

THE HIDDEN INFLUENCE ON KANT: POPE'S PRESENCE IN KANT'S LIFE AND OEUVRE

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*Könnst' er, der klar bestimmt der Sterne Lauf
die Wege seines Denkens zeigen auf?*³

Alexander Pope⁴

INTRODUCTION

“Es ist gut” (“It is good”), those last words spoken by Kant at his death⁵ echo in my readings with those last words of the first epistle of Alexander Pope’s *Essay on Man* – “*whatever is, is right*”; first translated⁶ into German as “*Alles ist gut*” (“everything is good”). As one can hear the last spoken words from a dying one not so clearly⁷, perhaps the initial “*All*” was overheard and just the “*es*” made its way to comprehension and the Kantian “*Es ist gut*” could in fact be Pope’s “*Alles ist gut*”; nevertheless, they are very similar. A coincidence not to be overseen as we will see to the end of this paper, although Kuehn doubts⁸ this relation that was already suggested by Rudolf Malter⁹, arguing that it would refer merely to Kant’s last gulp of wine.

Until now, Pope is indeed recognized as Kant’s favorite poet¹⁰, but the amount of Kantian research addressed to him or to his correlated main themes – namely the concepts of *chain of being* and *optimism* –, if searched on De Gruyter database and Google, is not that expressive and has had its peak in the 1980’s with Hintikka, Knuutila, Cunha and others after being brought into daylight by Lovejoy in 1936 presenting a study on the history of the idea of the Great Chain of Being that reached out to the Greeks and included Kant, closely related to Pope; perhaps this lack of interest can be credited to the common contemporary reception that the essay with its chain of being and its neoplatonic plenitude are bad ideas, as Solomon mentioned Lovejoy’s assess of the essay¹¹. Optimism, on the other hand, is a concept more often connected to Leibniz than to Pope and is commonly treated as a minor Kantian topic; perhaps because it was only mentioned in three *Reflexionen* from 1753/1754 and in one work of 1759. Although the term optimism vanished from Kant’s oeuvre, the concept of the

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best of all possible worlds endured as stated in the Kant Lexikon¹², being equally important throughout his work, altering its form to fit Kant's philosophical development reaching out to his concept of highest good, i.e.. The two less focused themes of the essay, an ontological status of love (being the chain of being the chain of love) and the limitation of pride, have had until now no researched linked to Kant. Pope, as an historical reference is not even mentioned at the *Kant im Context* III's timeline and Kuehn's timeline, whereas other authors like Haller and Hume and Kants professors are. Pope is mentioned six times in the most relevant *Kant on poetry*, edited 2023 by Fernando Silva and Bernd Dörflinger, but again, with minor expression than Virgil (see Sánchez) and mostly in examples being one amongst other poets. Although stating the right importance of poetry (see Santos) and emotions (see Guyer) for Kant and in his oeuvre, especially in relation to aesthetic ideas, and taking in account Kant's regard on Pope's serious work on poetry that "bring virtue and its sensations into harmonious play" (also Guyer), this outstanding collection fails in pointing out the breadth and depth of Pope's influence on Kant and his philosophy.

My claim in this article, the first of a three-part series, is that Kant had a hidden influence right from the start that molded his philosophy and accompanied him throughout his life until his last words: Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man*. To unveil the influence that the poem *Essay on Man* had on Kant and his philosophy, setting the adequate context for this article to unfold, I will prove that A) Kant had contact with the poem before even publishing his first article in 1746; B) there is sufficient evidence to confirm its direct influence on the initial phase of Kants work; C) Pope's presence can be tracked throughout Kant's life as an unshakeable and steady estate of personal reference; and that D) Popes mentions are equally distributed throughout Kants entire work. I will conclude evaluating the presented data and leave the presence of the four core ideas of the poem in Kants philosophy, namely the two more known – Optimism and Chain of being – and the two often ignored ones – the limitation of pride and the chain of love – and a deeper exploration of Kants work as a planned interconnected continuum to the other two article of the series that this one starts.

EARLY READING

So let us confirm that A) Kant had contact with the poem before even publishing his first article in 1746. The first German translation of the poem *Essay on Man* was made by Barthold Heinrich Brockes¹³, published in 1740 and probably used by Carl Heinrich Rappolt along the original at his classes of 1741 and 1742, probably attended by Kant. Probably, because there is – as long as of my concern – no bureaucratic confirmation of his matriculation and no written reference to the use of this translation, but although Rappolt was also an English teacher at the university – where he also taught on Culture, Hume and Newton (three topics of interest for Kant) – it is hardly unlike that he hold this reading on English since it was not the common language that it is nowadays. So, we may presume that Rappolt read to his students from Brockes' translation comparing with Pope's original – this would amplify the problematization of the controversial translation in French, made by Du Resnel in 1737, and followed in German by Brockes in 1740, where in both cases the retranslation into English

turns out to be ‘everything is good’ and not the original “everything is right”. Aside from the impossibility of its confirmation because of the lack of bureaucratic evidence, it will be evident from the following elements, specifically those related to his own text and correspondence, that Kant was present to Rappolt’s lectures. Opponents could argue that Rappolt was not of great influence on Kant, because he is indeed mentioned not even once in Kants work or even correspondence, and that this could be an argument against Kant being present to the classes or at least that the classes were of any significance to him. But this shouldn’t be taken in account, since even Kants metaphysics teacher that is renowned to be his most influential teacher, Martin Knutzen, is mentioned just three times throughout Kant’s entire work and correspondence: once in a correspondence to the King¹⁴, where Kant asks for the recently deceased Knutzens job, and twice in lectures, eternalized by his students in the *Wiener Logik*¹⁵ – where he is mentioned *une passant* as being part of a lineage of logic, having although less expression than Reusch in Kants text– and the *Vorlesungen über Metaphysik*¹⁶, where he is mentioned as being one who passes along the metaphysics of Baumgarten. In other words: there is no great reference, no compliment or demonstration of proximity or reverence – not for Rappolt and not even for Knutzen.¹⁷ On the other hand, Kant mentioned the will to travel to England as confirmed in a letter from Wielkes to Kant from March, 18th, 1771; although this desire could also be influenced¹⁸ by the friendship to Englishmen Motherby and Green, since their friendship was established prior to 1763 as confirmed by a glass engraved with the friends signatures, it is not without interest that Rappolt traveled to England¹⁹ to study Physics and Mathematic in 1729 and 1730 and got elected outstanding member at the *Königlich Preussischen Sozietät der Wissenschaften* in 1735. A man of science and grace or, as Hamann wrote with words that could fit Kant as well:

“ein Mann, der eine besondere Scharfsinnigkeit besaß natürliche Dinge zu beurteilen mit der Andacht und Einfalt und Bescheidenheit eines christlichen Weltweisen, und eine ungemeyne Stärke den Geist der römischen Schriftsteller und ihrer Sprache nachzuzahmen²⁰²¹.”

Rappolt’s impact on the young Kant is yet to be fully reconstructed. But there is already some data on it. „Rappolt had traveled and studied in England, and apparently delighted in opening these new intellectual vistas to his students” – so here is a very certain source of contact from Kant with Hume and, specifically, Pope.²² And, as presented in Kuehn’s Kant biography, it was Rappolt that drew Kants attention and delight to Pope’s work – especially for *Essay on man*. Although there is, as I already said, no bureaucratic confirmation that Kant studied with Rappolt, there is much room to assume that Kant had studied with him more than once in the years between 1740 and 1746 – precisely after the German translation of *Essay on Man* by Brockes was published (1740) Rappolt hold lectures²³ on *Essay on Man* in 1741 and announced two courses in 1742: *Theodicaeam e contemplatione hominis praeunte Pope* and *De vividissima naturae humanae imagine coloribus Popii adornata*. “In 1741, Carl Heinrich Rappolt, a professor at the University of Königsberg, explained the ideas of the *Essay on Man* to his class, and the following year he announced Pope’s “Théodicee” as the subject of his course.”²⁴ And, as suggested by Victor Delbos in 1905²⁵, it is likely that “Kant first derived his admiration for the philosophy of Pope from Rappolt”. Let us remember that Kant entered

the University in 1740, so he had contact to Pope right from his very beginning. And although there was great criticism against Pope – especially of Spinozism – it was Warburton's defense that influenced²⁶ Rappolt hence the poem was shown as consistent and Christian offering no resistance for both major influences of the young Kant – his keen interest on science and his mother's pietism:

“The Poet begins in telling us his Subject is An Essay on Man --- His End of Writing is, to vindicate Providence. -Tells us against whom he wrote, the Atheists. -From whence he intends to fetch his Arguments, from the visible Things of God seen in this System. -Lays down this Proposition as the Foundation of his Thesis, that of all possible Systems, infinite Wisdom has formed the best. - Draws from thence two Consequences; 1. That there must needs be somewhere such a Creature as Man; 2. That the moral Evil which He is the Author of, is productive of the Good of the Whole. This is his general Thesis; from whence he draws this Conclusion, That Man should rest submissive and content, and make the Hopes of Futurity his Comfort, -but not suffer this to be the Occasion of PRIDE, which is the Cause of all his impious Complaints.”²⁷

Rogers gives us a better context for Warburton's role in Pope's continental reception:

“Because of the confusion over the exact nature of Pope's poem and the interpretation of it, Warburton's views were important and authoritative for readers on the Continent. These readers, after all, were not too certain about the nature of English thought; and the remarks of an Englishman on the work of a fellow countryman were especially influential with them.”²⁸

INFLUENCE ON THE INITIAL PHASE

After having proved that A) Kant had contact with the poem before even publishing his first article in 1746, let us confirm that there is B) sufficient evidence on Pope's direct influence on the initial phase of Kants work, beginning with Kants first writing, *Gedanken von der wahren Schätzung der lebendigen Kräfte*, where Kant supports a “middle way” between the views of Leibniz and Newton about the vivid force which exists in movement.

„Die Kenntniß dieser zwei äußersten Grenzen mußte ohne Schwierigkeit den Punkt bestimmen, darin das Wahre von beiden Seiten zusammen fiel. Diesen anzutreffen, war nichts weniger als eine große Scharfsinnigkeit nöthig, es bedurfte nur einer kleinen Abwesenheit des Parteieneifers und ein kurzes Gleichgewicht der Gemüthsneigungen, so war die Beschwerde sofort abgethan.”²⁹³⁰

Pope wrote following in his design:

“If I could flatter myself that this Essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of Doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over Terms utterly unintelligible, and in forming a temperate yet not inconsistent, and a short yet not imperfect System of Ethics.”³¹

The influence is explicit: not only on this writing of Kant, but on his whole philosophy since it is precisely the overcoming and recombination of previously opposite doctrines. Kant made this in epistemology where he founded his critical philosophy betwixt the extremes of empiricism and rationalism; in moral, betwixt stoicism and epicureanism; in aesthetic, betwixt Burke, Hume, Hutcheson, Baumgarten and others. Even the developing of his work withholds this pattern, beginning with natural science and then moving to metaphysics developing them on parallel to finally establish the critical view and path that leads to his anthropology and to

the invitation to live his view, manifesting the *Übergang* (transition) from ‘Philosophy’ to ‘To philosophize’, to combine God and the World.

In a letter to Haller³² from August 1749, Kant already mentions a forthcoming work as a continuation of his reflections on vivid forces. We can pledge that he refers to his *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels* (ANTH) since he there reduces everything to two fundamental forces of attraction and rejection³³, which he further on in his *Tugendlehre* (TL) will compare to love and respect³⁴. In ANTH, which was initially anonymously published, same strategy used by Pope as he published his Essay on Man, Kant quotes Pope six times – three of which are epigraphs and suggest the topics from Pope’s poem with which Kant was thinking³⁵:

I. The great chain of being

Seht jene große Wunderkette, die alle Theile dieser Welt
Vereinert und zusammenzieht und die das große Ganz³⁶ erhält.³⁷
Pope.³⁸

Not mentioned at all in the Eisler Kant Lexikon and although almost not mentioned in the newest Kant Lexikon being referenced just to the 1766 “*Träume*” (*Träume eines Geistersehers*), in relation to Swedenborg’s invisible realm, the concept of the great chain of being stretches far beyond and impacts Kant’s notion of Nature, world and the interconnection of phenomena in human mind: in the beginning with his ANTH as is being shown, in the period of the critics (in all three critics, where in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (KrV) it is used to debunk the physicotheological proof³⁹; in the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (KpV) and the *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (KU) it appears just as chain of appearances⁴⁰, whereas in the KU the concept is used also to question taste as “*Mittelglied der Kette der menschlichen Vermögen a priori*”⁴¹); the concept of chain of being even made its way to Kant’s *Opus Postumum*⁴². So, we see it perpetrated as the chain of beings in nature and as a way to concept human mind’s operation to structure the phenomenal world. It is attachment that enslaves us in those links we create in our mind to deal with the outer magnitudes of which Nature consists, turning our very essence, love, into self-inflicted chains. The way to liberate oneself is through respect to the whole of the law.

II. The attraction of all matter

Schau dich die bildende Natur zu ihrem großen Zweck bewegen,
Ein jedes Sonnenstäubchen sich zu einem andern Stäubchen regen,
Ein jedes, das gezogen wird, das andere wieder an sich ziehn,
Das nächste wieder zu umfassen, es zu formiren sich bemühn.
Beschau die Materie auf tausend Art und Weise sich
Zum allgemeinen Centro drängen.⁴³
Pope.⁴⁴

By following nature's rules and being able to describe its unfolding without having to recure to God, both pay tribute to Newton. It is important to notice the convergence force to a center – applying it to moral, Pope will state the ruling sentiment, and that it should be love, whereas Kant will state the respect, as the moral (ruling) sentiment, the force that impedes collapse of contraction, being love the force that binds us all, from creation to atomic forces and animation of matter.

III. The medial position of humans and their capacity to infer the systematic nature of the universe without being able to comprehend the extent or limits of the system.

Wer das Verhältniß aller Welten von einem Theil zum andern weiß,
Wer aller Sonnen Menge kennet und jeglichen Planetenkreis,
Wer die verschiedenen Bewohner von einem jeden Stern erkennt,
Dem ist allein, warum die Dinge so sind, als wie sie sind, vergönnet,
Zu fassen und uns zu erklären.⁴⁵

Pope.⁴⁶

Pope's human as an Isthmus, a narrow passage connecting to larger areas – the animal and the divine, the self and the social –, is like Kant's human: a *Numero Idem*, simultaneously *homo noumenon* and *homo phaenomenon*, a non-dual passage between worlds. Kant precisely tried to structure the system presenting human limits. Opponents could correctly argue that this is cultural common ground – like the figure of Jesus Christ to stick with the handiest example –, but my point is first precisely gathering all the elements. The fact that it is a common ground does not impede the influence of the poem on this topic, nor exclude other sources – on this topic as of the whole of the research. The point is to secure Pope's long neglected presence and after having gathered all the elements demonstrate their interconnectedness. There are of course plenty and multiple sources and interlocutors of Kant during his lifetime – what I want to stress out is that Pope is the initial mainframe used by Kant and sticks with him until the end.

The other three quotations reinforce these topics and expand the comprehension of Pope's influence:

i. Plenitude that includes transitoriness

Der stets mit einem gleichen Auge, weil er der Schöpfer ja von allen,
Sieht einen Helden untergehn und einen kleinen Sperling fallen,
Sieht eine Wasserblase springen und eine ganze Welt vergehn.⁴⁷

Pope nach Brockes' Übersetzung.⁴⁸

The focus relies on the compatibility of transitoriness and plenitude otherwise thought of contradictory, especially to finite human beings. Kant, quoted by Jones:

“if a world-system exhausts in the long course of its duration all variety which its arrangement can hold, if it now has become a superfluous member in the chain of being, then nothing is more befitting than that in the theater of the universe that [factor should] play the last role which taxes each finite being, namely, that each should bring its levy to transitoriness.”⁴⁹

Here we can see clearly the very notion of progress presented throughout Kant’s work, as *Zum ewigen Frieden (Zef)* of 1797, for example, confirms. Progress that does not diminish plenitude of creation moreover reassures its abundance, actualizing appearances.

ii. Limitation of pride

Da jüngst die obern Wesen sahn,
Was unlängst recht verwunderlich
Ein Sterblicher bei uns gethan,
Und wie er der Natur Gesetz entfaltet: wunderten sie sich,
Daß durch ein irdisches Geschöpf dergleichen möglich zu geschehn,
Und sahen unsern Newton an, so wie wir einen Affen sehn.⁵⁰
Pope.⁵¹

We can read the same comparison in Kant’s *Vorlesungen über Metaphysik*, compiled by Herder in the years of 1762 to 1764: “Newton statt ein Mensch zu sein - wurde ein Affe der Engel⁵²”⁵³. Reinforcing our awareness of the limitation of our knowledge helps us to limit our pride.

Welch eine Kette, die von Gott den Anfang nimmt, was für Naturen
Von himmlischen und irdischen, von Engeln, Menschen bis zum Vieh,
Vom Seraphim bis zum Gewürm! O Weite, die das Auge nie
Erreichen und betrachten kann,
Von dem Unendlichen zu dir, von dir zum Nichts!⁵⁴
Pope.⁵⁵

The limitation of pride is of utmost relevance for kantian ethics as we get to know in the *KpV*⁵⁶ that it is precisely the humiliation of the self that makes room for morality, annihilating arrogance (*Eigendünkel*) and letting selflove (*Eigenliebe*) in conformity with the law, thus cultivating rational self-love (*vernünftige Selbstliebe*)⁵⁷, a love that has always been in conformity to the law, but had outgrown its healthy limits bringing the whole to collapse⁵⁸. Here we can think of a direct link to the natural dispositions to good and the radical evil presented by Kant in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft (Religion)*. As one can remember, it is the personality, the image of humanity in oneself that is the key to withdraw of corruption and decay into manipulation, oppression and the state of war; personality that connects outer and inner world through freedom and grants us the possibility of higher experiences. We see the importance of limiting pride also in the *KU*⁵⁹, where Kant adverts against the decay and

corruption to which pride leads, turning theology into theosophy or demonology and religion into theurgy or idolatry.

To think with Jones:

“It might not be unreasonable to suggest that Pope’s Essay was one of the tools Kant used in formulating his problematic of the comprehensibility of absolute rational truths that transcend the limits of what humans know of their world through sense, and that he did so through applying Pope’s ideas of interrelated systems to the technicalities (and fantasies) of cosmogony”.

For Kant, the issue was to perceive the beauty of an interconnected whole. As Tom Jones states:

“Pope’s images of system piled on system might have stimulated Kant’s imagination. The poem [...] confronts a question very similar to that which Kant sets himself in his text, attempting to reconcile the mechanistic and the providential universe”.⁶⁰ [...] If Kant took seriously Pope’s instruction to “Observe how system into system runs”, we may regard the poem as contributing to his insight about the Milky Way as an independent star system. [...] In the Critique of Judgement (1790) Kant points out that all claims to magnitude based on sense are relative; but that we nonetheless make claims about magnitude with reference to an absolute realm. This absolute realm is the realm of reason that transcends any sensory experience. To experience the mathematically sublime is to experience mingled pleasure and pain; pain at the insufficiency of our sensory apparatus for conceiving extremes of magnitude, and pleasure at the conformity of our nature to a rule of reason that determines absolutes. [...] The Milky Way is an object that exquites this rational idea of absolute magnitude in the face of the incapacity of the senses to conceive of the magnitudes concerned.”⁶¹

Jones refers himself in the quote above to *ANTH* and to the third critique (*KU*), the sublime and its relation to expanding our existence through the awe of experience and its relation to morality being evident, but everyone familiar with the *Beschluss*⁶² from *KpV* has to remember the “worlds upon worlds and systems of systems” and how it “destroys, as it were, my importance as an animal creature” and puts us in the position of connecting the outer conditioned and constantly actualizing combinations with the inner freedom that disposes an infinite world and eternal value through our personality, the very image of humanity in oneself. Almost a prelude to his *Opus Postumum*, where humankind is invited to link God and World⁶³, triad that constitutes the *Universum*. Jones notes how close Kant is to Pope, who argues, according to Jones that:

“We know only what concerns the human system, but that our middle nature determines and obliges us to conjecture outward from that system to a greater and divinely governed universe in which all discord is harmony.”⁶⁴

The two initial lines⁶⁵ of the second epistle of the poem – “Know then thyself, presume not God to scan; The proper study of mankind is man” – are a guiding motto for Kant since his plan evolves to respond to the question ‘what is man?’ after delimiting our knowledge on god, while contemplating the three other questions that were answered with his philosophy: What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope for? Commonly the first question is correlated to the first critique, the second to the second and the third question to the third critique and other works of the period, like *Religion* and *ZeF*, being Kant’s Anthropology related to the fourth question of what human being is, but with reassurance of the use of the other

works in support to. It occurs that we can relate Pope's four epistles to Kant's four questions. I shall give a slight overview, retaining a more profound and direct correlation for the third article of our series: Pope's first epistle is about man in the abstract with respect to the Universe, "that we can judge only with regard to our own System, being ignorant of the relations of systems and things" – the relation to the limits of human knowledge as presented in the *KrV* being easily sustainable also with the presence of the concept of chain of beings in the first critique; in the second epistle, "of the Nature and State of Man, with respect to Himself, as an Individual and the business of Man not to pry into God, but to study himself" – we can think of an influence to determine our responsibility towards what we ought to do after being aware and knowing what we know, especially when we read in the second epistle's opening that virtue and vices are joined in our mixed nature and that the limits are near, yet the things separate and evident, calling out for what is the office of Reason. Human's "middle nature; his powers and frailties and the limits of his capacity" of the second epistle's opening remember the *Beschluss* of the *KpV*. The third epistle and its theme "of the nature and state of man, with respect to society" brings the thematic of politics, religion, society and can be related to what we can taste and expect from that what we do out of what we know. The last epistle is about "the nature and state of man, with respect to happiness" and can be related to the fourth question of what the human being is: a being that just attains perfection in and through his species; or, as we read in the opening of this epistle "all particular Happiness depends on general".

For Kant, philosophy begins with the *Nosce te ipsum*⁶⁶ and all three questions lead to the fourth and final question of what the human being is, whereas Pope's poem ends like this: "all our knowledge is, ourselves to know". Let us remember that Kant wrote in 1769⁶⁷ on the importance of a science of the subject, that metaphysic as critique of pure reason is. And that in the *KrV* the self (*Ich*) is reduced to an empty form, a mere consciousness that accompanies all concepts. Makes sense, if we understand that the unenlightened self, blinded with separateness and attached to its transitional phenomenon – or, simple, drowned in ignorance –, is the obstacle to love on its passage from self to social, that Pope sees as a continuum⁶⁸; nevertheless, is the essay a poem of love. "Love expressed in the act of creating a world; love for ourselves, in the form of our appetites; love for others, from sexual partners to children to those with whom we constitute a political body".⁶⁹ Apparently, Kant is dealing with the purification of the self during his *stumme Jahre*, the years between his 1770 dissertation and the 1781 *KrV*, dissecting from his subjective experience and theoretical knowledge the structure a priori that enables human knowledge. According to Willaschek's *Kant Lexikon*⁷⁰, the table of categories was already present in the 1770ies with some terminology differences. It goes not without interest that Cassirer, one of the most outstanding neokantians, named one of his major works after Pope's poem. According to Jones, Cassirer "finds in Pope the Enlightenment encouragement to return from boundless speculation to human science: "Time and again thought returns to its point of departure from its various journeys of exploration intended to broaden the horizon of objective reality. Pope gave brief and pregnant expression to this deep-seated feeling of the age in the line: "The proper study of mankind is man."⁷¹ Could this movement of returning from boundless speculation to human science not be a description of Kant's intent?

The above six presented quotations make the year of 1755 the most Popean year of all: both quantity and quality, since no other year concentrates as many quotations and there are no other epigraphs using Pope throughout Kants work. It is also an emblematic year because of the two writings in Latin that granted Kant his Magister – with *De igne (DI)* – and his habilitation – with *Nova Dilucidatio (ND)*. Symbolically it is the year where Kant, starting with the fire (DI) separates physics (represented by the ANTH) and metaphysics (represented by ND). That our solar system has a fireball in its center and that Kant writes in the same year about the element and this system is a coincidence – is it not? In Chemistry fire and centrifuge rotation are used to combine and separate elements; in Alchemy, in the process of spagyric, it is to gain the Arkanum – the quintessence of an element –, the purified element. Let us remember that Kant called his reason *pura ratio (reine Vernunft)* and not *recta ratio* and defines it as a faculty of principles (and not of concepts, which he envisages for the understanding) that allows us to speculate on metaphysical ideas (such as the soul or God) and to justify morality; whereby pure reason discovers of its own accord that it has a practical purpose. And since ratio is latin for calculation, it should serve us to fit adequately, or better said sustainable, into the whole out of which we emerge and into which we get back through every single interaction. This is why we may propose that the chain of being is very present within the three postulates of the practical reason as of three axis of minds sustainable ground: God, immortality of the soul and the world. Here we have plenitude, continuity and gradation, constitutes of the chain of being concept. If one does not base oneself on plenitude, one's mind will fall into scarcity and more likely decay its actions to a state of war. If one does not base oneself on continuity, one's mind will loose into erratic movements that lead to what is commonly called madness. If one does not base oneself on gradation, one's mind will not be able to appreciate the whole of existence and therefore will not be able to reinforce its plenitude.

In the correspondence of this period Kant mentions Pope once in a letter to Herder from 1768 that we will look at in the next topic. It is important to mention that although there is much material of the later correspondence – there are 20 letters from 1781, for example – we only know 5 letters from the period of 1747 to 1755, the early Popean period. Pope is especially the theme of some *Reflexionen zu Metaphysik*⁷², namely those⁷³ where Kant reflects about the propositions of Pope and Leibniz on optimism since he was willing to take part of the 1755's Berliner Akademie Award. Albeit he never took part of this contest – apparently because of his 1755 dissertations – those *Reflexions* and the 1759's semester prelections invitation, the essay on optimism,⁷⁴ are sufficient prove of the amount of time and effort dedicated to Pope and his Essay on Man and therefore to the ideas of Chain of being, Optimism, limitation of pride and love. It is also interesting to consider that Pope wrote the Moral essays and the Essay on Criticism, essays on two terms especially important to Kant: moral and critic. The *Übergang*⁷⁵, another particularly important concept to Kant, remembers the Isthmus that we humans are in Pope's words. A quote of Kant's 1798 *Anthropology* confirms Kants long dated influence, especially if taken in account that *De igne* evokes electromagnetism and Kant influenced Oersted, the discoverer of electromagnetism: „nämlich mit Pope zu sagen: »Ist die Vernunft nun ein Magnet, so sind die Leidenschaften Winde⁷⁶«⁷⁷ This is one of the last quotations of Pope in Kants work and goes along with an important statement by Kant:

Die Sinne machen darauf keinen Anspruch und sind wie das gemeine Volk, welches, wenn es nicht Pöbel ist (*ignobile vulgus*), seinem Obern, dem Verstande, sich zwar gern unterwirft, aber doch gehört werden will^{78,79}.

What is the use of orientation, if we have no movement? What is the use of the movement, if we have no orientation? So, there must be an idea of the whole to guide oneself. These quotes indicate that Kant never lessened the role of the senses. And Kant himself indicated a way to accomplish that more easily as we see from the following quote:

Certe datur adhuc [certa] quaedam sensus fallendi ratio, qua ars poetica [inter ceteris] quam plurimis aliis palmam praeripere videtur et propterea vel a Philosopho [meriti summis] laudibus extollenda est, quippe promovens mentis in ignobile sensuum vulgus imperium legibusque sapientiae [tanto obse] quodammodo obsequium parans^{80,81}.

This 1777 quote indicates that Kant never diminished the importance of poetry for the human evolution. It is quite the contrary: poetry should “be praised by the philosopher himself, because it strengthens the dominance of the understanding over the lower people of the senses and ensures a certain degree of obedience to the laws of wisdom”. Perhaps Kant is narrating what happened to him as he read the *Essay on man* in the early 1740ies. Somewhere between 1764 and 1768 – after all that 1755 quarrel about Pope and Leibniz, with Kant’s preference of the former⁸², and the defenestration of poetical philosophy by Lessing and Mendelssohn –, Kant states that “according to Newton and Rousseau, God is justified, and Pope’s theorem is now true”⁸³. I address this topic in my thesis and will address it in the third article of the serie, but here it is important to stress out Pope’s privileged position.

PERSONAL REFERENCE THROUGHOUT KANT’S LIFE

Having proved the influence on his work, let us move on proving that C) Pope’s presence can be tracked throughout Kant’s life as an unshakeable and steady estate of personal reference. It was in this emblematic year of 1755 that Kant foresaw the *Vorgebirge*⁸⁴ (foothills or Cap) of new lands⁸⁵ after a dangerous undertake. How far did he see? These same *Vorgebirge* appear again at the preface⁸⁶ of the already mentioned second edition of the *KrV*. The same that uses Bacon as a motto. As Pope did. In the 1760 *Gedanken bey dem frühzeitigen Ableben des Herrn Johann Friedrich von Funk* Kant quotes Haller and Pope to honor his deceased listener Funk and comfort his mother, Agnes. “Daß jeder seinen Kreis vollende, den ihm der Himmel ausersehn.”⁸⁷ (Pope.)⁸⁸ A poetic reference that should be enriched taking the 1755 ANTH in account: we live like and in accordance with the whole above. Nevertheless, Pope is Kants all-time favorite poet⁸⁹: „mit welchem Vergnügen liest man des Pope Verse wo die Reime natürlich und der Sache nach selbst scheinen geflossen zu seyn”⁹⁰⁽⁹¹⁾. In a letter to Herder from 9th of May 1768, Kant wrote: „...Dichtkunst, welche die Grazie der Weisheit ist, und worinn Pope noch allein glänzt.”⁹²⁽⁹³⁾

There is no poet more revered in Kant writings and correspondence than Pope⁹⁴. Milton, but specially Haller are the two other candidates, but Pope is definitely *hors-concours*.

Milton, who influenced both poets, is mentioned 31 times throughout Kant's *oeuvre*, while Haller is mentioned 35 times and Pope 36 – the difference relying on the quality of the quotations: Haller appears 13 times in Kant's students' annotations, while Pope nine times; from the 27 remaining quotations in work and correspondence, Pope appears three times as epigraph, while none of Haller's 22 remaining mentions do. Nonetheless it is the idea of the Chain of being and its concepts of plenitude, continuity/succession and gradation that unifies them all. And although Pope is revered 'til the end of Kant's life, this is not the case with Haller, from whom Kant thinks the following around 1793 or 1794: „*Der sonst große Haller zeigt durch sein moralisches Diarium eine sehr große Schwäche.*“⁹⁵⁹⁶ The critic about the great weakness is precisely Haller's fear guided actions. In contrast, 1791 Kant continued revering Pope:

„Merkwürdig war es bey meinem Freunde *Green*, daß dieses Unvermögen sich auch auf die Poësie erstreckte, deren Unterschied von der Prose er niemals woran anders als, daß die erstere eine gezwunge[ne] und geschrobene Sylbenstellung sey, erkennen konnte; daher er des Pope *Essays on Man* wohl gerne las, es aber unangenehm fand, daß sie in Versen geschrieben waren.“⁹⁷⁹⁸

In other words, by pointing out Green's unpleasantness with the poetic style and reinforcing the praise for the content, Kant is reindorsing its ideas and proposition. Brookes' translation was the best of his time, acknowledged by Pope himself, according to Heinzelmann⁹⁹, who's article presents the fact that “unlike Milton and Shakespeare, Pope was studied and admired”. Heinzelmann also highlights the different points-of-view about Pope's influence upon German literature – a good paper where Kant is completely missing. Why is there no evidence of relation between those brilliant exponents of the 18th century, even if there is so much text evidence as I am proving with this article? I like to think that this influence of Pope was just not considered because of prejudice after the debunking of philosophical poetry: how can a poem be the source of one of the greatest philosophies of our time? But being honest, how could one pledge this, if Kant also did not reveal any clue of Pope's influence? And, although Kant refers to his own work as a philosophical plan as a whole, the history of the *Studia Kantiana* shows us that Kant is studied like a corpse, being torn apart in pieces, often having neglected its integrity, parallels and interconnectedness. It is a necessary approach to sharpen our comprehension of each part and its understanding, but we should always bear in mind what Kant did: to better oneself and humanity. Hamann, who attended the class of Rappolt for sure¹⁰⁰ and presumably has had Kant as a colleague in this class, wrote the following to Kant mentioning Pope in 1759:

„Es ist angenehm und nützlich eine Seite des Pope zu übersetzen - in die Fibern des Gehirnes und des Herzens - Eitelkeit und Fluch hingegen einen Theil der Encyclopedie durchzublätern.“¹⁰¹¹⁰²

Through the writing of Hamann we can have a glimpse of the reverence emerged from their encounter with Pope in those two years with Rappolt – and this in 1759, four years after Lessing and Mendelssohn having published *Pope, ein Metaphysiker!*, debunking philosophical poetry and Pope himself as a philosopher, and after the earthquake of Lisbon that shuck the reputation of any kind of theodicy. Pleasant and useful are the qualities addressed to Pope's

writings and the locus of its translation the fibers of the brain and the heart – this reference is particularly interesting when confronted with some passages of Kants late writings, like *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*¹⁰³, *Religion*¹⁰⁴ and *Metaphysik der Sitten*¹⁰⁵, where the heart gains public importance in his writings as the place of moral revolution, while the reformation is that of the mind and its habits; public, because in his *Nachlass* of the years between 1776 and 1778, the heart is, together with the Understanding (*Verstand*), the subjective cause of morality¹⁰⁶. But let us stick to the track of Pope's influence on Kant. It is evident that Pope is outstanding in Kant's appreciation. As a last comparison in this article, Shakespeare, also revered as a genius¹⁰⁷, is mentioned ten¹⁰⁸ times altogether. While Milton and Shakespeare are mentioned as geniuses in the same passage¹⁰⁹, Kant refers to Pope as a genius while citing Aristotle and Socrates and making a remark on their short height – "*alle Genies sind von kleiner Statur*"¹⁰⁹¹¹¹ – let us remember that Kant measured 1,59m. In the 1768's correspondence with Herder Kant puts Pope next to Montaigne and Hume¹¹². Pope is also quoted once next to Locke and Homer¹¹³. Pope also appears in direct debate with Leibniz in the already quoted *Reflexionen*¹¹⁴ *zu Metaphysik* from 1753 or 1754, where Kant prefers Pope's theorem as to Leibniz' Optimism, and in the winter of 1759 prelection¹¹⁵ about Optimism. There is a controversy about this text because Kant apparently ordered Borowski, his long-dated friend and first biographer, to recall this writing and destroy it. I stick to Vaihinger who exclaims¹¹⁶: *scripta manent*. If it is included in his works, why shouldn't it be taken in account? And, as he states, it is precisely because Kant ordered the destruction of the text, and it nevertheless made its way to the *Sämtlichen Werken*, that we should be interested in. It's like: "don't look at this endnote"¹¹⁷. I wrote about this on my commentaries to the translation I made for the 260th anniversary of the text¹¹⁸ – an article yet to be published.

PRESENT THROUGHOUT KANT'S OEUVRE

Let us get back and assure that D) Pope's influence is equally distributed throughout his entire work. The 36 direct mentions¹¹⁹ considering Pope at the *Personenregister* of the *Kant im Kontext III* Software are distributed chronologically as follows.

Thirty mentions are contained in Kant's work: one mention¹²⁰ in the *b1 phase*¹²¹ of 1752-1789's *Reflexionen zu Logik*, two mentions¹²² in the 1753-1754's *Reflexionen zu Metaphysik*, six mentions¹²³ (three of them epigraphs¹²⁴) in the 1755's *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*, one mention¹²⁵ in 1760's *reflection upon Herr Funk's death*, one mention¹²⁶ in the 1762-1764's *Herder Metaphysik*, one mention¹²⁷ is a footnote in 1763's *Beweisgrund*, two mentions¹²⁸ in the 1764-1768's *Nachlass* of *Bemerkungen zu den Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen*, two mentions¹²⁹ in the 1772's *Philippi Logik*, one mention¹³⁰ in the 1780-1791 *Reflexionen zur Anthropologie*, two mentions¹³¹ in the 1781's *Starke Anthropology*, one mention¹³² in the 1784's *Feyerabend Naturrecht*, three mentions¹³³ in the 1791-1792's *Dohna Anthropology*, one mention¹³⁴ in 1794's *Religion*, one mention¹³⁵ in 1795's *Zum ewigen Frieden* and five mentions¹³⁶ in the 1798's *Anthropology*.

Six mentions are made in Kant's correspondence – from his own writing are two mentions: one¹³⁷ 1968 to Herder and the other¹³⁸ 1791 to Hellwag; the other mentions are from Herder, who mentioned Pope twice¹³⁹ in 1968 in a letter to Kant, and from Hamann, who mentioned Pope also twice¹⁴⁰ in a letter of 1759.

Now that we have already confirmed that Pope was very present in Kant's early writings and made his way through Kant's life and work, being mentioned at the beginning as to the end, both if analyzed quantity and quality of the mentions, I will conclude evaluating the data that I brought up, especially the distribution of the quotations, being the period of the three critics – 1781 to 1790 – the reference point. In the 35 years of the pre-critics period, from 1746 to 1781, there are 21 mentions which are 5 letters distributed as explained above and 16 quotations from which three are *Reflexionen*, other three are students' annotations, one is a footnote in a published work, two are mentions in a non-published material, one is a condolence and six are quotations in a published work, three of them being epigraphs. During the decade of the three Critics there are only four mentions, three in students' annotations and one in Kant's *Nachlass of Reflexionen zur Anthropologie*. In the 14 years long post-critic's period, there are eleven mentions: one correspondence, seven mentions in works and three mentions in student's annotations.

What at a first glimpse looks like an unequal distribution, having the first part almost 2/3 of the mentions, when considering the critics period and analyzing the relation quote/year it turns out that we have 0,79 quotes per year in the post critic's period and 0,6 quotes per year in the pre-critic's period; the critic's period having 0,4 quotes per year. Dividing in just two periods makes the distribution even more equal: 0,6 quotes per year in the first period from 1746 to 1781 (35 years) and 0,65 quotes per year from 1781 to 1804 (23 years). In fact, it is the critic's period that is clearly outstanding.

Why there is a gap during the nine years of the critics' period is something that I discuss in my doctoral dissertation and in the forthcoming article "The critical gap". The actual design of Kant's philosophical plan and the relation between the four epistles and the four Kantian questions will be addressed in the forthcoming article "Kant's design by Pope".

CONCLUSION

This article pretends to contribute to value Kant's philosophy as a progressive and interconnected whole, with Kant's announced plan developing under a hidden influence aligning all efforts to combat a disclosed target: human's pride. The article presented sufficient examples to illustrate the arguments that sustain a necessary approach of Kant's oeuvre as a whole and not as a fragmented or sectary work with no direct relevance, importance or interconnection of the different areas researched and works published. Comprehending Pope's influence and its resulting patterns helps us to think Kant's philosophy in a way that Kant himself wished for: not reading philosophy, but philosophizing.

I hope to have unveiled the presence and confirmed the influence of Pope and his *Essay on Man* on Kant and his philosophy, revealing the hidden influence behind Kant's not so hidden agenda: to better oneself and humanity through enlightenment.

Sapere Aude: Kant had a plan. And it had Pope's design.

Abstract: Midst of the recently growing attention and importance that poetry is gaining in the *Studia Kantiana* there is a hidden influence on Kant that this article unveils: Alexander Pope's presence throughout Kant's life and the influence of his *Essay on Man* on Kant's philosophy. The relation between Kant and Pope is clarified based upon comparative examples of both works and their commentators, targeting specially Pope's direct mentions; personal reference from Kant to Pope will be used to reassure the size of his admiration and therefore his subjective predisposition to be influenced by. The article unfolds proving that A) Kant had contact with the poem before even publishing his first article in 1746; B) there is sufficient evidence to confirm its direct influence on the initial phase of Kant's work; C) Pope's presence can be tracked throughout Kant's life as an unshakeable and steady estate of personal reference; and that D) Pope's mentions are equally distributed throughout Kant's entire work. The paper concludes an undeniable and yet neglected influence of Pope on Kant and argues for an approach of Kant's philosophy as a progressive and interconnected whole based on a plan to combat human's pride.

Keywords: Kant, Pope, *Essay on man*, *Gesamtwerk*, poetry

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NOTAS / NOTES

¹ PhD Student at Philosophy Department of PUC-Rio. To Leonel Ribeiro dos Santos with gratitude.

² Sponsorship CAPES

³ Eberhard Breidert's translation for Felix Meiner Verlag of Pope's original. The original in English at Jones, p.32: Could He, whose rules the rapid comet bind/Describe, or fix, one Movement of his mind? Brockes' version had in its original in English the word "whirling", while the newer edition of Felix Meiner Verlag has the word "rapid" instead as Jones published version. The two translations are very different, but sustain the same meaning – much of the translation work in this case has to be co-creation. Brockes in his more literal translation of 1740: Kann der, durch dessen Regeln sich die drehenden Cometen binden,/ nur ein Bewegen unsers Geists, befestigen, beschreiben, finden? Anyway, the idea of Pope's verse tributed to Newton fits precisely with Kant, who wrote the *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels (ANTH)* and described the movement of the human mind.

⁴ Essay on Man, Brief II, Zeile 35-36

⁵ Vorländer S.332

⁶ A controversial translation of 1740 by Brockes, probably influenced by the French translation "*tout est bien*" that would be very criticized more than a decade later, especially in occasion of the *Berliner Akademie* Award of 1755 and after Lisbons earthquake at the end of the same year; "*Alles ist gut*" is also the name of the book of Marion Hellwig – a good study about the XVIIIth Century Optimism.

⁷ Even if Wasianski assures the opposite, through his statements it is clear how emotionally moved he was. Wasianski, p. 267

⁸ Kuehn, p. 488

⁹ Malter, *Kant in Rede und Gespräch*, p.592

¹⁰ Kuehn, p.488

¹¹ P. 35

¹² P. 2622

¹³ B. H. Brockes was a German writer and poet of the early German Enlightenment and wrote poems in which nature is reflected in its beauty and usefulness as a mediator between man and God.

¹⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:3

¹⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxiv:796u

¹⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxviii:1519

¹⁷ Kuehn gives important insights on the relationship between Kant and his teachers, especially on the outcome of Kant's work.

¹⁸ Since Kants Family emigrated from Scotland, this is not taking in account here, also because of lack of reference.

¹⁹ Kuehn, p.97

²⁰ A man who had a special keenness to judge natural things with the reverence and simplicity and modesty of a Christian worldly sage, and an uncommon strength to imitate the spirit of the Roman writers and their language.

²¹ Kuehn, p.522

²² SWAIN, C.W. *Hamann and the Philosophy of David Hume*. Journal of the History of Philosophy, vol. 5, no. 4, 1967, p. 343-351. Project MUSE.

²³ Kant Lexikon, page 1876

²⁴ ROGERS, R.W. *Critiques of the Essay on Man in France and Germany 1736-1755*. ELH, vol. 15, no.3 (Sep., 1948), pp. 176-193

²⁵ Victor Delbos, *La Philosophie pratique de Kant* (Paris, 1905), p. 85, has suggested that Kant probably first derived his admiration for the philosophy of Pope from Rappolt.

²⁶ ROGERS, R.W. *Critiques of the Essay on Man in France and Germany 1736-1755*. ELH, vol. 15, no.3 (Sep., 1948), pp. 176-193

²⁷ ROGERS, R.W. *Critiques of the Essay on Man in France and Germany 1736-1755*. ELH, vol. 15, no.3 (Sep., 1948), pp. 176-193

²⁸ ROGERS, R.W. *Critiques of the Essay on Man in France and Germany 1736-1755*. ELH, vol. 15, no.3 (Sep., 1948), pp. 176-193

²⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:181

³⁰ “The knowledge of these two extreme limits must have determined without difficulty the point at which the truth on both sides coincided. Finding this required nothing less than great insight; all that was needed was a small absence of party zeal and a brief balance of emotional inclinations, and the complaint was immediately dismissed.”

³¹ Pope, A. *Vom Menschen*, p.14

³² Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:1u

³³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:234

³⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:234

³⁵ JONES, T. *Essay on man*. p. CIV and CV

³⁶ In his *Opus Postumum* it is the ether that sustains and grants the whole.

³⁷ [Is] the great chain, that draws all to agree and drawn supports [...] p.9

³⁸ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:241

³⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. B:649. (Kap.Nr.: 573)

⁴⁰ Akad. (1905ff.), S. V:98. (Kap.Nr.: 757)

⁴¹ Middle link in the chain of human assets a priori

⁴² Akad. (1905ff.), S. XXI:344. (Kap.Nr.: 3375); Akad. (1905ff.), S. XXII:549

⁴³ See plastic Nature working to this end, The single atoms each to other tend, Attract, attracted to, the next in place Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace. See Matter next, with various life endu'd, Press to one centre still, the gen'ral Good. p.52

⁴⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:259

⁴⁵ He, who thro' vast immensity can pierce, See worlds on worlds compose one universe, Observe how system into system runs, What other planets circle other suns, What vary'd being peoples ev'ry star, May tell why Heav'n has made us as we are. p.9

⁴⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:349

⁴⁷ Who sees with equal eye, as God of all, A hero perish, or a sparrow fall, Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd, And now a bubble burst, and now a world. p.12

⁴⁸ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:318

⁴⁹ JONES, T. *Essay on man*. p. CV

⁵⁰ Superior beings, when of late they saw A mortal Man unfold all Nature's law, Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape, And shew'd a Newton as we shew an Ape. p.32

⁵¹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:360

⁵² Newton instead of being a human being - became an angelic ape.

⁵³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxviii:110

⁵⁴ Vast chain of being, which from God began, Natures aethereal, human, angel, man, Beast, bird, fish, insect! what no eye can see, No glass can reach! from Infinite to thee, From thee to Nothing! p.22-23

⁵⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:365

⁵⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. V:73

⁵⁷ My master's degree was obtained researching on how Self-love can be a moral disposition

⁵⁸ This is a point where one can argue that Kant should be fostered to dialogue with the Anthropocene.

⁵⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. V:459u. Bis: S. V:460

⁶⁰ CV and CVI

⁶¹ CVI

⁶² Akad. (1905ff.), S. V:162

⁶³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XXI:22

⁶⁴ CVI

⁶⁵ II, I,2.

⁶⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XXI:492

⁶⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVII:360. Bis: S. XVII:361.

⁶⁸ CVIII

⁶⁹ CVIII

⁷⁰ P.2244

⁷¹ CVIII

⁷² Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVII:230

⁷³ R3703 to R3705

⁷⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. II:27

⁷⁵ the passage, crossing, transition

⁷⁶ namely to say with Pope: "If reason is a magnet, the passions are winds."

⁷⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:267.

⁷⁸ The senses make no claim to this and are like the common people, who, when they are not a mob (*ignobile vulgus*), are happy to submit to their superior, the understanding, but still want to be heard.

⁷⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:145

⁸⁰ Certainly there is, besides that, a kind of illusion, through the use of which, it seems to me, poetry wins the palm over most other arts; This must therefore be praised by the philosopher himself, because it strengthens the dominance of the understanding over the lower people of the senses and ensures a certain degree of obedience to the laws of wisdom.

⁸¹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XV:909

⁸² Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVII:233

⁸³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xx:59

⁸⁴ Humanity lives on the land, but the metaphors of life always recure to the sea as Blumenberg acknowledged. With this geographical reference Kant, who himself initiated the teaching of geography at the university, probably wanted to point out that he was reaching solid ground. The Vorgebirge metaphor also connects both moments and works.

⁸⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:221

⁸⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. B:X. (Kap.Nr.: 34)

⁸⁷ "That everyone completes the circle that heaven has chosen for him."

⁸⁸ Akad. (1905ff.), S. II:42

⁸⁹ Kuehn, p. 488

⁹⁰ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxiv:371

⁹¹ With what pleasure one reads Pope's verses where the rhymes seem to have flowed naturally and according to the matter itself.

⁹² Poetry, which is the grace of wisdom and where Pope still shines bright alone.

⁹³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:73uu

⁹⁴ The already mentioned Virgil appears just 26 times in Kant's correspondence and work and with lots of clustered mentions.

- ⁹⁵ "The otherwise great Haller shows through his moral diary a great weakness."
- ⁹⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxvii:608.
- ⁹⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XI:245
- ⁹⁸ "It was strange with my friend Green that this inability also extended to poetry, the difference between which and prose he could never recognize other than that the former was a forced and distorted syllable position; that's why he enjoyed reading Pope's Essays on Man, but found it unpleasant that they were written in verse."
- ⁹⁹ Heinzelmann, J.H. *Pope in Germany in the eighteenth century*, Modern Philology, January, 1913
- ¹⁰⁰ SWAIN, C.W. Hamann and the Philosophy of David Hume. Journal of the History of Philosophy, vol. 5, no. 4, 1967, p. 343-351. Project MUSE.
- ¹⁰¹ It is pleasant and useful to translate a page of Pope - into the fibers of the brain and the heart - Vanity and Curse, but to leaf through a part of the encyclopedia.
- ¹⁰² Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:8.
- ¹⁰³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. IV:410 to S. IV:411
- ¹⁰⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VI:84u; Akad. (1905ff.), S. VI:145. and Akad. (1905ff.), S. VI:51
- ¹⁰⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VI:485 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. VI:441
- ¹⁰⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XIX:200
- ¹⁰⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VMe:234.
- ¹⁰⁸ Although there are twelve entrances at the Personenregister of the Kant im Kontext III, one is misleading and the other points to Hamlet. So I am rectifying it to stick to the same criteria used with the other authors.
- ¹⁰⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. Ko:171.
- ¹¹⁰ All geniuses are small in stature.
- ¹¹¹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VMe:236.
- ¹¹² Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:76.
- ¹¹³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVI:167. (Kap.Nr.: 3013)
- ¹¹⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVII:229. (Kap.Nr.: 3189)
- ¹¹⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. II:27. (Kap.Nr.: 169)
- ¹¹⁶ Vaihinger, H. *Pessimismus und Optimismus vom Kantischen Standpunkt aus*.
- ¹¹⁷ You see, you came here to look. Probably with more curiosity as into other footnotes. Q.E.D.
- ¹¹⁸ I thank NUPEM PUC-Rio for the invitation to translate it, the colleagues that helped with it and Prof. Edgard J. J. Filho for the kind support and meticulous review.
- ¹¹⁹ While accessing the Personenregister you will see just 35 mentions, but please be aware that the last entrance, XVII:233, leads to two mentions and not just to one. Everything was double checked with the search results.
- ¹²⁰ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVI:167
- ¹²¹ Adickes categorizes the *b^I* phase between 1952 and 1956
- ¹²² Akad. (1905ff.), S. XVII:233
- ¹²³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:318; Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:360 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:365
- ¹²⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:241; Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:259 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. I:349
- ¹²⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. II:42
- ¹²⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxviii:37
- ¹²⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. II:137Fu
- ¹²⁸ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xx:59 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. xx:141
- ¹²⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxiv:371 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxiv:446

¹³⁰ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XV:825

¹³¹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VMe:236 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. VMe:360

¹³² Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxvii:1319

¹³³ Akad. (1905ff.), S. Ko:239; Akad. (1905ff.), S. Ko:252 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. Ko:320

¹³⁴ Akad. (1905ff.), S. xxiii:98

¹³⁵ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VIII:353Fu

¹³⁶ Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:210; Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:267; Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:274Fu; Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:305 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. VII:397

¹³⁷ Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:73uu

¹³⁸ Akad. (1905ff.), S. XI:245

¹³⁹ Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:76. and S. X:77

¹⁴⁰ Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:8 and Akad. (1905ff.), S. X:13

