

IN THE TWILIGHT OF DOOYEWEERD'S CORPUS:
The Publishing History of *In The Twilight of Western Thought*
and the Future of Dooyeweerd Studies

PAUL OTTO¹

When it comes to studying the ideas of Herman Dooyeweerd as found in the volume *In the Twilight of Western Thought: Studies in the Pretended Autonomy of Philosophical Thought*, one should be tempted to ask, Will the real Herman Dooyeweerd please stand up? Under normal circumstances, it would seem unnecessary to ask such a question about a volume which is one of Dooyeweerd's best-known works in English. Based upon lectures given in North America in 1958, it is often identified as the best English-language introduction by Dooyeweerd to his own system of thought.² However, *In the Twilight* has appeared in three separate editions, none of which are explicitly or clearly enough related to each of the others or to the original lectures which they are supposed to represent. In short, this is a question of provenance. No, there is no doubt that the substance of the work is Dooyeweerd's. Yet, none of the editions sufficiently identifies the relationship these essays had to previous editions or to the original lectures, the nature of the lectures themselves (exactly when and where they took place), and what role Dooyeweerd had in bringing the lectures to publication or seeing them later revised. Some 45 years distant from the original publication, some of these questions can be answered, but not all. Nevertheless, they should not be ignored. For *In the Twilight of Western Thought* to be valuable in the present-day to readers interested in Dooyeweerd's thought, what little can be established concerning the editorial process must be made known and the remaining uncertainties of its publication and revision history must be publicly established. Furthermore, differences between the editions must also be catalogued and made accessible to readers of his work. The purpose of this essay is to document the history of the lectures, their initial publication, and revisions. Secondly, this essay includes a catalog of the differences between the various editions. As the publishing history of *In the Twilight of Western Thought* makes evident, in order for the work of Herman Dooyeweerd to continue to have influence, his published and unpublished works must be carefully catalogued, their provenance clearly determined, and the publishing, translation, and revision history of each carefully delineated.

¹ My thanks to John Mahaffy, Keith C. Sewell, Harry Van Dyke, Samuel van Houte, Bruce Wearne, and the anonymous reader with *Philosophia Reformata* for assistance at various stages of this project.

² Dooyeweerd's thought is developed most fully in *Der Wijsbegeerte der Wetsidee*, 3 volumes (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1935-36); revised English edition: *A New Critique of Theoretical Thought*, 4 volumes (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris and Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1953-1958).

In 1958, Herman Dooyeweerd made a lecture circuit throughout North America.³ It is difficult today to find people who actually remember Dooyeweerd's tour of the United States and Canada, but archival records and secondary sources make it possible to document his visit. Dooyeweerd was brought to North America under the auspices of the Reformed Fellowship. He gave a variety of lectures throughout Canada and the United States from British Columbia and Alberta to California, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts. In Canada he spoke at the University of Toronto, McGill University, and the Sixth Calvinistic Rally in Calgary. In the United States he spoke at the Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, and Boston Universities, Western Seminary, Calvin College and Seminary, Westminster Seminary, and Gordon and Wheaton Colleges. He also spoke in churches, addressed philosophy clubs, met with student groups, and interacted with a variety of scholars.⁴ Dooyeweerd presented lectures on five topics: "Who is Man?," "The Necessary Presuppositions of Philosophical Thought," "The Criteria of Reactionary and Progressive Tendencies in History," "The Theologian and the Philosopher," and "Democracy and the Totalitarian State."⁵

These lectures, except for the last listed, formed the basis of the volume titled *In the Twilight of Western Thought: Studies in the Pretended Autonomy of Western Thought* which was published in 1960 by the Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company and copyrighted in the publishing house's name. The chapter titles differed somewhat from the lecture titles and were published in this order: two chapters on "The Pretended Autonomy of Philosophical Thought," two chapters on "The Sense of History and the Historical World and Life View," three chapters on "Philosophy and History," and one chapter, "What is Man?" It is rarely appreciated that this volume represented those lectures. The foreword, written by Rousas Rushdoony, does make passing reference to the lectures but offers no additional details. The dust jacket of the original cloth-bound edition makes clear the relation of the book to the original lectures, but unfortunately, the cloth-bound edition can rarely be

³ The first two editions of *In the Twilight* incorrectly identify 1959 as the year of Dooyeweerd's lecture tour, but it is absolutely clear from the archival evidence that his visit to North America took place in 1958 (see following note).

⁴ This list is not necessarily exhaustive since no complete itinerary of his travels has yet been uncovered. In addition to the information found in Marcel E. Verburg, *Herman Dooyeweerd: Leven en Werk van een Nederlands Christen-Wijsgeer* (TenHave: Passage, 1989), 346-347, evidence from his travels comes from a variety of sources. Most of this itinerary can be documented from the Herman Dooyeweerd Papers, Historical Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism, which includes correspondence, hand-written notes, church bulletins, and itineraries. In researching archival and library materials, I was assisted by Grace Mullen at the Westminster Theological Seminary Library, Richard H. Harms at Heritage Hall of Calvin College, and George Harinck and K.D. Houniet at the Historical Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism at the Free University Amsterdam. Additional information: on the dust jacket of 1960 edition of *In The Twilight of Western Thought*; Ronald Jager, "Dooyeweerd and the Irony of Rationalism, Part (I)," *The Reformed Journal* 14 (September 1964), 9; advertisement, *Torch & Trumpet* 8, 2 (May-June 1958), 11; announcement, *The Presbyterian Guardian* 27, 8 (September 15, 1958), 126; Norman Shepherd, "Dooyeweerd's Visit to Westminster," *The Presbyterian Guardian* 27, 10 (15 November 1958), 147.

⁵ Verburg, *Herman Dooyeweerd*, 347.

found with the original dust jacket.⁶ In fact, one review of the book, which appeared less than two years after Dooyeweerd's visit to the United States, revealed the reviewer's assumption that the essays were translated from Dutch into English—one of the reasons the reviewer gave for the difficulty of the prose. (Another reviewer, who actually heard the lectures, demurred from this opinion and commented on Dooyeweerd's command of the English language during his oral presentations).⁷

The general ignorance concerning the relationship of the book to the lectures is the first indication of the problems of working with *In the Twilight*. Those who have the benefit of the information found on the dust jacket, however, will learn of "his extensive lecture tour through the United States and Canada." They will learn as well that "Dooyeweerd's American lectures were sponsored by the Reformed Fellowship," that "his itinerary included many leading universities," and that "this book contains the basic lectures given on this trip." Last they will learn, at least in part, the answer to the question which needs to be asked of the volume (and sometimes is): who edited it for publication? The answer is that "Dr. Henry Van Til, professor at Calvin College, aided in [the lectures'] preparation for publication." There is, however, no indication from within the volume concerning its origins — no introduction from the author, no explanatory note, and no preface by the editor.

More information, however, can be found concerning this first edition. In Herman Dooyeweerd's papers, correspondence from C.H. Craig of the Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company yet exist. In this one-sided correspondence⁸ we learn that Mr. Craig had been approached concerning the publication of Dooyeweerd's lectures and that at the time of his first letter to Dooyeweerd, 2 May 1959, he had in his possession six of Dooyeweerd's hand-written lectures. He also noted the need for these to be typewritten and edited before undertaking typesetting. Mr. Craig laid forth several options including the proffered assistance by Henry van Til. The following two letters — 23 June 1959 and 23 September 1959 — make it clear that Van Til did indeed undertake the task of typing and editing the lectures and that Dooyeweerd had agreed to their publication. The first of these also makes

⁶ I consulted (or had consulted for me) 15 cloth-bound copies held by libraries or individuals. I found only one copy with the original dust jacket. Three others had clippings from the dust jacket included or pasted inside. When I interviewed Keith Sewell concerning his copy, he informed me that he bought his copy brand new from a book dealer but without a dust jacket. My thanks to Russ Reeves for checking the Trinity Christian College library copy and to Harry van Dyke for his assistance in surveying colleagues at Redeemer University College with copies of the book. The one copy I found with an intact dust jacket is owned by Rev. Samuel van Houte, a member of my local church.

⁷ Isaac C. Rottenberg, Review of *In the Twilight of Western Thought*, *The Reformed Review* 15 (1961): 48-49; Jager, "Dooyeweerd and the Irony of Rationalism, Part (I)," *The Reformed Journal* 14 (September 1964): 9-13 and "Dooyeweerd and the Irony of Rationalism, Parts II & III," *The Reformed Journal* 14 (October 1964): 16-21. Other reviews include Th.L. Haitjema, *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 16 (1961): 63-65; Sytse U. Zuidema, *Philosophia Reformata* 26 (1961): 178-179; Gordon H. Clark, *Christianity Today* 4 (August 1960): 44-45.

⁸ Unfortunately, no records from this period remain at the Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company. Email correspondence with Bryce Craig, 12 April 2004.

reference to Rousas Rushdoony and his suggestion that another essay by Dooyeweerd be included in the volume (which apparently was not). The correspondence unfortunately does not reveal why one of the lectures, “Democracy and the Totalitarian State,” was not included.⁹

The reference to Rousas Rushdoony also sheds light upon another mystery: namely how and why Rushdoony — whose work in retrospect is not often associated with that of Dooyeweerd and his followers — came to write the Foreword to this work. While this evidence does not explain all the reasons for Rushdoony’s role in the project, it does remind us that Rushdoony, Craig, and Cornelius Van Til were all in correspondence with one another and that Rushdoony was clearly a disciple of Van Til. Today, many who embrace Van Til’s apologetics feel equally sanguine about the work of Rousas Rushdoony. It should also be noted that in 1958, many Americans who were familiar with Dooyeweerd knew of him through the work of Cornelius van Til. In fact, many Americans may not have understood the philosophical differences between Van Til and Dooyeweerd until after the Dutch philosopher’s 1958 lecture tour and the publication of *In the Twilight of Western Thought*.¹⁰

This summary should serve to document the provenance of the first edition, but one more piece of information should be added. One first edition volume examined in research for this essay was accompanied by an errata sheet, apparently produced by the publishing house, which detailed 19 errors in the first edition.¹¹ It seems doubtful that this errata sheet accompanied all copies of the first edition. Of the fifteen first editions consulted for this essay, only two were discovered with errata sheets. The owner of one of the volumes *sans* an errata sheet asserted that he purchased the volume new but did not receive an errata sheet.¹² For the most part, the errata sheet corrects misspellings. In some cases, the errata sheet itself contains errors. For example, seeking to correct the name “Edward Hesserl” on page five of the first edition, the errata sheet incorrectly indicates that “‘Edmund Husserl’ should read ‘Edward Husserl.’” While most errors in the errata sheet or those corrected by the errata sheet are relatively minor, one significant gaffe is identified: the misplacement of a whole paragraph from Chapter Three to Chapter Two.

⁹ Dooyeweerd to Henry van Til, 17 May 1959 in Henry van Til Papers, box 4, folder 6, Heritage Hall Collection no. 304; Craig to Dooyeweerd, 2 May 1959, in Dooyeweerd Papers; Craig to Dooyeweerd, 23 June 1959, in Dooyeweerd Papers; Craig to Dooyeweerd, 23 September 1959, in Dooyeweerd Papers. Also note that in the early stage of these negotiations, Dooyeweerd felt himself excluded from discussions about how his lectures would be published and by whom.

¹⁰ On the emerging appearance of differences between Dooyeweerd and Van Til, see, for example, Jager, “Dooyeweerd and the Irony of Rationalism, Part (I),” 9; and personal correspondence of Fred Klooster (?) to Cornelius van Til (?), undated, Dooyeweerd Papers. Also note D.H.Th. Vollenhoven’s summary of North American responses to Dooyeweerd’s lecture series in “Dooyeweerd’s Bezoek aan Amerika,” *Mededelingen van de vereniging voor Calvinistische wijsbegeerte* (Feb 1959): 8-10.

¹¹ This volume happened to be held in library of my current institution, George Fox University. The only other errata sheet I found in my searches was in the volume held by the University of Washington.

¹² Keith Sewell, personal correspondence.

In Chapter Two, titled “The Pretended Autonomy of Philosophical Thought — II,” the third paragraph of the first page of the chapter (beginning on the bottom of page 27 and continuing onto page 28) should be deleted and inserted between the first and second paragraphs of Chapter Three, titled “The Sense of History and the Historicistic World and Life View — I” (page 62). The paragraph itself reads

If this state of uprooting remains restricted to a transitional phase and does not consolidate into a mass-phenomenon which finds expression in a consistently carried through life and world view, it may be soon overcome. But when it turns out to have a deeper cause than the breakdown of the belief in tradition and to be the result of a process of increasing undermining of the ultimate spiritual fundamentals of a whole civilization, we may rightly speak of a fundamental crisis of the latter.¹³

This paragraph, when read in its proper context as the second paragraph of the third chapter, naturally flows from the last sentence of the first chapter which reads: “Those who had considered them the firm ground of their personal and societal life and do not live by the Word of God can then easily fall prey to a state of spiritual uprooting, in which they surrender themselves to a radical relativism, which has lost all faith in an absolute truth.”¹⁴ And the first sentence of the following paragraph naturally follows it with its reference to “a fundamental crisis of Western culture.”¹⁵

This is an intriguing error whose source has not yet been determined. Without a detailed record of the editorial process, one does not know whether the paragraph was misplaced by the author, the editor, or the publisher, nor does one know under whose authority the errata sheet sought to correct this. Given the elements of the process already determined, it is likely that during Henry van Til’s typing of the manuscript, certain pages of Dooyeweerd’s handwritten lectures were misordered. Such a mistake should have been caught by Dooyeweerd, but as the correspondence from C.H. Craig to Dooyeweerd makes clear, as late as 23 September 1959, Dooyeweerd had not returned the typescripts made by Van Til with Dooyeweerd’s own comments.¹⁶ It seems likely that the publisher went to press without Dooyeweerd’s feedback to the typed lectures and thus the responsibility for those errors was the publisher’s and the editor’s. Without further evidence, however, we can only speculate concerning this.

What also is not known is the exact origin of the errata sheet. Did the publisher first discover the errors, or did Dooyeweerd himself? Were they discovered before the book was first distributed or later? If we follow the theory already proposed concerning the misplaced paragraph, then it would seem likely that at the least Dooyeweerd was responsible for pointing out some of the errors in the first edition after finally reading the typed lectures. But whether this occurred before or after the initial distribution of the book and

¹³ 1960 edition, 27-28.

¹⁴ 1960 edition, 62.

¹⁵ 1960 edition, 62.

¹⁶ Craig to Dooyeweerd, 23 September 1959.

when the errata sheets began to be included with the volumes being sold remains unknown.¹⁷

In 1965, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing produced a new edition of *In the Twilight of Western Thought*. This paperback edition is the edition most commonly encountered by readers, due no doubt to its extensive reprintings. Sometimes referred to as simply a reprint, the edition itself claims to have been “revised for publication in the University Series (*Philosophical Studies*) of The Craig Press.” This statement appears at the end of the volume on a page titled “The Author.”¹⁸ It should first be noted that The Craig Press takes its name from C.H. Craig, the director of the Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company at the time and was created to provide a means by which to publish various Christian academic works with a scholarly audience in mind.¹⁹ At some point, Craig Press established the University Series (*Philosophical Studies*) under the editorship of Gordon H. Clark. In 1968, 1972, 1975, and 1980, Craig Press released subsequent reprints of *In the Twilight* with the only differences being the overall size of the volumes’ pages (the 1965 and 1968 printings had smaller overall dimensions than the 1972, 1975, and 1980 printings even though the printed area within each remained the same among all) and the changing list of books advertised inside the back cover (which was altogether absent from the 1980 reprint).

Many readers have presumed that the paperback editions were all simply reprints of the original 1960 cloth-bound edition.²⁰ There is good reason for later readers to assume that this volume is simply a reprint of the first edition. It essentially used the same typesetting, title page, and so forth. In fact, it is clear that for much of the book, the very same plates were used. Thus, the 1965 edition was not entirely reset from the original. However, a search for the inclusion of all the errata corrections from the first edition demonstrates that all corrections were in fact made to the 1965 edition. While in most cases this simply meant the deletion or addition of a character, there is the troubling problem of the misplaced paragraph in the first edition. It does not take long to discover that in the 1965 edition, the paragraph in question has been removed from Chapter two and properly placed in Chapter three. As a result, the placement of the text on pages 27 through 82 of the first and revised editions do not match. Furthermore, other changes were made. In conducting research for this essay, these additional changes were discovered using two techniques. First, the first edition and the 1965 edition were analyzed by comparing the first word of each line throughout both volumes.²¹ Whenever these

¹⁷ On this and similar questions, records from the publisher could prove enlightening. Unfortunately the Presbyterian and Reformed Press no longer has records from this period.

¹⁸ The publisher incorrectly identifies the title of the original edition as *The Twilight of Western Thought*.

¹⁹ Email correspondence, Bryce Craig, 12 April 2004.

²⁰ In fact, the editor of the latest edition makes this assumption and even fails to note the existence of the 1965 edition, the first printing of the revised edition. *In the Twilight of Western Thought* (Mellen, 1999), unnumbered page and page 133.

²¹ I used the 1980 reprint for the Revised Edition but have spot checked this against the other printings of the Revised Edition. Several George Fox University history department office staff helped with text comparisons, data entry, and detail checking on the chart below:

did not match, the change in text revealed by this search was noted. Second, after discovering that these changes were generally accompanied by slight differences in the quality and style of the typesetting, the whole 1965 edition was examined looking for similar typesetting indicators.²² This search yielded a few more minor word or spelling changes. In total, the Revised Edition includes 108 changes from the First Edition, or 89 changes in addition to those already anticipated from the errata sheet.

Herman Dooyeweerd's papers also reveal that these corrections were not likely undertaken by an editor, but were recommended by Dooyeweerd himself. As early as September 1963, C.H. Craig was corresponding with Dooyeweerd on the possibility of producing a revised edition of *In the Twilight of Western Thought*.²³ Mr. Craig attributed the errors of the first edition to "the fact that Henry Van Til's editing was so hard to follow." He recommended that Dooyeweerd take a "present copy" of the work "and mark ALL suggested changes and corrections." In his next letter (undated) to Dooyeweerd, Mr. Craig acknowledged receipt of the author's corrections "for the new edition of *Twilight of Western Thought*."²⁴ Thus the 1965 and following reprint editions represent a revised edition reflecting Dooyeweerd's own intentions for the manuscript.

In 1999, a third edition of *In the Twilight of Western Thought* appeared. This volume, edited by James K.A. Smith, was published as part of the *Collected Works of Herman Dooyeweerd*, Series B, Volume 4, under the general editorship of D.F.M. Strauss and published by the Edwin Mellen Press. The *Collected Works* edition represents yet a third distinct edition. The volume editor and general editor of the series assumed that the 1960 edition was authoritative and all other editions simply reprints of the first. Apparently without the benefit of the errata sheet, the editors used the original edition as a base text for their new edition.²⁵ Working with this text, the editor renamed and subdivided the chapters of this work and added labels to the subdivisions in order to "more accurately indicate the development of the argument and to break up the text

Stephanie Bishop, Jessica Bascom, Karlyn Fleming, Seth Martin, John Penewit, Brittany Quinn, and Rachel Sparks.

²² Research assistants made the initial check comparing the first word of each line of the first and revised editions. I double checked this work and examined the whole 1965 edition for the typesetting changes.

²³ Interestingly enough, the publisher uses the incorrect title of the book in his letter by omitting the "in" from the title. In the next letter he omits the "the."

²⁴ Craig to Dooyeweerd, 8 September 1963; Craig to Dooyeweerd, undated. Another letter from Bernard Zylstra to Dooyeweerd dated 7 December 1964 also notes the "second edition of *In the Twilight of Western Thought*."

²⁵ *In the Twilight of Western Thought* (Mellen, 1999), unnumbered page and page 133. James Smith explains that the original was electronically scanned in as a base text; email communication, 11 November 2004. Note however that many of the corrected typos and misspellings found in the Revised Edition also appear in the *Collected Works* edition. This may be explained by the editor's own editorial corrections or by the possibility that either the editor or the general editor consulted the revised edition while editing the scanned version of the original text. General editor Danie Strauss reports somewhat ambiguously that "we have used *Twilight* as a whole (without splitting it between the two editions)"; email correspondence, 20 December 2004.

into more manageable sections, particularly for use in teaching.” Further, the editor also added footnotes providing citations and background information for many of Dooyeweerd’s philosophical references in the text.²⁶

Finally, and most significantly, the editor and general editor chose to “employ . . . alternate wording from time to time to improve the readability and flow where this was feasible without altering in any way the sense of the original text.” Because the editors used the original edition without benefit of the errata sheet, however, this raises the thorny problem of the misplaced paragraph. And, indeed, the Collected Works edition of *In the Twilight of Western Thought* follows the incorrect example of the first edition by placing the paragraph on historicism in the chapter on the pretended autonomy of philosophical thought. But since the editors chose to “improve the readability and flow” of the text, this out-of-place paragraph proved a natural place to unwittingly apply an editorial hand.²⁷

As a result, the paragraph was revised to fit more naturally where the editors found it in Chapter Two. Following a discussion of “each attempt to grasp this ego in a logical concept,” the revised paragraph reads:

If the state of disorientation resulting from such attempts remains limited each time to a strictly transitional phase and does not turn into a widespread phenomenon that finds expression in some new aggressively persistent world- and life-view, it may soon be overcome. But when it turns out to be, in fact, the result of a process whereby the ultimate spiritual foundations of a while civilization are being increasingly undermined, we may rightly speak of a fundamental crisis in that civilization.²⁸

Other significant differences between this edition and earlier editions may also exist. Research for this essay did not include an exhaustive comparison between this text and the earlier two editions. Suffice it to say, however, that the text of this edition is distinct: it reflects not just Dooyeweerd’s words and ideas, but several modifications made by the editor of the volume and the general editor of the *Collected Works of Herman Dooyeweerd*.

In the Twilight of Western Thought, then, exists in three different forms — the First, Revised, and Collected Works editions. The differences between these three editions along with the errata corrections are delineated in the chart below. Each is represented by a different column: First (P&R, 1960); Errata (accompanying some first edition volumes); Revised (Craig, 1965, 1968, 1972, 1975, 1980); and Collected Works (Mellen, 1999). The comparison primarily focuses upon those differences between the First and Revised editions. The Collected Works Edition was examined primarily in comparison with the changes and errors of the first two editions. For those interested, a close

²⁶ *In the Twilight of Western Thought* (Mellen, 1999), unnumbered page and pages 133-134.

²⁷ James Smith reports that his modifications to the text were quite minimal but that the general editor undertook more extensive revisions after he edited the volume; email communication, James K.A. Smith, 10 November 2004. The general editor confirms this: “There were indeed a few more substantial changes but . . . the assessment was that they did not substantially change the meaning of the text”; Strauss, email correspondence, 24 December 2004.

²⁸ Collected Works, 21. The First Edition has “each attempt to grasp this central ego in a logical concept” (27).

comparison of the Collected Works Edition to the Revised Edition is necessary in order to reveal the complete range of changes there from Dooyeweerd's original text. In each column below, the page, paragraph, and line number (e.g. p3, ¶2, ln14) is identified where errors or changed text begin. The notation used by the errata sheet, which differs from the style employed in the other columns, is listed in the Errata column as found on the sheet itself. Text which appears in one edition but not another is underlined including punctuation. Individual words which differ from one text to the next and misspellings are placed in quotation marks. Notations of this essay's author are given in brackets

First	Errata	Revised	Collected Works
p3, ¶2, ln1 In the <u>last</u> analysis these very . . .		p3, ¶2, ln1 [same as First Ed.]	p4, ¶3, ln1 In the <u>final</u> analysis, these very . . .
p3, ¶2&¶3		p3, ¶2&¶3	p5, ¶1, ln3 [¶2&¶3 in the First and Rev. Ed. are combined]
p3, ¶2, ln14 . . . which is <u>not</u> <u>problematic but</u> simply gives expression . . .		p3, ¶2, ln13 . . . which simply gives expression . . .	p5, ¶1, ln1 [same as First Ed.]
p3, ¶3, ln1 <u>For</u> if all philosophical currents . . .		p3, ¶3, ln1 If all philosophical currents . . .	p5, ¶1, ln3 [same as First Ed.]
p3, ¶3, ln7 . . . philosophical trends ₂ which are fun- damentally opposed to each other ₂ usually . . .		p3, ¶3, ln7 . . . philosophical trends which are fun- damentally opposed to each other usually . . .	p5, ¶1, ln7 [same as First Ed.]
p4, ¶1, ln3 . . . positivism we seek to establish criteria		p4, ¶1, ln3 . . . positivism <u>and lin-</u> <u>guistic analysis</u> , we seek to establish criteria . . .	p5, ¶1, ln14 [same as First Ed., with the addition of a com- ma after "positivism"]
p5, ¶2, ln8 "Edward Hesserl"	Page 5 (1. 23) "Edward Husserl"	p5, ¶2, ln8 "Edmund Husserl"	p6, ¶3, ln6 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p6, ¶3, ln11 . . . displays a great diversity of funda- mental aspects . . .		p6, ¶3, ln11 . . . displays a great di- versity of fundamental <u>modal</u> aspects . . .	p7, ¶1, ln8 [same as First Ed.]
p8, ¶2, ln6 . . . <u>group</u> them in a logical concept . . .		p8, ¶2, ln6 ... <u>grasp</u> them in a logical concept . . .	p8, ¶3, ln4 [same as First Ed.]
p8, ¶2, ln9 . . . of number? of space? of organic life? of history?...		p8, ¶2, ln9 . . . of number? of space? of organic life? of <u>cultural</u> history?...	p8, ¶3, ln7 [same as First Ed.]
p9, ¶1, ln10 This is <u>the reason that</u> this modal structure displays . . .		p9, ¶1, ln10 This is <u>why</u> this modal structure displays . . .	p9, ¶1, ln13 [same as First Ed.]

p10, ¶1, ln4 “Fühler”	Page 10 (1. 4) “Fühlen”	p10, ¶1, ln4 [same as Errata]	p9, ¶3, ln4 [same as First Ed.]
p10, ¶2, ln7 ... for logical coherence, cultural feeling ...		p10, ¶2, ln7 ... for logical coherence, <u>historico-</u> cultural feeling ...	p10, ¶2, ln5 [same as First Ed.]
p10, ¶2, ln8 “legal feeling”		p10, ¶2, ln8 “jural feeling”	p10, ¶2, ln6 [same as First Ed.]
p26, ¶1, ln2 “attitudes”	Page 26 (1. 2) “attitude”	p26, ¶1, ln2 [same as Errata]	p19, ¶1, ln7 [same as First Ed.]
p27, ¶3	Pages 27-28 Delete paragraph starting “If this state” This paragraph should be inserted on page 62 between the first and sec- ond paragraph. [sic]	p27, ¶3 [moved as indicated by errata]	p21, ¶2, ln3 [paragraph left in original location and wording revised (see essay text)]
p33, ¶2, ln7 ... and to its <u>divine</u> <u>origin</u> .		p33, ¶1, ln2 ... and to its <u>temporal</u> <u>world</u> .	p25, ¶2, ln5 [same as First Ed.]
p33, ¶2, ln9 ... the <u>only</u> three central relations in which the ego can manifest itself.”		p33, ¶1, ln4 ... the three central relations in which the ego can <u>only</u> manifest itself.”	p25, ¶2, ln6 [same as First Ed.]
p33, ¶3, ln11 ... towards the Absolute.		p33, ¶2, ln11 ... towards the Abso- lute <u>which even in its</u> <u>idolatry it seeks to</u> <u>preserve</u> .	p25, ¶3, ln8 [same as First Ed.]
p36, ¶3, ln16 “in principles”	Page 36 (1. 22) “in principle”	p36, ¶1, ln13 [same as Errata]	p27, ¶3, ln14 [same as First Ed.]
p36, ¶3, ln19 “origin”		p36, ¶1, ln16 “Origin”	p27, ¶3, ln17 [same as First Ed.]
p41, ¶3, ln4 “form”		p41, ¶1, ln1 “forms”	p30, ¶2, ln3 [same as First Ed.]
p41, ¶3, ln17 “physics”	Page 41 (1. 24) “physis.”	p41, ¶1, ln14 [same as Errata]	p30, ¶2, ln13 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p47, ¶2, ln6 This so-called ...	Page 47 (1. 14) The so-called ...	p47, ¶1, ln4 [same as Errata]	p34, ¶1, ln1 [same as First Ed.]
p55, ¶2, ln15 ... in which each of them was supposed ...		p55, ¶1, ln13 ... in which each of them, <u>according to its</u> <u>adherents</u> , was supposed ...	P.39, ¶1, ln2 [same as First Ed.]
p57, ¶2, ln5 “mode”	Page 57 (1. 10) “modes”	p56, ¶4, ln5 [same as Errata]	p39, ¶5, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]

p58, ¶1, ln1 "ever"	Page 58 (1. 1) "even"	p57, ¶2, ln13 [same as Errata]	p40, ¶1, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p62		p61, ¶2 ["missing" paragraph inserted after ¶1 (see note on First Ed., p27)]	p45, ¶1, ln8 [paragraph not inserted, and ¶1 and 2 combined]
p62, ¶2, ln4 "historistic"		p62, ¶1, ln3 "historistic"	p45, ¶1, ln10 "historicist"
p62, ¶3, ln3 "aspects of the human experiential."	Page 62 (1. 19) Add "horizon" after "aspects of the human experiential."	p62, ¶2, ln3 [same as Errata]	p45, ¶2, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p62, ¶3, ln4 "ego of"	Page 62 (1. 20) "ego or"	p62, ¶2, ln4-5 [same as Errata]	p45, ¶2, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p64, ¶1, ln5 <u>Even</u> Toynbees's . . .		p63, ¶1, ln15 Toynbees's . . .	p46, ¶2, ln14 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p64, ¶1, ln10 . . . of true Christen- dom.		p63, ¶1, ln20 . . . of true Christen- dom <u>in a non-</u> <u>dogmatic, syncretist</u> <u>sense.</u>	p46, ¶2, ln18 [same as First Ed.]
p64, ¶2, ln3 <u>But</u> it originated in the first <u>half</u> of the last century . . .		p63, ¶2, ln3 It originated in the first <u>decennaries</u> of the last century . . .	p46, ¶3, ln2 It originated in the first <u>half</u> of the last century . . .
p64, ¶2, ln5 <u>From an idealistic</u> <u>philosophy, the latter</u> <u>opposed . . .</u>		p63, ¶2, ln5 <u>Many leading thinkers</u> <u>of that period</u> opposed . . .	p46, ¶3, ln3 <u>With an idealistic</u> <u>philosophy, it placed</u> <u>the historical mode of</u> <u>thought in opposition</u> to . . .
p64, ¶2, ln11 . . . from the 18 th century.		p64, ¶1, ln2 . . . from the <u>first</u> <u>decennaries of the</u> 18 th century.	p46, ¶3, ln8 [same as First Ed.]
p64, ¶2, ln13 "mode"		p64, ¶1, ln5 "model"	p46, ¶3, ln10 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p64, ¶2, ln16 . . . the anti-historical picture of . . .		p64, ¶1, ln8 . . . the anti-historical <u>world-picture</u> of . . .	p47, ¶1, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p67, ¶2, ln4 "Copora"	Page 67 (1. 20) "Corpore"	p66, ¶3, ln4 [same as Errata]	p48, ¶3, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p68, ¶1, ln11 . . . should be considered as if . . .		p67, ¶2, ln13 . . . should be con- sidered <u>philosophically</u> as if . . .	p48, ¶3, ln20 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p69, ¶1, ln15 . . . called <u>for</u> the great Geometer.		p68, ¶3, ln15 . . . called <u>God</u> the great Geometer.	p49, ¶2, ln11 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p71, ¶2, ln6 . . . in the . . .		p70, ¶3, ln6 . . . <u>and</u> in the . . .	p50, ¶2, ln5 [same as Rev. Ed.]

p72, ¶2, ln18 ... elements, namely, the abstract human individuals, in their presumed natural freedom and equality, <u>in a mathematical way.</u>	Page 72 (1. 29) Delete “in a mathematical way.”	p72, ¶1, ln6 [same as Errata]	p51, ¶2, ln13 [same as Rev. Ed. except:] ... elements (namely, the abstract human individuals, in their presumed natural freedom and equality).
p73, ¶1, ln4 ... <i>nomos</i> , i.e., the ethical law, which ...		p72, ¶2, ln7 ... <i>nomos</i> , i.e., the ethical law (<u>categorical imperative</u>), which ...	p51, ¶3, ln5 ... <i>nomos</i> (i.e., the ethical law <u>or catego- rical imperative</u>), which ...
p74, ¶2, ln23 “rational”		p74, ¶1, ln11 “national”	p52, ¶2, ln17 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p76, ¶2, ln5 ... mechanistic mode ...		p75, ¶2, ln5 ... mechanistic <u>thought</u> mode ...	p53, ¶3, ln4 [same as First Ed.]
p76, ¶2, ln6 “modal”	Page 76 (1. 18) “model”	p75, ¶2, ln6 [same as Errata]	p53, ¶3, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p78, ¶2, ln1 “Historicist”		p77, ¶3, ln1 “historicist”	p54, ¶3, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p80, ¶2, ln6 “an autonomy”	Page 80 (1.19) “and autonomy”	p79, ¶3, ln6 [same as Errata]	p56, ¶2, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p80, ¶2, ln12 ... really <u>external</u> value.		p80, ¶1, ln5 ... really <u>external</u> value.	p56, ¶2, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p82, ¶2, ln7 The rationalistic trend in the footsteps ...		p81, ¶3, ln7 The rationalistic trend, in the footsteps ...	p57, ¶2, ln11 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p83, ¶1, ln3 “historicist”		p83, ¶1, ln3 “historicist”	p59, ¶1, ln3 “historicist”
p84, ¶4, ln5 <u>For here</u> we do not ...		p84, ¶4, ln5 <u>Here</u> we do not ...	p60, ¶2, ln4 <u>In that situation</u> we do not ...
p84, ¶4, ln6 ... historical mode, <u>or</u> <u>on the historical aspect</u> of our experience ...		p84, ¶4, ln6 ... historical mode of our experience ...	p60, ¶2, ln5 ... historical mode, <u>or</u> <u>aspect</u> , of our experience ...
p85, ¶2, ln5 <u>We are, then much</u> <u>rather</u> , interested in ...		p85, ¶2, ln5 <u>We are then much</u> <u>rather</u> interested in ...	p60, ¶2, ln11 <u>Rather, at that point we</u> <u>are much more</u> interested in ...
p85, ¶2, ln13 ... sense. <u>That</u> is, they are not facts, which ...		p85, ¶2, ln13 ... sense. <u>That</u> is, they are not facts which ...	p60, ¶2, ln17 ... sense; <u>that</u> is, they are not facts which ...”
p86, ¶3, ln5 ... <u>genetical</u> viewpoint which ...		p86, ¶3, ln5 ... <u>genetical</u> viewpoint <u>of the historian</u> which ...	p61, ¶2, ln4 ... <u>genetic</u> view-point which ...

p86, ¶3, ln7 ... meaning of the term evolution varies . . .		p86, ¶3, ln7 ... meaning of the terms evolution, <u>development</u> , or <u>becoming</u> varies . . .	p61, ¶2, ln5 ... meaning of the terms " <u>evolution</u> ", " <u>development</u> ", or " <u>becoming</u> " vary . . .
p88, ¶4, ln4 ... evolutionism, <u>by</u> whom it was used in . . .		p88, ¶4, ln4 ... evolutionism, which used it in . . .	p62, ¶2, ln8 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p88, ¶4, ln6 ... the multivocal . . .		p88, ¶4, ln6 ... the <u>in itself</u> multivocal . . .	p62, ¶2, ln9 [same as First Ed.]
p88, ¶5, ln4 ... of the natural sciences, which . . .		p88, ¶5, ln4 ... of the natural sciences which . . .	p62, ¶3, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p88, ¶6, ln3 ... of the natural sciences . . .		p88, ¶6, ln3 ... of the <u>genetic</u> natural sciences . . .	p62, ¶3, ln6 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p90, ¶3, ln12 "molding"		p90, ¶3, ln12 "moulding"	p63, ¶2, ln18 [same as First Ed.]
p91, ¶1, ln5 "foundation"	Page 91 (1. 5) "formation"	p91, ¶1, ln5 [same as Errata]	p63, ¶3, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p92, ¶2, ln19 ... of human <u>social</u> life . . .		p92, ¶2, ln19 ... of human <u>society</u> . . .	p64, ¶3, ln14 [same as First Ed.]
p99, ¶3, ln4 ... are enclosed in <u>small and undifferentiated</u> . . .		p99, ¶3, ln4 ... are enclosed in undifferentiated . . .	p68, ¶3, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p99, ¶3, ln5 ... communities, <u>such as clans and tribes</u> , which . . .		p99, ¶3, ln5 ... communities, which . . .	p68, ¶3, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p100, ¶1, ln18 ... of the <u>small</u> popular . . .		p100, ¶1, ln18 ... of the popular . . .	p69, ¶1, ln18 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p101, ¶1, ln6 "community"		p101, ¶1, ln6 "group"	p69, ¶2, ln10 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p101, ¶3, ln6 "Leopold V. Ranke"		p101, ¶3, ln6 "Leopold von Ranke"	p70, ¶1, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p103, ¶2, ln16 "present"		p103, ¶2, ln16 "presents"	p71, ¶1, ln12 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p103, ¶3, ln4 ... of a <u>differentiated</u> society		p103, ¶3, ln4 ... of a society.	p71, ¶2, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p103, ¶3, ln4 "social"		p103, ¶3, ln4 "societal"	p71, ¶2, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p106, ¶3, ln8 "horizons"	Page 106 (1. 26) "horizon"	p106, ¶3, ln8 [same as Errata]	p72, ¶3, ln13 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p107, ¶2, ln4 "Kulturreislehre"	Page 107 (1. 17) "Kulturkreislehre"	p107, ¶2, ln4 [same as Errata]	p73, ¶2, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p107, ¶2, ln11 "Frobensius"	Page 107 (1. 24) "Frobenius"	p107, ¶2, ln11 [same as Errata]	p73, ¶2, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]

p115, ¶2, ln13 ... even to . . .		p115, ¶2, ln13 ... even <u>allowed</u> to . . .	p81, ¶1, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p122, ¶2, ln15 ... a moral and a <u>pistical pertaining to</u> faith aspect . . .		p122, ¶2, ln15 ... a moral and a faith aspect . . .	p85, ¶1, ln15 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p126, ¶2, ln13 ... dissociating <u>them</u> in an . . .		p126, ¶2, ln13 ... dissociating <u>the</u> <u>elements of their modal</u> <u>structure</u> in an . . .	p87, ¶2, ln15 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p127, ¶2, ln29 ... for instance, presents itself to our experience . . .		p127, ¶2, ln29 ... for instance, <u>in</u> <u>case of adequate temper-</u> <u>ature conditions</u> presents itself to our experience . . .	p88, ¶1, ln15 ... for instance (<u>in case</u> <u>of adequate tempera-</u> <u>ture conditions</u>), presents itself to our experience . . .
p127, ¶2, ln29 ... as a liquid matter . . .		p127, ¶2, ln19 ... as a <u>colorless</u> liquid matter . . .	p88, ¶1, ln16 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p128, ¶1, ln1 ... qualified by its physico-chemical <u>qualities</u> .		p128, ¶1, ln2 ... qualified by its physico-chemical <u>properties</u> .	p88, ¶1, ln17 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p128, ¶1, ln2 ... in the biotic aspect, . . .		p128, ¶1, ln3 ... in the biotic aspect . . .	p88, ¶1, ln18 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p129, ¶2, ln5 Can Christian theology as such provide . . .		p129, ¶2, ln5 Can Christian <u>dogmatic</u> theology as such provide . . .	p89, ¶2, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p129, ¶2, ln9 ... identical <u>with</u> Christian philosophy . . .		p129, ¶2, ln9 ... identical <u>wth</u> [typo] Christian philosophy . . .	p89, ¶2, ln7 ... identical <u>to</u> Christian philosophy . . .
p138, ¶3, ln1 ... consider from the very beginning . . .		p138, ¶3, ln1 ... consider <u>that</u> from the very beginning . . .	p95, ¶3, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p138, ¶3, ln2 ... in all the works of his hands.		p138, ¶3, ln2 ... in all the works of his hands <u>was not</u> <u>accessible to a would-</u> <u>be autonomous human</u> <u>understanding</u> .	p95, ¶3, ln2 ... in all the works of his hands <u>was not open</u> <u>to a would-be</u> <u>autonomous human</u> <u>understanding</u> .
p140, ¶2, ln8 ... scholastic theology . . .		p140, ¶2, ln8 ... <u>traditional</u> scholastic theology . . .	p97, ¶1, ln6 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p152, ¶1, ln13 <u>Nevertheless</u> , the theological meaning of <u>these</u> concepts . . .		p152, ¶1, ln13 The <u>true</u> theological meaning of <u>all such</u> <u>analogical</u> concepts . . .	p104, ¶3, ln14 <u>Nevertheless</u> , the theological meaning of <u>all</u> these [<u>analogical</u>] . . .

p152, ¶2, ln1 And this is the reason <u>that</u> theology . . .		p152, ¶2, ln1 This is the reason <u>why</u> theology . . .	p104, ¶4, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p152, ¶2, ln13 "apostatic"		p152, ¶2, ln13 "apostatical"	p104, ¶4, ln10 "apostate"
p165, ¶2, ln13 . . . into polarly- opposed directions . . .		p165, ¶2, ln13 . . . into polarly opposed directions . . .	p112, ¶2, ln9 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p167, ¶1, ln9 "anangkē"		p167, ¶1, ln9 "anangk_"	p113, ¶1, ln6 "anangkē"
p167, ¶3, ln11 . . . of form, and he conceived the eternal forms of being as <i>eid_</i> , or <i>idea</i> .		p167, ¶3, ln11 . . . of form, and he conceived the eternal forms of being as <i>eide</i> [sic], or <i>ideas_</i> , <u>respectively</u> .	p113, ¶2, ln8-9 . . . of form, <u>He</u> conceived the eternal forms of being as <i>eide</i> [sic], or <i>ideas_</i> .
p174, ¶3, ln13 "fahion"		p174, ¶3, ln13 "fashion"	p120, ¶2, ln11 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p175, ¶2, ln14 . . . has to a great extent, . . .		p175, ¶2, ln14 . . . has to a great extent . . .	p121, ¶1, ln2 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p178, ¶2, ln6 . . . traditional, theological view . . .		p178, ¶2, ln6 . . . traditional theological view . . .	p122, ¶3, ln5 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p179, ¶3, ln11 "history"		p179, ¶3, ln11 "historiography"	p123, ¶3, ln8 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p179, ¶3, ln14 . . . in his selfhood?"		p179, ¶3, ln14 . . . in his selfhood?"	p123, ¶3, ln11 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p183, ¶2, ln9 . . . inter-related <u>Reformed</u> churches . . .		p183, ¶2, ln9 . . . inter-related churches . . .	p125, ¶3, ln7 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p183, ¶2, ln9 . . . that we have in mind,		p183, ¶2, ln9 . . . that we have in mind,	p125, ¶3, ln7 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p184, ¶1, ln4 . . . the above mentioned diversity of <u>aspects</u> . . .		p184, ¶1, ln4 . . . the above mentioned <u>typical</u> di- versity of <u>meaning</u> . . .	p126, ¶1, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p184, ¶1, ln6 . . . ye love them, which love you . . .		p184, ¶1, ln7 . . . ye love them which love you . . .	p126, ¶1, ln3 . . . <u>you</u> love them <u>who</u> love you, . . .
p184, ¶3, ln4 . . . to self-deceit <u>as</u> <u>well as to the other</u> <u>sciences</u> .		p184, ¶3, ln4 . . . to self-deceit.	p126, ¶3, ln3 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p185, ¶1, ln10 . . . the Chief priests . . .		p185, ¶1, ln10 . . . the Chief priest . . .	p126, ¶3, ln11 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p185, ¶3, ln5 . . . composed of mortal . . .		p185, ¶3, ln5 . . . composed of <u>a</u> mortal . . .	p127, ¶1, ln4 [same as Rev. Ed.]

p187, ¶1, ln16 ... made into children ...		p187, ¶1, ln16 ... made into <u>His</u> children ...	p128, ¶1, ln7 ... <u>his</u> children ...
p189, ¶3, ln1 "contract"		p189, ¶3, ln1 "contact"	p129, ¶2, ln5 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p193, ¶2, ln1 "Human"		p193, ¶2, ln1 "human"	p131, ¶3, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p193, ¶3, ln6 ... both scholastic, Lutheran and Reformed theology?		p193, ¶3, ln6 ... both scholastic Lutheran and Reformed theology.	p131, ¶3, ln8 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p194, ¶3, ln19 <u>For</u> human reason is not ...		p194, ¶4, ln1 Human reason is not ... [sentence also changed into new paragraph]	p132, ¶2, ln1 [same as Rev. Ed.]
p194, ¶3, ln20 The <i>I</i> is the hidden player, who avails him- self of <u>this instrument</u> .		p194, ¶4, ln2 The <i>I</i> is the hidden player, who avails himself of <u>it</u> .	p132, ¶2, ln2 <u>And</u> the <i>I</i> is the <u>concealed</u> player who avails himself of <u>it</u> .

No doubt should remain that *In the Twilight of Western Thought* can be found in three distinct editions. The evidence presented here also supports the claim that the Revised Edition as found in paperback copies printed in 1965, 1968, 1972, 1975, and 1980 should be considered the authoritative edition of the published essays — this edition represents Dooyeweerd’s authorized revisions to his own writing. Those who wish to examine Dooyeweerd’s thought as expressed in these published lectures would do well to rely upon the Revised Edition (1965 and its reprints).

And there is good reason to distinguish between the First and Revised editions even apart from the misplaced paragraph, for while it would seem the other changes listed above are minor and generally typographical in nature, some of the differences between the two editions reflect interesting modifications in Dooyeweerd’s thinking. Take, for example, an issue historians have frequently raised when assessing Dooyeweerd’s thoughts on history — his apparent sympathy with the “progress” model, his reading this story of development backwards into history from the standpoint of twentieth-century western civilization, and his discussion of undeveloped and more developed civilizations as reflected in “primitive” societies and modern western society. These criticisms raise legitimate concerns about Dooyeweerd’s vision of history, but as they are often presented, these caricature Dooyeweerd’s position and miss some of the give and take in his analysis and understanding of the issues.²⁹ The revisions Dooyeweerd made for the Revised Edition reveal

²⁹ Several of these critiques include Earl W. Kennedy, “Herman Dooyeweerd on History: An Attempt to Understand Him,” *Fides et Historia* IV, 1 (Fall 1973): 1-21; C.T. McIntire, “Dooyeweerd’s Philosophy of History,” in *The Legacy of Herman Dooyeweerd: Reflections on critical philosophy in the Christian tradition*, ed. C.T. McIntire (Lanham: University Press of America,

that he was likely aware of these sorts of concerns and sought to nuance his thought (if not significantly change it) in response to these criticisms. For example, in the First Edition, he wrote that "Primitive cultures are enclosed in small and undifferentiated organized communities, such as clans and tribes, which display a strong tendency towards isolation."³⁰ In the Revised Edition, he deleted the phrases "small and" and "such as clans and tribes" somewhat disconnecting his ideas about undifferentiated societies from concrete historical examples about which he had little expertise.³¹

But even acknowledging that the Second Edition is authoritative, there still exists a need for a new critical edition of this volume reflecting further research into the background of these lectures and their publishing history. Several questions remain. For example, how closely do the printed lectures reflect the lectures as they were presented or handwritten? Uncovering the original hand-written lectures and Henry Van Til's typescripts, or finding audio recordings of Dooyeweerd's presentations could clearly help in this regard.³² Finding and publishing all the original lectures would also make it possible to produce a volume which, if not consistent with the volume as originally published, would represent a complete collection of the lectures as Dooyeweerd gave them in North America.

In the meantime, however, we are left with an even more significant concern. In the last several years, the Herman Dooyeweerd Foundation and the Dooyeweerd Centre have undertaken the task of making available all of Herman Dooyeweerd's work in critical, English-language editions as the *Collected Works of Herman Dooyeweerd*. As the research in this essay makes clear, however, a crucial step in the process of undertaking such an editorial process — establishing the provenance of a particular work — has been overlooked in the case of *In the Twilight of Western Thought* and we are now left with unfortunate and ambiguous consequences. In order for the work of Herman Dooyeweerd to have lasting influence, his corpus needs to be properly catalogued, the provenance of each piece accurately established, and the whole produced in such a way as to make his work affordable and available. As the case of *In the Twilight of Western Thought* demonstrates, Dooyeweerd's work has suffered from a checkered publication history, both in his lifetime and now in ours.³³ Until

1985), 81-118; Dale K. Van Kley, "Dooyeweerd as Historian," in *A Christian View of History?*, ed. George Marsden and Frank Roberts (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), 139-179; Nick Van Til, "Dooyeweerd's 'History' and the Historian," *Pro Rege* II (December 1973): 7-15). A more recent engagement of Dooyeweerd's model of development and particularly his apparent use of tribal and industrialized societies as models of undifferentiated and differentiated societies is Sander Griffioen, "De Betekenis van Dooyeweerd's Ontwikkelingsidee," *Philosophia Reformata* 51 (1986): 83-109.

³⁰ First Edition, 99.

³¹ Second Edition, 99.

³² It may be that the hand-written and typescript lectures simply do not exist. Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing does not have records remaining from that period. The lectures cannot be found in the Henry Van Til papers, Herman Dooyeweerd papers, the Institute for Christian Studies library, or the Herman Dooyeweerd Center.

³³ Note, for example, the issues of provenance raised in Keith C. Sewell's review of *The Roots of Western Culture* in *Newsletter: Foundation for Christian Studies* 17 (1980): 8-12.

proper scholarly standards are uniformly applied to the collection and publication of Dooyeweerd's corpus, scholars can have little confidence in the authenticity and accuracy of works appearing under the name of Herman Dooyeweerd.