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## Johannes von Kries: A Bio-bibliography

Bernd Buldt<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract** A short biography of Johannes von Kries (1853–1928), followed by a bibliography of his works, containing more than 70 previously unknown works.

**Keywords** von Kries, Johannes · Biography · Bibliography · Nineteenth century physiology · Nineteenth century philosophy

### 1 Introduction

The following two pieces, a biographical sketch and a bibliography, are pre-releases of parts of a bigger research project on Johannes von Kries (henceforth, for short, “JvK”). Initially started somewhat naively in preparation for my own conference contribution, scholarly curiosity did soon take me down various rabbit holes, and the project has grown to proportions that will take a few more years to finish.

The bibliography can be assumed to be complete, or so I hope, and therefore (close to) final. Pertinent details about its compilation that any user may want to be aware of are shared in Sect. 3 below.

The biographical sketch is a different beast. I arrived at it by distilling from a plethora of sources what I believe to be an acceptable skeleton version of JvK’s life: a tad more than a mere list of events in chronological order but suppressing tons of interesting stuff left and right. Consistent with its primary purpose to serve as a wrapper for the bibliography, I have abstained from giving it a scholarly format; just a few notes here and there and almost no sources. But even in its stripped down version, it occasionally references material that

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cannot be found elsewhere; not in JvK's own autobiography, not in Lorenz' dissertation, not in the genealogical research of the v.Kries family.<sup>1</sup>

Two more remarks. First, JvK was born into an extended family of landlords and tenants in what was West Prussia at the time. We thus find his family history to be part of the changeful and woebegone history of territorial disputes between Poland and Germany. This is why I added Polish names in parentheses. Second, in order to avoid clutter, I refer to members of the v.Kries family simply by their first name.

## 2 Johannes von Kries: A Biographical Sketch<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1 Ancestry

JvK's great-grandfather Johann Albinus (1716–1785), who came from a family of slate roofers in Thuringia (about halfway between Dresden and Frankfurt a. M.), had moved to Thorn (Toruń) in order to become first a teacher at, then the principal of the local *Gymnasium*.<sup>3</sup> It is here, about 100 km south of JvK's future birth place, where Johann changed his last name from "Krieß" to "Kries" in order to ensure proper pronunciation in a predominantly Polish speaking environment. One of his sons, Friedrich Christian (1768–1849), became a mathematician and, among other notable things, the private tutor of Prince Albert, who would get into the limelight of history as the spouse of Queen Victoria of England. Those, who believe in hereditary traits, might see Friedrich's mathematical gifts re-surface in JvK. Another of Johann's sons, Nathanael Gottlob (1772–1852), was JvK's grandfather. Four years younger than Friedrich, he could no longer attend university for after their father's death the family had to live on a shoestring. Instead, Nathanael underwent an apprenticeship as farmer, took out a major loan, and became a tenant and then a highly successful landowner. Based on a strong oral tradition running in the family, Gerda Preuß, JvK's daughter, turned the life of Nathanael and his family into a novel, *Weichselwinde* (1942, postwar editions under the title *Die Kronackers*). In 1840 the King of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., granted Nathanael hereditary nobility for his "loyal and fruitful services to Us Our royal house" (*für treue und ersprießliche Dienste um Uns Unser königliches Haus*), in particular for public service and promoting advances in the agricultural sciences. The nobility came with a name change, namely, the infix "von," which thereafter went between the first and last name of all his descendants (that is, until the Weimar Republic abolished all nobility and its titles, and "von" became part of the surname). Adolf Anton (1808–1889), son of Nathanael and father to JvK, followed in his father's footsteps and led a successful life as a Prussian landed gentry, a stereotypical Prussian *Junker*. He was a tenant in the small village of

<sup>1</sup> See von Kries (1925), Lorenz (1996), and von Kries (1996) resp.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Sebastian Lorenz, who made his dissertation readily available as a pdf-file. His doctoral work along with Oser (1983) are the best sources on JvK's life and work we currently have. Even if its impact is barely visible in the sketch to follow, the overall support I received from the (extended) v.Kries family, and in particular from Dorothea Hübner, JvK's great-great-granddaughter, dwarfs all else and is nothing but amazing—I truly feel humbled.

<sup>3</sup> A *Gymnasium* is a kind of "honors-track only" high school which was and still is typical for the German tripartite selective school system. Graduation from a *Gymnasium* is the normal requirement for being admitted to a university, which, up until recently, offered only graduate programs. In other words, college-level education as a separate layer was absent from the German educational system but an integral part of the curriculum at *Gymnasia*.

Roggenhausen (Rogóžno), near the county seat Graudenz (Grudziądz) on the river Weichsel (Wisła, Engl. Vistula), about 200 km southwest of Kant's Königsberg.

## 2.2 Family

Adolf married twice. His first wife was Marie, née Grolp (1814–1844), with whom he had four children. Two of their sons continued life as landed gentry; a third son died young, when JvK was four, and their daughter never married and died before the age of thirty. Adolf's second wife was Johanna, née Reichenau (1815–1888), with whom he had seven more children. JvK was thus the ninth of eleven children. Two siblings died early, and one sister lived some 30 years but never married. Of the three remaining brothers, the youngest, Ernst (1858–1948), became a legal practitioner and civil servant; the second youngest, August (1858–1894), became a law professor and was considered the rising star in criminal law proceedings (*Strafprozessrecht*) before diabetes killed him way before his time; Nathanael (1852–1877), to whom JvK was closest, studied medicine and prepared for an academic career as an ophthalmologist before dying at the age of 25 from a pulmonary edema. How close Nathanael and JvK were is nicely illustrated by how their common teacher, Carl Ludwig, addressed them in letters: "My dear brothers" (*Meine lieben Gebrüder*). Contrary to what some sources claim, it was August, not JvK, who was friends with Conrad Röntgen; likewise, some early publications on blood pressure were written by Nathanael, not JvK.

## 2.3 Childhood and Education

Childhood diaries show that JvK spent an untroubled, well-protected childhood. According to his autobiography, he enjoyed growing up in a rural environment and cherished fond memories of his favorite childhood places, like the small ravine formed by a nearby creek or the ruins of an old castle built by Knights of the Teutonic Order (*Deutscherorden*) he used to play in. Fairly early, though, he discovered what made him a little different: he had a divergent squint and absolute pitch. He would make both the object of scientific studies later in his life. Like his brothers, JvK was home-schooled by a private tutor before he was sent to board with their aunt in the county seat Marienwerder (Kwidzyń) so as to attend the town's *Gymnasium*. Homeschooling for JvK began in 1862, he started *Gymnasium* in 1865 after he had tested into ninth grade (*Obertertia*), and graduated (*Maturität*) in 1869, four weeks before he turned 16, after a written examination in German, French, Latin, Greek, history, and mathematics. Since he and his brother Nathanael had achieved the best scores in the school's history, they were dispensed from the oral examination. The year before he had been made valedictorian—but for the class one year ahead of him! He was undecided as to what to pursue, philosophy or medicine, but due to "incidental reasons" (*Nebenumstände*) he chose medicine.

## 2.4 Graduate Studies and Beyond

In the fall of 1869 both JvK and his brother Nathanael moved to Halle to attend medical school. After their first year—which was, except for the lectures on physiology by Alfred Wilhelm Volkmann, an underwhelming experience—they both moved to Leipzig, where JvK studied physiology with Carl Ludwig, chemistry with Hermann Kolbe, and

mathematics with Carl Neumann. He passed his preliminaries (*ärztliche Vorprüfung*) in 1871 and went for the academic year 1872–73 to Zürich, Switzerland, to study with Anton Biermer (pathology) and Friedrich Horner (ophthalmology) but finished the clinical curriculum (*Klinikum*) 1873–74 in Leipzig. By the end of year, he passed his state examination (*Staatsexamen*), immediately followed by his oral doctoral examination (*Rigorosum*) January 16, 1875; the topics were age-related changes to the eye, upper limbs joints, and excretion of urine. Medical school was followed by military service. Those, who were sufficiently educated, could opt out of Prussia's post-Napoleonic compulsory 3-year military service and instead serve one year in a branch of their own choice but at their own expense—the so-called *Einjährige*. JvK chose the least expensive option and joined the 2nd Guards Artillery by Foot (*2tes Gardeartillerieregiment zu Fuß*) in Potsdam from April 1875 to April 1876. Afterwards, he extended his stay in Berlin for another year to do what we would call a postdoc with Helmholtz at the *Physikalisches Institut*, before he returned to Leipzig to become assistant professor (*Assistent*) at Ludwig's *Physiologisches Institut*. Within a year, in April 1878, he had earned his *Habilitation* (the eligibility to hold a tenured position), and within two more years he had landed a job as associate professor of physiology with tenure (*Professor extraordinarius*) at the University of Freiburg.

## 2.5 Professor in Freiburg

JvK delivered his inaugural lecture (*Antrittsvorlesung*), “On the performances of sense organs” (*Über die Leistungen der Sinnesorgane*), on July 17, 1880, and was afterwards sworn into his new office, that is, into the service of the sovereign prince grand-duke (*Großherzog*) Friedrich I. von Baden (1826–1907). Oddly enough, the *Großherzog* officially was the university's president (*Rektor*), while actually in charge was a faculty member as vice-president (*Prorektor*); we owe three of JvK's incidental publications to this administrative curiosity. After three years, in 1883, he was promoted to the rank of (full) professor (*ordentlicher Professor*); this was also the year he started fighting for a new institute to support his research. Eight years later, in May of 1891, he could eventually speak at the opening ceremony of his new institute, a separate building that would house the Institute for Physics and Physiology. Along with the new facility came recurring funds for an assistant professor, followed by a second line in 1907 and a third line in 1914. No longer limited by cramped space or insufficient resources, he was able to grow a research group of international standing. The professional reputation he had earned is clearly evinced by the fact that he received what probably were the most prestigious and most highly coveted outside offers possible during his lifetime: to become the successor to Carl Ludwig (Leipzig 1895), to Emil du Bois-Reymond (Berlin 1897), or to Carl von Voit (München 1908). JvK turned them all down, however, since he was afraid that at a major university he could no longer afford to devote time to his philosophical pursuits. On top of his research, there was almost not a single academic year in which he did not serve in some administrative capacity (e.g., senator, dean, vice-president) or was not engaged in service to the profession (e.g., medical examination regulations, journal editor). After 43 years—April 1, 1923, to be precise—he would leave his office and retire, at that time no longer a dutiful subject of the *Großherzog* but as a civil servant of the Weimar Republic. When he retired he was an elected member of six major scientific societies and had been awarded an honorary degree and an honorary citizenship, while the state government had bestowed on him various orders of merit and promoted him to the highest honorary rank, privy councilor

(*Geheimrat*).<sup>4</sup> At the time, he had more than two hundred publications to his name, among them four books, four widely-quoted handbook articles, and about seventy research papers. More publications were to follow in the remaining five years; among them, four books and two chapters in Bethe's *Handbook* (which is still in print), plus two more honorary degrees (Universities of Marburg and Freiburg, resp.).

## 2.6 Research

JvK's research fell into the area of physiology, broadly conceived. He did experimental work on the electrophysiology of skeletal muscles, motor nerves, and the heart; the fluid dynamics of the circulatory system (hemodynamics); the physiology of strabismus, stereoscopic and color vision; the auditory systems; psychophysics (e.g., response times). When he wrote on topics that went beyond his own experimental work (e.g., temporal and spacial perception, conscious sensory experience, the brain and sensory awareness), he was always careful to distinguish what the facts are from what is guarded speculation. During his retirement he left controlled lab results behind and ventured, among others, into the psychology of music. While the vast majority of his research findings became part of the accumulated anonymous sediment we call textbook knowledge, some of his results, especially in the field of color vision, are still linked to his name. For example, his work on color blindness, where he coined the terms *protanopia* and *deutanopia*, or his research on the difference between photopic (day light) and scotopic (dim light) vision and the different roles cones and rods play in both (i.e., the so-called duplicity theory). Likewise, the coefficient law of chromatic adaptation is still called the "von Kries law." And although he primarily identified as a representative of the Helmholtz-Young (or trichromatic) theory of color vision and thus engaged in a sometimes bitter scholarly controversy with Ewald Hering (and his school), who had proposed the opponent color theory as an alternative, JvK displayed great scientific integrity, ignored the personal issues, and worked towards a synthesis of both theories (the so-called von Kries zone theory), which, while not correct, was instrumental as an intermediate step in order to arrive at today's understanding.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout his career JvK produced on average two research publications in physiology a year; in philosophy, he would average one paper or book every four years. Serving two masters made him feel severely conflicted while in office, but in hindsight he came to the soothing conclusion that it was a mutually beneficial double occupation after all. As a philosopher he articulated what many fellow-physiologists believed anyway, namely, that Kant was basically right provided we re-interpret his epistemology in the light of recent advances in physiology. This is why I believe that what was recently called "scientific Kantianism" (A.W. Carus) should more aptly be called "physiological Kantianism." Contrary to how he seemed to feel about his *Logic* (1916), most would consider the *Principles of the Calculus of Probability* (1886), where, among other accomplishments, he

<sup>4</sup> The societies were: *Leopoldina* (Academy of Naturalists, Halle); Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities; (Royal) Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Royal Academy of Sciences; Order *Pour le Mérite* for Sciences and Arts, knight with voting privileges (*stimmberechtigter Ritter*); Prussian Academy of Sciences. The honorary degree was awarded by the University of Erlangen, the honorary citizenship by the Technical University of Karlsruhe.

<sup>5</sup> Simplifying things, we can say that trichromatic processing takes place at the level of the retina's photoreceptors, while opponent color processing takes place at the subsequent level of retinal ganglion cells, which transform differentials among the cone signals into two separate signals, luminance information and chromatic information.

anticipated measure theoretic insights from two generations later, to be his lasting contribution to philosophy.

## 2.7 Teaching

It would be difficult to decide whether the tremendous growth the program in physiology experienced during JvK's tenure was due to his personal efforts or just part of the national trend. On one hand, his teaching schedule looks extremely boring since he would offer the same courses over, and over, and over again. On the other hand, we have anecdotal evidence that students liked him—despite their initial impression that he was somewhat reserved—and that he prepared diligently for his teaching: “Each of his lectures was a completed whole. The most important essentials were always carefully elaborated, and the listener enjoyed the subtle disposition of the scientific edifice, which was erected before him in masterful language. He was especially eager to support the contents of the lectures and to facilitate its understanding by suitable experiments.”<sup>6</sup> Over the years, JvK advised about 50 Ph.D. students, among them many foreigners and some who would become famous in their own right: Karl Bühler (psychology, linguistics), Wilibald Nagel (physiology), Emil Ritter von Skramlik (physiology), Wilhelm Trendelenburg (physiology), and Viktor von Weizsäcker (psychosomatic medicine). Friends and former colleagues describe him consistently as a man of few words but with a big heart under a somewhat prudish surface; in other words, the stereotypical East Prussian. They also report that once the ice was broken his kindness or, if the conversation was about research, his passion became clearly noticeable.

## 2.8 Private Life

We do not know when JvK met his future wife, Else Wichgraf (1859–1937).<sup>7</sup> Based on her diary, I would hazard the guess that they “hit it off” early in 1881, when JvK visited the Windelbands for music-making in their home and Else was there to visit her sister. Be that as it may, they got married on his 28th birthday, October 6, 1881. Despite his young age, he already had a job that could support a family, and a family it would become; they had five children, three daughters (Ellen 1882; Lotte 1884; Gerda 1901) and two sons (Walter 1888; Hans 1889). As far as we know, it was a happy marriage, and he enjoyed being surrounded by his family, to which often relatives and friends, who would stay over for a few days or even weeks, contributed, so that at times a dozen or more people would live in the three-story house he had built 1891–1893. But they were not without help, as they employed several servants, among them a cook and a stable-hand for the horses. In other words, at a fairly early stage in his life (i.e., around the age of forty, where many

<sup>6</sup> “Jede seiner Vorlesungen war ein abgeschlossenes Ganze. Das wichtigste Wesentliche wurde stets aufs schärfste herausgearbeitet und der Zuhörer erfreute sich an der feinen Gliederung des wissenschaftlichen Gebäudes, das vor ihm in meisterhafter Sprache erstellt wurde. Besonderen Ehrgeiz verwandte er darauf, den Vortragsstoff durch entsprechende Experimente zu stützen und so dem Verständnis leichter zugänglich zu machen” (von Skramlik 1929, 254).

<sup>7</sup> Else was the daughter of Carl Wichgraf and Wilhemine Wichgraf, née Wilkens. Carl hailed from Gumbinnen, East Prussia, and had made a career as senior magistrate of the Prussian government (*Geheimer Regierungsrat*), who created a legacy by fighting poverty and rebuilding the economy in Nowawes (today part of Potsdam). Else was the youngest of six children. Two brothers became civil servants like their father, the third a painter; and while little is known about her sister Magarete, her other sister, Martha, married Wilhelm Windelband in 1774—the famous neo-Kantian philosopher thus happened to be JvK's brother-in-law.

academicians in Germany had just started on a tenured position) he was already well-established and financially, though not rich, very well off. But like his parents, who lost children early (and he, siblings), JvK was not spared grief—"the heaviest burdens of my life" (*schwerste Belastungen meines Lebens*) as he called it. Both his sons died early, at the age of ten and eighteen resp., and his son-in-law, Wilibald Nagel, husband of his eldest daughter Ellen, would die young as well, due to complications after he had fallen off a ladder.

The homebody he was, JvK did not travel much to conferences. He was, however, very well-respected among his local colleagues—they nominated him three times for the Nobel Prize and fought tooth and nail not to lose him to an outside offer—and he entertained them in his house on a semi-regular basis. Those from among the faculty who were regular guests included the pathologist Ludwig Aschoff, the ophthalmologist Theodor Axenfeld, the psychiatrist Alfred Hoche, the biologist (and Nobel Prize recipient) Hans Spemann, and the anatomist Robert Widersheim. Quite frequently, the invitation was for making music, or listening to it, for the v.Kries residence featured two grand pianos. And indeed, the one thing he cared deeply about since his childhood days was music. He attended public performances and supported promising young artists, but was also an accomplished pianist himself (he could, e.g., play Bach's unique *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue* from memory). He carved ebony as a pastime and would make the artifacts presents for his closest ones.

JvK suffered his first stroke (i.e., a cerebrovascular insult) in 1924, after which he tried hard to regain his mathematical abilities and his fine motor skills by sheer will of force (e.g., by doing needle work). Against all odds, he kept writing and publishing, but life became more and more difficult, esp. when subsequent strokes caused hemiplegia. On December 30, 1928, he died in his sleep and was cremated January 2, 1929. His pen, Skramlik wrote,<sup>8</sup> "did not sink from his hand, it was slowly wrought from it."

### 3 Remarks on the Bibliography

#### 3.1 Methodology

Starting from bibliographies extant, I identified a number of key journals (mentioned below) and searched each in the window 1875–1930 on a year-by-year basis. Each new find was screened for unknown cross-references. Where possible, I supported my own autopsy of tables of contents and indices with printed catalogs of the time and electronic keyword searches whenever material was available in digitized form.<sup>9</sup> Once I felt I had exhausted my options, I compared my own list with the ones researched by Bertil Oser and Sebastian Lorenz.<sup>10</sup> Due to these joint efforts, I feel somewhat confident that the

<sup>8</sup> "Die Feder ist seiner Hand nicht entsunken, sie wurde ihm langsam entwunden" (von Skramlik 1929, 255).

<sup>9</sup> I here subsume digitized copies (e.g., Google books), if approached with proper precautions, under autopsy. The four items for which no more than a copy of their title page was available are *1881c*, *1893a*, *1895h*, and *1918b*.

<sup>10</sup> See Oser (1983, 71–80), and Lorenz (1996, 244–277, Anhang I.3); both were aided by Gerhard Nagel (1903–1998), JvK's grand-son and the last of his descendants with personal recollections. Lorenz found four items (*1881d*, *1910c–h*, *1923c*, *1927a*) not in Oser's bibliography, while Oser had added some 70 items to JvK's own compilation (see Kries (1925, 185–187); below, I complement their efforts with 70 new items.

bibliography must be close to complete. It is unlikely that *major* publications can be found outside the top-tier journals of the time or went unnoticed by JvK's peers.

### 3.2 Contents

The bibliography limits itself to published work. For example, if all we have is the title of a lecture, it is not included. Likewise, editorial work is not included where it did not result in scholarly output linked to JvK's name; hence, journals he co-edited are not mentioned, but Helmholtz' *Optics* is. In case of doubt, contemporary evidence was used to tip the balance; for example, 1905c was included because it was treated like a publication in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der (Anatomie und) Physiologie* 14 (1905, 139, 148, 360). Not included are recent "reprints" offered by companies specialized on on-demand printings of books that are out of copyright. Additional information, which goes beyond the just stated boundaries, will be included to a fuller future treatment of JvK's life and work; in the meantime, the curious reader is referred to the useful appendices in Lorenz' dissertation.

The scientific community of the nineteenth century experienced a hitherto unrivaled explosion of knowledge. They tried to negotiate it by adding annual reference sections to journals and by publishing entire books, filling hundreds of pages with reports that would summarize the scientific literature of the previous year. Usually, these reports were too brief to be outright critical reviews, but unlike a mere summary they were still allowed to put things into perspective. JvK contributed to these efforts with more than 50 reports of his own. To indicate their special hybrid status (i.e., being intermediate between review and summary) we label them below with a word that was often used by German writers of the time themselves: *Referat* (a loanword for which, like *Festschrift*, there is no easy translation). In the same vein, we use the term *Sammelreferat* (collective review) in case the report does not cover a single publication but an entire year's worth of publications in one particular area.

### 3.3 Chronology

In order to better support my own research, I arranged all items in chronological order. The kind of evidence that was used regularly for dating efforts includes publication dates printed on journal issues, library stamps which record when an issue was received, editorial remarks that state when a manuscript was received, the date of a preface, cross-references among articles, dates mentioned in other articles that were printed before or after (e.g., reports of a meeting held at a specific date), or back matter stuff such as publisher advertisements; on rare occasions, correspondence was available. In a final step, all this was cross-checked with annual bibliographies on recent literature which were so characteristic of the time (e.g., the *Jahresbericht* already mentioned), or, when available, printed book catalogues or publisher records. Obviously, such dating is not an exact science, and all we can do is make more or less educated guesses. For example, based on publisher and library information, one can infer that it took a number of German journal issues about four weeks to arrive at the Eastern Seaboard. This was then used to fill in for missing information in other cases. On a few occasions, when no helpful evidence was forthcoming, I signaled this by interrupting the alphabetical lettering within the same year and using "x, y, z" instead of "a, b, c, ..." Speaking for myself, I feel fairly confident that, despite unavoidable shortcomings, the end result is sufficiently close to the actual timeline. The reader's mileage may vary.

Publications are ordered according to their presumed publication date as explained in the previous paragraph. One exception is due to a wide-spread custom of the time, namely, to produce and mail out preprints ahead of the “official” schedule. Such discrepancies could amount to gaps of up to two years. For example, if a journal issue was published, sent out, and absorbed in 1899, but the volume the book binder would produce much later carried 1900 as its “official” year, then the bibliography lists an article in that journal issue as 1900a (i.e., as the first in that year) and with “1899” added in square brackets; viz., title, *journal name* vol. no. [(1899) 1900], page range. In short, while the bibliography orders all items according to their “official” publication dates, it includes additional information where supporting data makes for a clear case beyond dispute. In a similar vein, the other exception is to flag reprints as what they are: they also got placed first in the year they were reprinted.

### 3.4 Journals

Nineteenth Century Germany offers a sometimes confusing overabundance of similar looking journal names which might have been a reason for the custom of the time to refer to certain journals not by their name but by the name of their, usually well-known, editor. For example, we refer up to this day to what once was the *Archiv für die gesammte Physiologie des Menschen und der Thiere* by the name of its long-time editor, namely, as *Pflüger's Archiv* (officially, it is now the *European Journal for Physiology*). I thus felt I needed to strike a balance between scholarly accuracy and certain habits deeply ingrained by practitioners in the field. Consequently, in the bibliography below I use

(1) (*Dubois'*) *Archiv für Physiologie*

as short for

(1') *Archiv für Anatomie und Physiologie. Physiologische Abtheilung: Archiv für Physiologie*

and use

(2) *Zeitschrift für Sinnesphysiologie*

as short for

(2') *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane. II. Abteilung: Zeitschrift für Sinnesphysiologie*

and

(3) *Zeitschrift für Psychologie*

as short for

(3') *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane. I. Abteilung: Zeitschrift für Psychologie*

Neither one should be confused with the *Zeitschrift für Psychologie und Physiologie der Sinnesorgane*. Furthermore, some journals incorporated to their names the name of their long-time editor after he had deceased. For example, the *Archiv für Ophthalmologie* became *Albrecht von Graefe's Archiv für Ophthalmologie* in 1871 (same for *Pflüger's Archiv*, which changed its name in 1910 between nos 131 and 132). In these cases, I list the editor's name in parentheses regardless of whether or not the name change had already

occurred. More subtle changes I leave to the so disposed reader to discover for him- or herself. Beyond the journals already mentioned above, I systematically combed through the following:

*Centralblatt für die medicinischen Wissenschaften*: 13 (1875)—53 (1915),  
*Centralblatt für Physiologie*: 1 (1887)—34 (1921), and  
*Die Naturwissenschaften*: 1 (1913)—18 (1930).

This includes their predecessor and successor journals (not all listed here) in the relevant period.

Additional journals were searched based on availability or when there was some initial suspicion that justified a tangent.

### 3.5 Template

The template I use to display bibliographical information for each item should conform to standard practices and not cause any problems. The initial “ID tag,” composed of year of publication plus lower case letter and which uniquely identifies each item, is also used for cross-references among entries. The first tag in any year is bolded to add a modicum of structure to an otherwise long list.

Controversial may the ontological question be as to what actually constitutes an individual entry.<sup>11</sup> Here I took guidance from potential scholarly use. There will be occasions where I want to distinguish between a first and second edition of the same piece; therefore, I make them different (while cross-linked) entries. Likewise, there will be occasions where I want to refer to specific additions JvK made to individual sections of Helmholtz’s *Optics*; therefore, I turned all of them into individual entries. I cannot, however, conceive of a situation where I need an article more separate from its correction (printed later in the same journal) than what their different page numbers already tell. Therefore, I made those a single bibliographical item.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The main reason to belabor the obvious is that Lorenz (1996) decided otherwise on almost all occasions.

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