

A Quest for the Universal

—George Turnbull's Conception of Painting (2)—

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要約

普遍への追究 —ジョージ・ターンバルの絵画論研究(2)—

浜下¹⁾ 昌宏

[承前] ターンバル (George Turnbull, 1698-1748) における普遍的原理の追究を彼の絵画論において跡付けてみる。彼によれば、絵画は、理論的独善なしに自然を忠実に再現するゆえに人間の作法・情動・行為・性格の良き範例を示し、人類愛の道徳的教育の手段となる。それゆえ、絵画は道徳哲学の一部である。学問的・哲学的真理を伝える手段として言語があり、その意味でより明証的・具体的に真理を伝える絵画はひとつの言語でもある。画像の万人普遍性も強調される。絵画の道徳的側面は歴史画のみならず、風景画によっても達成される。もとより、ターンバルは自然哲学と道徳哲学との統合をめざす。自然世界と道徳世界との類比性はその根拠であり、人間の美的感覚は両者において作用する。美の原理は、普遍的に統一のなかの多様である。それゆえ、自然を描く風景画と、道徳を描く歴史画は、絵画の二大ジャンルである。風景画には自然法則が再現されて自然の可視的美的範例を示し、歴史画は道徳性の範例を示す。絵画によって、模倣そのものの快と、再現された範例の美に快を覚える。こうして範例を示す絵画は「実験」と見なされるが、自然科学的な実験概念とは若干意味を異にしている。しかし、観察の経験に基づき、ある目的に即した最適例・典型を求める意味では、自然科学の実験の場合と目的は同様である。こうして絵画が、画像の普遍性や模倣の快の普遍性、さらに自然と道徳とを統合する普遍性に寄与していることは確かであるとしても、ターンバルは表現対象の持つ歴史的・社会的・文化的特殊性を看過しており、その点では普遍の探求としての絵画は挫折するであろう。

Introduction: the context and access to Turnbull's aesthetics

A. Life and career

B. Remarks on Turnbull by his contemporaries

C. The subscribers

D. Access to *Treatise*

I. Cues for the universal

A. Philhellenism

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II. Conception of painting

A. Painting for moral education

B. Analogy between the natural and the moral: integration of natural philosophy and moral philosophy

C. Two genres of painting

D. Painting as experiment

Conclusion

【 II. Conception of Painting】

[A. Painting for moral education]

How can painting contribute to education for the love of mankind? If it can, what is the ground reason for its accomplishment when the painting in origin is specifically a limited image, and on the other hand the idea of moral education is naturally abstract and universal? To get an answer to those questions, we may need both theoretical and technical aspects of painting. However, in this paper, what I will treat is Turnbull's general idea of painting.

Shaftesbury, Turnbull's predecessor, already thought of the idea of painting for moral education, i.e. moral teaching through illustrations of allegorical 'history painting'⁵², which must be created according to theoretical ideas and whose motifs are derived from classical literature. To him, painting belongs to a second character, which is the title of his last book published posthumously, while a language is a first character. So a painter is required to be at the same time to some extent a man of letters, and to have historical, classical knowledge so as to produce an excellent history painting for moral education.

Then how about Turnbull's conception of liberal education through [ancient] painting? The ancients are thought to have accomplished ideal models of painting and so they themselves are models for the moderns. His principal idea about fine arts is that human nature can be learned better through them. He says: "Human Nature may be better and more securely learned from their Representations, than from mere Systems of Philosophy, for a Reason that hath not yet been mentioned; because both Poets and Painters exhibit Affections and Characters as they conceive, or rather as they feel them, without suffering themselves to be byassed by any Scheme or Hypothesis. They follow the

Impulse of Nature, and paint as she dictates: Whereas the Philosophy has often a favourite Supposition in View, and is thereby tempted to strain and wiredraw every Appearance into a Congruity with, if not a Confirmation of his peculiar System."⁵³

He means artists have the advantage of being faithful to nature. In effect, as he put it, "good moral Painting, whether by Words, or by the Pencil, are proper Samples in moral Philosophy, and ought therefore to be employed in teaching it, for the same Reason that Experiments are made use of in teaching natural Philosophy. And this is as certain, as that Experiments or samples of Manners, Affections, Actions, and Characters, must belong to moral Philosophy, and be proper Samples for evincing and enforcing its Doctrines; for such are moral Paintings."⁵⁴ In this passage also noteworthy is his comparison between samples in moral philosophy and experiments in natural philosophy. Thus, painting can be a part of moral philosophy. This is the first principle of Turnbull's concept of painting, which means 'the noble use of painting'. He says, "And thus I should have had Pictures for all the noble Uses of Painting; to preserve the Memory of Friends . . . ; to instruct me in the profoundest Secrets of the Human Heart. . . . Pictures to inforce the sublimest purest Doctrines of moral philosophy, and true Religion."⁵⁵

Next, he treats painting as a mode of 'language', not only for decoration, but for strengthening and embellishing the truth. I would like to call this the second principle of his idea of painting. "Now, if these arts [poetry, sculpture, painting] be languages by which useful truths, or agreeable ideas and sentiments may be conveyed into the mind, or may be pleasantly expressed, they are certainly worth our understanding as such, and instruction in them ought not to be neglected in truly liberal education."⁵⁶

Turnbull uses the term 'language' in a wider sense, meaning a means or medium. Talking of contents of education, he says, "all that can belong to education may be reduced to these two general heads, science and languages. But that I have used language in its justest, as well as most comprehensive meaning, will be obvious to every one who but reflects, that there can be but two objects of human enquiry; truth themselves, i.e. real connexions in nature or facts, and the various manners of making truths understood and felt. Under science then we comprehend all truths or facts relating to the natural world, or to human nature, which can be discerned by experience or inferred from experiments, and by comparing properties known by experience one with another. So that we may divide science into natural and moral, and both into experimental and abstract; experimental which infers facts and rules from experiences; abstract, which shews what properties may, must, or cannot co-exist."⁵⁷ And he goes on, "Besides these, there plainly remains no other subject of enquiry to us, but the different methods of expressing, embellishing, or enforcing and recommending truths discovered by either these ways in either kind: And such methods we call in one word languages; under this idea, the didactic stile, oratory, poetry, and likewise all the arts of design, statuary, sculpture, painting, plainly fall."⁵⁸ Turnbull is interested in the relation between arts and representations of truths. "And therefore, if right education ought to teach and instruct first of all, or chiefly in truths, but next in the various good methods or arts of expressing or conveying truths into the mind, no sooner is a pupil led into the discovery of any truth,

than he ought to be employed in comparing and examining several different ways, by which it may be unfolded, explained, cleared up, proved, adorned, beautified, or enforced, and recommended by oratory, poetry, or painting."⁵⁹

Then, what are the specific merits of painting in moral education? He says, "For to apply this general observation to painting, which at first sight appears, and is commonly reckoned so remote from philosophy, nothing is more evident, than that pictures, which neither convey into the mind ideas of material laws, and their effects and appearances, nor moral truths, i.e. moral sentiments and corresponding affections, have no meaning at all; they convey nothing, because there is nothing else to be taught or conveyed."⁶⁰

As to painting as a language, claiming the universal nature of pictorial images, he says, "such a language is, as far as it can go, an universal one, the signs it uses being universal signs of nature's establishment, the meanings of which never vary, but remain in all countries, and always the same."⁶¹

In this way, he argues for the universal character of painting.

Here, if we distinguish again the difference between Shaftesbury's idea of painting and that of Turnbull's, we may say that Shaftesbury was really a man with a classical mind, so he insists on the priority of the language in a strict sense, which is, according to him, a first character. Therefore, he values highly 'history painting' among genres of paintings, which will contribute to moral education through illustrative descriptions. In addition, Shaftesbury's disregard of natural philosophy might also lead to his preference of 'history painting' for moral educational use.

On the other hand, Turnbull uses the term 'language' in a wider sense and never discriminates words and pictures, both of which are included in 'language'. And what is more important, he appreciates natural philosophy and tries to integrate it with moral philosophy. From this standpoint we will be able to understand the third principle of his idea of painting: high evaluation of two genres of paintings. But before proceeding to this argument, in order to know his supposition for dividing two genres of paintings, I will treat his analogy between the natural and the moral.

[B. Analogy between the natural and the moral; Integration of natural philosophy and moral philosophy]

Turnbull says, "One of the most pleasant and entertaining Speculations in Philosophy is the universal Analogy that prevails throughout Nature: The Analogy between the natural and moral World in every respect. 'Tis this Analogy that lays the foundation . . . for what is principal in the Works of Genius, the cloathing moral Objects with sensible Images, or the giving them Bodies, Shapes, and Forms in Description, Sculpture, and Painting."⁶² He goes on extending the idea of analogy: "But this Analogy between the natural and moral World reaches much farther; and indeed if it did not, Man would necessarily be incapable of one of his noblest Pleasures; for unless there was such a Similitude or Analogy between the natural and moral World, that all Objects of the later [sic] sort may be painted under Images taken from the former, we could not at all have any Intercourse or Communication with one another about moral things."⁶³

From these passages we may presume his idea as to how moral painting can be possible. To him, the natural world is not devoid of meaning and natural philosophy will not deprive the natural world of moral values, unlike Pascal's fears:

Moreover, Turnbull conceives another analogy which must be found in our intellectual powers: analogy between sense of beauty in natural things and moral sense of beauty, which is the basis of the other analogy of the natural and the moral. He says, "there is a strict Analogy between our Sense of Beauty in sensible Objects, and our moral Sense of Beauty in Affections, Actions and Characters. So nearly are these related, or so intimately are they blended together in our Natures, that he who hath any Taste of Beauty in sensible Forms, any Notion of Harmony, Regularity and Unity in Bodies, must necessarily be led to transfer that sense to moral Objects: And therefore if such a one is dissolute or irregular in his Conduct, he must live at continual variance with himself, and in downright contradiction to what he delights in and highly admires in other Subjects. So strictly, so nearly are those two Senses allied to one another, that it is hardly possible to speak of moral Objects in any other Language, than that which expresses the Beauties of the other kind."⁶⁴

Thus he goes on, "And in explaining these moral Qualities, they are constantly referring to those which are analogous to them in sensible Forms, and in the Productions of Fancy and Genius in Imitations of Nature."⁶⁵

Furthermore, he explains the analogy between the two different worlds in terms of aesthetic experience of pleasure. According to him, "Beauty in its first Meaning signifies a Satisfaction which certain visible Objects are adapted to give to the Sight; and it is fitly applied to denote a similar Satisfaction which certain moral Objects are equally adapted to give to the Understanding or Eye of the Mind, because of the Similarity of the Pleasures perceived, and because of their Analogy in all other respects."⁶⁶ Such analogical arguments by Turnbull show Shaftesbury's influence on him.⁶⁷

And also to him, the principle of beauty is 'variety amidst uniformity', which suggests Hutcheson's influence on his thought. "For as by Induction, in the former case it is found to be the Regularity of Objects that gives that Satisfaction; or, in other words, that whatever Object of Sense gives it is a regular Whole, that hath Variety amidst Uniformity; and it is also found, that Usefulness is always connected with Regularity and Beauty: So in the later [sic] case by Induction it is likewise found, that the same Connexions take place with regard to every moral Object that is pleasing and agreeable to our Contemplation: These also are regular Objects, or have Variety with Unity, and are in like manner profitable or useful."⁶⁸ And thus arguing for utilitarian concept of beauty, he goes on to say: "The Perception of Pleasure called Beauty in both cases is distinct from the Reflexion upon Unity, or upon Regularity and Unity; it is perceived immediately, or at first sight previously to all Consideration of these Concomitants. These Connexions between Beauty, Regularity and Utility, are found out afterwards by Enquiry; and it is because they are discovered to take place in many Examples, and no contradictory Instance appears, that it is established into an universal Canon by Induction, agreeably to all the Rules of Philosophy and good Reasoning; that whatever is beautiful in the moral,

as well as in the natural, or sensible World, is regular, hath Unity of Design, or Variety with Uniformity, and is useful."⁶⁹ Turnbull's ideas that aesthetic perception is intuitive by nature and that utility is the principle of beauty reflect the influence of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson.

[C. Two genres of painting]

Distinguishing the two genres of paintings, he tries to relate philosophy with paintings, saying "if we consider what Philosophy is, we shall yet more fully perceive what excellent Use may be made of the Arts of Design in Education; if teaching either natural or moral Philosophy in the properest Manner be any Part of its Aim and Scope. Philosophy is rightly divided into natural and moral; and in like manner, Pictures are of two Sorts, natural and moral: The former belong to natural, and the other to moral Philosophy. For if we reflect upon the End and Use of Samples or Experiments in Philosophy, it will immediately appear that Pictures are such, or that they must have the same Effect."⁷⁰

And the most remarkable is his estimation of landscape painting in relation to natural philosophy. "What are Landscapes and View of Nature, but Samples of Nature's visible Beauties, and for that Reason Samples and Experiments in natural Philosophy? And moral Pictures, or such as represent Parts of human Life, Men, Manners, Affections, and Characters; are they not Samples of moral Nature, or of the Laws and Connexions of the moral World, and therefore Samples or Experiments in moral Philosophy?"⁷¹ In this passage we can take notice of his terminology of 'samples' and 'experiments', which I will take up again later.

And He proceeds, "In examining the one, we act the Part of the natural Philosopher; and in examining the other, our Employment is truly moral; because it is impossible to judge of the one, or of the other, without comparing them with the Originals from which they are taken, that is, with Nature: Now what is Philosophy but the Study of Nature?"⁷² In turn, this passage reminds us of the classical imitation theory of art. From the concept of painting as a copy of nature, his argument goes on to show the merit of painting. That is, study of nature through painting will enable the mind to get deep and double enjoyment of nature. He says, "And as for the Advantage of studying Nature by means of Copies, 'tis evident: For not only does the double Employment of the Mind, in comparing a Copy with the Original, yield a double Satisfaction to the Mind; but by this comparing Exercise, the Original is brought, as it were, nearer to our View, and kept more steadily before us, till both Original and Copy are fully examined and comprehended: The Mind is pleased to perceive an Object thus doubled, as it were, by Reflexion; its Curiosity is excited narrowly to canvass the resemblance; and thus it is led to give a closer and more accurate Attention to the Original itself."⁷³ What are pointed out here are the pleasure of imitation and the attention to the original through painted examples. In such case, picture will play a role to orient the viewer's attention to the original. This role may deserve to be called 'example'.

[Landscape painting]

Turnbull classifies landscape paintings into an exact copy of landscape and an imaginary one. Two texts can be shown as follows.

〈A. exact copy〉 : “If Pictures of natural Beauties are exact Copies of some particular Parts of Nature, or done after them, as they really happened in Nature; they are in that case no more than such Appearances more accurately preserved by Copies of them, than they can be by Imagination and Memory, in order to their being contemplated and examined as frequently and as seriously as we please. 'Tis the same as preserving fine thoughts and Sentiments by Writing, without trusting to Memory, that they may not be lost. This is certainly too evident to be insisted upon.”⁷⁴

〈B. imaginary〉 : “On the other hand, if Landscapes are not copied from any particular Appearances and Laws, being composed by combining together such scattered Beauties of Nature as make a beautiful Whole; even in this case, the Study of Pictures is still the Study of Nature itself: For if Composition be agreeable to Nature's settled Laws and Proportions, it may exist: And all such Representations shew what Nature's Laws would produce in supposed Circumstances.”⁷⁵

Therefore, “The former Sort may therefore be called a Register of Nature, and the latter a Supplement to Nature, or rather to the Observers and Lovers of Nature. And in both Cases Landscapes are Samples or Experiments in natural Philosophy: Because they serve to fix before our Eyes beautiful Effects of Nature's Laws, till we have fully admired them, and accurately considered the Laws from which such visible Beauties and Harmonies result.”⁷⁶

[Historical or moral Pictures]

Next, as for history painting, he says, “historical or moral Pictures, which must immediately be acknowledged, in Consequence of the very Definition of them, to be proper samples and Experiments in teaching human Nature and moral Philosophy. For what are historical Pictures, but Imitations of Parts of human Life, Representations of Characters and Manners? And are not such Representations Samples or Specimens in moral Philosophy, by which any Part of human Nature, or of the moral World, may be brought near to our View, and fixed before us, till it is fully compared with nature itself, and is found to be a true Image, and consequently to point out some moral Conclusion with complete Force of Evidence?”⁷⁷ Moral painting is, in a sense, a mirror of oneself which urges self-reflection. “ The Design of moral Pictures is, therefore, by that Means, to shew us to ourselves; to reflect our Image upon us, in order to attract our Attention the more closely to it, and to engage us in Conversation with ourselves, and an accurate Consideration of our Make and Frame.”⁷⁸

What is the necessity for painters to select their motifs and compose their ideas? He argues, “as certain delicate Vessels in the human Body cannot be discerned by the naked Eye, but must be magnified, in order to be rendered visible; so, without the Help of Magnifiers, not only several nice Parts of our moral Fabrick would escape our Observation, but no Features, no Characters of whatever kind, would be sufficiently attended to. Now the Imitative Arts become Magnifiers in the moral way, by means of chusing those

Circumstances which are properest to exhibit the Workings and Consequences of Affections, in the strongest Light that may be, or to render them most striking and conspicuous.”⁷⁹ Thus, imitative arts as magnifiers lead to function as moral education.

[D. Painting as Experiment]

From what I have argued, we can understand that Turnbull uses terminology somewhat unique for his time. Two of them are ‘language’ and ‘experiment’, the former of which I already mentioned above. More interesting is his usage of ‘experiment’ meaning example or model. This concept of ‘experiment’ in his idea can be called the fourth principle of painting.

We already read several uses of the term ‘experiment’ in his texts I quoted.

First of all, if possible, we should clarify the different status between experience and experiment. In fact, speaking of educational instructions which he learns from the experience of others and his own, Turnbull says, “I say from experience, because, as with regard to the culture of plants or flowers, sure rules can only be drawn from experiment; so, for the same reason, there can be no rules concerning education but those which are founded on the experimental knowledge of human nature.”⁸⁰

And he consistently emphasizes experience and observation. For instance, he says, “Experience must precede every art, because it is experience alone that can lead to any art.”⁸¹ But even this phrase is only an echo of Aristotle’s thought. He seems not to define ‘experience’ explicitly distinguishing it from ‘experiment’. But he seems to be suggesting about it in a somewhat satisfactory way.

Coming back to texts I referred to above, we can make sure that he is saying those samples in moral philosophy correspond to experiments in natural philosophy.⁸² Also he says, “we comprehend all truths or facts relating to the natural world, or human nature, which can be discerned by experience or inferred from experiments”.⁸³ And we remember the impressive sentence telling that landscape paintings are examples of nature’s visible beauties and thus samples and experiments in natural philosophy. Similarly, history paintings mean to him samples and experiments in moral philosophy.⁸⁴

Then, what ideas are implied in his terminology of ‘experiment’?

We may suppose at least from the passages above mentioned that ‘experiment’ is a sample or model chosen by some artist or philosopher which represents the beautiful or typical part of nature. Therefore ‘experiment’ implies the meaning of paradigm. It can be defined as the concrete or the particular verified by experience and observation, the concrete which suggests some Idea, or the Idea-led concreteness to lead experience and observation in a correct, educational direction.

By the way, the experiment, which is antithesis to the magisterial, depends on belief in human powers of experience and observation and thus in human universality. And if I am right in understanding in such a way, his repudiation of the magisterial must be a necessary effect of ideas of the Enlightenment.

On the other hand, ‘experiment’ easily recalls the connection or knowledge of natural philosophy of modern age. And already at the modern age, Newton suggested the

possibility of extending the concept of 'experiment' to moral philosophy, saying "if natural Philosophy in all its Parts, by pursuing this Method, shall at length be perfected, the Bounds of Moral Philosophy will be also enlarged".⁸⁵ And we know the famous formulation in Hume's *«A Treatise of Human Nature»* (1739), whose subtitle is 'Being an Attempt to introduce the Experimental Method of reasoning into Moral Subjects'.

On the other hand, Alexander Gerard says, in his *«An Essay on Genius»* (1774), "The phenomena of the mind have not so great stediness of existence, as the qualities of bodies. It is impossible to make experiments so purposely on the understanding or the passions, to pursue them so deliberately, or to repeat them so easily, as on material things."⁸⁶

In contrast, Turnbull's concept of 'experiment' is enlarged and represents somewhat optimism about nature in general and belief in progress of knowledge based on experience and observation. And most important of all is his intention to integrate natural philosophy and moral philosophy through the concept of 'experiment'.

In addition, his phihellenistic ideas can be explained in terms of his concept of 'experiment'. Turnbull thinks of Greek culture as a 'sample' for human culture. In the same way he thinks about the meaning of painting. Apparently, Turnbull uses the word 'experiment' differently from Newton and other contemporary thinkers who were exclusively attached to accomplishments of modern natural sciences. He seems to imply the old meaning 'example' in modern use of 'experiment'.⁸⁷

【Conclusion】

If we are reminded here of Hogarth's mockery of Turnbull's *«Treatise»* in *«Beer Street»*, the intention of Hogarth can be interpreted as his claim that painting should be for moral description. In his case, 'moral' signifies another meaning which leads to so-called 'genre painting' describing realism of social life. According to the 'civic humanism' theory of painting⁸⁸, the art theories by Shaftesbury and Turnbull that seek the possibility of moral education for the love of mankind through painting only appeal to the privileged classes who secure their own property. Indeed such interpretations may reveal an ideological aspect of their art theories. This being so, the idea of the universal by Turnbull would mean only a specific one relatively limited in historical and social class ideology. Then, universality is nothing but an illusion. *«Beer Street»* may represent Hogarth's criticism against the illusion Turnbull might have. However this line of interpretation is not my interest here, because it cannot explain about the meaning of Turnbull's art theory. Four principles in his idea of painting we enumerated must still be noteworthy. As *«Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary»* rightly tells that one of the greatest contributions Turnbull left us must be his ideas on 'the interconnections in knowledge', so his aesthetics also requires explaining in respect to that. We can admit that according to his theoretical scheme painting is well located in humanities.

I tried to interpret his theoretical development, paralleling his career, in terms of inquiry into the universal.

Of course, his eagerness to educate young people for the love of mankind means

transcending the local or national consciousness of a Scot or a Briton. And his philhellenism implies the common basis for universality at least among the Europeans.

Then, how about our main concern about his aesthetics, i. e. his conception of painting? Is it possible to think of painting as a universal language?

He says, painting appropriate for moral education is universal, and “the signs it uses being universal signs of nature’s establishment, the meanings of which never vary, but remain in all countries, and always the same.”⁸⁹ According to him, we can experience three degrees of pleasure through painting. First is concerned with ‘the Agreement of the Copy with the Original’ and the second degree of pleasure is ‘the Objects themselves described are great, surprising, or beautiful’, in other words, it is a delight with the Original itself.⁹⁰ Namely, pleasure of imitation and that of the object are specific to painting. Further, the pleasure of the object has two orders: “in Painting, it is pleasant to look on the Picture of any Face, when the Resemblance is hit; but the pleasure increases, if it be the Picture of a Face that is beautiful; and is still greater if the Beauty be soften’d by an Air of Melancholy and Sorrow.”⁹¹

In these orders, the first can be universal in any people, because the agreement of the copy with the original is purely formal regardless of its content or diversity. But the second straightforwardly implies interpretation of or taste for the content of the object described. The meaning of content depends on historical, local, national or individual interpretations. It never claims universality. And also the third degree must be a matter of taste, because it is the base of style. Therefore, seemingly, painting may claim universality, but as far as Turnbull’s idea of painting is concerned, it seems to fail to clarify it, perhaps owing to the very passion for the Enlightenment.

NOTES

- 52) Cf. Shaftesbury, *Second Characters or the Language of Forms*, Cambridge, 1914; also see my *18 seiki Igirisu Bigakusi Kenkyu* (Studies on Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetics), Tokyo, 1993, Chap.2, D.
- 53) Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting* [hereafter TA], p. 148.
- 54) *ibid.*
- 55) *ibid.*, p. 169; cf. p. 2.
- 56) Turnbull, *Observations upon Liberal Education* [hereafter *Observations*], p. 439.
- 57) *Observations*, p. 421.
- 58) *ibid.*
- 59) *ibid.*
- 60) *ibid.*, p.421f.—these sentences are all the same as those in TA, p. ix. This fact suggests Turnbull’s rough way of making books, though he was really a prolific author.
- 61) *ibid.*, p.421 = TA, p. ix.
- 62) TA, p. 138.
- 63) *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 64) *ibid.*, p. 138.
- 65) *ibid.*
- 66) *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 67) As for the meaning of analogical arguments in Turnbull’s thought, see D.F.Norton, “George

Turnbull and the Furniture of the Mind", *JHI*, 36 (1975), p. 705f.

- 68) *ibid.*
- 69) *ibid.*
- 70) *ibid.*, p. 145.
- 71) *ibid.*
- 72) *ibid.*
- 73) *ibid.*
- 74) *ibid.*
- 75) *ibid.*, p. 145f.
- 76) *ibid.*, p. 146.
- 77) *ibid.*, p. 146f.
- 78) *ibid.*, p. 147.
- 79) *ibid.*
- 80) *Observations*, p. 1.
- 81) *ibid.*, p. 395.
- 82) Cf. TA, p. 148.
- 83) *Observations*, p. 421.
- 84) Cf. TA, p. 147.
- 85) Newton, *Opticks*, 4th ed. London, 1730, p. 381.
- 86) Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius*, London, 1774, p. 2.
- 87) Cf. OED, art. <experiment>, 6, which explains 'practical proof; a specimen, an example', indicating this meaning is now out of use. To clarify the equivocal meaning of 'experiment' in Turnbull's terminology, I am preparing another paper.
- 88) Cf. Barrell, 1986; Solkin, 1992.
- 89) *Observations*, p. 422.
- 90) Cf. TA, p. 74.
- 91) TA, p. 74.

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