

Heinrich C. Kuhn

University of Munich, Institute of Philosophy of the Renaissance, Ludwigsstraße 31/IV, D-80539 Munich
hck@lrz.uni-muenchen.de

Counting What May Count Regionally

**The Presence of Prints of Works by
Frane Petrić in German Libraries**

Abstract

Using bibliographical data from the major electronic German libraries' catalogues for the editions of the works by Frane Petrić, and the copies of these works, it is possible to arrive at results which probably cannot be obtained using other means and instruments. There are strong indicators that the pre-20th century German reception of Petrić differs considerably from his reception elsewhere (especially in the U.K.). In this phase of reception the impact of the *Discussiones peripateticae* and the *Militia romana* is particularly conspicuous. The results for the impact of the 1953sqq editions of Petrić's works are under many aspects different from the results obtained for the earlier editions of his works. This is a preliminary case study for Germany, using data from the U.K. and from the AHCI database for comparisons.

Key Words

Frane Petrić, bibliographical data, counting, impact

Introduction

Frane Petrić (Francesco Patrizi da Cherso, Franciscus Patricius) is a rather special Philosopher under more than one aspect: his thought as expressed in his works is fascinating enough to make him an intensely studied philosopher¹ and the diversity and *varietas* of his *opus* is reflected in the diversity and *varietas* of the themes of the studies dedicated to him. Moreover: diversity and *varietas* can also be found in the reception of his thought as documented by the presence of his works in various libraries.

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Cf. Ivica Martinović's impressive florilegium: Ivica Martinović (ed.), *Frane Petrić. O 400. obljetnici smrti hrvatskoga renesansnog filozofa*, Dubrovnik, Nova serija, 8(1997), 1–3. For a bibliography of Petrić-studies from 1979 to 1997 see Ivica Martinović, "Bibliografija o Frani Petriću između dviju obljetnica 1979–1997", in: Ivica Martinović (ed.), *Frane Petrić. O 400. obljetnici smrti hrvatskoga renesansnog filozofa*, Dubrovnik 1997 (ut supra). For Petrić's reception especially by Croat authors (from 1879 to 1992) cf. Mihaela Girardi-Karšulin, "A chronological survey of the research into

the work of Frane Petrić with the Croats", in: *Studia historiae philosophiae Croaticae* 2 (1993), pp. 17–43; cf. etiam the bibliography in Ljerka Schiffler, *Frane Petrić-Franciscus Patricius: Od škole mišljenja do slobode mišljenja*, Zagreb 1997, pp. 297–324 – and, of course the other contributions in this volume and the journal *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* in addition to other bibliographical resources like *Iter* and *Bibliographie internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*.

One way of considering the influence and the impact of a philosopher and his texts is to read and analyse the works of those who read his texts or texts influenced by him.²

Another way of investigating the influence and the impact of a philosopher's works is to measure his impact on the repositories that are seminal for probably a good part of his reception by readers and authors: libraries. To study the presence of the works by a certain author in libraries can lead to insights concerning his potential reception by potential readers.

The second approach should not be seen as a prerequisite nor as a substitute for the first one, but it can sometimes lead us to insights we might not have gained without its use. As obviously it is not possible to check and analyse all of the texts which might perhaps cite works by Frane Petrić and as it is even less possible to take into account all of the texts which might be directly or indirectly influenced by his thought without citing his works, a bibliometric approach which provides us with some information about some of the potential "hidden" impact of Petrić's thought might be welcome.

Moreover, Petrić himself did welcome the counting and enumeration of philosophical works: After his praise for Hermippus Callimachus of Smyrna, Andronikos of Rhodos and Adrastus Aphrodisaeus he writes:³

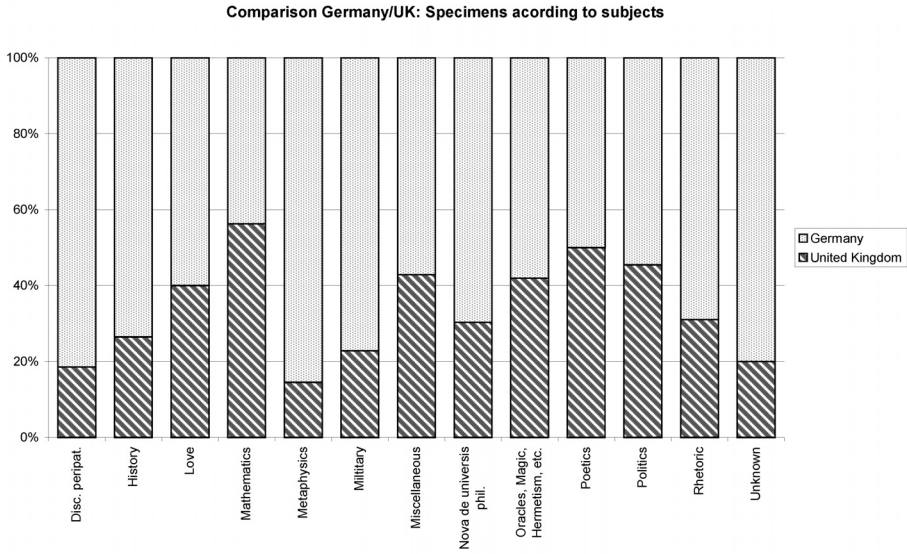
"Diogenes quoque Laertius *non parum laboribus in id contulit*; ut scilicet prater Aristotelis mores, actiones, fortunas, *etiam libros eius enumeraret, eorum quoque librorum versus numeraret.*"⁴

Although even with today's electronic tools doing such a thing is not possible without *non parum laboribus* this paper investigates the "material impact" (and thus a good part of the potential hidden influence and reception) of the works of Frane Petrić in Germany by analysing the presence of his works in German libraries using the data available via the German library union catalogues.⁵ One should be aware, that for various reasons the data used for such studies in most cases will be far from perfect.⁶ But, at least in my view at least part of the results gained from that data are remarkable.

German data as compared to United Kingdom data

The first question I asked myself was whether the results of analysing the sample obtained via the German catalogues might be regarded perhaps as "transferable" to other countries. Comparisons between the German data and data obtained from the British COPAC database show, that the library holdings of works by Frane Petrić in Germany and in the United Kingdom differ considerably.⁷ This becomes at once obvious when having a look at the number of specimens available in both countries of various editions of Petrić's works:

The look at the distribution of the specimens over the broad subjects of the works written by Petrić probably gives an even better impression of the differences between both groups of holdings:



(Diagram 2: Comparison Germany/UK: Specimens according to subjects)

And even if in the case of Petrić’s works on mathematics (the only case in which the percentages for the items available in German and in British libraries are roughly equal) the distribution of the single editions is quite dissimilar:

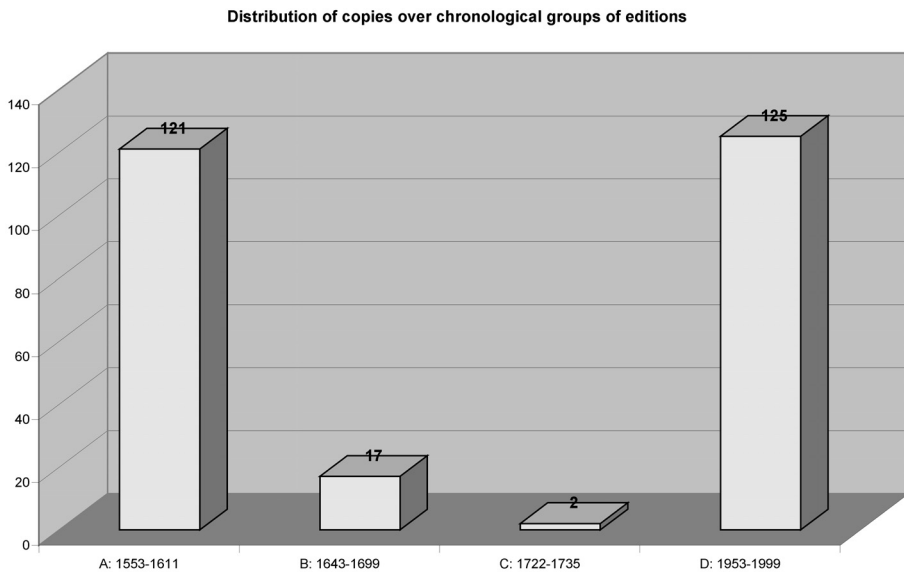
Title	Year of publication	Country	Number of copies
<i>Philosophiae de rerum natura libri 2</i>	1587.	Germany	1
<i>Philosophiae de rerum natura libri 2</i>	1587.	United Kingdom	2
<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	1996.	Germany	4
<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	1996.	United Kingdom	3
<i>Della nuova Geometria libri XV</i>	1587.	Germany	2
<i>Della nuova Geometria libri XV</i>	1587.	United Kingdom	4

(Table 1: Comparison Germany/UK: Specimens of books on mathematics according to edition)

Analysis of the data obtained from the German catalogues

Most of the rest of this paper deals with the 44 editions and 265 copies of works by Frane Petrić for which information is available from the German union catalogues.⁸ The distribution of the years of publication of the 57 editions⁹ found in the German catalogues plus COPAC is remarkable: From

1553 to 1611 12 years is the maximum time to elapse between two editions of Petrić's works; there are 28 editions in this group. Then there is a gap, 1643 being the next year from which there is an edition in the sample; there are 6 editions from 1643 to 1699. The four 18th century editions present in the catalogues used for this paper are published between 1722 and 1735. Then there is nothing at all up to 1953, and there are 19 editions between 1953 and 1999. I.e.: the reception of Frane Petrić as reflected by the publication dates of the editions of his works present in the main German electronic catalogues is far from continuous and anything but uninterrupted. The distribution of the *copies* in German libraries over the chronological groups is as follows:



(Diagram 3: Distribution of copies over chronological groups of editions)

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For a rather copious list of such reasons see Heinrich C. Kuhn, "Chartaceous presence, material impact: Works by Paduan Aristotelians in German libraries", in: Gregorio Piaia (ed.), *La presenza dell'Aristotelismo padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità*, Roma 2002, pp. 83–122, here espec. p. 86–88 (a previous version of that paper is available at URL

<http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/php/Kuhn/ePub/Padova00/V1/Vortrag20000904.htm> [you might search in that text for "Caveats concerning the data collected by Heinrich C. Kuhn for his paper"]). If you are interested in the perhaps first use of bibliometric methods for studies on Renaissance philosophy see: Paul Richard Blum, "Der Standardkursus der katholischen Schulphilosophie im 17. Jahrhundert", in: Eckhard Keßler, Charles Lohr & Walter Sparn (eds.): *Aristotelismus und Renaissance. In memoriam Charles B. Schmitt*, Wiesbaden 1988, pp. 127–148. For another example of the use of data gained from Library union catalogues see: Heinrich

C. Kuhn, "Titel, Themen, Sprachen, Bücher: Latein und Deutsch in Ingolstädter Veröffentlichungen des 15. mit 18. Jahrhunderts", in: Eckhard Keßler & Heinrich C. Kuhn (ed.), *Germania latina – Latinitas teutonica*, Paderborn 2003, also available at URL <http://www.phil-hum-ren.uni-muenchen.de/Germ-Lat/Acta/Kuhn.htm>.

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This is true at least for the holdings reflected by the databases used for this study at the time at which I did search these databases. A truly complete census of really *all* the library holdings in Germany and the U.K. might give different results – although I doubt that it would present us with a much greater similarity of the holdings.

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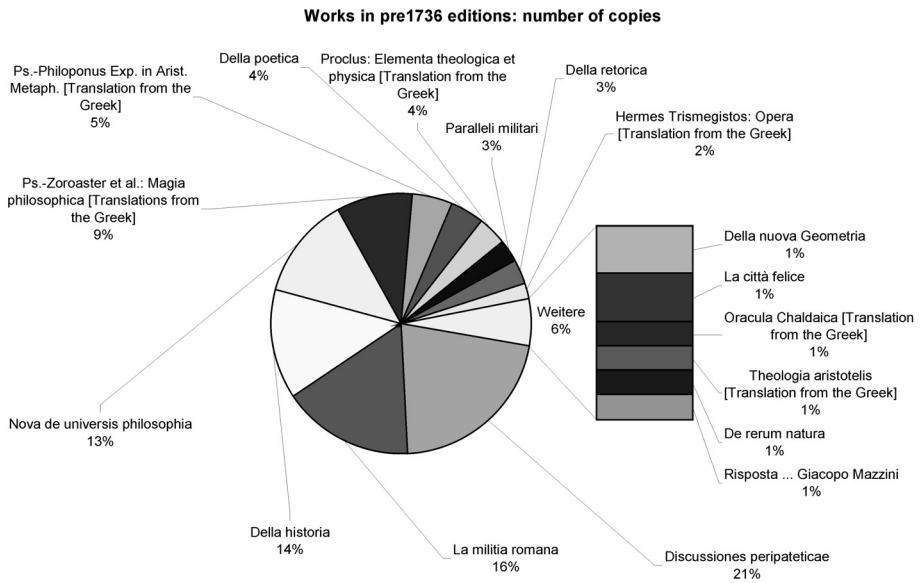
Plus the electronic catalogue of "Die Deutsche Bibliothek" (DDB)...

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See Appendix A.

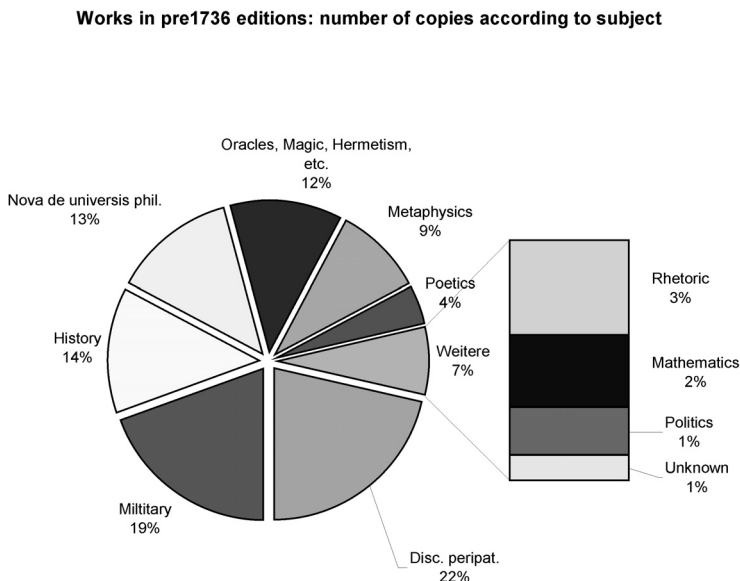
I.E.: In spite of the losses that most probably occurred over the centuries: almost as many copies from the first group (1553 to 1611 editions) are present in German libraries as are from the last group (post 1953 editions), and taken together the copies of “old” editions outnumber the modern ones. Assuming that most (if not all) of the old editions will have entered Germany before recent times,¹⁰ this result is testimony for a considerable early popularity of Petrić’s works in Germany.¹¹

For the editions up to 1735 the distribution of the numbers of copies according to the single works (not editions)¹² is as follows:



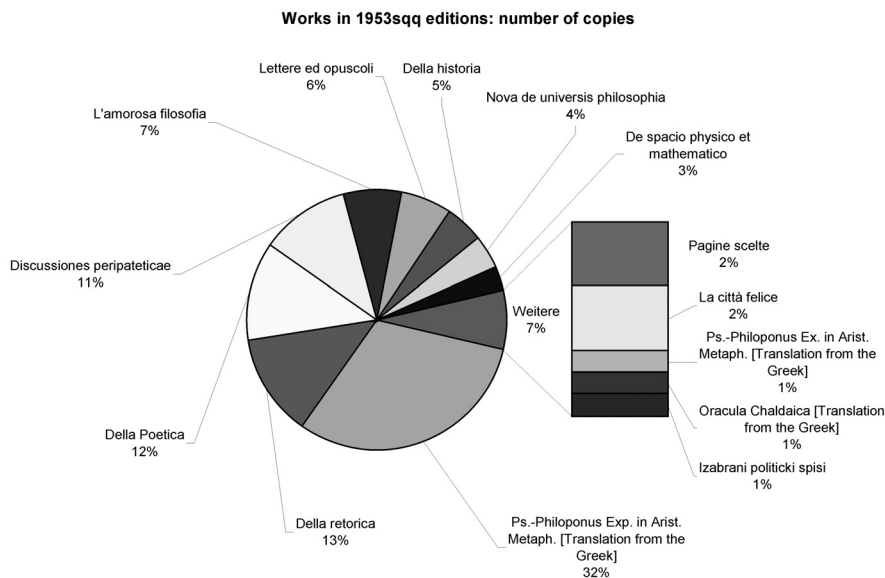
(Diagram 4: Works in pre-1736 editions: number of copies)

If we further “condense” the data and have a look at the subjects these works deal with, we obtain the following result:



(Diagram 5: Works in pre-1736 editions: number of copies according to subject)

The *Discussiones peripateticae* lead the field (as might perhaps have been expected – given their impressive scholarship and their bold, innovative and comprehensive presentation and discussion of aristotelian philosophy in a time when Aristotle still was the major author in philosophy education at many [if not even most or all] European universities). Next, however, comes the field of studies in military history and military theory – texts which nowadays are seldom – if ever – studied by Petrić scholars; perhaps their prominence in the earlier German “material” impact of the works by Petrić might give an occasion to have a more intense look at them and their possible reception.¹³



(Diagram 6: Works in 1953sqq editions: number of copies)

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As far as my memory for proveniences serves: such an assumption should be rather valid: in those cases where I was able to gather provenience data the overwhelming majority of copies of 16th and 17th century editions I did see in German libraries had pre1800 German owners (although in probably most of these cases the library where these copies are found now is not the “original” owner of the items in question).

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And it may very well be noted that the degree is of this “popularity” is not negligible: The research on the impact of “Paduan” authors in German libraries (done for the paper mentioned above in footnote 3: Heinrich C. Kuhn, “Chartaceous presence, material impact: Works by Paduan Aristotelians in German libraries”, in: Gregorio Piaia (ed.), *La presenza dell’Aristotelismo padovano nella filosofia della prima modernità*, Roma 2002, pp. 83–122, here espec. pp. 91–93) yielded the following numbers for some late 16th/early 17th century authors working (like Petrić) in Northern Italy: G. Zabarella – 175 copies; F. Piccolomini – 86 copies, C. Cremonini – 42 copies, A. Mercenario – 29 copies; G. Raguseo – 8 copies.

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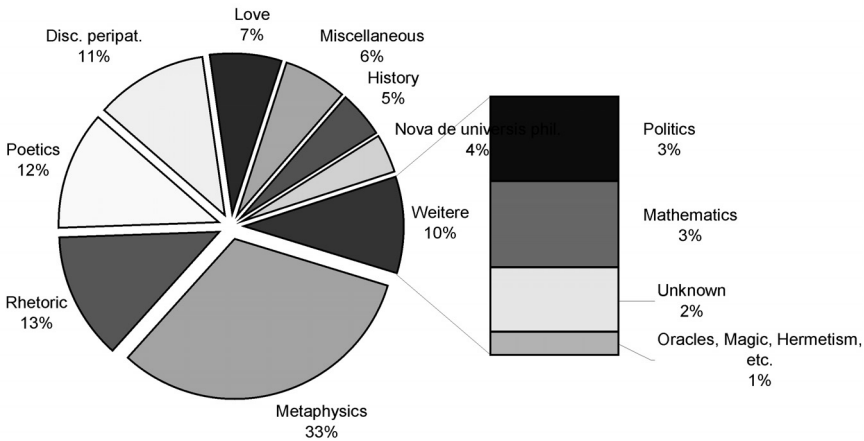
The number of the copies per edition for both the pre-1736 and the post-1952 editions can be obtained from the table given in Appendix B.

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As shown by Diagram 2 (above): there is no such prominent impact of this subject on the British libraries for which data was obtained. I don’t know whether the “older” impact of works on military subjects is generally less prominent in U.K. libraries than in German libraries or whether this is just the case in the case of Petrić. And I don’t know whether it is the German or the British profile of library holdings (or neither) that perhaps could be regarded as more or less similar to a “general” European library holdings profile for those times – if such a profile should ever have existed at all or should exist at all. We have not yet reached a state where retrospective cataloguing has been completed for most of the important holdings of most of the European libraries; thus it might be advisable to postpone trying to find answers to questions like this one.

Here are the corresponding diagrams for the 1953sq editions:

Works in 1953sq editions: number of copies according to subject

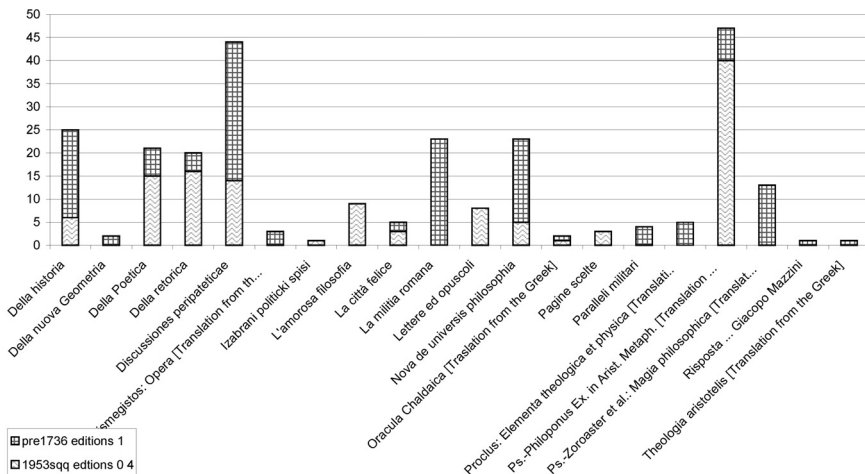


(Diagram 7: Works in 1953sq editions: number of copies according to subject)

As can be seen from these diagrams: The German libraries' post-1952 Frane Petrić is first of all the translator of Pseudo-Philoponos's commentary on metaphysics,¹⁴ and then an author of works on rhetoric and poetics, whereas the German libraries "older" Frane Petrić is first of all the author of the *Discussiones peripatetica*, and then an author on military subjects and on history viz. historiography: the profiles of these two Frane Petrićs, the post-1953sq one and the "older" one as measured by the number of copies documented in the data used for this study are rather distinct.

As those using the German libraries (and their catalogues used for this study) of course can (and hopefully will) use both the new and the old editions of Petrić's works: here is a comprehensive overview for both groups of editions, first according to work and then according to subject, which may give an impression of the "accumulated profile" of the impact of the texts by Petrić on German libraries:¹⁵

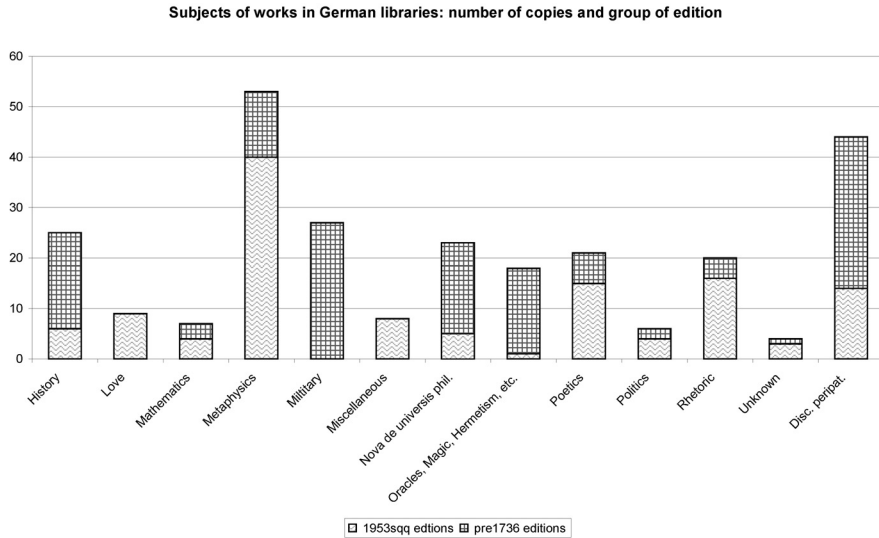
Works in Germany libraries: number of copies and group of editions



(Diagram 8: Works in German libraries: number of copies and group of editions)

I.E.: The German libraries' Frane Petrić is (if you leave aside his role as translator of Pseudo-Philoponos), as one might perhaps have expected, first of all the author of the *Discussiones peripatetica*, of *Della historia* and of the *Nova de universis philosophia*, but he also is quite prominently – as one might perhaps not have expected – the author of the *Militia romana*.

Here is the corresponding diagram for the subjects:



(Diagram 9: Subjects of works in German libraries: number of copies and group of edition)

Some further questions can be asked and answered:

Part of the editions of Petrić's works are either translations or contain translations. How about the impact of these translations? For the editions of works by Petrić we have on average 6 copies represented in the data from German libraries; for the translations and bilingual editions we have on average 4.6 copies represented in that data. However: for the Latin translation of *La militia romana* we have 14 copies and for the Latin translation of *Della historia* we have 11 copies: Translations of works by Petrić may have had a greater importance once than they have now.

If we look at the data for the reprints, we get the following results:

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Thanks to the 1991 Frommann-Holzboog reprint edition.

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Of course, limited to those that are represented in the data thanks to the cataloguing records available from them and to that part of their holdings for which there were such

records available when I did the research for this paper – which, by the way, is a restriction that holds true all of the diagrams and tables found in this paper and for all of the conclusions drawn from the data, the diagrams and the tables.

Work	Place	Year	Number of copies
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Ex. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt	1991	39
<i>Discussiones Peripateticae</i>	Köln	1999	14
<i>Della retorica</i>	Lecce	1994	11
<i>Nova de univervis philosophia</i>	Zagreb	1979	5
<i>Della historia</i>	Pula	1980	3
<i>Della historia</i>	München	1971	3
<i>Della retorica</i>	Pula	1983	2
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Ex. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	Oxford	1981	1

(Table 2: Copies of reprints German libraries)

I.e.: at least some of these reprints did have a considerable impact.

Comparisons to citation data

However, the question whether and to which degree the profile(s) of the impact of Frane Petrić as measured by the copies of his works represented in the data available via the German library union catalogues plus the Die Deutsche Bibliothek catalogue is similar or dissimilar to the profile(s) of the impact of Frane Petrić on those who read him seems to be more interesting and more important than any questions concerning the amount of copies of translations or reprints of his works. Unfortunately there is no viable road to measuring of the impact of Frane Petrić on those who read him. Decisions about whether to judge a certain text influenced by a certain other text often are not possible without some degree of arbitrariness. Part of what is read is read via secondary literature, without direct access to the original text. Many acts of reading leave no definite traces at all. Citing (and probably also quoting) a certain text does not require previous reading of that text.¹⁶

And even if citations could serve as reliable indicators for reading (and I suggest to assume that they cannot): presently (and probably for a long time to come) we have no repository from which to gather all (or even most) of the existing citations of works by Frane Petrić. However: we have the ISI citation databases that provide information about the texts cited in articles from journals with a rather broad diffusion.¹⁷ In the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI) database for the years 1975 to 1998 I retrieved the records for articles citing works by Petrić.¹⁸ For the 101 (of totally 159) citations for which I was able to identify the *edition* cited, the distribution according to “popularity” was as follows:

Title	Year of publication	Place	Publisher	Number of citations
<i>Discussionum peripateticorum tomi IV: quibus Aristotelicae philosophiae universa historia atque dogmata cum veterum placitis collata, eleganter & erudite declarantur</i>	1581 ¹⁹	Basilca	ad Perneam Lecytrum	12
<i>Lettere ed Opuscoli inediti</i>	1975	Firenze	Nella Sede Dell'Istituto Palazzo Strozzi	11

Title	Year of publication	Place	Publisher	Number of citations
<i>Nova de universis Philosophia: in qua Aristotelica methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem, et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde propria Patrii methodo, tota in Contemplationem venit Divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum universitas, a Con</i>	1591	Ferrariae	Mamarellus	11
<i>Della historia dieci dialoghi: ne'quali si ragiona di tute le cose appartenenti all'istoria</i>	1560	Venetia	Arrivabene	9
<i>Della poetica</i>	1969–1971	Firenze	Ist. Naz. Di studi Sul rinascimento	8
<i>Della retorica: dieci dialoghi</i>	1562	Venetia	Senese	8
<i>Della Poetica: la Deca disputata nella quale e per istoria</i>	1586	Ferrara	Baldini	7
<i>L'amorosa filosofia</i>	1963	Firenze	Le Monnier	7
<i>Della nuova Geometria libri XV</i>	1587.	Ferrara	Baldinus	5
<i>La città felice</i>	1553	Venetia	G. Griffio	5
<i>Philosophiae de rerum Natura libri 2 priores</i>	1587	Ferraria	Victor. Baldinus	4
<i>Expositiones in Aristotelis (Metaphysicam) [[Ps.-Philoponus]]</i>	1583	Ferrariae	Marmarellus	3
<i>Discussionum Peripateticorum Tomi 1, Libri 13</i>	1571	Venetiis		2
<i>Paralleli militari: Ne' quali si fa paragone delle milizie Antiche, in tutte le parti loro, con le moderne</i>	1594	Roma	Appreso Luigi Zanetti	2
<i>La Militia Romana di Polibio, di Tito Livio, e di Dionigi Alicamaseo</i>	1583	Ferrara	Mamarelli	2
<i>Risposta... a due opposizioni fategli dal Sig. Giacompo Mazzoni</i>	1587	Ferrara	Appreso Luigi Zanetti	2
<i>Apologia contra calumnias J. Angelutii ejusque novae Sententiae, quod Metaphysica eadem sint quae Physica</i>	1584	Ferrariae		2
<i>Expositiones in omnes XIV Aristotelis libros Metaphysicos [Ps.-Philoponus]</i>	1991	Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt	Fromann-Holzboog	2
<i>Magia philosophica: Hoc est est Francisci Patricii summi philosophi Zoroaster & eius 320. oracula Chaldaica. Asclepii dialogus. & philosophia magna</i>	1593	Hamburgi	Wolff	1
<i>Della retorica: dieci dialoghi</i>	1994	Lecce	Conte	1
<i>Nova de universis philosophia: libris 50 comprehensa; in qua Aristotelica methodo... ad primam causam ascenditur</i>	1593	Venetiis	Meiettus	1
<i>Elementa theologica et physica</i>	1583	Ferrariae	apud Dominicum Mamarellum	1
<i>Mystica Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum: a Platone voce tradita, et ab Aristotele excepta et conscripta Philosophia edente Francisco Patricio</i>	1591	Ferrara	Ex typographia B. Mammarelli	1
<i>Trimerone: risposta a Torquato Tasso, che è parte del decimo libro della deca Disputata di F. Patrizi</i>	1724	no PP in record	no PU in record	1

(Table 3: Editions cited in AHCI 1975–1998)

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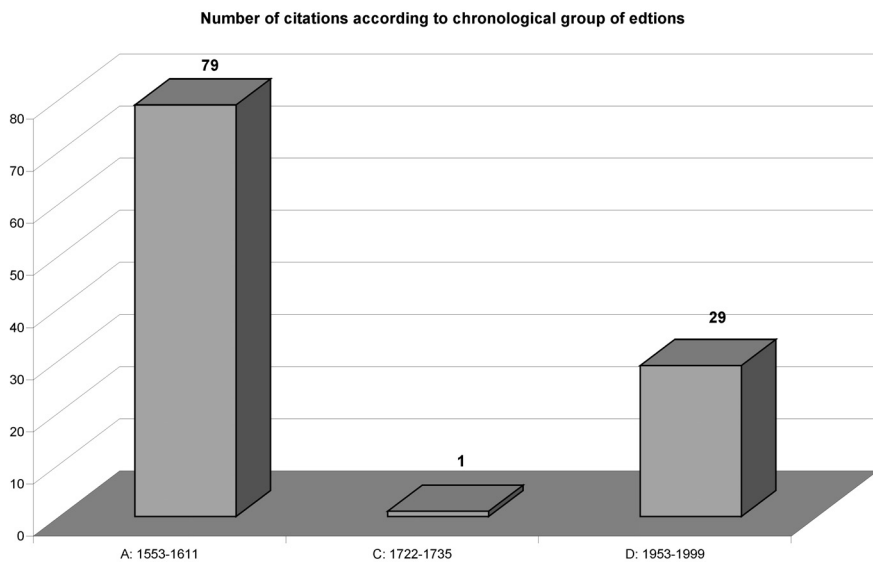
Cf. footnote 2 above.

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There is no restriction for *cited* texts, but here are no entries for *citing* texts that are either monographs, or conference proceedings not published as part of a journal, or volumes of collected studies, or articles in journals

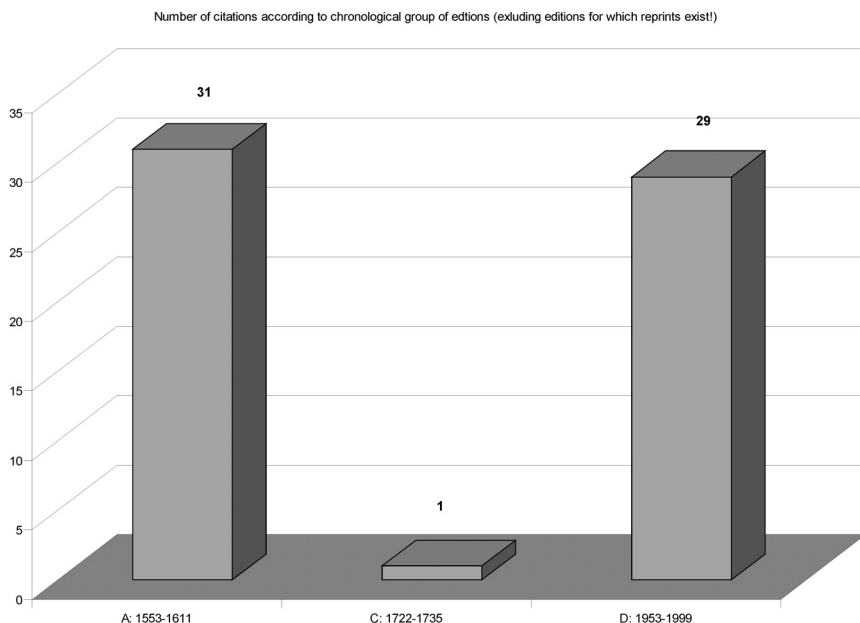
that lack a rather “broad” impact (e.g. because they are rather specialised [like e.g. the *Quaderni per la storia dell'università di Padova*] or publish most of their texts in languages without many millions of native speakers [like e.g. *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine*] or that are not on ISI's list for some other, less transparent reason [like e.g.

If we have a look at the distribution of these citations according to the four chronological groups of editions, there is no single citation for one of the 1643–1699 editions and the result for the other three groups is as follows:



(Diagram 10: Number of citations according to chronological group of editions)

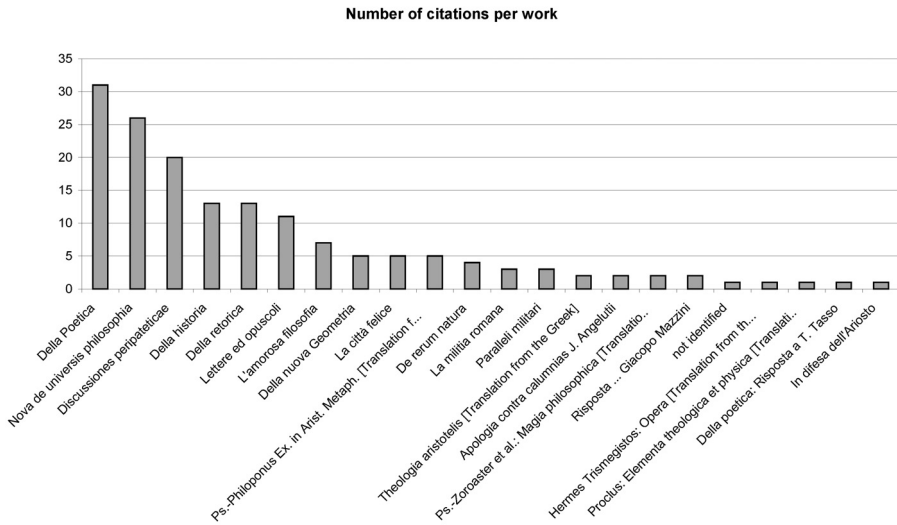
If we exclude those of the editions for which there are reprints available, the result is as follows:



(Diagram 11: Number of citations according to chronological group of editions [excluding editions for which reprints exist!])

I.E.: The role of reprints for the AHCI citations of works by Petrić may very well be considerable,²⁰ but the importance of the “old” editions still remains considerable too (at least for the articles citing Petrić and indexed in the AHCI for 1975 to 1998).

Grouping the citations from AHCI according to the *works* cited, we get the following results:



(Diagram 12: Number of citations per work)

I.E.: The work with most citations is *Della poetica*, followed by the *Nova de universis philosophia*, the *Discussiones peripateticae* are in third place. This result is remarkable, as it differs considerable from the frequencies of copies in the German libraries (where the five most “popular” works are ◊ *Ps.-Philoponus Ex. in Arist. Metaph.* [47 copies], ◊ *Discussiones peripateticae* [44 copies], ◊ *Della historia* [25 copies], ◊ *La militia romana* [23 copies], and the *Nova de universis philosophia* [23 copies], viz., if we consider only the “modern” editions: ◊ *Ps.-Philoponus Ex. in Arist. Metaph.* [40 copies], ◊ *Della retorica* [16 copies], ◊ *Della poetica* [15 copies], ◊ *Discussiones peripatetica* [14 copies], ◊ and *L'amorosa filosofia* [9 copies]).

And that is remarkable as well as it is still significantly different from, but also considerably closer to the frequencies of copies in the United Kingdom libraries, where the six most popular works are: ◊ *Della poetica* [16 copies], ◊ *Nova de universis philosophia* [10 copies], ◊ *Discussiones peripateticae* [10 copies], ◊ *Ps.-Zoroaster et al.: Magia philosophica* [9 copies], ◊ *Della historia* [9 copies] and ◊ *Della retorica* [9 copies]. It is, however, quite different the

Zeitsprünge). In general journals selected by ISI for their indexing apparently tend to be more or less general research journals with a certain focus on journals that publish predominantly material in English. According to ISI's information at URL <http://www.isinet.com/> (then going to “Products” / “arts and Humanities Citation Index”, then following the link to “1,130 of the world's leading arts & humanities journals”, then selecting “View Journal List”) presently (December 19th 2002) there are 1124 journals indexed for that database.

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Due to typographical errors stemming either from the original articles or from ISI's database most probably that retrieval was not

completely complete... (Cf. the note by Johannes Stegmann cited in footnote 2.)

19

It should be noted, that there exist reprints of some of the old editions, and that in such cases at least part of the citations for the editions of which reprints are available might go for the original edition even if actually the reprint was used when writing the article. In this table I highlighted such editions by using *italics*.

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Cf. etiam supra: **Table 2.**

distributions of the frequencies of the 1953sq editions of Petrić's works in the U.K. libraries.²¹

Some conclusions (and reflections on these conclusions) are possible from this: The profile of the distribution of citations retrieved from the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI) for the years 1975 to 1998 is strikingly similar to the profile of the distribution of the frequency of copies in the United Kingdom libraries. This is not due to an overwhelming predominance of material from English language publications in the sample from AHCI: 27 of the papers that cite works by Petrić are in English (1 of them perhaps a translation from the Italian), 26 of the articles are in Italian, 13 of them are in French (2 of them perhaps translations from the Italian), 7 are in German, 1 is in Polish and 1 is in Spanish.

The profile of the distribution of citations retrieved from the *Arts & Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI) for the years 1975 to 1998 is strikingly dissimilar to the profile of the distribution of the frequency of copies in the German libraries.²² Thus the holdings of the German libraries give testimony of an (at least material) reception of Petrić's works that is different from the reception of his works as documented by both the distribution of the frequencies of citations in the data from the AHCI-database and the distribution of the frequencies of copies in the United Kingdom. Therefore it may be assumed, that the data obtained from the German cataloguing databases is not another means to reach the same conclusions concerning the impact of Petrić's works that can be obtained by other means, but that this German libraries' holdings data is an indicator of receptions of works by Petrić that are different from other receptions of his works.

The reception(s) of Petrić indicated by the data obtained from the German cataloguing databases might be a case of a special "regional" reception of Petrić which is not (yet) visible by the use of other means. It might be worthwhile to have a look at other cases of such "regional" receptions which might as well turn out to be "special" receptions (perhaps especially Italy and Croatia might be interesting cases).

Conclusions

The use of bibliometrical data, and especially the use of data concerning library holdings is just one approach amongst several possible approaches to find out about the impact of an author and his thought.²³ But it is an approach from which insights can be gathered, that are not obtainable by other means. *Inter alia* the following results were gained by the use of bibliographical data pertaining to works by Petrić (retrieved from the main German cataloguing databases, COPAC and AHCI):

There are regional differences of the impact of Petrić's works. At least in his case it is not possible to transfer conclusions from results obtained for one geographical area of his influence to other such geographic areas without previous checks. The impact of his works in Germany (as measured by the bibliographical data retrieved from the cataloguing databases) is quite dissimilar to the impact measurable using the United Kingdom COPAC and the AHCI. It is probable, that this data indicates, that there were (and possibly are) receptions of Petrić in Germany (or at least profiles of such receptions) that are not parallel to the profiles of his reception elsewhere.

The number of copies of the editions of Petrić's works published up to 1611 in the German libraries is almost equal to the number of copies of the

1953sqq editions (whereas there are far fewer copies of the 1643 to 1735 editions). The degree of contemporary (or almost contemporary) reception of works by Petrić is considerable. The pre-1736 reception in Germany (at least according to the data used here) focuses primarily on the *Discussiones peripatetica*, the *La milita romana*, the *Della historia*, the *Nova de universis philosophia* (with, however, only a bit more than half of the number of copies of the *Discussiones peripatetica*) and the translations from the Greek. Especially the reception of Petrić's "military" texts in Germany might be a "regional speciality" meriting further study. The same might hold true for the *Discussiones peripatetica*. For the 1953sqq editions there is²⁴ a shift towards rhetoric and poetics.

Appendix A: Table of works by Frane Petrić catalogued in the Germany union databases (plus DDB) and in COPAC

Year publication	Work	Title	Place	Publisher	Reprint
1553	<i>La città felice</i>	<i>La città felice</i>	Venetia	G. Griffio	no
1560	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Della historia diece dialoghi: ne'quali si ragiona di tute le cose appartenenti all'istoria</i>	Venetia	Arrivabene	no
1562	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Della retorica: dieci dialoghi</i>	Venetia	Senese	no
1570	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Delle legendae sribendaeque historiae ratione dialogi 10</i>	Basileae	Per Sixtum Henricpetri	no
1571	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussionum Peripateticorum Tomi 1, Libri 13</i>	Venetiis		no
1572	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussionum peripateticorum libri 13</i>	Venetia	apud Dominicum de Franciscis	no
1576 ²⁵	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>De legendae scribendaeque (sic) Historiae ratione Dialogi decem</i>	no PP in record	no PU in record	no
1579	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>De legendae scribendaeque (sic) Historiae ratione Dialogi decem</i>	no PP in record	no PU in record	no

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Although there as well the *Della poetica* leads the field:

Work	Number of copies
<i>Della Poetica</i>	8
<i>Lettere ed opuscoli</i>	6
<i>L'amorosa filosofia</i>	6
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Ex. in Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	3
<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	3
<i>Izabrani politički spisi</i>	2
<i>Della retorica</i>	2
<i>Pagine scelte</i>	1
<i>La città felice</i>	1
<i>Della historia</i>	1

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And: the distribution of the frequency of copies in the German libraries is dissimilar also to the distribution of the citations of works

by Petrić in the German articles in the AHCI data (◊ *Nova de universis philosophia*: 4, ◊ *Della historia*: 3, ◊ *Della retorica*: 3, ◊ *L'amorosa filosofia*, *Della poetica*, *De rerum natura*, *Discussiones peripatetica*, *Nuova geometria*, *De rerum natura*: 1 each).

23

Cf. Petrić's own words: "... dona all'anime ragioneuoli due ali; con le quali, esse possin uolare in quella parte che piu loro aggrada" ("Lettura supra il sonetto del Petrarca 'La gola e' il sonno'", in Frane Petrić, *La città felice* ..., Venetia [Giovan. Griffio] 1563, f. 59r).

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Again: at least according to the data used here...

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This edition apparently is not present in the German catalogues searched for this study, but only in COPAC. The same holds true for the other records in this table which have been marked by the use of *Italics*.

Year publication	Work	Title	Place	Publisher	Reprint
1581	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussionum peripateticorum tomi IV: quibus Aristotelicae philosophiae universa historia atque dogmata cum veterum placitis collata, eleganter & erudite declarantur</i>	Basilea	ad Perneam Lecyturn	no
1583	<i>La militia romana</i>	<i>La Militia Romana di Polibio, di Tito Livio, e di Dionigi Alicarnaseo</i>	Ferrara	Mamarelli	no
1583	<i>Proclus: Elementa Theologica et Physica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Elementa theologica et physica</i>	Ferrariae	apud Dominicum Mamarellum	no
1583	<i>Ps.-Philoponus Rx. in Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in Aristotelis (Metaphysicam)</i>	Ferrariae	Mamarellus	no
1584	<i>Apologia contra calumnias J. Angelutii</i>	<i>Apologia contra calumnias J. Angelutii ejusque novae sententiae, quod Metaphysica eadem sint quae Physica</i>	Ferrariae		no
1585	<i>In difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	<i>Parere...in difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	no PP in record	no PU in record	no
1586	<i>In difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	<i>Parere...in difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	no PP in record	no PU in record	no
1586	<i>Della poetica</i>	<i>Della poetica: la deca disputata nella quale e per istoria</i>	Ferrara	Baldini	no
1587	<i>Risposta... Giacomo Mazzini</i>	<i>Risposta...a due opposizioni fattegi dal Sig. Giacomo Mazzini</i>	Ferrara	Appreso Vitorio Baldini	no
1587	<i>Della nuova Geometria</i>	<i>Della nuova Geometria libri XV</i>	Ferrara	Baldinus	no
1587	<i>De rerum natura</i>	<i>Philosophiae de rerum natura libri 2 priores</i>	Ferraria	Victor. Baldinus	no
1591	<i>Oracula Chaldaica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Zoroaster et ejus CCCXX oracula Chaldaica: Ejus opera e tenebris eruta et latine redita</i>	Ferrara		no
1591	<i>Hermes Trismegistos: Opera</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Libri integri XX</i>	Ferrariae	Ex typographia B. Mamarelli	no
1591	<i>Nova de universis philosophia</i>	<i>Nova de universis philosophia: in qua Aristotelica methodo, non per motum, sed per lucem et lumina, ad primam causam ascenditur. Deinde propria Patritii methodo, tota in contemplationem venit divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum universitas, a conditore Deo deducitur</i>	Ferrariae	Mamarellus	no
1591	<i>Theologia Aristotelis</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Mystica Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum: a Platone voce tradita, et ab Aristotele excepta et conscripta philosophia edente Francisco Patricio</i>	Ferrara	Ex typographia B. Mamarelli	no
1593	<i>Nova de universis philosophia</i>	<i>Nova de universis philosophia: libris 50 comprehensa; in qua Aristotelica methodo...ad Primam causam ascenditur</i>	Venetis	Meiettus	no
1593	<i>Ps.-Zoroaster et al.: Magia philosophica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Magia philosophica: Hoc est Francisci Patricii summi philosophi Zoroaster & ejus 320. oracula Chaldaica. Asclepii dialogus. & philosophia magna</i>	Hamburgi	Wolff	no

Year publication	Work	Title	Place	Publisher	Reprint
1594	<i>Paralleli militari</i>	<i>Paralleli militari: Ne'quali fa paragone delle milizie antiche, in tutte le parti loro, con le moderne</i>	Roma	Appreso Luigi Zannetti	no
1606	<i>Paralleli militari</i>	<i>Paralleli militari</i>	Roma	Facciotto	no
1611	<i>Hermes Trismegistos: Opera</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Hermetis Trismegisti opuscula: cum fragmentis quoquoque reperiuntur, ordine scientifico disposita, et scholiis perutilibus illustrata. Item Asclepii discipuli, tres libelli. Quibus sunt adiecta. Zoroastri oracula CCCXX. Ex Platonice collecta. Mystica Aegyptiorum a Platone dictata...</i>	Londini	R. Field	no
1643	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Dieci dialoghi delle retorica</i>	s. I.		no
1644	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Della Retorica dieci Dialoghi: nelli quali si Favella dell'arte oratoria con Ragioni repugnanti All'opinionone, che intorno a Quella hebbero gli antichi Scrittori</i>	no PP in record	no PU in record	no
1652	<i>Hermes Trismegistos: Opera</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Sesthien boeken van Hermes Trismegistus: uyt het Griecx ghebracht in ons Neder-duytsch / met eene schoone Voor-rede uyt het Latijn van Franciscus Patricius</i>	T'Amsteldam	Pieter La Burgh	no
1680	<i>Ps.-Zoroaster et al.: Magia philosophica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Zoroaster et ejus 320 oracula Chaldaica</i>	Labacy	Mayr	no
1694	<i>La militia romana</i>	<i>Res Militaris Roman</i>	no PP in record	no Pu in record	no
1699	<i>La militia romana</i>	<i>Res militaris Romana</i>	Trajecti ad Rhenum	Halma, vander Aa	no
1772	<i>In difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	<i>Parere...in difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	no PP in record	no Pu in record	no
1724	<i>In difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	<i>Parere...in difesa dell'Ariosto</i>	no PP in record	no Pu in record	no
1724	<i>Della poetica: Risposta a T. Tasso</i>	<i>Trimerone: risposta a Torquato Tasso, che è parte del decimo libro della Deca disputata di F. Patrizi</i>	no PP in record	no Pu in record	no
1735	<i>La militia romana</i>	<i>Res Militaris Romana</i>	Venetis	Javarina	no
1953	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Garin, Eugenio (ed.): Testi umanistici su la retorica</i>	Roma	Bocca	no
1963	<i>L'amorosa filosofia</i>	<i>L'amorosa filosofia</i>	Firenze	Le Monnier	no
1965	<i>Pagine scelte</i>	<i>Pagine scelte</i>	Padova	Liviana	no
1969–1971	<i>Della Poetica</i>	<i>Della poetica</i>	Firenze	Ist. naz. di studi sul Rinascimento	no
1971	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Theoretiker humanistischer geschichtschreibung: Nachdr. exemplar. Texte Aus d. 16. Jahrhundert</i>	München	Fink	yes
1975	<i>Lettere ed opuscoli</i>	<i>Lettere ed opuscoli inediti</i>	Firenze	Nella Sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Strozzi	no
1979	<i>Nova de universis philosophia</i>	<i>Nova sveopća filozofija</i>	Zagreb	Sveučilišna Naklada Liber	yes
1979	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>The true order and methode of wrying and reading hystories</i>	Amsterdam	Theatrum Orbis Terrarum	yes
1980	<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Deset dijaloza o povijesti</i>	Pula	Cakavski Sabor	yes

Year publication	Work	Title	Place	Publisher	Reprint
1981	<i>Ps.-Philoponus Ex. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in Aristotelis (Metaphysicam)</i>	Oxford	Oxford Microform Publ.	yes
1983	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Deset dijaloza o retorici</i>	Pula	Cakav. Sabor	yes
1989.	<i>Oracula Chaldaica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>The Chaldaean oracles</i>	Gillette	Haptangle	no
1991.	<i>Ps.-Philoponus Exp. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in omnes XIV Aristotelis libros Metaphysicos</i>	Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt	Frommann-Holzboog	yes
1993	<i>La città felice</i>	<i>Sretan grad</i>	Zagreb	DTP Centar	no
1994	<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Della retorica: dieci dialoghi</i>	Lecce	Conte	yes
1996	<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	Paris	Vrin	no
1996	<i>La città felice</i>	<i>Campanella, T.: la città del sole</i>	Genova	Marietti	no
1998	<i>Izabrani politički spisi</i>	<i>Izabrani politički spisi</i>	Zagreb	Golden Marketing	no
1999	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	Köln	Böhlau	yes

Appendix B: Table of editions of works by Frane Petrić catalogued in the Germany union databases (pus DDB): List with indication of the number of copies²⁶

Work	Title	Year publication	Place	Publisher	Number of copies
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Exp. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in Omnes XIV Aristotelis libros metaphysicos</i>	1991	Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt	Frommann-Holzboog	39
<i>Discussiones Peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussionum peripateticorum Tomi IV: quibus Aristotelis philosophiae universa historia atque dogmata cum veterum placitis collata, eleganter & erudite declarantur</i>	1581	Basilea	ad Perneam Lecyturn	22
<i>Della poetica</i>	<i>Della poetica</i>	1969–1971	Firenze	Ist. naz. di studi sul rinascimento	15
<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	<i>Discussiones peripateticae</i>	1999	Köln	Böhlau	14
<i>Ps.-Zoroaster Et al.: Magia Philosophica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Magia philosophica: hoc est est Francisci Patricii summi philosophi Zoroaster & eius 320. oracula Chaldaica. Asclepii Dialogus. & Philosophia magna</i>	1953	Hamburgi	Wolff	12
<i>La militiā romana</i>	<i>Res militaris Romana</i>	1699	Trajecti ad Rhenum	Halma, vander Aa	12
<i>Nova de Universis Philosophia</i>	<i>Nova de universis philosophia: libris 50 comprehensa; In qua Aristotelica Methodo... ad Primam causam Ascenditur</i>	1593	Venetis	Meiettus	11
<i>Della historia</i>	<i>De legendae Scribendaeque historiae ratione dialogi 10</i>	1570	Basileae	Per Sixtum Henricpetri	11
<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Della retorica: dieci Dialoghi</i>	1994	Lecce	Conte	11
<i>La militiā Romana</i>	<i>La Militiā Romana di Polibio, di Tito Livio, e di Dionigi Alicarnaseo</i>	1583	Ferrara	Mamarelli	9
<i>L'amorosa Filosofia</i>	<i>L'amorosa filosofia</i>	1963	Firenze	Le Monnier	9
<i>Lettere ed Opuscoli</i>	<i>Lettere ed Opuscoli inediti</i>	1975	Firenze	Nella Sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Strozzi	8
<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Della historia dieci Dialoghi: ne' quali si Ragiona di tutte le Cose appartenenti All' historia</i>	1560	Venetia	Arrivabene	8
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Exp. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in Aristotelis (Metaphysicam)</i>	1583	Ferrariae	Marmarellus	7
<i>Nova de Universis Philosophia</i>	<i>Nova de universis philosophia in qua Aristotelica Methodo, non per Motum, sed per Lucem, et lumina, Ad primam causam Ascenditur. Deinde Propria Patricii Methodo, tota in contemplationem venit divinitas. Postremo methodo Platonica, rerum Universitas, a con</i>	1591	Ferrariae	Mamarellus	7
<i>Della poetica</i>	<i>Della Poetica: la Deca disputata Nella quale e per Istoria</i>	1586	Ferrara	Baldini	6
<i>Proclus: Elementa Theologica et Physica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Elementa theologica et physica</i>	1583	Ferrariae	apud Dominicum Mamarellum	5
<i>Nova de Universis Philosophia</i>	<i>Nova sveopća filozofija</i>	1979	Zagreb	Sveučilišna Naklada Liber	5

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The table is ordered by descending number of copies.

Work	Title	Year publication	Place	Publisher	Number of copies
<i>Discussiones Peripateticæ</i>	<i>Discussionum Peripateticorum Tomi 1, libri 13</i>	1571	Venetiis		5
<i>De spacio Physico et Mathematico</i>	<i>De spacio physico et mathematico</i>	1996	Paris	Vrin	4
<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Deset dijalogo o povijesti</i>	1980	Pula	Čakavski Sabor	3
<i>Paralleli militari</i>	<i>Paralleli militari: Ne'quali si fa Paragone delle Milizie antiche, in Tutte le parti loro, Con le moderne</i>	1594	Roma	Appreso Luigi Zannetti	3
<i>Pagine scelte</i>	<i>Pagine scelte</i>	1965	Padova	Liviana	3
<i>Della historia</i>	<i>Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtschreibung: Nachdr. Exempl. Texte aus d. 16. Jahrhundert</i>	1971	München	Fimk	3
<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Garin, Eugenio (ed.): Testi umanistici su la retorica</i>	1953	Roma	Bocca	3
<i>Hermes Trismegistos: Opera</i> (prijevod s grčkog)	<i>Sesthien boeken van Hermes Trismegistus: uyt het Griecx ghebracht in ons Nederduytsch / Met eene schoone Voor-rede uyt het Latijn van Franciscus Patricius</i>	1652	T'Amstelredam	Pieter La Burgh	3
<i>Discussiones Peripateticæ</i>	<i>Discussionum peripateticorum Libri 13</i>	1572	Venetia	apud Dominicum de Franciscis	3
<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Della retorica: dieci Dialoghi</i>	1562	Venetia	Senese	3
<i>Della nuova Geometria</i>	<i>Della nuova Geometria libri XV</i>	1587	Ferrara	Baldinus	2
<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Deset dijalogo o retorici</i>	1983	Pula	Čakavski Sabor	2
<i>La città felice</i>	<i>La città felice</i>	1553	Venetia	G. Griffio	2
<i>La città felice</i>	<i>Sretan grad</i>	1993	Zagreb	DTP Centar	2
<i>La militia Romana</i>	<i>Res Militaris Romana</i>	1735	Venetiis	Javarina	2
<i>Izabrani politički spisi</i>	<i>Izabrani politički spisi</i>	1998	Zagreb	Golden Marketing	1
<i>Della retorica</i>	<i>Dieci dialoghi delle Retorica</i>	1643	s.l.		1
<i>De rerum Natura</i>	<i>Philosophiae de rerum natura libri 2 Prioris</i>	1587	Ferraria	Victor. Baldinus	1
<i>Theologia Aristotelis</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Mystica Aegyptiorum et Chaldaeorum: a Platone voce tradita, et ab Aristotele excepta Et conscripta Philosophia edente Francisco Patricio</i>	1591	Ferrara	Ex typographia B. Mamarelli	1
<i>Oracula Chaldaica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>The Chaldaean Oracles</i>	1989	Gillette	Haptangle	1
<i>Oracula Chaldaica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Zoroaster et ejus CCCXX oracula Chaldaica: Ejus opera e tenebris eruta et latine reddita</i>	1591	Ferrara		1
<i>Paralleli militari</i>	<i>Paralleli militari</i>	1606	Roma	Facciotto	1
<i>Ps.-Philoponus Ex. In Arist. Metaph.</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Expositiones in Aristotelis (Metaphysicam)</i>	1981	Oxford	Oxford Microform Publ.	1
<i>Ps.-Zoroaster Et al.: Magia Philosophica</i> [Translation from the Greek]	<i>Zoroaster et ejus 320 oracula Chaldaica</i>	1680	Labacy	Mayr	1
<i>Risposta... Giacomo Mazzini</i>	<i>Risposta...a due opposizioni fattegli dal Sig. Giacomo Mazzini</i>	1587	Ferrara	Appreso Vittorio Baldini	1
<i>La città felice</i>	<i>Campanella, T.: La città del sole</i>	1996	Genova	Marietti	1

Heinrich C. Kuhn

Auflistung von regional Relevantem

**Das Vorhandensein von Druckausgaben der Werke von
Frane Petrić in deutschen Bibliotheken**

Zusammenfassung

Indem man den Katalogen der größten deutschen elektronischen Bibliotheken mit Ausgaben der Werke von Frane Petrić und einzelnen Exemplaren dieser Ausgaben bibliographische Daten entnimmt, lassen sich Ergebnisse vorlegen, die auf anderen Wegen oder mit Hilfe anderer Mittel kaum erfolgreich wären. Es bestehen ernsthafte Indizien dafür, dass sich die deutsche Petrić-Rezeption vor dem XX. Jahrhundert von anderweitigen Rezeptionen (namentlich in Großbritannien) wesentlich unterscheidet. In dieser Rezeptionsphase hebt sich besonders der Einfluss von Discussiones peripateticae und Militia romana hervor. Die Ergebnisse bezüglich des Einflusses der seit 1953 erschienenen Werkausgaben von Petrić unterscheiden sich in vielerlei Hinsicht von jenen, die sich aus den älteren Ausgaben seiner Werke ergeben. Dies ist eine vorläufige Fallstudie für Deutschland, die zum Vergleich Daten aus Großbritannien und der AHCI-Datenbank heranzieht.

Schlüsselwörter

Frane Petrić, elektronischen Bibliotheken, Auflistung, *impact*

Heinrich C. Kuhn

**Compter ce qui pourrait compter
au niveau régional**

**La présence des exemplaires des ouvrages de Frane Petrić
dans les bibliothèques allemandes**

Sommaire

L'utilisation des données des plus grands catalogues électroniques des bibliothèques allemandes concernant les éditions des ouvrages de Franjo Petrić et leurs exemplaires permet d'arriver à des résultats qu'il serait probablement impossible d'obtenir par d'autres moyens et instruments. Il existe de fortes indications qui montrent que la réception allemande de Petrić antérieure au XX^e siècle diffère sensiblement de sa réception dans d'autres pays (et notamment en Grande-Bretagne). A ce stade-là de réception, l'impact des ses Discussiones peripateticae et Militia romana est particulièrement évident. Les résultats concernant l'impact des éditions de 1952 et postérieures diffèrent à maints égards de ceux obtenus pour les éditions antérieures. Cet article est une étude de cas préliminaire utilisant, à des fins de comparaison, des données puisées dans des sources britanniques et dans la banque de données AHCI.

Mots clés

Frane Petrić, catalogues électroniques, compter, *impact*