³⁰¹ This usefully groups material from a single source, but does not address the subject of individual volumes. In the Klibansky Collection this Academies etc., group includes most (301/501) of the volumes in the entire division (See Table 6).

Table 6. Mid-level subject areas in Library Science, Generalities & Reference

Mid-level subject areas	No. # records	Per. % of group
Academies & Learned Societies	301	60.1
Bookselling & Publishing	3	0.6
Collections	7	1.4
Copyright, Intellectual Property	1	0.2
Dictionaries, General Reference	1	0.2
Encyclopedias	5	1.0
General Bibliography	8	1.6
History of Books	1	0.2
History of Scholarship & Learning	8	1.6
Journalism, the Periodical Press	1	0.2
Libraries - Library Science	56	11.2
National Bibliography - America, United States	1	0.2
National Bibliography - Canada	1	0.2
National Bibliography - Europe	5	1.0
Personal Bibliography	30	6.0
Subject Bibliography	72	14.4
Total	501	100

A review of subject keywords in records of the Academies & Learned Societies division (not shown) revealed 760 specific topics distributed among the 301 records, the great majority falling within the broad spectrum of humanities topics. It and indicated that a reclassification would if anything boost again the dominance of the top three groups. Table 6 also shows that the remaining items in the division are primarily works in bibliography and about libraries.

These issues underline ambiguities present in any generic subject classification, and likely any classification system broad enough to provide concise summaries. The aim of raising them here is to give a more nuanced sense of the distribution, counterbalancing the appearance of a too-clean assessment of the collection that can be created by quantitative presentations.

³⁰¹ Corresponding to LC class AS.

6.3 Language

6.3.1 Main RKC language groups

Klibansky's language ability was famous but also undetermined.³⁰² His reading ability in several languages dates back to his school days when, moving from France to Germany he also received high-level instruction in Latin and Greek at Frankfurt's esteemed *Goethe-Gymnasium*, such that by his early teens he was able to read and write in at least four languages (French, German, Latin and Greek). His ability was strong enough that he gave (or became stronger through giving) lessons in all of them to help get through the inflation of 1923, as bread doubled its price within hours. Klibansky's English came later, in the 1930s, and his Italian, probably learned earlier, was strong by at least the time of his British war service.³⁰³ These six languages – German, English, French, and Italian, Greek and Latin – account for the vast majority of the collection.

Table 7. Broad-group language analysis of the Raymond Klibansky Collection

Language	No. #	Per. %
German (Ger*)	1900	27.2
English (Eng*)	1891	27.1
French (Fre*)	912	13.1
Italian (Ita*)	747	10.7
Latin and/or Greek (CLAS)	490	7.0
Modern language bilingual with Latin and/or Greek (BIL-CLAS)	449	6.4
Other	261	3.7
Modern bilingual including Ger, Eng, Fre, Ita or Spa (BIL-MOD)	235	3.4
Spanish (Spa*)	102	1.5
Grand Total	6987	100.0

As shown in Table 7, the four modern languages make up more than 80 percent of the collection, texts in Latin and/or Greek account for seven percent, bilingual volumes with significant material in both a modern language and also in Latin or Greek come in just under that, and everything else fits within the last five percent.

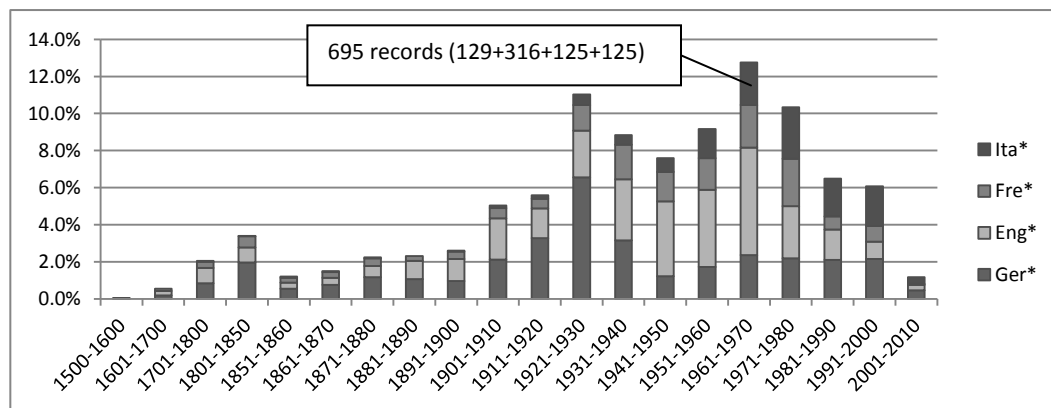
³⁰² Le Doeuff, "Raymond Klibansky: an illustrious philosopher's journey," 165.

³⁰³ On learning English through reading Hume see Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 187-188; for mention of Klibansky's knowledge of Italian, was one of the reasons he was chosen to lead the analysis of Italian intelligence for the PWE, see p.141.

Language analysis is not entirely straightforward, as many volumes include some amount of a second or additional languages, and the asterisk (*) following a language code in Table 7 and elsewhere indicates that the group (e.g. Fre* for French language books) includes both items classed here as unilingual (e.g. Fre) and those with very minor inclusions of another language (e.g. Fre+). Further elaboration about language analysis is provided in Appendix V. The language groups comprised by “Other” are listed in Table 10.

The almost exact equivalence of German and English is remarkable, and reflects a collection that bridges these languages as well as continental and Anglo-American thought. Given that Klibansky left Germany while still in his twenties and lived and worked for the remainder of his life (for over 70 years) in largely anglophone and francophone environments, the percentage of German-language material is high. The strength of German scholarship and the use of German as a language for scholarly communication before the mid-twentieth century is certainly one reason for this; it wasn’t until after the war that the academic landscape shifted and the Anglo-American presence took the lead.³⁰⁴ But while German material in the RKC decreases as a percentage among books published after the war, it remains one of the top language groups and from the 1980s becomes once again stronger than new publications in English (see Figure 14).

Figure 14. Main modern languages, by century and by decade post-1850



³⁰⁴ Adriaan van der Weel, “Europe 1890-1970,” in Eliot and Rose, *Companion*, 365.

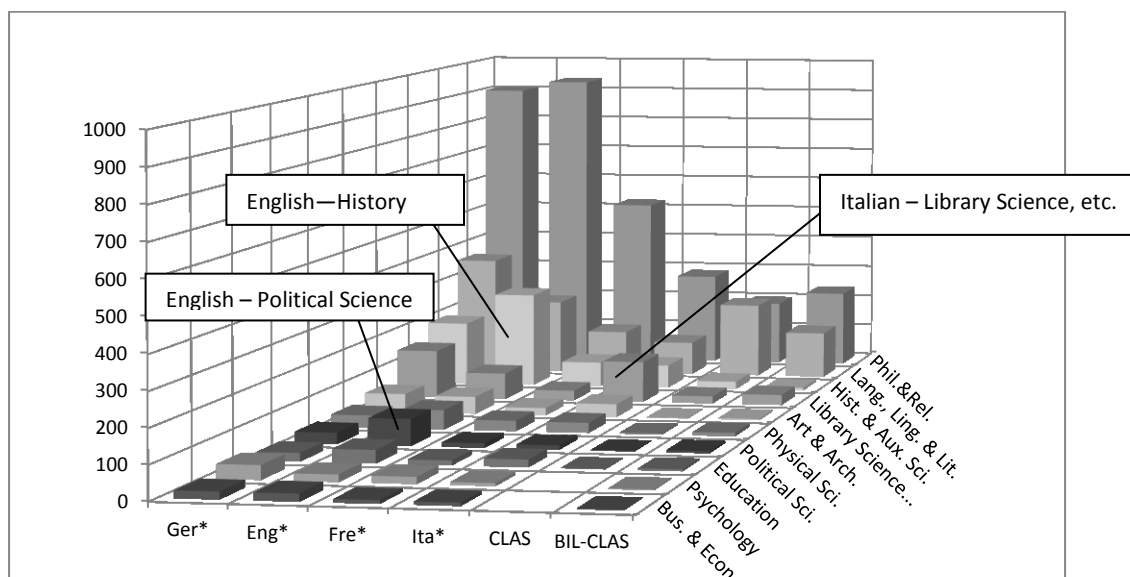
The large amount of German-language material supports the sense, consistent with the weight given to this period in his autobiographical publications, that Klibansky's developmental years in Germany had a profound and lasting influence on his interests and habits.

6.3.2 Language in relation to subjects

There is much consistency in subject distribution across the language spectrum. This is especially so within the main modern language groups – German, English, French and Italian. In each case, Philosophy & Religion forms the strongest peak, and the order of descent from most to least frequent subject area is similar (see Figure 15).

Apart from the classical-language group (the strength of which is boosted by the classification method, as detailed in Section 6.2), the most noticeable departures from the general subject distribution pattern are seen in English-language books in History and Political Science; and Italian-language texts in the Library Science, Generalities and Reference area. A closer look at these groups reveals some non subject-related reasons for this.

Figure 15. Variation in broad subjects (top 10) by main language group



History in English

Excluding the top two subject areas, the largest subject-language cluster by far is English-languages texts in History. Looking more closely at the mid-level subjects (Conspectus categories) within this division by publication date (Table 8), it becomes clearer that RKC historical works in English were published predominantly in the first half of the twentieth century. They consist mainly of general history and the history of countries that most concerned Klibansky during the war: Italy, England and Germany.

Table 8. English language publications in History, by mid-level subjects and publication date (50 yr)

Mid-level subjects (English-language publications)	1701- 1750	1751- 1800	1801- 1850	1851- 1900	1901- 1950	1951- 2000	2001- 2010	Total
History - Great Britain		2	2	6	21	38	1	70
History, General			1	7	39	17		64
History - Italy			1	8	29	6		44
History of Civilization & Culture				2	10	10		22
History - Germany					14	1		15
History - France, Andorra, Monaco			1		7	3		11

The group includes works about Italy such as *Under the Axe of Fascism* (DG571 S263 1936), and *Mussolini in the Making* (DG575 M8 M4 1938b), and about Germany such as *The Meaning of Hitlerism*, (DD253 S7 1934). The relevance of the British view on the European political situation would have been personal, but also professional, in relation to Klibansky's work for the British government.³⁰⁵ His acquisition of the last volume can be placed confidently during his time in England as it carries a dated inscription from 1934 by the author, Henry Wickham Steed, previously editor of *The Times* of London (1919-1922).³⁰⁶ Relating specifically to England, Klibansky's new country, are titles such as *The Political Principles Of Some Notable Prime Ministers Of The Nineteenth Century* (DA531.2 H4 1926) and *Who Are "The People"?: Some Thoughts on Our*

³⁰⁵ See also Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)* [exhibition catalogue; forthcoming], for examples of RKC books of resistance to Nazism and fascism.

³⁰⁶ Wickham Steed is among the inscribers mentioned in Section 9.2.

Present Malcontents (DA566.4 B74 1943). The group as a whole underlines that the collection reflects more than Klibansky's purely scholarly work.

The other noticable cluster of historical material in English (Table 8) is seen in post-1950 publications about Great Britain. Here the possibility of viewing at a glance a variety of field combinations is helpful for catching patterns that are difficult to anticipate. A combination of dates, publishers and provenance information shows that after Klibansky's move to Montreal, all but five of these publications are from the Royal Historical Society (RHS), of which Klibansky was a member, and none of those RHS records indicate markings or other provenance evidence. Given the nearly complete run of the fourth and parts of the fifth RHS Camden book series, it appears likely that Klibansky did not select the individual volumes but simply subscribed to the series. This fact makes the volumes somewhat less strong as evidence of Klibansky's interests, but informative as to his society memberships (volumes begin to appear regularly from 1957), and their activities with which he chose to engage.

Library Science, Generalities & Reference in Italian (with a note on volumes in German)

A cluster of Italian-language material in Library Science, Generalities & Reference results from a similar cause to that just mentioned in relation to the RHS history series. Of this group, 102 of the 126 titles are from the *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*. Nearly three hundred volumes in the collection overall (mostly in the Library Science group, either in Italian or a multi-lingual category, and dating from 1970) come from this academy of which Klibansky was a member from 1970. A great many carry a complimentary copy stamp (as recorded in the notes). Again, it seems likely that they were not individually selected by him. An examination of the physical volumes of this group showed, furthermore, little signs of use, and in fact many volumes were published with folded pages that remain largely or entirely uncut (i.e. unopened).

What these publications, as well as the RHS series, highlight, is the essential consistency of Klibansky's acquisition of books across language groups. They also serve to illustrate the usefulness of quantitatively identifying patterns, and deviations from them, to better understand the significance of different aspects of the

collection. This includes the attention that it brings to the Lincei academy as a publisher, whose volumes – whether Klibansky selected them individually, or even read them, – he chose to keep. In fact the academy is featured in the first chapter of *Idées Sans Frontières* as having a broken but spiritual heritage going back to the seventeenth century and representing for Klibansky one of main historical representatives of the effort of intellectuals to freely share knowledge and ideas.³⁰⁷

Political Science in English.

Unlike some clusters that interrupt the general pattern of Figure 15, the volumes in English on Political Science do appear to have been selected by Klibansky. The group is composed entirely of post-1850 publications, all but five published in the twentieth century. Differing also from the books classed as Business and Economics, mentioned in Section 6.1, or the early twentieth-century English publications in history, which showed many connections to the social questions of Klibansky's time, more of these appear to be connected specifically with Klibansky's work in the history of philosophy. A combination of source texts and studies, they include authors such as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Kant, Rousseau and Mill, familiar names to students of the history of political thought, and many of which feature in Klibansky's course to McGill students on *Ethics and Philosophy of Politics*.³⁰⁸ A handful carry Klibansky's personal shelf mark, apparently used to organize books in his McGill office, a point discussed in Chapter 10. Two of these volumes have markings or marginalia throughout, which is relatively rare among

³⁰⁷ Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 9-11. This “series from academies” effect exists for German material as well, though it does not disrupt the pattern of descent over the top four subject groups (not marked in the figure). From 1978, about 80 titles appear from the *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, without which the group of German-language items in the Library Science, Generalities & Reference group would be halved. The Heidelberg Academy is that with which Klibansky published his Cusa edition, and from whom he relinquished his mandate to work on the Eckhart edition in 1933 because of the political climate (see Section 2.1). His re-association with the academy constitutes part of Klibansky's larger re-association with the university, which made him an Honorary Senator in 1986. If these items were removed from the data, the subject group as a whole would maintain its place as the fourth largest overall, but the three top groups (Phil&Rel; Lang, Ling, & Lit; and History) would more clearly dominate the whole. The Heidelberg and Lincei academies are the only two academic societies that have such a strong presence, and both have a meaning for Klibansky beyond their role as publishers.

³⁰⁸ See reading lists for the course in the McGill *Calendar* through the 1950s and 1960s.

Klibansky's books: the *Republic* of Plato (JC71 P35 1945 ; two copies, with markings) and the *Politics* of Aristotle (JC71 A41 W35 1870; with marginalia).

The special place of German literature

The large amount of German-language material in the Language, Linguistics and Literature division does not diverge from the general line of subject frequency decline; it draws attention simply on account of its size. With over 360 volumes it is the single largest group in Figure 15 outside of Philosophy & Religion. Klibansky's lifelong acquisition of literature and his many connections with writers – something reflected in the large number of book inscriptions (see Chapters 8 and 9) – support the idea that his interest in literature was not essentially a professional one. Works by the world's great poets, including Homer, Virgil, Dante, Petrarch, and Shakespeare are among Klibansky's books, but German literature holds a special place in the collection. This can be seen from Table 9, which shows the strongest 10 categories within the Conspectus division of Languages, Linguistics and Literature.

From the *Odenwaldschule* years, Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, Lessing, Herder, and “above all” Hölderlin are signaled especially as having made an impression.³⁰⁹ Copies of these authors, including late nineteenth and early twentieth century German editions of complete works for both Hölderlin (PT2359 H2 1921b) and Lessing (PT2396 A1 1899), as well as over a dozen titles from Goethe, contribute much to the strength of this part of the collection. Poets closer to Klibansky's own time – Rilke but more especially Stefan George – are particularly numerous. It has been said that “the [George] circle had two purposes: to serve as a means for George to cultivate himself as a mythical poetic figure, and to create a vision of Germany.”³¹⁰ Klibansky was somewhat repulsed by the cultism around George, and the “complete lack of humour or irony,” of his circle, but was very attracted to George's poetry for its lyricism, and his appreciation of it was an enduring one, based on evidence in his

³⁰⁹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 11. Lessing in particular later also became part of Klibansky's work on tolerance, and in relation to the intellectual heritage of Nicholas of Cusa.

³¹⁰ David Ferris, *The Cambridge Companion to Walter Benjamin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23.

collection.³¹¹ Thick volumes of the works of Stefan George are surrounded by his followers from many different fields, like economist Edgar Salin, historian Ernst Kantorowicz (1895-1963), philosopher and psychologist Ludwig Klages (1872-1956), psychiatrist Oskar Kohnstamm (1871-1917), or fellow poets Karl Wolfskehl (1869-1948) and Friedrich Wolters (1876-1930), also a historian.

Table 9: Top subject categories in the Language, Linguistics & Literature division

Mid-level subject area	No. # records	Per. % Division
Greek Literature	268	20.9
German Literature	199	15.5
Latin Literature	161	12.6
Italian Literature	114	8.9
English Literature	106	8.3
French Literature	75	5.6
Philology, Linguistics	45	3.5
Literature - Authorship & Criticism	34	2.7
Classical Philology	32	2.5
Latin Language	32	2.5
Total	1066	83

Many of the editions are unique to McGill, and make the Klibansky collection a special resource in German literature. Friedrich Gundolf is a special case among this group, having been so close to George for a time, and subsequently very close with Klibansky. Gundolf is one of the main authors in the RKC and more will be said about his place in Klibansky's collection as both an author and a giver of books.

More recent German poetry is equally present, in particular from Klibansky's friend Hilde Domin (1909-2006). Domin does not figure in Klibansky's memoirs, nor is she listed (at the time of writing) among his correspondents in his archival *fonds*, but their friendship is attested to by gift inscriptions. Apart from the texts and their authors, the subgroup of German literature is also strong as a representation of early twentieth-century Germany aesthetics, with dozens of volumes displaying distinctive cover designs or lettering from publishers such as Insel-Verlag and Georg Bondi.³¹²

³¹¹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 61.

³¹² Both ancient literature and German literature are part of a theme on Klibansky's early reading in the planned 2012 BAnQ exhibition of Klibansky's library, and the visual aspect of the twentieth-

6.3.3 Beyond the main language groups

The most frequently appearing languages outside of the main groups are Arabic, Dutch and Russian, each of which appear as a main language in over two dozen catalogue records. Persian, Polish, Portuguese and Hebrew each appear as a main language in at least a dozen. These languages are classed as *Other* in Table 7, and a review of records produced a list of at least 32 languages outside of the main groups, as seen in Table 10.³¹³

Table 10. Other languages in the RKC

CODE	LANGUAGE	CODE	LANGUAGE
akk	Akkadian	heb	Hebrew
amh	Amharic	hun	Hungarian
ang	English, Old (ca. 450-1100)	jpn	Japanese
ara	Arabic	kaw	Kawi
arm	Armenian	may	Malay
bul	Bulgarian	nor	Norwegian
chi	Chinese	per	Persian
cze	Czech	pol	Polish
dan	Danish	por	Portuguese
dum	Dutch, Middle (ca. 1050-1350)	rum	Romanian
dut	Dutch	rus	Russian
egy	Egyptian	-scr	Croatian
enm	English, Middle (1100-1500)	swe	Swedish
frm	French, Middle (ca. 1300-1600)	syr	Syriac, Modern
fro	French, Old (ca. 842-1300)	tur	Turkish
gmh	German, Middle High (ca. 1050-1500)		
goh	German, Old High (ca. 750-1050)		

Hebrew language items are of special personal relevance. Klibansky is remembered to have mentioned his frustration with not reading Hebrew and apparently made some advancement in his later years.³¹⁴ Two books in the collection are entirely in Hebrew: an Israeli imprint of Locke's *Epistola de tolerantia* (BR1610 L8155 1990) prefaced by Klibansky and dedicated to him; and a seventeenth-century imprint of Joseph ben Aphraim Karo's (1488-1575) compilation of *Yoreh de'ab*, part of the Jewish law (BM520.88 A54 1697). This last work is connected with Klibansky through one of its important commentators, Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (1720-

century German group is highlighted in Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)* [exhibition catalogue; forthcoming].

³¹³ See Appendix V for more detail about the language group *Other* as used in analysis. The languages of Table 10 were determined from a review of the MARC 041 field.

³¹⁴ Goldie Sigal, personal communication.

1797), possibly an ancestor to Klibansky, and is part of a larger body of Judaica that remains to be studied.³¹⁵ The volume contains some annotation in Hebrew.

6.4 Main authors

There are more than 3600 different main authors in the Klibansky Collection.³¹⁶ Three-quarters of them have only one title each to their name. Notwithstanding the relevance of subject breadth to Klibansky's work and interests, the core of the RKC is clearly found in the largest of the subject groups, and this is reflected in the most frequently occurring main authors.

Table 11. Most frequent authors in the RKC (≥20 titles)

Author name	No. # rec	Per. % of RKC
Plato	132	1.9
Aristotle	80	1.1
Nicholas, of Cusa, Cardinal (1401-1464)	66	0.9
Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)	39	0.6
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Freiherr von (1646-1716)	33	0.5
Hume, David (1711-1776)	30	0.4
Klibansky, Raymond (1905-2005)	29	0.4
Locke, John (1632-1704)	29	0.4
Cassirer, Ernst (1874-1945)	25	0.4
Thomas, Aquinas, Saint (1225?-1274)	25	0.4
Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo	23	0.3
Eckhart, Meister (d 1327)	23	0.3
Kierkegaard, Søren (1813-1855)	23	0.3
Cicero, Marcus Tullius	21	0.3
Descartes, René (1596-1650)	21	0.3
Gundolf, Friedrich (1880-1931)	20	0.3
Total	618	8.8

Very few names appear as the main author in many titles, as the steep decline in record numbers from the top authors in Table 11 underlines. These 16 authors, including Klibansky, account for almost nine percent of the entire collection, and that percentage doubles if the names are searched as keywords in all fields.

³¹⁵ Zalman, known as the Vilna Gaon, was an opponent to Hasidism and is considered one of the greatest Talmudic scholars. See Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 2, on the familial link.

³¹⁶ *Main author* here refers to the single name that forms the main author entry in the catalogue record. Co-authors and other names that are present in a more complete statement of responsibility are not included. Just over a thousand titles, mainly conference proceedings and other collaborative works, have no main author.

6.4.1 Notable features

Looking at the most frequently occurring authors as a group, two things stand out particularly. One is that all are philosophers or theologians with the exception of Friedrich Gundolf. Another is that the only contemporary authors are key figures from Klibansky's Weimar: Gundolf, again, and Cassirer.³¹⁷

Gundolf

Gundolf's place in the RKC is unique because he is so present on different levels: as an author, an inscriber, and also a previous owner. More will be said about him as an inscriber and owner. As an author, Klibansky says of Gundolf that he "wrote the first great work that really changed the history of literature in Germany."³¹⁸ The published version of the title he speaks of, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*³¹⁹ (Shakespeare and the German Spirit), is not in the RKC, but what is there is the original *Habilitationschrift* on which the work is based (PR2971 G3 G79 1911), and the subsequent two-volume *Shakespeare: sein Wesen und Werk* (Shakespeare: His Life and Work; PR2978 G8 1928).³²⁰ These and the many other volumes by Gundolf on, for example, Goethe, Caesar, Rilke, and Stefan George, reflect the intellectual scope of the remarkable companion of Klibansky's early professional years.

Cassirer

Klibansky had many reasons to be attracted to Cassirer, who had such a vast range of interest and expertise. Selected in the 1940s for the *Library of Living Philosophers* series (along with a select group including John Dewey, Bertrand Russell and Albert

³¹⁷ Because these title numbers are relatively small, this top group (and especially its order and lower end), is sensitive to the effects of books that may have left Klibansky's library before it became the RKC. If authors mentioned by E. Groffier as having entered her own library (still used by her, including Russell, Kolakowski, Patočka, and Ricoeur), were included, however, it is not likely that any would alone (including what already exists in the collection) contribute as many as 20 titles.

³¹⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 54

³¹⁹ (Berlin: G. Bondi, 1927).

³²⁰ The absence is notable given Klibansky's comment and the large number of Gundolf's books in the collection, and invites, again, speculation about possible gifts. Ethel Groffier has no knowledge, however, of the work having ever been in the library (personal communication).

Einstein), Cassirer's knowledge is described as “stupendous”.³²¹ Rooted in humanism, interested in science, philosophy and the problem of knowledge, and history, “more than any other German philosopher since Kant, Cassirer thus aims to devote equal philosophical attention both to the (mathematical and) natural sciences (*Naturwissenschaften*) and to the more humanistic disciplines (*Geisteswissenschaften*).”³²² RKC books by Cassirer are not only on philosophical topics but also on physics (e.g., QC173.585 C38 1920), myths (e.g., P105 C3 1925), and some of Klibansky's favorite poets, as in *Idee und Gestalt: Goethe/Schiller/Hölderlin/Kleist*; two copies of which are in the RKC (PT351 C3 1921; PT351 C3 1924).

Most of Cassirer's titles are in philosophy, however, and some have associative value. His history on ancient philosophy (B82 C35 1925), co-authored with Ernst Hoffmann, was given, for example, by Hoffmann to Klibansky in 1926 when the latter left for Hamburg to study with Cassirer. A copy of Cassirer's *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (B775 C34 1927) is one of the small number of books marked throughout. The *Individuum*, dedicated to Aby Warburg for his 60th birthday, and in which Klibansky and his friend Heinz Cassirer each contribute an appendix, not only includes Klibansky's first publication but it encapsulates through its authors and association the very centre of Klibansky's Hamburg experience.³²³ In addition, it is in this work that Cassirer refers to Cusa as the first modern philosopher, and the *Individuum* is considered one of the works that stimulated further interest in Cusa, contributing to the atmosphere that led to the Heidelberg Cusa edition in which Klibansky played a central role.³²⁴

³²¹Gawronsky, “Ernst Cassirer: His Life and Work,” in *The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer*, ed. Paul Arthur Schlipp (Evanston, Ill.: Library of Living Philosophers, 1949), 9.

³²²Michael Friedman, “Ernst Cassirer,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Spring 2011 Edition), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/cassirer/>.

³²³Klibansky's contribution was the Latin edition of Bovillus' *Liber de sapiente*. Heinrich Cassirer translated Cusa's *Liber de mente*, edited by J. Ritter.

³²⁴Morimichi Watanabe, “An Appreciation,” in *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: a Guide to a Renaissance Man*, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto, Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 16-17.

Non-contemporary authors

The remaining authors of Table 11 are split between pre-modern and modern philosophers (with Descartes as the first author classed in the modern group). They correspond to Klibansky's early and longstanding areas of research, as opposed to his later work with the IIP that focused more on contemporary thinkers. Among the most frequent authors are nearly all of the main figures that Klibansky wrote on – Plato, Cusa, Locke, Eckhart, Hume, and Leibniz. The first three of these have particular longevity in the collection in the sense that there are volumes of each published well into the 1990s or later that are not obviously gifts or complimentary copies. Some notable aspects of the holdings by or about the three are touched on in Section 6.5.

Authors listed in Table 11 who are not the direct subject of Klibansky's writing have, nonetheless, important connections with his main projects. Aristotle, as the student and critic of Plato, is, for example, the essential complement to Platonic studies. Aquinas, Augustine and Cicero are also important to tracing the Platonic tradition through the middle ages, and are among the more frequently occurring names in Klibansky's *Continuity*. Kant is key to understanding German (and other) philosophical thought from the Enlightenment; Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard is also embedded in German philosophical studies; and both are mentioned by Klibansky in relation to his research on melancholy.³²⁵ Descartes was the subject of a bibliography compiled by Klibansky for the Descartes volume of the Nelson Philosophical Texts series (B1837 A5 1954; 1964; 1970) of which he was the general editor.³²⁶ The group emphasizes the aspect of a working collection covering the entire span of Klibansky's research life.

6.4.2 A comparative glance

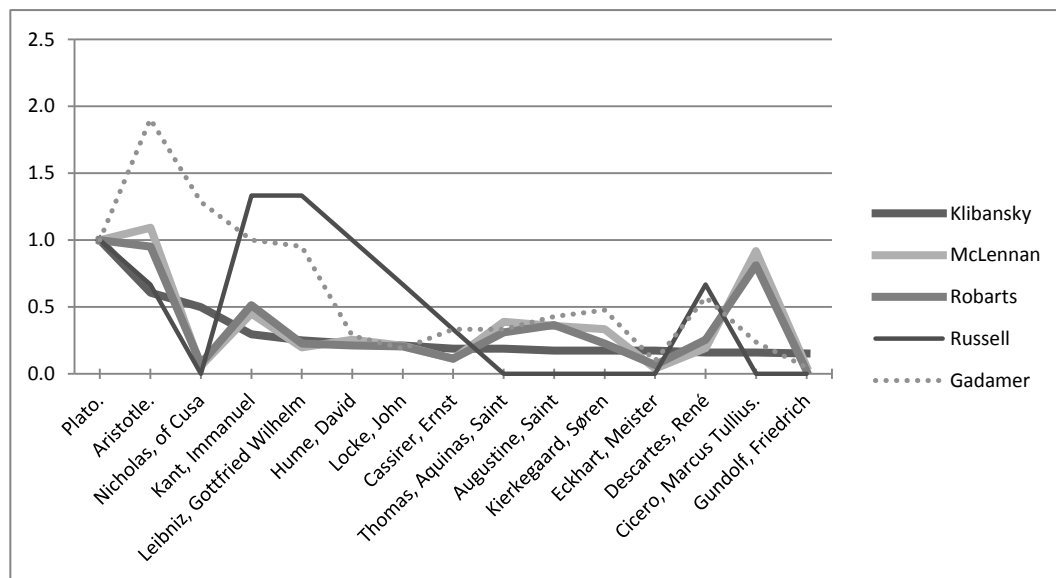
The steep decline in number of titles from Plato down, in Table 11, certainly underlines the importance of the top few authors for Klibansky. However, it also simply reflects the literature in general. Figure 16 compares the strength of main

³²⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 161-162.

³²⁶ The 1954 edition has Klibansky's markings and annotations.

authors in the RKC against the same group in the main humanities libraries of McGill University (McLennan Library) and the University of Toronto (Robarts Library), as well as the personal libraries of Bertrand Russell and Hans-Georg Gadamer (Gadamer is estimated).³²⁷ The numbers of Figure 16 are normalized against books authored by Plato as the base group (Plato = 1). The counts of catalogue records do not distinguish between multi-volume complete works (1 record) and individually published texts (also 1 record), so the comparison is not precise. It does however show very similar patterns between the two institutional libraries. Table 12 provides raw numbers to give some perspective on the relative group size, making more visible, in particular, the smaller groups most likely to be affected by the issue of the single text vs. complete works.

Figure 16. Top RKC authors compared with the same authors in the libraries of McLennan (McGill), Robarts (Toronto), Gadamer & Russell: normalized by Plato.



Apart from the mildly greater strength of Aristotle and Kierkegaard at the McLennan Library, Figure 16 shows the two institutional libraries to be remarkably alike.

³²⁷ The use of the main humanities libraries as opposed to the entire library is way to compare general rather than specialized collections and also to eliminate the unique RKC holdings from the McGill numbers. Gadamer numbers are approximate as they were gleaned from photocopies of Gadamer's own catalogue cards where the main author was not always obvious. Also, on account of the card groupings (mainly but not always by author) some may not have been noticed.

Klibansky's overall line is not, in addition, very far from them; it is much more similar to them than to the libraries of Gadamer or Russell, for example, from the perspective of Plato as a reference. Compared to the RKC, the institutional libraries show, mainly, much more emphasis on works of Cicero, followed by Aristotle, and to a lesser degree Augustine, Aquinas and Kant. The strength of the early canon at McLennan and Robarts is clear. They hold less, relatively, on Nicholas of Cusa especially, but also, and not surprisingly, on Eckhart and Gundolf.

Table 12. Top RKC authors compared with the same authors in the libraries of McLennan (McGill), Robarts (Toronto), Gadamer & Russell: raw numbers.

Author	KLIB	McGill	Robarts	Russel	Gadamer
Plato.	132	368	488	3	21
Aristotle.	80	402	464	2	40
Nicholas, of Cusa	66	22	37	0	27
Kant, Immanuel	39	166	251	4	21
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm	33	73	111	4	20
Hume, David	30	94	104	3	6
Locke, John	28	77	100	2	4
Cassirer, Ernst	25	41	56	1	7
Thomas Aquinas, Saint	25	143	152	0	7
Augustine, Saint	23	132	178	0	9
Eckhart, Meister	23	15	32	0	2
Kierkegaard, Søren	23	123	110	0	10
Cicero, Marcus Tullius.	21	338	396	0	5
Descartes, René	21	71	125	2	12
Gundolf, Friedrich	20	20	11	0	1
Total	589	2085	2615	21	192

The Russell collection provides a nice foil, reminding through its raw numbers that being a philosopher does not automatically translate into a need to own a sweeping personal collection of the history of thought, even if one writes it.³²⁸ Russell's library, for which a broad LC class analysis is available through the McMaster Library catalogue, includes more literature (Language & Literature; 703) than it does philosophy (Philosophy, Psychology & Religion; 609) or even, it appears, more than philosophy and mathematics combined. What there is in philosophy is mainly modern philosophy, with a small amount of Plato and Aristotle.

³²⁸ Russell was an analytic philosopher and mathematician, but wrote also the popular *History of Western Philosophy*.

Gadamer's library deviates dramatically from Klibansky's line on the left end of Figure 16, and even more from the others. The difference is especially great for Aristotle, who was, effectively, more central to Gadamer's work than to Klibansky's.³²⁹ However, for Aristotle and also Cusa, the raw numbers in Table 12 show that Gadamer's actual holdings were much fewer than Klibansky's.

Figure 17. Top RKC authors compared with the same in the libraries of McLennan (McGill), Robarts (Toronto), Gadamer & Russell: by percentage of the group

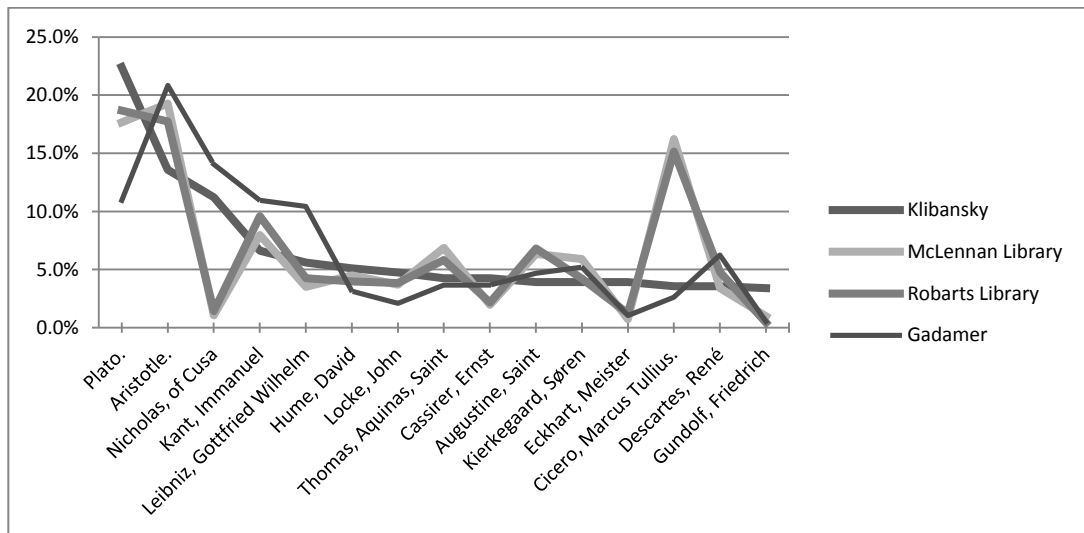


Figure 17 provides a different view, looking at the author count as a percentage of the group for each library. This eliminates the bias created by Klibansky's strong Plato holdings, and the Gadamer and Klibansky distributions become more similar while the McLennan and Robarts distributions remain very close, following a different line. The Russell library is not shown in Figure 17 because viewed as a percentage, the few counts in such a small group result in a visual disturbance more than a comparison.

From all angles, both the Klibansky and Gadamer personal collections surpass the institutional collections in holdings of Cusa, something likely linked with the attention that the neo-Kantian school gave to Cusa and the influence of the neo-

³²⁹ This also assumes that the catalogue records it was based on are a fair representation of Gadamer's library.

Kantian school generally in the formative years of both Klibansky and Gadamer. They also share a relative lack in strength on Cicero compared to McLennan and Robarts.

Also clearer from Figure 17 is that Klibansky gave greater place to both British and medieval authors, in keeping with their greater importance in his research, whereas Gadamer's library shows greater strength in continental philosophers.³³⁰ The group of Kant, Leibniz, Cassirer, Kierkegaard, Descartes accounts for over 35 percent of the Gadamer group (not shown), whereas they make up about 25 percent of the group in the RKC, as for the McLennan and Robarts libraries. The numbers are too small in the Russell library to say much, but the portion of continental philosophers in his group lies between the two levels, closer to 30 percent.

The comparison supports the sense that the RKC reflects academic literature generally but also that where it differs most from broad North American institutional collections it shares similarities with at least one other German philosophical collection, formed by someone of the same generation and a similar educational background.

6.5 Philosophy & Religion: the core of the RKC

Works of philosophy make up the bulk of the Philosophy & Religion division, contributing nearly three times those in religion. The breakdown of mid-level (Conspectus category-level) subjects within the division is presented in Table 13.

Just as Klibansky's most frequent author group is split between pre-modern and modern philosophers, so is the division of Philosophy & Religion divided between pre-modern vs. modern philosophy. There are 944 records in pre-modern philosophy and 924 records in modern philosophy (which includes contemporary philosophy).

³³⁰ Gadamer, known primarily for his contributions to hermeneutics, also wrote much on Plato and Aristotle, and, like Klibansky, had a deep interest in literature. He was less focused on the Middle Ages and wrote more on German thinkers including his teacher Heidegger, and Hegel.

Table 13. Mid-level subject groups with the Philosophy & Religion division

Conspectus Categories	No. # records	Per. % of group
Aesthetics	21	0.6
Bible	46	1.4
Buddhism	7	0.2
Christianity	222	6.6
Doctrinal Theology	127	3.8
Eastern Christian Churches & Ecumenism	6	0.2
Ethics	90	2.7
Islam, Bahaism, Theosophy, etc.	31	0.9
Judaism	25	0.7
Logic	99	2.9
Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	944	28.1
Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	924	27.5
Philosophy - Periodicals, Societies, Congresses	157	4.7
Practical Theology	131	3.9
Protestantism	36	1.1
Religions, Mythology, Rationalism	120	3.6
Roman Catholic Church	191	5.7
Speculative Philosophy	182	5.4
Total	3359	100.0

Within the more specific area of modern philosophy, some new authors turn up among the most frequently-occurring group (including Spinoza, Schopenhauer, Hegel and Berkeley) but there are no contemporary additions among main authors with 10 titles or more (not shown). Among the most frequent authors in religious topics, two contemporary authors appear: Guido Calogero (1904-1986) and Étienne Gilson, both, again, acquaintances dating from Klibansky's early years.³³¹

A comment on the two main mid-level areas helps to understand the numbers in Table 13. Topics in pre-modern philosophy include those that treat of any topic within the time frame of early philosophy generally (e.g. logic in ancient Greece), topics linked to a specific time reference (e.g. stoicism or the humanism of the Italian Renaissance), as well as the individual thinkers and texts from pre-modern periods. For modern philosophy it is the same, such that a book of or about Aristotle's ethics would be classed in the pre-modern philosophy group, Spinoza's ethics would be treated in the modern group, and only more general treatments of ethics, such as a *Handbook of Moral Philosophy* by Henry Calderwood (BJ1025 C3 1873) or David D.

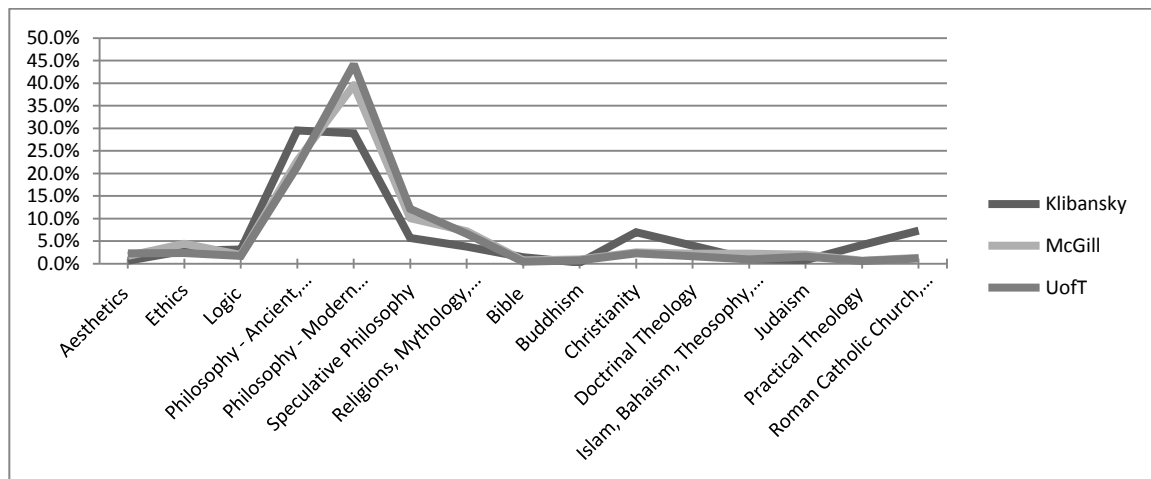
³³¹ Calogero met Klibansky in the 1920s, evidence of which is seen in at least one inscribed volume (see Section 9.2) and Étienne Gilson wrote in Klibansky's favour to receive aid from the Academic Assistance Council in England (See Section 2.1).

Ross' *Foundations of Ethics* (BJ1011 R82 1939) are classed simply as Ethics. The distinction may be inconvenient for the student of ethics, but it is useful here to gage the relative weight of earlier vs. later treatments of philosophical topics in Klibansky's books.

6.5.1 Brief comparison with institutional holdings

Unlike the case of authors, for which RKC strength in Plato and Aristotle was consistent with the larger amount of existing literature on both (as reflected in the humanities libraries of McGill and the University of Toronto), the equal strength in pre-modern and modern philosophy in the RKC does not replicate the pattern of existing literature as viewed through holdings of McGill (all libraries) or the University of Toronto (all libraries).³³² The two institutional libraries are, in this aspect, even more consistent between themselves than they were in the case of the individual authors (See Figure 18), so that the difference observed in the RKC appears more strongly to be one of choice.

Figure 18. RKC–McGill–UofT comparison: mid-level subjects in Philosophy & Religion, by percentage of the group



³³² Subject comparison with the Gadamer collection was not feasible given that there is no compiled data on the collection, and comparison with the Russell Library is not useful as the character of the collection is entirely different. Interesting comparisons are becoming more feasible, however, as data becomes more accessible through library OPACs, as well as through parallel initiatives like the Library Thing Legacy Libraries: <http://www.librarything.com/legacylibraries>. (last accessed Jun. 13, 2012).

Both university libraries show a much larger body of literature in modern philosophy than in pre-modern philosophy, and a graphic comparison of the subject areas within Philosophy & Religion in the RKC against McGill Libraries and the University of Toronto Libraries shows how distinct the RKC is in this respect. The RKC also depart from the pattern of the two university libraries in the greater relative presence of Christianity, both Doctrinal and Practical Theology, and on specific Christian denominations (here grouped together as Roman Catholic, Protestantism, and Eastern Churches and Ecumenism in order to be compatible with the University of Toronto classification).³³³

6.5.2 A note on religion and the divine

If the relatively small place of the Religions, Mythology, Rationalism category in the RKC (both in raw numbers and in the comparison) is an indication, Klibansky was less concerned with books of scientific studies of religion. This seems consistent with Klibansky's interest in the idea of the individual's connection with the divine as something that leads to understanding and personal responsibility, rather than a desire to examine the rationality of belief. This impression is given by several passages in Klibansky's memoirs. It is mentioned, for example, in his attraction to Cusa, (see Section 6.1), and in a passage that he quotes of Plato's *Timaeus* in which, in Klibansky's words, "the link that unites the human with the divine is affirmed by Plato in such a strong and visual way," seeing the individual as a plant with its root, the soul, not in the ground but pointing toward the heavens.³³⁴

All of this is linked to Klibansky's desire to understand German thought. In tracing its roots, Klibansky was led back to religious thought, and believed that one of the

³³³ The University of Toronto OPAC provides an analysis by LC classification groups, whereas the McGill WorldCat OPAC provides analyses using the Conspectus categories used here, hence the need to accommodate subject groupings. The entire library system was used for both McGill and Toronto for this comparison as it is not possible, using the McGill WorldCat OPAC, to limit the analysis to the McLennan library. Somewhat surprising shifts in McGill WorldCat numbers returned with changes in limits suggest that the numbers must be viewed as approximate; for our purposes it is sufficient to observe the general contour.

³³⁴ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 204. Klibansky quotes from a French translation of A. Rivaud in the RKC, (B359 A2 1920, t.10), number 94 of 200 of a special numbered edition.

characteristics of German thought was its simultaneous interest in reason and that which is beyond reason.³³⁵ About Kant and Hegel, for example, Klibansky says:

“To evaluate the links that tie Kantian thinking to older tendencies – manifestly forgotten in the time of Kant – it is enough to remember the work of the mystic thinker Valentin Weigel. One thinks of the title of his book, published in 1618: *Que la connaissance ou le jugement provient de celui qui juge et connaît et non pas de l'objet qui est jugé ou connu*. (That the knowledge or the judgement comes from he who judges and knows, and not from the object that is judged or known).

To understand Hegel, who is very important and who has become more and more so, one must go back further in time. How to understand dialectics? In this search one sees more and more the importance of the German tradition. This tradition is marked on the one hand by Sebastian Franck, by Jacob Böhme, but, earlier, by Nicholas of Cusa and Meister Eckhart. Yet one cannot understand Nicholas of Cusa or Meister Eckhart themselves if one does not take into account as well, and still more profoundly, the determining influence of the so-called Neo-Platonic tradition. It is this great movement that goes from Platonism to Hegel that was the guiding thread of my early research.”³³⁶

The early thinkers mentioned (apart from Cusa and Eckhart) – Valentin Weigel, Sebastian Franck, Jacob Böhme – contribute to the RKC holdings in Christianity and Protestantism, and on account of Weigel in particular add over a dozen to Practical Theology. It becomes clearer that areas of the collection that appear distinct and separate in their general subject analysis are often thoroughly interconnected in his thought and writing and that there is much continuity among the different threads of strength in the collection.

6.5.3 Authors in Philosophy & Religion: some highlights

Among the figures central to Klibansky's research, Plato, Cusa, Locke and Cassirer especially continued to be acquired over several decades. The RKC books by Cassirer have already been touched on (Section 6.4.1). RKC holdings on Locke and Cusa differ in terms of what they offer for further research, as briefly outlined below. The

³³⁵Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 74.

³³⁶ Ibid., 72-73.

central theme of Plato and the Platonic tradition as it exists in the collection is considered in greater detail.

Locke

RKC books include editions in several languages of Klibansky's own publication of the Locke's *Letter on Toleration*. Two annotated copies of the bilingual Latin-Italian edition (BR1610 L816 1961) – one with Klibansky's corrections in the Latin text, and one with those of his long-time friend Lotte Labowsky – provide an interesting source for students of the Latin text, and of Klibansky's work on it. This was the first of Klibansky's published editions of the Latin text.³³⁷ Other marked copies of texts by Locke include an Oxford edition of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, edited by A. S. Pringle-Pattison (B1290 1924), and a volume of *Selections*, edited by Sterling P. Lamprecht (B1255 L3 1928). There are, however, no very early editions of Locke in the RKC, the earliest being a posthumous edition of *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (LB475 L6 A3 1710).

RKC holdings in Cusa and Plato, the authors at the centre of Klibansky's most enduring publications, are particularly noteworthy. Both themes include crossover in their relevance to Klibansky's main research themes and also their interest for book history and intellectual history more generally.

Cusa

The jewel of the Cusa collection is the Paris 1514 edition of his *Works* (BX890 N485 1514) mentioned above (Section 6.1).³³⁸ But the RKC includes much else. One of the two incunables (pre-1501 imprints) in the RKC has a special Cusa link, for example. The book is a collected works of Petrarch (Incun 1496 Petrarca:b), considered by many as the founder of Renaissance humanism in the fourteenth century. This volume of Petrarch was published by the leading printer in Basel, Johann Amerbach,

³³⁷ See Section 2.2 on Klibansky's edition of the *Letter* and the "Philosophy and World Community" series for the IIP.

³³⁸ This Paris edition figures in Klibansky's published history of Cusa's *Docta Ignorantia*: "Zur Geschichte der Überlieferung der Docta Ignorantia des Nikolaus von Kues," appendix in *De docta ignorantia: liber tertius*, by Nicholas of Cusa, ed. Raymond Klibansky, with German translation, ed. with introduction, notes and index, by Hans Gerhard Senger (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1977), 205-236.

who helped to develop the high quality scholarly printing in the city.³³⁹ Its special relevance to Klibansky lies in the fact that it includes a work falsely attributed to Petrarch that is now understood to be a variant of Nicolas of Cusa's *Idiota De sapientia*. The history and arguments of the attribution to Cusa are laid out by Klibansky, first in 1937 and most fully in 1983 in an essay on the topic published in appendix to volume 5 of the Heidelberg edition of Cusa's *Opera Omnia*, an offprint of which is in the Klibansky Collection (PQ4499 D43 K5 1983).³⁴⁰ Petrarch himself is also among the authors of Klibansky's focus as a transmitter of the Platonic tradition and is mentioned several times in the *Continuity*. Several other Petrarch volumes including poetry, prose and correspondence are in the RKC.

Contentious aspects of Cusa's work and its reception during the Reformation are visible in Johannes Kymaeus' *Des Babsts Hercules, wider die Deudschen* (The Pope's Hercules Against the Germans; BX1763 K96 1538). Published in the Lutheran centre of Wittenburg by George Rhau (or Rhaw), printer of many of Luther's texts, the title page shows a frequently reprinted image of Cusa before a group of kneeling Germans, turning away from them as the Pope holds and pulls the strings of his Cardinal's hat, insinuating Cusa's infidelity to the German people on account of personal ambition. The attack is connected with Cusa's change of position from support for conciliar authority within the Church, as expressed in his *De concordantia Catholica*, to his subsequent shift of support to papal authority.³⁴¹

Part of Cusa's *De staticis experimentis* (The Layman on Experiments Done with Weight-Scales)³⁴² is also included in a sixteenth-century – and first German – imprint of a famous Roman work still very much in print work that illustrates various

³³⁹ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 67-68.

³⁴⁰ The British Library record for this item refers, on this matter, to E. P. Goldschmidt, *Medieval texts and their first appearance in print* (London, 1943), p. 133, which cites communication with Klibansky.

³⁴¹ Donald D. Duclow, "Life and Works," in *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: a Guide to a Renaissance Man*, ed. by Christopher M. Bellitto, Thomas M. Izbicki and Gerald Christianson (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 33-34.

³⁴² Translation of the title is from Jasper Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa on Wisdom and Knowledge* (Minneapolis: Arthur J. Banning Press, 1996). Viewed online at <http://jasper-hopkins.info/DeStaticis2-2000.pdf> (last accessed Jun.13, 2012).

engineering technologies: Vitruvius Pollio's *De architectura* (NA2515 V62 1543).³⁴³ Apart from these, and with few other exceptions, the bulk of the Cusa material and its value to new users lies in its numerous additions to McGill collections of important twentieth-century scholarly editions and commentary.³⁴⁴ A handful of these are annotated, including texts by Cusa authorities Johannes Uebinger (1854-1912; B765 N54 U4 1888) and Edmond Vansteenbergh (1881-1943; B720 B4 Bd.14 Heft 2-4; BX4705 N58 V3 1920).

Plato and the Platonic tradition.

Klibansky's work on the Platonic tradition is, as described in Section 2.2, what many consider to be his most substantial contribution to the history of philosophy. Well over 350 works in the RKC have Plato as a main author or subject, and this part of the collection is outstanding not just in size but in its very special editions. In addition, while manuscripts are not strictly a part of this analysis, it must be mentioned that one of the Latin fifteenth-century manuscripts listed in the census of the *Plato Latinus*, vol. 4 (on the *Timaean*), is Klibansky's.³⁴⁵

a) Plato editions. A number of the historically significant Plato imprints outlined in Henri Alline's *Histoire du texte de Platon* (PA4291 A55 1915) are in the Klibansky Collection. Among them is the lavish and bilingual Latin-Greek text of Plato's complete works (PA4279 A2 1578) established by Jean de Serres (1540?-1598) and Henri Estienne (1531-1598) of Paris and Geneva. Klibansky owned the first of three volumes. This edition remained the authoritative text for the next two centuries and

³⁴³ An annotated list of early imprints of *De architectura* that mentions the presence of the Cusa text is Vitruvius' *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Gwilt (London: Priestley and Weale, 1826), xxiii.

³⁴⁴ A review of titles against Hopkins' selected bibliography on Cusa in his *Concise Introduction to the Philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978), 48-57, which Klibansky owned (B765 N54 H66 1978), showed substantial overlap. For a concise view of main writings on specific areas of Cusa's work, see also Morimichi Watanabe, *Nicholas of Cusa: A Companion to His Life and His Times*, eds. Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki (Farnham, Eng.: Ashgate Publishing, 2011).

³⁴⁵ Listed as "MONTREALENSIS, ex codicibus Raymundi Klibansky, 2". See the entry in *Plato Latinus*, 4:cxv. Richard Virr's description of the manuscript in an RBSC in-house list indicates that the text is bound together with a work of Cicero, and has a bookplate of "E.Ph. G." likely the antiquarian bookdealer Ernst Philip Goldschmidt (1887-1954), author of several books on book history, and an acquaintance of Klibansky.

established the page references still used today.³⁴⁶ The Protestant as well as scholarly press is represented in this work's dedications, for example to Queen Elizabeth I of England (1533-1603) in the first of its three volumes, and while the place of publication is not certain, the book is usually identified as published in Geneva, rather than in the Catholic Paris of Henri III (1551-1589) during the French Wars of Religion (1562–98).

The Florentine Platonist Marsilio Ficino produced the first Latin translation of Plato's complete works from the Greek original.³⁴⁷ Klibansky had more than one sixteenth-century imprint, one from the workshop of Hieronymus Froben, a major Basel printer who worked with Erasmus and established the city as a centre of humanist printing (PA4280 A5 F53 1551); and another printed in Geneva by Jacques Stoer (PA4280 A4 F53 1592). Ficino's arrangement of the works is based on a grouping attributed to Diogenes Laertes, the biographer of the Greek philosophers, whose work is also found in a sixteenth century Cologne imprint (PA3965 D6 1542).

Important later work in Platonic scholarship is also strongly represented. Every one of the important editors from the eighteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century, mentioned by Alline or by Olof Gigon, the Swiss philologist and historian of ancient philosophy roughly contemporary with Klibansky (1912-1998), is present.³⁴⁸ So too are other major philologists in the tradition (such as Zeller,

³⁴⁶ See Henri Alline, *Histoire du Texte de Platon*, (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1915), 317.

³⁴⁷ Ficino's translation was first printed in 1484 in Florence. The complete Greek text was first printed only after this – a function of the difficulty of the script – in 1513 by Aldus Manutius (1449-1515).

³⁴⁸ Based on Alline, *Histoire du Texte de Platon*, 318-319; and Gigon, *Platon*, (Bern: A. Francke, 1950), 11. They include Johann Friedrich Fischer (1726-1799); Ludwig Friedrich Heindorf (1774-1816); Immanuel Bekker (1785-1871); Gottfried Stallbaum (1793-1861) in several volumes, Carl Ernst Christoph Schneider (1786-1856); the trio of J. G. Baier (1801-1877) Johann Kaspar von Orelli (1787-1849) & August Wilhelm Winckelmann (1810-1875); Karl Friedrich Hermann (1804-1855), Martin von Shanz (1842-1914); the Englishmen Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893) and John Burnet (1863-1928); the French editions of Léon Robin and the Collection des universités de France, and the Loeb Library edition from the United States.

Campbell, Ritter) as well as a great number of more recent editors, interpreters, and historians.³⁴⁹

b) The *Timaeus* and the *Parmenides*. With respect to specific dialogues, of particular importance to Klibansky were the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*. The *Timaeus* Klibansky appreciated as a text, but also as the single most widely read Platonic text through the Middle Ages (known especially through commentary by Chalcidius and translated parts by Cicero).³⁵⁰ Klibansky considered that “with its attempted synthesis of the religious teleological justification of the world and the rational exposition of creation [the *Timaeus*] was, throughout the earlier Middle Ages, the starting point and guide for the first groping efforts towards a scientific cosmology.”³⁵¹ As for the *Parmenides*, Klibansky’s doctoral work drew attention to an ignored manuscript that included a lost section of Proclus’ commentary on the text, showing that knowledge of it in the Middle Ages was greater than previously appreciated (see Section 2.1).³⁵² It is also the only Platonic text that Klibansky played a primary role in editing (in vol. III of the *Plato Latinus* series, with Lotte Labowsky).

Editions of the *Timaeus* in the RKC include a second sixteenth-century edition of Ficino’s translation, this time printed alone (PA4280 T56 F53 1544), as well as commentary by Proclus on the *Timaeus* in an illustrated book on ancient science, including both Plato and Aristotle, by Italian humanist Niccolò Leonico Tomeo (Q153 T66 1530). The first modern scholarly edition of the *Timaeus* by Thomas Henri Martin (PA4279 T7 M37 1841) is also in the collection.³⁵³ Early imprints of the *Parmenides* in the RKC as a separate title are fewer, but the first edition of Stallbaum’s authoritative *Parmenides* is included (PA4279 P2 1848), as is the first

³⁴⁹ From Gilbert Varet, *Manuel de Bibliographie Philosophique* vol. 1 (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 1956) a copy of which Klibansky owned (Z7125 V3 1956), 87-91; Gigon, *Platon*, 2-15; and Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, 1: 513-515.

³⁵⁰ Klibansky, *Continuity*, see esp. 28.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 28. This passage of Klibansky’s still resonates with historians of science, and is for example quoted with high praise in A. Rupert Hall, *Henry More: and the scientific revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 23.

³⁵² Klibansky’s collection of works related to Proclus is also highlighted in Leroux, *Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)* [exhibition catalogue; forthcoming].

³⁵³ See Gigon, *Platon*, 14, for a short list of important editions for individual dialogues.

translation into English of both the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides* by Thomas Taylor (B358 A1 T31 1793). So too are the first editions of both by Francis MacDonald Cornford, inscribed by Cornford to Klibansky (*Tim.* B387 A5 C65 1937; *Parm.* B378 A2 C6 1939). The full commentary of Proclus on the *Parmenides* did not get a critical edition until 1982, when it was edited, with a French translation, by Carlos Steel, who inscribed a copy to Klibansky (B378 P69 1982).

The Klibansky-Labowsky edition of the *Parmenides* (PA4280 A4 K5 1940, v.3) provides a short list of key modern editions and commentaries, most of them in the RKC, forming a nucleus of Klibansky's working material on the text.³⁵⁴ Included are an edition of Proclus' *Works* by Victor Cousin (B701 A3 1864; the record indicates occasional annotation); a work by W. Theiler (PA4225 J63 C474 1942); another by Wilhelm Kroll, including a commentary of the eleventh-century Michael Psellus (PA4225 J63 C473 1894); and two of Klibansky's own titles (the *Parmenides in the Middle Ages*, not yet catalogued, and his doctoral work, the *Proklos-Fund*, AS182 H44 1928/29 Abh.5). Listed in the edition but not in the RKC are a 1618 Hamburg imprint of Proclus' *Platonic Theology*, an earlier edition of the Cousin Proclus, and the Auguste Diès 1950 Belles Lettres edition of the *Parmenides*. This last absence raises a flag, as several other volumes of the multi-volume Belles Lettres edition of Plato, which began in 1920 (B359 A2 1920), are in the Klibansky Collection, including parts two and three of the volume or "tome" in question (t.8). As with the Gundolf volume on Shakespeare (see Section 6.4.1) it seems more likely that part one of t.8 was lost to the collection than that it was never in it.

c) The Tradition. With respect to the broader Platonic tradition, the *Continuity* is Klibansky's key work. The body of the text does not include specific bibliographical

³⁵⁴ Also noted are a small number of periodicals: the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, of which one volume – with annotation – is recorded in the collection (RBD D111 A6); Klibansky's own periodical, *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* (not yet catalogued, but present); J.P. Migne's compilation of the Church Fathers, the *Patrologiae Cursus Completus* (series *Latina* and *Graeca*), of which there are several volumes of the Latin series in the RKC (best searched with the name Migne) and the various *Sitzungsberichte* (proceedings) of German university academies, many individual volumes of which are in the collection.

references, but a substantial appendix on Ficino does.³⁵⁵ Ficino was central to the Platonic tradition as more than just a translator. He is an important transmitter of the heritage through published commentary but also through letters in which he traces a line of writers in the tradition. Klibansky cites primarily the Basel 1576 imprint of Ficino's *Opera*, part of which is in the RKC (B785 F43 1576).

Platonic transmitters named by Ficino are also part of Klibansky's line through Arabic, Byzantine and Latin traditions to medieval Europe. Main figures include Philo (1st c.), Apuleius (2nd c.), Plotinus (3rd c.), Porphyry (3rd c.), Origen (3rd c.), Chalcidius (4th c.), Augustine (4th-5th c.), Macrobius (5th c.), Proclus (5th), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (5th-6th c.), Boethius (5th-6th c.), 'Alfarabi de causis' [al-Farabi] (9th-10th c.), Avicenna (11th c.), Ibn Gabirol (11th c.), William of Conches (12th c.), Henry of Ghent (13th c.), Duns Scotus (13th c.), Plethon (14th c.), Bessarion (15th c.) and Cusa (15th c.). Besides those named by Ficino, Klibansky emphasizes also the role of Thierry of Chartres (12th c.) and his contemporary School of Chartres, as well as Pico della Mirandola (late 15th c.).³⁵⁶ This group is key among the larger number of authors and translators discussed in the *Continuity*. They are all present as authors and/or subjects in the RKC, and contribute about 200 volumes to the collection in addition to the Cusa volumes.

Although many of the cited editions in the Ficino appendix are not in the RKC, some central texts, in addition to the Ficino *Opera*, are there. They include for example editions by Otto Bardenhewer (BD530 L533 B37 1882) and Robert Steele (BD530 L533 B33 1935) of the *Liber de causis*, a "radical transformation of [neo-Platonist] Proclus' *Elements of Theology*," that came to the Latin world through the Arabic tradition and was believed to represent Aristotle's mature thought (and taught as such at Paris in the thirteenth century) thus obscuring for centuries the influence of the Platonic tradition.³⁵⁷ It was Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) who noticed the essential incompatibility of the *Liber de causis* with the thought of Aristotle and

³⁵⁵ "Marsiglio Ficino on the Platonic Tradition" in the *Continuity*, 42-47. The Ficino appendix is one of two that includes specifically cited references, the other expanding further on the Arabic tradition.

³⁵⁶ Klibansky, *Continuity*, see esp. 35-36; 43.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 16-18.

connected it with Proclus, and part of the authoritative Leonina edition of Aquinas' *Opera* (BX1749 T4 1934; originally published 1882) is in the RKC.

The full range of texts and authors in the direct and indirect tradition detailed by Klibansky in the *Continuity* is much larger. Valuable for direct quotations in the Latin tradition are, for example, collected texts of Church Fathers; for indirect references, Roman writers such as Cicero (1st c. BC) and Seneca (1st c.), Aulus Gellius (2nd c.) or Macrobius (5th c.) are particularly signaled; fragments of all kinds are found in collected sayings or grammar books. Several such collections are in the RKC, just one example being volumes of bio-bibliography by Johann Albert Fabricius (1668-1736), whose work is considered among the most important in the bibliography of ancient texts.³⁵⁸

d) The School of Chartres: a notable absence. What is not in the collection, (apart from individual volumes that make likely gifts) may also be informative. Klibansky emphasized, for example, the role of the twelfth-century School of Chartres in the Platonic tradition, especially Thierry of Chartres (c. 1100-1150), Bernard of Chartres (12th c.) and John of Salisbury (d. 1180). He wrote on the School for his post-doctoral certificate and published a short piece in the 1960s, but his reasons for not publishing the longer work remain unclear.³⁵⁹ On Bernard and Thierry of Chartres specifically, Klibansky published a note in 1936 announcing his upcoming edition of their works, but the project did not materialize.³⁶⁰ That there is little material on either Thierry of Chartres or Bernard of Chartres in Klibansky's collection is likely partly because he would have been working mainly from manuscript materials and partly because little had been published. In addition, work on the topic was made more difficult by the destruction of key manuscripts during the Second World

³⁵⁸ The RKC includes Fabricius' *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Z7751 B57 1718), the *Bibliotheca latina* (Z7026 F126 1721) and another on apologetics (Z7779 A6 F33 1725), but not the famous *Bibliotheca Graeca*, which Georges Leroux confirms he would have been very familiar with. Bill Katz provides a concise overview of key figures in the history of bibliography in *Cuneiform to Computer: A History of Reference Sources* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 308-329.

³⁵⁹ Klibansky, "School of Chartres"; the longer manuscript remains with E. Groffier (see Section 2.1 on the reception of Klibansky's conclusions).

³⁶⁰ "Notes and Correspondence," *Isis*, 26 no.1 (Dec. 1936):147-149.

War.³⁶¹ At the same time, work on the topic was picked up by researchers connected with the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies (PIMS) in Toronto, where Klibansky was invited to lecture in 1947 (on “Plato’s *Timaeus* in the Middle Ages,” “The Platonism of Master Eckhart,” and “The Platonism of Nicholas of Cusa.”)³⁶² A contemporary study published by *l’Institut d’Etudes Médiévales d’Ottawa* is in the RKC (BS651 P27 1938), but work by PIMS researchers is largely absent.³⁶³ Further exploration of Klibansky’s off-prints and *fonds* may better explain Klibansky’s relationship with these groups.

³⁶¹ Klibansky, “School of Chartres,” 6.

³⁶² Records of the invitation and lecture announcements are held at the Archives of the University of St. Michael’s College. Many thanks to the St. Michael’s College Archives for providing copies of these.

³⁶³ Klibansky’s works are cited in a wide variety of PIMS volumes. Some include criticism relating to his findings or his slowness to publish them. One of the stronger criticisms (mentioned in Section 2.1) is found in Dutton’s edition of Bernard of Chartres, *The Glosae super Platonem*, 31; see also 124. Lighter criticism is found in Nikolaus M. Häring’s edition of Gilbert of Poitiers, *The Commentaries on Boethius* (Toronto; PIMS, 1966) 32;52 (in the RKC: B659 Z7 G5 1966).

CHAPTER 7: OVERVIEW OF PUBLICATION PERIODS

The Klibansky collection spans over five centuries of book production, reaching back to 1487. It holds over 340 volumes from the hand-press period before the nineteenth century, and more than 250 others from the first half of the nineteenth century, as machine printing began to be used. A steady growth in volumes continues from the first century of print until numbers shoot up, from the early nineteenth century, reflecting the massive increase in book production linked with both the decreasing cost of book production and the growing rate of literacy. Each century has a somewhat different character, both in terms of subjects, languages and particular relation to Klibansky's interests, as we will see. Table 14 shows the breakdown of RKC volumes by publication date, in periods of 50 years.³⁶⁴

Table 14: The Klibansky Collection by (50 yr) Publication Period

Publication Period	No. # records	Per. % RKC
1450-1500	2	0.0
1501-1550	23	0.3
1551-1600	29	0.4
1601-1650	56	0.8
1651-1700	45	0.6
1701-1750	84	1.2
1751-1800	102	1.5
1801-1850	261	3.7
1851-1900	739	10.6
1901-1950	2415	34.6
1951-2000	3124	44.7
2001-2005+	90	1.3
Uncertain	17	0.2
Grand Total	6987	100.0

7.1 Incunables

Printed books from the emergence of the printing press in the 1450s to the end of the fifteenth century are called *incunables* in reference to the infancy of the technique. Surviving volumes from this period are of interest to many book historians because printing was less standard in its techniques, practices and materials than it was even

³⁶⁴ Within the "Uncertain" category, three are likely from 1851-1900, seven likely fall within 1901-1950, and seven within 1951-2000. The "+" sign following the 2001-2005 category is used as there are two volumes, intended for Klibansky, dated 2006.

by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the physical books help us to understand these practices.

The two RKC incunables are Latin texts from the major early printing centres of Cologne and Basel. One is the Petrarch volume that includes a variant Cusa text (see Section 6.5). The other is *Malogranatum* (Incun 1487 Gallus), a work of spiritual instruction that, like the Petrarch volume, was a popular book in its day. The *Malogranatum* was connected with the *Devotio Moderna* tradition of Christian piety partly inspired by the speculative German mysticism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, of which Meister Eckhart was a key figure. It is also associated with reform within the Roman Catholic Church and Christian humanism and is thought to have had an influence on both Nicholas of Cusa and Erasmus.³⁶⁵

Together this pair of books represents two main pillars of fifteenth century intellectual life – humanism and religion – as well as their intersections (physically, in the case of the Petrarch-Cusa). They also illustrate well the lack of fixity of early print, particularly in terms of attribution; authorship of the *Malogranatum* is undetermined but most often ascribed to Gallus, abbot of Königsaal (14th c.).³⁶⁶ Finally, both volumes are connected with Klibansky's major Latin edition projects: the works of Nicholas of Cusa and Meister Eckhart.

7.2 The sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

7.2.1 Changes spanning the period

The hundreds of volumes from this period add substantially to collections at McGill, some offering comparison with existing copies, and 85 percent of them new editions.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ For a recent overview of the *Devotio Moderna* movement see Jacques Le Goff, *The birth of Europe*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 173-174.

³⁶⁶ Also attributed to Pierre de Zittau, abbot of Königsaal (British Library catalogue record UIN: BLL01002357575).

³⁶⁷ Based on catalogued holdings. More detailed research on individual volumes from the hand press period from a history of print perspective is being undertaken by Ann Marie Holland, who has written on books printed in Lyon in "Le livre lyonnais avant 1601 à McGill," paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America. March 24-26, 2011.

Figure 19. Top 10 broad subjects, by publication date (1501-1850; 50-yr period)

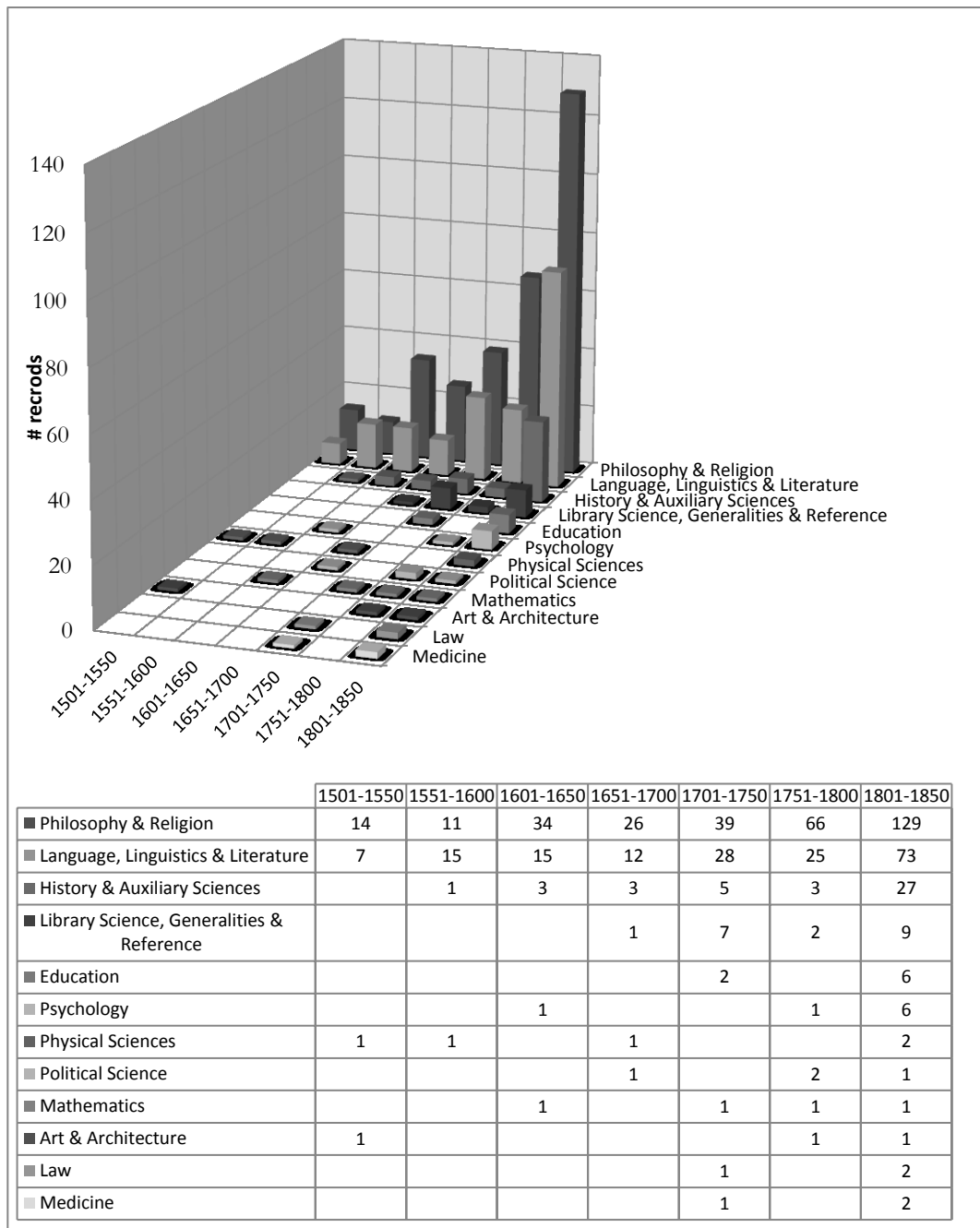


Figure 19 shows the RKC's main subject coverage from 1501 through 1850, by 50-yr period, according to the OCLC Conspectus subject classification. It shows clearly the dominance of Philosophy & Religion, and Language, Linguistics & Literature over the entire period. The 1801-1850 period is included to illustrate the sharp increase in

volumes after 1801, and as it reflects the accelerating establishment of separate academic disciplines.

A more granular look is provided by Figures 20 through 23, which show variation in the relative strength of mid-level (Conspectus Category) subjects until 1800. There is a persistent if uneven expansion of subjects through the centuries, and the analysis points to characteristics that are rooted in both time and place, as we will see. Graphs are presented by percentage for easier comparison, with a sense of scale provided by raw record counts indicated for the largest group.

Figure 20. Mid-level subjects (Conspectus Categories) in Philosophy & Religion and Language, Linguistics & Literature, 16th c. (all)

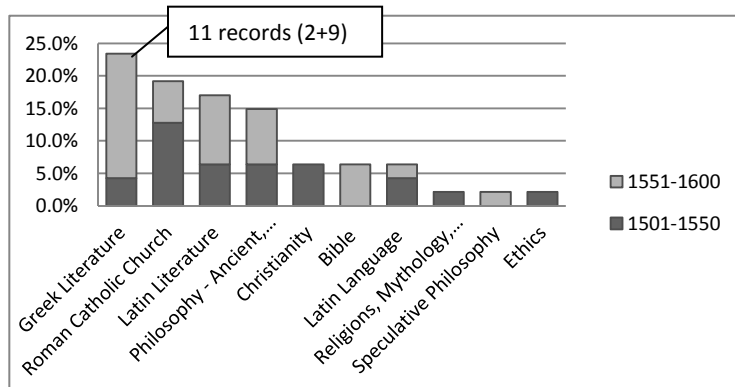


Figure 21. Mid-level subjects (Conspectus Categories) in Philosophy & Religion and Language, Linguistics & Literature, 17th c. (all)

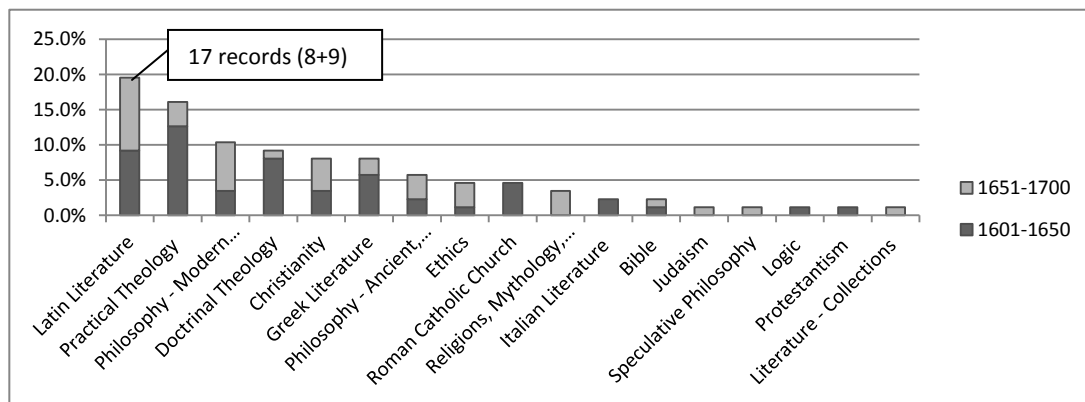
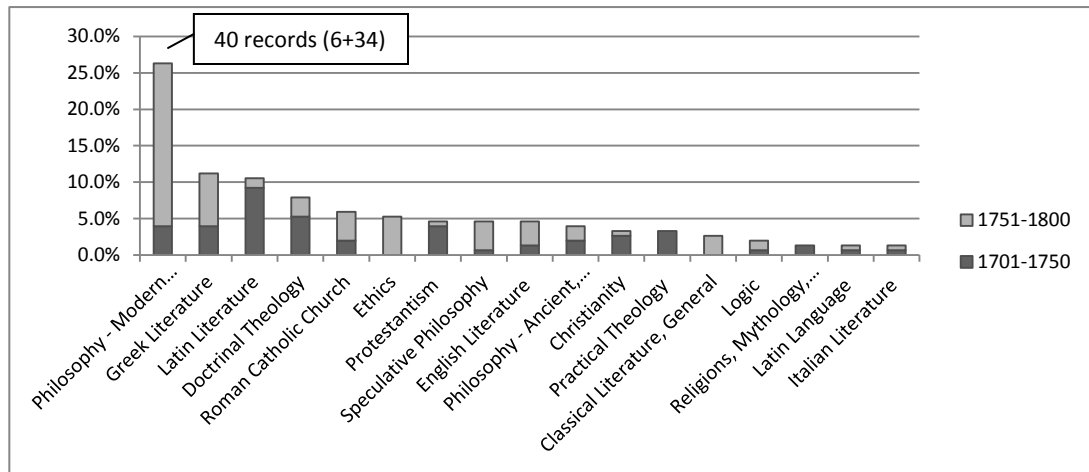


Figure 22. Mid-level subjects (Conspectus Categories) in Philosophy & Religion and Language, Linguistics & Literature, 18th c. (top 15)



7.2.2 Particular characteristics of the sixteenth century

The strength of the Philosophy & Religion category in the early centuries is largely due to religious texts. From Figure 20 it is clear that texts on the Roman Catholic Church, Christianity in general, and the Bible, contribute more to the sixteenth-century group than do the various areas of philosophy. The Protestant Reformation does not dominate the RKC books from the period, but is present in a few works by writers involved in the debates. On the one side there is, for example, Johannes Kymaeus' (BX1763 K96 1538) critique of the papacy, as well as part of a collection of prefaces and orations by Reformation leader Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560; PA8550 A6 1544). On the other side, there is the newly edited medieval *Directorium Inquisitorum* (BX1710 E9 1578), to be used in the Roman Inquisition established in 1542 as part of the Counter-Reformation, as well as Sisto da Siena's *Bibliotheca sancta* – a guide to scripture, its commentaries and commentators that includes an index of heretics (BS505 S57 1566). All are relevant to enquiry on tolerance, but there are other levels of overlap: the Kymaeus book has to do with perceptions of Cusa; Melanchthon figures in Klibansky's study of melancholy; and the *Directorium* discusses several figures central to Klibansky's research themes, from Plato and Aristotle to Maimonides and Avicenna, as well as the Beguines, a mystical group thought to have influenced Eckhart, and Raymond Lull, who was an influence on, again, Cusa. In addition to its content, the copy of Sisto da Siena's book also has symbolic interest: it

may have been owned by Jorge de Almeida (1531-1585), Archbishop of Lisbon from 1570, appointed Grand Inquisitor of Portugal in 1580.³⁶⁸ Sisto himself was a convert to Christianity born to Jewish parents.

Klibansky's books also reflect the humanist element of the period. Clear from Figure 20 is the great amount of Greek literature, for example, especially from the second half of the sixteenth century. This part of the collection includes the prize editions of Plato discussed in Section 6.5, but there are also several editions of Aristotle and together they contribute 10 items to the group. According to Edward Cranz, after a decline in Aristotle editions after 1520, a new flurry of humanist editions (as opposed to medieval commentaries) started in the late 1530s and by the midcentury there were near 25 editions coming out each year, before reducing again toward the end of the century.³⁶⁹ Of the humanist editions especially noted by Cranz, Klibansky owned a reprint of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (PA3895 E6 1553) with interpretation by Ioannes Argyropoulos, published in Lyon by Jean Frellon and Pierre Fradin in Latin with Greek sidenotes.

Despite the strength of Greek literature, there is little material in Greek, and although nearly half of the production from this century was in the vernacular – a result of both humanist interest in vernacular literature and of the Reformation³⁷⁰ – almost all of the RKC texts are in Latin. Table 15 shows sixteenth-century books in the RKC by publication place and language.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ The identity and possible significance of what may be the bookplate of Almeida is known thanks to José Vicente de Bragança, who very kindly provided me with additional contextual material to better understand the case (see also Section 9.3.3). An image of the armorial is, as noted in the catalogue record, online at <http://bookplate-ivarnoso.blogspot.ca/>, dated Tuesday, 14 November 2006. A biographical reference that distinguishes this Jorge de Almeida from a Bishop of Coimbra of the same name (1458-1543) is found in Joao Manuel Esteves Pereira and Guilherme Rodrigues, *Diccionario histórico, chorographico, biographico, bibliographico, heráldico, numismático e artístico ...* (Lisbon: J Romano Torres, 1904-1915), 1: 261-262.

³⁶⁹ Edward Cranz, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501-1600* (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1971), pp.vii-x.

³⁷⁰ According to Andree Pettegree's figures in *Book in the Renaissance*, 356. Pettegree uses figures from the USTC, the most comprehensive database of early printed material in Europe to 1600. See <http://www.ustc.ac.uk/> (last accessed Jun. 14, 2012).

³⁷¹ The designation of Geneva is likely actually Paris (PA4279 A2 1578); see mention of the Plato edition of Henri Estienne (Section 6.5).

The 52 printed books are all from major book-producing centres of the time.³⁷² When also viewed by decade of publication (not shown) the analysis shows that the RKC has examples of French printing all through the century, especially from Lyon, but that German production is almost entirely from the first half of the century. Venetian imprints also cover the century, while those from Rome are from the middle decades. Swiss imprints are an interesting group in that the portion of books from Switzerland is substantially higher in Klibansky's books than is seen generally in scholarly publishing or publishing overall, according to Pettegree's figures. This is linked with the importance of Basel in humanist printing, and among the Swiss volumes is a work of Erasmus (d.1536), the most influential of the Northern humanists, printed posthumously by his frequent collaborator Hieronymus Froben (PA8588 A7 1594). Most of the Plato volumes come out of Switzerland, while the Aristotle imprints are from France (Paris and Lyon) and Italy (Venice).³⁷³

Table 15. Publications 1501-1600 Cities and Languages

Place of Publication	Ger	Ita	Ita-Lat	Lat*	Lat-Grc	Total
France						17
Lyon				7	1	8
Paris				8		8
Rouen				1		1
Germany						9
Cologne				1		1
Haguenau				1		1
Nuremburg				1		1
Strasbourg				5		5
Wittenberg	1					1
Italy						16
Rome				4		4
Venice		2	2	8		12
Low Countries						1
Louvain				1		1
Switzerland						9
Basel				7		7
Geneva				1	[poss. Paris] 1	2
Total	1	2	2	45	2	52

³⁷² Pettegree, "Centre and Periphery in the European Book World," *Transactions of the RHS* 18 (2008), 104.

³⁷³ There are several mentions to this effect in Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*; see also, for example, Bard Thomson, *Humanists and Reformers: a History of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing, 1996), esp. 440.

What emerges most clearly from this look at sixteenth-century imprints in the RKC are the great many links with Klibansky's main research themes. This is so also among the illustrated volumes from the period, often prized simply on account of their engreavings or woodcuts. They include, for example:

- A Strasbourg edition of Vitruvius' (1st c. BC) *De architectura* (NA2515 V62 1543), which includes a fragment of Cusa's *De staticis experimentis*.
- A Lyon imprint of the *Works* (incomplete in the RKC) of theologian, philosopher and astrologer Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486?-1535; B781 A3 1600). Agrippa was important for Klibansky's *Saturn and Melancholy* project. He was influenced by neo-Platonism and interested in magic and the occult, and his *De Occulta Philosophia* (books three and four of which are included in the 1630 *Works*) is thought to have been "Dürer's immediate source for the inspired melancholy."³⁷⁴
- Venetian imprints of Aristotle (PA3895 A4 1562; PA3895 O74 1588).
- Parisian imprints of Plato (PA4280 T56 F53 1544), Bovillus (B781 B73 T54 1515), Cusa (BX890 N485 1514), Tomeo (Q153 T66 1530) and medieval logician Paolo Veneto (ca. 1370-1428; B765 P173 D43 1513).³⁷⁵

Even among the types of books most likely to be attractive on account of their rarity or beauty, then, the consistent links to Klibansky's research themes and favoured authors suggest that they are less the purchases of a bibliophile, in an aesthetic material sense, than choices based on an appreciation of their intellectual and historical links.

7.2.3 The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: source of contemporary author publications

The great place in sixteenth-century imprints of ancient Greek authors connected with Klibansky's work on the Platonic tradition makes way, in the seventeenth century (Figure 21), to the Latin literature of Roman authors still connected with the Platonic tradition like Cicero, Seneca, Macrobius and Caesar, after which, in the eighteenth century (Figure 22), Greek and Latin become more or less equivalent and decidedly secondary to a striking rise in modern philosophy.

³⁷⁴ Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1979), 351-365; see also Francis Yates, "Chapman and Dürer on Inspired Melancholy," *University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 34 (1981), online: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=3566> (last accessed Jul. 20, 2011).

³⁷⁵ The few volumes that are less directly related to Klibansky's work are Italian-Latin grammar with woodcuts (PA2082 D66 1554) and a book of papal predictions (BX958 P75 V39 1600), both also printed in Paris, and a volume of the Venerable Bede (7th-8th c.) printed in Basel (PA8260 A1 1563).

Modern philosophy makes its first appearance in the seventeenth century by definition.³⁷⁶ It contributes around 10 percent of volumes from that century, jumping to over 25 percent of eighteenth century RKC volumes, becoming the largest mid-level subject group by far for that period (see the far left of Figure 22). Eighteenth-century publications are the only group so dominated by one mid-level subject area (Conspectus Category).

What is especially remarkable about books from these centuries, and particularly in modern philosophy, is the great number of RKC volumes published during the lifetime of the author. Several are from central figures of the canon of the Age of Reason and the Enlightenment, and the era's tradition of published exchange between thinkers. The editions of texts, as well as paratextual elements like prefaces and introductions, are a window to how authors presented themselves and their texts, as well as how they were presented and received by others. Klibansky would have been keenly aware of this aspect of his books; his publication of letters of Hume, especially, but also of Leibniz, are just one tangible expression of his interest in this historical intellectual context and his attention to the individual as well as the scholar. About 80 percent of the pre-1900 RKC editions published during the lifetime of the author are new to McGill Library (the portion is lower for English material, higher for German, French, and Italian).

Among the seventeenth-century RKC books published during the lifetime of their author – *contemporary publications* – are several names familiar to many. The second edition of Descartes' (1596-1650) illustrated *Opera philosophica* (B1836 C67 1650), published in the year of Descartes' death by the Amsterdam branch of the renowned Elzevir house is a particularly beautiful presentation. Henry More (1614-1687), one of central Cambridge Platonists, published letters to Descartes in a collected writings in 1662, of which Klibansky had a copy, and in the preface of which More expresses

³⁷⁶ McGill Library uses the LC Subject heading Philosophy, Modern for works dealing with texts, thinkers or topics from 1600. Works dealing with the period 1450-1600 are given the subject heading Philosophy, Renaissance and are not included in the Conspectus Category of Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-).

a basic feeling of concord with Descartes (B1299 M61 1662).³⁷⁷ More's Platonist colleague Ralph Cudworth (1617-1689), published only one major work during his lifetime – *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (B1201 C63 T8 1678) – and it too is here. Both More and Cudworth argued that philosophy was compatible with theism, against the materialism of contemporaries like Hobbes (1588-1679), whose *Leviathan* is also here in the contemporary Latin edition for a continental audience (JC153 H657 1670b). The other giant of the seventeenth century with a contemporary imprint in the RKC is Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), polymath and commentator on Locke and Spinoza. Klibansky owned a great deal of Leibniz's work, including an edition published during Leibniz's lifetime of letters to Paul Pellison-Fontanier (1624-1693) in response to the latter's *De la tolerance des religions: lettres de M. de Leibniz et réponses de M. Pellisson* (B2597 A4 1692).

A list of authors with contemporary imprints from 1601-1800 is provided in Table 16.³⁷⁸ The list is structured by country of publication, which also reflects a geographic element in the history of ideas. The Netherlands makes its first appearance as a publishing location in the RKC in the seventeenth century, for example, and its remarkably strong proportional presence there is linked to the time when the Dutch Republic was a haven for intellectuals and for publishing not permitted elsewhere. The Descartes and Hobbes volumes just mentioned were both published there, as were the books of several Huguenots, including a work by Isaac La Peyrère (BT702 L35 1655), secretary of the Protestant Prince de Condé, who some wished to see on the French throne.³⁷⁹ La Peyrère too was published by the Elzevir house which developed during this period into one of the finest publishing houses of Europe.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ “More seems to have genuinely believed [he and Descartes] were fellow-travellers, both committed to the establishment of a dualism of body and soul in the service of religion, even though they might seem to onlookers to have been very different. More expressed this in 1662 in the Preface to his Collection of Philosophical Writings.” John Henry, “Henry More”, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2008 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta (<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/henry-more/>).

³⁷⁸ Where a volume has a single main author whose dates are indicated in the catalogue.

³⁷⁹ The work, *Prae-Adamitae*, is thought to have been supported financially by Christina of Sweden (1662-1689), also the previous owner of the *Summarium* manuscript (see n.117), who had abdicated the throne and became Catholic in 1654. She was an active member of the Republic of Letters. See

The eighteenth century in the RKC is even more flush with contemporary publications, with too many titles to mention individually, and they contribute much to the great strength of modern philosophy seen in the distribution of subject areas in Figure 22. Of special interest to British philosophy is the great wealth of contemporary imprints from the Scottish Enlightenment; Scottish imprints in the RKC are stronger proportionally in this period than for any other (See Table 17), and there are several English publications also from Scots such as David Hume, his friend Adam Smith, and a number of their contemporaries.

Also remarkable are the several books by Immanuel Kant, most of which come out of Germany, but two of which come out of modern Latvia. Latvia, which was part of the Russian empire in the eighteenth century with a large German population, may be a surprising location to all, perhaps, but Kant scholars; the first editions of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) were published in Riga by Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, (1768-1819) and Klibansky's copies, though not first editions, are from the same source (B2775 1790; B2770 1797).

The main figures of the French Enlightenment such as Voltaire (1694-1778) or Denis Diderot (1713-1784) are absent from the contemporary publications. The RKC does, however, include two editions of the *Dictionnaire philosophique de la religion* (BX1752 N66 1772; BX1752 N66 1774) by Voltaire's critic, the apologist Claude-François Nonnotte (1711-1793), both published while Voltaire was alive. Barring losses to the collection, the combination is suggestive of a lack of sympathy on Klibansky's part for the secular spirit of the age.

Partly connected with the strength in works by contemporary authors, the RKC has notable strength in theological works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here the theme of Klibansky's interest in German thought comes to the fore. Two

Richard H. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): his life, work, and influence* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 199, n.20.

³⁸⁰ See for example, "1585-1725 – Hey-day as centre of world trade" in *Bibliopolis: Handbook; a Concise History of the Printed Book in the Netherlands*, e-resource maintained by the national Koninklijke Bibliotheek <http://www.bibliopolis.nl/handboek> (last accessed Jun. 14, 2012). The resource also provides access to searchable bibliographic and image databases.

authors contribute several works bound together in what are termed *pamphlet volumes*. One of them is Valentin Weigel (1533-1588), a German protestant mystic noted by Klibansky (quoted above in Section 6.5) as an intellectual ancestor of Kant. A single volume accounts for 10 RKC records: nine separately published titles by Weigel, all from the early seventeenth century, as well as one by Protestant theologian Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von Karlstadt, (ca. 1480-1541). This volume contributes the bulk of the seventeenth-century Practical Theology category in Figure 21.³⁸¹ Important texts in mysticism apart from Weigel's include the anonymous fourteenth-century *Theologia Deutsch* (BV4834 F6713 1646) that was first edited by Martin Luther,³⁸² contemporary works from French mystics Mme. Guyon (1648-1717), popular in and published in Germany (BV5080 G89 1704),³⁸³ and Pierre Poiret, (1646-1719), one of the Reformation authors published in the Netherlands (BD150 P65 1692). Here too are a great many texts from prolific German mystic Jacob Böhme (1575-1624), whose 10-volume set printed in the Netherlands includes particularly stunning engravings (BV5080 B7 1730), and two earlier imprints published in England, a product of Böhme's (or Behmen's, as he was called in England) following there (BV5080 B7613 1656; BV5080 B7613 1656).

The second pamphlet volume of texts, from John Owen (1616-1683) an English Protestant close to Oliver Cromwell, boosts the Doctrinal Theology category. There are seven distinct titles in the volume (BT775 O9 1648), all of them printed in the 1640s, during Owen's lifetime. Owen is especially interesting in the context of Klibansky's work as he was Dean of Christ Church at Oxford while John Locke was a student there. Owen was involved in Locke's first publication, a tribute to Cromwell, and his sermons are thought to have influenced Locke's ideas on religious toleration.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹ The volume is also part of the Gundolf heritage in the RKC (see Sections 5.1; 9.2).

³⁸² Klibansky owned several copies of the *Theologia deutsch*, including a reproduction of Luther's preface to his 1518 edition (BV4834 F67 1920).

³⁸³ See for example Rufus M. Jones, "Jacob Boehme's Influence in England," in *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 208-234.

³⁸⁴ Kim Ian Parker, *The Biblical Politics of John Locke* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), 10. Canadian Electronic Library.

Table 16. Authors with titles published during their lifetimes (1601-1800), by country of publication. Contemporary imprints only.

Country of publication and Authors	No. #	Country of publication and Authors	No. #
Austria	1	Germany (cont.)	(44)
Bendavid, Lazarus (1762-1832.)	1	Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott (1715-1769.)	1
Belgium	4	Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de La Motte (1648-1717.)	1
David, Jan (1545?-1613.)	1	Jakob, Ludwig Heinrich von (1759-1827.)	5
Jamin, Nicolas (1711-1782.)	1	Kahle, Ludwig Martin (1712-1775.)	1
Lipsius, Justus (1547-1606.)	1	Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804.)	5
Puteanus, Erycius (1574-1646.)	1	Klotz, Christian Adolph (1738-1771.)	4
England	33	Maass, Johann Gebhard Ehrenreich (1766-1823.)	2
Beattie, James (1735-1803.)	1	Maichel, Daniel (1693-1752.)	1
Berkeley, George (1685-1753.)	1	Meier, Georg Friedrich (1718-1777.)	1
Blair, Hugh (1718-1800.)	1	Meiners, C. (Christoph) (1747-1810.)	1
Buckeridge, John (1562?-1631.)	1	Mosheim, Johann Lorenz (1694?-1755.)	1
Cave, William (1637-1713.)	1	Platner, Ernst (1744-1818.)	2
Clarke, Samuel (1675-1729.)	2	Reimarus, Johann Albert Heinrich (1729-1814.)	1
Cudworth, Ralph (1617-1688.)	2	Schmid, Carl Christian Erhard (1761-1812.)	1
Dodwell, Henry (1641-1711.)	2	Schubert, Johann Ernst (1717-1774.)	1
Douglas, John (1721-1807.)	1	Tiedemann, Dietrich (1748-1803.)	1
Hales, William (1747-1831.)	2	Ulrich, Johann August Heinrich. ((1746-1813))	1
Hume, David (1711-1776.)	5	Villaume, Peter (1746-1806.)	1
Kames, Henry Home, Lord (1696-1782.)	1	Italy	5
Leland, John (1691-1766.)	1	Amort, Eusebius (1692-1775.)	1
More, Henry (1614-1687.)	1	Maffei, Scipione, marchese (1675-1755.)	1
Nicols, William (1655-1716.)	1	Tiraboschi, Girolamo (1731-1794.)	1
Owen, John (1616-1683.)	7	Volpi, Gio. Antonio (1686-1756.)	1
Smith, Adam (1723-1790.)	1	Zaccaria, Francescantonio (1714-1795.)	1
Whitby, Daniel (1638-1726.)	2	Latvia	2
France	11	Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804.)	2
Batteux, Charles (1713-1780.)	1	Netherlands	7
Gaffarel, Jacques (1601-1681.)	1	Descartes, René (1596-1650.)	1
Jondot, Étienne (1770-1834.)	1	Herbinius, Johannes (1633-ca. 1679.)	1
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Freiherr von (1646-1716.)	1	Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679.)	1
Nonnotte, Claude-François (1711-1793.)	2	La Peyrère, Isaac de (1594-1676.)	1
Paine, Thomas (1737-1809.)	1	Maittaire, Michael (1667-1747.)	1
Petit, Pierre (1617-1687.)	1	Poiret, Pierre (1646-1719.)	1
Pluquet, François-André-Adrien (1716-1790.)	1	Schoock, Martinus (1614-1669.)	1
Thiers, Jean-Baptiste (1636-1703.)	1	Scotland	9
Zacherie, père de Lisieux (1596-1661.)	1	Allan, James (ca. 1712-1767.)	1
Germany	44	Anderson, George (1676-1756.)	1
Bardili, Christoph Gottfried (1761-1808.)	1	Beattie, James (1735-1803.)	1
Bouterwek, Friedrich (1766-1828.)	1	Blair, Hugh (1718-1800.)	1
Detry, Peter Friedrich (1685-1750.)	1	Brown, William Laurence (1755-1830.)	1
Drexel, Jeremias (1581-1638.)	1	Campbell, George (1719-1796.)	1
Eberhard, J. A. (Johann August) (1739-1809.)	4	Leechman, William (1706-1785.)	1
Ewald, Wilhelm Ernst (1704-1741.)	1	Macqueen, Daniel (d. 1777.)	1
Fabricius, Johann Albert (1668-1736.)	2	Wallace, Robert (1697-1771.)	1
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814.)	2	Total	116

And finally, the volumes of the RKC expand geographically (see Table 17) and linguistically (not shown).³⁸⁵ Several works in English and French appear for the first

³⁸⁵ Country designations are taken directly from the McGill catalogue records (MARC 008), except for Strasbourg imprints. Strasbourg has been re-coded as part of Germany prior to 1681, from 1871 to 1918, and from June 1940 to November 1944. Otherwise it is classed as part of France. The one

time in the seventeenth century, as well as one in Dutch (BX3702 A2 D38 1603) and one in Hebrew (BM520.88 A54 1697). The book in Dutch, published in Antwerp, is one of two emblem books in the RKC, with religious images and prayers by a Dutch Jesuit, part of a softer Jesuit movement to rebuild the Catholic community.³⁸⁶ Language coverage in the eighteenth century retreats to the main groups (German, English, French, Italian, Latin and Greek), but the number of publication locations increases. (Instances of unusual strength in each period are in bold.)

Table 17. RKC records by place of publication and publication period (1601-1800)

1601-1700			1701-1800		
Country	No.# rec.	Per. % group	Country	No.# rec.	Per. % group
Germany	31	30.7	Germany	75	40.3
Netherlands	27	26.7	England	49	26.3
England	21	20.8	France	17	9.1
France	14	13.9	Netherlands	15	8.1
Belgium	3	3.0	Scotland	11	5.9
Switzerland	2	2.0	Italy	8	4.3
Italy	2	2.0	Switzerland	2	1.1
Poland	1	1.0	Austria	2	1.1
Total	101	100.0	Latvia	2	1.1
			Belgium	2	1.1
			Ireland	1	0.5
			Poland	1	0.5
			--unknown--	1	0.5
			Total	186	100.0

eighteenth-century volume with an unidentified place of publication is a Latin commentary on Cicero by Paolo Manuzio (1512-1574), believed to have been printed in the seventeenth century (PA6299 M35 1700z), most likely in Italy. More commonly known as Paulus Manutius, Paolo was the son of Aldus Manutius (1449-1515), founder of the Aldine press responsible for the first printing of many classical texts.

³⁸⁶ This book, by Jan David(1545?-1613), was published by the Plantin publishing house, which dominated printing in the largest book centre of the Low Countries and which is known for, among other things, its emblem books. The second emblem book is by another Jesuit, Jeremias Drexel (BX2180 D74 1634). On emblem books, including Jesuit use in particular, see Peter M. Daly, *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York: AMS Press, 2008); see also the five-part *Jesuit Series* of the *Corpus librorum emblematum*, ed. by Daly and G. Richard Dimler (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1997-2007).

7.3 The nineteenth and twentieth centuries

7.3.1 General patterns

The more recent imprints in the RKC are in many senses characterized simply by increased breadth and ever-increasing numbers of volumes. Languages and places of publication grow in numbers, for example, and the RKC reaches a full range of nearly 40 different languages (Table 10) from at least 60 different countries (Table 18), before reducing to a small group again after the year 2000 (Table 19). There is a continual proliferation of subject areas as well, and the number of mid-level subjects (Conspectus categories) increases from 27 in the first half of the nineteenth century, to 67 in the last half of the twentieth century. The 15 most frequent mid-level subject groups for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (including the first few years of the twenty-first), are shown in Figures 23 and 24.

At the same time, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century volumes show increased concentration in certain ways. In the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, over 85 percent of the collection is for the first time accounted for by three countries: Germany, England and France (Table 18). This is the only period in which such a geographical concentration is seen.

In the twentieth century, the concentration is not geographical but subject-related: the largest two Conspectus categories, Philosophy – Modern (1450/1600-) and Philosophy – Ancient, Medieval & Renaissance, make up over half of the records. The increasing size of the collection precludes a simple summary of these periods, and there is much here for future specialized attention. The following sections touch on themes that emerged from the quantitative assessment and that find resonance with Klibansky's basic approach to scholarship.

Table 18. RKC records by place of pub. and pub. period (1801-2000 by 50-yr per.)

1801-1850			1851-1900			1901-1950			1951-2000 (>2000 not included)		
Cntry	No.# rec.	Per. % group	Cntry	No.# rec.	Per. % group	Cntry	No.# rec.	Per. % group	Cntry	No.# rec.	Per. % group
Germany	148	56.7	Germany	339	45.7	Germany	974	40.2	Italy	858	27.4
England	49	18.8	England	190	25.6	England	631	26.1	Germany	616	19.7
France	32	12.3	France	120	16.2	France	303	12.5	England	319	10.2
Scotland	7	2.7	Scotland	21	2.8	Italy	149	6.2	France	310	9.9
Switzerland	6	2.3	United States	20	2.7	United States	133	5.5	United States	309	9.9
Belgium	6	2.3	Italy	19	2.6	Belgium	41	1.7	Quebec (CA)	119	3.8
Austria	5	1.9	Austria	9	1.2	Switzerland	32	1.3	Netherlands	72	2.3
Italy	4	1.5	Poland	6	0.8	Netherlands	26	1.1	Switzerland	51	1.6
United States	1	0.4	Switzerland	4	0.5	Scotland	22	0.9	Belgium	50	1.6
Denmark	1	0.4	Czech Rep.	4	0.5	Austria	17	0.7	Poland	49	1.6
Netherlands	1	0.4	Netherlands	3	0.4	Mexico	15	0.6	Ontario (CA)	45	1.4
Ireland	1	0.4	Quebec (CA)	2	0.3	Poland	13	0.5	Iran	39	1.2
Total	261	100.0	Greece	1	0.1	Quebec (CA)	11	0.5	Mexico	28	0.9
			Russia	1	0.1	Ontario (CA)	7	0.3	Russia (Federation)	28	0.9
			Belgium	1	0.1	Ireland	6	0.3	Japan	26	0.8
			Denmark	1	0.1	Denmark	5	0.2	Cuba	21	0.7
			Ireland	1	0.1	Sweden	5	0.2	Spain	20	0.6
			Total	742	100.00	Argentina	4	0.2	Romania	17	0.5
						Spain	4	0.2	Austria	15	0.5
						Vatican City	4	0.2	Sweden	13	0.4
						Cuba	3	0.1	Scotland	12	0.4
						Hungary	2	0.1	Brazil	11	0.4
						Latvia	2	0.1	Israel	11	0.4
						Russia	2	0.1	Bulgaria	10	0.3
						Czech Republic	2	0.1	Greece	9	0.3
						Chile	1	0.0	Hungary	7	0.2
						Finland	1	0.0	Finland	6	0.2
						Greece	1	0.0	India	6	0.2
						India	1	0.0	Argentina	5	0.2
						Iran	1	0.0	Denmark	5	0.2
						Israel	1	0.0	Liechtenstein	4	0.1
						Malta	1	0.0	Norway	4	0.1
						Norway	1	0.0	Czech Republic	4	0.1
						xx--not known	1	0.0	Bolivia	3	0.1
						Grand Total	2422	100.0	China	3	0.1
									Portugal	2	0.1
									Senegal	2	0.1
									Turkey	2	0.1
									Serbia and Montenegro	2	0.1
									Australia	1	0.0
									Belarus	1	0.0
									Colombia	1	0.0
									Costa Rica	1	0.0
									Benin	1	0.0
									Dominican Republic	1	0.0
									Lebanon	1	0.0
									Morocco	1	0.0
									Malaysia	1	0.0
									Newfoundland and Labrador (CA)	1	0.0
									Northern Ireland	1	0.0
									Pakistan	1	0.0
									Saskatchewan (CA)	1	0.0
									Egypt	1	0.0
									Vatican City	1	0.0
									Venezuela	1	0.0
									xx--not known	2	0.1
									Total	3131	100.0

Table 19. RKC records by place of pub. and pub. period (2001-2005+)

Cntry	No.# rec.	group
Germany	34	37.8
Italy	32	35.6
United States	6	6.7
England	5	5.6
France	4	4.4
Quebec (CA)	3	3.3
Switzerland	2	2.2
Romania	1	1.1
Ontario (CA)	1	1.1
Japan	1	1.1
Netherlands	1	1.1
Total	90	100.0

Figure 23. Mid-level subjects (Conspectus Categories) in Philosophy & Religion and Language, Linguistics & Literature, 19th c. (top 15)

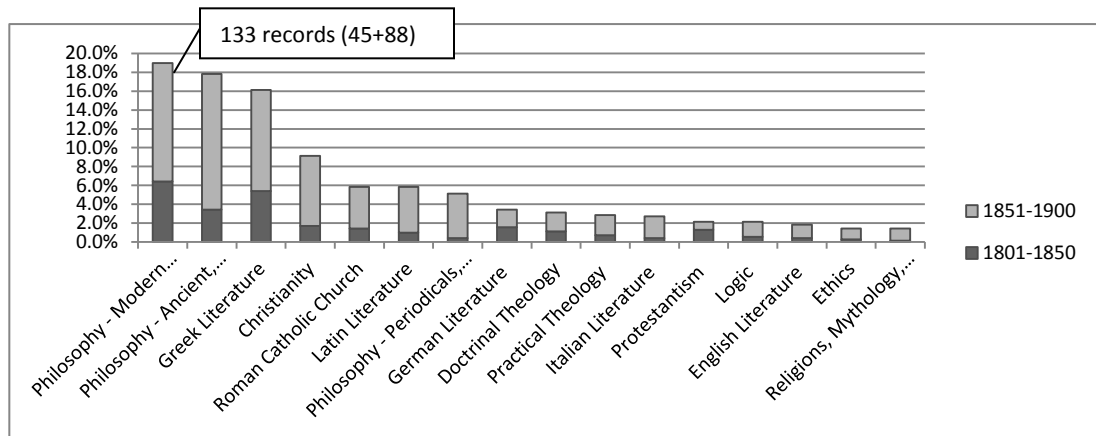
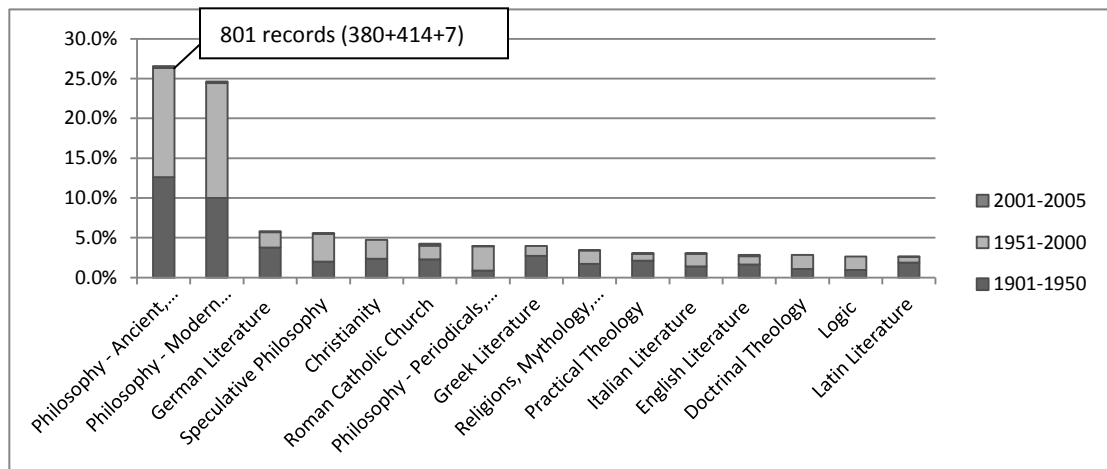


Figure 24. Mid-level subjects (Conspectus Categories) in Philosophy & Religion and Language, Linguistics & Literature, 20th c.–2005 (top 15)



7.3.2 The nineteenth century

Modern philosophy maintains its place as the largest group in the nineteenth century, though its portion is reduced (from over 25 percent of eighteenth-century volumes to less than 20 percent in the nineteenth). Ancient philosophy and Greek literature each make up a much larger part of the group, and pre-modern philosophy overtakes modern philosophy in the second half of the century (Figure 23). As noted in Section 6.5, it was a period that saw important new authoritative editions of Plato.

In early nineteenth-century publications, German production alone accounts for more than 55 percent of the whole, a proportion not equalled in any other period, though it remains very strong in the second half of the century. This group establishes two major poles in RKC books from the nineteenth century, as we shall see: the Greek world, and modern philosophy.

The large amount of German and German-language scholarship here is consistent with the fact that “from the early years of the nineteenth century onward German scholarship, and particularly historical scholarship, enjoyed immense prestige.”³⁸⁷ Most symbolic perhaps among the RKC texts in history are letters of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835; DD422 H8 M35 1865), the German humanist from whom Klibansky took his ideal of education.³⁸⁸ Humboldt is at the centre of the changes in university education even in North America.³⁸⁹ Friend of Goethe and Schiller, and brother of Alexander Humboldt (whose *Kosmos* is also in the collection; Q158 H86 1845) Wilhelm von Humboldt is often credited with founding the first modern research university, fighting the idea that the university's role should be linked to state demands of “immediate usefulness” but rather aim for balanced self-development through a free inquiry with a goal to understand the self and the world, to develop morally and esthetically and to respect individual freedom.³⁹⁰

The collection also holds something of a relic from Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), who emphasized the importance of primary sources and is widely considered a key founder of modern historical scholarship. The RKC copy of the Ranke's history of Italian poetry (PQ4101 R3 1837; classed as Italian literature, not as history), is inscribed with the words “Geschenk des Verf.” (gift of the author), and a second

³⁸⁷ John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), 457.

³⁸⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 13.

³⁸⁹ On Humboldt in English, see Paul S. Sweet, *Wilhelm von Humboldt: A biography*. 2 vols., (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1978-80).

³⁹⁰ Frederic Lilje, *The Abuse of Learning: the Failure of the German University* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 7-18

inscription indicates a subsequent gift to Klibansky in 1928 from Heinrich Heidenheimer, a historian and possibly the original recipient of the gift.³⁹¹

The Greek world

Much German scholarship of the period focused on the Greek world and ancient texts. A recent study of nineteenth-century German philology describes a feeling toward the classical world in terms that resonate very much with Klibansky's own priorities as a student: "As a pedagogical alternative to the utilitarian rationalism of the Enlightenment and the Latin learning of the church, German neohumanism promised to cultivate the inner life of the self-realizing, moral subject...The self-reflective and interpretive practices required of classical scholarship aided the self-cultivation of ethical individuals and rewarded achievement and merit over the precedence of birth."³⁹² This sounds very much like Klibansky's appreciation of the *Odenwaldschule*, where discipline was interior rather than imposed, and where "the motto of the school was the 'Genio hoio esse', 'Become who you are', of Pindar. But if for Pindar this meant for the well-born to become what their high birth demanded of them, at the school it was expected that the student fully realize his personal potential."³⁹³ Several decades separate Klibansky's school years from the golden age of German philology, but the traces of it in his library indicate a lasting influence. A great many books testify to this, with more than 75 records in Greek literature alone from the nineteenth century, much more than German literature (17) and Latin literature (24) combined.

August Boeckh (1785-1867), one of the champions of German Hellenism, provides an example. He wrote on, among other things, Plato's *Timaeus* and Greek astronomy (QB31 B7 1852), and contributed to the greater attention given to non-text expressions of meaning from the ancient world so much a part of the Warburg

³⁹¹ Heidenheimer is one of those that appears more than once as an inscriber to Klibansky, though the inscriptions are unclear, as discussed in Section 9.2.

³⁹² Tuska Benes, *In Babel's Shadow: Language, Philology, and the Nation in Nineteenth-century Germany*, (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2008), 162.

³⁹³ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 8.

approach.³⁹⁴ Hemann Usener (1834-1905), philologist and comparative religion scholar is another, and Klibansky describes himself as his “Enkelschüler” or “spiritual grandson”.³⁹⁵

Table 20. 19th century authors on Greece and the ancient world

Mid-level subject (Conspectus Category)	enk	fr	gw	Mid-level subject (Conspectus Category)	enk	fr	gw
Greek Language				Philosophy – Ancient *			
Buttmann, Ph. (Philipp) (1764-1829)			1	Abbott, Evelyn (1843-1901.)	1		
Pape, Wilhelm (1807-1854)			1	Baeumker, Clemens (1853-1924.)			1
Schirlitz, S. Ch. (Samuel Christoph) (1797-1875)			1	Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, J. (Jules) (1805-1895.)		1	
Greek Literature				Boeckh, August (1785-1867.)			1
Boeckh, August (1785-1867)			1	Bonitz, Hermann (1814-1888.)			1
Bywater, Ingram (1840-1914)	1			Brandis, Christian August (1790-1867.)			1
Clausen, Henrik Nicolai (1793-1877)			1	Bury, Robert Gregg (b. 1869.)	1		
Hase, Karl von (1800-1890)			1	Bussell, F. W. (Frederick William) (1862-1944.)	1		
Hermann, Gottfried (1772-1848)			1	Capes, W. W. (William Wolfe) (1834-1914.)	1		
Huit, Charles (1845-1914)		1		Cotes, K. D. ()	1		
Immisch, Otto (1862-1936)			1	Dyroff, Adolf (1866-1943.)			1
Jackson, Henry (1839-1921)	1			Freudenthal, Max (1868-1937.)			1
Kalischer, Salomon (1845-1924)			1	Gfrörer, A. Fr. (August Friedrich) (1803-1861.)			1
Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de (1753-1821)		1		Grote, George (1794-1871.)	1		
Martin, Thomas Henri (1813-1884)		1		Halévy, Elie (1870-1937.)		1	
Matthiä, August (1769-1835)			1	Hardy, Edmund (1852-1904.)			1
Müller, Karl Otfried (1797-1840)			1	Harless, Adolf Gottlieb Christoph von (1806-1879.)			1
Nägelsbach, Carl Friedrich (1806-1859)			1	Heinze, Max (1835-1909.)			1
Platner, Eduard (1786-1860)			1	Herriot, Edouard (1872-1957.)		1	
Prantl, Carl (1820-1888)			1	Huit, Charles (1845-1914.)		2	
Schanz, Martin von (1842-1914)			1	Martha, Constant (1820-1895.)		1	
Usener, Hermann (1834-1905)			1	Mayor, Joseph B. (Joseph Bickersteth) (1828-1916.)	1		
Welcker, Friedrich Gottlieb (1784-1868)			1	Prantl, Carl (1820-1888.)			1
History - Greece				Ritter, Heinrich (1791-1869.)		1	3
Jacobs, Friedrich (1764-1847)			1	Ruge, Arnold (1802-1880.)			1
Neumann, Carl (1860-1934)			1	Seidel, Eugen (1862-)			1
History - Mediterranean Region, Greco-Roman World				Siebeck, Hermann (1842-1921.)			2
Curtius, Ernst (1814-1896)			1	Simon, Jules (1814-1896.)		1	
Hermann, Karl Friedrich (1804-1855)			1	Stahr, Adolf Wilhelm Theodor (1805-1876.)			1
Lübker, Fr (Friedrich) (1811-1867)			1	Stein, Heinrich von (1833-1896.)			1
Rich, Anthony (1803 or 4-1891)	1			Trendelenburg, Friedrich Adolf (1802-1872.)			1
Total	3	3	22	Vacherot, E. (Etienne) (1809-1897.)		1	
				Wallace, Edwin (1848-1884.)	1		
				Wilson, John Cook (1849-1915.)	1		
				Wohlrab, Martin (1834-1913.)			1
				Zeller, Eduard (1814-1908.)			1
				Total	9	9	23

³⁹⁴ Tuska Benes, *In Babel's shadow*. See especially Ch. 4.

³⁹⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophie*, 6.

The work of Boeckh, Usener and their contemporaries was part of an intellectual environment in which the overlapping spheres of Klibansky's primary interests in philosophy, literature and language, as well as history and religion, were entirely natural.

Authors of nineteenth-century publications from England (enk), France (fr) or Germany (gw), with a focus on the ancient world, are shown in Table 20.³⁹⁶ The group provides, in addition to an overview of authors, a sense of the relative presence of the three main countries of publication, underlining the strong place of German scholarship.

Only about five percent of all books published in Germany from either half of the nineteenth century have an inscribed date to suggest that they were acquired before Klibansky left Germany, and the sheer amount of them – close to 500 for nineteenth-century German imprints alone – suggests they were not likely all owned by a very young professor without a permanent post coming out of difficult financial years. It points more to the idea that Klibansky retained his interest in and sense of the value of German scholarly production despite his expulsion and despite the fact that, as he says, after World War II, “no one wanted to read in German.”³⁹⁷ Indeed, this last point may well have contributed to his acquiring so many, as volumes were discarded in England or elsewhere.³⁹⁸

Modern philosophy

The other main pole of nineteenth-century production is modern philosophy. German philosophy dominates the subject among early nineteenth-century publications in the RKC, as seen in Table 21, which lists authors in the Conspectus category Philosophy – Modern (1450/1600-), published from 1801 to 1850. Fichte has the largest single group of records in the group, with four titles, one of which is

³⁹⁶ The group of *Philosophy – Ancient* in Table 20 includes only those items from the Conspectus category Philosophy – Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, that deal with the Greek world, as determined by keywords from catalogue records.

³⁹⁷ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 151.

³⁹⁸ There is at least one indication of this in a large group of German books purchased in England as university discards. See Section 9.3.

an incomplete set (two of the three volumes) of the first edition of his posthumous works (B2803 1834). Victor Cousin is the only non-German author of with more than one title to his name in Table 21, but his *Fragments philosophiques* and *Nouveaux Fragments* are bound together in one volume (B2263 F73 1840). A single work that stands out is the lone contemporary publication of Hegel in the RKC, his *Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse* (Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences; B2915 1827).

Table 21. Authors in Philosophy – Modern (1450/1600-) for publications 1801-1850, by country

Country /Author	No.# rec.	Country /Author (Germany, cont.)	No.# rec.
Austria	1	(Germany, cont.)	
Schlegel, Friedrich von (1772-1829)	1	Fischhaber, Gottlob Christian Friderich.	1
Belgium	3	Gerstenberg, Heinr. Wilh. von (1737-1823.)	1
Cousin, Victor (1792-1867)	3	Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)	1
England	3	Hoffbauer, J. H.	1
Forbes, William, Sir (1739-1806)	1	Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)	3
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Freiherr von (1646-1716.)	1	Keyserlingk, Herrmann von (1793-1858)	1
Locke, John (1632-1704.)	1	Köhler, Gregor (1733-1809.)	2
France	5	Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Freiherr von (1646-1716)	2
Bertereau, Adolphe.	1	Saint-Martin, Louis Claude de (1743-1803)	1
Maistre, Joseph Marie, comte de (1753-1821)	1	Spinoza, Benedictus de (1632-1677)	1
Pascal, Blaise (1623-1662)	1	Wagner, Johann Jakob (1775-1841)	3
Renouvier, Charles (1815-1903)	1	Weiller, Kajetan von (1761-1826)	1
Villers, Charles de (1765-1815)	1	Windischmann, Karl Joseph Hieronymus (1775-1839)	2
Germany	29	Scotland	3
Berg, Franz.	1	Burton, John Hill (1809-1881)	1
Bolzano, Bernard (1781-1848)	1	Hume, David (1711-1776)	1
Erdmann, Johann Eduard (1805-1892)	1	Reid, Thomas (1710-1796)	1
Feuerbach, Ludwig (1804-1872)	2	Switzerland	1
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814)	4	Secrétan, Charles (1815-1895)	1
		Total	45

Provenance and pamphlet volumes play a role in the large number of records for German publications in Table 21. There are more than 60 pamphlet volumes in the collection, and most are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but this particular subgroup contains a disproportionately high number. In fact in most cases here, where there is more than one title from a single author they are bound together such that only Fichte, Kant, Leibniz and Cousin contribute more than one volume. Multiple titles from Feuerbach, Köhler and Wagner are in each case part of a pamphlet volume. The Köhler titles are also bound with titles of Fischhaber, Gerstenberg, Hoffbauer and Windischmann, such that one volume accounts for six

of the titles of Table 21. In addition they form a common provenance group with the Wagner titles and a second Windischmann volume, adding up to nine titles in three volumes and possibly representing a single purchase.³⁹⁹ Such volumes offer a source for the study of what kinds of works were owned and used together by previous readers.

A subsequent shift in the geographical distribution of places of publication in Klibansky's modern philosophy books takes place in the second half of the nineteenth century, shown in Table 22. French and British philosophy are much more present in the latter period, but at the same time about a quarter of the books from England and France are by German thinkers (with seven titles by Leibniz from France, for example).

Table 22. Distribution of 19th-century publications for Philosophy – Modern (1450-1600), by country and 50-yr period.

Country	1801-1850	1851-1900	Total
Austria	1		1
Belgium	3		3
England	3	19	22
France	5	22	27
Germany	29	32	61
Netherlands		1	1
Poland		1	1
Scotland	3	6	9
Switzerland	1	1	2
United States		5	5
Czech Republic		1	1
Total	45	88	133

The full list of authors for the second half of the century is too long to reproduce here, but contemporary British authors that appear in this group include George Henry Lewes (1817-1878; B2248 L68 1853b) on the positivist philosophy of August Comte (1798-1857), and an autobiography of John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), published in the year of his death (B1606 A2 1873b).

³⁹⁹ From the Robert Mason collection of Queen's College, Oxford (See also Section 9.3.1). An invoice in another Mason volume (showing acquisition in 1940; B2699 P33 P55 1793 T.2) does not, however list these particular titles.

Publications from France remain primarily focused on the previous centuries and include, in addition to several works by Descartes and Leibniz, several studies about each, such that between the two of them they make up 15 of the 27 entries. There is a particularly interrelated group here, with links on different levels that will be of interest to students of Leibniz, Descartes and Spinoza. To start, seven of the publications in the table have A. Foucher de Careil (1826-1891) as an author or (normally) editor, mostly on Leibniz but also on Descartes. Foucher de Careil's editions of Leibniz's letters (B2555 F6 1854; B2555 F6 1857) are among the works cited in Klibansky's doctoral work, in relation to modern Platonic interpretation.⁴⁰⁰ The one volume authored solely by Foucher de Careil (B2598 F66 1862) on Leibniz, Descartes and Spinoza, includes in addition a text by Victor Cousin (B2263 V6 1856), who is also listed in this table, and was an important editor of Plato. A volume of Descartes alone (B1835 F6 1859), again edited by Foucher de Careil, is signed by the editor (B1835 F6 1859) to E. Saisset, most likely Descartes scholar Emile Saisset (1814-1863), yet another author listed in the group, and the RKC copy of Saisset's work on Descartes (B1875 S3 1862) is in turn believed to be inscribed to Abbé Blampignon, who wrote on Malebranche (and finally the trail stops and this last work, on Malabranche, is not in the RKC).

Other threads

Outside of the Greek world and modern philosophy there remains much among the nineteenth-century publications on Klibansky's other interests. Works on Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church are relatively strong, for example, in the nineteenth century (Figure 23). Approximately half of the RKC titles on Christianity published at this time are works of ancient or medieval authors, most in English or Latin, and connected with the Platonic tradition. Several volumes are from the editions of Church fathers in J.P. Migne's *Patrologiae Latina* series. The other half are recent or contemporary authors, the largest group in German, many again on topics or figures connected with the Platonic theme. There is, in particular, much from German

⁴⁰⁰ Klibansky, *Proklos-fund*, 22. See also "Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance": 329-30. Klibansky cites Leibniz on Ficino's treatment of Plato, calling for a return to Plato's texts and a rejection of Neo-Platonic interpretations.

theologian Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860). Books on the Roman Catholic Church tend to be from more recent or contemporary authors (mainly French and German), almost all pertaining to the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, near the themes of Chartres, Eckhart and Cusa.

The German literature group (24 volumes over the century) is very small in comparison with the following period, but includes the only publications by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and also from Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), who with Goethe and Hölderlin were key writers of German Romanticism and Classicism. There is, in this group, provenance evidence that remains to be studied.

The first Canadian publications in the RKC are also from this period, and consistent with Klibansky's nose for books, they are interesting in different ways. Both are from Quebec. *Fautes à corriger: une chaque jour* (PC3637 L8 1890), is by journalist Alphonse Lusignan (1843-1892) on French grammar, addressed to his colleagues in the press. The volume is a book prize, with a blank label to that effect from "Province de Québec, Department de l'Instruction Publique." The second is a rare anonymous work, *Vie de St. Georges, martyr: III siècle; pape, St. Marcellin, empereur, Dioclétien* (BR1720 G4 V54 1872), attributed in the BAnQ library catalogue record to the Sulpician priest Pierre Rousseau (1827-1912).

The illustrated volumes, which number 25 and 50 for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively, jump to over 150 in the nineteenth century. A specialist view of these, as of other areas, is needed, but one volume that certainly commands attention is the 1863 (6th) edition of the *Dictionnaire infernal* (BF1503 C6 1863) of Jacques-Albin-Simon Collin de Plancy (1794-1881). It opens a window to nineteenth-century occult imagery, including 550 engravings among which are 72 "portraits of demons" (from the edition statement), part of a small theme on the occult linked with Klibansky's work on *Saturn and Melancholy*.

7.3.3 The twentieth century.

Twentieth century publications make up nearly eighty percent of the entire Klibansky Collection.⁴⁰¹ The main themes of this period are the very themes of the collection as a whole, in terms of subjects, languages etc.; what has been found is a collection built solidly around his main research themes, with an impressive accompaniment of literature – especially German – and history, as well as works connected with political issues of his time.

Some large-scale patterns and changes over the century

That interests established early in Klibansky's career were enduring is suggested by the numbers of Table 23, and appears to reflect the centrality of his early period in his intellectual biography more generally. It is visible in the prevalence of pre-modern over modern philosophy, for example, interrupted during Klibansky's years of teaching and activity in the IIP only to be re-established in later years (Table 23); and also in the post-1976 return of German literature to the top subject groups.

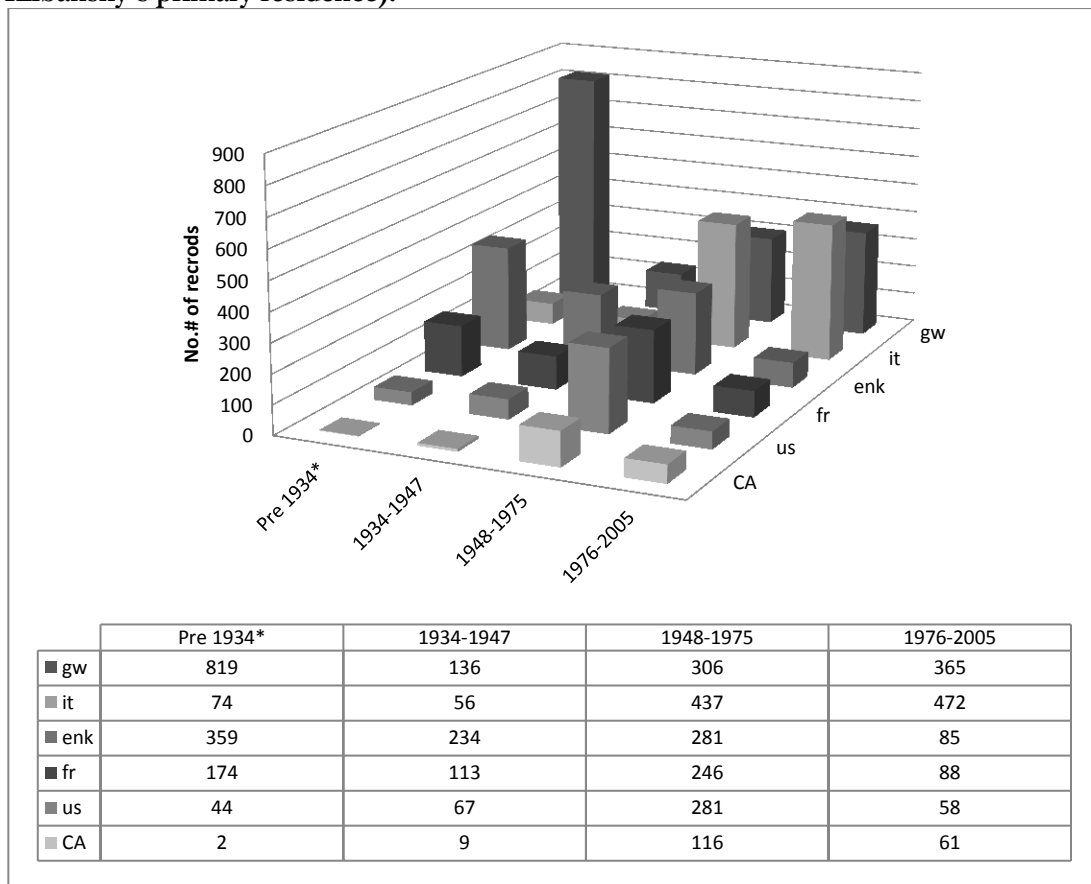
Table 23. Top 10 Conspectus categories in 20th century publications, by publication date corresponding to Klibansky's major biographical periods.

Pre 1934*		1934-1947		1948-1975		1976-2005	
Conspectus Category	No. #	Conspectus Category	No. #	Conspectus Category	No. #	Conspectus Category	No. #
Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	247	Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	108	Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	340	Academies & Learned Societies	206
Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	196	Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	84	Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	298	Philosophy - Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance	151
German Literature	96	History, General	37	Speculative Philosophy	84	Philosophy - Modern (1450/1600-)	120
Greek Literature	65	Christianity	27	Philosophy - Periodicals, Societies, Congresses	83	Italian Literature	32
Roman Catholic Church	47	Practical Theology	26	Christianity	57	German Literature	29
Latin Literature	45	Political Theory, Theory of the State	24	Academies & Learned Societies	55	Visual Arts in General	28
Christianity	42	History - Italy	24	Logic	48	Speculative Philosophy	28
History, General	38	Speculative Philosophy	23	Doctrinal Theology	42	History - Great Britain	27
Italian Literature	37	Greek Literature	21	Roman Catholic Church	41	Roman Catholic Church	25
Practical Theology	37	Roman Catholic Church	16	Science, General	37	Science, General	23
Total	850	Total	390	Total	1085	Total	669

⁴⁰¹ Two thirds of these are new titles or editions to McGill Library. This has partly to do with the language and publication origin of the books, but not entirely – new material includes over 800 volumes in English from the twentieth century.

The impression is only strengthened by considering the increase in German-language material in later publications (Figure 14), and the constant increase in publications from Germany after the low point following Klibansky's 1933 departure to England (Figure 25). Despite the fact that RKC records post-dating 1950 (>3200) exceed those published in the first half of the century (~2400), as seen earlier in Table 14, it is the early twentieth-century German imprints that form by far the largest single subgroup in the century (see Figure 25), and we will return to this.

Figure 25. Main places of 20th century publication, by date (periods based on Klibansky's primary residence).



The high number of Italian publications shown in Figure 25 is no longer surprising given what was discovered about the great number of complimentary copies sent to Klibansky from Italian sources in his later decades, particularly the *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, which contributes over 250 volumes after 1975. However, when items from the Lincei academy are removed from the analysis, or indeed all those classed

in the Academies and Learned Societies Conspectus category, both Italy and Germany remain the largest producers in the last two periods; to dismiss the great bulk of publications from either as not meaningful would be an error.

Klibansky had personal ties to Italy from before the war, like Guido Calogero, and his family passed the years 1933-1935 there.⁴⁰² He led the Italian intelligence dossier for the PWE during the war, which formed the background for his edition of Mussolini's *Memoirs 1942-1943*. The connections continued and grew after the war, as he interacted with Italian scholars and publishers over several decades.⁴⁰³ He also acted as a judge for the Nonino family awards after he was awarded the Nonino Prize "for a personality of our time" in 1995, and received through that several books to evaluate.⁴⁰⁴ Klibansky's twentieth-century Italian publications have not been looked at in depth, and this is an area that may well offer new biographical insights.

Unlike German or Italian imprints, there is a lack of growth in publications from England during Klibansky's years at McGill (1948-1975), despite the great English-language dominance from 1951-1980 shown in Figure 14. This reflects, mainly, Klibansky's move to North America at the mid-century and the consequence of his buying more books there. But there was in addition a more general growth of English-language publishing outside of England (see Table 18), connected with the increasing use of English as a language of scientific exchange globally and the enormous increase in book production over the century, especially in North

⁴⁰² See Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 98, on the movements of Klibansky's family in the 1930s.

⁴⁰³ There are Italian publishers with whom he clearly had a closer relationship during a given period – for example the largest groups connected with his McGill years are Nuova Italia, CEDAM and Fratelli Bocca, and the largest groups after his retirement are the Lincei group, Bibliopolis, and Adelphi. Only Edizioni di storia e letteratura really straddles the two last periods of Klibansky's biography.

⁴⁰⁴ Ethel Groffier, personal communication. A description of the Nonino Prize and a list of previous winners can be read at http://www.nonino.it/pdf_download/premio2005_eng.pdf. It is likely that not all of this material entered McGill's Klibansky Collection. A verification of names selected for Nonino honours with authors in the Klibansky collection showed little overlap. Three subsequent winners of the 'Master of our time' award do appear in the RKC: Leszek Kolakowski (1927-2009), and Raimundo Pannikar (1918-2010), both members of the IIP and close to Klibansky, and René Girard (1923-). The press release for the Klibansky's prize, kindly provided by Antonella Nonino, describes him as "the scholar of the relations between the absolute and the contingency in the human experience where tradition and change can be reconciled only with a cognitive effort that equals the love for the freedom of mankind."

America. There are at least 35 different countries of publication mentioned in the twentieth-century English-language records.

Canadian publications make up a small group of both English and French language books, but have a special interest in that they reflect Klibansky's Canadian networks, as discussed in Section 9.2. The majority of Klibansky's Canadian imprints are from Quebec or Ontario, but also include one from Saskatchewan, a lecture by McGill political scientist James R. Mallory (1916-2003) on *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Canadian democracy*; (KE4381.5 M355 1984); and an examination of folklore from Newfoundland by Barbara Rieti (1952-) *Strange terrain: the fairy world in Newfoundland* (HC117 N4 N46 no. 45). Here as elsewhere, Klibansky's role as a reviewer or jury member – for example for the Raymond Klibansky Prize, established in 1990 by the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS) – also contributed to his acquisitions.⁴⁰⁵

The very large numbers of German publications are not easily accounted for by the idea of a library developed primarily in Klibansky's early years. It seems unlikely that economic and other conditions would have permitted Klibansky to acquire an enormous library or to take it with him from Germany. Exactly what constituted his library in Germany is but a very partially answered question, but from several angles the analyses point to the early period as remaining at the core of Klibansky's continued intellectual space, never dislodged by his subsequent activities or environments.⁴⁰⁶ It is this element that I would like now to highlight.

⁴⁰⁵ The Klibansky Prize was established by CFHSS to recognize each year one English-language and one French-language book in the humanities, selected by jury. There were, in addition, two prizes in the social sciences, named after notable Canadian anglophone (Harold Adams Innis, 1894-1952), and francophone (Jean-Charles Falardeau, 1914-1989) social scientists, respectively. In 2011, the CFHSS chose to rename all prizes the "Canada Prize".

⁴⁰⁶ None of Klibansky's intimate circle that were questioned about this knew what Klibansky might have done with the books he did not bring with him to England in 1933, or how many he was able to bring or have sent. A first list (LIST II) has been compiled from acquisition dates written in books, but this does not satisfy the question. See also Chapters 8 and 9 on provenance evidence.

Klibansky's Weimar

Klibansky's years in Heidelberg have been described as something of a paradise for him.⁴⁰⁷ His autobiographical writings are infused with a deep attachment to the city's general atmosphere of literary and intellectual life, its aura of history, and the humanist heritage of its university. Much of Klibansky's Weimar is preserved in the collection, offering a large group of texts in editions contemporary to the time. A core aspect of the RKC's research value, it offers, furthermore, material for provenance study, as surveyed in Chapters 8 and 9.

Klibansky's special connection to the Webers, for example, – to Marianne Weber as a friend and benefactor, to Alfred Weber (brother of Max Weber) as a professor, and to Max Weber as a mentor in spirit – is preserved in the RKC, and Klibansky owned publications by each of them. One book in particular links directly to his own biography: a posthumous edition of Max Weber's (1864-1930) *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (HB175 W37 1925). In his memoirs Klibansky recalls helping Marianne Weber prepare this edition, and the inscribed book remains as a material link to his involvement.⁴⁰⁸

Other mentors and teachers also continued to accompany him through his library. In addition to the great number of works of Cassirer, there are those of Klibansky's thesis supervisor Ernst Hoffmann, and of Heinrich Rickert and Karl Jaspers, the two opposing camps in Heidelberg philosophy, and of Ferdinand Tönnies, with whom Klibansky studied in Kiel. Relationships with many of these figures are underlined through different kinds of provenance evidence, further described in Chapter 9. Another generation – the colleagues and mentors of Klibansky's professors – are also included, such as Hermann Cohen (1842-1918), Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1848-1931), Paul Natorp (1854-1924), Georg Simmel (1858-1918), and Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923). The large number of early-twentieth

⁴⁰⁷ Ethel Groffier in Tougas, *Raymond Klibansky: De la philosophie à la vie = From Philosophy to Life*. On Klibansky's experience in Heidelberg see esp. Chptrs 1-4 of *Le Philosophe*. See also Klibansky's "Aus dem Heidelberger Geistesleben"; "Raymond Klibansky. 15.Mai 1994"; and "L'Université allemande dans les années trente."

⁴⁰⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 48.

century publications from these circles makes the collection a strong source for the intellectual history of this period, and in this way the RKC forms a backdrop of overlapping origins for Klibansky's lifelong research themes.

The KBW was at the centre of much of this. The great interest in the ancient world, for example, so strong in German scholarship in the nineteenth century (as touched on in Section 7.3), was an essential part of research at the KBW. But the Middle Ages were also actively discussed, and a perusal of the *Vorträge* (lectures) given at the KBW from 1921-1931 (CB3 L6), finds many topics near those that became central for Klibansky. They include lectures of Gustav Pauli on Dürer (1922), of Hoffmann on Platonism in the Middle Ages (1923), of Hans Liebeschütz on cosmology in twelfth century education (1924) or of Paul Lehmann on pseudo-antiquity in the Middle Ages (1924), to name just a few. In addition to reading the printed versions, Klibansky was able to attend some Warburg lectures in 1926-1927 (by for example Cassirer, Ferdinand Noack, or Otto Franke) as attested by his signature on the attendance lists preserved at the Warburg Institute Archives in London.⁴⁰⁹ The signatures of friends Walter Solmitz, Heinrich Cassirer, and what appears to be Lotte Labowsky, shows also the extent to which his friendships were integrated into his research spheres. Klibansky remained surrounded, through authors in his library, by many names from the Warburg circle, including Aby Warburg himself, staff members Fritz Saxl, Edgar Wind, and Gertrude Bing, and researchers like Percy Schramm and Franz Boll. An important bibliographical trace of the Warburg legacy in the RKC is the *Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics* (Z5579 L66 1934) a two-volume work produced by the Warburg covering publications from 1931-1933, to which Klibansky contributed.⁴¹⁰

Klibansky's interest in the idea of melancholy, specifically taken up with Saxl and Panofsky at the KBW (see Section 2.1), is also rooted in his broader environment. The theme permeated Weimar Germany more generally and was a part of

⁴⁰⁹ WIA, I.9.18. 'Besucherlisten', lecture attendance lists: *Vorträge* and other events in the KBW. [1921-1931].

⁴¹⁰ Klibansky's name appears in several entries of the *Bibliography*, and his contributions as a reviewer here are specifically (and uniquely) listed named in Klibansky's CV from the 1950s.

Klibansky's intellectual landscape. One aspect of this was the pessimism after the First World War, often typified by conservative humanist Oswald Spengler's (1880-1936) *Decline of the West*. Spengler's landmark work is not in the RKC but his voice is, in the ominously titled 1933 *Jahre der Entscheidung*, translated as *The Hour of Decision* (D443 S64 1933 T.1), and in his *Preussentum und Sozialismus* on socialism (DD238 S7 1920). More specifically in the literary realm is the melancholy of writers like Goethe (1749-1832), or French writers such as Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Verlaine that were translated into German by Stefan George and his circle,⁴¹¹ often published in George's literary magazine *Blätter für die Kunst*, (RBD PT1175 B5; RBD PT1175 B5 B52 – both periodicals and therefore not strictly part of the analysis, though in the RKC), but also as monographs, such as George's translation of Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* (PQ2191 F6 G4 1920). George himself had been described as a “melancholy prince,”⁴¹² and the original volumes of *Blätter für die Kunst* (Papers for Art) are prized as they were “virtually inaccessible to the public, because they were published only in a small number of copies and, furthermore, were delivered only ‘to a closed circle of readers invited by the members’.”⁴¹³

Friedrich Gundolf has already been mentioned as one of the main authors in the collection, and his *Caesar, Geschichte seines Ruhms*, is described by Klibansky as “a book about the way Caesar is viewed, what has been done on the subject through history,” which recalls his own orientation and method of work on Saturn and melancholy, and also on Plato.⁴¹⁴ In the RKC is the portion of Gundolf's study covering Caesar's influence in the nineteenth century (CT158 G8 1926) on figures from Napoleon to Nietzsche, passing through writers such as Byron, Dumas, Macaulay, Hegel, Ranke and several others. The focus on great historical figures runs counter to the notions of great historical currents, and the combination of so much contemporary literature

⁴¹¹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 62; Laqueur, *Weimar*, 127; Robert Edward Norton, *Secret Germany: Stefan George and his circle* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 88-89; 140.

⁴¹² Norton, *Secret Germany*, 166.

⁴¹³ Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, “The Book in the Poetological Concept of Stefan George: Some remarks on the physical and iconic side of the published text – with an editorial conclusion,” in “The Book as Artefact, Text and Border,” ed. by Anne Mette Hansen et al., a special issue of *Variants* 4 (2005):114.

⁴¹⁴ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 54.

on both sides of this position (writing from the circles of Gundolf and George, for example, on the one side and relating to Marxism on the other) provides an interesting cross-section of the debate that Klibansky navigated, landing mainly on the side of the individual.⁴¹⁵

The connections between Klibansky's Weimar environment and his scholarly work continue, with a link between melancholy, the "great man" and the medieval period. There was a desire to revive the German spirit from the recent catastrophes it had lived through, and one outcome was a looking backwards in the German tradition to recover a point of pride. In the George circle, for example, there was interest in rediscovering the heroism of the "German soul" and one of the most important monographs to come out of the group was Ernst Kantorowicz's *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* a biography of the medieval Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250).⁴¹⁶ The book presented Frederick II as "the father of the Renaissance, a ruler rivaling the stature of Alexander the Great...he was dead and yet alive, waiting to redeem the German people as yet incapable of grasping his true semidivine greatness."⁴¹⁷ It is easy to see how this book may have in retrospect made its Jewish author and others uncomfortable, but it remains a work admired for its scholarship. In the RKC is the book's second edition of 1931 (DD151 K32 1931), in which Kantorowicz answers some of his critics by providing documentary evidence behind his work. Referring to the Middle Ages as an example of what was needed in contemporary Germany has a parallel in Alfred Rosenberg's invoking of Meister Eckhart as a reincarnation of Odin and spiritual ancestor of National Socialism and "creator of Aryan philosophy."⁴¹⁸ The tendency of turning backward for figureheads in German identity and the specific use of Eckhart in this way stands in the background of Klibansky's work.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 146; Klibansky, "L'Université Allemande," 149.

⁴¹⁶ Watson, *The Modern Mind*, 226.

⁴¹⁷ Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 51.

⁴¹⁸ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 84.

Unique access to Klibansky's work: the annotated Eckhart

The RKC includes a unique manifestation of Klibansky's struggles with the political context of the 1930s in the planned scholarly edition of Eckhart's Latin works. The edition that Klibansky participated in (the "Santa Sabina edition") began publication in 1934 but ended after only three volumes were released of the projected fifteen or more, due to obstacles to research and publication created by German authorities who supported a competing research group (which produced the "Stuttgart edition", See Section 2.1).

Copies of most of the original volumes of the Stuttgart edition are in the RKC. One in particular is extensively annotated by Klibansky: Eckhart's commentary on the Gospel according to John (*Expositio sancti Evangelii secundum Iohannem*; BV5072 E33 1936 , 3. Bd., Lief. 1 [vol. 3, part 1]). This work of Eckhart is not, as might be expected, one of those published by both edition groups, but copies of the prospectus for the Santa Sabina edition show that Klibansky was a contributing author to the planned publication of the text.⁴¹⁹ The French version of the Santa Sabina prospectus specifies, for example, in relation to the upcoming publication, Klibansky's "important discovery" of plagiarisms of Eckhart by the fourteenth century preacher Jordan von Quedlinburg, relating to the commentary on the Gospel of John.⁴²⁰

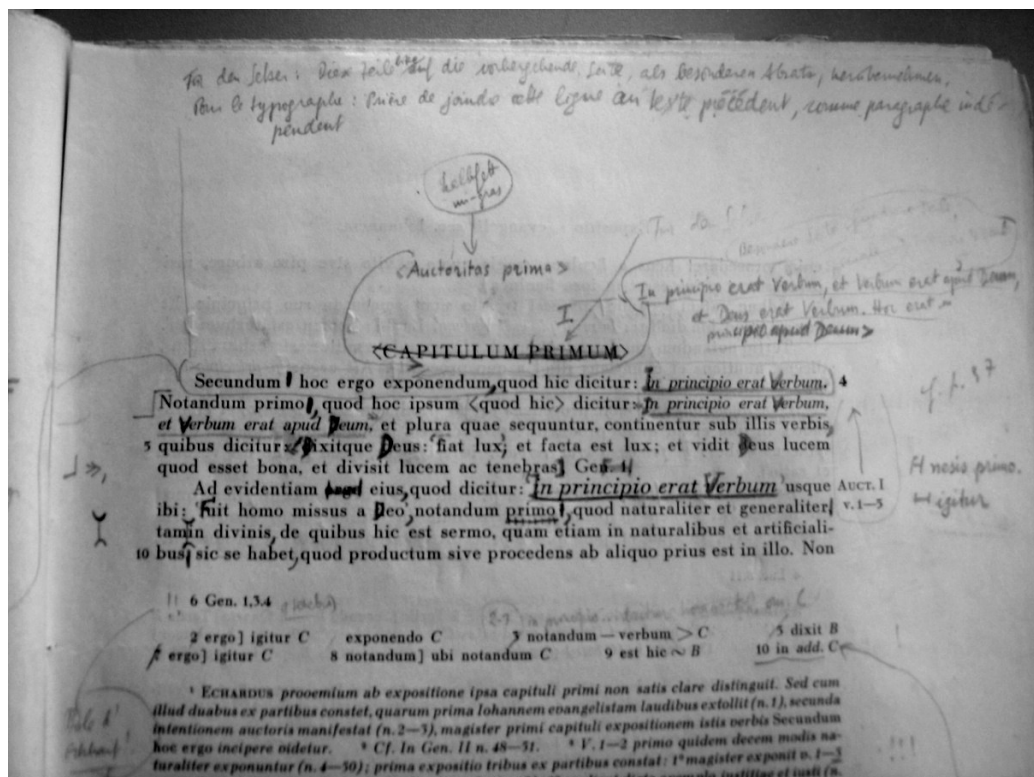
The annotations in the RKC copy of the Stuttgart edition are extraordinary, both in terms of Klibansky's own habits and on account of their content. They include, most strikingly, direct instructions to the typesetter to reorganize bits of text; in what looks very much like Klibansky's hand, one can read instructions "Pour le typographe," such as "prière de joindre cette ligne au texte precedent comme paragraphe indépendant," above which is the same note written in German, beginning "Für den Setzer:...", etc. There are several such indications, generally bilingual French/German.

⁴¹⁹ See RKC volumes: BV5080 E3 Prospect.1934; BV5080 E3 Prospect.1934b; and BV5080 E3 Prospect.1935.

⁴²⁰ See "Section III: Des écrits nouveaux" in *Édition des œuvres latines de Maître Eckhart par le R. P. G. Théry ... et le Dr. Raymond Klibansky ... en collaboration avec le R. P. M.-H. Laurent ..., le R. P. A. Dondaine ... et d'autres savants* [prospectus], (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, [1934?]); BV5080 E3 Prospect.1934b.

New headings are proposed, changes are suggested for spacings, and several pages of text have additional editorial markings, an example of which is seen in Figure 26. There is an appearance that the published text is being prepared as if it were Klibansky's manuscript for a new publication. It is quite possible that he indeed considered it to be his work. It was never published, and the effort may have been more an expression of anger than an expectation of publication.

Figure 26. Klibansky's annotation comments in *Expositio sancti Evangelii secundum Iohannem*, (BV5072 E33 1936 , 3. Bd., Lief. 1), p. 5



There are other indications that Klibansky was simply reacting to the publication. He comments "Consequentia falsa" (p.xii), "Nonsens!..." (p.3), or "Stupidité de note..." (p. 8). Nearly every page of the introduction and text, about 80 pages, has markings or marginalia of some kind. That he was angered by the Stuttgart edition is also clear from explicit statements made in a document of which no published version has

been noticed but a copy of which was viewed at the Warburg Institute Archive.⁴²¹ In that document, signed “les auteurs de l’édition de Sainte Sabine” and apparently written near 1936, Eckhart’s commentary on the Gospel of John is mentioned specifically, detailing points on which the editors believe that due recognition has been neglected, but the sharpest criticisms are reserved for other volumes of the edition.

To assess its relevance to the work of Eckhart or draw conclusions about the validity of Klibansky’s charge against the Stuttgart edition deserves separate study.⁴²² The purpose here is to signal the existence of the volume. It is, first of all, a rare instance of Klibansky’s direct response to work that he knew very well but did not publish on. But in addition, this volume, the document “Remarques sur la méthode...” and several letters held at McGill’s RBSC, constitute a group of primary sources for the story of these two edition projects; for the study of the relationship between the academy, the state, and the publishing industry; and for the study of Jewish history.

⁴²¹ WIA, GC, 1934-1936, Klibansky. Eckhart edition. “Remarques sur la méthode employée par l’édition des oeuvres de Maître Eckhart sous le patronage de la ‘Forschungsgemeinschaft’.”

⁴²² Regina Weber has recently published in German on the struggles surrounding this publication, using archival documents, in her “Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005),” 111-118.

CHAPTER 8: PROVENANCE EVIDENCE IN THE KLIBANSKY COLLECTION – OVERVIEW

The Klibansky Collection is rich with the kinds of provenance evidence important to book historians, including traces left by Klibansky but also by previous owners both personal and institutional.⁴²³ As the previous chapter underlined links between the RKC and Klibansky's intellectual biography through subject areas, languages, and authors, this chapter highlights traces of Klibansky's social book relationships, and the physical links within his library to his past, to historical figures and to other library collections.

8.1 Summary of main types of provenance evidence in the RKC

Almost 40 percent (more than 2500) of records in the Klibansky Collection contain instances of ownership or gift inscriptions, bookplates or stamps, marginalia or markings, or shelf marks. The total count of instances of evidence (over 3320) exceeds the total number of records with provenance evidence as there is sometimes more than one type of evidence noted in a single book, or in different copies or volumes attached to a single record.

Table 24. Main types of provenance evidence

Type of evidence	Min # noted in records
Ownership and gifts	
Ownership inscriptions	900
Gift inscriptions	860
Bookplates, book labels and stamps of ownership	400
Shelf marks	630
Marginalia or markings	530
Total	3320

The numbers of Table 24 are rounded down to the nearest multiple of 10 to avoid a false sense of precision. The count is a minimum as explained in the next sections.⁴²⁴

⁴²³ See Section 3.2 for further discussion and some recent sources in the area of provenance and book history research.

⁴²⁴ RKC Data Sheet fields used for these counts: Ownership inscription (=field **SIG*; includes all codes except those indicating uncertainty of evidence type (?) – see Table 25; Gift inscriptions (=field **INSCRI*; includes the codes *INSCRI* and *KLIB* only) – see Table 26 ; Bookplates, book labels and stamps (=field *BKPT STMP BKL*; does not include codes indicating uncertainty (? or ?)); Shelf marks (=field **SHELF*; includes codes for *KLIB shelf* and *SHELF*); Marginalia & Markings (=field *MARG*

Evidence of the first group – ownership and gifts – is the focus of this chapter. The two most frequently-noted types of evidence are ownership inscriptions, and gift inscriptions, with several hundred each. The category *ownership inscriptions* groups together signatures (except for author signatures), printed names, initials and longer annotations that specifically signal ownership.⁴²⁵ The grouping reflects the greater interest here in the fact of ownership rather than the way it was indicated. Written expressions of ownership are nevertheless separated from bookplates and stamps, which may be of iconographical or stylistic interest as a separate group.

The term *gift inscriptions* has been used to group together gifts from all sources. Distinctions between types of inscribers (e.g. authors) and other refinements are made within the RKC Data Sheet, as seen in Table 27. Books showing evidence of having been given to Klibansky are identified in catalogue records mainly with the words “inscribed” or “inscription” but also with other terms or phrases like “presentation”; “authors signed complimentary copy” “note: ‘Überreicht...’,” etc.

Another set of previous owners declare themselves in over 400 bookplates, labels and stamps, both personal and institutional. The group *bookplates* includes armorial and donor bookplates (consistent with the RBMS thesaurus), but also includes book prize plates. *Book label* here refers to smaller labels that appear to reflect ownership.⁴²⁶ Ownership stamps are, as described in the RBMS thesaurus: “evidence left by any mechanical device used to create a mark of ownership.”⁴²⁷ Klibansky himself did not generally use a bookplate, label or stamp.

The distribution of ownership and gift evidence as a whole by book publication date is shown in Table 25.

✂ *MARK*; includes all codes except for blank interleaved books (*INTERBLANK*), and codes indicating uncertainty (°).

⁴²⁵ Ownership inscription is not a specific RBMS thesaurus term.

⁴²⁶ As distinct from the broader RBMS thesaurus term *Labels*, which encompasses bookplates and other kinds of labels. For discussion of various uses of the term *book label* see Pearson, *Provenance Research*, 83-86.

⁴²⁷ RBMS Bibliographical Standards Committee, scope note for stamps: http://www.rbms.info/committees/bibliographic_standards/controlled_vocabularies/provenance/th103.htm (last accessed Jun. 15, 2012).

Table 25. Indications of ownership or gifts (*O&G*), by pub. date, and as a portion of the RKC

Pub. Period	No. # O&G	No. # RKC rec.	O&G as % of RKC
1450-1500	2	2	100.0
1501-1550	13	23	56.5
1551-1600	19	29	65.5
1601-1650	32	56	57.1
1651-1700	24	45	53.3
1701-1750	47	84	56.0
1751-1800	58	102	56.9
1801-1850	125	261	47.9
1851-1900	325	742	43.8
1901-1950	683	2422	28.2
1951-2000	703	3131	22.5
2001-2010	12	90	13.3
Total	2043	6987	29.2

As a percentage of the collection, items with ownership and gift evidence are particularly plentiful as a portion of the RKC from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. At the same time, the overall amount of provenance evidence continues to increase, and inscriptions to Klibansky account for much of the peak in raw numbers post-1950 (see also Figure 29). The decrease of ownership and gift evidence, as a portion of the RKC, reflects the fact that Klibansky himself did not systematically sign or otherwise signal his ownership of his books. This is shown more clearly in Figure 27.

8.2 Ownership and gift inscriptions

It is not always obvious if an inscription is intended to signal ownership or a gift – a gift may be accompanied by a signature alone, for example. Author signatures have been grouped here with gift inscriptions, whereas other signatures have been grouped with ownership inscriptions.⁴²⁸ In other cases where a gift is clearer, there is sometimes ambiguity about who wrote the inscription (i.e. the giver or receiver) for example “John F. Woodall from Auntie Bets, Xmas, 1910.” In the RKC Data Sheet these are normally simply classed as gift inscriptions (field **INSCRI*) but where it seemed relevant to a study of Klibansky or his circles, an indication of a possible ownership inscription is also included (field **SIG*). Placing each in a category for

⁴²⁸ Signatures have not been independently authenticated. They are reported here as they are recorded in the catalogue, made from the item in hand. *Gift inscription* is also not an RBMS thesaurus term.

analysis does not provide a perfect assessment but will, I hope, make it easier for researchers to find what they are looking for and to discover things not anticipated. Most of the evidence recorded in notes is less ambiguous and permits an assessment of patterns and clusters among the main types.

8.2.1 Ownership

Table 26 summarizes ownership inscription types gleaned from catalogue records and used in the RKC Data Sheet (field **SIG*) for sorting and analysis. They begin to show at once the complexity of types and also some clear areas where evidence types cluster. Of the ownership inscriptions, Klibansky's account for only about a quarter. The others, as we will see later in the chapter, represent a broad group of previous owners both connected with Klibansky and not. The majority of gift inscriptions are however made out to him, making it particularly useful as a reflection of his networks. Together the groups containing Klibansky's ownership inscriptions (*K INIT*; *KINIT SIG+*; *K SIG+* and *KLIB*) amount to a bit more than 250 records.

Table 26. Ownership inscription types in the Klibansky Collection

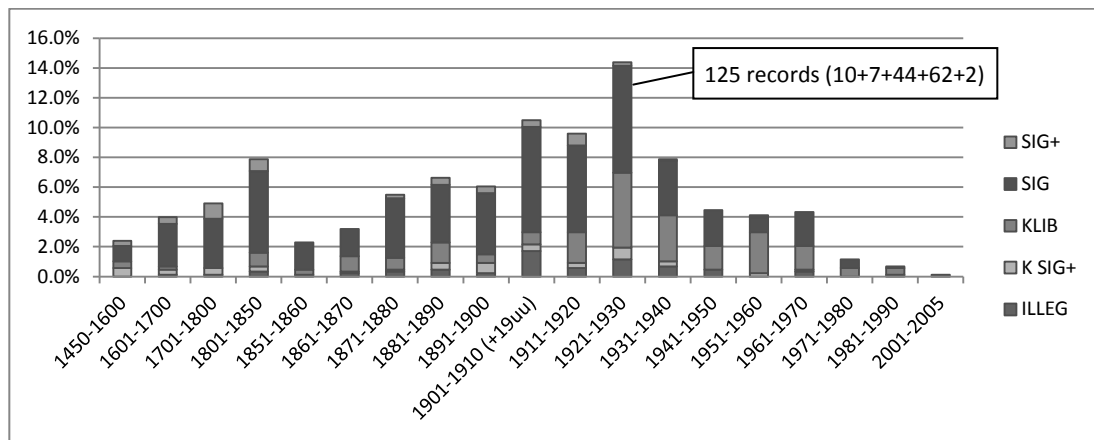
OWNERSHIP INSCRIPTION CATEGORY	No. # rec.
ILLEG (illegible)	60
INIT (initials)	4
INST (institutional owner)	11
K INIT (Klibansky's initials)	10
K INIT SIG+ (Klibansky's initials and other ownership inscription(s))	1
K SIG+ (Klibansky's ownership inscription and other ownership inscription(s))	49
KLIB (Klibansky's ownership inscription, including simple signatures)	208
KLIB? or KLIB? SIG+ (? Used when evidence type is clear but it is not certain that it is Klibansky. This occurs singly (KLIB?) or in combination with other determinable ownership inscriptions (KLIB? SIG+))	6
SIG (Ownership inscription by someone other than Klibansky)	502
SIG+ (More than one ownership inscription)	46
Uncertain from all groups (Evidence type is unclear; Indicated by any code including or followed by an apostrophe (e.g. KLIB')).	55
Total	952

A distribution of recorded ownership inscriptions by book publication date is presented in Figure 27, distinguishing between those of Klibansky and those of

others. Where dates were included they showed a range from very near the publication dates to decades apart.

There is a peak of ownership inscriptions in the publication decade of 1921-1930, both for Klibansky's ownership inscriptions and all groups combined. The figure also shows the very large amount of non-Klibansky ownership inscriptions from the second half of the nineteenth century, through to the 1940s, making the collection a good source of provenance evidence for the period.

Figure 27. Books with ownership inscriptions in the Klibansky Collection (by century and 10-yr period from 1851)




As a first step in identifying how the Klibansky Collection intersects with other readers and libraries, some clusters of previous ownership have been also identified. In order to do so, surnames from signatures and simple ownership inscriptions have been copied into a separate column in the RKC Data Sheet (*Own. Inscri. Names* [=ownership inscription names]) for sorting. In addition to facilitating name discovery and recognition it aids in deciphering difficult handwriting in recurring names.

An example illustrates the point, in Figure 28. When viewed together, the names point very likely to a single identity, probably B. Lund-Yates.⁴²⁹ There is nothing,

⁴²⁹ B. Lund-Yates published a commentary on a talk by H.J. Paton on Kant in *Mind*, 1930. B. Lund Yates, "Is the transcendental deduction a patchwork?" *Mind* 39 no. 155 (1930): 318-331. H.J Paton was the co-editor with Klibansky for the *festschrift* for Cassirer (D16.8 P463 1936).

furthermore, in the titles, dates of publication, authors etc. that makes this appear unlikely, grouping mainly modern philosophy (e.g., David Hume, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, etc) in early twentieth-century editions. The first letter becomes very important for effective sorting, but although this can sometimes fail, visually scanning a single column of names can substantially aid provenance research through name discovery and recognition.⁴³⁰

Figure 28: Previous owner name list (*Own. Inscri. Names*): example

<u>Name from sorting list</u>		<u>Corresponding inscription</u>
Lund Yates (?)		B. Lund Yates (?), May 1923
Lund..lêS (?)		B. Lund..lêS (?), Sept. 1928
Lundgales (?)		B. Lundgales (?), Sept. 1929
Lundgales		B. Lundgales [...] Oct. 1928
Lundyates		B Lundyates (?), 1927
Lundyates		B. Lundyates, dated Jan. 1929

8.2.2 Gifts

Gift inscriptions are an even larger group. Table 27 summarizes gift inscription types (from field **INSCRI Anal*).⁴³¹ They are mentioned in over 980 individual records, well over a hundred more than those estimated in Table 24 (which eliminated less-certain items).

Over 650 items have been identified as inscribed or likely inscribed to Klibansky. A separate field in the RKC Data Sheet (*KLIB FROM*) has been created to begin the process of identifying donors of books to Klibansky (i.e. not including all instances of gifts, but those believed to be intended for Klibansky). An excerpt with examples from the Data Sheet is shown in Table 28, sorted alphabetically on the *KLIB FROM* column on the right, with the **INSCRI Anal* column to the left. Where a specific name is included in notes it has been entered in the *KLIB FROM* field. Where a note

⁴³⁰ Index lists of names are among the key resources included in David Pearson's *Provenance Research*, 182-273. Several major libraries have kept separate provenance files and are now putting them online in some form.

⁴³¹ The group is not as refined as that compiled by Davies and Fichtner on Freud (see Section 3.5), which separate, for example, editors from translators, as well as authors of prefaces, but was inspired in part by what their work.

mentions an author inscribed copy the word “author” has been used.⁴³² This list was found useful in the analysis, but is a first orientation only and leaves several questions open that require verification against individual volumes.

Table 27. Gift inscription types in the Klibansky Collection

GIFT INSCRIPTION CATEGORY	No. # rec.
AUTHOR (inscribed by the – or an – author, without recipient’s name.)	44
INSCRI (inscribed, without recipient’s name. Not indicated as an author inscription.)	22
K (inscribed to Klibansky by someone unrelated to the production of the book)	29
K ASSOC (inscribed to Klibansky by someone associated with the book, but not responsible for its production)	9
K AUTHOR (inscribed explicitly to Klibansky by an author)	381
K RESP (inscribed explicitly to Klibansky by someone responsible for the production of the book but not the primary author)	92
K unc/illeg (inscription is to Klibansky but is in itself unclear or illegible)	86
LK (Klibansky is not explicitly named in the inscription but there are reasons for believing that he is the intended recipient)	7
LK AUTHOR (Klibansky is not explicitly named in the author’s inscription but he is likely the intended recipient)	46
LK ASSOC (Klibansky is not explicitly named in the inscription by a person associated with the book but he is likely the intended recipient)	2
LK RESP (Klibansky is not explicitly named in the inscription by someone involved in the production of the books but he is likely the intended recipient)	13
NK AUTHOR (the author’s inscription is to someone other than Klibansky)	50
NK INSCRI (the inscription is to someone other than Klibansky. Not an author inscription)	56
NK RESP (the inscription of someone involved in the production of the book is to someone other than Klibansky)	9
PROV (inscriptions in which there is ambiguity regarding the type of inscription – ownership or gift – but that include provenance information)	97
RESP (inscribed by someone involved in the production of the book, without recipient’s name.)	15
? (uncertain from note if information relating to owner or donor is present)	30
Total	988

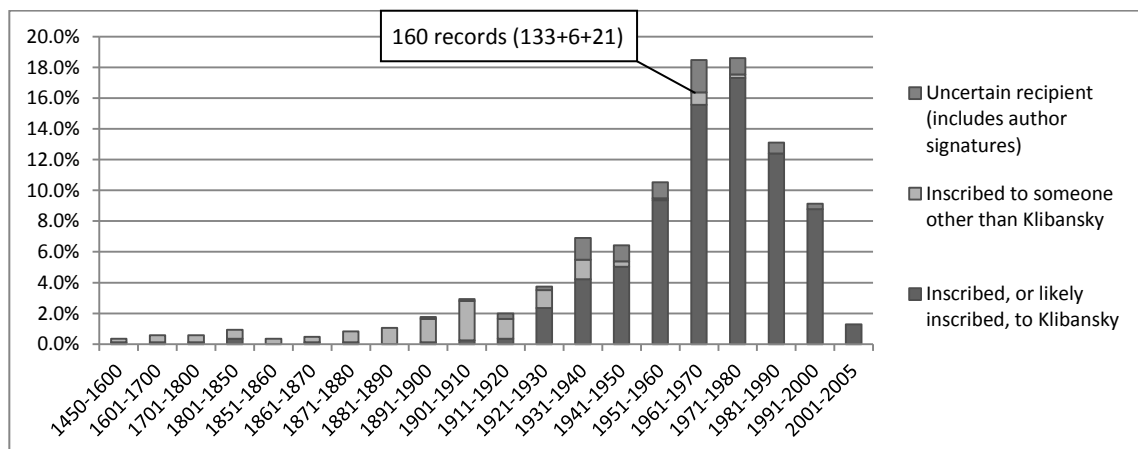
⁴³² The decision not to reproduce author names in the field *KLIB FROM* is based on the fact that information is reproduced from catalogue notes without verification of all specific signatures, and that in some cases “author” sometimes can refer to more than one person.

Table 28. Excerpts from RKC Data Sheet, showing *KLIB FROM* and **INSCRI Anal* fields

*INSCRI ANAL	KLIB FROM	*INSCRI ANAL	KLIB FROM
K unc/illeg	K - ? ("I'A")	K RESP	K - RESP (Mohaghegh)
K unc/illeg	K - ? (2 copies illegible)	K RESP	K - RESP (Mosner)
PROV	K - ? PROV - (stmp) Cusanus-Comm.	K RESP	K - RESP (Murray, P)
K unc/illeg	K - Andre, A? (jt: Manfredi?)	K RESP	K - RESP (Nabil)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC ("Avi" Morrow) also to E.G	K RESP	K - RESP (Nicholls)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Bircher)	K RESP	K - RESP (Olivetti)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Huber, G)	K RESP	K - RESP (O'Neill)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Lebel)	K RESP	K - RESP (Ossola)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Oduber)	K RESP	K - RESP (Pauli)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Rosenthal, A)	K RESP	K - RESP (Pigeaud)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Vivante, E.)	K RESP	K - RESP (Prodocimi)
K ASSOC	K - ASSOC (Weber, Marianne)	K RESP	K - RESP (Rauch)
K unc/illeg	K - ASSOC? (GNC=Sir George Normar	K RESP	K - RESP (Robinet)
K AUTHOR	K - AUTHOR	K RESP	K - RESP (Rosenfeld)
K AUTHOR	K - AUTHOR	K RESP	K - RESP (Rosenthal, J)

Looking at how gift inscriptions (Figure 29) are distributed by publication date, some predictable patterns emerge. As expected for an academic with an international reputation, for example, the distribution shows increasing inscriptions to Klibansky as his career progresses. They continue to increase until the decade of his retirement from McGill, and decline only gently after this point, reflective of Klibansky's entrenched reputation and continuing activity in research and publishing in his last decades.

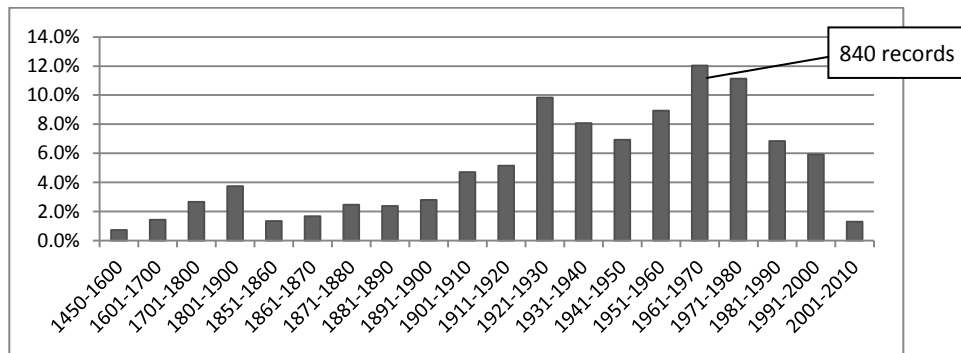
Figure 29. Gift inscriptions in the RKC (by century and 10-yr period from 1851)



In their continued growth through the last century, books with gift inscriptions to Klibansky do not, however, closely mimic the general publication date distribution of the RKC, which, as seen in Figure 30, shows a dip after the 1920s, only slightly

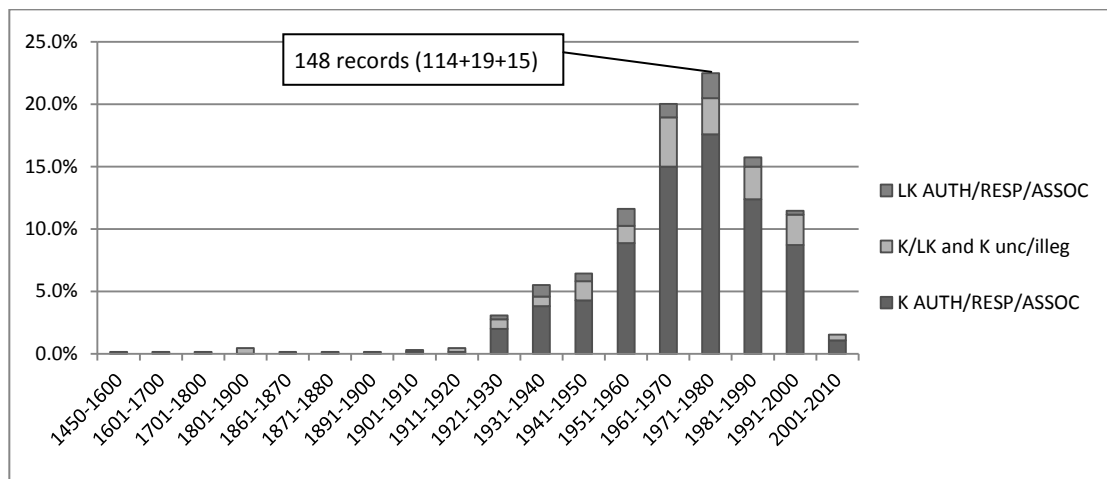
surpassed in the 1960s and 70s. As a portion of the RKC, gift inscriptions to Klibansky grow from around three percent of collection titles in the 1920s to near 22 percent in the 1980s (not shown), after which they remain relatively high for the rest of the century.

Figure 30. Comparison distribution of RKC (by century and 10-yr period from 1851)



The great extent to which authors and others responsible for books given to Klibansky are the source of those gifts, is shown in Figure 31.⁴³³ Included are all inscription groups from Table 27 (976 records), with the exception of unclear or doubtful cases (*PROV* and “?”).

Figure 31. Gift inscriptions to Klibansky, by pub. date (by century and 10-yr period from 1901)



⁴³³ Sorting the Data Sheet first by *AUTHOR*, then by **INSCRI Anal*, will group each type of inscription together (*PROV*, *AUTHOR*, *RESP*, etc), sorted by author.

A look at inscriptions that have manuscript dates (less than half) reveals a similar pattern of increase up until and through the 1970's (not shown), with the bulk of the manuscript dates very near publication dates.⁴³⁴

Gifts inscribed to someone other than Klibansky are mostly to be found in volumes published in the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th (see Figure 29). While not directly linked to Klibansky through their inscriptions, several likely relate to Klibansky's attraction to books as physical links with the past (the volume previously owned by Hume again being an example). It is an aspect of his relationship with books that he shared especially with his friend Gundolf (see Section 5.1) and with a long tradition of collectors.

8.2.3 A comparative look

Books with Klibansky's ownership inscriptions and those with gift inscriptions show, as groups, some differences beyond their publication date distributions.

Languages

The relative portions of main languages differ for books inscribed to Klibansky from those with his ownership inscriptions and from the RKC as a whole, as seen in Table 29.⁴³⁵ General inscriptions to Klibansky include all groups of Figure 31; the author inscription subgroup includes the RKC Data Sheet fields: *K AUTH/RESP/ASSOC* & *LK AUTH/RESP/ASSOC*; ownership inscriptions include: *K INIT KINIT SIG+*; *K SIG+* and *KLIB*.

Table 29 shows that French-language books are much stronger as a group among gift inscriptions to Klibansky, especially from authors (24 percent of author inscriptions), than they are generally in the RKC (13 percent). French in fact becomes the leading language in inscriptions to Klibansky in the 1940s (not shown) and remains as such until the 1970s. Some of the reasons for this will become clearer in Section 9.2. English- and German-language books are inscribed to Klibansky in nearly identical

⁴³⁴ See the field **Klib Acq Date* in the RKC Data Sheet.

⁴³⁵ See Appendix V for an explanation of language codes.

portions (21 percent for both English and German), but unlike the case of inscribed French books, both groups are stronger in the RKC overall (27 percent for, again, both English and German) than they are among inscribed copies.

Table 29. Book language with inscriptions to/by Klibansky, compared to the RKC

Language	Per. % of <u>all gift inscriptions</u> to Klibansky	Per. % gift inscri. to Klibansky only <u>by author or others</u> connected with the book	Per.% of Klibansky <u>ownership inscriptions</u>	Per.% of <u>all books</u> in RKC
Fre*	22.7	24.1	6.3	13.1
Eng*	20.9	20.8	26.5	27.1
Ger*	20.6	20.1	34.0	27.2
Ita*	14.1	14.5	2.6	10.7
Other	7.5	7.7	1.9	3.7
BIL-CLAS	5.9	5.5	11.2	6.4
BIL-MOD	3.8	3.3	1.5	3.4
Spa*	3.5	2.9	0.0	1.5
CLAS	1.1	0.9	16.1	7.0
Total	665 = 100.0%	543 = 100.0%	268 = 100.0%	6987 = 100.0%

Language representation among books with Klibansky's ownership inscriptions (second column from the right in Table 29) differs most from the other groups. French books, for example, constitute a particularly small portion (6 percent) in contrast to their large numbers as gifts, whereas the portion of German books (34 percent) is noticeably larger than it is in comparison with gifts or even the collection as a whole. German is by far the largest language group among books with his ownership inscription, seconded by books containing at least one classical language (*CLAS* and *BIL-CLAS*),⁴³⁶ which contribute more than 27 percent (vs. 13 percent for the RKC overall and only 7 percent in gifts). In both cases the great majority are in books published prior to 1934.

Place of publication

Books inscribed to Klibansky, both by authors and generally, are predominantly European publications. Only around 16 percent of the books of either group were published in North America. Nevertheless, Canadian publications are better represented here than in any other distributions we have seen. Accounting for

⁴³⁶ *BIL-CLAS* groups bilingual texts with one classical and one modern language.

approximately 8 percent of author-inscribed books, for example, Canada becomes the fourth most frequent place of publication, after Germany (19 percent), Italy (17 percent) and France (16 percent).⁴³⁷ The Canadian group is almost but not entirely from Quebec, and mostly in French, and is discussed again in Chapter 9. Among English-language books inscribed to Klibansky, those from England and from the United States are almost equal (near 6 percent).

Canadian publications do not figure, however, among books with Klibansky's ownership inscriptions. Publications from the United States are not completely absent among books with Klibansky's ownership inscriptions, but there are few (just over a dozen titles); even more here than among the gifts, imprints are almost entirely European.

Subjects

Table 30 gives a sense of the different subjects that dominate books with inscriptions. A comparison of the less frequent subject areas is not terribly meaningful as the numbers of the inscriptions become too small, but in the top areas we see, first, much consistency horizontally across all. In each column, also, these subject groups account for around 95 percent of the total.

The most notable deviation from the general pattern is the much larger portion of Languages, Linguistics and Literature among Klibansky's ownership inscriptions, with 24 percent (65 records) as compared to 17 percent in the inscriptions and 18 percent in the RKC overall. A look at mid-level subject areas (Conspectus Categories – not shown) finds that more than 55 percent of that group are Greek and Latin literature, with English and even German literature far behind (at 11 and 8 percent respectively). Given the previously-noted strength of German literature in the RKC, the weakness of German literature among books with Klibansky's ownership inscriptions prompted a closer look, and found that most German-language items

⁴³⁷ Including the groups: *K AUTH/RESP/ASSOC* & *LK AUTH/RESP/ASSOC*. Numbers are similar for all inscriptions to Klibansky.

with Klibansky's ownership (as opposed to gift) inscriptions, are in philosophical, religious and historical areas.

Table 30. Main subject groups of gift inscriptions, compared to Klibansky ownership inscriptions and the RKC.

Broad Subject Area	Per. % of all gift inscri. to K	Per. % of author* gift inscri. to K	Per.% in K ownership inscriptions	Per.% in RKC
Philosophy & Religion	50.7	51.9	51.5	48.1
Language, Linguistics & Literature	17.1	17.9	24.3	18.4
History & Auxiliary Sciences	6.9	7.0	12.7	10.1
Library Science, Generalities & Reference	4.5	4.1	2.6	7.2
Physical Sciences	4.2	4.2	1.5	2.8
Art & Architecture	4.1	3.0	1.9	2.7
Education	2.7	2.2	1.1	1.6
Political Science	2.4	2.2	0.7	2.2
Business & Economics	1.2	1.1	0.7	1.1
Sociology	1.1	0.9	0.0	0.9
Total	94.9	94.5	97.0	95.0

The subject analysis points to Klibansky's use of an ownership inscription primarily in volumes connected with his study and research, and the various facets (dates, languages, countries of publication), point together to his studies and early career.

8.3 Bookplates, book labels and stamps

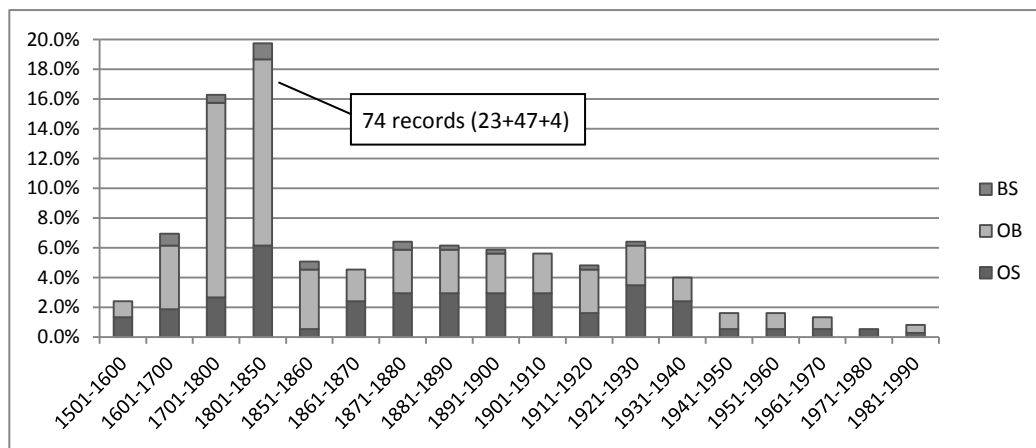
There are fewer labels and stamps in the RKC books than there are written signs of provenance, and the books in which they are found have a very different distribution by publication date. Whereas inscriptions of both kinds clearly peak in the twentieth century, bookplates and stamps do not.

Figure 32 presents the distribution of bookplates and stamps by century and then by decade from 1851. For clarity, the distributions show only counts for records noting

ownership bookplates (*OB*), book stamps (*OS*) or both (*BS*).⁴³⁸ German books account for about half of the total, in publications primarily from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The owners too are mostly German, but a glance through names in plates and stamps in German books also found several that appear to have made their way to England or Canada before they were acquired by Klibansky. Some of these are among the groups highlighted in Section 9.3.

To aid continued exploration of these aspects, an attempt has been made in the RKC Data Sheet to distinguish personal from institutional bookplates (*BKPTP* vs. *BKPTI*) and stamps (*STMPP* vs. *STMPI*), and donor bookplates or stamps, being a mixture of personal and institutional provenance, are given a separate class (*BKPTD* or *STMPI*). Notwithstanding this, many remained unspecified (*BKPT* or *STMPI*) for lack of certainty.

Figure 32. Distribution of bookplates and stamps in the RKC, by publication date (by century and by decade post-1850)



The corresponding personal or institutional name has been included where possible for bookplates, stamps and labels, in a separate column (Labels and Stamps) so that a list can be browsed as illustrated in Figure 33:

⁴³⁸ It does not include book prize plates (BP; 4 were noticed, all in books published in the late nineteenth century), or smaller ownership labels (24 identified, more broadly distributed with respect to publication date).

Figure 33. Sorting of Labels and Stamps (example)

*BKPT STMP BKLB	Labels and Stamps J28	L&S Pro
OB	BKPTP J.T. Voemel	Voemel
OB	BKPTP James P. Catty	Catty
OB	BKPTP Jessie Holt	Holt
OB BKSELLER	BKPTP Johannis Ric. King	King
OB	BKPTP John Bonsall Porter	Porter
OB	BKPTP John Bonsall Porter	Porter
OB	BKPTP John Bradley Dyne	Dyne
OB	BKPTP John Fischer Williams	Williams
OB	BKPTP John Hamilton Larmuth	Larmuth
OB	BKPTP John Mackenzie Esq.	Mackenzie
OB	BKPTP John Tarleton-Haraman	Tarleton-Haraman
OB	BKPTP Jos Nève (?)	Nève (?)
OB	BKPTP Joseph B. Lightfoot, S.C.P. Episcop	Lightfoot

The family name is extracted in the column on the right (*L&S Prov*) in order to group individuals that might have different kinds of labels or stamps.

8.4 Other provenance evidence groups

Some groups of provenance evidence remain to be explored, including shelf marks that are not Klibansky's, and marginalia and markings. They are not covered here beyond this brief introduction.

8.4.1 Shelf marks

Over 600 records indicate Klibansky's personal shelf marks in books. These permit a reconstruction of at least a part of his organizational structure, as we will see in Chapter 10. An additional 35 or so records indicate shelf marks that are certainly not, or not likely to be, Klibansky's, in books ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, mainly in Latin or French. In some cases the provenance is clear in labels that include the shelf marks, such as the German label of the early KBW, or volumes from the Literary & Historical Society of Quebec, both groups that will be revisited as previous owners in the next chapter.

8.4.2 Marginalia or Markings

A brief summary of noted instances of marginalia or markings suffices to show that much exists in the collection, especially in older volumes.⁴³⁹

Table 31. Marginalia and markings in numbers and as a percentage of the RKC (pre-nineteenth century)

Row Labels	No. # MARG & MARK	No.# vol in RKC	M&M as per. % of RKC
1450-1500	2	2	100.0
1501-1550	8	23	34.8
1551-1600	11	29	37.9
1601-1650	22	56	39.3
1651-1700	10	45	22.2
1701-1750	19	84	22.6
1751-1800	9	102	8.8
Total	81	341	23.8

Marginalia and markings are recorded for a high percentage of early volumes – nearly 25 percent – as opposed to less than 8 percent over all periods (Table 31). Instances that are questioned as marginalia or markings (i.e. possibly ownership inscriptions, shelf marks, codes, etc) are not included in the count.⁴⁴⁰

Books in all of the main languages are present, but Latin dominates the group. These and all other volumes in the RKC with indications of marginalia and markings are signalled in LIST I, and can be, again, isolated for targeted exploration in the RKC Data Sheet. In only three cases among these 81 pre-nineteenth century volumes is there specific mention of marginalia or markings as “many”, “extensive” or “throughout”. One is a volume by George Berkeley (RM84 B47 1744b; with annotations in pencil, so relatively recent); another is by David Hume (B1493 D5 1779b; annotated in different hands); and the last is a religious *Enchiridion* or manual,

⁴³⁹ These terms are not used here quite as they are used in the RBMS thesaurus. Marginalia refers here to all verbal writing apart from ownership and gift inscriptions, in any part of the book (except for the spine). Markings refers to non-verbal writing in the text (i.e. lines, arrows, exclamation marks, etc. but not things like bookseller codes on preliminary or end papers). In the RBMS thesaurus markings are a broader group that includes among other things all kinds of annotations and signatures. The use here is more consistent with its use in the McGill catalogue records. Writing on spines has not been considered.

⁴⁴⁰ An attempt has been made in the Data Sheet to account for variety in the verbal description in the local notes. Efforts have been made to distinguish, from the notes themselves, between ownership or gift inscriptions and other annotation. Uncertainty has been signaled in the data sheet with an apostrophe ('). Full local notes are included in the Data Sheet and can be compared with the classification.

in Latin, by Izsák L Fegyverneki (16th c.; BS440 F44 1595; with strings of biblical verse numbers in a tiny hand running throughout).

The bulk of volumes indicated as heavily annotated are relatively recent publications, as shown in Table 32.⁴⁴¹ Among these, a handful indicate numerous annotations in Klibansky's hand, all directly linked to Klibansky's primary research themes, including:⁴⁴²

- Nicholas, of Cusa, Cardinal (1401-1464) *Nicolai Cusani De docta ignorantia libri tres: testo latino* (preface and notes by Paolo Rotta; B765 N53 D6 1913). This work, which preceded Klibansky's edition of the same text, is full of his comments, including mentions of "falsch!" (false).
- Vansteenbergh, E. *Autour de la Docte ignorance: une controverse sur la théologie mystique au XV^e siècle* (B720 B4 Bd.14 Heft 2-4 [1915]). The appendices with Cusa's correspondence are very heavily marked, in plain pencil and also in red and blue pencil.
- Eckhart, Meister (d.1327) *Die lateinischen Werke* (BV5072 E33 1936). This multi-volume work includes the heavily marked text seen in Figure 26. Some annotation is present in other volumes as well.
- Aristotle. *Selecta ex Organo Aristoteleo capitula: in usum scholarum academicarum* PA3893 O8 1897. This work that responds directly to Plato is also annotated in plain pencil as well as red and blue, the Greek text is annotated mainly in English, but the back flyleaf is filled with Greek.
- Marx, J. (Jakob) (1855-1924) *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues bei Bernkastel a.Mosel* (Z6621 B54 1905; 2 copies). Both copies of this catalogue of the library that includes Cusa's own books have marks and comments connected with particular entries, such as, in both copies, a comment on a corrupted text (top of p. 19 of both volumes).

Klibansky's annotation is specifically noted in another 18 records. Informal explorations of the collection indicated that other volumes for which marginalia or markings are signalled are likely his (mainly in post-1850 volumes), and that more volumes in the collection contain traces of his reading response than are currently mentioned in the notes.

⁴⁴¹ Table 32 groups together several codes in the *MARG* & *MARK* field: *MANY*, *MANY Draw* (includes drawing), *MANY INTER* (in an interleaved book), *THRT* (throughout), *THRT Draw*, and *THRT INTER*.

⁴⁴² A sixth is also mentioned – Saint Bonaventure's (ca.1217-1274) *Philosophia s. Bonaventurae: textibus ex eius operibus selectis illustrata* (B765 B71 R6 1933) – but the annotations in this very slim volume are minor compared with the others.

Table 32. Volumes with heavy annotation, by date of publication

Publication per.	No. # rec. in MARK & MARG indicating heavy annotation	No. # all volumes with MARK & MARG	Heavily annotated volumes as per. % of MARK & MARK
1450-1500		2	0.0
1501-1550		8	0.0
1551-1600	1	11	9.1
1601-1650		22	0.0
1651-1700		10	0.0
1701-1750	1	19	5.3
1751-1800	1	9	11.1
1801-1850	8	29	27.6
1851-1900	35	149	23.5
1901-1950	74	222	33.3
1951-2000	15	51	29.4
2001-2010			
Total	135	532	25.4

One volume with annotation not traced in the catalogue record attracted particular attention – a work of astrology by Nora Wydenbruck titled *Work it out Yourself* (BF1701 P8 1940).⁴⁴³ The introduction informs the reader that the work will study “individuals, who in varying degrees control the futures of the English, American, French, German, Russian, Italian, and Rumanian peoples,” and provides charts to work out the futures of, for example, Hitler, Churchill and Mussolini. Pages with Hitler’s charts are heavily marked in what looks very like Klibansky’s hand, in red and blue pencil, colours seen in a number of volumes specifically flagged as containing his annotation.

8.4.3 Insertions

As mentioned in Section 4.1, information relating to both the origin of Klibansky’s books and his written commentary is sometimes on items inserted in books, but these have not formed a central part of this study. When insertions are noted in records (as opposed to those filed in RBSC), they are almost always accompanied with the phrase “laid in” so are easy to retrieve as a group in the catalogue. They are

⁴⁴³ Wydenbruck (1894-1959), the daughter of an Austrian diplomat, was a journalist, translator (of Rilke and T.S. Eliot), and writer of fiction and non-fiction, including a biography of Rilke and historical study of Mesmer. She was married to painter Alfons Purtscher and maintained a large social circle in London. A brief biographical note from the Austrian National Library is at http://data.onb.ac.at/nlv_lex/perslex/W/Wydenbruck_Nora.htm (last accessed Jun. 30, 2012). The RKC title is listed in only six collections in WorldCat, this copy being one of two in North America.

also indicated in LIST 1 (in column “*I*”) and are signalled in the **INSERT field* in the RKC Data Sheet. A second field (*Insertions*) provides rough descriptive indications to facilitate more rapid identification of relevant insertion types. Of the almost 450 mentions in the catalogue, some of the most frequently occurring types are described in the RKC Data Sheet as follows:

Table 33. Types of insertions (sample from RKC Data Sheet, “Insertions”)

Insertions:	
Desc. codes	Explanation
Comp	Complimentary copy (sometimes an author’s business card, but always printed). Largest single group, with over 100.
Y	Insertion present (no additional comment)
Y annot	Insertion is annotated
Pub	Publicity
IIK?	Insertion possibly carries a written inscription to Klibansky
*Y annot	The annotation may be of special interest
RevCop	Review copy

The full range of items is very broad, and awaits fuller exploration.

8.4.4 Smaller provenance evidence groups in the RKC

Some smaller groups of evidence types are included in the RKC Data Sheet. They include evidence from the book trade, and a grey zone between commerce and academia found in over 200 stamps and other indications (like inserts) of complimentary or review copies. Of the book trade there are in the range of 70 labels and stamps from booksellers and a handful from bookbinders (both of which are mainly British). These items are consistently described in the notes and are easily retrieved in the McGill OPAC searching “bookseller” or “binder” in the notes field, and can also be isolated in the RKC Data Sheet, where individual names have been extracted for browsing.

CHAPTER 9: CLUSTERS OF PROVENANCE EVIDENCE IN THE KLIBANSKY COLLECTION – A FIRST ASSESSMENT

9.1 Klibansky's ownership inscriptions

Inscription style

Klibansky inscribed his ownership in only a little more than 250 of his books, but it is largely thanks to some of these – as well as from gifts – that we know the RKC contains volumes acquired over his entire lifetime. His inscription style is variable. In most cases catalogue notes indicate that he signed his books with his full name – Raymond Klibansky – but regular variants include R. Klibansky; Raymond; or R.K. A bit more than a quarter also include a manuscript date, which is usually written out in full Arabic numbers, sometimes including the month. An alternate recurring form of date is “2.xi.30” or (after Klibansky's move to England) “15.10.39.” Others include place names, in addition to a date, or alone. In just a few cases he uses a Latinized form of his name (“Raymundus,” “Raimundi,” or “Raimundus”) or a place name (Heidelbergae, Cantabrigae, Oxoniae, Bruxellis).

Among the earliest ownership inscriptions are a book of mathematics (QA39 L487 1899) with Klibansky's name written in a curly young hand in pen, with “Goethe–Gymnasium” (the name of Klibansky's early high school in Frankfurt) written below in pencil.⁴⁴⁴ A signature above Raymond's also ends with “Klibansky” and though difficult to make out looks like Erich, the name of Klibansky's cousin (1900-1942), a school headmaster who during World War II saved many of his Jewish students before being killed.⁴⁴⁵ Another textbook, this time for Latin, is signed from the *Odenwaldschule*, in 1922 (PA2285 M4 1914). Whether Klibansky valued these books enough to bring them when he left Germany, or if he recovered them at some later time, is not clear. The role that Klibansky's books played in his departure from Germany (for which the diplomatic passport was for his books, not himself) is

⁴⁴⁴ Also written in the ownership inscription is “U ll b,” the meaning of which is uncertain. It may be a date, but looks more likely to be a school form/room number.

⁴⁴⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 111-112.

mentioned by him only in passing, and little more is known except that they included some items from Gundolf.⁴⁴⁶

A number of books are signed from Heidelberg. One of the more complete inscriptions – “Raymundus Klibansky, stud. phil. Heidelbergae 1927” – is written in Adolf Trendelenburg’s *Erläuterungen zu den Elementen der aristotelischen Logik: zunächst für den Unterricht in Gymnasien* (Explanations concerning the elements of the Aristotelean logic: for instruction in High Schools; B491 L8 T7 1861). The volume is interesting not just because it can be linked with such a specific context, but also because Klibansky had so many editions of Trendelenburg’s work, one of which is heavily annotated (PA3893 O8 1897). Trendelenburg had been a teacher of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), Franz Brentano (1838-1917) and Hermann Cohen (1848-1918), all recent giants in Klibansky’s intellectual environment. Trendelenburg’s original Greek edition with Latin translation of *Elementa logices Aristoteleae* (selections from Aristotle’s *Organon*), appears in the collection in three editions (5th, 8th and 9th), as well as an English translation. One of the Greek-Latin editions (PA3893 O7 1862) is signed from Klibansky’s time in Kiel, in 1924, for the program for “future leaders”, and the others appear to have been purchased in England, based on a variety of provenance evidence, suggesting an enduring engagement with Trendelenburg’s work.⁴⁴⁷

Some of Klibansky’s longer inscriptions are more expressive. In a historical dictionary of the Catholic Church (BR65 G53 1868), for example, Klibansky’s signature is followed by the inscription “qui hunc librum abstulerit anathema sit,” cursing in Latin whomever should steal the book, a message apparently not uncommonly seen in monastery-owned manuscripts, with which Klibansky would have been familiar.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ See for example Klibansky, “l’Université allemande,” 156. This episode is mentioned in several items on Klibansky’s early life – see the summary of sources in Appendix I.

⁴⁴⁷ RKC volumes PA3893 O7 1878; PA3893 O7 1892; English edition B437 A52 T74 1881. Trendelenburg appears as the main author only in the English and German versions.

⁴⁴⁸ It has been noted that warnings such as this have often been found in monastery manuscripts. William Winters, *Ecclesiastical works of the Middle Ages: or, Historical Notices of Early MSS. Formerly Belonging*

Only once does Klibansky seem to have signed in Greek. It may, however, flag his first purchase of an early printed book: the illustrated sixteenth-century commentary on Plato and Aristotle from Niccolò Tomeo (Q153 T66 1530), dated from a trip to Rome, 1928. Most books with Klibansky's early ownership inscriptions are related to his study in philosophy and religion, Greek and Latin, but among the earliest signed items are also works of literature and there is, for example, an extract in German of Dostoyevsky's "Grand Inquisitor" from the *Brothers Karamazov*, in a delicate volume covered in black and red from Reclam (publishers), signed "Raymond, 30. I. 23" (PG3327 G5 B72 1920z).

Characteristics of the books

As the examples suggest, most of Klibansky's more detailed ownership inscriptions are from his earlier years. At least 78 records note a manuscript date in Klibansky's ownership inscription, mostly from his Weimar days. Only nine records note a dated signature after 1948, when he settled permanently in Canada, and the most informative inscriptions all but disappear after 1940. Generally speaking, most manuscript date information is linked with relatively early acquisition, and Klibansky's several moves in his early years make it logical for him to have signed books before he settled in Canada. Allowing for circumstances like travel or book-lending, the presence of his signature may nonetheless be a tentative clue to acquisition period.

In addition to the apparent decline with age in the habit of signing, the change in inscription style at about the time of the war may also reflect a loss in his ability to find pleasure in recording acquisition details, something he clearly did feel with several of the Weimar acquisitions. A list of books that are either known to have been or appear likely to have been part of Klibansky's first collection in Germany is presented as List II.

to the Ancient Monastic Library of Waltham Holy Cross (London, 1877), 53. Viewed on Google Books (last accessed Jul. 3, 2012)

A smaller number of records note a place name in the inscription but no date. Oxford is named in 13 cases, Montreal in 5, Heidelberg in 2.

Apart from publication date, no intrinsic factor of the books appears to play a major role as to why he signed them. The subject analysis (Table 30) points to no definite group, for example. Some rare and valuable books carry his signature but there is no obvious sign that he attempted to apply it consistently; it is noted in only 22 of the over 300 RKC items printed prior to the nineteenth century. It is certainly true that the signed volumes include exceptional items from a book and intellectual history perspective, for example the early Cusa *Works* (BX890 N485 1514) or the lavish Estienne Greek-Latin bilingual Plato edition (PA4279 A2 1578). However, Marsilio Ficino's earlier and historically significant translation of Plato (PA4280 A5 F53 1551) is not signed, nor is the book previously owned by David Hume (authored by Robert Wallace, and including a response to Hume; B1559 W353 D5 1753), which Klibansky treasured. There is likewise little indication that illustrations or other physical aspects inspired a signature.

Signed post-1950 publications often have a known associative value, though numbers are again too small to represent a systematic approach. Volumes by or about Klibansky's friends include one by Toshihiko Izutsu (BQ9268.6 I97 1977) and another with Izutsu's wife Toyo (BH221 J3 I95 1981); one by Weimar friend and Warburg associate Edgar Wind (N6915 W53 1968); a book on Kant in Polish edited by Roman Ingarden (B2778 P6 I5 1957) also with Ingarden's gift inscription;⁴⁴⁹ and the memoir by Toni Cassirer about her life with Ernst Cassirer (B3216 C34 C3 1951). A number of Klibansky's own publications are also signed.

Because association does seem to factor into Klibansky's signing of books, the presence of his ownership inscription invites speculation about possible acquaintance. The novel *Under the net* (PR6063 U7 U5 1955), by British writer Iris Murdoch (1919-1999), is an example. Murdoch was a philosopher as well as novelist,

⁴⁴⁹ Klibansky authored the forward to Jeffrey Anthony Mitscherling's, *Roman Ingarden's Ontology and Aesthetics* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997).

and her circles overlapped with Klibansky's. She studied at Somerville College in Oxford from 1938-1942, where Klibansky's friend Lotte Labowsky also studied, and was close with philosopher Elizabeth Anscombe, who translated (with Labowsky) the Proclus commentary on the *Parmenides* for the *Corpus Platonium* and edited with Klibansky A.E. Taylor's translations of the *Sophist and Statesman*.⁴⁵⁰

9.2 Gifts from Klibansky's circles.

The various groups of gift inscribers provides a sense not only of the vast extent of Klibansky's book-related networks, but also of the notable recurrence among this group of academic specialists, writers and diplomats of individuals that cross disciplinary boundaries and engage, each, in different spheres of intellectual, artistic and public life. Klibansky's belief that understanding comes out of broad rather than only specialised study, and his own record of maintaining links between scholarly enquiry and current reality, is reflected in this group. Even a brief exploration of the most evident links to Klibansky supports the idea that this broad approach to understanding the world and ourselves was something very much lived by Klibansky, not only proposed theoretically. Taken as a whole, these provenance groups also shed light on threads of connection among figures and groups in twentieth-century intellectual history.

Many of the inscribers were noticed simply on account of a quantitative assessment of inscription evidence, and this strengthens the sense that such basic quantitative assessments of provenance evidence in personal collections can indeed point to useful leads and meaningful patterns.

⁴⁵⁰ Lotte Labowsky attended Somerville College in the 1930s, became a research fellow in 1946, and returned there to teach in the 1960s. Elizabeth Anscombe was also at Oxford (St Hugh's) while Murdoch was at Somerville, and became a research fellow at Somerville in 1946. The friendship between Murdoch and Anscombe is mentioned in several sources: see for example the obituary of Anscombe by Mark Oppenheimer, "Renaissance for Outspoken Catholic Philosopher" *New York Times*, January 7, 2011.

9.2.1 Echoes of Weimar

Social aspects of Klibansky's book world in Germany are particularly underlined by gifts to him. There are at least 30 gifts from Klibansky's Weimar years in the collection. Some reflect friendships long missed, and others preserve traces of bonds made at university in Heidelberg that lasted decades, sometimes between scholars whose careers crossed at several moments.

Signs of gifts are usually recorded in gift inscription from the donors, but the extent to which Klibansky valued the associative aspect is also highlighted by Klibansky's own recording of gifts in his ownership inscriptions.

9.2.1.1 Professors

Ernst Hoffmann

The earliest instance of Klibansky recording a gift to himself is in the volume co-authored by Hoffmann and Ernst Cassirer on the history of ancient philosophy (B82 C35 1925); the inscription reads: "Geschenk von Prof. E. Hoffmann, Heidelberg 1926." Hoffmann appears again in gift inscriptions, giving Klibansky a book on aesthetics by Kuno Fischer for "Weihnachten [Christmas] 1928" (BH193 F5 1928), and an edition of writings and lectures of German philosopher Paul Hensel (1860-1930), co-edited by Hoffmann with Heinrich Rickert (B3279 H55 1930).

Klibansky says little about Hoffmann in his published memoirs and interviews despite Hoffmann's having been his PhD supervisor, *Habilitation* sponsor, and co-editor on the Heidelberg Cusa edition, and given his efforts to secure Hoffmann's library for the Université de Montréal. One hint of a possible cause for a rift was noticed in the library. In the RKC is a copy of a book that provides the continuation of Klibansky first work with Hoffmann on Nicholas of Cusa, the *Cusanus-Texte. I, Predigten.1* (AS182 H44 1928/29 Abt.3). The continuation, *Cusanus-Texte. I, Predigten. 2./5* (AS182 H44 1936/37 Abh.2) came out in 1937, and has the subtitle *Vier Predigten im Geiste Eckharts, Lateinisch und Deutsch mit einer literarhistorischen Einleitung und Erläuterungen* (Four sermons in the spirit of Eckhart, Latin and German with a literary-historical introduction and explanatory notes). The work had again Hoffmann's collaboration but was edited by Josef Koch, recognized by all

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(Klibansky included) as an excellent scholar, but who is also among those involved with the Stuttgart edition of Eckhart, an acute wound to Klibansky in those years. Koch is named in the document apparently written by or with Klibansky that explicitly criticizes the Stuttgart editors.⁴⁵¹ Hoffmann's acceptance of Koch's participation in the project may have been quite a blow, regardless of his qualifications.

Ernst Cassirer

Cassirer, who was an important mentor and who is the author or subject of so many books in the collection, was a less frequent inscriber. Only one book in the collection carries his possible inscription to Klibansky, *Determinismus und Indeterminismus in der modernen Physika* (AS284 G6 v.42), published and inscribed in 1937. The recipient is not named, but it is not unlikely that it was for Klibansky, who had co-edited Cassirer's *estschrift* the previous year (D16.8 P463 1963, originally published in 1936). A second volume, Cassirer's *Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken* (BF455 C3 1922) is inscribed to Klibansky by Cassirer's son Heinrich (Heinz), in 1926, the year of Klibansky's studies with Cassirer in Hamburg.

Ferdinand Tönnies

As Hoffmann was Klibansky's main professor in Heidelberg, and Cassirer his mentor in Hamburg, Ferdinand Tönnies was Klibansky's teacher in Kiel. An inscribed copy of Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (HM57 T6 1922) is undated but seems very likely to have been given while they worked together in 1924. Klibansky mentions Tönnies' influence on his own work in terms of becoming aware of the power of statistics, and said that what he learned from Tönnies was used in his intelligence work during World War II.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ "Remarques sur la méthode..."; see Section 2.1, n. 90; see also Section 7.3.3, on the annotated Stuttgart edition volume in the RKC (Fig. 26).

⁴⁵² Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 30.

9.2.1.2 Friends and intimate circles

Marianne Weber

The earliest clearly dated gift inscription thus far noticed from someone responsible for a book is the posthumous edition of Max Weber's *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Economy and Society; HB175 W37 1925), edited by Marianne Weber. Two of her own works are also in the collection: one is about her husband, *Max Weber: ein Lebensbild* (HB107 W4 W4 1926), with an inscription dated 1927; the other is her sociological study on women and marriage *Die Frauen und die Liebe* (HQ1225 W38 1950). This last is not inscribed, but on the back pastedown, in a hand that looks like Klibansky's, is written "Heidelberg!"

Heinrich Heidenheimer

A cluster of name variants (H. Heidenheimer, Prof. Dr. Heinrich and Prof. Dr. Heinrid) was noticed in five records. The handwriting, the additional presence of an ownership signature, and the mention of Mainz, Germany, in four of the five inscriptions all point to a single donor, historian Heinrich Heidenheimer (b. 1856). He is not mentioned in Klibansky's memoirs but his name appears in the finding aid for Klibansky's *fonds* as a correspondent.⁴⁵³

The earliest inscription dates from February 1928, likely near their meeting, as the inscription is made out not to Raymond but to "Richard Klibansky" (on Rodolf Agricola; LB175 A27 1893). A few months later a friendly and clearer inscription was written in the book apparently given to Heidenheimer by historian Leopold von Ranke (PQ4101 R3 1837), a sure sign of favour to a young historian. This was followed by a similar inscription less legibly signed, dated 1929 (on Italian church history; BX945 M28 1879), and the last dated gift (this time recorded by Klibansky, in 1932), is a seventeenth-century edition of the *Chroniques* of Froissart (D113 F721615 1640). The one volume without a specific gift indication is Heidenheimer's

⁴⁵³ Regina Weber, "Les Archives de Raymond Klibansky" [unpublished finding aid for the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv*, Marbach, Germany, version Klibansky-BülwFEB2011], Box 19, 1: "Correspondance Varia: Briefe von Heinrich Heidenheimer...". Many thanks to Dr. Weber for providing a copy.

own work, inscribed to his mother (*Petrus Martyr Anglerius und sein Opus epistolarum*, (D226.8 A6 H4 1881).

The books make up one of the larger single-donor groups from Klibansky's years in Germany, and the combination of personal, associative and historical value points to a fairly close relationship between Heidenheimer and Klibansky.

Heinrich Zimmer

Heinrich Zimmer, who taught Indian philology at Heidelberg from 1924 to 1938, is more bibliographically present in the RKC post-1933, but the friendship was built in Germany. They had met in 1927 and Zimmer was also one of the frequent visitors to Gundolf's house from 1929 to 1931.⁴⁵⁴ The earliest of Zimmer's gifts, a volume on Hindu elephant-lore, was offered with a complimentary card in 1929 (PK4476 Z57 Z54 1929), whereas at least three later volumes offered after Klibansky's move to England are inscribed. They include volumes on aspects of Hindu philosophy, religion and mythology, and all are illustrated (BL2001 Z5 1935; BL1201 Z47 1936 in two copies; BL325 M6 Z55 1939).

In 1938 Klibansky had arranged for Zimmer, who was married to Christiane von Hofmannsthal, daughter of poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal and of Jewish descent, to come to Oxford.⁴⁵⁵ Zimmer then moved to the United States in 1940 to teach at Columbia University, and passed away just three years later. Klibansky's continued relationship with Zimmer's family is attested to by the inscribed copy of a 1995 publication of Christiane's letters with Thankmar von Münchhausen, a friend of Rilke (CT918 H64 A4 1995). The inscriber is Maya Rauch, Heinrich's daughter (though not by Christiane) and a contributor to the book. A seventeenth-century volume of Erasmus carries Hugo von Hofmannsthal's own book label (PA8506 1629), but the presence of additional provenance evidence makes it less likely to have been a gift from the family.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Thimann, *Caesars Schatten*, 29.

⁴⁵⁵ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 54.

⁴⁵⁶ It carries a stamp of "F.H. Keller J.V.D."

Jeanne Hersch

Klibansky's friendship with Jeanne Hersch (1910-2000) is one of those which lasted several decades and which crossed different intellectual networks. Klibansky speaks of Hersch with great respect in both his autobiographical memoirs and in his history of the IIP. She too was a student of Jaspers, and an important part of her work is about him. Three of her four publications in the collection are inscribed to Klibansky, ranging in topics from music to human rights to philosophy. Her work on Jaspers is one of the items that entered the library of Ethel Groffier, and so is not in the RKC. Although the Klibansky-Hersch acquaintance was an old one, the inscribed books are all later publications. The most recent, her *L'étonnement philosophique: une histoire de la philosophie* (B77 H477 1993) bears an inscription that reads: "Pour Raymond, dont j'attends et redoute le jugement sur ce reflet d'un enseignement qui se voulait clair sans sacrifier l'essentiel, avec toute mon affection, Jeanne" (For Raymond, from whom I await and fear the judgment on this reflection of an education that was intended to be clear without sacrificing the essential, with all my affection, Jeanne).

Hersch became a member of the IIP in 1981, after Klibansky's most active years, but was the director of the philosophy division of UNESCO from 1966-1968 while Klibansky was the president of the IIP, and a number of projects joined the two groups, including Klibansky's project of the dissemination of texts in support of tolerance: "Philosophy and World Community."⁴⁵⁷

Hilde Domin

One of the most frequent author-inscribers in the collection is Hilde Domin (1909-2006), born Hilde Löwenstein, recognized as one of Germany's important twentieth-century poets. Domin was a student at Heidelberg University during Klibansky's years there, and took classes with Karl Jaspers. Seven of her publications are inscribed to Klibansky, dating from the 1960s to the 1990s (with an additional two by her husband Erwin Palm). Domin, like Hersch, contributed to the first *festschrift*

⁴⁵⁷Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 228.

for Klibansky (B29 R4 1979). The extent of their personal ties in Heidelberg has not been determined.

Guido Calogero

Klibansky recorded the first of several gifts from Guido Calogero, Italian philosopher and anti-fascist activist, when they met in Heidelberg in the 1920s. The inscription: “Raymond Klibansky, Heidelbergae, 1928, Donum auctoris,” is in the published version of Calogero’s thesis, in Italian, on Aristotelian logic (B491 L8 C3 1927). The Latin inscription looks now a bit quaint, and Klibansky may well have been pleased to follow in the tradition of earlier collectors, but at the same time, all of what Klibansky published in the 1920s was in Latin, and the language was an intimate one for him, perhaps all the more so as it had been the international language of learning while his German was perfected late, French had already become secondary, and his friend was Italian.

Calogero was just a year older than Klibansky, and book inscriptions attest to their continual contact over decades (though after this first gift the inscriptions are written by Calogero). He contributed to the *festschrift* for Cassirer that Klibansky edited in the 1930s, and was president of the IIP from 1963-1966, immediately before Klibansky’s term. Like Hersch, Calogero is a link between Klibansky’s early Heidelberg world and his later work in global dialogue, and it is from one of Calogero’s book titles (B3614 C2223 F5 1977) that Klibansky takes the phrase “philosophy of dialogue” as the basis of the goals of the IIP.⁴⁵⁸ Signs of Calogero’s gifts continued with an additional eight volumes until 1960, and Klibansky continued to acquire Calogero’s books through the mid 1980s, always in Italian.

Lotte Labowsky

Labowsky and Klibansky were also close friends and collaborators for several decades. The relationship between the two is currently being studied through their

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 62; see 62-64 for Klibansky on Calogero’s work.

letters.⁴⁵⁹ A copy of her doctoral dissertation (B595 Z7 L2 1932)⁴⁶⁰ is in the collection, along with about a half dozen publications from the 1930s to the 1980s. At least 40 books in the collection are by her or carry signs of her ownership, but few are inscribed to Klibansky.⁴⁶¹ Sometimes they are initialed only (e.g. B765 N54 M3 1964), but based on the strong resemblance of the initials to her signature (e.g. CB361 W4 1963 or HN19 F685 1921), the provenance is fairly certain.

Books from Labowsky's library are not believed to have been received by Klibansky as a bequest.⁴⁶² A number are duplicates of books Klibansky already owned, but it appears more likely that they were given or borrowed while Klibansky was at Oxford – where the two often met and collaborated, and where he maintained a small personal library – while his own copies remained in Canada.⁴⁶³ Included are editions of ancient and modern authors in philosophy, literature, history and German thought, almost entirely from the twentieth century. The one early item is the seventeenth-century edition of Chalcidius's version of Plato's *Timaeus* (PA4279 T7 C3 1617), the key text in the transmission of Platonic thought in the Middle Ages, and part of the *Corpus Platonicum* (though edited neither by Klibansky nor Labowsky but by J.H. Waszink for the series).

Overlap in research areas between the two extended beyond Plato. Much of what Klibansky owned about Cardinal Bessarion, a friend of Cusa, was Labowsky's work. Her corrected copy of Klibansky's Latin edition of Locke not only remains as a sign of their unofficial collaborations but also as an indication of Klibansky's appreciation of her as a Latinist (BR1610 L816 1961), and it sits now in the RKC ready for study beside his own corrected copy.

⁴⁵⁹ Regina Weber is examining letters in Klibansky's *fonds*, at the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv*. See R. Weber, *Lotte Labowsky (1905-1991): Schülerin Aby Warburgs, Kollegin Raymond Klibanskys; Eine Wissenschaftlerin zwischen Fremd- und Selbstbestimmung im englischen Exil* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, forthcoming)

⁴⁶⁰ With the note of approval, "Imprimatur [Otto] Regenbogen, 23. M. 34"

⁴⁶¹ Here we find also an example of informative insertions, which have not been systematically treated in this study. In a volume on Leibniz (B2598 J67 1949), there is no written clue to provenance but there is a receipt for the book made out to Labowsky preserved between its pages. Whether the book was purchased for herself or for Klibansky is another question, however.

⁴⁶² Groffier, personal communication.

⁴⁶³ It is also thought very possible that some RKC volumes entered Labowsky's library in the same way.

Less strictly professional items recall their common exile from Germany. There is, for example, a 1930s guide for newcomers to England with her signature (DA684 K76 1930). Labowsky came to England shortly after Klibansky and was also helped by the Warburg and the Academic Assistance Council.⁴⁶⁴ Two of the Labowsky-owned volumes are particularly precious to Warburg intimates and followers: the eulogies for Aby Warburg (N7483 W36 W67 1929), signed Lotte, XII [December] [19]29; and her author-inscribed copy of Gombrich's intellectual biography of Warburg (N7483 W36 G6 1970). Klibansky owned second copies of both of these Warburg-related items.

The special case of Gundolf

The central figure in Klibansky's social book world is without a doubt Friedrich Gundolf, who appears in some capacity (author, owner, etc) in over 50 volumes of the RKC. The friendship started with Klibansky identifying a passage in a fifteenth-century manuscript fragment used in the binding of one of Gundolf's books, as the Gospel of Luke in a Bavarian dialect.⁴⁶⁵ During their short friendship they regularly toured the bookstores together, and this is explicitly recorded in two inscriptions written by Klibansky: "Raymond Klibansky, Frankfurt, Juni 1931, mit F. Gundolf," in yet another edition of Aristotle's *Organon* PA3893 O7 1844; and again "Raymond Klibansky, Juni 1931, Frankfurt (mit F. Gundolf)," in a work on logic by Herman Lotze (B3293 S8 1874), signed very shortly before Gundolf passed away. Gundolf's is the only presence mentioned at the purchase of a book.

Gundolf's death was felt by many. Michael Thimann wonders, for example, if Walter Benjamin's famous essay on book collecting, "Unpacking My Library" was written in

⁴⁶⁴ Listed in the "Catalogue of the Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, 1933-87", EAD version [online], compiled by Nicholas Baldwin (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2008), I.14.1: Classical Philology; Shelfmark: MS. S.P.S.L. 294/1-8. Also listed individually under *Labowsky*. <http://www.rsl.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/modern/spsl/spsl.html> (last accessed Jun. 21, 2012).

⁴⁶⁵ Thimann, *Caesar's Schatten*, 34.

response to Gundolf's death.⁴⁶⁶ Klibansky said that it marked the end of Heidelberg.⁴⁶⁷ A work of Boethius translated by Eberhard Gothein and dedicated to the memory of Friedrich Gundolf is inscribed in Latin by Marie Luise Gothein, the wife of the author and a scholar in her own right (B659 C2 G5 1932).⁴⁶⁸ In a work by Gundolf (PT2365 I5 G86 1930) published in the year before his death on late romantic writer Karl Immermann (1796-1840), a paper inserted into the book preserves a Latin poem in a hand recognized by McGill cataloguers as Klibansky's, beginning "An Gundolf, März 1931."

Several of the inscriptions connected with Gundolf are (or appear to be – as he is not always named) among the most interesting as a reflection of Klibansky's social relationship with books. They tend to be quite playful. In a book in which a bookseller has marked "bez" (for "paid"; BV4834 F67 1855), the remark has been added: "(bez=bezahlt, von Gundolfs Hand)," (paid by Gundolf's hand). Gundolf's signed inscription in a work of Gustav Pfizer (PT2445 P57 W4 1844; on the fifteenth-century poetry of Pope Pius II, etc.) includes a poem excusing the author (Pfizer) for his weakness on Cusa on account of Klibansky (presumably) not having yet been born:

"Verüble der Besitzer
Es nicht dem armen Pfizer
Dass er noch nicht was Ahner
vom richtigen Cusaner,
Weil noch nicht war geboren
Der ihn so klar edoren[?erkoren?]"

A book that includes a biography of Meister Eckhart carries the unsigned inscription, "Meister Eckhard seinem lieben Klibansky!" (DD801 T45 T78 1930). The phrase is ambiguous, implying either that this book (partly about Eckhart) is being presented to Eckhart's "dear" or "devoted" Klibansky, or that the inscriber, pretending to be

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 9. Walter Benjamin, "Unpacking My Library," in *Illuminations*, translated by Harry Zohn, with an introduction by Hannah Arendt, 61-69. London: Fontana Press, 1992 (this translation first published in 1968 by Harcourt, Brace & World).

⁴⁶⁷ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 58.

⁴⁶⁸ The son of Marie Luise and Eberhard Gothein was Percy Gothein, (1896-1944) a young member of George's circle who died in a concentration camp.

Eckhart, is inscribing the book to “his dear Klibansky.” It is not certain who wrote the inscription but a similar formulation is used in Johann Winkelmann’s study of art history (N5330 W74 1776): “Johann Winkelmann seinem lieber Raymond,” which also carries Gundolf’s ownership signature.⁴⁶⁹ When giving his own publications Gundolf was more straightforward. He inscribed at least six books to Klibansky, which must have been given between 1929 and 1931, though only one of them is dated (a two-volume work on Shakespeare; PR2978 G8 1928; inscribed 1930 “in Dank und Hochschätzung” (with gratitude and appreciation).

The RKC contains part of Gundolf’s legacy also through over a dozen books from his own highly-prized collection. They are signed by him but may not have been gifts from Gundolf directly. Some may have been given, for example, by his widow Elisabeth (Salomon) Gundolf in thanks for help organizing and moving Gundolf’s collection to England (see Section 5.1). She certainly made Klibansky at least one gift, an inscribed copy of a posthumous work by Gundolf on German Historiography (D13 G9 1938) compiled by herself and Edgar Wind of the Warburg Institute.⁴⁷⁰ In addition, parts of Gundolf’s collection were sold.

Unlike the Labowsky provenance groups, several of Gundolf’s books are old and rare. One of the Gundolf volumes is a seventeenth-century illustrated edition of Julius Caesar’s *Works* printed by the Elzevir house in Leiden (PA6235 A2 1635).⁴⁷¹ At least two of the now-RKC volumes are specifically mentioned in Thimann’s study of Gundolf’s library. While Elisabeth Gundolf was trying to negotiate a sale of the collection as a whole, a seventeenth-century volume of Livy was found by one of Klibansky’s students in a Berlin bookstore.⁴⁷² Thimann recounts that Klibansky wrote to Mrs. Gundolf about the mysterious appearance as a worrisome sign of potentially illegitimate activity, and apparently bought it. That the RKC volume is the

⁴⁶⁹ Many thanks to Jon Wild (McGill University) and David Cohen (Columbia University) for their help with the subtleties of these inscriptions.

⁴⁷⁰ Gundolf himself was never a part of the Warburg group, but after his library was shipped to England with the Warburg books in 1933 they were for a time on loan to the Institute. See Thimann, *Caesars Schatten*, 39.

⁴⁷¹ Gundolf seems to have had multiple variant copies of this imprint. See Ibid., 202-203.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 37, 65n38.

same one (PA6452 A2 1664 t.3; vol three of a three-part work) is supported by an additional signature (Lichtenberg) mentioned in the letter cited in Thimann's book. Thimann also quotes Gundolf's excitement at finding a "Rarissima" volume of Valentin Weigel, with several titles bound together (nine titles of Weigel and one by Andreas Rudolf Karlstadt) in a letter to Karl Wolfskehl, dated 1930.⁴⁷³ A volume with Gundolf's signature (dated Hamburg, 1930) and fitting precisely that description is in Klibansky's Collection (BV5080 W45 1618).

And finally, a volume that is not rare, but personal, is a book given to Klibansky from Gundolf's father's library (on Christianity by David Friedrich Strauss; BL2775 S75 1874). The inscription, written by Klibansky, reads "Raymond Klibansky, Geschenk von Friedrich Gundolf, aus der Bibliothek seines Vaters, Heidelberg 10.xii.30" (BL2775 S75 1874). The embossed stamp of Gundolf's father also links Gundolf with his birth name, Gundelfinger.

9.2.1.3 The Warburg in the RKC

The Warburg itself is, as a previous owner, the other substantial cluster that appears from among Klibansky's intimate circles. Klibansky had several interactions with the Warburg: as a student worker, as a researcher, editor, and finally as Director of Studies (around 1946-47). Upon his arrival in England he was given an orientation to the anglophone research universe with William Rose's *An Outline of Modern Knowledge* (AG105 R755 1932), inscribed "herzlichst; v.d. KBW" (sincerely, from the KBW), dated September 29, 1933.

A particularly close collegial relationship had developed between Klibansky and Fritz Saxl, who as Warburg director in 1933 expressed the desire of the Warburg Institute to find a way to keep Klibansky in England: "It would be of the greatest importance for the Library to secure the further sojourn of [Ernst Cassirer and Raymond Klibansky] in England."⁴⁷⁴ Saxl is main author in eight titles in the collection, spanning three publication decades and ending with a posthumous collection of his

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 228.

⁴⁷⁴ WIA, Ia.2.1.2.(Copy 1). Warburg Institute/Report [1933, unpublished draft], p.7.

Lectures (N7445 S34 1957). Inscribed volumes include an offprint on allegory in medieval book illumination (N7710 S29 1927), offered with Saxl's thanks – an indication of their earliest collaborations – and an illustrated volume on astrology in art, in Italian (ND623 P45 S29 1934).⁴⁷⁵

Records for 18 items in the Klibansky Collection indicate previous Warburg ownership. At least one is stamped “Doublette” (BF1598 H6 K763 1914). Others have a penciled code that appears to be “Duplc,” likely meaning duplicate. Included are works in philosophy, religion, Greek and Latin literature, bibliography and occultism, all from the late nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth. They are identified as Warburg books variously:

- Inscription to Aby Warburg from James Loeb (*Plato*, vol. 1; PA3612 P6 1914)
- Inscriptions to the Warburg Library (3; one with book label))
- Stamp of University of London, Warburg Institute University of London, Warburg Institute (3)
- Printed bookplate with + printed label of Bibliothek Warburg (4)
- Printed bookplate (stylized BK WA or BKWA) (4)
- Printed label of Bibliothek Warburg (followed by shelf mark; one also with inscription) (4)

The Loeb book is striking, and we will return to it. The three personally inscribed items (second in the list) illustrate well the reach of the Warburg. A study of a Spanish manuscript collection (B785 P44 J33 1908) is inscribed to the library from its author, German librarian and philologist Emil Jacobs (1868-1940), dated 1908 (“18.I.08”), which was in the very earliest years of Warburg's project and before it was opened to the public. Corpus Christi professor of paleography E.A. Lowe inscribed to the Warburg his study of a Pliny manuscript co-authored with Harvard professor of Latin E.K. Rand, in 1935 (PA6640 Z5 L6 1922). The bibliography of librarian and archivist Henri Omont (1857-1940) from the manuscripts department of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* from 1900 to 1933, is inscribed to the Warburg by

⁴⁷⁵ Several early exchanges between the two providing a vivid sense of their animated discussions as well as their mutual appreciation are preserved in letters at the Warburg Institute Archives, General Correspondence (WIA, GC). Abstracts of their letters from 1927 to 1929 can be viewed online, retrieved by writer or recipient through the online catalogue of the Warburg Institute Archive, <http://calmview.warburg.sas.ac.uk/CalmView/Default.aspx?> (last accessed Jun. 15, 2012). (See also Section 2.1, n.69)

one of the authors (Emile A. van Moë; Z8644.3 B58 1933) and dated 1936. These last two were given to the library very shortly after the KBW's move to England, perhaps in solidarity with their difficult circumstances.

Though Klibansky overlapped with Warburg for just a short time at the library in Hamburg, Warburg was clearly not aloof from the realities of the students working for him. Entries by him in the daily notebook of the KBW in Hamburg, the *Tagebuch*, include Warburg's excitement about a university fellowship for Klibansky.⁴⁷⁶ Some of the Warburg volumes now in the RKC may have been given by Aby Warburg. There are two links in particular from the books that point to the time Klibansky was at the library while Warburg was still there: James Loeb and Franz Boll.

James Loeb

James Loeb (1867-1933), was the American-born German-Jewish banker and philanthropist who founded the Loeb Classical Library for Latin and Greek classical texts with English translation. Loeb and Warburg were born to influential and interconnected banking families – Loeb married Warburg's sister, for example – and Loeb, though continuing with the family in business, was clearly interested in scholarship and education, establishing the series to make the classics more accessible to a broader public. The Klibansky Collection copy inscribed by Loeb to Warburg is the first volume of the first Loeb edition of Plato. It appears that Klibansky was involved in discussions in 1927, possibly including Loeb, of the Warburg attempting a German Loeb series, as Warburg notes in the *Tagebuch* that Klibansky argues effectively against the idea.⁴⁷⁷

Franz Boll

Franz Boll (1867-1924) was a philologist and historian of astrology and astronomy, whose work on Ptolemy and astrology (*Sternglaube und sterndeutung*, in two RKC copies: BF1671 B6 1919, and BF1671 B6 1926) was described as “classic” by

⁴⁷⁶ Warburg, *Tagebuch*, 38

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., 71; Warburg notes Klibansky's concern about finding an editor, a general secretary and capital.

historian of science George Sarton.⁴⁷⁸ A professor of philology at Heidelberg University, Boll was an intimate of the Warburg circle – his *Sphaera* was an important influence on Aby Warburg – and a mentor of the younger Saxl.⁴⁷⁹ The KBW took a leading role in the dispersal of Boll’s library after his death. Most of the books went to Heidelberg University while duplicates were integrated into the KBW, and Klibansky was involved in sorting and organizing Boll’s books.⁴⁸⁰

Several Klibansky Collection books have one sort of provenance connection or another to Boll. Klibansky owned six books either authored by Boll or to which he contributed in some way, and there are in addition at least 15 books that appear to be from Boll’s own library: ten have a Boll bookplate; five are inscribed to him (mainly from authors and editors); and two have his signature or his name written in. The book subjects – the history of the ancient world, symbols, myths, astrology, religion, the occult or philology – resonate both with Warburg themes and Klibansky’s particular interests in the transmission of ideas and texts, again underlining the extent to which Klibansky’s interests were embedded in his immediate scholarly community.

One of the reasons for the mix of provenance evidence types is that the Boll bookplate was not used by Boll himself but was commissioned for the collection by the KBW.⁴⁸¹ Whether Klibansky was allowed to make a selection, if he purchased

⁴⁷⁸ Sarton, review of *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, by Frederick H. Cramer, *Speculum*, 31, no.1 (Jan., 1956): 156.

⁴⁷⁹For a lively account of their relations see Dorothea McEwan, “Saxl and Boll,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (December 2011): 1-14. Available online, [5-DMcE/1](http://www.jah.org/jah/article.php?id=dmce1101) (last accessed Jun. 16, 2012).

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid. 12; Warburg, *Tagebuch*, 20; 43.

⁴⁸¹ The Boll bookplate found in the RKC matches that described and reproduced in Ernst Gombrich’s *Aby Warburg*, 191; plate 39c. The image of an astronomer – from a woodcut in Johannes Angelus’s fifteenth-century *Astrolabium* (an image is available from the University of Glasgow Library (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/uofglibrary/5977640408/>; last accessed June 30, 2012) – around which runs the devise “per monstra ad sphaeram.” A second Boll bookplate design, with Egyptian figures carrying books, is shown in McEwan, “Saxl and Boll,” 12, (and previously in her “*Wanderstrassen der Kultur*”: *die Aby Warburg-Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz 1920 bis 1929* (Munich: Dölling und Galitz, 2004), 237). What appears to be an artist’s signature on this alternate design (Schmidt? 1902), would make it possible that it was Boll’s own bookplate, but it was noticed by McEwan on a postcard from Saxl to an unknown recipient in 1924 as a draft of the bookplate design commissioned from the Warburg (Ibid, 237; 156). There are several mentions in the Warburg *Tagebuch* of the bookplate, but descriptions seem consistent only with the version seen in the RKC and presented by Gombrich.

items, or simply made off with some, can only be speculation. One of the RKC books also has the stamp from the Warburg Institute in London and so must have been acquired by Klibansky several years after the books first arrived at the Hamburg KBW (by Otto Gruppe on classical mythology and the history of religion; BL715 R725 1921).

The books of the KBW and from Gundolf's Library are among the known libraries that have become tributaries to the Klibansky Collection, and the value of them is heightened by being situated among so many others that provide a relevant intellectual and cultural backdrop. Taken together, the many books that survived in Klibansky's library through difficult years and many changes in residence begin to look like a sub-collection that is something of a personal monument to his Weimar years.

9.2.2 The fog of England and war (1933-1946/48)

Klibansky does not reveal much, in his autobiographical publications, about his work during World War II or of his social networks while in England. Inscriptions may provide clues to his less-known circles or activities, or signal topics for further investigation. Signatures or gift inscriptions may not imply a friendship but they place the giver and receiver near each other. The names are something of an annotated list of possibilities.

9.2.2.1 Known members of Klibansky's personal circle

Denys Sutton

Klibansky's sister Sonya and his mother joined Klibansky in England and Sonya was married there to Denys Sutton (1917-1991), art historian and editor of the *Apollo* scholarly art history journal. Sutton worked for the Foreign Office (Research Department) during the war and from 1946 he was appointed secretary of the International Commission for Restitution of Cultural Material after which he worked for UNESCO. He appears to be the most frequent inscriber (including both ownership and gifts) from Klibansky's England years. Sutton's signature appears alone in at least eight volumes, and there are gift inscriptions in four, mainly in works of modern philosophy but including other humanities topics as well. The newly

married couple offered Klibansky a book in Spanish by the recently deceased writer and philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) as a Christmas gift in 1940 (PQ6639 N3 T74 1939). Unamuno is among the names of Klibansky's correspondents, possibly in relation to the Cassirer *festschrift*.⁴⁸²

There are several cross connections in Sutton's gifts to different themes intimate to Klibansky's work and life. Sutton wrote on several Spanish painters and made, for example, a translation of a book on Francisco Goya by Jean Adhémar (not in the collection). Adhémar was a collaborator of Fritz Saxl's, and another of Adhémar's books with a very Warburgian theme, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (N6843 A6 1939) was published by the Warburg Institutue. A French *Selections* of Nicholas of Cusa (BX890 N49 1942), translated and prefaced by a young Maurice de Gandillac is signed "d.d. Denys Sutton, Paris, August 1945". Gandillac was a student of Étienne Gilson, who wrote so highly of Klibansky when the young German sought support in 1933 from the Academic Assistance Council in England. After the war Sutton prepared with Adhémar the exhibition catalogue for *Huit siècles de vie britannique à Paris: exposition* (N5068 M84 P3 1948), supported by the French and British governments with the city of Paris, an inscribed copy of which he gave to Klibansky the following year.

Salvador de Madariaga, his daughter, and the CLA

Madariaga (1886-1978), the highly celebrated Spanish writer and diplomat, inscribed at least two volumes to Klibansky. Madariaga was in exile in England during the Spanish Civil War, and served in the League of Nations, later co-founding the College of Europe. In 1945 he made with Klibansky a radio broadcast about Oxford colleges, an uncatalogued copy of the typescript of which is held by RBSC. His *De l'angoisse à la liberté* (B4568 M33 D4 1954) is inscribed to Klibansky, as is an earlier book of theatre pieces (PQ6623 A4 T6 1940), signed illegibly but in an identical hand.

⁴⁸² Weber, "Les Archives de Raymond Klibansky," [finding aid] Box XXIII: "Cassirer Gundolf George."

Klibansky's relationship with Madariaga was more intimate than Madariaga likely knew. Klibansky had a daughter with Madariaga's daughter Nieves (1917-2003), nothing of which was publicly known until the very last years of Klibansky's life, and the fact is not mentioned in any of his autobiographical publications.⁴⁸³ There is at least one trace of Nieves in the RKC: an inscribed book of spirituality by Indian mystic Osho (BP605 R34 H52 1976), who she names in her own title on Francis Bacon as her teacher.⁴⁸⁴ Her inscription reads: "Raymond, pour que vous ayez une idée de ce qui se passe ici – une des mille facettes," (So that you know have an idea of what is happening here – one of the thousand facets), perhaps a reference to Cusa's diversely expressed truth.

The Internet is rife with theories of Madariaga's involvement with the CIA through a group called the Congress for Cultural Freedom set up in 1950. A recent account that has enough legitimacy to be taken seriously both by academic reviewers and the CIA is Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*.⁴⁸⁵ The link between the CIA and the Congress was not known by several of its first patrons, including Bertrand Russell.⁴⁸⁶ Madariaga, as well as Benedetto Croce and Karl Jaspers are named as other honorary presidents.⁴⁸⁷ RKC books inscribed by authors (or sometimes by Klibansky) linked with names that at one time or another have been flagged as involved with CIA-sponsored activities, include most notably Stephen Spender, A.J. Ayer, and Sidney Hook, each of whom is mentioned in the subsequent sections. Klibansky himself made no secret of the fact that he had

⁴⁸³ Until very late in life even members of Klibansky's most intimate circle were unaware that he had a child (Beatrice). Mention of Klibansky's grandchildren was published in a Montreal newspaper on the occasion of Klibansky's 95th birthday: David Johnston, "Tolerably good birthday: High-flying banter over toleration enlivens philosopher Klibansky's 95th," *The Gazette* [Montreal, Que] 16 Oct., 2000. I am grateful to Ethel Groffier for providing additional information.

⁴⁸⁴ Nieves [Hyat de Madariaga] Mathews, *Francis Bacon: the History of a Character Assassination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Klibansky is named in the acknowledgements, p. ix.

⁴⁸⁵ London: Granta, 1999.

⁴⁸⁶ Others, including Raymond Aron, Arthur Koestler, and Sidney Hook, are thought to have learned of the funding source before it became public in the late 1960s. Ibid, 394-395.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 91-92. The common interest of many western governments and also many liberal intellectuals of preventing the spread of communism and other authoritarian regimes is rich fodder for conspiracy theories, but in many cases writers in related activities were unaware of funding resources, and most intellectuals like Raymond Aron were very upfront about their views and engagement with current affairs and ideological discussion.

worked in intelligence during the Second World War, and made no allusions to any continued service after 1946.

9.2.2.2 Possible members of Klibansky's personal circle

Frances Lobb (pseudonym; n.d.) was certainly at least a professional acquaintance. She translated Klibansky's edition of Mussolini's *Memoirs, 1942-1943* (DG575 M8 A5423), and was also his assistant at the PWE.⁴⁸⁸ In addition, she did much of the original translation work (German to English) for the first published version of *Saturn and Melancholy*. Two novels authored by Lobb are in the RKC, inscribed affectionately: "With the author's love" in 1947, and "Love as always, the author, 7th August 1999" (PR6023 O13 S77 1947; PR6023 O13 V6 1999). The first inscription, unsigned, is printed in pen over an earlier erased inscription in pencil, signed Frances Lobb. A third book, love sonnets translated by Lobb, is not inscribed (PQ1628 L2 A17 1950). The inscription recipient is never named, but that they were gifts to Klibansky appears very likely, and the dates reflect a long friendship.⁴⁸⁹

Poet Stephen Spender's (1909-1995) *Citizens in war, and after* (UA929 G7 S6 1945) is signed to Klibansky in the year of publication. Spender, who had lived in Germany and fought in the Spanish Civil War, also translated into English the poetry of Stefan George, Hölderlin, Rilke and Schiller. A second title, *European Witness*, has no inscription (DD43 S65 1946). Spender was also involved in the Congress for Cultural Freedom. In 1953 Spender founded *Encounter*, a journal that was to some extent a tool of the CIA without Spender's knowledge, the discovery of which prompted his resignation in 1967.⁴⁹⁰

American philosopher Sidney Hook's, *The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility* (D16.9 H67 1945) bears Klibansky's ownership inscription, undated but specifying Oriel College, Oxford, where Klibansky taught until 1946. Hook was

⁴⁸⁸ Ethel Groffier, personal communication.

⁴⁸⁹ That Klibansky and Lobb were still in contact in Klibansky's last decades was confirmed by Ethel Groffier (personal communication). Neither the pen name Lobb, nor two possible surnames provided for her, appear in the *fonds* list of Klibansky's correspondents ("Les Archives de Raymond Klibansky" [finding aid, version Klibansky-BülowFEB2011].)

⁴⁹⁰ Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper*, 373, 377-8, 382-3, 388, 409-10, 424.

involved in several anti-communist efforts including the Congress for Cultural Freedom.⁴⁹¹ He is listed as one of Klibansky's later correspondents through the IIP⁴⁹² but the extent of any personal connection has not been established.

Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956) inscribed two books to Klibansky on Hitler and the threat of Nazism (DD247 H5 S73 1934b; DD253 S7 1934). Wickham Steed, a journalist and editor of *The Times* (foreign editor from 1914 and general editor from 1919-1922), is considered by many to have harboured anti-Semitic sentiments. Reacting, for example, to a perceived attempt of interference in 1914 with stories of *The Times* with respect to potential conflict with Germany, he referred, for example, to "a dirty German-Jewish international financial attempt to bully us into advocating neutrality."⁴⁹³ He was, at the same time, among the early British critics of Hitler, and among those active in the promotion of a League of Nations (collaborating with writer H.G. Wells, among others). He was also connected to Madariaga through efforts for peace during the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁹⁴

American diplomat and historian Lewis Einstein's (1877-1967) *A Prophecy of the War* (1913-1914), with a preface by Theodore Roosevelt (D619 E4 1918), is yet another author-inscribed volume connected to war. A second title, a book of poetry printed in one hundred copies for private circulation (PS3509 I54 W5 1941), is also inscribed "To Raymond Klibansky from his friend Lewis Einstein." Einstein is part of a group that begins to emerge among Klibansky's circles that combines scholarly or professional writing with literary publication.

9.2.3 The New World and global philosophy

The reason behind Klibansky's decision to come to Canada is not absolutely clear, but he expressed a desire to start something new after the war years and was

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., also several entries.

⁴⁹² Regina Weber, "Les Archives de Raymond Klibansky"[finding aid], Box 25-29: "Lettres professionnelles: Institut International de Philosophie, I.I.P.," 6.

⁴⁹³ Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years, 1892-1922: A Personal Narrative* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1924), 9.

⁴⁹⁴ Jacques Maritain and Raissa Maritain, *Oeuvres complètes: vol VII: 1939-1943* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Editions Universitaires, 1988), 1251.

interested in Montreal's two language communities. There was room for growth at McGill's philosophy department, there was a medieval institute at the *Université de Montréal*, and there were local library collections that could continue to support his research interests, such as McGill's Osler Library. As with his work in England, Klibansky says relatively little about his Canadian networks.⁴⁹⁵ Inscriptions may be a sign of some closer professional relationships. About the IIP Klibansky has written a great deal, especially in *Idées sans frontières* but the books he owned, especially in cases where there are several inscription from a sole inscriber, point to a smaller set with which he may have had strong or at least a book-oriented relationship.

9.2.3.1 Arrival

Klibansky was welcomed to Canada by Amy Redpath, Lady Roddick (1868-1954), with a book of her own poetry (PS8535 O4 I7 1939) inscribed in 1948. The Redpath and Roddick names are familiar to the McGill community through the families' many gifts to the university and its library, and the welcome was a fitting one.

Between 1946 and 1948 Klibansky's time was shared between between Canada and England, and one of the first groups of inscribed books he received after he settled in Canada equally has a dual British-Canadian character. Arthur Cecil Murray, 3rd Viscount of Elibank (1879-1962) was a relative of James Murray (1721-1794), Quebec's first British Governor.⁴⁹⁶ Murray was Britain's Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Edward Grey, for Foreign Affairs (1910-1914), and corresponded with both American President Franklin Roosevelt (with whom he became friends), and Canadian Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.⁴⁹⁷ What Klibansky's particular connection was with Murray has not been determined, but Patrick Murray

⁴⁹⁵ See mainly Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 176-193. He did publish an orienting essay on philosophy in francophone Canada in the introduction to R. Klibansky and Josiane Boulad-Ayoub, eds, *La pensée philosophique d'expression française au Canada: Le Rayonnement du Québec* ([Sainte-Foy, Québec]: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998), 11-39.

⁴⁹⁶ Murray is identified in the catalogue both as Elibank, Arthur Cecil Murray, 3rd Viscount (2 vol); and simply as Murray, Arthur C. (3 vol).

⁴⁹⁷ See "The Correspondence of Arthur C. Murray, 3rd Viscount Elibank Murray's Correspondence" from British Online Archives, <http://www.britishonlinearchives.co.uk/collection.php?cid=9781851171491&keywords> (last accessed Jun. 18, 2012).

(1702-78), 5th Lord Elbank, was a friend of David Hume, mentioned in the *Letters of David Hume*, and Klibansky may have contacted him for research purposes.⁴⁹⁸ It was not long before Klibansky's *New Letters of David Hume* (B1497 A4 1954) were published that Murray presented to him (in 1950) a number of books, including his *At Close Quarters: a sidelight on Anglo-American diplomatic relations* (D619 E45 1946) and his autobiographical pamphlet *Whatnots* (DA822 M87 A3 1947). Of particular Canadian interest is Murray's *Five sons of "Bare Betty"* (DA810 E4 E4 1938), which includes an account of the Hon. James Murray (it is the only volume not, however, inscribed to Klibansky).⁴⁹⁹

A great many scholars in philosophy and religion inscribed scholarly books to Klibansky after this point, as a glance at the list of inscribers will show. Three groups in particular can be identified: McGill, the *Université de Montréal*, and the *Institut international de philosophie*. In each case a core network emerges from the collection, as outlined below.

9.3.4.2 McGill.

Klibansky's years at McGill are remembered by many colleagues, students and librarians.⁵⁰⁰ He helped colleagues grasp seemingly impenetrable medieval texts. Students remember passionate lectures, Klibansky standing, eyes ablaze, with enormous books at the lectern. Kind with dedicated students, he was known to have little patience for sloppiness or cheating. He was well known in the various rare book rooms, held receptions in the Osler Library, and whenever the reference collection of McLennan Library was shifted he would soon appear enquiring about favourite titles. Klibansky's role in the beginnings of the McGill RBSC Hume collection is well

⁴⁹⁸ J.Y.T.Grieg, *The Letters of David Hume* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 1:84(n.2). Thanks to E. Groffier for this citation.

⁴⁹⁹ It is inscribed to Captain Philip F. Osler, (dated 1942), who may or may not be Philip F. Osler of the Canadian Osler family.

⁵⁰⁰ From various testimonials as well as conversations with Georges Leroux, Désirée Park, Mario Bunge, Storrs McCall, Calvin Normore, Richard Virr, Ann Marie Holland, and John Hobbins.

known, and his relationships with librarians were such that he may have played a role in other major acquisitions.⁵⁰¹

Colleagues

Among Klibansky's colleagues from McGill's Department of Philosophy who inscribed multiple books to him are William Shea, historian and philosopher of science, Kierkegaard scholar Alastair McKinnon, Berkeley specialist Harry Bracken and Storrs McCall, a logician, philosopher of science, and former student of Klibansky. Apart from gifts of his own works, McCall annotated a posthumous volume of A.E. Taylor's *Plato*, co-edited by Klibansky (B381 A5 T35 1956), adding a playful rhymed reference to Klibansky's famous nose for lost or forgotten texts:

"A.E. Taylor, on questioning, said:
"Though my Plato may never be read,
It is liable, I fancy,
To be found by Klibansky,
And published long after I'm dead.' "

That the abovementioned names formed something of a network around Klibansky is supported by a single volume in which all of their names appear as inscribers: Stanley Frost's two-volume history, *McGill University: for the advancement of learning* (LE3 M22 F7 1980).⁵⁰² The inscription is undated but the well-wishes would be appropriate for a 75th birthday, which would have fallen in the year the book was published. A fifth inscriber in the gift is McGill artist and art historian George Galavaris, who created an illustration for Klibansky's 1991 *festschrift* (BJ1431 N67 1991). A sixth inscription is illegible.

As chairman of the department in 1966, Klibansky had a hand in bringing both Bracken and Mario Bunge to McGill (though Bunge recounts that it was rather he who called Klibansky).⁵⁰³ Two of Bunge's titles are in the collection, one inscribed

⁵⁰¹ Correspondence between Klibansky and McGill Librarian Richard Pennington (1947-64), kept in RBSC, remains to be investigated.

⁵⁰² Frost himself inscribed an earlier book of theology to Klibansky (BT60 F7 1969).

⁵⁰³ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 184. Bunge's remembers his arrival in the McGill Reporter Volume 36 (2003-2004), online, <http://www.mcgill.ca/reporter/36/12/bunge/>, (last accessed Jun. 16, 2012).

(Q180 A1 B77 1967). Bunge was, in addition, a member of the IIP from 1969 and a contributor to the IIP surveys of contemporary philosophy edited by Klibansky.

Historian Peter Hoffmann's presentation copy of his work on Hitler's security measures, *Die Sicherheit des Diktators: Hitlers Leibwachen, Schutzmassnahmen, Residenzen, Hauptquartiere* (DD247 H5 H655 1975), is also in the RKC. Hoffmann is mentioned in Klibansky's memoirs as having alerted him to excised anti-Semitism passages from Stefan George's published letters.⁵⁰⁴

Longtime connections: Paradis, Leroux and Park

At least three of Klibansky's students from McGill who remained close to him throughout his life – all contributing to various hommages – figure as inscribers in the collection: Michel Paradis, Georges Leroux and Désirée Park. From Michel Paradis, Emeritus professor in Linguistics at McGill, are two inscribed books on aphasia and bilingualism (RC425 P373 1983; RC425 P36615 1999), as well as a gift book (BC34 M33 1974). Paradis is co-editor with Groffier of *The Notion of Tolerance and Human Rights: Essays in Honour of Raymond Klibansky* (BJ1431 N67 1991).

Klibansky's memoirs are based on a series of interviews with Leroux, who is curating the upcoming exhibition about Klibansky and his books (see Section 1.3). Leroux is connected with a number of volumes in the collection, including an inscribed copy of his commented translation of one of Plotinus' *Enneads* (B693 E59 F7 1990), a work that Klibansky was especially fond of.⁵⁰⁵

Désirée Park is more present in the inscriptions. She gave her own books on Berkeley (B1349 C6 P36 1972) and perception (BF311 P3136 1973), but also made gifts which might be one of the better indications of Klibansky's leisure reading tastes. Park knew Klibansky well and the books were gifts for Christmas and birthday celebrations. The first, from Christmas 1970, is the anonymous and humorous *Letters of Mercurius* – commentary and gossip from the academic milieu of Oxford – published first in the *Spectator* between 1968 and 1970 and attributed to Hugh

⁵⁰⁴ See Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 67-68.

⁵⁰⁵ Klibansky especially enjoyed *Ennead* 1.6, on beauty; Leroux, personal communication.

Trevor-Roper (1914-2003; LA186 M4 1970). Trevor-Roper, like Klibansky, worked in British intelligence during World War II, questioned German prisoners, and was also sent to Germany in 1945 to investigate the post-war situation. He was also involved with but critical of the Congress for Cultural Freedom.⁵⁰⁶ It is possible that Klibansky and he were acquainted, but Park herself does not know of any link; the gift was for entertainment.⁵⁰⁷ The following Christmas, Park gave a mystery novel by H.R.F. Keating (PR6061 E26 R8 1966), and on his 1974 birthday, a modern facsimile edition of a Middle English-Latin dictionary from 1483 (PR 1119 A2 no.75 1973). A fourth book likely from Park (it is unsigned but she is one of the few who inscribe to “Raymundus”, and also to mention his birthday), is a mystery novel from Donna Leon (PS3562 E534 U55 2003). Leon appears frequently among Klibansky’s guest room books, not part of the Raymond Klibansky Collection.⁵⁰⁸

9.2.3.3 Université de Montréal and the Institut d'études médiévales

Klibansky began teaching at the *Université de Montréal* almost immediately after arriving in Montreal and continued to do so for two decades (1947-1968). This connection is more visible in the RKC than is the McGill connection, and is part of the reason why books in French come to dominate the group of inscribed books after 1940 (See Table 29). The part of the university Klibansky was most connected with was the *Institut d'études médiévales*, founded in 1930 by Marie-Dominique Chenu (1895-1990) with the help of Étienne Gilson who was at the Pontifical Institute in Toronto. Klibansky noted the intellectual openness of some of its Dominican instructors,⁵⁰⁹ and as these brief descriptions show, the institute, though focused on the past, attracted some very modern thinkers, a combination frequently seen in Klibansky’s book networks.

⁵⁰⁶ See mentions in Stoner Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?*, 78-79; 11-112, etc.

⁵⁰⁷ Park, personal communication.

⁵⁰⁸ See Appendix IV for other frequently noted authors of the leisure reading group. My thanks to E. Groffier for providing access to this material.

⁵⁰⁹ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 183.

Marie-Dominique Chenu

One of two inscribed gifts from the institute's founder, Chenu, is on *Le Saulchoir* (LF4065 K2 S2 1937), a Dominican centre that specializes in Thomist studies where Chenu also taught. Chenu's book was put on the prohibited book Index of the Roman Catholic Church during the war, in 1942, which brought about his expulsion as Rector of studies at the Saulchoir.⁵¹⁰

Henri-Irénée Marrou, Paul Vignaux and collaboration with Klibansky

Henri-Irénée Marrou (1904-1977) was a French historian and frequent visiting instructor to the institute. He inscribed at least four volumes to Klibansky and is an author or contributor in at least nine, almost all of them published during the 1950s. His interests and approach have some overlap with Klibansky, visible, for example, in a work on the influence of Augustine through the centuries (BR1720 A9 M333 1957, in English, inscribed by the translator). Marrou was a member of the French resistance during World War II and reviewed Klibansky's *Continuity of the Platonic Tradition* in 1946.⁵¹¹ If they knew each other during the war Klibansky does not say so in his published memoirs.

Marrou's close friend and fellow member of the resistance Paul Vignaux (1904-1987) was also a frequent visitor to the institute. An important labour activist in France, Vignaux was a member of the *Comité français pour la paix religieuse et civile en Espagne* that worked with Madariaga and Wickham Steed (see Section 9.2.2) during the Spanish Civil War. He was also a historian of philosophy and two of his four titles in the RKC on the medieval period are inscribed (B731 V5 1948; B721 V5 1958). Vignaux and Marrou were both students of Étienne Gilson, and contributed to a section on medieval philosophy in Klibansky's survey *Philosophy in the Mid-Century* (B804 I55 1958) along with other book inscribers from the centre, Louis B. Geiger (1906-1983), also of the Saulchoir, and Vianney Décarie (1917-2009). In the early 1950s Décarie was briefly a colleague of Klibansky's at McGill's department of philosophy.

⁵¹⁰ J.C. Schmitt, "l'œuvre de médiéviste du Père Chenu," in "Père Marie-Dominique Chenu, médiéviste," special issue of *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 81, no.3 (Jul. 1997): 397.

⁵¹¹ Reviewed in *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin* 2 (1946), pp. 71-72.

Other frequent author-inscribers from the Institut d'études médiévales

Among other names connected with the institute are Benoît Lacroix and Martin Blais, both of whom inscribed a number of their own books. Benoît Lacroix (1915-) was director of the institute from 1963 to 1969 and present in the RKC as an author-inscriber with four titles from the 1950s to 1971, mainly on religious history except for one on the history of Canadian literature (PS8061 L33 1954). Klibansky contributed a short chapter to a volume about Lacroix in the 1990s.⁵¹²

Martin Blais (1924-), a professor of sociology at Chicoutimi and a student of the institute, offered Klibansky at least two of his five books in the RKC, dating from the 1970s to the 1990s. Like McCall, Blais tries his hand at poetic form in his inscription to a book on justice: “A Monsieur Raymond Klibansky, le maître le plus savant et le plus chaleureux que j’ai connu. Tant pis si [je] fais des jaloux” (BJ1533 J9 B52 1994).

9.2.3.4 l’Institut International de Philosophie

All authors in the collection having inscribed more than five books to Klibansky are mentioned several times in his autobiographical writings. Several were also members of the IIP: Toshihiko Izutsu, Guido Calogero (see Section 9.2.1.2) Jean Wahl and Alexandre Koyré.

Toshihiko Izutsu

Izutsu (1914-1993) was a specialist in comparative religions and oriental philosophies who taught at McGill in the 1970s and was a member of the IIP from 1971. The seven inscribed publications date from the 1950s to the 1980s, but according to Klibansky they met at McGill and only two inscriptions include manuscript dates, both from 1978. Izutsu and Calogero both contributed to the first *festschrift* for Klibansky (B29 R4 1979) as did Jeanne Hersch and Hilde Domin. Most of the contributors to that *festschrift* appear as author-inscribers (also A.J.Ayer, L.

⁵¹² Klibansky, “Rencontres avec Benoit Lacroix,” *Dits et Gestes de Benoît Lacroix, prophète de l’amour et de l’esprit*, ed. Giselle Huot (Saint-Hippolyte, Québec: Éditions du Noroît, 1995), 143-145.

Jerphagnon, V. Mathieu, M. Moritz, S.H. Nasr, D. Park, P. Ricoeur, E. Toppitsch, and H. Kohlenberger the editor), though none except Domin appear as frequently as Calogero or Izutsu.

Jean Wahl

Jean Wahl (1888-1974), a Jewish-French philosopher and poet who escaped a prison camp in France during World War II was also involved in the IIP (from 1953, the same year that Klibansky was invited to join). One of his seven author-inscribed books to Klibansky (all undated) is a book of poetry about World War II (PQ2645 A28 P58 1945). His work on writer and diplomat Paul Claudel (1868-1955), *Défense et élargissement de la philosophie le recours aux poètes: Claudel* (PQ2605 L2 Z87 1958), is one of the relatively few books described in the catalogue as having “markings in pen throughout”. The other inscribed publications from Wahl (one of which was written by Léon Brunschvicg and prefaced by Wahl) are on philosophical topics, dating from the 1940s to the 1960s.

Alexandre Koyré

Alexandre Koyré (1892-1964) also was named to the IIP in 1953. Klibansky had corresponded with Koyré since they met in Rome in the 1920s, and in the 1930's Koyré tried to convince the young scholar to establish himself in Paris.⁵¹³ Six of Koyré's publications are inscribed, from the 1930s to 1950, though only one specifically names Klibansky as the recipient.

Muhammad Aḏiḏ Habbabi

Less well-known in North America perhaps is Muhammad Aziz Habbabi (1922-1993), who was nominated in 1967 for a Nobel prize in literature.⁵¹⁴ A Moroccan historian of philosophy, his topics include personality, Muslim thought and economics, and he contributed to Klibansky's survey for the IIP *Philosophy in the Mid-Century* (BJ1011 F7 1958). Of his five inscribed volumes to Klibansky, from the late 1950s to the 1970s, all but one are works of literature. Among Habbabi's inscribed

⁵¹³ Klibansky, *Idées sans frontières*, 54; *Le Philosophe*, 100.

⁵¹⁴ Written also as Mohammed Aziz Lahbabi or Lahabbi.

volumes is a numbered copy (72/500) in a special edition of his *Misères et lumières: les nouveaux chants d'espérance*, with a preface by Lalla Aishah, Princess (1930-2011), daughter of Muhammad V, King of Morocco (PQ3989.2 H27 M5 1958). All of the works are in French and, with those of Koyré, Wahl, and Jeanne Hersch, add to the strength in French books among inscribed copies.

Eastern Europe

A group of IIP-related inscribers also emerges from European communist countries. Most are visible in only one or two volumes (e.g., Belarusian Leonid Fedorovich Evmenov (dates uncertain) and Russian B.G. Kuznetsov (1903-?), as well as Romanians Joja Athanase (1904-1972) and Crizantema Athanase (1924-2008). The books mainly cover topics such as materialism, dialectics, logic and science, whereas the one Russian inscriber of five volumes – I.S. Narskii (1920-1993), wrote on Hume (B1498 N37 1967) Leibniz (B2598 N37 1972) and Enlightenment philosophy (B802 N37 1973).

The IIP presidents

A last group that should be noted particularly is the leadership of the IIP, several of whom also contributed to Klibansky's library. The presidential club of the IIP appears to have been one of friendship as well as professional esteem. The inscriptions are not so numerous, except in the case of Calogero, but they add a human perspective to the relationships among this group. British analytic philosopher A. J. (Alfred Jules) Ayer (1910-1989), who was president after Klibansky from 1969 to 1972, had also worked in British intelligence during World War II. Quite late, after their IIP days, Ayer inscribed his *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century*, "To Raymond with love from Freddie," (B804 A818 1982b). French philosopher of phenomenology and hermeneutics Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005; president 1978-1981), about whom Klibansky writes with great respect and also affection in his history of the IIP, inscribed a work on Freud to Klibansky (BF173 F85 R46 1965), and wrote in a late work on personal identity, *Soi-même comme un autre* (B2430 R554 S65 1990), "Au collèg[u]e et l'ami Raymond Klibansky en témoignage de respect et de vive estime," (To my colleague and friend Raymond Klibansky, in

token of my respect and deep esteem). Ayer and Ricoeur also contributed to Klibansky's first *festschrift*.

The other IIP president-inscribers are

- Ruth Barcan Marcus (1921-2012; president 1990-1993), American philosopher and logician, signed an inscription in a late work simply "Ruth" (BD111 M44 1993).
- Evandro Agazzi (b. 1934; president 1993-1996), Italian philosopher of science, inscribed one and possibly two books (QC6 A36 1969; BD638 A38 1985)
- Tomonubu Imamichi (b. 1922; president 1996-1999), Japanese philosopher, inscribed a work of speculative philosophy in German to Klibansky (BD395 I44 1968).

The full list of individual inscribers and authors connected with the IIP is much longer and includes many names familiar to philosophers and others, including Danish physicist and Nobel prize winner Niels Bohr (1885-1962), who inscribed to Klibansky his *Atomic Physics and Human Knowledge* (QC6 B59813 1958).

9.3.4.5 Beyond philosophy, and overlapping spheres.

Canadian (mainly francophone) Literature

Klibansky's interest in poetry did not end with the ancient or European canon. From the time of Lady Roddick's gift of her own poetry, Klibansky remained connected with Canadian literature and writers. Volumes of poetry were given by Ukrainian-Canadian writer A.M. Klein (1909-1972; PS8521 L45 R62 1948), Quebec poet and essayist Paul Chamberland (1939-; PS8555 H27 G4 1962), and Ontario poet and political activist Marianne Bluger (1945-2005; PS8553 L889 G88 1998). A numbered copy (28/500) in a limited edition collection of poetry by Richard Pêrusse (1956-), Jacques Brault (1933-) and Claude Mathieu (1930-1985) is inscribed by Brault (DE8 L28 1951).

Among the non-poetical literature are two works of Ontario francophone writer Jean Ethier-Blais (1925-1995; PS8073 E8 1967; PS8559 T5 M3 1968), and novels by Montreal writer Jean Bédard (1949-) on, notably, Eckhart (PS8553 E299 M35 1998), inscribed 1999, and Cusa (PS8553 E299 N53 2001), inscribed 2001. Bédard befriended Klibansky and Groffier on account of the books, but only after the Eckhart novel was published. Meeting Klibansky quite by chance in Paris, Bédard

gave him the recently-published book, which Groffier read the same night and passed on to Klibansky.⁵¹⁵

And finally, the largest single group of books published in Canada are from Maurice Lebel (1909-2006), professor of Greek at the Université Laval, Dean of the Faculty of Letters (1957-1963) and president of the Royal Society of Canada (1963-64), of which Klibansky was a Fellow from 1970. Seven of Lebel's books are in the collection – six as author and one as translator of Guillaume Budé (1468-1540) – in addition to his *festschrift*. Three books, a mixture of historical topics and literature, all published in 1977, as well as his *festschrift* from 1980 (DF13 M4 1980), have undated inscriptions.

Klibansky's awareness of Quebec writing and writers, especially, as for those from Britain and Germany before that, is consistent in more than his tastes – it is consistent with his immersion in the contemporary cultural and intellectual life of his community. Nor was literature something separate from his other endeavors. The overlapping spheres of scholarship with social engagement and/or literature consistently appeared as a recurring theme in Klibansky's book networks, from, for example Cassirer, Calogero, or Madariaga, to Marroux, Vignaux, Wahl, Habbabi, Lacroix, and Marianne Blugger, to name a few.

Books about books

Klibansky's unending exploration of texts, libraries, bookstores, and all things book-related is reflected in many books about books. These interests also brought him into contact with bibliographers and librarians around the world. There are around 20 inscribed books about libraries or specialized bibliographies, some related to his work and others not.

A lightly marked up copy of a bibliography of Plato manuscripts (Z6616 P57 Y35 1968) is signed "Bob to Raymond, 11/23/85", likely Robert S. Brumbaugh (1918-), one of the project directors. Gibert Varet's (1914-) authoritative *Manuel de*

⁵¹⁵ Jean Bédard, "Le sourire du professeur Klibansky," *Le Devoir*, 15 October, 2005.

bibliographie philosophique (Z7125 V3 1956) is inscribed to Klibansky, and lists much of Klibansky's work.⁵¹⁶ Two works on manuscripts of the Vatican library (Z74 C48 1981; Z6621 R78 G89 1923 – not the one that mentions Klibansky's *Summarium*) are inscribed by Vatican librarian Salvatore Lilla (1921-), both in the 1980s. And two exhibition catalogues on Hebraica are inscribed by their author, Brad Sabin Hill. The first of these documents an exhibition held at the National Library of Canada, Ottawa, *Incunabula, Hebraica & Judaica: five centuries of Hebraica and Judaica, rare Bibles, and Hebrew incunables from the Jacob M. Lony Collection; exhibition catalogue* (Z7070 N37 1981), and the other is a numbered copy (442/500) of *Hebraica (saec. X ad saec. XV): manuscripts and early printed books from the Library of the Valmadonna Trust: catalogue*, an exhibition at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Z6605 H4 H55 1989).⁵¹⁷

9.3 Tributary libraries of the Klibansky Collection

The hundreds of traces of previous owners less directly or obviously connected to Klibansky provide a glimpse of other collections and collectors, as well as adding to what is known of migration of collections. As a first step in identifying how the Klibansky Collection intersects with other readers and libraries, the larger clusters of previous ownership have been identified. The main types of evidence of this are bookplates and stamps, as well as ownership inscriptions.

9.3.1 Robert Mason and Queen's College, Oxford

The largest group from these tributary libraries is a mixture of institutional and personal provenance: 24 volumes (five with multiple titles bound together) from Queen's College, Oxford, from the gift of Robert Mason ("Munificentia Roberti Mason, S.T.P."),⁵¹⁸ identified by a donor bookplate. Two others are also from Queen's College but without the Robert Mason bookplate. The books are almost

⁵¹⁶ On Proclus and the Parmenides, (p. 6, 112); the Continuity (p. 112); the Plato Latinus (p. 111); Eckhart (p. 247) which includes mention of the "rival" editions; Cusa (p. 253); and Hume letters (p. 414).

⁵¹⁷ There are dozens of Judaica items in the collection, some from as early as the seventeenth century but predominantly from the twentieth, many of them gifts to Klibansky.

⁵¹⁸ S.T.P. signifies *Sacra Theologiae Professor* = Professor of Sacred Theology.

entirely in German. The Mason group is interesting for a couple of reasons. One is that Robert Mason, who provided the College library with a sum of £30 000 for the purchase of books in 1841, is one of the most important donors to the College library and his bequest is an important part of its history.⁵¹⁹ Another is that the library de-accessioned them.

Given the current interest in book provenance within various historical communities, it may seem somewhat surprising that Queen's College would discard books relating to Mason. However, as made clear by the recent volume on historical collections of the British Library,⁵²⁰ almost no association is too high to be subject to weeding when resources, both physical and financial, are scarce. In addition, interest in historical provenance has not always been as highly valued as it is in the current book history environment. The Mason books in the RKC are, for one thing, in a poor state of physical repair, several with loose covers and/or paper damaged by foxing, and the cost of rebinding and cleaning books is not a small burden. They seem, furthermore, to have been sold around 1940, during the economically difficult war years (see invoice laid in B2699 P33 P55 1793). Duplicates and other material were sold by the library of Queen's College around that time to help fund changes connected with an increasing focus on undergraduate studies and the recent opening of the library to students as a place to work.⁵²¹ Whether or not language had anything to do with book selection for sale is uncertain, as there was no known policy as to selection criteria, but a shift of focus to undergraduate studies could well have made books in German less central to the primary university mission.

The Mason books are all, with the exception of an edition of Plato, editions of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century philosophical or psychological works

⁵¹⁹ See the web page "The Queen's College, University of Oxford: Library History," Queen's College, University of Oxford, <http://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library/history/> @ 2012, (last accessed Jun16, 2012); and "Beyond the work of one: Oxford College Libraries and their Benefactors", University of Oxford, http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodleian/about/exhibitions/online/workofone/major_donors (last modified on 26th February 2009).

⁵²⁰ Mandelbrote and Taylor, *Libraries within the Library*.

⁵²¹ Many thanks to Amanda Saville and Michael Riordan of Queen's College, Oxford, for providing this contextual background on sales from the period.

published during the lifetime of the author (several of which appear in Tables 16 and also 21). The Plato volume is also linked with the era, being an edition that incorporates comments of major scholars from the period such as Winkelmann and Stahlbaum (PA4279 A2 1839), both part of the great German philological tradition mentioned in Section 7.3.

9.3.2 Quebec provenance.

There are two notable groups with special significance to the intellectual history of Quebec through its early institutions, namely the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (LHSQ), and the *Archevêché de Montréal*.

9.3.2.1 Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

The larger of the two groups relates to the LHSQ, founded in Quebec City in 1824 by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of Canada. The first learned society in Canada, it was open to francophones and anglophones from its beginning, and is still in existence, though less active. From 1868 it was housed within Morrin College (affiliated with McGill University, 1863-1900), now the Morrin Cultural Centre. The library grew through gifts from personal libraries as well as the purchase of the stock of the Quebec Library Association in 1866 which had itself absorbed, around 1845 the earlier subscription library, the Quebec Library, formed in 1779.⁵²² The LHSQ also took over the supervision, in 1916, of the separate “Aylwin Library” of Morrin College, which was initiated with the donation of the private library of Quebec lawyer, politician and judge Thomas Cushing Aylwin (1806-1871), an original member of the LHSQ and grandson of Thomas Aylwin (c. 1729-1771), one of the

⁵²² See for example, Frederick Cristian Würtele, “Our Library” in *Transactions* [of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec], New Series, 19, 1889: 5; 26, online at www.morrin.org/transactions/flash_e.html; and the LHSQ’s “Donations to the Library: 1830-1837,” *Transactions*, Original Series, Volume 3 (1837), <http://www.morrin.org/transactions/docsfromclient/books/120/120.html> ; (both last accessed Jun. 17, 2012). Later *Transaction* volumes continue to include information about bequests etc. A new history of the Society is forthcoming from Louisa Blair, to whom I’m grateful for communicating indications of possible LHSQ sales in the 1940s.

early British settlers in Quebec. Morrin College had acquired the Aylwin books around 1908.⁵²³

There are more than two dozen titles (some mutli-volume) with LHSQ-related provenance, identifiable through a variety of provenance evidence types including (a minimum of):

- the signature of T.C. Aylwin (12; almost all dated 1857)
- probable Aylwin family arms on binding (1; also has a partial Aylwin signature)
- the stamp of the Aylwin Library (at least 11; most of which also have the signature)
- a separate stamp of Morrin College (1)
- different stamps of the LHSQ (oval vs. round, at least 10 different titles)
- a bookplate for the LHSQ in French (4)
- LHSQ in manuscript (1)
- a leather label of the Quebec Library Association (QLA; likely from a broken piece of binding)
- Quebec Library Association in manuscript (1)
- Quebec Library Association (QLA) embossed on spine (noticed in 5 copies with shelf marks beginning K10; almost all are books by Joseph Maire de Maistre, one of which also has QLA provenance written in manuscript)
- Quebec Library (in full) embossed on spine (noticed in one set of Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, also stamped LHSQ).

The book titles are grouped within the RKC Data Sheet in the field L&S Prov under the names Aylwin; Quebec Library Association; Literary & Historical Society, Quebec; and Morrin. The volumes are generally in poor physical condition, which probably contributed to their being de-accesssioned. Many still carry their shelf marks. Several of the Aylwin volumes also have an affixed slip noting the gift of the book to McGill Library by alumnus historian and churchman E.C. Woodley (1879-1955) in 1947, and Klibansky likely acquired at least this group from McGill.

⁵²³The creation of a special room called the Aylwin Library to be used by the Society is mentioned in its "Report of the Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for the Year 1908," *Transactions*, New Series, No. 28 (1910), online , <http://www.morrin.org/transactions/docsfromclient/books/315/315.html>; a specific statement of the Aylwin gift to Morrin College is in the "Report ... for the Year 1909, *Transactions*, New Series, No. 28 (1910), <http://www.morrin.org/transactions/docsfromclient/books/316/316.html> ; and indications that the Aylwin books had been catalogued and would shortly be made available to LHSQ members are found in "Report ... for the Year 1910," *Transactions*, New Series, No. 29 (1917), <http://www.morrin.org/transactions/docsfromclient/books/319/319.html> (all last accessed Jun. 17, 2012).

Except for three titles from humorist Thomas Hood (1799-1845) the works are mainly nineteenth-century scholarly works in history, literature, religion and philosophy. More than half are in Latin, Greek or both, with the remainder in English except for two volumes in French. The earliest (an Aylwin volume), is an illustrated seventeenth-century Greek-Latin edition of Justin Martyr (BR65 J8 1615). One set of Blair's *Sermons* (BX9178 B665 S4 1783; with the oval stamp), has several initialled dates beside sermon headings, apparently on Sundays, between 1863 and 1865, and traces of very black cloth found between pages point to active pulpit use.

As in the Queen's College case, the disposal of old books that have provenance significance is a part of the history of those institutions. Because such sales are often connected to broader economic and social situations of the moment, they can be useful indicators of troubled times or shifting priorities.

9.3.2.2 Bibliothèque de l'Archevêché de Montréal

A smaller group of Klibansky's books comes from the Archdiocese of Montreal. Eleven records in the Klibansky Collection indicate the embossed stamp of the *Bibliothèque de l'Archevêché de Montréal* in volumes ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They cover topics in religion, philosophy, law, medicine and sociology. The earliest item is part of a multi-volume Venetian imprint of Aristotle in Latin (PA3895 A4 1584). Apart from this and one other early work in Latin, the group includes mainly French texts, as well as one in English.

One book in particular captures attention and will be of interest to historians of the Church in Quebec: Victor Cousin's *Histoire générale de la philosophie* (B77 C8 1872b). McGill notes indicate the ownership inscription of "P. (?) Bruchési, Paris," possibly Louis Joseph Napoléon Paul Bruchési (1855-1939) who was appointed Archbishop of Montreal in 1897.⁵²⁴ Annotations in the volume look very much like samples of his writing. Bruchési was Archbishop at a time when the Roman Catholic Church was strong in Quebec, and important points in his tenure include the founding of

⁵²⁴ Archdiocese of Montréal, <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dmonq.html> (last accessed Jun. 17, 2012).

Saint Joseph's Oratory (1904), as well as progressive moves such as the 20th International Ecumenical Congress (1910). They also include, however, restrictive attitudes against the foundation of a public library in Montreal.⁵²⁵ The volume with Bruchési's annotation provides a humanizing glimpse of a central Quebec figure in the early century.

Bruchési is not the only personal name among the books stamped from the *Archevêché de Montréal*. Others include:

- Two with the signature "Claude François Parmentier, 1742," both sermons of Bourdaloue (BX1756 B8 S44 1733; BV4254.5 B68 1733), one of which is also inscribed "Ex dono Humanistarum communitatis Lesco ...(?), 1739".
- Two with the signature "E. H. Hicks, Ptre. C." (DC272 L25 1851; BX1752 M38 1845), one about the social situation in France, the other a work of apologetics.
- One inscribed "Ex dono Joannis Baptista Coupel(?) executis die decima sexta augusti anno domini 1790" (BX1750 J36 1772), again a work of apologetics.
- One signed partially legibly by "...(?) Dufresne" (RB110 P56 1818) on disease classification.

Why the library of the *Archevêché* let these items go is not obvious. There may have simply been a desire for newer editions, but the changing times both within and outside of a post Vatican II Church may also have played a role. A partial receipt found by cataloguers (BX1750 J36 1772) indicates that Klibansky purchased two of the volumes in 1970. This was a time of particularly rapid social change in Quebec, as in many parts of the world, during which there was an important loss of power and membership in the Catholic Church in Quebec, an overturning of authority structures, and a lack of interest in many quarters in preserving the past. Perhaps these volumes can contribute to a better understanding of the history of that library.

9.3.2.3 Algy Smillie Noad

The largest group of books previously owned by a Canadian individual is from the library of Algy Smillie Noad (1898-1952), who taught English at McGill from 1921-

⁵²⁵Marcel Lajeunesse, "La bibliothèque au Québec: une institution culturelle au coeur des débats sociaux," in *Culture, institution et savoir*, ed. André Turmel (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997), 175-176.

1951, before which he tutored the son of Cuban President, Mario Garcia Menoca.⁵²⁶ Klibansky overlapped by a few years with Noad's tenure at McGill and there is a reasonable chance they would have met, but there are no indications of gifts. All were published between 1874 and 1931, in a variety of languages, and the largest subject group is Italian literature. A few are annotated, (on Dante PQ4308 A2 C68 1920z, and the history Italian literature PQ4037 R67 1921, PQ4042 S4 1919); and a volume of selected works of Poliziano (PQ4630 P5 A6 1911), contains sketches as well as marginalia and markings. Several ownership inscriptions include a place and date, showing Noad picking up volumes in New York in 1927 and 1928, as well as in Montreal and Ottawa later in the 1930s and 1940s, but all of the Italian material is dated from 1924 in Florence (Aug-Oct) or Pisa; or from 1929 in Siena.

9.3.3 Beyond the largest provenance clusters.

Outside of the larger provenance groups, there remain a great number of volumes with interesting provenance relating to, especially, European book collectors and libraries. In particular, the RKC appears to be a good source of items previously owned by people attached to various schools and colleges in the United Kingdom, especially Oxford. A look at bookseller labels also suggests that Oxford bookstores were an important source for Klibansky's purchases – the most frequent names being Thornton, Blackwell and Parker.⁵²⁷

Just a few highlights of British provenance evidence noticed by the McGill Library staff include:

- a volume from the duplicate sales of the British Museum (PA8585 V2 D4 1664), a seventeenth-century volume by Pierio Valeriano (1477-1560) for which the catalogue record notes: "Stamped 'Museum Britannicum' and 'duplicate B.M. 1818';

⁵²⁶ Noad is included in the collection McGill University Archives, "McGill Teaching and Research" in *Guide to Archives Resources at McGill University: Vol.2-3; Private Papers held at McGill University*, online version @2004 http://www.archives.mcgill.ca/resources/guide/vol2_3/gen01.htm.

⁵²⁷ These shops are recorded in notes from labels and stamps as Thornton & Sons (15); Parker & Son (5); Parkers of Oxford(2); B.H. Blackwell (11); Blackwell, ltd. (1); Blackwell's (2). Bookseller and binder names are listed in the column *Booksellers* in the RKC Data Sheet. Names are recorded as they appear in the notes.

stamped 'B.N.O., F. Madan(?), Oxford,' added in ms.: Crossley(?), sale 1885," and records a shelf mark "3AA.f."⁵²⁸

- an early volume of papal predictions (BX958 P75 V39 1600) from Sunderland Library of Blenheim Palace, seats of the Dukes of Marlborough and birthplace of Winston Churchill (1974-1965).
- a volume of historical writings in philosophy by Joannes Jonsius (B69 J8 1716) from the Bibliotheca Heberiana, the library of famous English book collector Richard Heber (1773-1833), to whom Frognall Dibdin's *Bibliomania* (not in the collection) is an elaborated letter.

Perhaps the single most historically significant instance of provenance is the *Bibliotheca sancta* (BS505 S57 1566) of Sisto da Siena with its index of heretics, mentioned in Section 7.2. Beyond the interest in its possible ownership (based on the armorial on the flyleaf) by Grand Inquisitor Jorge de Almeida (1531-1585), it is thought possible that the use of Almeida's arms on a separate sheet may constitute one of the first instances – or perhaps the first instance – of a Portuguese bookplate.⁵²⁹ Of the two other known instances of this, one is now missing, and this new copy provides corroboration as to its possible use.

These are just some of the notable individual instances of provenance. The collection will support a great deal of provenance research, and it is hoped that what has been done here and in the RKC Data Sheet provides a useful first step.

⁵²⁸ Falconer Madan (1851-1935) was librarian of the Bodleian Library of Oxford University from 1912-1919.

⁵²⁹ A bookplate is normally a separate label affixed, but as José Vicente de Bragança informed me, and as David Pearson has noted in *Provenance Research*, 66, separate leaves were also sometimes used. At the same time, as Richard Virr has pointed out (personal communication), it can be difficult to differentiate between a record of ownership or of gift.

CHAPTER 10: KLIBANSKY'S BOOK ORGANIZATION: THE ENIGMATIC SUBGROUP OF SHELF-MARKED BOOKS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to understand the meaning and use of a subgroup of Klibansky's books that bear his handwritten alpha-numeric code often called a *shelf mark*.⁵³⁰ Shelf marks are the codes written, stamped or otherwise applied to books to record book location and order, and they provide evidence of the organizational structure of a library. Modern library users familiar with the LC classification scheme used in most North American universities or the Dewey Decimal system prevalent in public libraries have come to expect books to be organized by subject, but collections are, and have been, grouped and ordered by a variety of principles, including acquisition date, size, colour, or any number of schemes.⁵³¹ They can also simply be a way of creating an inventory without any internal method at all.

Especially when organized by subject or another principle connected with the book's contents, book order can provide information about the structure of the library organizer's intellectual universe. An example close to Klibansky is seen in the divisions maintained at the Warburg Institute that frame an integrated approach to knowledge and learning through: Image (Pre-Classical to modern Art); Word (Language & Literature, Survival of Classical Literature); Orientation (Religion, Science, Philosophy); and Action (Political & Cultural History).⁵³² In an article

⁵³⁰ Klibansky's shelf marks are indicated in McGill's OPAC records as, mainly, "shelf mark" (595); "shelf-mark" (15); or "shelfmark" (9). Shelf marks left by other owners are sometimes indicated by similar terms such as "shelf"; "shelf label"; "shelf no."; though sometimes mention of a specific code is simply included with other information on a "label". Not used in the catalogue but frequently seen elsewhere, especially in Britain, are "press-mark", "pressmark" etc. The RBMS thesaurus for physical amendments prefers "shelf mark".

⁵³¹ See Henry Petroski's exposition on the great range of book organization principles in his *The Book on the Bookshelf* (NY: Knopf, 1999), 233-252. For a concise and recent overview of the history and function of shelf marks see the entry by Richard Ovenden, "shelfmark," in Suarez and Woudhuysen, *Oxford Companion*.

⁵³² As currently presented on the Warburg Institute Library web page, "Classification Scheme & Principal Areas of Strength," <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/maps/>, (last accessed Jun.18, 2012). For a contemporary description from the time of Klibansky's connection with the Institute see Gertrude Bing, "The Warburg Institute," *The Library Association Record* 4, no.1 (1934): 265. See also Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library," 334; and Salvatore Settis, "Warburg *continuatus*: Description d'une

written early after the Warburg's arrival in England, Gertrude Bing wrote about the book organization that researchers "not only found the books they needed for their special researches but found them arranged in such a manner as to suggest certain interactions with and relations to other subjects."⁵³³ Klibansky's relationship with the Warburg was one reason to investigate the shelf-marked books of the RKC, but he does not appear to have recreated the Warburg system within his own library. Elements of difference or similarity will be touched on again.

In Klibansky's case, the order created by his shelf marks cannot be reduced to a single or simple system. The analysis revealed both consistencies and inconsistencies of organizational structure. Some groupings reflect an easily-recognizable conceptual basis, yet others do not and in these cases shelf marks seem instead to be an aid to inventory alone. Few firm conclusions came out of the investigation but several things were learned in the process about Klibansky's book habits, and it prompted some questions that may warrant further inquiry.

That the shelf marks were added by Klibansky is not proven, but is very likely. Both letters and numbers are extremely like other known samples of his writing. That they were at least intended for his library is even more probable, as they occur in books having an otherwise diverse provenance and having obvious links to his major themes. The marks correspond, furthermore, to handwritten shelf labels taped to several bookcases of the last McGill office that Klibansky used (Figure 34).

Shelf-marked books have now been fully integrated with the rest of the Klibansky Collection, and the physical order has been replaced by its new Library of Congress shelf order. It is possible to retrieve the records in the OPAC by individual code or by a combination of terms used to describe them.⁵³⁴ It is not, however, possible to view them in shelf-mark order through the OPAC.

bibliothèque," trans. Silvia Milanezi and Hélène Monsacré, *Préfaces* 11 (Jan-Feb 1989): esp. 113-114; 118-120 [shortened from the original Italian, published in *Quaderni Storici* 58/a.XX no. 1 (April 1985).]

⁵³³ Gertrude Bing, "The Warburg Institute," 264.

⁵³⁴ See n. 530 for terms used in the records.

In order to explore the organization and proportions of the group as well as its relationship to Klibansky's research themes, shelf marks were isolated in the RKC Data Sheet, and the order reconstructed (LIST IV – see Appendix VI).

10.2 Deciphering Klibansky's shelf marks

10.2.1 Formal aspects

Klibansky added shelf marks to around 10 percent of his books.⁵³⁵ The marks are, as a rule, toward the top right corner of one of the first leaves, almost always in pencil. The form of Klibansky's shelf marks follows a pattern common in personal and other libraries from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, with an upper-case letter for the bookcase, a lower-case letter for the shelf, and an Arabic number for the sequence (e.g., D.a.2). It is among the simplest systems. The philosopher John Locke, for example, used a more complicated two-tier number system whereby the upper number indicated the size of the book (the basis for the groupings), the lower number the sequence.⁵³⁶ The Warburg Library uses a tri-letter subject/regional indicator (e.g. CNA for C=Art History; N =Italian; A=Painting: Renaissance Schools), followed by a group number, without a precise book sequence.⁵³⁷

The first thing noticed from the list, about the shelf marks themselves, is that all shelf marks noted in RKC records begin with the letters D, E, F, P or V. These letters and their alphabetic subdivisions (e.g. D.a-D.g) correspond to the letter markings on only some shelf labels of Klibansky's McLennan office bookcases, as indicated in Figure 34.

⁵³⁵ This figure is approximate as it takes into consideration only those noted in the records.

⁵³⁶ See Harrison and Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 30-42, for a discussion of Locke's shelf marks (=press-marks).

⁵³⁷ The example was taken from the current Warburg site, but corresponds also to the example used in Bing's earlier "The Warburg Institute" 266.

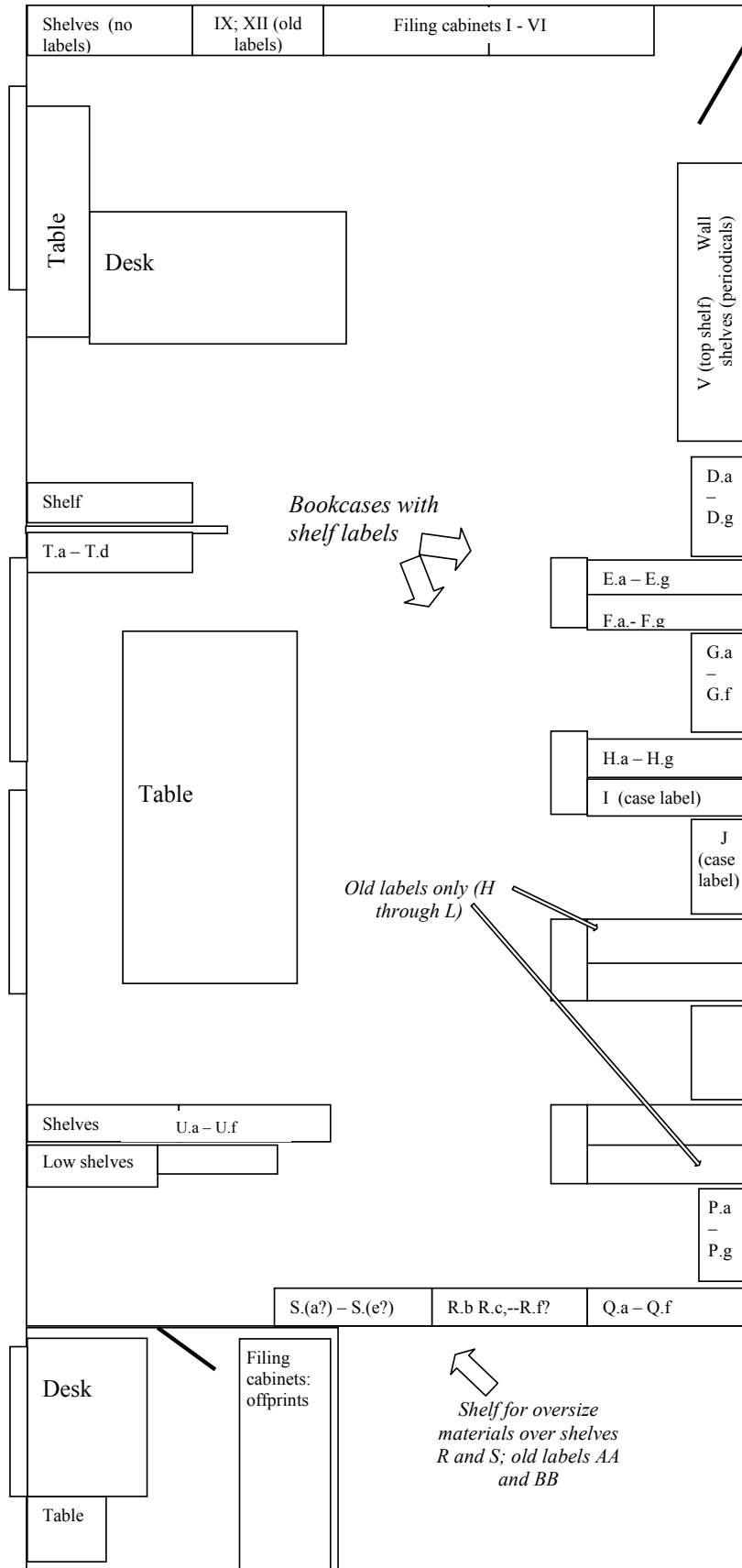


Figure 34. Diagram of Klibansky's last McGill office, McLennan Library, Rm. M3-16

No shelf marks have been noticed that begin with A or B, nor are there any shelves labeled with those letters.⁵³⁸ The fact that no shelf marks have been noticed beginning with the letters G, H, etc., suggests either a special reason for marking some shelves but not others, or a general project begun but not completed – a view considered most likely by E. Groffier, who has described Klibansky's repeated but never fully successful attempts to "get his books in order."⁵³⁹ The analysis also favours that view.

The shelf-mark sequences appear constrained primarily by the pragmatic fact of shelf length, as the number of items in any single series never reaches 50 (D.a.1-D.a.39; D.b.1-D.b.45, etc.). There is, however, also a conceptual element suggested by the numbers: within a single shelf subgroup (e.g. D.d), numbers sometimes jump to 100, 200, etc., to begin a new series (e.g., D.d.20 jumps to D.d.101). This happens where the initial number series is small (i.e. D.d.20), and provides a purely formal indication that shelf marks are also used to create meaningful groups.

Also noticed is that many items are missing from within individual shelf-mark ranges. From numbers from within the sequences only (i.e. not considering the possible extension of number ranges beyond their last number in the list), around 160 volumes – more than a quarter of amount noted in the catalogue – are missing from the current list of shelf-marked volumes. The missing volumes are spread throughout all groups but are especially numerous in groups beginning with D, P, and V. While some of these volumes may no longer be in the collection, others are likely to yet surface. A targeted examination of books by Descartes, guided by the analysis, revealed a handful, for example.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁸ The labels that appear to correspond to the shelf-marked books are on blue paper. There is, however, a second set of labels (on green tape) on some shelves. Shelves F through R are also labeled (in the second set), C through O, respectively. This second set does not, however, include any sub-divisions of the type D.b. There are also visible signs of the second set having been removed, including from the earlier cases (D.a-E.g).

⁵³⁹ From personal communication.

⁵⁴⁰ The newly identified volumes are not part of the analysis. They have been added to LIST IV as well as to the RKC Data Sheet but are differentiated from the codes which formed the basis for the numerical analyses here.

10.2.2 Intellectual structure

A broad subject analysis of items with shelf marks confirms them to be part of the working library, consistent with the conclusion that the shelf marks were applied to books in Klibansky's McGill office. The books do not encompass any entire subject area of the RKC – the group is too small –, but compared with the collection as a whole, shelf-marked books are more highly concentrated in Philosophy & Religion (57 percent) and Language Linguistics & Literature (31 percent, almost entirely Greek or Latin literature), together making up 88 percent of shelf-marked books whereas they account for only 66 percent of the collection overall.

Several small subgroups, summarized in Table 34, emerge from the reconstructed shelf mark order, and they in turn form part of larger thematic groups, as outlined below. Subgroups were determined from a combined review of subjects, authors, titles and sometimes keywords. In Table 34, “Plato [or other author]” = *by* or *about* Plato [or other author]. When several subgroups seem to belong to a single theme, they are listed together. That volumes are missing within number sequences is apparent from LIST IV, but are not taken into account in Table 34. Despite some absences and ambiguities, the focus of many subgroups is reasonably determinable.⁵⁴¹

Table 34. Content summary of shelf mark groups

SHELF MARK GROUP	ROUGH SUMMARY OF SUBJECT FOCUS
D.a.1-39; D.b.1-45; D.c.1-45; D.d.1-20:	Plato and, to a much lesser extent, Platonism.
D.d.101-110:	The ancient world more broadly (mixture of ancient and modern authors)
D.e.1-24; D.f.1-16; D.g.1-47; E.a.1-32:	Aristotle
E.a.100-107; E.a.200; E.a.300; E.a.401-402; E.a.600;	Ancient thinkers: a.100-107 (Philo of Alexandria); a.200 (Proclus on Euclid); a.300 (Plato); a.401-402 (Iamblichus); a.600 (Homer) b.1-18 (Plotinus); b.100 (Heraclitus)

⁵⁴¹ In a small number of cases a reassessment has been made of the shelf mark, based on a second verification prompted by shelf marks that appeared at odds with the system at it emerged. Changes are indicated in the Data Sheet field *Shelfmark Changes*.

E.b.1-18; E.b.100:	
E.b.301-327:	The ancient world more broadly (mainly but not exclusively Greek poetry and drama)
E.c.1-30:	Greek history, education and culture.
E.c.33-38:	Mainly Latin language and literature.
E.d.1-37:	Less focused. Includes mixed Roman authors (mainly Cicero); also history of ancient world/philosophy/education. This group includes two provenance clusters: 5 titles by and about Cicero with the bookplate of "Richard Hassell, Esq. of Lincoln's Inne, 1745" (E.d.17-23); and three volumes of Victor Cousin with the binder label of "Carss & Cox ... Glasgow" (E.d.10; E.d.13-14), with intervening volumes also by Cousin.
E.e.1-29:	Mainly by and about Roman authors, some Greek, various topics (ethics, education).
E.f.1-26:	Greek and Roman authors interspersed with modern authors on religious and historical topics. This is the end of an overall focus on the ancient world. Two volumes (E.f.23 & 24) have a similar provenance ("Ex bibliotheca Cellarii") but other provenance evidence in the group, including from Friedrich Gundolf, and also from McGill students preclude a simple provenance explanation for the group.
E.g.1-12:	No single subject focus, mainly modern authors, possibly grouped around the history of philosophical teaching/study.
E.g.100-102; E.g.200-204; E.g.300-307:	Again focused. Contains a few small groups of 17 th century philosophers. 100-102 (Francis Bacon); 200-204 (Nicolas Malebranche); 300-307 (George Berkeley)
F.a.2-10:	Blaise Pascal
F.a.100-102:	English Platonism (Colet, Cudworth)
F.a.200-218:	Benedict Spinoza,
F.b.1-27; F.c.1-23:	Gottfried Leibniz
F.c.100-104: F.c.200; F.c.300:	Mixed, 17 th and 18 th century, including a small group on Hobbes (101-104); Richard Bentley (200) ; Charles Batteux (300)
F.d.1-8:	John Locke
F.d.100-124; F.e.1-8:	David Hume
F.e.100-403 (total of 18 vol.)	English/Scottish, approximately contemporary to Hume, including Butler (100-102); Beattie (400-403) and others in single volumes.
F.f.1-2:	Napoleon (I.)
F.f.100-115:	Various mixed 18 th century, (notably Rousseau, Voltaire, Smith, Bossuet, Tooke...).
F.f.116-118; F.g.502:	Periodicals. 27 titles bound in three volumes. Various topics and authors, with a binder's title <i>Philosophische Abhandlungen</i> (Philosophical Treatises), collected by A.C. Bradley. The fourth volume is in F.g.502.
F.g.1; F.g.100-103; F.g.200-226; F.g.402; F.g.501:	Medieval topics: Augustine (F.g.1); Anselm (100-103); Nicholas of Cusa (200-226); Chartres (402); Medieval education – Cato (F.g.501)
F.g.600; F.g.700: (1 vol each)	Continuation of medieval focus, individual volumes on Bonaventure (600); Boethius (700).
P.b.1-40:	Very widely varying – see LIST IV
V.2-9:	Descartes
V.100-113:	Plato

Klibansky's strongest overall organizing feature (excluding the P section, which we will return to), is chronology of subject focus. This is made all the more clear by another visible aspect: the frequent clustering of books around a given thinker, whether as a subject or author. The general chronological approach is also consistent

with Ethel Groffier's observation of Klibansky's general organization of books in their home.⁵⁴²

Chronological order is general rather than precise, and isn't always respected either in the exact sequence or in larger sections. Books by/on George Berkeley (1685-1753) follow those on Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715), for example, but precede those on Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) and Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716). A small group of works on medieval thinkers is placed after the modern authors in group F.g.

10.2.2.1 Main themes

The focus on individual authors draws attention to the presence of two main themes in the shelf-marked books

- Plato, Aristotle and the ancient world
- European modern philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries (pre-Kantian continental philosophy and modern British philosophy up to and including the Scottish Enlightenment.)

The particular relationship between the shelf-marked books and Klibansky's publication projects is considered in Section 10.3.3.

Plato, Aristotle and the ancient world

From D.a through E.f, the groups in the first cases have to do with Greece and Rome, with very large groups on Plato and Aristotle. The groups of bookcase D are quite simple in their focus while those in case E, include a proliferation of small groups on individual thinkers and also other aspects of the period like poetry, history and education. The Greek Neoplatonist Plotinus, and especially Cicero are the best represented thinkers among the smaller groups. Throughout, primary texts are combined with secondary modern works about ancient authors and the period more broadly.

The last group, V also includes Plato. The reason for the division of volumes on Plato is not obvious from the books themselves – there are in fact duplicate titles

⁵⁴² From personal communication.

from the D section. The analyses here did not discover a reason why they were separate from the other groups, except for the possibility that they entered the office after the initial shelves were full.

Modern philosophy

The focus on the ancient world begins to loosen most noticeably in section E.f. and there is an abrupt bridge from the ancient to the modern period, where groups on Francis Bacon, Nicolas Malebranche and George Berkeley appear in E.g. From F.a through F.f. the largest groupings focus on Spinoza, Leibniz (especially) and Hume, with smaller groups on Hobbes and Locke.

Works by and about Descartes are, with the second group of Plato, in the V section. The reason for the separation of Descartes volumes from the rest of modern philosophy has not been determined. The fact that the V section is entirely related to the earlier sections seems to imply that the decision about which sections would receive shelf marks was not entirely arbitrary.

10.2.2.3 The P section: a curious group of books

Shelf-marked books are, overall, clearly connected with Klibansky's research and publication topics. This is not so, however, with respect to shelf marks beginning with P.

No period- or author-based structure is used in the P group. It is an eclectic blend of topics, mainly literature and history, some of which would have fit into earlier categories (e.g., ancient literature, medieval history, poetry, and (auto)biography), and some of which would not (e.g., a novel by John Steinbeck, poetry of John Keats in German translation, and letters between composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and historian Johann Gustav Droysen). One tendency is a heavier emphasis on German materials (esp. in P.c), but there are no elements of absolute consistency, and there is no grouping of volumes into themes. It may simply be a bookcase of miscellany or non-research-related items in his office.

That said, given the decision to add shelf marks to these books, it is tempting to consider a possible project that might unite them. One hypothesis is the theme of

war – the experience of it and the social spirit (especially German) surrounding it. This connects particularly to Klibansky's biography and was certainly an aspect of interest to him – he described these very things as having directed his interest to the notion of tolerance.⁵⁴³ Among the shelf-marked P volumes there are topics on German civilization (Spengler; P.c.39), psychology and war (Pintschovius; P.c.19), and a German translation of a Latvian exile's novel written during World War II (Konstantins Raudive; P.c.35.i&ii). A book of mathematics that seems irrelevant to the theme is the textbook that appears to carry Erich Klibansky's signature, killed as a Nazi prisoner (P.c.16; see Section 9.1). In Italian there is a translation of an English World War II novel by Neville Shute (P.b.28). In English, there is a Steinbeck novel – *The moon is down* – widely acknowledged to be part of a World War II propaganda effort (P.b.23);⁵⁴⁴ a work on shibboleths – words or pronunciations that distinguish social groups – (Lilly; P.c.25); and essays on German Education (Pattison; P.b.22). In French there is a biography of prisoners of World War I (Fris; P.c.40).

Within the framework of this idea, other items start looking relevant as well, such as titles of Aristophanes, whose drama dealt with the issue of demagoguery and war, here in Latin but also in German and Italian, the languages of the main fascist states (P.b.37, P.b.15 and P.b.16 respectively). It becomes possible to link in a good number of books with more or less creative rationalization (a work on artist Fra Angelico (P.b.30) includes European locations of his art pieces in the 1930s, etc, etc.)

Might Klibansky have had a project in mind in connection with the theme of war? It is an intriguing possibility. But to look for coherence is perhaps to impose a unifying factor that doesn't exist, and to suppose an unmentioned project is likely to exaggerate its relevance even if it does exist. As items in Klibansky's personal archive come to light, perhaps this group of volumes will find a resonance or be otherwise clarified.

⁵⁴³ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 207-211.

⁵⁴⁴ See for example Donald V. Coers, *John Steinbeck Goes to War: The Moon is down as propaganda* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama, 2006).

10.2.3 The distinctiveness of the organization (not the Warbug, but...)

The particular way that Klibansky ordered his books followed neither that of his home university (McGill), nor of the Warburg Institute Library. For example Klibansky mixed primary and secondary material (in this case meaning the texts by an author with texts about the author) absolutely and with no regard to language. He also mixed collected works with individual titles, and did not keep studies of a particular text together. This is different from the LC classification, which separates out collected from individual works, primary from secondary, and generally keeps apart texts in classical languages. The Warburg also separates primary from secondary material, though its mixing of languages, and collection of complete and individual works for smaller author groups (Duns Scotus, for example) resembles Klibansky's system. For larger groups on a single author, like Plato, for instance, the Warburg order does however, consistently group similar materials – for example copies of Plato's *Symposium* are classed as a group at the Warburg in AKH 205, and different works of Plato edited by Otto Apelt are classed together in AKH 195. This is not the case with Klibansky's books, clear from sections on Plato and Aristotle.

Klibansky also did not group thinkers by country of origin any more than he did by language; groups formed around modern thinkers from seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are intermixed (whether from England, France, Germany etc) unlike the LC system, but like the Warburg system.

There seems to be a desire for a light organizational touch, without requiring exactitude, that accommodates Klibansky's reading abilities in several languages, modern and ancient. Given this light imposition of organization, it is interesting that Klibansky did not adopt a shelf mark approach similar to that of the Warburg Library, which assigns a group code rather than an individual shelf mark or call number, permitting like items to be shelved together but in no particular order.⁵⁴⁵ Such a system might have served Klibansky well. In fact, his approach may be closer

⁵⁴⁵ See Bing, "The Warburg Institute," 265-266; and Edgar Wind, "The Warburg Institute Classification Scheme," *The Library Association Record* 2, no.5 (1935):193-195.

to the Warburg structure than his shelf marks suggest. The assigning of individual book numbers (e.g., E.d.23) implies a precision of location and importance of order that is in reality lacking in Klibansky's own shelf order. That is, conceptually recognizable groups are very often formed by the first two letters of Klibansky's shelf mark (e.g., E.d.) but the number sequence is not obviously meaningful. Perhaps the relevance of the number series has yet to emerge, but it seems more likely that the second letter of Klibansky's code served double duty as a shelf reference for maintaining order, and an equivalent of the number area of the Warburg code – a group within which order mattered little *unless* more than one group fit on a shelf. Where multiple groups are on a shelf, the number series distinguish them with a numeric leap (e.g. E.g.12 jumps to E.g.100) and keep things in order. It is logical to apply the numbers to all, as they also provide a check on inventory. Klibansky's system, much simpler than the Warburg scheme, nonetheless seems to reflect the Warburg structure in practice more than in form.

10.3 Why these books?

In terms of identifying a unifying principle or characteristic for the group overall, two things can be said:

- 1) The publication date range is narrower than for the collection overall
- 2) The works have no obvious relationship to any single project, but are connected to varying degrees with a number of publications of Klibansky's middle years.

These points are elaborated in the next sections.

Explorations for aesthetic reasons for shelf-marking these books in particular provided mainly negative information. Bindings are of all types, and illustration is under- rather than over-represented. Size plays a role mainly to the extent that very large books are mostly without shelf marks, and they are known to have been kept apart.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁶ The seven shelf-marked volumes that are classed by McGill as folios are not very tall; the tallest measures 27cm whereas most of the other folios in the RKC are over 30cm.

In just a few cases provenance evidence suggests a possible grouping based on acquisition (see group E.d in Table 34), but this is not the norm. Provenance from a variety of sources and reflecting different time periods – the Weimar years, England and Canada – are mixed throughout.

Markings and marginalia have a greater relative presence in records of this group (around 20 percent vs. 8 percent for the collection as a whole), but this is indirectly rather than directly linked with the shelf marks themselves, as there is also a greater relative presence (around 50 percent vs. 20 percent) of books published before Klibansky's lifetime. The books have, then, a greater possibility of multiple owners who may have marked them. In many cases previous ownership is clear from provenance evidence, and in several volumes examined the writing is obviously not Klibansky's.

The major languages of the collection are present. The major differences are the more than doubled portion of items with text in Latin or Greek (around 27 percent rather than 13 percent overall,⁵⁴⁷ and the near absence of books in Italian, both of which are connected to the higher percentage of older books (about 80 percent of the Italian material was published after 1950).

In terms of language as an organizing principle, as was the case for publication and acquisition date, neither the groups nor their internal order are defined by language. There are occasionally clusters of a same language, but this is inconsistent.

10.3.1 Publication Date

The vast majority (more than 90 percent) of Klibansky's shelf-marked volumes were published prior to Klibansky's permanent move to Canada in 1948. Most – more than 70 percent of the shelf-marked items – were published in the hundred years between 1851 and 1950. The largest single group (82 records) comes from the 1921-1930 decade.

⁵⁴⁷ For language groups *CLAS* and *BIL-CLAS* combined; see Appendix V for description of the groups.

Little very early material is included in the shelf-marked group (see Table 35). Of the eight authors that have five or more shelf-marked titles, Aristotle and Hume alone have their earliest imprints in the shelf-marked group. Of books by or about Plato – the largest group – only a single pre-eighteenth century volume has a shelf mark. This is possibly a function of acquisition date, but Klibansky may have preferred to keep his prize volumes at home, and there is some indication of that (Section 10.3.2).

Table 35. Number of volumes with Klibansky's shelf mark, by publication date (50-yr period).

Publication date	# with KLIB shelf mark	Per. % Shelf-marked group	Total # records in RKC	Per. % rec. in RKC	% K shelf mark in RKC
1450-1500		0.0	2	0.0	0
1501-1550		0.0	23	0.3	0
1551-1600	6	1.0	29	0.4	20.6
1601-1650	3	0.5	56	0.8	5.3
1651-1700	7	1.2	45	0.6	15.5
1701-1750	16	2.6	84	1.2	19.0
1751-1800	32	5.3	102	1.5	31.4
1801-1850	53	8.7	261	3.7	20.4
1851-1900	162	26.7	742	10.6	21.8
1901-1950	283	46.6	2422	34.7	11.7
1951-2000	45	7.4	3131	44.8	1.4
2001-2010		0.0	90	1.3	0
Total	607	100.0	6987	100.0	8.7

The great dominance of volumes published before Klibansky's permanent move to Canada may indicate that this group represents much of Klibansky's working library at the beginning of his career at McGill, at least on the topics of focus within the group. As such, this group may constitute a partial snapshot of a particular state of the collection in its history.

As some volumes were published as late as 1970, it cannot be entirely so, however, and earlier published volumes might of course be acquired at any time. The idea is somewhat complicated also by the order of books within the group, as neither the groups themselves nor the order within groups is determined by publication date, and post-1950 publications often precede earlier-published volumes in shelf order. However, the dominance of pre-1950 is very strong. The shelf-marked group does not at all replicate the distribution by period of publication of the RKC as a whole, which is more than a third post-1950 books, and the difference may be meaningful.

A look at evidence of acquisition date provides some information, mostly supporting the idea that particularly special items were not kept in the office library, regardless of when they were acquired.

10.3.2 Acquisition date

Only 18 records for shelf-marked books indicate a specific acquisition date. Evidence of acquisition before or in 1946 is found in 13 of the 18 cases, and the most recent indication of acquisition is 1968. As in the case of publication date, acquisition date does not appear to define shelf order. In fact the order supports the idea that shelf marks were applied toward the end of Klibansky's tenure at McGill. For example, one work published in 1945 (D.d.17) precedes one acquired (as indicated in the ownership inscription) in the 1920s (D.d.18); a publication from 1965 (E.f.9) precedes another acquired in the 1920s (E.g.2).

Looking at all RKC books with Klibansky's acquisition date appears at first to discount the hypothesis of shelf marks as a sign of Klibansky's early library in Canada. They reveal that the majority of books with evidence of pre-1950 acquisition are not shelf-marked. However, the group includes books on all topics. If only those books are considered that seem relevant to the topics outlined in Table 34, fewer are missing. When these "missing" items are looked at individually, they tend to support the idea of early-acquired volumes being a part of the shelf-marked group, with the exception of especially prized volumes. This is more clearly seen through example.

Figure 35 shows an excerpt from the RKC Data Sheet, listing items with known acquisition dates (indicated in the second column). The excerpt is typical of the data for pre-1950 acquisition. Shaded lines indicate volumes that would be expected to have shelf marks according to 1) the themes of Table 34, and 2) the hypothesis of shelf marks as indications of early acquisition.

Figure 35. Excerpt of RKC data sorted by acquisition date

Shelf marks	Klib ACQ date	Pub DATE	AUTH/DATE	Title (TH_TEST)
3 E.b.314	1923	1895	Isocrates. ()	Isocratis Orationes. Vol.1
4 E.g.2	1923	1921	Rohde, Erwin (1845-1898.)	Psyche : Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaub
5	1923	1918	Burckhardt, Jacob (1818-1897.)	Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen
6	1923	1920	Dostoyevsky, Fyodor (1821-1881	Der Grossinquisitor : eine Phantasie
7 D.g.15	1924	1862	Aristotle. ()	Elementa logices Aristoteleae
8 E.d.4	1924	1862	Cicero, Marcus Tullius. ()	De oratore
9	1924	1888	Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804.)	Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metapl
10	1924	1924	Moritz, Karl Philipp (1756-1793.)	Über die bildende Nachahmung des Schönen
11	1924	1923	Weber, Max (1864-1920.)	Wirtschaftsgeschichte : Abriss der universalen
12	1924	1921	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von ()	Pandora : ein Festspiel
13	1926	1925	Cassirer, Ernst (1874-1945.)	Die Geschichte der antiken Philosophie
14	1926	1922	Cassirer, Ernst (1874-1945.)	Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie unc
15	1926	1922	Cassirer, Ernst (1874-1945.)	Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken
16	1926	1887	Aristotle. ()	Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea
17	1927	1914	Hertling, Georg, Graf von (1843-	Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie
18	1927	1861	Trendelenburg, Friedrich Adolf (Erläuterungen zu den Elementen der aristotel
19	1927	1926	Ridevallus, Joannes (fl. 1330.)	Fulgentius Metaforalis : ein Beitrag zur Geschi
20	1927	1926	Weber, Marianne (1870-1954.)	Max Weber : ein Lebensbild
21 D.g.20	1928	1927	Calogero, Guido (1904-)	I fondamenti della logica aristotelica
22	1928	1928	Fischer, Kuno (1824-1907.)	Diotima : die Idee des Schönen : philosophisch
23	1928	1837	Ranke, Leopold von (1795-1886.)	Zur Geschichte der italienischen Poesie
24	1928	1530	Tomeo, Niccolò Leonico (1456?-)	Nicolai Leonici Thomaei Opuscula nuper in luc
25	1929	1879	Eucken, Rudolf (1846-1926.)	Geschichte der philosophischen Terminologie
26	1929	1879	Mariano, Raffaele (1840-1912.)	Cristianesimo, cattolicesimo e civiltà : studii
27	1929	1927		Langobardische Königsgeschichten
28 E.f.18 to E.f.2	1930	1831	Müller, Johannes von (1752-180	Johannes von Müllers sämtliche Werke
29	1930	1930	Eisler, Rudolf (1873-1926.)	Kant-Lexikon : Nachschlagewerk zu Kants sämt
30	1930	1930	Hensel, Paul (1860-1930.)	Kleine Schriften und Vorträge : zum 70. Geburt
31	1930	1505	Angelo Carletti (1411-1495.)	Summa angelica de casibus co[n]scientie
32	1930	1922	Bezold, Friedrich von (1848-192	Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalte
33	1930	1874	Strauss, David Friedrich (1808-18	Der alte und der neue Glaube : ein Bekenntnis
34	1930	1635	Caesar, Julius. ()	C. Julii Caesaris quae extant

In most cases there is some reason for each of them to have been particularly valued, either for their rarity, value and/or associations, providing possible and plausible reasons for Klibansky to have kept the volumes at home or apart. In one case height alone is a likely reason (See #4):

1. Cassirer (B82 C35 1925) – written by two of Klibasky's most important mentors, Cassirer and Hoffmann, given by Hoffmann in 1926.
2. Aristotle (PA3893 E6 1887) – annotated throughout, and may be Klibansky's main study copy from Heidelberg, also dated 1936. In addition, the *Nichomachean Ethics* appears in other editions in the shelf-marked group.
3. Trendelenburg on Aristotle (B491 L8 T7 1861) – also from Klibansky's university days, 1927. Klibansky owned several variations of Trendelenburg's Aristotle, two of which are included in the shelf-marked group. Only this one is in German. One of the two Latin shelf-marked editions was acquired earlier, in 1924 (D.g.15).
4. Tomeo (Q153 T66 1530) – Klibansky's first recorded purchase of a very old book, includes an early printed commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* by Proclus. It is also oversized (32 cm, whereas the shelf-marked group includes nothing over 28cm.)
5. Caesar (PA6235 A2 1635) – Klibansky's earliest edition of a work by Caesar, signed also by Friedrich Gundolf.

Similar findings were observed for other eligible items not shelf-marked, and there appears to be a difference overall in the associative “weight” of books not given shelf marks with respect to those that have them.⁵⁴⁸ It is, then, reasonable to consider that very special books would be kept away from the office unless needed, and the shelf marks remain a possible indicator of the state of the RKC at a mid-point in its history.

The mixed order of the books by both publication and acquisition date, combined with the last publication date of 1970, suggests that the system was in use without any shelf marks until at least the few years before Klibansky’s retirement, and possibly as late as his last office move in 2001.

10.3.3 Relationship to research themes

If the shelf-mark group represents not just a random small group of items but a substantial representation of Klibansky’s library during his middle years on the themes of the ancient world and a particular group of modern philosophers, there is the possibility that it may be a special source for his work on those topics. This idea was tested by looking at the shelf-marked group in relation to publication dates of Klibansky’s work and by checking cited references in some of these against the list of shelf-marked volumes. The assessment found variable relationships to different aspects of Klibansky’s work, as we will see. It was based on currently-known shelf-marked volumes and may be superseded as others come to light.

10.3.3.1 Plato and the ancient world.

The relationship between the shelf-marked books and Klibansky’s publishing projects on the Platonic tradition appears to be secondary, largely because much of

⁵⁴⁸ Of the 13 volumes from the same acquisition period that do have shelf marks, three have notable provenance value: the D.g.20 volume from Calogero, given as a young man (though not signed); E.c.22 by Ernst Curtius, with a bookplate of philologist Alfred Biese; and E.f.18–E.f.21 (one record), a multi-volume work of historian Johannes von Müller (1752-1809) given by Gundolf. The others have less striking associative value, or none at all.

his work focused on manuscripts.⁵⁴⁹ But the group is also weak, with respect to the RKC overall, on key authors like Calcidius (or Chalcidius, for Klibansky) or Proclus in addition to the more obvious weakness of medieval texts and early editions of Plato.⁵⁵⁰ Connections to publications on *Timaeus* or the Parmenides are therefore particularly weakened. Apart from Plato and Aristotle, several figures named in the *Continuity* do appear, however, among the shelf-marked groups as authors, in titles or as subjects, but in most cases what is shelf-marked represents a small portion of what exists on these figures.⁵⁵¹

Plotinus and Cicero (whose writings Klibansky describes as among “the principal [Platonic] sources of pagan Antiquity”), are the best represented thinkers central to Klibansky’s outline of the Platonic tradition outside of Plato and Aristotle. Just over a quarter of Plotinus is there, and almost half of the Cicero.⁵⁵² There are, in addition, several important editors and translators of Plato in the shelf-marked group including some mentioned in Section 6.5.⁵⁵³

Only one project in this theme has a very clear connection to the shelf-marked books: *Plato: Socratic Dialogues*, translated and ed. by W.D. Woodhead (B358 W63 1953) from the Nelson Philosophical Texts series (of which Klibansky was the General Editor). There are two copies in the collection, one a reprint (not shelf-marked) and both are unusual in that they are marked in several pages.⁵⁵⁴ In addition, two earlier volumes on Plato and Aristotle (with shelf marks) have the ownership

⁵⁴⁹ From the two sections on Plato combined (D.a-D.d and V) there are nearly 50 volumes missing, almost half of the number that remain.

⁵⁵⁰ In addition to Calcidius and Proclus, especially central figures from the ancient and early centuries of the Christian era that are not present include Apuleius, Augustine, Galen and Valerius Maximus.

⁵⁵¹ As previously noted (Section 6.5) the main body of the *Continuity* does not have footnotes. Names appearing as authors or subjects in shelf-marked volumes that are mentioned in the text or index of the *Continuity* include Albinus, Boethius, Cicero, Cusa, Averroes, Avicenna, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Ficino, Aulus Gellius, Hermes of Trismegistus, Iamblichus, Diogenes Laertius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Origen, Petrarch, Philo, Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Seneca and St. Thomas Aquinas.

⁵⁵² Klibansky, *Continuity*, 22.

⁵⁵³ Including Stallbaum (D.a.11, D.d.1); Thomas Taylor (D.c.8); Ficino (D.a.1-2, D.b.39, D.d.3) Francis Cornford (D.d.16).

⁵⁵⁴ The shelf-marked copy is in the last group, V.112, and has the same call number as the 1962 reprint (B358 W63 1953).

inscription of the editor, W. D. Woodhead (1885-1957), a professor of classics at McGill, suggesting acquisition after 1946 and closer to the time of the Nelson publications.⁵⁵⁵

Klibansky's edition of A.E. Taylor's translations of Plato's *Philebus* and *Epinomis* (1956) and *Sophist and Statesman* (1961) also have connections to the shelf-marked books. Taylor's original Greek base texts for the three – John Burnet for Oxford's "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum" series – are among the shelf-marked volumes.⁵⁵⁶ In the *Philebus*, Klibansky and his co-editor Calogero provide notes comparing A.E. Taylor's interpretation with other work, but the main works named are not shelf-marked, though several are in the RKC.⁵⁵⁷

A caveat on the assessment of the link between the shelf-marked books and the Platonic tradition is the large number of missing items from the group.

10.3.3.2 Modern Philosophers

Book groups on modern philosophy provide more reliable evidence as the portion of missing volumes from the shelf mark sequences is generally smaller. The strength of the relationship between shelf-marked books with Klibansky's publications in modern philosophy varies by case, but all of the modern thinkers that are the focus of Klibansky's publications are also among the larger subgroups of shelf-marked books. Subgroups are especially large for Leibniz, Hume, Spinoza, and Locke, in that order, and these names correspond to publications for which Klibansky contributed texts (as opposed to being general editor).

⁵⁵⁵ P. Shorey's *The Unity of Plato's Thought* (D.b.30) and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (D.g.47).

⁵⁵⁶ The Burnet volumes are split between the shelf-marked sections of Plato material (the *Philebus* is in vol. 2 at D.d.18 and the *Sophist and the Statesman* are in vol. 1 at V.107); The *Epinomis* (in vol 5 and not specifically edited by Klibansky) is not shelf-marked.

⁵⁵⁷ Most notably, source text editions by Stallbaum (PA4279 A2 1850; also B358 B6 1848 v.2-6), Badham (PA4279 P5 1878), Poste (B381 A5 P67 1860), R.G.Bury (PA4279 P5 1897) and Apelt (B381 A7 A6 1922), as well as a secondary work by R. Hackforth, *Plato's Examination of Pleasure* (B381 A5 H3 1945). Two other volumes of Taylor's work on different texts of Plato are shelf-marked (D.a.5 and D.b.7), but clearly relevant works like Taylor's *Plato and the Authorship of the 'Epinomis'* (K434 P5 T39 1930; inscribed by the author), and Klibansky's two copies of Taylor's hefty *Plato, The Man and His Work* (B395 T38 1948; 1949) are not shelf-marked.

Leibniz

Leibniz is only second to Plato and Aristotle in terms of source texts in the group. Most (more than 75 percent) of his titles in the RKC have shelf marks, including all but two that could have been acquired prior to 1941, when Klibansky published on Leibniz's correspondence. At least five shelf-marked volumes include correspondence, though they are not cited in Klibansky's article. The large group of shelf-marked material by and about Leibniz is somewhat unexpected given his apparently minor place in Klibansky's work. But his explicit attention to Leibniz with respect to Plato, Locke, and philosophical vocabulary, for example, in addition to intellectual links that have been suggested between Leibniz and Cusa, would have made Leibniz of interest to Klibansky on several levels.⁵⁵⁸ In addition, Klibansky's interest in history more broadly, and to authors as individuals beyond their texts, may have attracted him to Leibniz as a historian and polymath. Notes and other documents on Leibniz have also been listed in Klibansky's *fonds*,⁵⁵⁹ and further investigation may clarify if Klibansky had other projects in mind.

Hume

Just over half of RKC books by Hume have a shelf mark, and most predate Klibansky's own publications about him (the *New Letters of David Hume* (1954) co-edited by Klibansky, as well as two selections in the Nelson series overseen by him). The books themselves have no shelf marks, but there are shelf-marked books that relate to each of the publications. The group includes, in particular, many early editions of texts chosen for the Hume volume of the Nelson series, as well as a

⁵⁵⁸ On Leibniz's criticism of Ficino regarding Plato see "Plato's Parmenides in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance": 329-30; c.f. *Proklos-fund*: 22. All of Leibniz's titles in the RKC that concern Locke, including but not only his *New Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, have shelf marks (F.b.1, F.b.22, F.b.24, F.c.9, F.c.18). For Klibansky's mention of Leibniz in relation to language see *Idées sans frontières*, 131-132. On the relationship between the thought of Cusa and Leibniz, Frederick Copleston emphasizes particularly the shared "ideal of unity without the suppression of differences," a theme that resonates with Klibansky's interest in tolerance; Copleston, *History of Philosophy*, 3: 234.

⁵⁵⁹ Weber, "The Archives of Raymond Klibansky," [finding aid] Box XXV, 1-2: "Lessing Leibniz Anselm: vor allem Materialsammlungen, Kopien, Notizen, Manuskripte, Briefe."

handful of titles mentioned in Klibansky and Mosner's *New Letters* related to Hume and his contexts.⁵⁶⁰

The link with the remaining groups is weaker.

Spinoza

Differing from the groups on Hume and Leibniz, volumes dealing with Spinoza are mainly about, rather than by him. A third put him in relation to either Descartes, Leibniz, or both. The selection of Spinoza for the "Philosophy and World Community" series signals Klibansky's sense of Spinoza's importance to ideas about liberty and tolerance, but there is not a strong link between the shelf-marked group and Klibansky's contribution to the IIP book, which was a general introduction to the series as a whole, not specifically to the Spinoza text. The source texts chosen lack shelf marks, though they are in the RKC.

Locke

The connection between shelf-marked volumes and Klibansky's publications on Locke is also weak. Most shelf-marked volumes were published prior to 1940, long before Klibansky's own publications, and were not cited in his preface to the French or English IIP editions of the *Letter* (which are not identical).⁵⁶¹ More surprising is that, apart from the IIP editions, the *Letters* on toleration are conspicuously absent in the RKC as a whole.

Berkeley

Shelf-marked publications predating the 1952 Nelson series edition are almost entirely collections of source texts, and may therefore have contributed to choosing Berkeley for the series. Shelf-marked volumes that post-date the Nelson publication are, on the contrary, secondary material. Excluded from the shelf-marked group are the very earliest editions, possibly acquired after the groups were formed but in any

⁵⁶⁰ Including contemporary source texts such Joseph Butler (F.e.100, 101), Lord Kames [Henry Home] (F.d.18), Daniel Macqueen (F.d.15), and Adam Smith (F.f.107-8).

⁵⁶¹ What he does cite (in both the English and French prefaces) is a volume of Locke's published letters (F.d.4).

case consistent with other signs that the most precious items were not normally given a shelf mark.

Descartes

Nearly all shelf-marked books relating to Descartes were published prior to the 1954 appearance of Klibansky's selective bibliography for the Nelson series, but no obvious effort was made to keep together items from the bibliography. A number of RKC titles listed in the bibliography are not shelf-marked.⁵⁶²

Pascal

The relatively strong presence of Pascal (10 volumes) among the shelf-marked books is less expected. About half of what Klibansky owned is shelf-marked, and was published prior to his move to Canada. He does not mention in his autobiographical writings any plan for publication on Pascal. In addition to being central to the history of philosophy, Pascal and other modern thinkers receiving shelf marks such as Malebranche, Francis Bacon, Swedenborg and Hobbes, are simply important to seventeenth and eighteenth-century thought. Pascal was also, along with Descartes, Leibniz and Spinoza, a correspondent of Christina of Sweden, once the owner of the *Summarium* manuscript that Klibansky discovered and endeavored to trace (See Section 2.1). The shelf-marked Pascal, like Descartes and Leibniz, includes correspondence (F.a.3).

10.3.4 Relationship to teaching

The possibility was considered that shelf-marked items might constitute a special collection of teaching materials. Klibansky's teaching does provide a second set of connections to both ancient and modern thinkers, as well as some possible links between the two groups. None of the specific editions of prescribed teaching volumes have shelf marks, however, and if this was ever an overarching reason for his groupings, they are far from complete and it cannot be easily concluded that this

⁵⁶² A verification of the LC classification number range that contains most of the RKC Descartes titles (B1835-B1878) resulted in the identification of four of the six missing items from the original LIST IV, and in addition discovered two additional items that extend the Descartes shelf marks to V.20 and V.21.

was a unifying factor. Courses taught repeatedly by Klibansky at McGill, for example, 'Medieval Philosophy'; and 'Problems of Logic, Epistemology and Metaphysics' (with explicit mention of Mill, Bosanquet, Stebbing, Russell, Joachim, Santanaya, and Whitehead), would not have been supported by the shelf-marked books.

At the same time, a few courses, mostly upper-level seminars introduced in his later teaching years, could have been supported by the main shelf-marked groups. In each case the seminar appears to be repeated few times if at all.

- "Philosophy and Science," and upper level seminar given in 1953/54 (no readings are specified). The course is given at about the time of the Descartes publication.
- a pair of graduate seminars given by Klibansky in 1963, the most explicit pairing of the two periods:
 - "Metaphysics, Ontology and Dialectic in the Ancient World."
 - "Metaphysics, Ontology and Dialectic in the Modern World."No specific readings or thinkers are provided. The course comes at the tail end of the publication period that brought the Nelson series and the first group of texts for the IIP series.
- "Plato and Platonism." A graduate seminar presented first in 1971-72 and given in some variation for the next two years. The 1971 description of this course sounds very like a sweep of Klibansky's life work: "The interpretation of selected texts concerning Plato's later philosophy, Plotinus, mediaeval and modern Platonism."
- "Problems of Philosophy" A comparative seminar on German, French and English philosophy, given in (1973/74-74/75), could equally have drawn from the shelf-marked volumes. Klibansky's description, written in French in the *Calendar*, does not specify readings but announces a comparison of concepts and fundamental problems based on selected texts. Here, as in other cases, the absence of essential modern thinkers such as Kant and Hegel contributes to the sense that the organization may have continued beyond what was shelf-marked

This strongest links between the shelf-marked group and Klibansky's teaching and publication projects both point to his mid career years, but do not isolate a moment where the organization or the shelf marks are most likely to have been added. Furthermore, in Klibansky's very first year at McGill (1946/47), two courses are given by an unspecified instructor on the dialogues of Plato and on the works of Aristotle. Klibansky's name is not listed on the roster for the department – there is a

blank space left for the new professor – but he may have given these as well as a graduate course on “Classics of Philosophy, Ancient and Modern.” It is possible, then that Klibansky’s office library was organized from his first days partly in relation to this.

10.4 The shelf marks as a reflection of Klibansky

It is tempting if dangerous to translate Klibansky’s marked shelf order (i.e., what Klibansky put next to what) into ‘what Klibansky thought belonged together’. Some general observations can be made about his habits, nevertheless.

Klibansky’s shelf marks become more eloquent collectively than singly. While it would be too much to say that the lack of concern for division of primary or secondary material or the apparently random mixing of works of a given author shows an integrated approach to the various threads of work from individual thinkers, it is certainly consistent with it. The completely free mix of books in modern and ancient languages also underscores his real ease with several languages, and the mixture of antiquarian and recent volumes shows a functional rather than precious approach to books.

The development of the organization system itself and its somewhat (apparently) inconsistent application gives a sense of someone who likes functional order but is not willing to succumb entirely to it. There is an apparent rejection of rigidity even as he imposes a very specific tool of control. The fact that the shelf marks are used on such a small subgroup also fits with other indications that Klibansky was sometimes too attracted by new projects not to interrupt those already started.

What evidence there is about dates of publication as well as acquisition make conclusions about shelf marks as indicators of acquisition date difficult. The hypothesis here is that shelf-marked books represent a good part of Klibansky’s McGill office library as it pertains to the ancient world and more or less pre-Kantian modern philosophy. It is believed that it includes most of his books on arrival at McGill, but that his most precious items were kept apart or at home. It appears that the library was maintained for some decades without shelf marks, but in the same

basic order, with the inevitable addition of new volumes and transfers back and forth from home. It is supposed that the shelf marks were added near the year of Klibansky's retirement (1975) or later. While no very strong case can be made for shelf marks as indicators of acquisition period, on balance it seems worth taking them into consideration if trying to determine if a given book (not among his greatest treasures) was likely to have been owned and used by him by his mid-career.

More importantly perhaps, the consistent accompaniment of source texts of individual thinkers by volumes of historical, biographical and contextual material underlines Klibansky's interest in the thinkers behind texts, as well as his treatment of texts as something situated as opposed to propositions or expressions to be judged only internally. In the largest sections especially – those on ancient writers and ancient times – the sequence of shelf-marked books supports well what Klibansky has said about his own orientation to texts as involving an understanding of language beyond its academic uses in a given place and time, connected with a broader culture. The mixture of philosophy with drama and poetry, with history, politics, education, occultism and much more, supports the notion that Klibansky followed what he proposed in theory. The fact that he was so respected for his philological abilities only adds weight to the value of his method. His insistence, based on this broad cultural knowledge (even within the relative cultural homogeneity of Western Europe), on the difficulties of simple transference of terms and concepts from one language and culture to another is a message that has much current relevance.

As for the use of shelf marks as indicators of any special project, nothing can be absolutely concluded. There is a strong correspondence between the modern thinkers treated by the largest numbers of shelf-marked books and the thinkers on which Klibansky published in his middle years. At the same time little cited material has a shelf mark even when it does exist in the RKC. Several of these same thinkers show up as specific subject of study in Klibansky's courses, but this relationship is very partial and specified course texts do not, generally, have shelf marks. The exploration did, however, draw attention to Klibansky's work on the modern period

as a whole, a theme less visible in most descriptions of Klibansky's contributions, as well as his consistent integration of his new research into teaching.

It is also clear from the assessment of the link between shelf-marked volumes and Klibansky's work that if the shelf-marked volumes represent what was in Klibansky's office on those topics, then no functional distinction can be made between his office and home libraries: both would have been very much working libraries.

Of special interest is the heavy emphasis in the shelf-marked books on Leibniz, who is not the central focus of much of Klibansky's writing or teaching. The particularly large presence of Leibniz here points to a possible area for further exploration in Klibansky's working papers. The fact that the largest groups, juxtaposed, are the ancient and pre-Kantian modern worlds, may also have some resonance in projects that did not come to fruition, and is a pairing to keep in mind in exploration of his *fonds*. Similarly, projects yet uncovered may in time make sense of the peculiar P section, or it may be confirmed as a jumble of books.

The importance of the system as a reflection of Klibansky's intellectual universe ought, it seems, to be treated with caution. The extent to which planned order meets arbitrary order in these shelf marks is open to question, but the fact remains that he put shelf marks in some books and not in others. Finally, the shelf marks appear to be consistent with Klibansky's approach to scholarship generally – avoiding imitation, rigidity and simplicity.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSIONS

11.1. The Klibansky Collection and what it has to teach

Klibansky said of libraries that they “are one of our deepest links with the past. Without our past we would not be what we are, and certainly we would not know what we are. It is what nourishes our minds.”⁵⁶³ The RKC testifies to that notion of a library as a link with the past on two different levels: that of the text, and that of the artifact. More than 7000 books from authors ancient to very recent, in editions produced from the fifteenth to the twenty-first centuries, stand together in all sizes, types and states of repair. Juxtaposed throughout are old and new, and just as the library was a link for Klibansky with the past, so it now also preserves traces of Klibansky’s own work, life, and relationship with books.

The number of beautiful and antiquarian books underlines Klibansky’s love of the book as an artifact and also as a direct and concrete link with history. The overall impression of his library remains, however, primarily one of a functional resource and occasion for intellectual pleasure. In its aims of discovering the main characteristics and strengths of the RKC the study found a sweeping collection of western thought, built through a lifetime of study as a way to connect with rather than detach from the world.

In terms of its greatest overall strengths, the RKC holds more than 2500 philosophical texts, including a great number of pre-modern and modern primary source texts, as well as commentary from all periods, but with particular richness in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century German scholarship. This intellectual heritage is one that was not only preserved from Klibansky’s early library over several changes of country and address, but added to over several decades despite his early and difficult departure from Germany as well as his increasing attention to contemporary authors in his later work.

⁵⁶³ From the documentary film by Tougas, *Raymond Klibansky: De la philosophie à la vie/From Philosophy to Life*.

There are also several hundred works in religion, with an emphasis on Christian theology and the Roman Catholic Church. These texts likewise span many centuries of thought, within physical volumes representing all centuries of print. The many threads of mysticism contained within them seem reflective of a personal, more than simply a professional, interest in the human connection to the divine.

Literature is strong in classical and modern languages, and is particularly rich in German publications from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This group not only supported Klibansky's historical-cultural approach to textual understanding but also his deep love of literature, especially poetry, something also reflected in poetic inscriptions written both to and by him in his books.

And finally, in addition to hundreds of works concerned with the history and development of western civilization generally, are hundreds more about the particular histories of Italy, Germany and England. Many are texts contemporary with and relating to the political turmoil of the first half of the twentieth century. They now form a special subgroup of documents for the study of recent historical study, but for Klibansky they were not academic resources but tools to understand the surrounding turmoil and choose his own paths of action.

The survival of Klibansky's collection provides more than just a large number of books for humanities scholarship. It offers an opportunity to consider what, together, they have to say about Klibansky. They reflect, for example, Klibansky's intellectual and linguistic versatility (with substantial holdings in all of the major languages of European scholarly production) and underline the integrated triple function of Klibansky's books – for study, for pleasure, and for engaging with the current social and political realities of the day. Latent in the make-up of the collection is Klibansky's use of it, with his ideas – demonstrated through writing and action – that topics deeply studied defy narrow treatment; that literature and the arts are relevant to effective study of academic texts as well as to the expression of human liberty through possibility; that current social and political problems have resonance with problems previously considered, and that to neglect the contribution of previous thinkers is to truly impoverish the debate.

In the broadest sense the RKC might be seen, then, to constitute a proposition for individual development. Contributing to the strength of the proposition is the fact of Klibansky's own development, with its non-dogmatic approach to understanding, its focus on the individual, and the remarkably interdisciplinary environment of his early years, which led him from a situation of persecution to one of dialogue. The purpose is not to attain something ideal, either socially or personally, but to pursue it despite the impossibility of achieving it.

“Lucidity, yes. But it must not lead to nihilism. It is not because the result of efforts is often minimal, or even non-existent, that they should not be made. Personal effort, effort enlightened by a conviction, makes a difference. History is full of examples showing that the action of an individual, the personality of an individual, changed something”⁵⁶⁴

11.1.1 ‘One truth, in diverse signs, shines diversely’: the RKC as a rejection of dogma

The most evident overall feature of Klibansky's collection is simply its great range across time and place with the cultural and linguistic variation this entails, reflecting not only the approach to understanding explicitly advocated by Klibansky, but also his interests in and efforts toward dialogue. Klibansky's work and library both eschew dogmatism. In his work Klibansky drew from many traditions and institutions, from pagan to Roman Catholic, to Romantic, to contemporary secular, finding reflective thought from several perspectives and seeing the many threads of continuity among them – many rooted in the Platonic heritage.

The related ideas of liberty and tolerance are at the core of Klibansky's response to World War II, part of which was expressed in the series of texts for dissemination in the *Philosophie et communauté mondiale* series of the *Institut international de philosophie*. Texts drew from European and Asian thinkers both ancient and modern, including contemporary works. Klibansky held in special regard Sébastien Castellion (1515-1563), for example, who argued that neither Church nor state had a right to

⁵⁶⁴ Klibansky, *Le Philosophe*, 288.

persecute heresy, defined as “one who thinks differently from us.”⁵⁶⁵ Klibansky’s orientation towards openness was not relativistic; it was, rather, about permitting a fair assessment through understanding. He believed in the responsibility of effort to understand the other, and in the possibility of change through learning. He did not, however, pretend to be free of dislike. Just as Locke would not tolerate Catholics, so also Klibansky was never able to tolerate those who had actively supported or acquiesced to Nazism. The co-existence of opposites was as much a part of his life as it was part of the universe, and that tension is bountiful in the RKC.

Klibansky’s strong interest in the relationship between the human and the divine, something less explicitly dealt with in his autobiographical writing, is reflected in the themes and figures he was most attracted to, and in his references to favourite texts. Passages he selects from Cusa’s dialogue *De visione Dei*, and from Plato’s *Timaean*, for example, combine with his research on the mystic Meister Eckhart, and the notion of melancholy as a property of genius or divine inspiration. Effacing himself behind what he imagines Plato’s response would have been to Auschwitz, he says that it is faith in a divine origin that helps individuals transcend daily needs and impulses, and permits the “survival of humanity as a force for good.”⁵⁶⁶ Even his attraction to the poetry of Stefan George – who was semi-divine to many – suggests a deep interest, unattached to a particular creed, in the spiritual aspect of the human condition. The Klibansky Collection is an excellent laboratory for such an enquiry.

At the level of the individual work or author, the collection also offers a fascinating range of different treatments of texts and thinkers through time and from different intellectual and cultural communities. Books by Plato provide the most striking instance, as he is the single-most represented author with more than one hundred and thirty different editions of individual titles or collected works. Texts are primarily, though not exclusively, in Greek, Latin, German and English, and include a number of historically significant imprints. Translations, introductions, commentaries as well physical formats, all speak to the different kinds of readers they

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 224; 225.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 206.

may have touched. As a group they provide a glimpse of the presentation and perception of Plato over many centuries. They also constitute an emphatic reminder of the very fact of variety, change and continuity in the treatment of ideas and authors within and across cultures, and in that the library stands as a material statement of a theme that runs through much of Klibansky's work.

11.1.2 Authors in their own world

Klibansky's library includes many books by canonical thinkers from previous centuries published during their lifetimes. Particularly vivid are the contemporary publications of sixteenth-century reformation and counter-reformation writers. On the one side there are, for example, Johannes Kymaeus's (1498-1552) critique of the papacy, which depicts in illustration Cusa's support of the Pope as a betrayal of the German people, and a collection of prefaces and orations by Reformation leader Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560). On the other side, there are the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, to be used in the Roman Inquisition, and Sisto da Siena's (1520-1569) *Bibliotheca sancta* – a guide to scripture, its commentaries and commentators, that includes an index of heretics – possibly owned by one of Portugal's Grand Inquisitors. Seventeenth-century pioneers in science, philosophy and political thinking such as Descartes, Hobbes, and Leibniz, are also here, as are key authors of the Enlightenment and beyond, including Hume, Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, Kant or Hegel, to name but a few.

The physical books are a reminder, with their grime and markings from previous centuries, that their first owners would have been contemporary readers of thinkers who before entering the historical canon were putting forward ideas to be debated and rebutted, perhaps lauded or maybe ridiculed or worse. The books are carriers of ideas but are also real connections to the times in which those ideas were proposed. Klibansky was interested in both the people behind texts, and the physical book as a connection with its own time. These two sensitivities combined, for example, in his interest in Hume as a man, which led to his publication of Hume's letters, and also in his attachment to one of Hume's previously owned books.

11.1.3 Klibansky's world as seen through the library

The library bears witness to Klibansky's personal view of the twentieth century. Many volumes treat topics central to his experience, including German identity, fascism and war; several constitute a subgroup of historical documents, publications contemporary with the disputes themselves. Although Klibansky did not annotate the majority of his books, there are nonetheless hundreds with markings or marginalia, and some instances of extensive annotation offering insights into his direct response to texts or passages. Annotation in an edition of Meister Eckhart in particular provides rare access to Klibansky's response to a contentious publication in which he felt his own contributions went unrecognized.

A Monument to Weimar

There is, within the RKC, a subgroup that stands as something of a monument to Klibansky's Weimar years. Among other things it includes about 60 volumes that Klibansky appears to have brought with him on his flight from Germany, their acquisition dated through ownership and gift inscriptions. Klibansky's early ownership inscriptions are found primarily in books relating to his study of philosophy, religion, Greek and Latin, yet among the earliest signed items are also works of literature, for example from Dostoyevsky and Goethe. His attachment to literature is visible also in a sizable collection of influential writers from his immediate environment in Germany – many from the circle of poet Stefan George. They offer not only a wealth of texts from the period but also serve, through their design, as examples of the broader aesthetic of the Weimar period.

Klibansky's friends and mentors from his time as a young scholar, such as Marianne Weber (1870-1954), Ernst Hoffmann (1810-1952), and Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945), can be traced through inscriptions, providing a physical memory of his social book worlds and bringing to life the character of some of those relationships. This is especially so in the many gifts from, and books bought in the company of, literary scholar and intimate friend Friedrich Gundolf (1880-1931).

There are over 800 twentieth-century German publications in the RKC that predate 1934, comprising a vast array of authors and topics that when viewed against

Klibansky's research themes show how deeply rooted he was in the general intellectual atmosphere of the time. They also indicate the extent to which intellectual spheres and disciplines overlapped and fed each other, publications from the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (KBW) and its circle being an example at the core of Klibansky's experience.

Beyond Germany

Counterbalancing the smaller number of references in his memoirs to his social life after leaving Germany are the large numbers of gift inscriptions in Klibansky's books. From England there are inscribed volumes from authors like Salvador de Madariaga (1886-1978), Stephen Spender (1909-1995), or *Times* editor Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956). Following his move to Canada in 1948, he received large numbers of inscribed volumes from McGill colleagues and from scholars at the *Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal*, as well as from the Paris-based *Institut international de philosophie*, of which he was president from 1966-69. Hundreds of author-inscribed volumes through several decades from philosophers, poets and others serve as eloquent testimony to Klibansky's consistent engagement across disciplines, and to his breadth of interest and involvement in the affairs of the world beyond the academy.

11.1.4 Migrating books and libraries

A range of previous owners and readers left their marks in Klibansky's books – great names of European intellectual life as well as names of the little-known and the unknown. Homey inscriptions “from Aunt Charlie” are found alongside imposing bookplates of great families, such as one in a seventeenth-century book of papal prophecies, from Blenheim palace. Elements of European heritage have in some cases been preserved in groups, most notably from the Robert Mason collection of Queen's College, Oxford.

Nearer to the library's current home, the history of Quebec is also embedded within the collection through both personal and institutional provenance. More than two dozen volumes have provenance connections with the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for example. Other volumes, including sixteenth-century imprints, carry

the stamp of the *Archevêché de Montréal*, which apparently disposed of them during the turbulent years of the Quebec's Quiet Revolution. These groups add to what is known about the history and contents of the libraries from which they come. They are part of the broader story of the migration of books with their traces of people and places, sometimes signaling disruptive events concerning individual books or libraries, or societies more generally. All of this underlines Klibansky's role as a preserver – a preserver of books but also of heritage and thought.

11.2 Looking at the special collections through catalogue data

The primary aim of this work was to identify the main characteristics and strengths of the Klibansky Collection and assess its relationship to his life and work. This has been achieved largely through analyses of catalogue data, contextualized with respect to Klibansky's writings, both personal and scholarly. The heavy use of catalogue data in the study does not mean that drawing from item-level cataloguing has been considered equivalent to examining items directly; it does mean that using OPAC data was found effective for identifying major features of the collection, even at the books-as-history level.

What made the McGill OPAC particularly strong as a source for profiling the RKC was a combination of three factors: detailed item-level cataloguing; the capacity of virtually isolating the RKC records (through metadata created for the Raymond Klibansky Collection sub-catalogue); and the fact that the library system (Aleph) permits the export of full records in a format readable by bibliographical software. This combination of features is not currently something to be assumed. Many systems lack, in particular, the option to export full record information in a convenient format for re-use, and this limits the value of some excellent databases as research tools. Whether a matter of accident or decision, this is an obstacle to greater research use of library-generated data. McGill, to its credit, and along with other libraries, has permitted unrestricted access to and use of its catalogue data, and it is hoped that the current changes in the library catalogue environment (standards, systems, etc.) will facilitate increasing openness in this sense.

The option to export (or capture) full record data remains important even in new generations of OPACs that offer more sophisticated ways to limit searches or analyse results by facets such as broad subject group, authors, dates, etc. These developments are useful for content overviews of library collections and sub-collections, and if they included additional facets more specific to book history interests – the broad geographical search limit and the city-level sort option in the recently launched USTC for pre-seventeenth century imprints are examples – they would be more useful still. However, such features still lack much of the flexibility that is easily achieved using standard desktop software, which are comfortably able to handle collections the size of the RKC.

Specifically, among the most valuable factors noticed for effective data exploration were 1) the capacity to sort and limit by fields specific to book history interests, other than those normally proposed in OPACs; 2) the ability to choose and vary fields to view and consider in combination; and 3) the option to represent these combinations in tabular or graphic form to assess proportional relationships, identify patterns and deviations from patterns. The first two of these points are simple matters for bibliographic software and spreadsheets, and from spreadsheets the last is also commonplace.

Item-specific information is a particularly complex aspect of the issue. It is a difficult part of the catalogue record to address with respect to faceted limits and analysis in OPACs simply because it is normally less controlled than most other record fields (like title, author, subject headings/keywords) with respect to what and how information is described. The use of natural language means that terms can be used variously and this is, I believe, unavoidable, notwithstanding the very high level of consistency increasingly imposing itself in the cataloguing of special collections with respect to vocabulary/phrases. As natural language description is what exists already in an enormous number of records in various libraries and institutions, it does not seem practicable for those institutions to revise them retroactively or reduce them to a set of codes convenient for tabulations. For this reason it is all the more important that the information can be exported or captured for further refinements by outside individuals or groups.

The single most feasible improvement that more than any other may help provenance researchers better exploit institutional OPACs – beyond the inclusion of detailed copy-specific information, sub-collection level metadata, and the ability to extract full record data – seems to be the inclusion of a mechanism to identify records containing item-specific notes. In other words, it would be useful to provide a way to limit on, and/or view in OPAC results, an indicator for the *presence* of data in the relevant record field(s). This could make an important improvement in discoverability. Versions of this exist already, for example, in Harvard University's Hollis Catalogue (new version), which uses a genre term to group provenance evidence.⁵⁶⁷ Whatever mechanism is used, results would likely still under-represent actual holdings but they would more effectively group what is noted in records; the inclusion of a similar feature in more databases would, I believe, be welcome to book history researchers.

The great and growing interest in book history, the established and increasing use of large data sets in that field, and renewed interest in personal libraries expressed recently from different quarters, all suggest that efforts to make already-existing item-specific data in institutional library records more visible and usable will be an important contribution by libraries to the continuation of research on their physical book collections. Within a shifting research environment that on one side requires greater access to different formats of texts, there is at the same time a demand for different kinds of information about printed books. As expressed by those responsible for the USTC, effective understanding of what collections have to offer is essential to planning research.⁵⁶⁸ Helping users locate potential objects of research, whether through metadata, faceted searching or discovery tools, is part of the most fundamental role of libraries.

⁵⁶⁷ Hollis [library catalogue]: Advanced search, (@2009 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College) <http://hollis.harvard.edu/advancedsearch/advancedsearch.html> (last accessed Jun.18, 2012).

⁵⁶⁸ Universal Short Title Catalogue, "A Service for the Library Community" [web page] http://www.ustc.ac.uk/?page_id=869 (last accessed Jun.18, 2012).

11.3 Limitations of the study and further research

The sheer breadth of the Klibansky Collection is such that a full analysis would require expert knowledge in several fields, including German literature and history, classical philology, philosophy, religion, and twentieth century social and political history. There is also a great deal to study from a book history perspective that was only touched on briefly in this work. The particular limitations of the approach through its predominant use of catalogue data, and the decision not to use archival sources, have been mentioned (Section 4.4). The last point is also connected with the sense that some areas will be best addressed by specialists in various subject areas.

Some specific areas in which further research is likely to be fruitful include:

- *The history of Klibansky's edition project on Meister Eckhart.* Klibansky's own publications are in the collection as well as those of the competing edition out of Stuttgart. McGill University's RBSC holds in addition some papers, many very impassioned, that bear precisely on this question.
- *The context of German scholar libraries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.* The strength of the link found between the collection and Klibansky's early years, not fully appreciated in advance, led to a realization that a much wider range of reading of German sources would be important to provide a sense of the rootedness of his collection in the tradition of personal scholarly libraries in Germany. The study of the library of Klibansky's friend Gundolf was not exploited, for example, as it might have been and indeed would have been if language had been less of a barrier.⁵⁶⁹
- *Klibansky-related provenance.* Several individuals were identified through inscriptions that could signal personal links to Klibansky. Further research in Klibansky's personal papers at the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach Germany and in other sources may add to what is known about these relationships.
- *Klibansky's Italian link.* An enormous amount of material came to Klibansky's library from the end of World War II to the end of his life. The authors, inscribers and publishers make up a community of connections that have not been explored.
- *An assessment of texts present and absent.* While a few surprising absences were noted (e.g. any early Locke editions, a key work of Friedrich Gundolf) there was no further attempt to trace the reasons for the absence, which might be

⁵⁶⁹ Thimann, *Caesars Schatten*.

explained by an archival source-based study of the RKC's history. Notable groups of books outside of Klibansky's main scholarly research areas include those focused on Judaica, twentieth-century European history, (particularly marxism, fascism and war), and German literature.

The study itself consists in an assessment of the current collection, considered in the context of Klibansky's work and life. It is a first study of the RKC, in broad strokes. Many areas for exploration remain, and the identification of these areas was part of the motivation for the study.

And finally there is much yet to discover in areas not related directly to Klibansky such as:

- *Early books.* As the study shows, there are a great many early books in the collection, many of them historically important. RBSC staff has made progress identifying some of the more rare or valuable items but there remains much work to be done.⁵⁷⁰
- *Provenance.* A few instances of early provenance have been signalled, notably what may be the first Portuguese use of a bookplate, but a great deal remains to be put into meaningful context.⁵⁷¹ An investigation into the time and reasons behind the acquisition of books previously belonging to institutional libraries promises also to be an interesting area of enquiry relating to library history more generally.

11.4 In summary

Klibansky and his library are of interest not only because of Klibansky's wide-ranging and influential work in the field of philosophy, but because of his biography. He was a participant in several important intellectual circles of the last century and was also an unusually active witness to many of the major historical events of his lifetime. He has been described as having "belonged to the exclusive circle of those great intellectuals who had the chance of living the twentieth century in its entirety and in all its forms"⁵⁷² The extent to which he was involved in both important intellectual circles and historical events of his century is remarkable. His dual paths of

⁵⁷⁰ See the in-house lists made by Richard Virr and Ann Marie Holland of McGill Library's RBSC.

⁵⁷¹ See Section 9.3 on the bookplate of D. Jorge de Almeida (1531-1585).

⁵⁷² Riccardo Pozzo, [obituary] "Raymond Klibansky, 1905-2005," *Review of Metaphysics* 59, no.3 (March 2006): 713.

scholarship and action reflect his belief in a role for philosophers in the concrete problems of society, and this orientation to active participation in issues of the day appears as a consistent element throughout his life and academic career.

Fundamental to Klibansky's work and life is a great concern for history and tradition. On a personal level he had a keen appreciation of his own links with notable individuals and events of history, both through his personal acquaintances and his surroundings. This is a recurring theme in his autobiographical writings and interviews. On an intellectual level Klibansky believed in the relevance, to the present, of earlier traditions and thought. A humanist who emphasized the importance of individual development and independent thought, he believed that they are nonetheless rooted in and conditioned by the past.

Paying attention to history meant, for Klibansky, paying attention to the evidence of history – not to view history through ideology or theory but through interpretation based on evidence, striving always toward if never achieving objectivity. Klibansky was primarily concerned with textual evidence, and books and libraries were fundamentally linked with his approach to studying the past as well as promoting discussion in the present. His academic work, biography and published reflections all show that the preservation and dissemination of ideas through texts and libraries was an active concern throughout his life.

Despite the limitations of the study, it has aimed to provide a profile of the resource that Klibansky created and left for others to use, in order to understand the collection's value for continuing research and as a reflection of one man's intellectual pursuit and experience of the twentieth century. It also constitutes a kind of library "fingerprint" that might be used in cumulative or comparative studies with other scholars' libraries. It is hoped, finally, that the work might stimulate further research in the private libraries of twentieth century intellectuals who lived through extraordinary changes in science, technology (both constructive and destructive), and the questioning of values and meaning. If, as historians have said, there is much yet to learn from this generation, it may be worth considering the books that constituted, for many, their realm of study, creation and reflection.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: Summary of source about Klibansky

Appendix II: Fields (columns) of the RKC Data Sheet

Appendix III: EndNote MARC filter used and examples of output comparison with a basic RIS filter

Appendix IV: Frequently occurring authors noted in Klibansky's leisure reading

Appendix V: Language analysis

Appendix VI: Description of supplementary electronic material (LISTS)

Appendix I. Summary of source about Klibansky

Full publication details for items referenced here can be found in the bibliography.

I.i Summary of main sources about Klibansky

There are four major published sources overviewing Klibansky's biography and contributions: a monograph (by far the most substantial), a documentary film, and two articles.⁵⁷³ There are also several articles or monographs published in homage, as well as articles, interviews, speeches and a second monograph that cover particular aspects of Klibansky's life or work.⁵⁷⁴ Apart from significant obituaries and articles about Klibansky's library, the newspaper articles about Klibansky are too many to mention here. And finally there are unpublished sources, including publicly delivered papers and archives. A complete biography remains to be written.

I.ii Publications: General

a. *Published sources that cover Klibansky's work or life in general*

The first of four important general overviews of Klibansky life and work is an article essay by philosopher Michele Le Doeuff (1989; reprinted in a *festschrift* by Bjarne Melkevik and Jean-Marc Narbonne 2000; also trans into Italian 2000; and English 2003). It was written for *Préfaces: Les idées et les sciences dans la bibliographie de la France*, and appears prior to the launch of the French version of *Saturne et la mélancolie* (Klibansky, Panofsky and Saxl 1989). That this initial profile of a historian of philosophy appears first in a journal for the book community underscores both the broad anticipated interest in *Saturne et la mélancolie* and Klibansky's special relation with books, an aspect further emphasized by Le Doeuff. She highlights, for example, Klibansky's involvement with the Warburg Library, his special access to manuscripts

⁵⁷³ Literature about Klibansky exists in many languages, the main ones being French, German, English and Italian. Titles in French and English were reviewed in their entirety. Material in German and Italian were overviewed and additional attention was given to passages that appeared to offer new or important information. This was the case particularly for several German interviews.

⁵⁷⁴ A separate and independent literature search was carried out by Mireille Masson-Cassista, which helped to assure a level comprehensiveness in coverage. I am particularly grateful for her discovery of Montuori's commentary on Klibansky's Locke edition (see Section 2.2.)

of Nicholas of Cusa, the politically charged publication history of Klibansky's Eckhart edition, and his successful flight from Germany thanks to a diplomatic passport for his books. Le Doeuff's article covers Klibansky's biography and work as a whole, but his life in Europe (1905 to about 1948) receives the greatest attention. The basic pillars of Klibansky's biography and contributions, as outlined by LeDoeuff, have received little modification in the subsequent literature.

Le Doeuff's profile was superseded a decade later by what remains the most complete single source of information about Klibansky: his autobiographical interviews, in French, with philosopher and former student Georges Leroux, *Le Philosophe et la mémoire du siècle* (1998; reprinted 2000; trans. into Spa. 1999, Ger. 2001).⁵⁷⁵ These interviews are based in part on a series of radio interviews for Radio-Canada from the 1990s.⁵⁷⁶ The substance of Le Doeuff's article is incorporated into this more substantial biography that includes much discussion about Klibansky's work and ideas. Separate chapters are dedicated, for example, to his work with Cusa and Eckhart, *Saturn and melancholy*, the Platonic tradition, toleration and the Institut International de Philosophie. Books and libraries are also strongly present in these interviews. Topics covered include Klibansky's love of literature and the literary scene of Heidelberg, his regular hunting for books with friend Friedrich Gundolf, and the memory of Cassirer's own "magnificent library."⁵⁷⁷ The more personal biographical information is concentrated, again, on his years in Europe, and what personal information there is, is very discrete.

Leroux's introduction to *Le Philosophe* offers a summary of Klibansky's main academic contributions and reflects the same diversity noted by Le Doeuff. This is Leroux's second overview of Klibansky's work, the first being a shorter essay that

⁵⁷⁵ Klibansky's *Le Philosophe* is itself the basis of several review essays, the most substantial being that by sociologist Klaus Kuhnekath, published first in 2004 and then in modified version as a book chapter in a German collection on *Philosophie und Zeitgeist im Nationalsozialismus* (2006). Other reviews of interest include those by Thomas Göller (2002) and Gregorio Piaia (2000) both professors of philosophy who knew Klibansky, as well as that of art historian Duncan J. Berry (1999) – see details in the bibliography. Note: Thurner's bibliography lists Joe Bolton as the author of the Berry review.

⁵⁷⁶ These interviews have not been located through the Radio-Canada site, but an application will be made for copies of the transcripts or audio files.

⁵⁷⁷ *Le Philosophe*, 32.

formed part of an *Hommage à Raymond Klibansky* (1991) from the Université du Québec à Montréal. Both underline Klibansky's publications on the Platonic tradition, the Latin editions of Cusa and Eckhart, the contributions to the history of ideas in *Saturn and Melancholy*, the promotion of tolerance, and his other work with the IIP as defining contributions.

The third major overview is a National Film Board of Canada documentary directed by Anne-Marie Tougas (2002). The film was made with Klibansky's cooperation, as well as that of Ethel Groffier, Georges Leroux, Sonja Sutton-Steiniger (Klibansky's sister), Montreal medieval scholar Benoît Lacroix, current Warburg Institute Director Nicholas Mann, German sociologist and friend Rainer Maria Lipsius, and Jana Patočka, daughter of the Czech philosopher that Klibansky tried in vain to protect from the Czech communist government. It is predominately biographical (again focusing mainly on his earlier years), but there is also an attempt to present Klibansky's own philosophy, which, as Ethel Groffier points out in the film, was something more lived than written. Books and libraries play a central role here as well, and footage includes Klibansky's library at McGill, the libraries of Heidelberg University, the hospice of Kues (where the library of Nicholas of Cusa resides) and the Warburg Institute.

The fourth major general biographical publications is an essay by Martin Thurner (2004 and in Eng., 2005 and Ita., 2005), and is the only one not based on interviews with Klibansky. The biographical coverage is drawn from *Le Philosophe* (Klibansky 1998) and supplemented by information from Ethel Groffier (Thurner 2005 Eng. version, n.225). Reprinted as a chapter in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century* (2005), a book that profiles major twentieth-century medievalists, it focuses primarily on Klibansky's earlier years and his work on medieval philosophy and the Platonic tradition. Though short, it is a key publication as it contains the most complete published bibliography on Klibansky, including not only his own writings but also secondary literature about him. It also contains a chronology of major

events in Klibansky's life.⁵⁷⁸ Finally, its inclusion in such a collection represents a form of 'canonization' in the community of medieval scholarship.

The most recent publications are those by Regina Weber, who has begun to study Klibansky's archival *fonds* (see *Archival* material below). Her "Raymond Klibansky (1905-2005)", provides an overview of his life and contributions and goes on to concentrate on the period prior to Klibansky's departure from Germany; "Der Philosophiehistoriker Raymond Klibansky und die 'Internationalisierung' der Philosophie: das Nachleben der Antike in der 'Philosophie des Dialogs'" emphasizes Klibansky's efforts to foster international and intercultural dialog.⁵⁷⁹ These articles form a basis for Weber's continuing work with Klibansky's papers.

Commemorative publications

Additional sources offering a general, if not always objective, view of Klibansky and his main contributions can be found in some of the works published in his honour. The earliest of these is a thematic issue of the *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* dedicated to Klibansky titled *Méthode et la Philosophie de l'Histoire* (1975) and containing essays on that topic. It includes the first published bibliography of Klibansky's work, compiled by Michael J. Whalley and Désirée Park (1975). The first monograph *festschrift*, edited by Helmut Kohlenberger (1979), is large, with 17 contributions, and covers a vast array of topics from phenomenology to equality and law, to more spiritual reflections. It offers introductory material about Klibansky by philosophers A.J. Ayer and Henry Duméry and contains a second bibliography. The other two *festschriften* provide less information about Klibansky, but they do give a sense of his interests through themed essay topics. The collection edited by Ethel Groffier and Michel Paradis, for example, contains essays related to the title: *The Notion of Tolerance and Human Rights* (1991). Groffier and Paradis also provide a significantly updated bibliography. The last of the *festschriften*, edited by Bjarne Melkevik and Jean-Marc

⁵⁷⁸ Some details in this chronology differ from those presented by Hans Gerhard Senger (2005). See Section 2.1, n. 76.

⁵⁷⁹ *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933*, 3. USA, ed. by John M. Spalek, Konrad Feilchenfeldt and Sandra H. Hawrylchak (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 93-124; *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik*, 76 (2010): 79-98.

Narbonne, *Un philosophe dans l'histoire* (2000), reflects Klibansky's interests in three main areas: ancient and medieval perspectives; the Renaissance and modernity; and contemporary philosophical dialogue. Melkevik and Narbonne reprint Le Doeuff's 1989 article for their introduction and their own preface draws largely from that article and from the interviews with Georges Leroux (1998). It does not contain a bibliography.

A second group of articles under the common title "Ricordo di Raymond Klibansky" in the *Rivista di estetica* (2000) includes three essays: a translation of Le Doeuff's piece, and two short responses to it, one by Roberta De Monticelli and another from Federico Leoni, both of which make reference to Klibansky's autobiographical writings. A last homage essay is Kurt Flasch's laudatory speech on the occasion of Klibansky's reception of the Lessing Prize of the city of Hamburg (Flasch 1994). It includes personal anecdotes and also touches on some of Klibansky's main contributions and general approach to scholarship.

Several memorial articles were written by colleagues following Klibansky's death in 2005, the most notable being by philosophers Georges Leroux (*le Devoir*), Hans Gerhard Senger (*Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* and the *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*),⁵⁸⁰ Riccardo Pozzo (*Review of Metaphysics*), Roger-Pol Droit (*Le Monde*), and Jens Halfwassen (Heidelberg University's *Ruperto Carola*) and by Renaissance specialist and Warburg Librarian Jill Kraye (the British newspaper the *Independent*). Also interesting is an un-attributed obituary in the *Times* of London, which mentions Klibansky's voluminous correspondence and archive, and notes that "his distinctive handwriting would often sprawl across several pages, while on a postcard the *details of a manuscript discovery or reading* would be recorded in minuscule across the entire writing surface..."⁵⁸¹

The most recent published memorial is "À la mémoire de Raymond Klibansky," a special section in *Aesthetics in Contemporary Philosophy: Proceedings of the International*

⁵⁸⁰ Senger here identifies Klibansky's theses differently from what is found in Thurner's account. See Section 2.1, n. 76.

⁵⁸¹ *Times*, August 30, 2005; italics mine.

Institute of Philosophy (2006, published in 2009). It includes contributions by Tomonobu Imamichi, Jaakko Hintikka, Peter McCormick, Daniel Venderveken and Ethel Groffier. The articles of McCormick and Groffier provide some of the most penetrating insights on Klibansky's own philosophical approach. In addition, although a few errors appear in the biographical facts of Klibansky (he did not for example meet Max Weber), the essays together provide a valuable set of personal views of Klibansky in his later years.

I.iii Publications: Particular aspects of Klibansky's life and work

Klibansky's early life (to 1946)

There are several publications, mostly autobiographical in German and French, that address Klibansky's early life in Germany and, to a lesser extent, in England. The first of these is "l'Université allemande dans les années trente" (1991), originally given as a speech when he received the "Reconnaissance de mérite scientifique" awarded by the Université du Québec à Montréal. In a speech the next year to the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien in Heidelberg, "Zur fünfzigsten Wiederkehr der Pogromnacht" (1992), Klibansky spoke specifically as a witness to the anti-Semitism of the early Nazi regime.

His "l'Université allemande" essay was subsequently revised and became "Aus dem Heidelberger Geistesleben. Autobiographische Anmerkungen" (1996), a chapter in *Heidelberg. Geschichte und Gestalt*, celebrating Heidelberg's octocentennial. This version includes slightly more about the intellectual circles of Weimar and less about Klibansky's experiences once out of Germany. The information in these essays provides little that cannot be found in the interviews with Leroux, but they give a concise introduction to Klibansky's experience of Weimar Germany, with respect to both its cultural and intellectual richness and the rise of the National Socialist party.

Complementary information is found in Klibansky's interview with Michael Buselmeier, published in the first volume of the monograph series *Erlebte Geschichte erzählt* (Lived Memory Recounted; 2000), a collection of interviews with people who witnessed Heidelberg's history. Klibansky talks a great deal about the intellectual life of Heidelberg and his networks and activities there, offering information not found

elsewhere. This interview with Buselmeier is the single most informative piece about Klibansky's extra-curricular life in Heidelberg.

Klibansky's relationship with Ernst Cassirer is the source of two articles. A short interview with German journalist, Patrick Conley, "Die Grenzen des akademischen Lebens sprengen. Ein Gespräch über Ernst Cassirer und die Bibliothek Warburg" (1996) focuses mainly on Cassirer (as a teacher, his politics and thought), and to a lesser extent the Warburg Library. The second is a lengthier interview with philosophy professor Thomas Göller, "Erinnerungen an Ernst Cassirer," (1999) which looks more deeply at Klibansky's impression of Cassirer's thought and politics, and the circumstances surrounding his emigration to England and subsequent path to the United States. The interview includes a brief look at the refugee scholar experience in England.

A forthcoming book from Regina Weber, *Lotte Labowsky (1905-1991): Schülerin Aby Warburgs, Kollegin Raymond Klibanskys; Eine Wissenschaftlerin zwischen Fremd- und Selbstbestimmung im englischen Exil*, covers the lifelong relationship between the two that began in their youth, drawing from archival material.

The IIP

Klibansky's *Idées sans frontières: Histoire et structures de l'insitut international de philosophie* (2005) written with the collaboration of Ethel Groffier, focuses on the second half of his life. A history of the IIP that includes much autobiography, Klibansky describes in the first person many activities of the institute and discusses IIP members (limited always to an elite group of 115 globally) that he particularly appreciates or remembers. There is much information about Klibansky's own intellectual sympathies and his networks in the second half of his career. There is, in addition, reflection on ideas and themes – such as the concepts of objectivity, liberty and dialogue. A view of Klibansky from the IIP is provided in "À la mémoire de Raymond Klibansky," a special section in *Aesthetics in Contemporary Philosophy: Proceedings of the International Institute of Philosophy* (2006, published in 2009; see comments above in Section I.ii of this appendix on memorial publications).

Other topics: Saturn, Melancholy, Eckhart, and Warburg

The article by Le Doeuff appeared on the eve of the publication of the French version of *Saturn and Melancholy*. It was accompanied by an interview, “Raymond Klibansky, philosophe et historien” (1989), conducted by Yves Hersant, a sociology professor who has published on melancholy, and Alain de Libera, a philosophy professor who has published on Eckhart. Klibansky gives a brief history of the development of *Saturn and Melancholy*, elaborates on his motivations in examining the subject, and differentiates his view of melancholy from that of Walter Benjamin. The piece touches also on the Warburg Library, especially the contributions of Edgar Wind, before turning to Platonism and Eckhart, at which point Klibansky addresses the political conditions surrounding his Eckhart edition, which contributed to his leaving Germany, and about his own understanding of Eckhart in relation to Platonism and mysticism.

“Conversazione con Raymond Klibansky” (1992) with art historian Francesco Barocelli provides more insight into Klibansky’s views of Warburg. Although *Saturn and Melancholy* is the main topic of the interview, also discussed are Panofsky, the KBW, the Warburg Institute in London, astrology, and superstition.

Continuing her work on Klibansky’s *fonds*, Regina Weber has also published specifically on Klibansky’s activities at the Warburg in “Aktivitäten der Warburg-Bibliothek, gespiegelt im Marbacher Nachlass Raymond Klibansky” (2011). This article was, unfortunately, noticed too late for acquisition and review.

Three speeches given at a “Klibansky Evening” sponsored by the Universities Art Association of Canada at the Université du Québec à Montréal in 2001 and subsequently published in *RACAR: Revue d’art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* (2003), focus on Klibansky’s link with art history. Carol Gibson-Wood concentrates mainly on the Warburg Institute, and JeanPhilippe Uzel provides a very brief résumé of Klibansky’s biography but is primarily an homage to *Saturn and Melancholy* and the world of the Warburg Library. Klibansky’s own speech examines the notion of *Kulturwissenschaft* (approximately “cultural history”). Klibansky’s last substantial interview was with journalists André Behr and Lars Reichardt in 2001, at the time of

the publication of the German translation of *Le Philosophe*. Beginning with the notion of Melancholy, the conversation moves from literature to psychology and philosophy, to Klibansky's life and acquaintances.

Sources for reviews of Klibansky's work

A search in journals indexed by JSTOR and ISI Web of Science shows consistent interest in Klibansky's publications throughout his career and well beyond his retirement. The two databases include 121 reviews (excluding overlap) of Klibansky's work spanning from 1930-2006, with at least ten per decade through to 1999 and a peak of 25 in the 1950s. The printed *Combined Retrospective Index to Book Reviews in Humanities Journals* (1802-1974) listed 25 reviews, only five of which were not covered by JSTOR or ISI. The two titles receiving the most attention are Klibansky's *Saturn and Melancholy* (12 reviews, all editions and translations included) and *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages* (11 reviews, 1939 and 1981 editions). In terms of series, the *Corpus Platonicum* (23 reviews) and *Cusa Opera Omnia* (11 reviews) were the most reviewed. Journals that have published more than five reviews of Klibansky's work include *The Classical Review*, *Isis*, *The Journal of Philosophy*, *The Philosophical Review*, and *Philosophy*.

I. iv Unpublished sources

Archival material has not been a significant source for this work, on account of its aims and scope and also because great facility in German and Italian (in addition to English and French) would be necessary to use the material. At least five institutions offer significant amounts of archival documents either generated by or directly concerning Klibansky: the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* in Marbach,⁵⁸² the Warburg Institute Archive, McGill University Archive⁵⁸³ and Library, Heidelberg University Archive,⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸² A brief description of Klibansky's *fonds* and a list of his main correspondents is available online through the DLA site <http://www.dla-marbach.de/dla/archiv/index.html>. The version of Dr. Weber's finding aid (not online) consulted here was "Les Archives de Raymond Klibansky" [finding aid, version Klibansky-BülouFEB2011]. Weber is now publishing on these sources (see bibliography).

⁵⁸³ McGill University Archive <http://www.archives.mcgill.ca/> (last accessed Jun. 21, 2012)

⁵⁸⁴ Heidelberg University Archive <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/uniarchiv/bestaende/abteilungen.html>, (last accessed Jun. 21, 2012). Hans Gerhard Senger drew from these for his biographical articles on Klibansky (see bibliography).

and the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) at the Bodleian library in Oxford.⁵⁸⁵ A cursory investigation of holdings or finding aids at the first three of these has confirmed that they can offer much toward biographical knowledge of Klibansky.

The largest group is his personal *fonds*, which resides at the *Deutsches Literaturarchiv* (DLA) in Marbach, Germany. Information regarding these private papers was provided by Ethel Groffier, and a more detailed finding aid of the 185 boxes has been developed and generously given by Regina Weber, who is currently working with the Klibansky *fonds*. The contents include papers covering 80 years of correspondence, notes and other documents, both professional and personal. Topics include all of Klibansky's major publication projects, the Warburg, the war, his work with the IIP, and personal and family letters.

The Warburg Institute Archive provides a good complement to the *fonds* on account of Klibansky's long relationship with the institute and its various staff and associated researchers. Klibansky's earliest activities at the KBW can be traced, for example, through his signature on specific lecture attendance lists.⁵⁸⁶ Mention of his involvement with the KBW and the Warburg Institute, as well as his related activities, are found in administrative reports and in the General Correspondence [GC]. A brief review of GC files for Klibansky the 1920s and 1930s showed, for example, dozen of letters between Klibansky and both Fritz Saxl and Gertrude Bing, including detailed comments on books and projects.⁵⁸⁷ A substantial amount of material exists within the GC to illuminate the publishing history of the Eckhart edition, the *Corpus*

⁵⁸⁵ "Catalogue of the Archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, 1933-87", EAD version [online], compiled by Nicholas Baldwin (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2008), <http://www.rsl.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/modern/spsl/spsl.html> (last accessed Jun. 21, 2012). Relevant files listed include: Files 1933-48, MS. S.P.S.L. 316/3-4; Home Office file, MS. S.P.S.L. 424/3; Publications, MS. S.P.S.L. 454/6; and Correspondence as donor 1935-36, MS. S.P.S.L.171/2. Klibansky used these sources for his *Le Philosophe*.

⁵⁸⁶ WIA I.9.18. " 'Besucherlisten', lecture attendance lists: Vorträge and other events in KBW," subgroup .5-.9 [1926-31].

⁵⁸⁷ WIA, GC – Klibansky.

Platonicum, and also *Saturn and Melancholy*.⁵⁸⁸ The full extent of relevant documents or the degree to which they repeat what is in Klibansky's *fonds* has not, however, been determined.

The McGill University Archive does not have a personal *fonds* on Klibansky. Administrative records were not explored for this study but would provide material with respect to his activities as, for example, Chairman of the philosophy department in 1965/66. Archival material is also preserved in McGill Library's RBSC, including correspondence between Klibansky and Richard Pennington (McGill University Librarian, 1947-1964), and a group of Klibansky's papers remaining in his last office that have yet to be organized that includes about a dozen shallow boxes of personal and professional letters, notebooks, and ephemera.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ The published letters of Erwin Panofsky equally shed light on the difficult publication history of *Saturn and Melancholy*; Erwin Panofsky *Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1968: eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden*, ed. Dieter Wuttke, 5 vol. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001).

⁵⁸⁹ My thanks to Richard Virr, Head and Curator of Manuscripts of McGill's RBSC, for alerting me to these materials, for offering access to them and the opportunity to provide a first description. They were finally determined to be beyond the scope of this introductory collection overview.

Appendix II. Fields (columns) of the RKC Data Sheet

An asterisk (*) in the name does not have a specific meaning – it was useful to help locate fields for Excel pivot-table analysis.

A	<i>Ref type</i>	EndNote field. Names the EndNote reference type used to import the data.
B	<i>TH REF#</i>	Created field. Index number for Excel sheet corresponding to LC classification number order but also establishing an order by author, title and year for cases of multiple titles with a single call number.
C	<i>Column1 (VERIFICATION COLUMN)</i>	Verification column used when moving a column – confirms identical data in columns; returns N if not identical (=IF(X2<>Y2,"N","")).
D	<i>Author sort date</i>	Derived field. Earliest author date stripped of preliminary letters etc. for rough sorting.
E	<i>Author dates</i>	Extracted field. Data from MARC 100 d.
F	<i>CONTEMP. Pub to 1900</i>	Derived field. Indicates (c) records for which the publication date falls within the author dates (to 1900 only).
G	<i>corrected RESP or Auth (L,F) or Author dates</i>	Comment field. Indicates if changes have been made to the <i>RESP</i> column, the <i>Auth (LAST,FIRST)</i> column, or the <i>Author dates</i> column. The letter 'c' indicates a change (if unspecified is to <i>RESP</i>); 'n' means no change, and verified ok.
H	<i>RESP</i>	Modified field. Full statement of responsibility from MARC 245 c. Modified only when word order was disrupted during export from EndNote. (NOTE: corrections made for all items with inscriptions, but not for all other items.)
I	<i>AUTH/DATE</i>	Derived field. Combines columns <i>Auth (LAST,FIRST)</i> and <i>Author dates</i> with formula (=Q3&"("&J3&"")")
J	<i>Auth (LAST,FIRST)</i>	Extracted field. Data from MARC 100 a - c.
K	<i>Decades</i>	Derived field. Publication decade. An apostrophe (') follows uncertain entries.
L	<i>*Functional Decades</i>	Derived field. Publication decade, with signs of uncertainty (') removed for analysis groupings.
M	<i>Pub Period</i>	Derived field. 50-yr publication period, with apostrophe (') following uncertain entries.
N	<i>*Functional Per Pub</i>	Derived field. 50-yr publication period, with signs of uncertainty (') removed for analysis groupings.
O	<i>Year</i>	Modified field. Data from MARC 008 field (Single year appearing in McGill OPAC results list). An apostrophe (') follows uncertain entries. See column <i>Full Year info</i> for publicationdate ranges, and see <i>Date comments</i> for information about changes to date information.
P	<i>*DATE FOR ANAL</i>	Modified field. Data from column <i>Year</i> , with signs of uncertainty (') removed for more effective sorting.
Q	<i>Date comments</i>	Comment field. Indications of changes in date information and of instances of date ranges (r) in records.
R	<i>Full Year info</i>	Extracted field. Date information as recorded in the volume, from MARC 260 c.
S	<i>KLIB BIO</i>	Derived field. Groups twentieth-century publications (only) by publication date (i.e. NOT acquisition date). Includes the following date groupings: Pre-1934; Pre-1934' (for 1933); England (1934-1945); England' (for 1946-47); Canada (1948-1975); Canada'' (for 1976-2005)
T	<i>UniformTitle</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 240
U	<i>Title</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 245 (except subfield c)
V	<i>*City</i>	Derived. For publications to 1700, city names have been rewritten in

		standard English form (Lyon for Lugduni, Leiden for Lugduni Batavorum, etc)
W	<i>City of pub</i>	Extracted field. City of publication information as recorded from the volume in MARC 260 a.
X	<i>Publisher</i>	Extracted field. Publisher information as recorded from the volume in MARC 260 a or b.
Y	<i>Volumes</i>	Extracted field, but incomplete. From MARC 300 a, following the base MARC filter developed by Harvard. NOTE: Information in the MARC 300 a subfield is identified, depending on surrounding punctuation, as either Number of Volumes or Number of Pages, which are separated into two separate columns (this column and the column <i>Pages</i>). Volume information is not perfectly isolated with this filter and is sometimes inadvertently identified as Number of Pages information, and therefore appears in the Data Sheet <i>Pages</i> column. During a review of holdings information for multi-volume RKC titles that are also found in other McGill collections (<i>Holdings</i> column), volume information noticed in the <i>Pages</i> column was copied to the <i>Columns</i> column. This process was not completed for the entirety of the collection however.
Z	<i>Holdings or vol changed</i>	Commentfield. Indicates changes made to the <i>Volumes</i> column or to the holdings information as seen in <i>ONLY RKC Holdings</i> column. The letter "I" indicates an incomplete set. If volume information has been added to the <i>Volumes</i> column the code "vol" is entered. If a change was made to the holdings information (i.e. information relating to other McGill copies was removed) the letter "y" is entered. If the holdings were verified and no change was made the letters "nc" were entered.
AA	<i>ONLY RKC Holdings</i>	Derived field. Copies holding information from the <i>Holdings</i> column only for items in the RK. Holdings information for other collections was removed. (see also the columns <i>Holdings</i> and <i>Holdings or vol changed</i>)
AB	<i>Holdings</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 966 h, l, and a . Holdings information for all McGill copies. Location information was removed (sub-fields b and c). This provided cleaner data where items are unique to the RKC, but resulted in a need to individually verify holdings for items that are not unique to the RKC, resulting in a new field: <i>ONLY RKC Holdings</i> .
AC	<i>Pages</i>	Extracted field. Pagination information as it appears in the record, from MARC 300 a.
AD	<i>Less than 50pp</i>	Derived field. Rough grouping of pamphlets or offprints based on descriptions indicating less than 50pp in column Phys Desc
AE	<i>Phys Desc. And general notes</i>	Extracted fields. All MARC fields sent to notes by the EndNote filter. (see the JT MARC filter in Appendix III; Includes MARC 110; 111; 130; 222; 260(k,e,f); 310; 490; 500; 525; 531; 580; 711; 745; 754 and 300 (c,e,f).
AF	<i>*CntryAnal</i>	Modified field. Based on MARC country codes, excerpted from MARC 008, but added to from MARC 260 when absent from MARC 008. The MARC 008 code has also been changed in some cases. All United States place codes were replaced by the single code "us". Individual Canadian province codes remain separate. Books published in Strasbourg have been re-coded as part of Germany prior to 1681; from 1871 to 1918; and from June 1940 to November 1944. Otherwise books published in Strasbourg remain classed as published in France. A small number of changes have been made where the MARC 008 code appears to be in error (based on information such as city of publication and language, etc., such as when the code for Greece (gr) appears for works published in Germany (gw)). See column CH to Cntry for changed codes (other than US)
AG	<i>CH to Cntry</i>	Comment field. The letter "c" indicates a change (other than "us") made to the country code used for analysis (column <i>*CntryAnal</i>).
AH	<i>Country of Origin</i>	Extracted field. Country codes from MARC 008 field. (NOT USED FOR ANALYSIS — see <i>*CntryAnal</i>).

AI	<i>Lang</i>	Extracted fields. Combination of language codes extracted from MARC 008 and language note MARC 546
AJ	<i>*LangAnal</i>	Derived field. Based primarily on the combined assessment of three MARC fields — MARC 008 (single main language only), MARC 041 a (multiple main language codes) and MARC 546 (verbal language note). Notes and the title language have also been consulted where the primary MARC fields were inconclusive or appeared to contain an error. MARC 041 is given greater weight than MARC 008, and MARC 546 is given greater weight than MARC 041. Ambiguous cases are not signaled in the column but are indicated in the neighbouring column: <i>Language ambiguity</i> . See Appendix V for a breakdown of Language groups used for analysis. NOTE: this analysis was excessively time consuming for the added value that it brought to the analysis and is not recommended as a model.
AK	<i>Language ambiguity</i>	Comment field. An asterisk (*) in this column indicates some remaining ambiguity in language determination.
AL	<i>dominant languages (041a)</i>	Extracted field. MARC 041 a.
AM	<i>orig lang (041h)</i>	Extracted field. Original language of translated documents, from MARC 041 h.
AN	<i>sum or abs (041b)</i>	Extracted field. Other languages present in summaries or abstracts, from MARC 041 b.
AO	<i>MARC 008</i>	Extracted field. The MARC 008 field includes several different codes; used here are those for country and language codes. (Also used as a check field, with <i>VERIFICATION COLUMN</i> , for integrated data.)
AP	<i>Duplicates REF</i>	Derived field. Signals ("Dup") instances of repeated call numbers, indicating titles bound together in a single volume.
AQ	<i>Folio</i>	Extracted field. Indication of location codes "folio" or "elf" from MARC 852 k.
AR	<i>CLEANEDcall# KLIBANSKY</i>	Modified field. Combines data in column <i>Call #</i> and the RBSC location fields "folio" and "elf" using the formula (=AX11&" "&BB11). Non-RKC copy information is removed. Also removed is information relating to dust jackets.
AS	<i>CLEANEDcall# KLIB no folio</i>	Modified field. As for column <i>CLEANEDcall# KLIBANSKY</i> , without the RBSC location codes "folio" and "elf"
AT	<i>Call #</i>	Modified field. From MARC 852 h, l and z. Where items are not unique to the RKC, sometimes more than one LC classification number appears in the record. Very often they are identical, but not always, especially in cases of older books catalogued under different systems or for other special collections such as the Osler Library. In these cases it has been necessary to review the call numbers to ensure that the LC classification appearing first (to be used for sorting in the <i>Call# for sorting</i> column), is the classification number for the RKC copy. This verification was aided by data in the <i>Location</i> column, which identifies the order of classification number data imported from the record. (The subfield z can be eliminated to exclude information about dustjackets, but this also removes some information about reprint editions).
AU	<i>Call# for sorting</i>	Modified field. Based on column <i>Call #</i> , used for list sorting but also necessary for the application of OCLC Conspectus subject analysis. Excel does not sort LC classification numbers in LC order. A formula was very slightly modified from that posted by Conley JF, Nolan LA (2011). "Call Number Sorting in Excel". Earth and Mineral Sciences Library. Online at http://www.libraries.psu.edu/psul/emsl/stafftoolkit/callnumbersort.html . The posted formula is for LC classification with decimal points; the formula used replaces the decimal point with a space, as used in the McGill Library system. The formula is written for cell A2: =CONCATENATE(LEFT(A2,IF(ISERR(VALUE(MID(A2,2,1))),2,1)),REPT("0",5-FIND(" ",A2)+IF(ISERR(VALUE(MID(A2,2,1))),2,1)),RIGHT(A2,LEN(A2)-

		IF(ISERR(VALUE(MID(A2,2,1))),2,1))). Older McGill classification numbers for which this formula was not appropriate were changed individually to sort correctly.
AV	<i>*Location</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 852 b and c, indicating in which McGill Library (e.g. rbd for rare books) and collection (e.g. Klib for RKC), respectively, individual copies are held. Used to determine correct LC classification order (for column <i>Call #</i>), as well as identifying collection overlaps and editions unique to the RKC.
AW	<i>*Uniqueness</i>	Derived field. Based on holdings at McGill, indicating RKC items as either "Unique" or "Not Unique" within the McGill Library system based on the catalogue records of specific editions.
AX	<i>DIVISION</i>	Derived field. Broad Subject: application of the OCLC Conspectus Division-level subject headings to the corresponding range of Library of Congress (LC) call numbers in column <i>Call #</i> .
AY	<i>CATEGORY</i>	Derived field. Mid-level subject: application of the OCLC Conspectus Category-level subject headings to the corresponding range of Library of Congress (LC) call numbers in column <i>Call #</i> .
AZ	<i>Keywords</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 6xx fields, adopted from the base MARC filter developed by Harvard Library (see the JT MARC filter in Appendix III)
BA	<i>ILLUST</i>	Derived field. Indicates the presence in the record of some kind of illustration, based on column <i>Illustration type</i> .
BB	<i>Illustration type</i>	Extracted field. From MARC 300 b, indicates the specific kind(s) of illustrations present as recorded in the record. This information has been augmented in a handful of cases where illustration information has been noticed in the Notes field, on account of the imperfect adaptation of the EndNote JT MARC filter for all records.
PROVENANCE FIELDS		SUBSEQUENT FIELDS ARE DERIVED FROM McGill notes in MARC 561 and MARK 590 (reproduced in column <i>McGill NOTES</i>). FOR ALL PROVENANCE FIELDS, AN APOSTROPHE (') FOLLOWING A GROUP CODE INDICATES UNCERTAINTY.
BC	<i>*Non-K SIG</i>	Isolates records indicating the presence of non-Klibansky signatures or ownership inscriptions, whether personal (SIG), initials (INIT), institutional (INST) or illegible (ILLEG). A plus sign (+) indicates more than one instance in a record. A question mark (?) indicates that it is not certain that the signature is not Klibansky's, but that the type of evidence (ownership inscription) is not questioned.
BD	<i>*K SIG</i>	Isolates records indicating the presence of Klibansky's signature or ownership inscription (KLIB), or initials (K INIT). A question mark (?) indicates that it is unclear if the signature is Klibansky's, but that the type of evidence (ownership inscription) is not questioned.
BE	<i>*SIG</i>	Indicates the presence of a signature (an <i>autograph</i> , as termed by the RBMS thesaurus) or other ownership inscription, whether Klibansky's (KLIB), not Klibansky's (SIG), initials (INIT), institutional (INST) or illegible (ILLEG). A plus sign (+) indicates more than one instance in a record (used for multiple non-Klibansky inscriptions and also for a Klibansky ownership inscription and one or more others). A question mark (?) indicates that it is unclear if the signature is Klibansky's, but that the type of evidence (ownership inscription) is not questioned.
BF	<i>Own. Inscri. Names</i>	Lists the surname(s) where possible from Non-K signatures and other ownership inscriptions. This is mainly useful where there is one name present. It does not, however, constitute a full alphabetical list of provenance. NOTE: The list is preliminary and has not been independently verified against volumes.
BG	<i>Numbered copies</i>	A preliminary indication of numbered copies (num) as observed from notes.
BH	<i>*INSCRI</i>	The most general level of indication for inscriptions. Includes inscriptions from all sources to Klibansky as identified in notes (KLIB); all other inscriptions, including those possibly to Klibansky but not yet recognized

		as such (INSCRI_Gen) ; provenance information that is not obviously a gift inscription (PROV); and the presence of an ownership inscription, where no other inscription is present (S).
BI	<i>*INSCR Anal</i>	Provides more refined groupings of gift inscription types. See Table 27 in the thesis for a listing and description of inscription groups used in analysis. NOTE: where the note indicates an author inscription but where it has been noticed that the main author is clearly not the inscriber (e.g. Plato), the code RESP has been used rather than AUTHOR.
BJ	<i>KLIB FROM</i>	A preliminary organization of inscriber names to Klibansky, for non-author inscriptions and inscriptions classed as RESP or ASSOC, but not AUTHOR. Also provides additional detail to the codes used in <i>*INSCRI Anal</i> .
BK	<i>AuthorProv</i>	A simplified grouping of items with provenance from authors (AUTHOR) or others responsible for or associated with the book (RESP/ ASSOC), without concern for recipient. This includes items in which the notes indicate provenance information on inserts, which are not included in the columns <i>*INSCRI</i> or <i>*INSCRI Anal</i> .
BL	<i>*MARG or MARK</i>	Indicates the presence of markings or marginalia (Y), where there is an indication of heavy annotation (MANY), annotation throughout (THRT) or interleaved books (INTER) . When noticed the presence of manuscript illustration (DRAW) is also noted. See also columns <i>Marginalia</i> and <i>Markings</i> .
BM	<i>Marginalia</i>	Allows for a basic sorting based on rough subgroups of records with including mention of marginalia, but includes comments and not clean enough for pivot table analysis. Marginalia includes verbal annotation in the text or elsewhere on the book, excluding writing on the spine, and excluding ownership and gift inscriptions. Specifies, as per notes in the record, marginalia generally (Y), only in the front (F), back (B) or title (TP) pages. Also grouped together are mentions of marginalia as occasional (OCC), many (MANY) or throughout (THRT). Some additional information is provided, such as page numbers where specified.
BN	<i>Markings</i>	As for column <i>Marginalia</i> , but for non-verbal markings. In general, book-seller codes and prices are not recorded as markings.
BO	<i>Shelfmark Changes</i>	Indicates changes made to shelf marks with respect to how they are recorded in the catalogue records.
BP	<i>*SHELF</i>	Indicates a Klibansky shelf mark (KLIB shelf) or other shelf mark (SHELF) noted in the record. While the apostrophe (') indicates uncertainty about the evidence type, a question mark (?) indicates uncertainty as to whether or not the shelf mark is Klibansky's.
BQ	<i>Shelfmarks</i>	Lists the shelf mark noted in record; Indicates those not thought to be Klibansky's ("NK" preceding shelf mark).
BR	<i>SORT Shelfmarks</i>	For sorting only — sorts the column <i>Shelfmarks</i> in correct order.
BS	<i>ACQ Bio Period</i>	Presumed period of Klibansky's book acquisition for books with dated inscriptions. Based on column <i>*Klib Acq Date</i> , but only for items tagged as "D" (i.e. not D prime:"D' ") in column <i>*K Man. Date</i> .
BT	<i>*K Man. Date</i>	Isolates records noting dated inscriptions (D). See also column <i>*Klib Acq Date</i> .
BU	<i>ACQ decade</i>	Groups Klibansky acquisition dates by decade. See also column <i>*Klib Acq Date</i> .
BV	<i>*Klib Acq Date</i>	Klibansky acquisition date as per inscriptions recorded in notes.
BW	<i>*Klib man placename</i>	Placenames written in Klibansky's ownership inscriptions and gift inscriptions to him. Inscriptions with no identification of inscriber are included with the standard indicator of uncertainty (').
BX	<i>*INSERT</i>	Indication (Y) of inserted items noted in McGill catalogue records.
BY	<i>Insertions</i>	Comment field on insertions. Noted information – NOT verified to be comprehensive. Includes several abbreviations: II = inscribed insert; K=Klibansky; comp=complimentary; pub=publisher-generated; revcop=

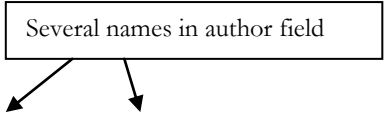
		review copy; annot=annotation or writing of some kind; *=something of potentially special interest; Y=presence of insert (redundant when combined with other comments).
BZ	<i>*B_SELLER</i>	Indication (Y) of bookseller information (both labels and stamps). Also indicates (BINDER) recorded information about bookbinders.
CA	<i>Bookseller labels</i>	Bookseller name from notes. When the notes specify a stamp as opposed to a label, an indication (stmp) is appended to the bookseller name.
CB	<i>*BKPT STMP BKL B</i>	Groups ownership bookplates (OB) as opposed to ownership stamps (OS), book-prize plates (BP), or other ownership-related labels (L). Where an ownership plate and ownership stamp are both present they are distinguished (BS) but when the stamp is not an ownership stamp only the bookplate is signaled (see also column <i>Labels and Stamps</i>). Cancelled copies (cc) are indicated when noticed, but this element was not searched specifically and is not consistently included. Other kinds of labels or stamps (other) are also noted, mainly complimentary copy stamps.
CD	<i>Labels and Stamps</i>	Groups institutional as opposed to personal labels and stamps (BKPTP vs BKPTI; STMP vs. STMPI); separating them from other, unspecified kinds of labels and stamps (BKPT; STMP; LB). Includes owner names from notes. Not clean enough for pivot-table analysis, but useful for sorting.
CE	<i>L&S Prov</i>	Lists the surname or institution name from labels and stamps noted in the record, for sorting by owner rather than by evidence type.
CF	<i>*PROV</i>	Indicates the presence of any of the types of ownership or gift provenance evidence analysed in the study (Y), as well as records that note only insertions or signs of the publishing trade such as complimentary copy stamps (I).
CG	<i>OWNERSHIP & GIFTS</i>	Isolates records (O&G) that include either ownership or gift inscriptions, or ownership bookplates, stamps or labels.
CH	<i>McGill Local Notes</i>	Extracted from MARC 561 and MARK 590. Notes for non-RKC books have mostly been manually removed to reduce confusion.

Appendix III. EndNote MARC filter used and examples of output comparison with a basic RIS filter

The difference between the RIS and MARC filters is best clarified by showing what kind of output can be had from each. The examples (from records that include some different fields) shows what information is imported to EndNote with the standard RIS filter v.s. what is imported with the modified MARC filter used in this study (JT MARC). Comments on specific fields are made following the examples and images of the filters themselves are provided at the end.

Example #1: RIS filter

Several names in author field



Reference Type: Book

Record Number: 3232

Author: Aristotle, Theophrastus, Alexander, G. Marinello, C. Marinelli, N. Moretti and G. Brugnolo

Year: 1584

Title: Aristotelis Stagiritae Peripateticorum principis Operum omnium

Series Title: Works. Latin. 1584

City: Venetiis

Publisher: Apud Ioachimum Bruniolum

Number of Pages: 7 v.

Short Title: Aristotelis Stagiritae Peripateticorum principis Operum omnium

Call Number: PA3895 A4 1584 Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor)

Keywords: Philosophy, Ancient Early works to 1800.

Notes: Signatures: pt. 1. A-3O (3O8 blank; A-B signed 'a-b'); pt. 2. A-3F (3F5-8 blank); pt. 3. A-3H 3K-3R (3R7-8 blank); pt. 4. 3A-5G (5G7-8 blank); pt. 5. A-3K; pt. 6. A-2Z (2Z5-8 blank); pt. 7. A-2X; Index: A-Z ²A-3H (3H7-8 blank).

Publisher's device (Vaccaro 300) on title pages; v. 1-4 have colophon, with device (Vaccaro 406): Venetiis: Ex officina Nicolai Moretti, 1584; v.5-8, 1585 (v.5-7 without colophons, Index without device); v. 1 and 7 with name of Brugnolo on t.p.

Edited by Giovanni and Curzio Marinelli.

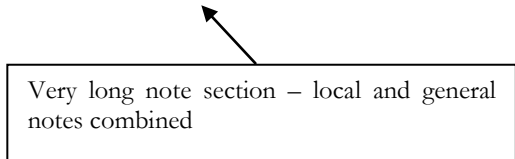
pt. 1. Logica -- pt. 2. Rhetorica ad Theodect. libri III. De rhetorica ad Alexan. lib. De arte poetica liber -- pt. 3. Physica -- pt. 4. Historia, Partes, Incessus, Motus, Generatio[ue] animalium, atque etiam plantarum -- pt. 5. Tota moralis Philosophia -- pt. 6. Problemata. Quaestiones mechanicae. De miraculis naturae. Physionomica. De lineis insecabilibus. Alexandri Aphrodisaei Problematum libri -- pt. 7. Theophrasti Metaphysicorum liber. De causis liber -- Index rerum omnium.

Index Aureliensis 108.669 (pt. 1, v. 2, p. 250)

Early vellum with spine titles in ms.; v. 3 is of another printing: Venetiis, Apud Iacobum Sarzinam, 1617, bound uniformly with these vols. (see record no. 3129640); embossed stamp of: Bibliothèque de l'archevêché de Montréal; with Klibansky shelf marks: pt. 1: D.e.22, pt. 4: D.e.19, pt. 5: D.e.17, pt. 6: D.e.18, Index: D.e.15.

Single copy of v. 5 rebound in dark red cloth; stamp on t.p.: Don Francesco Scortegagna; early ms. notations; Klibansky shelf mark: D.e.5.

Very long note section – local and general notes combined



Example #1: JT MARC filter

Reference Type: JT book

Record Number: 1985

Author: Aristotle ← Aristotle alone in author field

Year: 1584

Title: Aristotelis Stagiritae Peripateticorum principis Operum omnium. Pars prima[-septima ac suprema]

City: Venetiis

Publisher: Apud Ioachimum Bruniolum

Number of Volumes: 7

Holdings: PA3895 A4 1584 pars 1-2

PA3895 A4 1584 pars 4-7

PA3895 A4 1584 + Index

PA3895 A4 1584 pars 5

Extra Title Information: Aristotelis Stagiritae Peripateticorum principis Operum omnium. Pars prima[-septima ac suprema]

Other Contributors: Theophrastus.

Alexander, of Aphrodisias.

Marinello, Giovanni, 16th cent.

Marinelli, Curzio

Moretti, Nicolò, fl. 1583-1608, printer

Brugnolo, Giacchino, printer

Location: rbd klb

Call Number: PA3895 A4 1584

Keywords: Philosophy, Ancient Early works to 1800.

McGill Notes: Early vellum with spine titles in ms.; v. 3 is of another printing: Venetiis, Apud Iacobum Sarzinam, 1617, bound uniformly with these vols. (see record no. 3129640); embossed stamp of: Bibliothèque de l'archevêché de Montréal; with Klibansky shelf marks: pt. 1: D.e.22, pt. 4: D.e.19, pt. 5: D.e.17, pt. 6: D.e.18, Index: D.e.15.

Single copy of v. 5 rebound in dark red cloth; stamp on t.p.: Don Francesco Scortegagna; early ms. notations; Klibansky shelf mark: D.e.5.

Notes: 13 cm. (16mo) + Index (1 v. ; 13 cm. (16mo))

Signatures: pt. 1. A-3O (3O8 blank; A-B signed 'a-b'); pt. 2. A-3F (3F5-8 blank); pt. 3. A-3H 3K-3R (3R7-8 blank); pt. 4. 3A-5G (5G7-8 blank); pt. 5. A-3K; pt. 6. A-2Z (2Z5-8 blank); pt. 7. A-2X; Index: A-Z ²A-3H (3H7-8 blank).

Publisher's device (Vaccaro 300) on title pages; v. 1-4 have colophon, with device (Vaccaro 406): Venetiis: Ex officina Nicolai Moretti, 1584; v.5-8, 1585 (v.5-7 without colophons, Index without device); v. 1 and 7 with name of Brugnolo on t.p.

Edited by Giovanni and Curzio Marinelli.

Contents: pt. 1. Logica -- pt. 2. Rhetorica ad Theodect. libri III. De rhetorica ad Alexan. lib. De arte poetica liber -- pt. 3. Physica -- pt. 4. Historia, Partes, Incessus, Motus, Generatio[ue] animalium, atque etiam plantarum -- pt. 5. Tota moralis Philosophia -- pt. 6. Problemata. Quaestiones mechanicae. De miraculis naturae. Physionomica. De lineis insecabilibus. Alexandri Aphrodisaei Problematum libri -- pt. 7. Theophrasti Metaphysicorum liber. De causis liber -- Index rerum omnium.

Bibliographical References: Index Aureliensis 108.669 (pt. 1, v. 2, p. 250)

MARC 008: 931208m15841585it 001 0 lat d 0909295

MARC 008 field containing language and place of publication

Bibliographical references

Separate field for book contents

Holdings information

Extra title information

'Other contributors' separated from main author (and includes other kinds of contributors such as printers)

Separate fields for Call number and location

Separate field for McGill local notes

Example #2: RIS filter

Reference Type: Book

Record Number: 17077

No change from Example 1

Author: D. Erasmus, G. Listrius, M. Dorpius, Synesius, B. Rhenanus, J. Phreas, L. A. Seneca and H. Froben

Year: 1551

Title: Moriae encomium: id est, Stulticiae laudatio, ludicra declamatione tractata

Series Title: Running title of Moriae encomium (leaf versos): Morias enkomion

City: Basileae

Publisher: Froben

Number of Pages: 499, [13] p.

Short Title: Moriae encomium: id est, Stulticiae laudatio, ludicra declamatione tractata

Call Number: PA8588 A7 1594 Rare Books/Special Collections - Raymond Klibansky Collection (McLennan Bldg, 4th floor)

Keywords: Folly Early works to 1800.

Folly Religious aspects Christianity Early works to 1800.

Satire, Latin (Medieval and modern) Early works to 1800.

Notes: Woodcut printer's device on t.p. (2 snakes around a pole with bird on top, held by 2 hands, cloud-cuffed); initials; side-notes; roman and italic type.

Colophon: Basileae, apud Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, anno M.D.LI.

Signatures: a-z A-I. bv

(from t.p. verso) Erasmi Roterodami Moriae encomiu cum cōmentarijs Gerardi Listrij -- Epistola apogetica Erasmi Roterodami, ad Martinu Dorpiu -- Ludus L. Annei Senecae, de morte Claudij Cesaris, cum scholijs B. Rhenani -- Synesius Cyrenensis, De laudibus caluitij, Ioanne Phrea Britanno interprete, cum scholijs Beati Rhenani.

Latin, with some Greek.

Signature on t.p. of M. Laurentius Lalius; ms. markings and notations.

With: Colloquia sive exercitatio Latinae linguae Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini. Noribergae: In officina Gerlachiana, per Paulum Kauffmannum, 1594. Bound together subsequent to publication.

Example #2: JT MARC filter (continued on next page)

Reference Type: JT book

Record Number: 2002

Author: D. Erasmus

Year: 1551

Title: Moriae encomium: id est, Stulticiae laudatio, ludicra declamatione tractata

City: Basileae

Publisher: Froben

Number of Pages: 499, [13] p.

Author dates: d. 1536.

Author dates

Statement of Responsibility: per Des. Erasmus Roterodamum, cum quibusdam alijs.

Extra Title Information: Moriae encomium: id est, Stulticiae laudatio, ludicra declamatione tractata

AlternateTitle: Morias enkomion

Stulticiae laus

Alternate title information

Statement of responsibility

Other Contributors: Listrius, Gerardus.

Dorpius, Martinus, 1485-1525.

Synesius, of Cyrene, Bishop of Ptolemais.

Rhenanus, Beatus, 1485-1547.

Phreas, John, d. 1465.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, ca. 4 B.C.-65 A.D.

Froben, Hieronymus, 1501-1563, printer

Location: rbd klib

Call Number: PA8588 A7 1594

Keywords: Folly Early works to 1800.

Folly Religious aspects Christianity Early works to 1800.

Satire, Latin (Medieval and modern) Early works to 1800.

McGill Notes: Signature on t.p. of M. Laurentius Lalius; ms. markings and notations.

With: Colloquia sive exercitatio Latinae linguae Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini. Noribergae: In officina Gerlachiana, per Paulum Kauffmannum, 1594. Bound together subsequent to publication.

Notes: 17 cm. (8vo)

Woodcut printer's device on t.p. (2 snakes around a pole with bird on top, held by 2 hands, cloud-cuffed); initials; side-notes; roman and italic type.

Colophon: Basileae, apud Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, anno M.D.LI.

Signatures: a-z A-I. bv

Contents: (from t.p. verso) Erasmi Roterodami Moriae encomiu cum cōmentarijs Gerardi Listrij -- Epistola apologetica Erasmi Roterodami, ad Martinu Dorpiu -- Ludus L. Annei Senecae, de morte Claudij Cesaris, cum scholijs B. Rhenani -- Synesius Cyrenensis, De laudibus caluitij, Ioanne Phrea Britanno interprete, cum scholijs Beati Rhenani.

MARC 008: 800930s1551 sz 001 0 lat d

0810302

Language: Latin, with some Greek.

← Language note

Comments on individual fields of the modified filter:

Author: The separation of a single main author simplifies author analysis. This has both good points, as it eliminates editors, translators, etc., from the author line but also a bad point, as it discounts co-authors. It permits, however, a broad assessment of most frequently occurring authors.

Author Dates: New information not included with the RIS filter. It is especially useful for identifying works published during the lifetime of an author

Statment of Responsibility: The visibility of co-authors is improved by the inclusion of this field, which repeats the complete author statement as written from the title page. (It is not present in the first example as it is not in the record)

Holdings: The holdings information makes it clear if a multi-volume title is incomplete.

Other contributors: This separates out editors and other contributors from the author line, and also includes information about printers and in some cases things like illustrators and previous owners.

Extra Title information: This is often redundant, though not always. (This was replaced in a post-import version of the filter by *Uniform Title*, which is more useful as it groups together editions of the same work issued under different titles and in different languages)

Alternate Title: This is new information not included with the RIS filter. It can be useful for recognizing mentions of works in other writings, etc.

Location: A location code is added which makes it clear if the book is held in McGill collections other than the RKC.

Call number: This number is stripped of both its format (folio etc) and its location information for sorting purposes.

McGill Notes: This is very important for effectively limiting keyword searching within EndNote. It isolates what is distinct about the McGill copy and simplifies reading.

Contents: This is primarily for clarification of notes areas.

Bibliographical References: This is new information not included in the RIS filter.

MARC 008: This is new information not brought in with the RIS filter. *Note:* in the filters shown below, which are the filters used for the primary data import, the MARC 008 field was called instead Language (MARC).

**** Illustration:** An area included in the filter but not visible through these examples, it separates illustrations as a separate field for browsing and analysis.

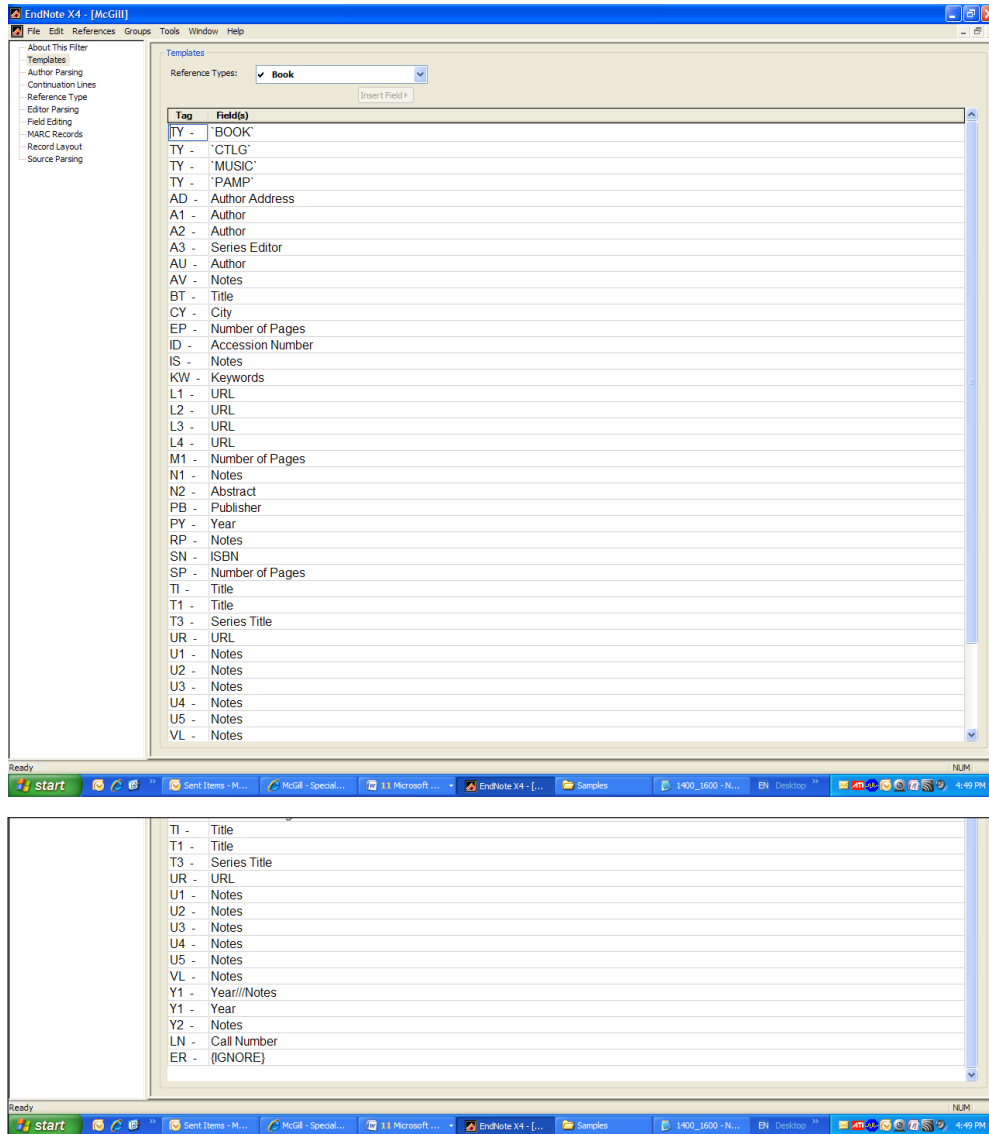
The filters in the following pages show examples of the import mechanisms responsible for creating such varied results.

Note of acknowledgement: Learning the processes of modifying EndNote filters, as well as making the necessary changes to specific EndNote reference type templates – as filter changes must be accompanied by parallel changes to reference type templates – was much helped in initial stages by documentation created by Paula Marcuzzi Schmidt at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her documentation on advanced uses of EndNote was more detailed, thorough and clear than I have seen elsewhere, but unfortunately no longer appears to be available: Paula Marcuzzi Schmidt, “Importing with EndNote Filters,” produced for the Department of Human Resource Education, Office of Educational Technology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (viewed in 2009 and/or 2010 at <http://students.ed.uiuc.edu/marcuzzi/endnote/filters.htm>).

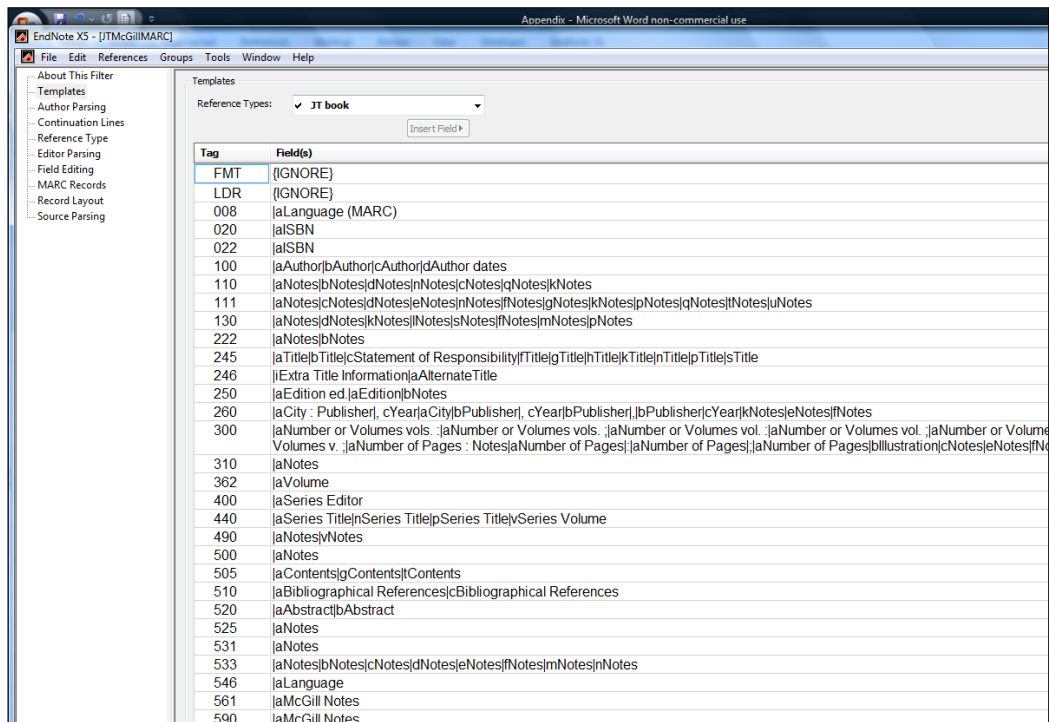
Filters: RIS and JT MARC

The filters include, in the left column, all of the elements of an OPAC record that will be brought into the EndNote database, and in the right column, the label of the EndNote field into which the data will be imported.

Standard RIS Filter for reference type 'book': EndNote screen shot



Modified MARC filter used for study for reference type 'JT book'



Tag	Field(s)
FMT	{IGNORE}
LDR	{IGNORE}
008	jaLanguage (MARC)
020	jaISBN
022	jaISBN
100	jaAuthorjbAuthorjcAuthorjdAuthor dates
110	jaNotesjbNotesjdNotesjnNotesjcNotesqNoteskNotes
111	jaNotesjbNotesjdNotesjnNotesjcNotesqNoteskNoteslpNotesqNoteslNotesuNotes
130	jaNotesjdNoteskNotesjNoteslNotesmNotespNotes
222	jaNotesjbNotes
245	jaTitlebTitlecStatement of ResponsibilityfTitlegTitlehTitlejTitlekTitlelTitlepTitlemTitlenTitleoTitlepTitleqTitlerTitle
246	jiExtra Title InformationjaAlternate Title
250	jaEdition ed jaEditionjbNotes
260	jaCity : Publisherj cYearjaCityjbPublisherj cYearjbPublisherjlpPublisherj cYearjkNotesjeNotesjNotes
300	jaNumber or Volumes vols . jaNumber or Volumes vols . jaNumber or Volumes vol . jaNumber or Volumes vol . jaNumber or Volumes
310	jaNotes
362	jaVolume
400	jaSeries Editor
440	jaSeries TitlejnSeries TitlelpSeries TitlevSeries Volume
490	jaNotesjbNotes
500	jaNotes
505	jaContentsjgContentsjtContents
510	jaBibliographical ReferencesjcBibliographical References
520	jaAbstractjbAbstract
525	jaNotes
531	jaNotes
533	jaNotesjbNotesjcNotesjdNotesjeNotesjNotesmNotesnNotes
546	jaLanguage
561	jaMcGill Notes
590	jaMcGill Notes

590	jaMcGill Notes
580	jaNotes
600	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
610	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
611	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
650	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
651	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
653	jaKeywords
655	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
690	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
691	jaKeywordsjbKeywordsjcKeywordsjdKeywordsjeKeywordsjfKeywordsjgKeywordsjhKeywordsjiKeywordsjkKeywordsjlKeywordsjmKeywordsjnKeywordsjoKeywordsjpKeywordsjqKeywordsjrKeywordsjsKeywordsjtKeywordsjuKeywordsjvKeywordsjwKeywordsjxKeywordsjyKeywordsjzKeywords
700	jaOther ContributorsjcOther ContributorsjeOther ContributorsjdOther Contributors
710	jaOther ContributorsjcOther ContributorsjeOther ContributorsjdOther Contributors
711	jaNotes
745	jaNotes
754	jaNotes
852	jbLocationjcLocationjhCall NumberjiCall NumberjzCall Number
856	juURL
866	jhHoldingsjiHoldingsjaHoldings
PST	{IGNORE}
SYS	{IGNORE}

A reference type is an EndNote mechanism to ensure that data imported using the various filters will be properly labeled once in the EndNote database. There are different reference types for books, periodicals, etc., to aid in proper bibliographic format, and for a modified filter to work properly each reference type that is used to import data must also be modified. The reference type *JT book* specified at the top of the filter (shown below) refers to a modified version of the basic book reference type.

Fields in original reference type: *JT book*

Modify Reference Types

Reference Type: JT book

To hide an unwanted reference type, add a period before the name (e.g., ".Map") in the column heading below.

Generic	JT book
Author	Author
Year	Year
Title	Title
Secondary Author	Series Editor
Secondary Title	Series Title
Place Published	City
Publisher	Publisher
Volume	Volume
Number of Volumes	Number or Volumes
Number	Series Volume
Pages	Number of Pages
Section	Pages
Tertiary Author	Illustration
Tertiary Title	Holdings
Edition	Edition
Date	Author dates
Type of Work	Type of Work
Subsidiary Author	Statement of Responsibility
Short Title	Extra Title Information
Alternate Title	Alternate Title
ISBN/ISSN	ISBN
DOI	DOI
Original Publication	Original Publication
Reprint Edition	Reprint Edition
Reviewed Item	Location
Custom 1	Signatures
Custom 2	Kibansky-related signatures
Custom 3	Marginalia (annotation)
Custom 4	Fists and underscoring (annotation)
Custom 5	Inscriptions
Custom 6	Shelf marks
Custom 7	Kibansky acq. date (annotation)
Custom 8	Price (annotation)
Accession Number	Insertions
Call Number	Call Number
Label	Labels or stamps
Keywords	Keywords
Abstract	McGill Notes
Notes	Notes
Research Notes	Research Notes
URL	Contents
File Attachments	File Attachments
Author Address	Other Contributors
Figure	Figure
Caption	Bibliographical References
Access Date	Access Date
Translated Author	Translated Author
Translated Title	Translated Title
Name of Database	Country of Origin
Database Provider	Language (MARC)
Language	Language

EndNote field names are on the left, new field names are on the right.

This version of the reference type was used for the major importation of study data. Some field names were subsequently changed (e.g. Language (MARC) became MARC 008); or removed (e.g. Price (annotation)); and subsequent imports were used to add fields from the same exported OPAC data set that were not included in the first import (e.g. Uniform title). New fields were integrated within Excel as there is no way to add a single field to an existing EndNote 'library' (database).

Appendix IV. Frequently occurring authors noted in Klibansky's leisure reading

The following are the most frequently reoccurring names noted among leisure reading books in Klibansky's home. The largest group seems to be that of Donna Leon.

They are primarily in English:

- Bruce Alexander (American mystery writer)
- Tonino Benacquista (French crime fiction writer, in French)
- Agatha Christie (English mystery writer)
- Collette (French novelist, in French)
- Colin Dexter (English crime writer)
- Batya Gur (Israeli detective fiction writer)
- Donna Leon (American crime writer; set in Italy))
- Michael Pearce (Sudanese historical and crime fiction writer)
- Iain Pears (English detective fiction writer)
- Ruth Rendell (English mystery writer)
- Steven Saylor (American historical mystery writer)
- Janwillem van der Wetering (Dutch mystery writer)
- Derek Wilson (English mystery writer)

Appendix V. Language analysis

Source

Language groups were determined from a combined review of three fields: MARC 008; MARC 041; MARC 546. Normally the three-letter language codes (e.g. ara) for all significant languages appears in the 041 field (and this is used for the OPAC language limit search feature), but occasionally they appear only spelled out in the MARC 546 language note field.

Classical languages

For the purpose of this analysis ancient (to 1453) and modern Greek (1453-), which are given separate codes in cataloguing, (grc and gre, respectively) are considered together, with the code Grc.

The code “CLAS” is used to group works in Latin or Greek (e.g. Ger-CLAS). The letter “C” alone indicates a combination of Greek and Latin in a single work when combined with a third language (e.g. Ger-C). When a work is just bilingual Greek – Latin the code Lat-Grc is used. Hebrew is included in the group “Other.”

Bilingual texts

The code “BIL-CLAS” refers to items that are in a classical language as well as in a modern language. The code “BIL-MOD” refers to bilingual items in two main modern languages.

Symbols () and (+)*

An asterisk (*) following a language group indicates that it includes items classed in that language only (e.g., Fre) or with minor inclusions of another language (e.g. Fre+). Minor inclusions (+) was taken here to include descriptions from language notes (i.e. MARC 546 area) indicating a “summary,” or the “occasional” or “some” presence of a language other than the primary language. If the language note mentions “portions”, “excerpts” or “considerable” inclusions in another language they are considered bilingual (BIL-MOD or BIL-CLAS, depending on the language).

Other

Language groups designated as “Other” (Oth) are listed in Table 7. For analysis purposes it also includes “Poly”, groups with three or more modern languages.

The list shows how language groups have been constituted for analysis. Larger groups are on the left side, and the constituent subgroups are to the right.

Groups for Analysis	2 nd level groupings	3 rd level groupings
Ger*		
	Ger	
	Ger+	
Eng*		
	Eng	
	Eng+	
Fre*		
	Fre	
	Fre+	
Ita*		
	Ita	
	Ita+	
Spa*		
	Spa	
	Spa+	
CLAS		
	Grc	
	Lat	
	Lat+	
	Lat-Grc	
	Lat-Grc+	
BIL-CLAS		
	Lat-Poly	
	Lat-Oth	
	Grc-Poly	
	Grc-Oth	
	C-Oth	
	Spa-Lat	
	Ita-CLAS	
		Ita-C
		Ita-Grc
		Ita-Lat
	Ger-CLAS	
		Ger-C
		Ger-Grc
		Ger-Lat
		Ger-Lat+
	Fre-CLAS	
		Fre-Grc
		Fre-Lat
		Fre-Lat+
	Eng-CLAS	
		Eng-C
		Eng-Grc
		Eng-Lat

Groups for Analysis	2 nd level groupings	3 rd level groupings
Other		
	Other	
	Poly	
	(blank)	
BIL-MOD		
	BIL-Eng	
		Eng-Fre
		Eng-Ger
		Eng-Ita
		Eng-Ita+
		Eng-Oth
		Eng-Oth+
		Eng-Poly
		Eng-Spa
	BIL-Fre	
		Fre-Ita
		Fre-Oth
		Fre-Poly
	BIL-Ger	
		Ger-Fre
		Ger-Ita
		Ger-Oth
		Ger-Poly
		Ger-Spa
	BIL-Ita	
		Ita-Oth
		Ita-Poly
		Ita-Spa
	Spa-Oth	

Appendix VI. Description of supplementary electronic material (LISTS)

A sample page is included here for each list provided electronically in supplement with the RKC Data Sheet. (In the electronic file lists are sized for printing (landscape orientation), and may be sorted by any field.

List I (Complete Collection), 301 pp.

This list is functions as an index to provenance data and as a browsing list for the collection as a whole (not possible within the McGill OPAC; limit of 3000 records.) The sample is ordered alphabetically by author, with indications of marginalia or markings (M&M), ownership and gift inscriptions (O&G), insertions (I), and shelf marks (S)

List II (Klibansky pre-1933 acquisition), 28 pp.

This index is ordered alphabetically by author. It includes books believed to have been acquired by Klibansky before 1933 (W); and those thought likely to have been acquired prior to 1933 (WP). The complete McGill local notes field is included.

List III (Inscribed copies), around 77 pp.

The index is ordered alphabetically by author, not inscriber, as inscriber names have not been verified through item examination. Includes the complete local notes field; indicates if inscribed to Klibansky (KLIB), and if it is inscribed by the author (AUTH) or someone responsible for/associated with the volume (RESP/ASSOC).

List IV (Klibansky shelf marks), 26 pp.

The list is ordered by Klibansky shelf mark. Included are indications of (M&M), and ownership and gift inscriptions (O&G). Non-Klibansky shelf marks are also included.

LIST I – SAMPLE: Complete collection index, with indications of marginalia or markings (M&M), ownership and gift inscriptions (O&G), insertions (I), and shelf marks (S). The column ‘Fol’ contains McGill RBSC location codes *folio* or *elf*.

TH REF #	Auth (LAST,FIRST)	Title	DATE	Ctry	Fol	LC #	M & M	O&G	I	S
1609	Aaron, Richard I. (Richard Ithamar)	John Locke	1955	enk		B1296 A62 1955		O&G		
1296	Abbagnano, Nicola	Guglielmo di Ockham	1931	it		B765 O34 A6 1931		O&G		
623	Abbott, Evelyn	Index to Plato : compiled for the second edition of Professor Jowett's translation of the dialogues	1875	enk		B358 J8 1875 Index				S
1117	Abelard, Peter	Abailard's ethics	1935	enk		B765 A23 E82 1935				
1115	Abelard, Peter	Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum	1970	gw		B765 A23 D6 1970				
138	Abelard, Peter	Ein neuaufgefundenes Bruchstück der Apologia Abaelards	1930	gw		AS182 M823 1930 Heft 5	Y			
5730	Abelard, Peter	Lettres complètes d'Abélard et d'Héloïse : traduction nouvelle précédée d'une préface	1870	fr		PA8201 A5 1870				
4101	Abelard, Peter	Ouvrages inédits d'Abelard : pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie scolastique en France	1836	fr		DC3 C7 A52 1836				
996	Abelard, Peter	Peter Abaelards Theologia 'Summa boni'	1939	gw		B720 B4 Bd.35 Heft 2/3				
3053	Abelard, Peter	Petri Abælardi abbatis Rugensis Opera omnia : juxta editionem Parisiensem anni 1626, suppletis quæ in ea desiderabantur opusculis : accedunt Hilarii et Berengarii Abælardi discipulorum Opuscula et epistolæ	1885	fr	fol	BR60 M5 t.178	MANY	O&G		
3315	Abelard, Peter	Petri Abaelardi Sic et non	1851	gw		BT70 A2 1851	Y	O&G		
1114	Abelard, Peter	Scritti filosofici : Editio super Porphyrium, Glossae in Categorías, Super Aristotelem De interpretatione, De divisionibus, Super Topica glossae	1954	it		B765 A21 P7 1954				
5729	Abelard, Peter	The love letters of Abelard and Heloise	1901	enk		PA8201 A4 1901				
5731	Abelard, Peter	The story of Abelard's adversities	1954	onc		PA8201 H4 1954		O&G		
4498	Abella, Irving M.	A coat of many colours : two centuries of Jewish life in Canada	1990	onc		FC106 J5 A23 1990				
5010	Abert, Hermann	Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik : ein Beitrag zur Musikästhetik des klassischen Altertums	1899	gw		ML3920 A14 1899				S

LIST II – SAMPLE: Books acquired by Klibansky before 1933 (W); those likely to have been acquired prior to 1933 (WP). In some cases the main codes (W/WP) are further distinguished by provenance groups linked with Klibansky's circles prior to his departure, the largest being those with Gundolf provenance (GundW/GundWP); Boll provenance (BollW/BollWP); provenance from the KBW (KBW), though not from the Warburg Institute of London; and a provenance group possibly linked indirectly with Gundolf (SelverWP). Complete McGill local notes field is included.

TH REF #	Th Auth (LAST,FIRST)	Title	Date	McGill Call No.	McGill Notes	Weimar
4917	Agricola, Rodolphus	Der Humanist Rudolf Agricola : sein Leben und seine Schriften	1893	LB175 A27 1893	Editor's presentation inscription to Dr. Heidenheimer, Mainz, 1893; partially legible inscription to Richard (?) Klibansky, dated Mainz, 21 Februar 1928.	W
1130	Anselm, Saint, Archbishop of Canterbury	S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi liber Monologion	1929	B765 A83 M6 1929	Donor: Raymond Klibansky. Signature of Raymond Klibansky, Heidelberg 1932; with occasional ms. markings and annotations.	W
3355	Anselm, Saint, Archbishop of Canterbury	S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi liber Cur Deus homo	1929	BT264 A6 1929	Signature of Raymond Klibansky on front flyleaf, dated 1932.	W
5390	Aristotle.	Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea	1887	PA3893 E6 1887	Copy in Klibansky Coll. rebound; original covers wanting; signatures in pen on front flyleaf: Plasberg, Berol. 1890; and, Raymond Klibansky, Hamburg, 1926; marginal annotations in pencil throughout, and on back pastedown endpaper.	W
5398	Aristotle.	Elementa logices Aristoteleae	1862	PA3893 O7 1862	Copy in Klibansky Coll. has signature in pencil on front free endpaper: stud. Raymond Klibansky, Kiel, Sommer 1924; Klibansky shelf-mark in pencil on t.p.: D.g.15; bookseller's stamp on front pastedown endpaper: Gsellius'sche Buch-, Antiquaar- und Globenhandlung, Berlin; annotations in pencil on back pastedown endpaper.	W
5887	Aristotle.	Aristoteles Poetik	1862	PN1040 A56 S73 1862	Signature in pencil on front flyleaf: Raymond Klibansky, Freiburg, März 1931; Klibansky shelf-mark in pencil: D.g.36.	W

LIST III – SAMPLE: Inscribed copies. Complete local notes field and indication if inscribed to Klibansky (KLIB) and if it is inscribed by the author (AUTH), someone responsible for the volume (RESP) or associated with it (ASSOC)

TH REF #	Auth (LAST,FIRST)	Title	Date	*Cntry Anal	McGill Call No.	McGill Local Notes (several non-RKC notes removed)	*INSCRI	AuthorP rov
1752	Adam, Ch.	De methodo apud Cartesium, Spinozam et Leibnitium	1885	fr	B1878 K6 B68 1892	With: De qualitativis sensibilibus apud Cartesium / B. Bourdon. Parisiis: F. Alcan, 1892.; spine title: Essays on Leibniz, Spinoza, & Descartes; on half-title p.: author's signed presentation inscription to A.M. Chappuis(?).	INSCRI_Gen	AUTHOR
2623	Agazzi, Evandro.	Il tempo nella scienza e nella filosofia	1985	it	BD638 A38 1985	Unsigned ms. presentation inscription, dated Palermo, 1985, to Prof. Klibansky.	KLIB	
2768	Agazzi, Evandro.	Weisheit im Technischen	1986	sz	BJ59 A33 1986	Donor: Raymond Klibansky.Signed (illegibly) presentation inscription in Italian Raymond Klibansky.	KLIB	
6665	Agazzi, Evandro.	Temi e problemi di filosofia della fisica	1969	it	QC6 A36 1969	Author's signed presentation inscription to Prof. R. Klibansky on half-title page.	KLIB	AUTHOR
4917	Agricola, Rodolphus	Der Humanist Rudolf Agricola : sein Leben und seine Schriften	1893	gw	LB175 A27 1893	Editor's presentation inscription to Dr. Heidenheimer, Mainz, 1893; partially legible inscription to Richard (?) Klibansky, dated Mainz, 21 Februar 1928.	KLIB	RESP
1366	Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Cornelius	Henrici Cornelii Agrippae ab Nettesheym ... Opera : in duos tomos concinne digesta, & nunc denuo sublati omnibus mendis, ... accuratissime recusa : quibus post omnium editiones de novo accessit Ars notoria, ut satis indicat catalogus post praefationem positus	1630	fr	B781 A3 1630	Copy in Klibansky Coll.(v. 1) with 1866 inscription on t.p.; pictorial bookplate of Edward Bensly, 1922; bookseller's label of B.H. Blackwell, Oxford.Copy in Klibansky Coll. (v. 1) contemporary full vellum, spine title in ms., remnants of cloth ties.	INSCRI_Gen	

LIST IV: RKC volumes with shelf marks, in shelf mark order. Indications of marginalia or markings (M&M), ownership and gift inscriptions (O&G).

A sorting field is added, to the left of the Shelf marks column, for correct shelf mark re-sorting.

TH REF #	SORT ORDER	Shelf marks	Auth (LAST,FIRST)	Title	Date	Cntry Anal	McGill Call No.	M&M	O&G
5515	1	D.a.1; D.a.2	Plato.	Parmenides e peri ideon = Parmenides sive de ideis et uno rerum omnium principio Platonis dialogus	1728	enk	PA4279 P2 T6 1728	Y	O&G
735	2	D.a.3	Lewinsohn, Willi	Gegensatz und Verneinung : Studien zu Plato und Aristoteles	1910	gw	B395 L393 1910		O&G
5489	3	D.a.4	Plato.	Platonis Euthyphro, Apologia Socratis, Crito, Phaedo Graece	1783	gw	PA4279 A3 1783		O&G
5547	4	D.a.5	Plato.	Timaeus and Critias	1929	enk	PA4281 T7 T2 1929		O&G
692	5	D.a.7	Wilson, John Cook	On the interpretation of Plato's Timaeus : critical studies with special reference to a recent edition	1889	enk	B387 W54 1889		
763	6	D.a.10	Halévy, Elie	La théorie platonicienne des sciences	1896	fr	B398 D5 H34 1896		
620	7	D.a.11	Plato.	The works of Plato : a new and literal version	1848	enk	B358 B6 1848		
4729	8	D.a.12	Joseph, H. W. B. (Horace William Brindley)	Knowledge and the good in Plato's Republic	1948	enk	JC71 P6 J59 1948		
538	9	D.a.13	Mayor, Joseph B. (Joseph Bickersteth)	A sketch of ancient philosophy from Thales to Cicero	1889	enk	B111 M45 1889		O&G
5544	10	D.a.23	Plato.	Platonos dialogoi 5 = Platonis dialogi V	1765	enk	PA4280 A6 F67 1765		O&G
5520	11	D.a.25	Plato.	Platonos Phaidon = The Phaedo of Plato	1883	enk	PA4279 P3 1883		O&G
3161	12	D.a.26	Baur, Ferdinand Christian	Das Christliche des Platonismus, oder, Sokrates und Christus : eine religionsphilosophische Untersuchung	1837	gw	BR128 G8 B3 1837		
682	13	D.a.27	Plato.	Platons Gastmahl	1922	gw	B385 A7 H55 1922		
5532	14	D.a.28	Plato.	Platonos Symposion = Platons Gastmahl : ein Dialog	1782	gw	PA4279 S8 1782	Y	O&G