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# German Language Economic Bestsellers before 1850, with two chapters on a common reference point of Cameralism and Mercantilism

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The major legacy of Cambridge economist Herbert Somerton Foxwell (1849-1936) was what is probably still the two greatest collections of economics books. Indirectly it is essentially thanks to Herbert Foxwell, and later to the curator of one of these collections, that we are able to produce a fairly accurate list of the economic bestsellers in German language before 1850.

Foxwell's first collection, of about 30,000 books, was sold to the the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths in London for 10,000 Pounds in 1901. This collection forms the core of what is now Goldsmiths' Library of Economic Literature at the University of London. With his duplicates Foxwell then started a second collection, which became Kress Library of Business and Economics at Harvard Business School. Based on Foxwell's book collection at Harvard – and the infatigable work of Ken Carpenter who became its curator in 1968<sup>3</sup> – we are now able to measure, to a reasonable degree, which economics books – in any Western language – have been the most influential, measured using the number of issues as a proxy.

Foxwell collected books published before he was born, i.e. stopping with 1848, a year coinciding with the Revolutions in Europe and the publications – all in that same year – of John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy*, of Marx' and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, and of Bruno Hildebrand's *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft*. Foxwell's choice of date limits the scope of Ken Carpenter's work and this paper.

With Foxwell's collection as a basis Carpenter investigated and made a list of the 40 bestselling economics books in terms of editions published before 1850 (Carpenter 1974). Based on Carpenter's continuous work on economics translations from 1968 to date, Carpenter and Reinert are now putting together a new publication on the economic bestsellers before 1850 with a biography and bibliography of the authors. The number of bestselling books is now likely to be 65.

Carpenter's list is astonishing reading because so many presently unknown economists figure so prominently there, while authors that present students of the history of economic thought would be convinced they would find there – like Quesnay – are conspicuously absent.

The first list had five authors who were either Germans or wrote the first

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<sup>3</sup> Carpenter since worked in other positions in the Harvard Library system, and retired in 2001. But since 1968 his passion has been to record translations of economics books. In the later years he has worked as an assistant to Prof. Sophus Reinert at Harvard Business School. On Carpenter at Harvard [http://hul.harvard.edu/publications/hul\\_notes\\_1299/carpenter.html](http://hul.harvard.edu/publications/hul_notes_1299/carpenter.html)

edition of the work in question in German. On the forthcoming list two will be added (Seckendorff and Hirzel), and one (Schröder 1686) will have to be deleted because we seem unable to find more than 9 editions, and the cut-off point has been established at 10. Still, this paper lists Wilhelm von Schröder's 1698 *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Kammer* because it was a very important book, and also the works of Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, whose textbook would definitively have made it to 10 editions if it had not been published in so many different versions.

Of the 65 bestsellers that are likely to make it into the new bestseller volume, one was published in the 1500s, ten during the 1600s, thirty-nine in the 1700s, and 15 from 1800 to 1850. It is slightly surprising to find that the German authors – including Schröder here – are so early in the chronology: three in the 1600s, three in the 1700s and Marx' and Engels' *Manifesto* as the only one in the 1800s. As opposed to the other works, the *Manifesto* is so well known it will not be discussed here.

### **1. Herbert Foxwell, Kress Library, and the Economic Bestsellers.**

In Cambridge Herbert Somerton Foxwell (1849-1936) was a contemporary of John Maynard Keynes' father John Neville Keynes (1852-1949), of Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), the founder of neo-classical economics, and of economic historian William Cunningham (1849-1919).

In 1890 John Neville Keynes published *The Scope and Method of Political Economy*. In the same year the first edition of Marshall's *Principles of Economics* appeared. Both volumes were published by Macmillan, and the authors thank each other in the introduction for having read and commented on their respective manuscripts. It may be argued that Keynes Senior's book – e.g. with its insistence on history and on the inseparability of economics and ethics – lies surprisingly close to the German Historical School approach. The same thing applies to Foxwell, whose own writings are marked with an ardent anti-Ricardianism.

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) has given us a loving obituary of Foxwell<sup>4</sup>, and one can almost imagine that his father's sympathies shine through in his comments.

Like his German counterparts at the time, Foxwell argued strongly against the abstract economic methods of David Ricardo, and like the members

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<sup>4</sup> "Herbert Somerton Foxwell", originally published in *Economic Journal*, December 1916. And as chapter 17 in *The Collected Writings of John Maynard Keynes. Vol. X. Essays in Biography*, pp. 266-296.

of the German Historical School, he equally disliked liberalism and communism. Foxwell wrote several pieces on the history of English socialist economics and 19<sup>th</sup> century economics in general. Together with Edwin Seligman of Columbia University (another serious collector of economics books), Foxwell is a main source of information on minor English economists, both socialists and anti-Ricardians, of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Foxwell's 110 page introduction to Anton Menger's *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour*<sup>5</sup>, brings a scathing criticism of Ricardo's negative influence on economics on two accounts: Ricardo both gave the whole course of mainstream economics a 'wrong twist', making it unhistorical and unrealistic, and his 'crude generalisation' gave 'modern socialism its fancied scientific basis'.

Foxwell thus very early saw the point that lately has been made by Stiglitz (1994) and Hodgson (1999) that both communism and liberalism have the same intellectual roots in David Ricardo. So strong was Foxwell's dislike of Ricardo, that he failed to deliver his Presidential Address on Ricardo to the Royal Economic Society 'on the ground that his onslaught of the man, who had convinced the world of the dreadful heresy of a necessary conflict between the interests of capital and labour, would have been too provocative' (Keynes 1972: 270). Foxwell also wrote on finance and banking, emphasising the advantages of the continental banking practices over English.

It was Foxwell who spelt out the danger of what Schumpeter later labelled 'The Ricardian Vice' in economics:

'Ricardo, and still more those who popularised him, may stand as an example for all time of the extreme danger which may arise from the unscientific use of hypothesis in social speculations, from the failure to appreciate the limited applications to actual affairs of a highly artificial and arbitrary analysis. His ingenious, though perhaps over-elaborated reasonings became positively mischievous and misleading when they were unhesitatingly applied to determine grave practical issues without the smallest sense of the thoroughly abstract and unreal character of the assumptions on which they were founded.' (Foxwell 1899: xli)

Foxwell's collection of economics books – still today the core of Kress Library – reflects the collector's understanding that economics must be studied in its economic and social context, and Foxwell's 'special sympathy for all heretics against the bondage of economic orthodoxy' (Keynes 1972: 281). Schumpeter's defiance of economic orthodoxy – of the nor-

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<sup>5</sup> London, Macmillan, 1899. Downloadable on <http://www.othercanon.org/papers/>

mally uncontested superiority of the canonical writings from the Physiocrats to 'A. Smith' – is very much in the spirit of Foxwell and of his book collection, where Schumpeter was based when he wrote the *History of Economic Analysis*. Schumpeter's well known scepticism towards 'A. Smith' is paralleled in Foxwell's critical attitude towards the English tradition. Schumpeter is indeed open to see positive aspects of most economic ideas, perhaps with the exception of the German Romantics.

Being an English economist, Foxwell was unique in his intuitive closeness to the German philosophical and economic approach from which Schumpeter came. Against the backdrop of Foxwell's own economics and his book collection, Schumpeter stands out as a kindred spirit. He refers to Foxwell five times in the *History of Economic Analysis*, but – somewhat surprisingly – always only as a collector or editor, never as an economist and historian of economic thought in his own right.

In his 110 page introduction Foxwell discusses the role of the English socialists and gives the reader a tour de force of the history of economics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as it relates to socialist ideas.

Here are some quotes from Foxwell's introduction to Menger:

'just as we may avoid widespread physical desolation by rightly turning a stream near its source, so a timely dialectic in the fundamental ideas of social philosophy may spare us untold social wreckage and suffering.' (xxi)

'the merely mechanical philosophy of Malthus' (xl)

'as Jevons has observed, Ricardo gave the whole course of English economics a wrong twist. (xli)

'The fact seems to be that, after the appearance of Ricardo's *Principles*, the economists were largely given over to sterile logomachy (i.e. disputes about words, controversy turning one merely verbal points, esr/kc) and academic hair-splitting. (p. lxxii)

The work on Schumpeter's 'affiliations' of economic thought was continued in Kress Library through publications on bibliographical matters and on unknown economists. In the 1970s Kenneth Carpenter, the Kress Librarian, did very important work on Schumpeterian filiation of ideas in economics. Carpenter worked both on establishing the impact and influence of economics books published before 1850 (as already mentioned, this year is the cut-off point for Foxwell's collection, the year after his birth) and on tracing the spread and influence of economic ideas through translations (Carpenter 1977). His *Economic Bestsellers before 1850*

(Carpenter 1975) is a standard reference work for economic books. Carpenter's thorough, impressive and well-indexed work *Translations of Economic Literature before 1850 into Swedish* remains still unpublished.

Unfortunately this work came to an end when Harvard Business School needed office space and planned to close this unique scholars' paradise. While Harvard wanted to mothball the world's best collection of economics books, Japanese universities continued their practice of purchasing all the important economics collections which came on the market. 'Short-term America' vs. 'long-term Japan' was a theme much discussed at the time, and the different treatment in the US and in Japan of the genetic material for understanding our economic past provided a case in point. In the end, after a period of closure, Kress Library was saved, partly as the result of David Landes' protests in the Harvard Library Committee. However, parts of Foxwell's collection of books from after 1850 were lost when, in the ominous year of 1984, Baker Library decided to sell all books which had not been lent out for a period of 50 years.

## 2. Giovanni Botero and the origins of Mercantilism and Cameralism.



**Figure 1.** Monument to Giovanni Botero in his native city of Bene Vagennia, Cuneo, Piedmont (1871).

It is probably fair to say that cameralist and mercantilist tradition grew out of two much older and overlapping traditions

1) the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition with roots back to Roman times, bringing advice to the rulers on how to govern. Even in peripheral Norway, this tradition goes back to a text from around 1250: *Konungs skuggsjá* (Old Norse for “King’s mirror”)

2) the tradition of accurate country surveys and descriptions dating back to *De magnalibus urbis mediolani* of Bonvesin de la Riva (1288) and later works also on the Florentine state. Such descriptive surveys were the purpose of costly and extensive *visitas* in the Spanish provinces of the New World, the result of which were published.

We have now come to think that the apparently different traditions – Cameralism and Mercantilism – did not grow independently out of the two traditions mentioned above, that many authors both cameralist and mercantilist used the extremely widely diffused works of Giovanni Botero (c. 1544- 1617) as a common platform and point of reference. Botero’s work *Ragion di Stato* (1589) satisfied the *Fürstenspiegel* tradition, while his *Relazioni Universali* (1591) satisfies the need for surveys and the fact-finding missions’ quest for geographical, cultural, and anthropological knowledge. All in all, at the time when the knowledge of the whole world and its cultures became codifiable, Giovanni Botero provided an unusually complete range of social sciences. It is worth noting that in contrast to the many utopias of the period, Botero’s reasoning was based on the observation of history and of facts.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently few things unite Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618), Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), English economist Edward Misselden (1608–1654), and Swedish technologist and economist Christopher Polhem (1661-1751). But one thing does: they all convey key insights found originally in Giovanni Botero and they do not quote him or anyone else as to the origins of these insights. Clearly also the work of the first German bestseller, Veit von Seckendorff, is very influenced by Botero, but we have not yet found any direct or indirect quotes. This paper attempts to scratch the surface of the links between Giovanni Botero and early economics.

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<sup>6</sup> Of course Botero made mistakes, as when his sources were not correct. The remarkable thing, however, is the acuteness of his policy prescriptions.





**Figure 2.** Christopher Polhem (1661-1751), inventor and economist, on Sweden's 500 kronor banknote. The other side of the banknote pictures the contemporary King Carl XI, and the building which housed what is probably the world's first central bank (Riksbanken, 1666). Polhem not only testifies to the need for manufacturing in order to produce national wealth, he also restates the theoretical point which Antonio Serra (fl. 1613) added to Botero's understanding: that diminishing returns (in Sweden's case in mining) makes it impossible to grow richer by continuing to produce what Polhem calls Rudimaterien (raw materials), they must be worked into Manufacturer (manufactured good). This was also the basic message of classical development economics from World War II until the mid-1970s.

Many years ago, rambling through the uncatalogued parts of the Gotha Library – in search of material relating to its first librarian Veit von Seckendorff – Reinert was stuck by the large number of editions, more than 30, of Giovanni Botero's works. Curiosity grew even more when I found that my 1622 Venice edition of Botero's *Relazioni Universali* – combining geography, anthropology and *Staatswissenschaften* (and to some people a very early book on oceanography) – according to his bibliographer Assandria (1928), is the 61<sup>st</sup> edition of this book, the first being in 1591.

During the authors' quest to produce a new, more complete and more broadly conceived of the economic bestsellers before 1850, it became clear that Botero's small book (3 + 79 pp.) *The Cause of the Greatness of Cities / Sulla Grandezza delle Città* (first edition 1588) is the first economic bestseller, reaching a record 40 editions before 1850, 38 of them between 1588 and 1671. Only one year later, this volume was included

in the much larger work *Ragion di Stato* (8 + 368 pp.) which in English came to be called *Reason of State* and in German *Staatsräson*. In his 1925 work on *Staatsräson* Meinecke mentions Botero's many followers and the "true catacombs of forgotten literature" which follow in Botero's paths.<sup>7</sup>

For details of the publication record, see Table 1 below. It is not yet completely clear which editions of *Ragion di Stato* contained *Greatnesse of Cities* and which did not. There is a new (2012) translation of Botero's *The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities*<sup>8</sup> with an excellent introduction by Geoffrey Symox.

As was the habit with translations at the time<sup>9</sup> frequently sources were not acknowledged. In early economic thought, it has seemed to us, sometimes very assertive statements are made, as if everyone should know where they came from. In various forms, the statement that manufacturing were the real gold mines, much more valuable than the gold mines themselves, is found all over Europe from the late 1500s through the 1700s. It now appears that this statement and this understanding originate with Giovanni Botero's 1588 work. We find them from Tommaso Campanella (1602) and Antonio Genovesi (in the 1770s), both in Italy, to Sir Walter Raleigh in England, Gerónimo Uztáriz in Spain, and Anders Berch, the first economics professor outside Germany, in Uppsala in Sweden in the 1740s.

These people shared a basic understanding that only in barren areas lacking natural resources and with few possibilities for food production – such as in Venice and in the Dutch Republic – economic development would tend to come 'naturally'. In other areas the transition from diminishing return activities (agriculture) to increasing return activities (manufacturing) – as they were identified by Serra (1613) – from 'natural activities' to 'artificial activities' – using the terminology of Thomas Mun (1621) which may have originated with Botero – required heavy-handed government policies. What Venice and the Dutch Republic had achieved – rather than the policies of Venice and of the Dutch Republic – was the object of attention of foreign economists and foreign rulers alike.

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<sup>7</sup> "Wahre Katakomben von vergessener Literatur", Meinecke, Friedrich, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte*, Munich, Oldenbourg, second edition, 1925, page 83n.

<sup>8</sup> Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012

<sup>9</sup> On translations, see Sophus Reinert, *Translating Empire*, Harvard University Press, 1912.

The theoretical conflict between the forefathers of today's mainstream canon and the Renaissance canon has existed at least since the 1622-23 'English' debate between Gerard de Malynes<sup>10</sup> and Edward Misselden,<sup>11</sup> where Malynes represented a static theory rooted in *barter* and Misselden represented a theory centred around *learning* and *production*. In the history of economic thought, their debate is interpreted as being about exchange controls and the balance of trade.<sup>12</sup> The controversy between the two was an 'acrimonious, even abusive' one, in which 'ink was shed like water'<sup>13</sup>.

However, by going back to the sources, one finds that the main line of attack by Misselden against Malynes is his 'mechanical' view of Man - Malynes has left out Man's 'art' and 'soul'. Misselden quotes at length a paragraph from Malynes, where Malynes reduces trade to three elements, 'namely, Commodities, Money, and Exchange'<sup>14</sup>. Objecting to this definition, Misselden says: 'It is against Art to dispute with a man that denyeth the *Principles* of Art'. Misselden scorns Malynes for not seeing the difference between a heap of stones and logs and a house - because Man's productive powers and his soul, which produce the house, have been left out. Typically the wealth of a nation was seen as lying in its capacity to produce, its 'productive powers' as Friedrich List put it.

The importance of the difference between "heaps of stones and logs and a house" rings a bell when reading Botero, the first English translation of which was in 1605:

".... some will aske me; whether Fertilitie of Land, or Industrie of Man, importeth more to make a place Great, or populous? Industrie, assuredly. First because Manufactures framed by the skilfull hand of Man, are more in number<sup>15</sup>, and price<sup>16</sup>, than things produced by Nature: For Nature giveth matter, and subject: but the Curiositie and Art of Man addeth unspeakable varietie of

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<sup>10</sup> Malynes, Gerhard, *The Maintenance of Free Trade, According to the three essentiall (sic) Parts...Commodities, Moneys and Exchange of Moneys*, London, William Sheffard, 1622, and *The Center of the Circle of Commerce, or, A Refutation of a Treatise,.....,lately published by E.M.*, London, Nicholas Bourne, 1623.

<sup>11</sup> Misselden, Edward, *Free Trade and the Meanes (sic) to Make Trade Flourish*, London, Simon Waterson, 1622, and, *The Circle of Commerce or the Ballance (sic) of Trade*, London, Nicholas Bourne, 1623,

<sup>12</sup> Schumpeter discusses the controversy between the two men in his *History of Economic Analysis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. 344-345. See also their respective entries in 'The New Palgrave'. In all cases these references are purely to the mechanics of money and exchange.

<sup>13</sup> Buck, Philip, *The Politics of Mercantilism*, New York, Henry Holt, 1942, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Misselden, *op. cit.*, (1623), p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> i.e. greater diversity of products.

<sup>16</sup> More imperfect competition??

formes. Wool, from Nature, is a rude and simple Commodity: What fair things, how various, and infinite, doth Art make out of it?"<sup>17</sup>

"Compare the Marbles, with the Statues, Colossuses, Columns, Borders, and infinite other Labours, taken. Compare the Timber, with the Galleys, Galleons, Vessels of many sorts, both of Warre, Burthen, and Pleasure: Compare also the Timber, with the Statues, the Furnitures for Building, and other things innumerable, which are built with the Plane, Chesill, and Turners-Wheele. Compare the Colours with the Pictures...(etc.)"<sup>18</sup>

Botero's distinction between raw materials and the finished good which are created by the arts, certainly recalls Thorstein Veblen's insistence on the instinct of workmanship – rather than Adam Smith's barter instinct – as the origin of wealth. Misselden represents the acute Renaissance awareness of the enormous territory to be covered between Mankind's present poverty and ignorance, and the enormous potentials. This released enthusiasm and energy. The situation recalls Keynes' frustration with the suboptimal situation of the world under the Great Depression. Both the Renaissance philosophers/economists and Keynes were searching for the formula needed to liberate society from its obviously suboptimal position at the time. It recalls what Keynes called 'Salvation through Knowledge'. This attitude is very different from Man as the passive victim of 'two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure'<sup>19</sup>, which is the philosophical foundation of English classical and modern neo-classical economics.

In England, Sir Walter Raleigh was also studying Botero's treatise; his "Observations Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulence of Cities" is a precis of Botero's text.<sup>20</sup> For example: Raleigh's final section, "The Causes That Concern the Magnificency of a City" closely follows Botero's translation of the conclusion to Book III of "On the Causes". Raleigh's interest in "On the Causes" seems to be linked to his colonial projects. Echoing Botero's conception of a civilizing process in which cities were instrumental (Book I, ch. 2), Raleigh's opening statement alludes to the need to "civilize and reform the savage and barbarous lives and corrupt manners of such People", presumably the Ameri-

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<sup>17</sup> The second English translation is clearer on this and is used here: *The Cause of the Greatnesse of Cities. Three Bookes, With Certaine Observations concerning the Sea. Written in Italian by John Botero...* London, Printed by E.P. for Henry Seile, 1635, pp. 85-86.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, pp. 88-89.

<sup>19</sup> *Jeremy Bentham: An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, (1780), London, University Paperback, Ch. I, p.11.

<sup>20</sup> Raleigh (ed. Birch), "The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. Political, Commercial, and Philosophical; Together With His Letters and Poems...", vol. 2: 321-9.

can Indians.<sup>21</sup> Recognising the “uncivilized” nature of most non-European cultures could lead to a desire to protect them, as were the policy of Botero and also the official policy of the Spanish monarchy towards the Indians. It could also lead to a desire to colonise and exploit them as cheap labour.

It is also likely that William Petty (1623-1687), who entered into a Jesuit college in Caen in France at the age of 14, will have been exposed to the ideas of Botero whose ideas were very much in fashion at the time.

The Spanish mercantilist Geronymo de Uztariz (1724/1752, and foreword to Goyeneche 1717), whose main work was translated into both French and English, commented from a particularly good vantage point, being a Spaniard and having lived in Holland and Italy for 23 years. Uztariz’ conclusion reflects Botero’s line on the role of manufactures and the sterility of gold *per se*: ‘[Manufactures] is a mine more fruitful of gain, riches, and plenty, than those of Potosi’<sup>22</sup>.

The text below, from an economics student in Uppsala in 1747, sums up the mercantilist argument with emphasis on population density. We find the same much earlier argument in William Petty who developed it into a policy recommendation: move the population from sparsely populated areas in the periphery of the realm to London where they are more useful. This also reflects the policies of the Jesuits in Latin America, where the native populations were brought into city-like *reducciones*. The author, Gustav Westerbeck, was a student of Anders Berch who held the Chair of Economics in Uppsala:

‘How things really are in national economics, is nowhere clearer than in the case of the United Netherlands. They have virtually no domestic (resources), but still, through the industry of its large population, exceed in strength the immense but sparsely populated and idle Spain. (The Netherlands) knows well how to use the folly of others to its own benefit. We see how poor Spain is with all its gold and silver mines, the best ports and the best soil in the world, because of its lack of inhabitants. On the other hand how its large number of inhabitants make the United Provinces mighty, with their miserable ports and the worst climate on earth’.<sup>23</sup>

The explosive spread of Botero’s *Grandezza delle Città* is shown in the list below. Counting Strasbourg – where Seckendoff had studied – as Germany,

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<sup>21</sup> The discussion of Botero and Raleigh is based on Symcox, Geoffrey, “Introduction” to Giovanni Botero *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, p. xiv.

<sup>22</sup> Potosi, at about 4.000 metres above sea-level in present-day Bolivia, was the richest of all mines in the world. At the time, it was the second largest city in the world after London.

<sup>23</sup> Gustaf Westbeck, *Tankeförsök om Särskilda Näringsars Idkande* (Uppsala, 1747), pp. 4-5.

there were four editions of the work published in Germany before the start of the 30 Years' War. The others were one in Ursellis /Oberursel and two in Cologne. All were in Latin. The first German translation appeared in Frankfurt in 1657. It is interesting to note how the editions grew fewer during the war, all over Europe, and how the frequency picked up again afterwards.

The bibliography below includes all editions found so far of *Cause della Grandezza delle Città* (first edition Rome 1588), all editions of *Della Ragion di Stato* (first edition Venice 1589), and all editions of *Relazioni Universali* (first edition Rome 1591) when they are bound with *Ragion di Stato*.

Not listed here are 84 independent editions of the *Relazioni Universali* between 1591 and 1796 (no editions between 1796 and 1850). *Relazioni Universali* were published in Italian (from 1591), German (first two editions Cologne 1596), Latin (first two editions in Frankfurt and Cologne 1598), English (first in London 1601), Spanish (first in Valladolid 1599), Polish (first in Krakow 1613).

Table 1. GIOVANNI BOTERO: *Cause della Grandezza delle Città / Della Ragion di Stato/ Relazioni Universali*. Editions before 1850.

Rome	1588 (only <i>Grandezza</i> )
Rome	1588 (only <i>Grandezza</i> + historical piece on Rome)
Venice	1589 (1 <sup>st</sup> edition of <i>Ragion di Stato</i> , also including <i>Grandezza</i> )
Ferrara	1589 (from here on, clean entries indicate both works in one)
Ferrara	1590 (only <i>Grandezza</i> )
Ferrara	1590
Roma	1590
Madrid	1593 (Spanish)
Milan	1596 (only <i>Grandezza</i> , publisher Pacifico Ponzio)
Milan	1596 (only <i>Grandezza</i> , publisher S. Barberino)
Turin	1596
Milan	1596
Milan	1597/98 ( <i>Ragione</i> 1597, <i>Cause</i> 1598)
Venice	1598
Pavia	1598 (without <i>Cause</i> )
Venice	1598 (without <i>Cause</i> )
Paris	1599 (French, without <i>Cause</i> )
Barcelona	1599 (Spanish, without <i>Cause</i> )
Venice	1601
Ursellis /Oberursel	1602 (Latin)
Strasbourg	1602 (Latin)
Burgos	1602 (Spanish, without <i>Cause</i> )
Burgos	1603 (Spanish, without <i>Cause</i> )
Barcelona	1605 (Italian + <i>Relazioni</i> )
London	1606 (English, only <i>Grandezza</i> )
Burgos	1606 (Spanish, without <i>Cause</i> )
Turin	1606
Paris	1606 (French, <i>Maximes d'estat militaires et politiques...</i> )



Venice	1606
Venice	1608 ( + <i>Relazioni...</i> )
Milan	1609
Bologna	1609
Turin	1610
Cologne	1613 (Latin)
Cologne	1615 (Latin)
Venice	1619
Venice	1619
London	1635 (English, only <i>Grandezza</i> )
Venice	1640 ( + <i>Relazioni</i> )
Frankfurt	1657 (German)
Venice	1659 ( + <i>Relazioni</i> )
Venice	1659
Frankfurt	1661 (1664?) (German)
Helmstedt, Germany	1666 (Latin)
Venice	1671 ( + <i>Relazioni...</i> )
Milan	1830
Milan	1839

### 3. Boterians in Sweden. A Parenthesis.



**Figure 2.** Christopher Polhem (1661-1751). Swedish Inventor and Economist. In this 1745 speech and pamphlet Polhem uses the argument first used by Antonio Serra (1613): diminishing returns in the mining sector is a reason

why Sweden must cultivate manufacturing. Raw materials (*Rudimaterien*) must be worked into manufactured good (*Manufacturer*).

Sweden is an interesting country to study because – in spite of being in the geographical periphery of Europe – starting in the early 1500s with the Reign of Gustav Vasa Sweden played an important role in European politics. In the habit of the period, Sweden also attracted important foreign academics to work for them like Hugo Grotius, Rene Descartes, and Samuel Pufendorf.

Just like in other countries, sometimes early economists assertively make comments which leave the reader in doubt about their origin. Here we shall briefly discuss the case of three early Swedish economists, Christopher Polhem (1661-1751), Anders Bachmansson (1697-1772), and Anders Berch (1711-1774). Berch was the first professor of economics outside Germany, in Uppsala in 1741. The second was probably Antonio Genovesi in Naples in 1754. Berch's chair was in *jurisprudentiæ oeconomiae et commerciorum* and Genovesi's in *commercio e meccanica*.

It is not so surprising to find Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), Neapolitan author of the utopian *Città del Sole* (1602), echoing Botero in the need to encourage national industries on the basis that they were 'more prolific than mines'.<sup>24</sup> It is more surprising to find the same insight that manufactures have the quality of 'inexhaustible gold mines" almost 150 years later, in 1747, in the work of Anders Berch.<sup>25</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> century was surprisingly cosmopolitan. We find Botero's early works in first editions in Krakow, in Paris, as well as in Milan. We should keep in mind that not only the higher echelons of the clergy, but also artisans – through guild membership – could move around and work in different European countries. Obviously also the nobility was mobile, and so were students.

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<sup>24</sup> Campanella, Tommaso, and Edmund Chilmead. *A Discourse Touching the Spanish Monarchy: Wherein Vve Have a Political Classe, Representing Each Particular Country, Province, Kingdome, and Empire of the World, with Wayes of Government by Which They May Be Kept in Obedience. As Also, the Causes of the Rise and Fall of Each Kingdom and Empire. Vvritten by Tho. Campanella. Newly Translated into English, According to the Third Edition of this Book in Latine*. London: printed for Philemon Stephens and are to be sold at his shop at the Gilded Lion in Paul's Church-Yard, 1653; Discussed in Fornari, Tommaso. *Delle Teorie Economiche nelle Provincie Napolitane dal Secolo XIII al MDCCXXXIV*. Milano: Hoepli, 1882: p. 165-191.

<sup>25</sup> Berch, Anders, *Inledning til Almänna Hushållningen, innefattande Grunden til Politie, Oeconomia och Cameralwetenskaperna*, Stockholm, Lars Salvius, 1747. The term used is «outlöselige Guldgrufwor" (page 216). For an account of Berch and the teaching of economics in 18<sup>th</sup> century Sweden, se Liedman, Sven-Eric, *Den Synliga Handen* (the visible hand), Stockholm, Arbetarkultur, 1986.



The diary of an important Swedish nobleman, Per Brahe d.y (1602-1680) – whose library was to hold a copy of Botero's *Ragion di Stato* – testifies to the two last points. He gives us information on how it was to grow up and live during the Thirty Years' War.<sup>26</sup> Brahe's travel and the naturalness with which he moves around and stays with the nobility is amazing, but perhaps with a hint of bragging ("in Greenwich I was with "Konung Jacob" (King James). Impressive is the trip he makes starting in January 1623 traveling through Germany at war – mentioning many cities he travels through – how he learns to fence in Strasbourg, crosses the St. Bernardo on foot, goes to Milan and on to Bologna, where he is matriculated at the university, South to Naples (where he had a *démelé* with a nobleman), then on to Rome, Florence, and Padova ("where I was also matriculated"). In Hamburg-Harburg he is almost killed by a *Hollsteiner*, and breaks his leg, but is back again in Sweden just after Christmas 1626.

Per Brahe's matriculations in Bologna and Padova must have left some impressions. In 1640 he is the most important founder of Åbo Akademi<sup>27</sup>, a university in Turku/Åbo, in Finland. Sweden had an interesting colonial practice in that they established universities in conquered territory, in Dorpat/Tartu in Estonia in 1632, as mentioned, and in Lund, in Southern Sweden, in 1688 in a territory just conquered from the Danes. From 1648 to 1814 also the University of Greifswald (founded 1456) was a Swedish administered university. Swedish policies in the occupied territories were of a very different kind than later types of colonialism. One sign of this is that still today the Estonian equivalent of "in the good old days" is "in the good old Swedish days".

Like Polhem, Bachmannsson combined the interest in economics with that of mechanical work. His large 1730 volume *Arcana Oeconomiae et Commercii* always appeared to be slightly out of context, an early bird in the explosion of economics writings. However, going through the volume, the first thing that strikes the reader is that the page layout – what the Germans call the *Satzspiegel* – of Bachmannsson's volume when he talks about the different nations and cultures of the planet is identical to that of Botero's *Relazioni Universali*. And this layout is not very common. Indeed Bachmannsson's work appears to blend the contents of Botero's two main works, *Ragion di Stato* and *Relazioni Universali*.<sup>28</sup>

Looking for original works of Botero in Swedish libraries – which may have inspired our three authors – we found them only in a single library

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<sup>26</sup> *Svea Rikes Drotset Grefve Per Brahes Tänkebok*, Stockholm, Delén, 1806.

<sup>27</sup> C M Schymanson. *Per Brahe och Åbo Akademi*, I-II. 1915-1949.

<sup>28</sup> More research is needed to confirm this.

which Google maps place in the middle of a forest not far from Uppsala: Skokloster. The Skokloster librarian informs that Botero's *Grandezza delle Città* was found in four of the private historical collections that make up the library, Carl Gustaf Wrangels (1613-1676), who built the library, Per Brahe d.y (1602-1680), Nils Brahe (1633-1699), and Carl Gustaf Bielke (1683-1754).<sup>29</sup>

Enlightenment Sweden apparently held impressive private libraries. It should also be mentioned that a peculiar manifestation of the Swedish love of books was that in times of war they specialised in taking libraries for a ransom.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. German language economists on the economics bestseller lists.

Apart from the preliminary work on Seckendorff, this list reflects the work of Harvard Librarian Ken Carpenter – former curator of the Kress Library – since he started working in Kress in 1968. The entries on the different bestsellers are given in the state they are as of May 2014, reflecting various degrees of completeness. These entries testify to the gigantic work of Ken Carpenter, most of which was done before access to online library catalogues was possible.

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<sup>29</sup> The librarian at Skokloster Library informs on May 21st 2014: «Biblioteket på Skokloster består av flera delbibliotek som genom arv och ägarbyten tillkommit genom åren. Boteros *Delle cause della grandezza delle città* förekommer i fyra av dessa (byggherren Carl Gustaf Wrangels, Per Brahe d.y:s, Nils Brahes samt Carl Gustaf Bielkes). Wrangel- och Brahebiblioteken fanns på Skokloster vid tiden för Berchs och Bachmanssons verksamhet i Uppsala. Någon specifik dokumentation kring att de skall ha besökt Skoklosters bibliotek finns dock inte. Däremot nämns i reseberättelser hur studenter och andra verksamma vid Uppsala universitet besöker slottet för att ta del av dess samlingar och bibliotek under 1700-talet, så kanske kan Bachmansson och Berch ha varit några av dessa. En annan möjlighet är att de kan ha sett boken i Carl Gustaf Bielkes bibliotek, antingen efter att det förts till Skokloster 1755, eller dessförinnan när Bielkesamlingen fortfarande befann sig på Salsta slott strax utanför Uppsala. Vi vet att Bielkes bibliotek var välkänt och att Carl Gustaf Bielke tog emot besök och lånade ut böcker från Salsta.

<sup>30</sup> Walde, Otto, *Storhetstidens Litterära Krigsbyten. En Kulturhistorisk Bibliografisk Studie*, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wicksell, 1930. 2 volumes.

I. Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626–1692).  
*Teutscher Fürsten-Stat* (1656).

Teutscher Fürsten-Stat/ Oder: Gründliche und kurtze Beschreibung/ Welcher gestalt Fürstenthümer/ Graff- und Herrschafften im H. Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation, welche Landes, Fürstliche und Hohe Obrigkeitliche Regalia haben/ von Rechts- und löblicher Gewonheit wegen beschaffen zu seyn/ Regieret/ mit Ordnungen und Satzungen/ Geheimen und Justitz Cantzeleyen/ Consistoriis und andern hohen und niedern Gerichts-Instanzen, Aemptern und Diensten/ verfasst und versehen/ auch wie deroelben Cammer- und Hoffsachen bestellt zu werden pflegen.<sup>31</sup>

1. Frankfurt, Götze, 1656
2. Frankfurt, Götze, 1660
3. Frankfurt, Götz, 1665 (at this point the publisher's name is not conjugated anymore)
4. Frankfurt, Götz, 1670



<sup>31</sup> See also E. Reinert, 'A Brief Introduction to Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff (1626-1692)' in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, 19, May 2005, pp. 221-230.

5. Frankfurt, Götz, 1678
6. Frankfurt & Leipzig, Meyer, 1687
7. Frankfurt & Leipzig, Meyer, 1695
8. Frankfurt u. a., Meyer, 1700
9. Frankfurt u. a., Meyer, 1703
10. Frankfurt & Leipzig, Meyer, 1711
11. Jena, n.p.?, 1720
12. Jena, Meyer, 1737
13. Jena, Güth, 1754

## **II. Philip Wilhelm von Hörnigk (1638-1712): *Österreich über alles wann es nur will (1684).***

The editions listed below for which no location symbol is given are cited in Magdalene Humpert's *Bibliographie der Kameralwissenschaften* (1937); errors in Humpert are not infrequent.

This book is unusual in that there were so many editions in German, but no translation. The first translation, into English, is being finished and is forthcoming (2015) in the series *Economic Ideas that Built Europe*, London, Anthem, directed by Sophus Reinert. The translation is financed by INET, Institute for New Economic Thinking.

Gustava Otruba's list, in his [1964] edition of the text, derives from Inama-Sternegg, K. Th. v., "Über Philipp Wilhelm v. Hornick," in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* NF II (1881), 194-200; and H. Gerstenberg, "Philipp Wilhelm v. Hörnigk," in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, III. Folge, 78 Bd. (1930): 813-71. Otruba and other writers on this work have not provided locations for some "editions," and, indeed, some are exceedingly rare.

It is worthy of note that there were two 1784 piracies of the Berlin, 1784, edition. No. 18 is clearly Viennese, and it is possible that no. 19 is also Viennese, perhaps published by Trattner/

### **1. German edition, 1684.**

Oesterreich über alles wann es nur will. Das ist: wohlmeinender Fürschlag wie mittelst einer wolbestellten Lands-Oeconomie, die Kayserl. Erbland in kurzem über alle andere Staat von Europa zu erheben / und mehr als einiger derselben / von denen andern Independent zu machen. Durch einen Liebhaber der Kayserl. Erbland Wolfahrt.

[Nürnberg?] Gedruckt im Jahr Christi 1684.

**Oesterreich**  
Über alles  
wann es nur will.  
Das ist:  
wohlmeinender  
**Vorschlag**  
Wie mittelst einer wol-  
bestellten Lands-Oecono-  
mie, die Kayserl. Erbland in kur-  
zem über alle andere Staat von Euro-  
pa zu erheben / und mehr als einiger  
derselben / von denen andern In-  
dependent zu ma-  
chen.  
Durch einen Liebhaber  
der Kayserl. Erbland  
Wohlfahrt.  
Gedruckt im Jahr Christi  
1684.

$\pi^4$  A-M<sup>12</sup> N<sup>8</sup> (\$7; - G6); [viii], 303 p.

i title; ii blank; iii-viii Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-303 text

L7 missigned L5; p. 206 mispaged 106, and p. 270 mispaged 370.

According to the preface to the 1708 edition, the printer was Johann Hoffmann, who brought it out in the summer of 1684.

Recorded in VD17, with fingerprint: 18ss k:l. usie noka 3 1684A (München, Wolfenbüttel, Gotha)

MH-BA\* KBD (two copies, one with early underlining and marginalia)\_ Columbia\* Stanford\*

## 2. German edition, [n.d., 1684?]

Otruba notes an edition without place of publication (1684?) with the title-page statement: "zum andern mal auffgelegt."

This may be the edition referred to in the preface to the 1708 edition as having been brought out in the fall by Johann Hoffmann of Nürnberg.

Not located.

### 3. German edition.

Oesterreich über alles wann es nur will ... Durch einen Liebhaber der Kayserlichen Erbländer Wolfahrt [i.e. P. W. von Hornick].  
[Nürnberg], 1685.

[4], 303 p.; 12°.

BL(1388.a.30)\* Göttingen\* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek\* Univ.- u. Landesbibl. Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle\* Sächsische Landesbibl., Dresden\*

### 4. German edition.

[Passau] 1685.

Otruba 1c notes that this ed. has a brief "Geleitwort" on the verso of the title-page. Humpert notes a Passau, 1685, edition, but without providing a location.

### 5. German edition, 1705.

Oesterreich über alles, wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeinender fürsclag, wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten lands-oeconomie, die kayserlichen erb-land in kurzem über alle andere Staat von Europa zu erheben, und mehr als einiger derselben, von denen andern independent zu machen.

[n.p.] 1705.

[12], 342 p.

Humpert records a Leipzig, 1705, edition, but without providing a location.

Minnesota\*

### 6. German edition, 1707.

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeynender Fürsclag/ wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Lands-Oeconomie, die Käyserlichen Erblände in kurzem über alle andere Staate von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. Durch W. F. V. S.

Leipzig / bey Thomas Fritschen. 1707.



)(<sup>4</sup> A-O<sup>8</sup> P-Q<sup>4</sup> ; [8], 244 p.

i title; ii blank; iii-viii Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-235 text; 235-244 Anhang oder Unvorgreifliches project, zu stellung einer armee von hundert tausend mann aus den Käyserl. erb-ländern

Pp. 112-115 are omitted in pagination.

The Anhang appeared in this edition for the first time; it was included in subsequent editions.

Otruba, referring to the preface to the 1708 ed., says that this one was soon withdrawn.

Houghton (from the Stolberg Library, with many underlinings by an early reader)  
KBD

## 7. German edition, 1708.

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeinender Fürschlag/ wie mittelst einer wohlbestelten Lands-Oeconomie, die Kayserlichen Erblände in kurtzem über alle andere Staate von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. P. W. v. H.

Regensburg/ Verlegts Joh. Zacharias Seidel/ 1708.





);<sup>(6</sup> A-N<sup>8</sup> (-N8) (\$5); [xii], 206 p. The first gathering consists of 2 inserted leaves, the second signed ): (2; leaves 3-6 are conjugate, with 3 unsigned, 4 and 5 appropriately signed)

i title; ii blank; iii-vi Gönstiger Leser; vii-xii Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-198 text; 198-206 Anhang/ oder Unvorgreifliches Project, zu Stellung einer Armee von hundert tausend Maß auss den Käyserl. Erbländern

P. 64 mispaged 46.

Gönstiger Leser reads:

Dieses Wercklein hat Anno 1684. im Sommer zum ersten/ und im nechsten Herbst darauff zum andern mahl zu Nürnberg durch Herrn Johann Hoffmann/ Buchführen/ das Tage-Licht gesehen. Seine erste Erziehung war zu Dressden/ von einer selbigen Orts ausheimischen Feder. Ein hoher/ allda gleichfals nicht einheimischer Minister, liesse ihm/ um seiner Auf-richtigkeit und Wohlmeinung willen/ die Gnad seiner Protection wieder-fahren. Es hatte damahls den Nahmen seines Erzeugers nicht auffge-druckt. Dannenhero als Herr Thomas Fritsch zu Leipzig es verwichenen Frühling abermahl auffzulegen Sinnes worden/ bewarbe er sich guter Intention, denselben in Erfahrung zu bringen. Als ihm aber der Zufall



darinnen nicht fügen wolte/ indem so gar auch des ersten Verlegers Erben keinen Bescheid mehr davon geben konten: wurde er durch einige Vermuthung auf einen unrechten geleitet/ unter dessen ersten Nahmens-Buchstaben auch/ ein gute Parthey Exemplarien gleich Anfangs fortgangen. Gleichwie aber dem Irrthum nach der Hand/ auff bessern Bericht/ von ihm gantz willig/ so viel annoch seyn könnten remedirt worden: also wird solchem in dieser vierdten Edition nachgegangen/ indeme doch sowohl der hohe Protector, als der Autor an einem in der Welt sehr bekandten Ort/ noch führhanden seynd. Was den zu Leipzig neu-beygedruckten Anhang belangt/ will sich der Autor des Büchleins nichts davon zuschreiben; so auf allen Fall ebener massen allhie angemerckt werden sollen.

MH-BA

### 8. German edition, Regensburg, 1712.

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeynder Fürschlag/ wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Lands-Oeconomie, die Kayserlichen Erb-Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staate von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. P. W. v. H.

Regensburg/ Verlegts Joh. Zacharias Seidel/ 1712.

$\pi^4$ ):<sup>(4</sup> A-N<sup>8</sup> (\$--); [xii], [208] p. The preliminaries consist of two gatherings of four leaves. The fourth of the first signature is signed ):2; the first leaf of the second signature is unsigned; the second is signed ):2; the second is signed ):4; and the third is signed ):5.

i-iv blank; I title-page; II blank; III-VI Vönstiger Leser; VII-XII Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-198 text; 198-206 Anhang/ oder Unvorgreiffliches Project, zu Stellung einer Armee von hundert tausend Mann aus den Kayserl. Erbländern; 207-208 blank

P. 195 mispaged 185.

Gönstiger Leser reads: (entry to be proofed)

Dieses Wercklein hat Anno 1684 im Sommer zum ersten/ und im nechsten Herbst darauff zum andern mahl zu Nürnberg durch Herrn Johann Hoffmann/ Buchführen/ das Tage-Licht gesehen. Seine erste Erziehung war zu Dressden/ von einer selbigen Orts ausheimischen Feder. Ein hoher/ allda gleichfals nicht einheimischer Minister, liesse ihm/ um seiner Auffrichtigkeit und Wohlmeinung willen/ die Gnad seiner Protection wiederfahren. Es hatte damahls den Nahmen seines Erzeugers nicht auffgedruckt. Dannenhero als Herr Thomas Fritsch zu Leipzig es verwichenen Frühling abermahl auffzulegen Sinnes worden/ bewarbe er sich guter Intention, denselben in Erfahrung zu bringen Als ihm aber der Zufall darin-

nen nicht fügen wolte/ indem so gar auch des ersten Verlegers Erben keinen Bescheid mehr davon geben konten: wurde er durch einige Vermuthung auf einen unrerchten geleitet/ unter dessen ersten Nahmens-Buchstaben auch/ eine gute Parthey Exemplarien gleich Anfangs fortgangen. Gleichwie aber dem Irrthum nach der Hand/ auff bessern Bericht/ von ihm ganz willig/ so viel annoch seyn können/ remedirt worden: also wird solchem in dieser vierdten Edition nachgegangen/ indeme doch so wohl der hohe Protector, als der Autor an einem/ in der Welt sehr bekandten Ort/ noch fürhanden seynd. Was den zu Leipzig neu-beygedruckten Anhang belangt/ will sich der Autor des Büchleins nichts davon zuschreiben; so auf allen Fall ebener massen allhie angemerckt werden sollen.

MH (library label on spine, reading in two lines: T2h. / 88.)

### **9. German edition. Regensburg, 1717.**

NUC

### **10. German edition.**

Oesterreich über alles, wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeinender fürschatz, wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten lands-oeconomie, die kayserlichen erb-land in kurzem über alle andere Staat von Europa zu erheben, und mehr als einiger derselben, von denen andern independent zu machen. P. W. v. H.  
[n.p.] 1719.

[vii], 229 p.

Humpert.

UC Santa Barbara (HC264 .H7)\*

### **11. German edition.**

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeynender Fürschlag, wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Landes-Oeconomie, die kayserl. Erb-Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staaten von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. P. W. v. H.

Regensburg/ Verlegts Johann Conrad Peetz/ 1723.



π2 )(6 (with leaf 1 signed )(2 and leaf 2 signed )(3 ) A-N (N8 blank); [16], 208 p.

i blank; ii frontispiece; iii title-page; iv blank; v-x Vorrede. An den geneigten Leser; xi-xvi Verzeichnuss der Abtheilungen; 1-206 text; 207-208 blank

P. 176 mispaged 117.

Vorrede reads: [entry to be proofed]

Wann unter die Kennzeichen eines guten Buchs besonders dessen wiederholte Auflagen gerechnet werden/ so darff wohl niemand zweifeln/ dass gegenärtige Schrifft/ **Oesterreich über alles** genannt/ einen allgemeinen Beyfall und Lob verdiene: dann es ist bekannt/ dass sie seit 1684. da sie das erstemahl durch öffentlichen Druck zum Vorschein kommen/ wegen ihrer Güte in Leipzig/ Nürnberg und Regensburg zu verschieden mahlen wieder ediret und aufgekauft worden.

Der gelehrte Autor derselben war ein Herr v. Horneck, nicht zwar der bekannte Ottocarus von Horneck aus Steyermarck/ welcher ein MS. einer Oesterreichischen Historie in Teutschen Reimen hinterlassen; sondern/ wie die Literæ initials auf dem Titul-Blat bezeugen/ der berühmte Phil. Wilh. von Horneck, weyl. Sr. Durchl. Eminenz des Hrn. Card.

von Lamberg/ Bischoffens zu Passau und Käyserl. Principal-Commissarii zu dem fürwährenden Reichs-Convent in Regensp. geheimden Rath u. Hochansehnl. Gesandter/welcher diesen Aufsatz zu Dressden verfertigt/daselbst er auch von einem hohen Minister, seiner guten Intention und Absicht wegen/ billig patrociniret/ und gleich im ersten Jahr zweymal zum Druck befördert worden.

Der eigentliche Inhalt dieser Schrifft bestehet in allerdings practicablen Vorschlägen zu nützlicher Verbesserung der Lands-Oeconomie in Oesterreich/ oder dass ich die rechte Wahrheit sage/ in einem mehr als Sonnenklaren Beweiss/ dass das Ertz-Hauss Oesterreich mit seinen zugehörigen Erb-Landen/ als Ungarn/ Böhmen/ Schlesien und Mähren/ in Betrachtung deren natürlichen Gaben und Überflusses aller erdencklichen Nothwendigkeiten eines beglückten Staats/ über alle andre Staaten von Europa seyn könnte/ wann es nur solche Gaben geniessen/ und sich dieselben durch Errichtung nöthiger Manufacturen und Commerciens zu nutze machen wolte. Ich achte für überflüssig/ ein mehrers hievon zugencken/ weil der Herr Verfasser dieses Werckleins gedachten Titul selbst gleich in der ersten Abtheilung seiner Schrifft weitläufftig erkläret hat; zugeschweigen/ dass das vorgedruckte Kupffer-Blat quasi in frontispicio den Haupt-Zweck und Inhalt des gantzen Buches also deutlich præsentiret/ dass ich mit demselben [e with tilde] viele Worte ersparen kan.

Wolte aber jemand den glorieus-anscheinenden titul dieses Werckleins wider die Intention des Autoris auf eine andere Art attaquieren/ und von dem Oeconomischen Interesse auf politische Prærogativen verfallen/ so würde er auch hierinnen bald totum Argumentum concediren müssen. Dann consuliret er die Geographos, so zeigt ihm Mart. Zeilerus in einer Topographie von Oesterreich/ wie die gütige Mutter der Natur dieses Ertz-Hauss und dessen Erb-Königreiche mit allen Beneficiis, die nur zu Vollkommenheit eines glücklichen Landes desideriret werden können/ gar reichlich versehen habe.

Wer sich die Mühe geben will/ in die Historie zu lauffen/ um darinnen das Oesterreichische Alterthum und dessen heutighen Ehren-Ruhm aufzusuchen/ der wird aus Joan. Cuspiniani Descriptione Austriæ, und Ger. de Roo Annalibus Rerum ab Austriacis Principibus gestarum, besonders aber aus Sigmunds von Birken Oesterreichischer Ehren-Spiegel/ ingleichen aus Joh. Jacobs von Weingarten Fürsten-Spiegel oder Monarchie des Ertz-Hauses Oesterreich davon völlig überzeuget werden. Der über 300. Jahr lang geführten Käyser-Würde, und aller mit solcher verbundenen Reservaten anjetzo nicht zu gedencken/ weil es wider unser Institutum lauffet; wir haben durch diiese Schrifft mehr nicht gesucht/ als den Geneigten [e with umlaut] Leser zu animire/ [e with umlaut] nicht nur Oesterreich sein Glück zu gönnen/ sondern auch zu der hernach intendirten Staats-Ver-

besserung unsers Teutschen Vagterlandes/ soviel an ihm ist/ beyzutragen. In Hoffnung dessen/ wünsche dem Geneigten Leser/ nebst allem Seelen-und Leibs-Vergnügen/ ein gelassenes Gemüth/ die Wahrheit zuhören/ und einen also kräftigen Vorsatz/ derselben zu folgen. Adieu.

## 12. German edition, 1727

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeynender Fürschlag, wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Landes-Oeconomie, die kayserl. Erb-Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staaten von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. P. W. v. H.

Regensburg/ Verlegts Johann Conrad Peetz/ 1727.



$\pi^2$ )<sup>(6</sup> A-N (N8 blank); [16], 208 p.

i blank; ii frontispiece; iii title-page; iv blank; v-x Vorrede. An den geneigten Leser; xi-xvi Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-206 text; 207-208 blank

P. 176 mispaged 117.

Although the entries for the 1723 and 1727 editions are bibliographically identical, even to the extent of having p. 176 mispaged in both, these are printed from different settings of type, the 1727 being to a considerable extent a line-for-line reprint of the 1723.

MH-BA NN KBD

### 13. German edition, 1729.

Oesterreich über alles/ wann es nur will. Das ist: Wohlmeinender Fürschlag/ wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Lands-Oeconomie, die Keyserliche Erb-Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staaten von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einiger derselben/ von denen andern independent zu machen. Samme Anhang oder Project, zu Stellung einer Armée von 100000. Mann/ aus den Käyserl. Erb-Ländern. Von P. W. v. H.

Franckfurt / M DCC XXIX. [1729]



$\pi^6$  (1 & 6 + 2-5, i.e., fspc. & title are 1 and 6) A-M<sup>12</sup> N<sup>6</sup> ; [12],299 p.

i blank; ii frontispiece; iii title; iv blank; v-xii Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-299 text

Errors in signing: A7, B7, C6-7, D7, and H7 are unsigned; H5 is missigned H4.

### 14. German edition 1750. Franckfurt u. Leipzig

Oesterreich über Alles/ wann es nur will; Das ist: Wohlmeynender Fürschlag, wie, mittelst einer wohlbestellten Landes=Oeconomie, die Kayserl. Königl. Erb=Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staaten von Europa zu erheben/ und mehr als einige derselben von denen andern independent zu machen. Zu welchem noch ein Anhang, von unpartheyischen Gedancken über die Oesterreichische Landes=Oeconomie, und leichteste Vermehrung der Cammer=Gefälle, beygefügt worden. Neueste Auflage von P.W.v.H.

Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1750.

i blank; ii frontispiece; iii title; iv blank; v-ix Vorrede an den geneigten Leser, signed

at end: Geschrieben in der Michaelis-Messe 1750; x-xii Verzeichniß der Abtheilungen; 1-420 text

π2 2π4 A-2C8 2D2; [xii], 420 p. illus. 17 cm.

Anhang: p. 317-420 has special title-page: Unpartheyische Gedancken über die Oesterreichische Landes=Oeconomie und leichteste Vermehrung der Ertz=Hertzoglichen Cammer=Gefälle, wie auch bequemer Aufstellung eines Militis Perpetui. Aus dem Manuscript eines erfahrenen Cameralistens gezogen, und als eine Zugabe zu Hornecks Tractat: Oestereich über alles, wenn es nur will, mitgetheilet. 1750.

Zincke, in his Cameralisten-Bibliothek says to see his Leipziger Sammlung, Bd. VIII, 515+.

KBD Chicago (HC263.H69)\* Minnesota\* Berkeley\*

### 15. 1753, Frankfurt u. Leipzig (we need to see the original)

Oesterreich über alles, wann es nur will; Das ist: Wohlmeynender Fürschlag, wie mittelst einer wohlbestellten Landes-Oeconomie, die Keyserl. Königl. Erb-Lande in kurzem über alle andere Staaten von Europa zu erheben, und mehr als einige derselben von denen andern independent zu machen. Zu welchem noch ein Anhang, von unpartheyischen Gedancken über die Oesterreichische Landes-Oeconomie, und leichteste Vermehrung der Cammer-Gefälle beygefügt worden. Neueste Auflage. Von P. W. v. H.

Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1753.



i title; ii blank; iii-vii Vorrede an den geneigten Leser, dated at end: Michaelis-Messe, 1750; viii-ix Verzeichniss der Abtheilungen; 1-206 text; 207-31 Historische Anzeige von denen Privilegiis des Durchlauchtigsten Ertz-Hauses Oesterreich, nebst Chur-Manntzischen Vidimus gedachter Privilegien; 317 divisional title; 318 blank; 319-420 Unpartheyische Gedancken über die Oesterreichische Landes-Oeconomie, und Leichteste Vermehrung der Ertz-Hertzoglichen Cammer-Gefälle, wie auch Bequemer Aufstellung eines Militis Perpetui. Aus dem Manuscript eines erfahrenen Cammeralistens gezogen, und als eine Zugabe zu Horneck's Tractat: Oesterreich über alles, wenn es nur will, mitgetheilet. 1753.

Pagination errors: P. 191 mispaged 181; p. 225 mispaged 222.

$\pi^2 2\pi^4 A-2C^8 2D^2$ ; [12], 420 p.

MH-BA GL (MOMW) KBD Syracuse\* U. of Cincinnati\* Washington U.\* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Austr. 3410)\*

## 16. German edition, Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1764.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Austr. 3412)\* NUC

## 17. German edition.

Herrn Johann von Horneks Bemerkungen über die österreichische Staatsökonomie. Ganz umgearbeitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Benedikt Franz Hermann, Professor der Technologie, der röm. kais. königl. patriotischen Societäten in Oesterreich und Steyermark, der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin, der freyen ökonomischen Gesellschaft in St. Petersburg und der litterarischen Gesellschaft in Laibach Mitglied, dann der russisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Korrespondent.

Berlin und Stettin. Bey Friedrich Nikolai, 1784.

Herrn Johann von Horneks  
**Bemerkungen**  
über die  
österreichische  
**Staatsökonomie.**

Ganz umgearbeitet und mit Anmerkungen  
versehen

von

**Benedikt Franz Hermann,**

Professor der Technologie, der röm. kais. königl. patriotischen Societäten in Oesterreich und Steyermark, der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin, der freyen ökonomischen Gesellschaft in St. Petersburg und der litterarischen Gesellschaft in Laibach Mitglied, dann der russisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Korrespondent.

Berlin und Stettin.  
Bey Friedrich Nikolai, 1784.



\*<sup>5</sup> A-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>3</sup> ; [10], 198p.

i title; ii blank; iii-vi Vorbericht, signed at end: Geschrieben in St. Petersburg den 1ten May 1783. B. F. Hermann; vii-x Inhalt; 1-198 text

Reviewed in *Allgemeine literatur Zeitung*, Bd. 4 (Dec. 1785): 370-71:

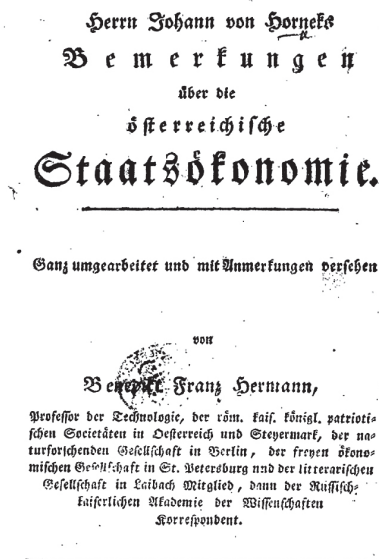
Hr. Prof. H. hat das bekannte Buch des von Hornek, *Oesterreich über alles, wenn es nur will*, in Absicht der Schreibart umgearbeitet, und es zur Grundlage einer grossen Menge von Bemerkungen gemacht, worinn er die Producte des österreichischen Länder ungleich vollständiger angiebt, die seit der Erscheinung jenes Buchs gemachten Verbesserungen in der Staatshaushaltung nachträgt, und so den grossen Unterschied zwischen dem itzigen Zustande, da sie reich, mächtig, und voll Fabriken und Manufacturen sind, und dem fast ganz entgegengesetzten vor hundert Jahren anschaulich macht. Er zeigt dabey eine gute Kenntniss dieser Länder, und eine reife Beurtheilungskraft, wovon wir unter vielen nur ein Beyspiel anführen wollen. "Dass die Macht eines Staates nach der grössern oder kleinern Menge seiner *natürlichen Produkte* abgemessen werden müsse, (sagt er S. 23 in der ersten Anmerk. zum 9<sup>ten</sup> Absehn.) ist ein Satz, der mit eben so viel Einschränkung anzunehmen ist, als der, dass die Menge des Volkes den eigentlichen wahren Reichtum der Staates ausmache, und dass daher das Augenmerk des Regenten vorzüglich dahin gerichtet seyn müsse seinen Ländern die grösstmögliche Menge von Einwohnern zu verschaffen. Beyder Meinungen haben ihre Berühmten Verfechter. Aber ein Ueberfluss an natürlichen Produkten, ohne eine hinlängliche Menge Menschen, um sie zu erzielen, zu verarbeiten, zu verzehren, und auszuführen, wozu sollen sie? Und umgekehrt: eine übergrosse Menge Einwohner, die bey dem grösstmöglichen Fleisse nicht Nahrungswege genug finden, welch Glück würden sie geniessen? Wir glauben also in der Vereinigung dieser beyden Sätze einen andern zu finden, die Macht eines Staates in der *grösstmöglichen Menge wohlhabender Bürger* bestehe[.]" Diesen Satz, darinnen Hrn H. schon andre gründliche Staatskundige, auch Philosophen, z. B. Sulzer, vorgegangen, erläutert er noch durch einige Zusätze, indem er bewerden könne, dass, wenn ein Staat bey der besten Cultur nur für eine Million Einwohner Nahrungsmittel hervorbringen kann, und deren doch zwo besitzt, wenn er nach politischen Verhältnissen mit seinen Nachbarn, bey den vortrefflichsten Manufacturen, und bey dem lebhaftesten Handel doch nicht so viel gewinnen kann um sich dafür die abgängigen Bedürfnisse einzutauschen, oder für baares Geld zu erhalten, ein solcher Staat nach und nach verarmen, und durch seinbe Uebervölkerung unglücklich werden müsse.

MH-BA

## 18. German-language pirated edition, [n.p.], but Vienna, 1784

Herrn Johann von Horneks Bemerkungen über die österreichische Staatsökonomie. Ganz umgearbeitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Benedikt Franz Hermann, Professor der Technologie, der röm. kais. königl. patriotischen Societäten in Oesterreich und Steyermark, der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin, der freyen ökonomischen Gesellschaft in St. Petersburg und der litterarischen Gesellschaft in Laibach Mitglied, dann der Russisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Korrespondent.

[Vienna: Georg Philipp Wucherer] 1784.



J 7 '8 4.

$\pi^4$  ( $\pi^2$  + inserted leaf) A-P<sup>8</sup> Q-R<sup>4</sup> (-R1 = leaf inserted after  $\pi^2$ ?)  $\chi^4$  ; [10], 253, [1], [8] p.

i title; ii blank; iii-vi Vorbericht, signed at end: Geschrieben in St. Petersburg den 1ten May 1783. B. F. Hermann; vii-x Inhalt; 1-253 text; 254 blank; I divisional title: Nachricht von dem Verkäufer dieses Buchs an das Publikum; II blank; III-VIII text of Nachricht, signed at end: Wien, im November 1784. Georg Philipp Wucherer, k. k. privilegirter Grosshändler

The "Nachricht von dem Verkäufer," a defense against the charge of piracy, is available as part of two digitized versions of this book. One is MOMO; the other is on Google Books: <http://books.google.com/books?vid=HARVARDHW7VWX&printsec=titlepage>

There are extensive additions, some marked by asterisks, which are added remarks, others marked by letters, which contain information on current economic conditions and are drawn, as the Vorbericht points out, from B. F. Hermann's *Abriss der physikalischen Geschaffenheit der österreichischen Staaten*,

*und des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Landwirthschaft, Gewerbe, Manufakturen, Fabriken und der Handlung in denselben* (1782).

In some copies the Nachricht is at front, preceding the Vorbericht; thus in BL copy, which is digitized on MOMW.

MH KU\* BL\*

### **19. German-language pirated edition, n. p., probably Vienna, 1784**

Herrn Johann von Horneks Bemerkungen über die österreichische Staatsökonomie. Ganz umgearbeitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Benedikt Franz Hermann, Professor der Technologie, der röm. kais. königl. patriotischen Societäten in Oesterreich und Steyermark, der naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Berlin, der freyen ökonomischen Gesellschaft in St. Petersburg und der litterarischen Gesellschaft in Laibach Mitglied, dann der Russisch-kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Korrespondent.

[n.p.] 1784.

<sup>6</sup> (-??) A- ; [10], 198 p.

i title; ii blank; iii-vi Vorbericht, dated: Geschrieben zu St. Petesburg den 11ten May 1783; vii-x Inhalt; 1-198 text;

Wirtschafts Universität, Wien, Universitätsbibliothek has 3 preliminary leaves only, with \*4-5, the Inhalt, bound at end. Because a catchword for the first page of text is on \*5v, the printer intended the Inhalt to be bound at front. The catalog for their copy gives the imprint as St. Petersburg, no doubt because the editor's Vorbericht is signed from St. Petersburg. In fact, that place of publication does not appear on the title page, and it is like the other copies recorded, i.e., with no place of publication but with a small circular ornament on the title page, between the end of text and the double rule above the date. It is much more likely that this pirated edition was printed in Vienna by Johann Thomas Edler von Trattner. (I am grateful to the library for supplying me with copies of the relevant pages.)

Kansas\* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek\* Wirtschafts Universität, Wien, Universitätsbibliothek\*

### **III. Wilhelm von Schröder (1640-1688), *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Kammer. 1686.***

This book seems unfortunately not to make 10 editions, and will therefore not be part of the Carpenter/Reinert updated version of the Economic Bestsellers before 1850. However, the book is so interesting that it is included here.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> On Schröder, see von Srbik, Heinrich Ritter, "Wilhelm von Schröder. Ein Betrag zur Geschichte der Staatswissenschaften. Wien, Kommission bei Hölder, 1910

Sbrik lists the following editions (pp. 87-88, esp. footnote 1 on p. 88) **1686** (Leipzig), **1704** (Leipzig), **1708** (mentioned in Zincke Cameralisten-Bibliothek, Leipzig 1751/52), **1713** (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch), **1718** (Leipzig, including Zugabe by Karl Ferdinand Pescherin), **1737**, **1744** and **1752** (all three Leipzig und Königsberg). Also Roscher mentions a total of these 9 editions (says Sbrik).

Sbrik has used many of these editions himself, and says: "Nur die Existenz einer Auflage von 1718 ist mir nicht völlig sicher". But this edition is in the Reinert collection 1718 (1718, Leipzig: Boetio), also 1686, 1713, and 1744). Worldcat has 1686, 1704, 1713, 1721, 1744, 1752 (January 2014). Hitotshubashi and Syracuse have 1737 (see Carpenter 1 below). This leaves only 1708 not accounted for (but in Zincke, needs to be checked). 1708 would also be the only addition to Carpenter 1.

This is another German work of which there were no translations, although 8 or 9 editions in the original.



### 1. German edition, Leipzig 1686

Leipzig, 1686.

MH-BA Syracuse\* (2 printings)



## 2. German edition, Leipzig 1704.

Leipzig, 1704.

MH-BA

Addition: 1708 edition mentioned in Zincke, Cameralistenbibliothek (see Srbik)

## 3. German edition, Leipzig 1713

Wilhelm Freyh. von Schrödern Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Kammer nebst seinem Tractat vom Goldmachen wie auch vom Ministrissimo oder Ober-Staats-Bedienten.

Zu finden in Leipzig bey Thomas Fritschen. 1713.

i title; ii blank; iii-vii dedication statement: An die Römische Kayserliche auch zu Hungarn und Böhheim Königliche Majestät. Allerdurchlauchtigster, Großmächtigster und Unüberwindlichster Kayser und König. Allergnäd. Kayser, König und Herr, Herr; viii- Vorrede; 1-484 text; 485- Register

MH-BA



## 4. German edition, Leipzig 1718

Text under frontispiece: *Wann eines klugen Fürsten Heerden / auff diesen Fuss*

*genützt werden; / So können sie recht glücklich leben / und den Regenten Wolle geben / Doch wer sogliech das Fell abzieht / Bringt sich um künfftigen Profit.*

In terms of Botero's and Serra's tinkering, this frontispiece recalls the idea that manufacturing has unlimited potentials, but that raw materials are subject to diminishing returns and can normally only be used once. Srbik claims that this frontispiece was intended for Karl Ferdinand Pescherin's addition to Schröder's work, which was also published separately, and that Schröder's connection to this copperplate engraving (*Titelkupfer*) contributed to discrediting his ideas on economics.

Leipzig, Boetio, 1718

Humpert + Reinert.

## 5. German edition, 1721

Leipzig, 1721.

)( - 2)(8 A-2H8; fold table inserted after p. 54

Syracuse\*

MH-BA Princeton (compared)

## 6. German edition, Leipzig & Königsberg, 1737

*Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer.*

Leipzig & Königsberg, 1737.

MH-BA Hitotsubashi (general)\* Syracuse\*

## 7. German edition, Leipzig & Königsberg, 1774

Leipzig & Königsberg, 1744.

BL

## 8. German edition, Königsberg 1752

Königsberg, 1752.

NNC (Seligman) Syracuse\*

# IV. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717-1771).

## Cameralist writings.

Of all the Enlightenment "Vielschreiber" in economics, Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi<sup>34</sup> appears to have been the most prolific anywhere. A

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<sup>33</sup> "Dieses derbe Bild hat viel dazu beigetragen, Schröders nationalökonomischen Ansichten in Verruf zu bringen", Srbik, p. 59.

<sup>34</sup> See Reinert, Erik 'Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717-1771): The Life and Times of an Economist Adventurer', in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.), *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Friedrich Gottlob von Justi*, series The European Heritage in Economics and the Social Sciences, New York, Springer, 2009, pp. 33-74. <http://www.othercanon.org/papers/>

recent bibliography<sup>35</sup> lists 67 books and 7 periodicals written and edited by Justi. In addition there are 13 translations into 5 languages: French, Spanish, Dutch, Russian and English. This paper shows that while key German mercantilist before Justi – Seckendorff, Hörnigk and Schröder – were not translated at all, there are 13 translations made from 8 different books by Justi. So Justi in a sense breaks the “autarkic” mold in which German economics had worked until then: German (including Austrian) economic ideas for the first time become export items.

Justi’s career was marked by frequent moves and also by the Seven Years War, so he would tend to issue new and slightly changed editions of his main textbooks when he took up teaching positions at new universities. Chronologically and professionally Justi – with his contemporary Johann Friedrich von Pfeiffer (1718-1787) – represent the intermediary step between Hörnigk and Sonnenfels – and is also therefore included here. Clearly, if fewer different book titles had been given to present his work, Justi would have made it into the bestseller list (which requires 10 editions).

Below we have listed those of Justi’s publications which are closest connected to the core subject of cameral sciences. His other works are excluded. The numbers refer to the numbers in the H. & E. Reinert bibliography, the letters to other bibliographies.

1. *Deutsche Memoires, oder Sammlung verschiedener Anmerkungen, Die Staatsklugheit, das Kriegswesen, die Justiz, Morale, Oeconomie, Commercium, Cammer- und Polizey- auch andere merkwürdige Sachen betreffend, welche im menschlichen Leben vorkommen, Von einigen Civil- und Militairbedienten, auch von andern gelehrten und erfahrenen Personen aufgezeichnet und hinterlassen worden.* 688pp. **Leipzig 1741, 44. [R]** [2<sup>nd</sup> edition with additional volume **Wien [H: 1751] [M, BLPC: 1750] [BVB: 1750 + 1751]**] 3<sup>rd</sup> edition: *Deutsche Memoires; oder Sammlung vermischter Anmerkungen, die Staatsklugheit, Oekonomie, Polizey- und Finanzwesen betreffend, 3 volumes.* **Wien 1760. [H: 935]**

13. *Auf höchsten Befehl an Sr. Röm. Kaiserl. und zu Ungarn und Böhmen Königl. Majestät erstattetes allerunterthänigstes Gutachten von dem vernünftigen Zusammenhange und practischen Vortrag aller öconomischen und Cameralwissenschaften; wobey zugleich zur Probe die Grundsätze der Policywissenschaft mit denen dazu gehörigen practischen Arbeiten*

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<sup>35</sup> Hugo Reinert & Erik Reinert, “A Bibliography of J.H.G. von Justi” in Backhaus, Jürgen (ed.) *The Beginnings of Political Economy: Johann Friedrich Gottlob von Justi*, series The European Heritage in Economics and the Social Sciences, New York, Springer, 2009, pp. 19-31. <http://www.othercanon.org/papers/>

vorgetragen werden; benebst einer Antrittsrede von dem Zusammenhange eines blühenden Zustandes der Wissenschaften mit denjenigen Mitteln, welche einen Staat mächtig und glücklich machen. 82pp. **Leipzig 1754. [R] [M] [H: 647]**

**14.** Progr. Abhandlung von den Mitteln, die Erkenntnis in den öconomischen und Cameral-Wissenschaften dem gemeinen Wesen recht nützlich zu machen. **Göttingen 1755. [M] [H: 648]** 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (?) **Göttingen 1775 [GBV]**

**15.** Staats- Wirtschaft, oder Systematische Abhandlung aller Oeconomischen und Cameralwissenschaften, die zur Regierung eines Landes erfordert werden. 2 volumes. **Leipzig 1755. [M] [H: 790]** [2<sup>nd</sup> edition **Leipzig [M: 1759] [H, LC, BLPC: 1758]: Breitkopf**] Reprint: Aalen, 1963, Scientia.

**16.** Entdeckte Ursachen des verderbten Münzwesens in Teutschland, nach ihren ersten und wahren Quellen (so!); wobey zugleich neue und wirksame Mittel dagegen vorgeschlagen werden, die ein jeder Reichsstand vor sich, ohne Mitwirkung des Reichs und ohne Recesse mit seinen Mitständen, in Ausübung bringen kann. **Leipzig 1755: Breitkopf. [H: 11132; authorship not entirely certain].**

**19.** Der Handelnde Adel dem der Kriegerische Adel entgegen gesetzt wird. Zwey Abhandlungen über die Frage: Ob es der Wohlfahrth des Staats gemäss sey, dass der Adel Kaufmannschaft treibe? aus dem Französischen übersetzt und mit einer Abhandlung über eben diesen Gegenstand versehen. 288pp. **Göttingen 1756: Verlag der Wittve Vandenhöck. [R] [M] [H: 10088]** [Abhandlung von dem Wesen des Adels und dessen Verhältniss gegen die Commerciën. 241-288pp. **[BLPC]**] Original in French by Abbé Gabriel François Coyer (1707-1782). Coyer's work is one of the Economic Bestsellers before 1850.

**19 Russian.** Torguëiushchee dvorëianstvo, 1766. Library of Congress gives other authors as Justi and Fonvizin, Denis Ivanovich (1745-1792).

**20.** Grundsätze der Policey-Wissenschaft in einem vernünftigen, auf den Endzweck der Policey gegründeten Zusammenhange und zum Gebrauch Academischer Vorlesungen abgefasst." **Göttingen 1756. [M] [H: 8494]** [2<sup>nd</sup> edition 348pp. **1759: Wittve Vandenhöck. [R] [M] [H];** 3<sup>rd</sup> edition **1782 [M] [H];** Reprints: Frankfurt, 1969, Sauer & Auvermann, and Düsseldorf, 1993, Wirtschaft und Finanzen.

**20 French.** Éléments généraux de police, démontrés par des raisonnemens fondés sur l'objet & la fin qu'elle se propose. Par M. Jean-Henri Gottlobs



de Justi, conseiller du Roi d'Angleterre, commissaire général de police des duchés de Brinswick & de Lunebourg, Paris, chez Rozet, **1769 [M]**; reprinted **1969?**] Translated by Marc Antoine Eidous. See **[C:32]** for a discussion of omissions and possible French censorship in this translation.

**20 Spanish.** Elementos de policía general de un estado, in: 'Memorias instructivas y curiosas sobre agricultura, industria, economía, chymica, botánica, historia natural....', Vol. XII, Madrid 1791, pp. 377-496. **[C: 19]** Translated via the French edition: **[LI: p. 87]**

**24.** Die Chimäre des Gleichgewichts von Europa; eine Abhandlung, worinnen die Nichtigkeit u. Ungerechtigkeit dieses zeitherigen Lehrgebäudes der Staatskunst vor Augen gelegt, und dabey allenthalben neue und rührende Betrachtungen über die Ursachen der Kriege und den wesentlichen Grunde, worauf die Macht eines Staats Ankommt, beygebracht werden. 119pp. **Altona 1758. [M] [BLPC]** Alternative entry: Die Chimäre des Gleichgewichts von Europa, aus den wichtigsten Gründen der Staatskunst erwiesen und aus den neuesten Weltbegebenheiten erläutert. 2 parts (2 Teile). **Altona 1758. [H: 7484]**

**24 Dutch.** De chimere of hersenschim van het evenwigt in Europa. Of Verhandeling, waarin de nietigheid (...) dit systéma der staat-kunde duide-lyk ontvouwd wordt **The Hague, P. van Cleef, 1767 [NBN]**



**25.** Vollständige Abhandlung von denen Manufacturen und Fabriken. 2 volumes; 240pp., 562pp. **Kopenhagen 1758-1761: Rothenschen Buchhandlung.** [R] [H: 3825] [2<sup>nd</sup> edition of 2<sup>nd</sup> vol. 1780 [M] [H: 1780 = 2<sup>nd</sup> edition] [BLPC]; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of both volumes 1789 [M] [H: 1789 = 3<sup>rd</sup> edition Berlin, 'mit Verbesserungen und Anmerkungen von Johann Beckmann'[R]]

**25 Dutch.** Volledige verhandeling der manufaktuuren en fabrieken, [NBN: 1782 Utrecht. wed. J. v.Schoonhoven]

**28.** Die Chimäre des Gleichgewichts der Handlung und Schiffahrt, oder: Ungrund und Richtigkeit einiger neuerlich geäußelter Meinungen von denen Maassregeln der freyen Mächte gegen die zu befürchtende Herrschaft und Obermacht zur See, wobey zugleich Neue und wichtige Betrachtungen über die Handlung und Schiffahrt der Völker, und über den höchsten Punkt der daraus entstehenden Macht und Glückseligkeit beygebracht werden. 86pp. **Altona 1759: David Iversen.** [R] [H: 10090, 10583]

**28 French:** La Chimère de l'équilibre du commerce et de la navigation, **Kopenhagen, Leipzig 1763, Veuve de Rothe** [M] [LI] [LC] [BNF]

**29.** Der Grundriss einer Guten Regierung in fünf Büchern verfasst. 478pp. **Frankfurt, Leipzig 1759: J.G. Garbe.** [H: 7489] [LC] [BLPC]

**31.** Systematischer Grundriss allen Oeconomischen und Cameral-Wissenschaften. **Frankfurt und Leipzig 1759** [R]

**32.** Die Wirkungen und Folgen, sowohl der wahren, als der falschen Staatskunst in der Geschichte des Psammitichus, Königes von Egypten und der damaligen Zeiten. 2 volumes. 368pp., 504pp. **Frankfurt, Leipzig 1759-1760: Johann Gottlieb Garbe(n).** [R] [M] [H: 7490; slightly different name] [LC] [BLPC]

**35.** Politischen und Finanzschriften über wichtige Materien der Regierungsangelegenheiten, des Kriegeswesen und der Cameralgeschäfte. 2 volumes. **Copenhagen 1760.** [H: 1160]

**37.** Die Natur und das Wesen der Staaten, als die Grundwissenschaft der Staatskunst, der Policy, und aller Regierungswissenschaften, desgleichen als die Quelle aller Gesetze, abgehandelt. 488pp. **Berlin, Stettin Leipzig 1760: Johann Heinrich Rüdigers.** [R] [M] [H: 7492] [BLPC] [new annotated edition, 606 pages, **Mietau 1771: Steidel** [M] [LC]; Reprint: Aalen 1969, Scientia.

**37 Dutch:** De aart der wetten afgeleid uit de natuur en het weezen der staaten, 1773. [NCC]

**37 Russian translation 1:** Suscestvennoe izibrazenie estestva narodnych obscestv i vsjakago roda zakonov / Soc. gospod. Justi. S nemeck. na ross. jazyk perev. [A]vr[aa]m V[o]lk[o]v. - [GBV; (Moskva): Univ, 1770]

**37 Russian translation 2:** Suscestvennoe izobrazenie estestva narodnych obscestv i razlicnyh zakonov / Socinenie Justi. [GBV: St. Petersburg, 1802]

**39.** Abhandlung von der Macht und Glückseligkeit und Credit eines Staats. **Ulm, Frankfurt, Leipzig 1760: Gaum.** [R] [M: only Ulm] [H: 8627]

**43.** Oeconomische Schriften über die wichtigsten Gegenstände der Stadt- und Landwirthschaft. 2 volumes. 518pp., 514pp. **Berlin, Leipzig 1760 (1761?): Buchladens der Real-Schule.** [R] [M] [H: 937, 2086, 4396] [new edition 1766-67]

**45.** Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Glückseligkeit der Staaten; oder ausführliche Vorstellung der gesamten Policy-Wissenschaft. 2 volumes. 782pp., 651pp. **Königsberg, Leipzig 1760-61: Gerhard Luddewig Woltersdorfs Wittwe.** [R] [M] [H: 8496] [BLPC: printed Berlin] [2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1774]. Reprint Aalen 1965, Scientia

**47.** Onomatologia oeconomico-practica, oder ökonomisches Wörterbuch... 3 volumes. **Ulm 1760-63.** [Preface by Justi] [M] [H: 2530]

**49.** Abhandlung von der Vollkommenheit der Landwirtschaft und der höchsten Kultur der Länder. **Ulm 1761.** [H: 8628]

**50.** Gesammelte Politische und Finanzschriften über wichtige Gegenstände der Staatskunst, der Kriegswissenschaften und des Cameral- und Finanzwesens. 3 volumes. 632pp., 572pp., 538pp. **Copenhagen & Leipzig 1761-64: Rothenschen Buchhandlung.** [R] [M] [H: 7496, 1760, 2 volumes only] [LC: only 2 volumes] [BLPC] [reprinted Aalen 1970] Almost certainly the same as [H: 938]: Gesammelte Polizey- und Finanzschriften über Gegenstände der Staatskunst, Polizey- und alle Regierungswissenschaften. **Copenhagen & Leipzig, 2 Volumes, 1761.**

**51.** Abhandlung von denen Manufactur- und Fabriken-Reglements zur Ergänzung seines Werkes von denen Manufakturen und Fabriken, **Berlin & Leipzig, Verlag des Buchladens der Real-Schule, 1762.** [H: 9891] [GBV]

**53.** Ausführliche Abhandlung von denen Steuern und Abgaben nach

ächten, aus dem Endzweck der bürgerlichen Gesellschaften abfließenden Grundsätzen, und zur Wohlfahrt der Völker dienlichen Maassregeln abgefasst. 202pp. **Königsberg, Leipzig 1762: G. Ludwig Wolterdorffs Wittwe.** [R] [M] [H: 11761] Reprint Wiesbaden 1977, Gabler.

**54.** Vergleichen der Europäischen mit den Asiatischen und andern vermeintlich Barbarischen Regierungen, in drey Büchern verfasst. 549pp. **Berlin 1762: Johann Heinrich Rüdigers.** [R] [M] [BLPC: Berlin, Stettin, Leipzig], Reprint: Königstein 1978, Auvermann.

**60.** System des Finanzwesens, nach vernünftigen aus dem Endzweck der Bürgerlichen Gesellschaften und aus der Natur aller Quellen der Einkünfte des Staats hergeleiteten Grundsätzen und Regeln ausführlich abgehandelt. **Halle 1766: Renger.** [M] [H: 11766] [BLPC] Reprints: Aalen, 1969, Scientia and Dillenburg, 1998, Gruber.

**62.** Betrachtungen über den Ackerbau. **1767 [BVB: in Abhandlungen der churfürstlichen bairischen Akademie der Wissenschaften]**

## Journals

**J 3.** „Physikalisch-oeconomische Real-Zeitung, aus denen von der Natur- und Haushaltungs-Wissenschaft, Feld-Bau, Heilungs-Kunst, Cameralwesen, Policy, Künsten, Manufacturen und Handlung handelnden Schriften zusammen gelesen und mit neuen Stücken, Versuchen und Anmerckungen versehen nebst einer allgemeinen Anzeige alles dessen, was bisher in diesen Sachen geschrieben worden“, Stuttgart 1754. – Continued under the title „Physikalisch-ökonomische Wochenschrift“, 2 Vols., Stuttgart 1755-1758. – Continued under the title: „Etwas für alle, oder neue Stuttgardter Realzeitung....“ in the years 1765-1766. – then under the title: „Allgemeines Stuttgardter Magazin ökonomischen und physikalischen inhalts, aus den grössten und kostbarsten Werken gesammelt auf das Jahr 1767, 1768 etc“.

**J 4.** „Schlesische Oekonomische Sammlungen“, Band 1-3 (= Stück 1-24), Breslau 1754-1762 (Korn).

**J 6.** „Göttingische Policyamts-Nachrichten, oder vermischte Abhandlungen zum Vortheil des Nahrungsstandes aus allen Theilen der oeconomischen Wissenschaften, benebst verschiedenen in das Göttingische Policywesen einschlagenden Verordnungen und Nachrichten“, 1755, 1756 & 1757 (until July). Continued 1768 under the title „Wochentliche Anzeigen von gemeinnützigen Sachen“.

**J 7.** „Politischen und Finanzschriften über wichtige Materien der Regierungsangelegenheiten, des Kriegeswesen und der Cameralgeschäfte“, Copenhagen 1760.

**V. Hans Caspar Hirzel (1725-1803). Le Socrate rustique**  
(translation of *Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers*,  
Zurich, 1761)

**1. French edition, 1762**

Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite economique et morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier médecin de la république de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: et dédié à l'Ami des hommes.

Zurich Chez Heidegger & compagnie. 1762.

1 half-title; 2 blank; 3 title; 4 quote from Cato; 5-6 dedication: A monsieur le Marquis de Mirabeau, signed & dated Le traducteur, Basle, 15 March 1762; 7-22 Preface du traducteur; 23-208 text

A8 (ÔA2) B8 (ÔB4) C-N8

Translation of *Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers*, Zurich, 1761.

MH-BA BN (S. 16509) Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

**2. French edition, 1763**

Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite economique & morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier médecin de la république de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: et dédié à l'Ami des hommes.

Zurich & se trouve à Limoges, Chez Martial Barbou, libraire-imprimeur du roi. M. DCC. LXIII.

i half-title; ii blank; iii title; iv quote from Cato; 1-2 dedication: A monsieur le marquis de Mirabeau, signed Le traducteur & dated Basle, 15 March, 1762; 3-15 Préface du traducteur; 16 blank; 17-172 text

$\pi$ 2 A-O6 P2

Note:  $\pi$ 2 and P2 were printed together, the chain lines being vertical, rather than horizontal as in the rest of the book.

Translation of *Die Wirthschaft eines philosophischen Bauers*, Zurich, 1761.

Contains notes of the translator, marked consecutively a-r.

KU PPamP Zentralbibliothek, Zurich

### 3. French edition, 1764

Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite economique et morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier medecin de la republique de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: et dedié à l'Ami des hommes. Seconde edition, corrigée & augmentée.

Zurich Chez Heidegguer & compagnie. 1764.

### 4. French edition, 1768

Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite economique et morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier medecin de la republique de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: et dedié à l'Ami des hommes. Troisieme edition, corrigée & augmentée.

Zurich, Chez Fuesslin & compagnie, 1768.

This is a line-for-line reprint of the 1764 printing.

### 5. English edition, London, 1770.

„The Rural Socrates“ in [Young, Arthur], 1741-1820

Rural oeconomy: or, essays on the practical parts of husbandry. Designed to explain several of the most important methods of conducting farms of various kinds; including many useful hints to gentlemen farmers relative to the oeconomical management of their business. . . . To which is added, the Rural Socrates: being memoirs of a country philosopher. By the author of the Farmer's letters.

London, Printed for T. Becket, in the Strand, MDCCLXX.

i half title; ii blank; iii title; iv blank; 1-5 a preface, which is entitled Rural Oeconomy, &c.; 6 blank; 7-197 text; 198 divisional title: Appendix; Containing the Rural Socrates, with explanatory notes; 199 blank; 200 blank; 201-202 Introduction [by Young]; 203 title page: The Rural Socrates: or, a description of the oeconomical and moral conduct of a country philosopher. Written in German by M. Hirzel, president of the Physical Society at Zurich. Second edition, 1764 . . .; 204 blank; 377-520 text of The Rural Socrates; 314 blank; 478-520 Addenda (A letter from Dr. Hirzell [!] to the French translator, dated 1 August 1763, pp. 478-486; Letter I. From the Marquis de Mirabeau to the French translator, dated 8 November 1762, pp. 486-493 The French translator's answer to M. de Mirabeau, dated Basil, 4 January 1763, pp. 493-500; Letter II. From the Marquis de Mirabeau, 25 January 1763, pp. 493-500; Letter from Monsieur Tschiffeli, pp. 501-505; Farther anecdotes concerning the family of Pincon, mentioned by the Marquis de Mirabeau [an abstract from the *Journal oeconomique* for December 1755], pp. 506-512; Anecdotes of the family of Fleuriot, known in Lorraine by the name of Valdajon [by the Count de Tressan], pp. 512-520)

8ø: A<sup>2</sup> B-Z<sup>8</sup> 2A<sup>6</sup> cm.

The translation was made from the French. It should be noted that Young claims to have had the translation made rather than to have translated the work himself: "The merit and undoubted utility of it [Le Socrate rustique] have determined me to procure a translation. . . ." (p. 000). He did, however, add notes, which are marked at the end with an asterisk.

NNC (338.1/Y82) DLC\* \* \* \* m\* OCU\* SdB\* NcD\* Cu-A\* MB\* InU\* ViU\*

This entry was made after the Dublin entry and it was abbreviated. However, the London entry was certainly the first. It must be the fullest entry. As it stands now, it consists largely of word processed text of the Dublin entry, and it must be largely redone.

## 6. English edition, Dublin, 1770

"The Rural Socrates" in [Young, Arthur], 1741-1820

Rural oeconomy: or, essays on the practical parts of husbandry. Designed to explain several of the most important methods of conducting farms of various kinds; including many useful hints to gentlemen farmers relative to the oeconomical management of their business. . . . To which is added, the Rural Socrates: being memoirs of a country philosopher. By the author of the Farmer's letters.

Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, W. Sleater, J. Hoey, junior, J. Williams, R. Moncrieffe, and T. Walker. M,DCC,LXX.

i half title; ii blank; iii title; iv blank; 1-5 a preface, which is entitled Rural Oeconomy, &c.; 6 blank; 7-197 text; 198 divisional title: Appendix; Containing the Rural Socrates, with explanatory notes; 199 blank; 200 blank; 201-202 Introduction [by Young]; 203 title page: The Rural Socrates: or, a description of the oeconomical and moral conduct of a country philosopher. Written in German by M. Hirzel, president of the Physical Society at Zurich. Second edition, 1764 . . . ; 204 blank; 205-313 text of The Rural Socrates; 314 blank; 315-363 Addenda (A letter from Dr. Hirzell [!] to the French translator, dated 1 August 1763, pp. 315-324; Letter I. From the Marquis de Mirabeau to the French translator, dated 8 November 1762, pp. 325-330; The French translator's answer to M. de Mirabeau, dated Basil, 4 January 1763, pp. 331-333; Letter II. From the Marquis de Mirabeau, 25 January 1763, pp. 334-342; Letter from Monsieur Tschiffeli, pp. 343-347; Farther anecdotes concerning the family of Pineon, mentioned by the Marquis de Mirabeau [an abstract from the Journal oeconomique for December 1755], pp. 348-354; Anecdotes of the family of Fleuriot, known in Lorraine by the name of Valdajon [by the Count de Tressan], pp. 355-363)

8ø: A<sup>2</sup> B-Z<sup>8</sup> 2A<sup>6</sup> cm.

The translation was made from the French, according to p. 202 n. It should be noted that Young claims to have had the translation made rather than to have translated the work himself: "The merit and undoubted utility of it [Le Socrate



rustique] have determined me to procure a translation. . . ." (p. 201). He did, however, add notes, which are marked at the end with an asterisk.

MH-BA NIC\* KMK\* DNAL\*

## 7. English edition, London, 1773

„The Rural Socrates“ in [Young, Arthur], 1741-1820

Rural oeconomy: or, essays on the practical parts of husbandry. Designed to explain several of the most important methods of conducting different farms; including hints to gentlemen farmers relative to the oeconomical management of their business. . . . To which is added, the Rural Socrates: being memoirs of a country philosopher. By the author of the Farmer's letters. Second edition, corrected.

London, Printed for T. Becket, in the Strand, MDCCLXXIII.

i title; ii blank; 1-7 a preface, which is entitled Rural Oeconomy; or, Practical essays; 7-231 text; 232 blank; 233 half title; 234 blank; 235-236 Introduction [by Young]; 237 title page: The Rural Socrates: or, a description of the oeconomical and moral conduct of a country philosopher. Written in German by M. Hirzel, president of the Physical Society at Zurich. Second edition, 1764 . . .; 238 blank; 239-375 text of The Rural Socrates; 376-434 Addenda (consisting of the same items as are in the earlier London and Dublin editions)

For added information, see under 1770.

MH-BA NjR\* MU\* NNC\* ViU\* ScU\*

## 8. French edition, Lausanne, 1777 – two issues

Le Socrate rustique, ou description de la conduite économique & morale d'un paysan philosophe. Traduit de l'allemand de M. Hirzel, premier médecin de la république de Zurich, par un officier suisse au service de France: [4-line quotation from Cato] Quatrième édition, exactement corrigée de toutes les fautes qui étoient dans les éditions précédentes, & très augmentée. Tome premier. [second.]

A Lausanne. Chez François Grasset & compag. libraires & imprimeurs. M.D.CC. LXXVII.

## 9. English edition, London, 1779

„The Rural Socrates“ in [Young, Arthur], 1741-1820

The rural Socrates: being memoirs of a country philosopher. Translated from the French. To which is added essays on the practical parts of husbandry; designed to explain several methods of conducting different farms; including hints to gentlemen farmers relative to the oeconomical management of their business. Containing, among other enquiries, of that proportional farm, which is the most profitable. Of the best method of conducting farms that consist all of grass, or all of arable

land. Of the means of keeping the year round the most cattle on a given quantity of land. The oeconomical conduct of gentlemen farmers. Of the cheapest way of manuring land. Of the comparative profit of farming different soils. Of the new husbandry. Of periodical publications concerning rural oeconomies.

Sold by Constable Sewell, No. 32. Cornhill. MDCCLXXIX.

1 title; 2 blank; 3-4 Preface, signed & dated: Cornhill Watch-House, Tenth Full Moon, 1779; 1-231 Rural oeconomy; or, practical essays; 232 blank; 239-434 Le Socrate rustique; or, the rural Socrates

A<sup>2</sup> B-P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>5</sup> R-2E<sup>8</sup> 2F<sup>1</sup> cm.

Reissue of 1772 edition with a new signature A and with deletions in signature Q.

The new preface, which begins with "The Constable of Cornhill's respectful compliments to the public in general," notes that the work was published in 1770 "and met with som Share of Success, though by no Means equal to that which it deserved, for which perhaps two Reasons may fairly be assigned; the first, that at that Time and in the succeeding few Years, Oeconomy was thought a Disgrace, but now Things are so changed, that nor Courtier, nor Country Gentleman, nor even the voluptuous Citizken, view it any longer in the same light; so much the reverse, that an Attempt has been made to introduce it into the festive Entertainments of the Chief Magistrate himself, but so riveted is Custom, that it was ill received by the Majority, who made no Scruple to treat it with Disdain. . . .

"The other Reason may probably be deduced from a Mistake of the Author, who was vain enough to imagine that the Public would pay Attention to, and adopt an oeconomical Plan in that Aera when Voluptuousness may be said to have been at its Zenith; but he did not consider that every one would be offended at his Title of *Rural Oeconomy*, while all would wish to be thought Philosophers; for this Reason the Constable has now placed the latter Part first, as not only becoming the Intention, but with a view to save his Fellow Citizens (who are not fond of systematical Plans founded on Order and Method) the Trouble of turning to the End, for which he thinks he cannot in Reason be blamed, as it would be a most difficult Matter to point out any other Instances in which Things have suffered a total Subversion, and been nearly turned topsy-turvy."

Dartmouth (with label inlaid on cover of the Agricultural Society of Jamaica and with the bookplate of the Hallowell Social Library, to which, according to a note, Benjamin Vaughan gave this copy) PU\*

## 10. Italian edition, 1782(?)

L'economia d'un contadino filosofo descritta dal sig. dottore Hirzel. . . Tradotto dal tedesco da Martino Kuralt . . .

In Firenze: Nella stamperia di Lorenzo Vanni {1781-1786?}

π8 A-E12 F4

xvi, 128p. 1 table

Lorenzo Vanni appears as the imprint in SBN only on some books published 1781-1786. The translator does not appear elsewhere in SBN.

Bibl. comunale Labronica Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, Livorno\* Bibl. statale, Lucca\* Bibl. Capone, Avellino\*

## 11. Italian edition, 1793

Il Socrate rustico, o descrizione della condotta economica, e morale d'un contadino filosofo: Tradotto dal tedesco del Signor Zirzel [?] primo medico della Repubblica di Zurigo da un ufficiale svizzero al servizio della Francia, e dal francese in italiano dall'abate Gio: Battista Carli dedicato all'Amico degli uomini.

In Vicenza, 1793. Per Giovanni Rossi. Con licenza de' superiori. A spese di Domenico Bardella Libraio.

I: \*<sup>12</sup> A-O<sup>8</sup> (-O<sub>8</sub>)

i title, ii quote from Cato; iii-iv dedication to Leonardo Angaran, signed at end: Gio: Battista Carli; v dedication to Mirabeau, signed: Il traduttore & dated: Basel, March 15, 1762; vi-xviii Prefazione del traduttore francese; xix Avvertimento per la terza edizione [being actually Avertissement pour cette seconde edition], xx-xxiv Avvertimento del traduttore su quest' ultima edizione di Losanna; 1-147 text, 148-212 Aggiunte (being 8 of them); 213-216 Dell'utilità e dell'uso del gesso del traduttore italiano; 217-220 Note omesse nel decorso dell' opera, 221 permission: Noi riformatori dello studio di Padova, dated Sept. 26, 1792 & signed: Giacomo Nani, Zaccaria Vallarosso & Francesco Peraro

II: A-N<sup>8</sup> O<sup>12</sup>

1 title, 2 quote from Cato, 3-232 text

Translation of the Lausanne, 1777, edition.

Zentralbibliothek, Zürich Bibl. Capone, Avellino\* plus others

## 12. French edition, 1847

Le veritable guide des cultivateurs ou vie agricole de Jacques Gouyer dit le paysan philosophe Tirée du *Philosophischen Bauers* de J.-G. Hirzel avec des notes par

J.-E. Dezeimeris [quote, unidentified, but apparently from the text]

Paris Librairie agricole de Dusacq éditeur de la Maison rustique et du Bon jardinier  
rue Jacob, No 26 1847.

1 half-title; 2 printer's imprint; 3 title; 4 blank; 5-11 Préface [of the editor] 12  
blank; 13-23 Vie agricole de Jacques Gouyer dit Le paysan philosophe: Préambule;  
24-71 Vie agricole de Jacques Gouyer: première période décrite en 1761; 72-86  
Vie agricole de Jacques Gouyer: deuxième partie décrite en 1773 et 1777; 86-117  
Vie agricole de Jacques Gouyer: seconde période; 118-126 Paysans enrichis par  
la culture du sanfoin; 126-135 Paysans enrichie par l'usage de la marne; 136-219  
Notes; 220 Table and printer's imprint. Two fold. tables inserted at end.

1.2-11.1212. 132 1.2-11.12<sup>12.6</sup> 13<sup>2</sup> 17.6 x 10.8 cm.

"Une partie de cette relation n'a point encore paru en France; des trois volumes  
dont se composent l'ouvrage primitif de Hirzel et ses suits, deux seulement ont  
été traduits en français. Le troisième va me fournir un complément important  
dans la relation que j'ai voulu reproduire de la vie agricole de Petit-Jacques, ou  
Jacques Gouyer."--8.

A footnote identifies the third, pp. 86-117, as *Neue Prüfung des philosophischen  
Bauers*, Zurich, 1785. Pp. 13-71 are a reprint, with extensive omissions, from an  
earlier edition of *Le Socrate rustique*: up through p. 164 of the 1764 edition, or  
up through p. 160 of the 1777 edition. All footnotes have been omitted, save for  
one of Hirzel, two of Arthur Young and one of Frey des Landes. The text on pp.  
72-86 I have been unable to locate in earlier editions. That on pp. 118--126 and  
126-135 is identified in notes as taken from the *Mémoires de la Société  
Économique de Berne*.

BN (5. 26173)

## **VI. Josef von Sonnenfels (1732-1817). Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanz. 1765-76. 3 vols.**

Sonnenfels' 3-volume work well represented the liberal humanitarianism  
of Maria Theresia and Joseph II. It was the most important textbook in  
the Catholic German-speaking areas. In addition to at least 8 editions of  
all 3 volumes, there was even a one-volume, truncated edition for stu-  
dents, of which there were three editions. L. B. M. Schmid's *Ausführliche  
Tabellen über die Policey-Handlungs- und Finanzwissenschaft* (1785) is  
an outline of Sonnenfels' Grundsätze for students. There were also three  
Italian translations, the latest in 1832, and a Latin edition which must  
have been for schools. Sonnenfels' text continued to be used into the  
1840s. Professors were required to do so by law. However, Joseph  
Kudler, whose *Grundlehren der Volkswirtschaft* (1846), 2v., replaced  
Sonnenfels, explains that the law was violated in spirit through using

Sonnenfels' text as the basis for attack on Cameralistic economics.

### 1. German edition, 1769-76

*Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft.*

Wien, 1769-76. 2v.

Hitotsubashi (Franklin: pts. 1 & 3 only)\*

### 2. German edition, 1770

*Here we get into a typical „German“ problem: new editions of multi-volume works tend to consist of mixed editions. Here we see that the first volume is the third edition. This whole entry needs to be clarified.*

Josephs von Sonnenfels kaiserl. königl. wirkl. N. Oe. Regierungsraths, ordentlichen, öffentlichen Lehrers der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft. . . .

Wien, gedruckt bey Johann Thomas Edlen von Trattnern, kaiserl. königl. Hofbuchdruckern und Buchhändlern. 1770.

I: Erster Theil, Dritte Auflage.

i title; ii blank; iii dedication: Dem allerdurchlauchtigsten großmächtigsten römischen Kaiser, Joseph dem II. zu Germanien und Jerusalem Könige, iv continuation of dedication: Erzherzogen von Oesterreich.; v-vi dedicatory statement, signed Sonnenfels; vii-x untitled prefatory statement, dated "Geschrieben den 20. Herbsmonats 1765"; xi sectional title: Allgemeine Einleitung; xii untitled statement; 1-398 text, beginning with Allgemeine Einleitung; 399-410 Register über die merkwürdigsten Materien aus der Polizey

II:

Vol. 1 contains the following sections: 1-14, paragraphs 1-20: Allgemeine Einleitung. I. Abteilung der Staatswissenschaft in ihre Zweige; 14-71 paragraphs 21-72, II. Hauptgrundsatz der Staatswissenschaft und ihrer Zweige; 71-86, paragraphs 73-87: Die innerliche Privatsicherheit. I. Von der Sicherheit der Handlungen oder bürgerlichen Freyheit; 87-335, paragraphs 88-306: II. Von dem sittlichen Zey in Bildung des Verstandes und der Neigungen der Bürger; 335-398, paragraphs 307-352: Von Anstalten zur Handhabung der innerlichen Privatsicherheit.

(we need to see this book)

### 3. German edition, Vienna, 1776

Wien, 1776. 3d ed.

Jagiellonska

### 4. German edition, Vienna, 1777

Josephs von Sonnenfels k. k. wirkl. N. Oe. Regierungsraths, ordentlichen, öffentli-

chen Lehrers der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft Grundsätze der Polizey- Handlung- und Finanzwissenschaft. . . .

Wien, gedruckt bey Johann Thomas Edlen von Trattnern, kaiserl. königl. Hofbuchdruckern und Buchhändlern. 1770.

I: Erster Theil, Dritte Auflage.

i title; ii blank; iii dedication: Dem allerdurchlauchtigsten großmächtigsten römischen Kaiser, Joseph dem II. zu Germanien und Jerusalem Könige, iv continuation of dedication: Erzherzogen von Oesterreich.; v-viii dedicatory statement, signed Sonnenfels; ix-xii untitled prefatory statement, dated "Geschrieben den 20. Herbsmonats 1765"; xiii sectional title: Allgemeine Einleitung; xiv untitled statement; 1-456 text, beginning with Allgemeine Einleitung; 457-472 Register über die merkwürdigsten Materien aus der Polizey.

Vol. 1 contains the following sections: 1-14, paragraphs 1-20: Allgemeine Einleitung. I. Abteilung der Staatswissenschaft in ihre Zweige; 14-71 paragraphs 21-72, II. Hauptgrundsatz der Staatswissenschaft und ihrer Zweige; 71-86, paragraphs 73-87: Die innerliche Privatsicherheit. I. Von der Sicherheit der Handlungen oder bürgerlichen Freyheit; 87-335, paragraphs 88-306: II. Von dem sittlichen Zey in Bildung des Verstandes und der Neigungen der Bürger; 335-398, paragraphs 307-352: Von Anstalten zur Handhabung der innerlichen Privatsicherheit.

## 5. German edition, 1783-87

Gesammelte Schriften, 1783-87

10 v.

Jagiellonska\* CzechNationalLib\* CzechNatLib also has in German script other relevant works.

## 6. Italian edition, Milan 1784.

Scienza del buon governo scritta dal signor di Sonnenfels e recata dal tedesco in italiano.

Milano. MDCCLXXXIV. Presso Giuseppe Galeazzi regio stampatore. Con approvazione.

i title; ii blank; iii-iv A chi legge, signed at end: Il traduttore; 1-212 text This is a translation of an edition of pt. 1 of *Grundsätze der Polizey- Handlung- und Finanzwissenschaft*. Melzi records that the translator was Carlo Amoretti. However, the Kress Library copy is inscribed: "Avuto in dono dal S.<sup>r</sup> Marchese Vincenzo Spinola di Genova, Genova 7bre 1785 tradotto dal S.<sup>r</sup> Gerolamo Serra Patrizio genovese." The evidence in support of the attribution to Amoretti is not known, but Gerolamo Serra (1761-1837) is a likely candidate for translator, since he had been a student at the Theresianum.

MH-BA

## 7. Italian translation (partial), Venice, 1785.

La scienza del buon goerno del signor di Sonnenfels. Tradotto del tedesco in italiano. Edizione prima veneta. Diligentemente coretta.

In Venezia M. DCC. LXXXV. Appreso Giovanni Vitto, in Calle Lunga a S. Maria Formosa. Con publica approvazione.

π<sup>4</sup> A-N<sup>8</sup> 19.9 x 12 cm.

blank leaf, i title, ii blank; iii-iv A chi legge; v Indice de' capitoli; vi privilege, given to Vitto & dated Nov. 12, 1784; 1-208 text

"Non mi ha certo lusingato il picciolo o niun premio di fama, che acquista ogni traduttore per le sue fatiche; nè mi ha sgomentato la noja della traduzione. Ho sacrificato alcune ore di divertimento alla speranza di giovare alcun poco alla mia Patria; speranza che nel vero cittadino tien luogo di piaceri e di ambizione. Se a voto non mi andrà siffatta lusinga, il tempo impiegato in questa traduzione riuscirà il tempo più bello di mia vita.

KU Wiener Stadt- u. Landesbibliothek

Tr. of vol. 1 only.

## 8. German edition, Vienna, 1786-87

"Fünfte Auflage."

Wien, 1786-87.

MH-BA Turku Univ. Lib\*

## 9. German edition, Munich 1787

Truncated version by von Moshamm.

München, 1787.

MH-BA CzechNatLib\*

## 10. Russian partial translation, 1787

Зонненфельс, Иозеф фон

Иосифа Зонненфелса Начальныя основания полиции или благочиния. / Перевод с немецкаго [Матвея Гаврилова].

М.: Унив. тип., у Н.Новикова, 1787.

[2], 318 p.

Translation of Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanz

Экз. ЗНБ СГУ из б-ки П.М.Мальцева.

Экз. УОНБ с экслибрисом О-ва любителей российской словесности.

Экз. СПбГУ из б-ки Е.В.Косицкого.

Экз. НГОНБ из кол. Колывано-Воскрес. 3-дов.

Реэстр достопамятнейших материй, содержащихся в Благочинии (С.308-317).

Из содерж.: Реэстр достопамятнейших материй, содержащихся в Благочинии (С.308-317).

СК XVIII 2371.

Harvard: Microfilm



## 11. German edition, Vienna 1798

“Sechste Auflage.”

Wien, 1798.

Kayser

MH-BA (v. 1, n.d.) Jagiellonska\*

## 12. German edition, Munich 1801

Second edition of the truncated version of von Moshamm.

München, 1801.

MH-BA

## 13. German edition, Vienna 1804-1805

Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung, und Finanz: von Sonnenfels. [period only in vols. 2-3] Zu dem Leitfaden des politischen Studiums. Siebente verbesserte Auflage.

Wien, 1804 in der Camesinischen Buchhandlung.

[16], 514 p. ; π8 A-2I8 2K1

i title; ii quote from Cicero; iii-vi Zur ersten Auflage; vii-xii Zur vierten Auflage; xiii-xvi Zur siebenten Auflage, dated at end: Den 5ten Hornung 1804; 1 divisional title: Allgemeine Einleitung; 2 untitled translation of a passage identified as coming from Richard Hay, Observations on the nature of civil liberty; 3-514 text, the first divided into 3 sections up through p. 47, the second, starting on p. 48, divided into 10 sections

II:

Wien, bey Alb. Camesina, Buchhändler in der untern Breunerstrasse Nro. 1189

[12], 539, [5] p. ; π8 (-π8) A-2L8

i title; ii quote from Rousseau; iii divisional title: Zweyter Theil: Die Handlung; iv blank; v-xiii untitled preface; xiv-xv Zur Ausgabe von 1787; 1-539 text; 540-544 In eben dieser Buchhandlung is ganz neu zu haben

III:

Wien 1805, in der Camesinischen Buchhandlung.

[16], 493, [3] p. ; π8 A-2H8

i title; ii quote from Horace; iii divisional title: Dritter Theil: Die Finanzwissenschaft; v-xiv Zur ersten Auflage; xv-xvi Zur vierten Auflage; 1-493 text; 494-496 Verzeichniß neuer Verlagsbücher der Camesinischen Buchhandlung

π8 A-2L8

#### **14. German edition, Vienna (1819?)**

Hitotsubashi has v. 1, 8<sup>th</sup> ed., 1819; v. 2, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., [n.d.]; v. 3, 7<sup>th</sup> ed., 1805.

#### **15. Italian translation (partial), Venice, 1806**

La scienza del buon governo del signor di Sonnenfels tradotto dal tedesco in italiano. Edizione seconda veneta diligentemente corretta.

Venezia MDCCCVI. Dalla tipografia Santini con permissione.

A-K8 L4 20.2 x 12.8 cm.

1 title; 2 blank; 3-4 L'autore a chi legge; 5-165 text; 166-167 Indice

Pages 3-4, despite being called "L'autore a chi legge," are by the translator.

This is a reprint of the 1785, Venice, translation of volume 1 of *Grundsätze der Polizey-Handlung-und Finanzwissenschaft*.

In addition to this edition of the translation and that of 1785, there were editions of 1784 and 1832, both published in Milan. All have the same text.

Kress

#### **16. Latin edition, Posonii (Bratislava / Pressburg) 1807.**

Principia politiae, commercii, et rei aerariae. E germanicis lucubrationibus . . . latine reddita a Wolfgango Beke.

Posonii, 1807-08.

3 v. (viii, 342; 338; 326).

Entry from Géza, Petrik, *Bibliographia hungariae*.

#### **17. Latin partial translation, Budapest 1808**

Summaria institutionum politicarum adumbratio. Excerpta principiis politiae, merciorum et rei aerariae. Pars prima.

Buda:Typis regiae universitatis hungaricae, 1808

xxxii, 200 p

Apparently a second part never appeared.

Entry from Géza, Petrik, *Bibliographia hungariae*.

#### **18. German edition, 1819-22**

"Achte Auflage."

Wien, 1819-22.  
Cited in Humpert.  
Hitotsubashi (v. 1, 1819)

### **19. German edition, 1820**

Third edition of truncated version by von Moshamm.  
Tübingen, 1820.  
MH-BA CzechNatLib\*

### **20. Latin translation, 1823.**

Principia politiae, commercii, et rei aerariae. E germanicis lucubrationibus . . . latine reddita a Wolfgango Beke.

Posonii, 1823. Typ[is haeredum Belnayanorum.

3 v. (viii, 342; 338; 326).

Does this represent a re-issue or a new printing?

Entry from Géza, Petrik, Bibliographia hungariae.

### **21. Italian translation (partial), 1832.**

Scienza del buon governo scritta dal signor de Sonnenfels Gran-croce dell'insigne ordine di S. Stefano, I.R. Consigliere aulico presso la cancel. Austro-boema, ed assessore presso l'Aulica commissione in affari di legislazione, ec. ec. Traduzione dal tedesco.

Milano Per Giovanni Silvestri. M. DCCC. XXXII.

$\pi^4$  1-16<sup>8</sup> 17<sup>4</sup> 16.1 x 9.8 cm.

i series title: Biblioteca scelta di opere tedesche tradotte in lingua italiana, volume primo, de Sonnenfels Scienza del buon governo; ii blank; iii title; iv blank; v-vi Avvertimento del tipografo, dated at end: Milano, Dec. 4, 1832; vii-viii Il traduttore; 1-263 text; 264 Indice

In printed orange paper wrapper on back of which is an advt. for, among others, Baron G. M. Lichtenstern, Saggio di una statistica dell'impero d'Austria, 2. ed., tr. by Gaetano Senoner; and, Say, Catechismo.

The text is the same as the editions of 1784 and 1785.

DLC ÖstNB Wien, Stadt- u. Landesbibliothek

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